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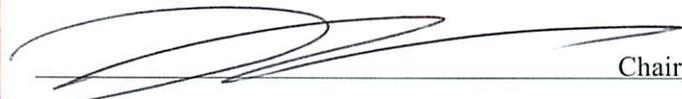
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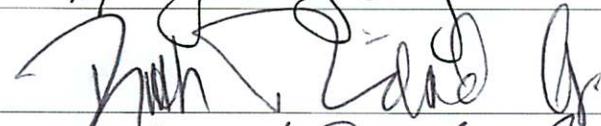
American Studies
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and form for publication:

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M. Jane Young


Ruth Trinidad Galvan


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**LOS TRES GRANDES-
HERMAN GALLEGOS, ERNESTO GALARZA, JULIAN
SAMORA: ROOTED IN COMMUNITY, GUIDED BY
FRIENDSHIP, CULTIVATING LEADERSHIP**

by

CARMEN R. SAMORA

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
American Studies**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

August 2011

DEDICATION

To Lisiada Piedad Archuleta Samora

My Mother

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ABSTRACT

Los Tres Grandes, Ernesto Galarza, Herman Gallegos, and Julian Samora, fused intellectual constructs and grassroots strategies to reverse the societal dynamics they understood had marginalized Mexican Americans at both governmental and social levels. In 1968, the three scholar/activists launched the Southwest Council of La Raza (SWCLR), which four years later became the National Council of La Raza. My dissertation explores the relationship of these three men, a nexus of history and personality that launched what became the largest civil rights organization for Latinos in the United States. At a time when foundations earmarked minority support primarily for African Americans, Los Tres brought philanthropic attention (through the Ford Foundation) to Mexican American concerns. This was a groundbreaking achievement. Their relationship

honored their cultural teachings as they engaged the elite world of philanthropy. They established a paradigm for Mexican Americans within the dominant culture without compromising their culture and ethnic capital. The three leaders created an organization that focused on the development of leaders and on empowering communities to overcome political and economic marginalization.

How Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora used scholarship as a pivotal ingredient of social and political change has been all but lost to history. I investigate the particular strengths each man brought to this dynamic political action. The story of their productive relationship is one that needs to be brought to light for a new generation to explore and celebrate. Their story demonstrates the importance of leadership development, which is an overarching theme of this study.

To tell their story, this dissertation mines the archives of the three men and uses information from the oral histories of key associates. This primary data is useful in understanding how Los Tres supported one another and created a context within which to work. They created unnamed theoretical models that echoed how they lived and how they worked. Honoring the validity of their own standpoint, their own stories, their own culture, they set the table for future scholarship that employs these groundbreaking ideas.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction: Making History	1
Author's Personal Perspective	6
Research Methodology	11
Chapter Overview	15
A Note About Terminology	18
Chapter One: Historical Background	23
Making Mexican Americans	28
Models of Identity	30
Methodology/Critical Approaches/Theoretical Frameworks	37
<i>Chicana Feminist Epistemologies and Methodologies</i>	38
<i>American Cultural Studies</i>	46
<i>Folklore</i>	49
- <i>Rituals and Traditions in Folklore</i>	51
- <i>Telling Our Stories for Group Belonging</i>	54
Chapter Two: From the Barrio to the Boardroom-Herman Gallegos	59
Early Years	59
An Education from the Community Service Organization	71
Professional Life	81
Into the Boardroom	88
Chapter Three: The Burning Light-Ernesto Galarza	95
Beginnings	95
Higher Education and an Education in Latin America	111
The Pan American Union	113
<i>An Early Investigation of the Bracero Program</i>	113
<i>Latin America</i>	116
Organizing Farm Workers	117
<i>Union Organizing</i>	118
Scholarship and Authorship	122
Fighting for Alviso	127
The Poet	130
Chapter Four: The Fifth Horseman-Julian Samora	136
Mountain Origins	137

Education	141
Leadership	144
<i>The San Luis Institute of Arts and Crafts</i>	146
<i>Advanced Degrees</i>	147
Preparation for University Life	150
<i>Lyle Saunders: Mentor in Medical Sociology</i>	151
<i>Michigan State and U.S. Mexico Border Studies</i>	156
Notre Dame: Research and Scholarship	157
Samora's Epistemology: Individual and Community Knowledge	160
<i>Collaboration</i>	161
<i>Ignoring Academic Hierarchies</i>	162
<i>Storytelling</i>	163
Notre Dame Institutional Changes	165
Comprehensive Plan to Educate Mexican Americans at Notre Dame	166
Mexican American Graduate Studies Program	167
<i>The Students</i>	168
<i>The Press</i>	169
The Lecture Series	169
A Man of His Time	171
Chapter Five: The Founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza	175
The Background: Los Tres and the Ford Foundation	177
Laying the Ground Work	180
The Study	184
Taking it Public	189
The Founding	194
Chapter Six: After the Founding	206
The Roots of Friendship	207
Samora and Galarza: Chicano Studies	209
Awards and Publications	214
Gallegos and Transformational Leadership	216
Awards and Publications	224
Conclusion	225
Endnotes	227
References	240

Introduction: Making History

But there were some of us... who believe that the matter of values and political behavior is still very important... as we try to penetrate the Anglo–American culture, we've tried to see whether the American political system really works in terms of human values...

- Ernesto Galarza

Ernesto Galarza, Herman Gallegos, and Julian Samora fused intellectual constructs and grassroots strategies to reverse the societal dynamics, which they understood had marginalized Mexican Americans politically, economically, and socially. In 1968, the three scholar/activists launched the Southwest Council of La Raza, which four years later became the National Council of La Raza, today among the largest civil rights advocacy organization for Latinos in the United States.

This dissertation is a biography of generosity, beneficence, and friendship, demonstrating how these three men shaped history. Using the common tools of scholarship and activism, Los Tres not only influenced and contributed to the larger Chicano Movement, but they also opened a relationship between philanthropy and Latinos.

This study, the first book-length treatment of the founders of the Southwest Council, focuses on the three principal players. Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora employed both scholarship and activism in very creative ways before they joined forces for the founding of the Southwest Council. I tell each man's life story and investigate their early backgrounds for clues to help us

understand their life-long focus in developing Mexican American leaders and communities. The relationships of the three men, their deep friendships and collaborations, honored their cultural heritage as they employed their scholarship and activism for their communities.

Gallegos began his community activism while still in college as a member of the Community Service Organization (CSO) located in East San Jose's *Sal Si Puedes*¹ barrio, helping to grow it into a statewide organization. Upon graduation from college, Gallegos served as the national president of CSO. A social worker by day, Gallegos implemented government-based programs in African American neighborhoods and continued his role as a community organizer in Bay Area barrios in the evenings. It was Gallegos's community service connections that brought Galarza and Samora to the attention of the Rosenberg and Ford foundations. Gallegos was a social worker for a few years after graduate school, and then became a trailblazer in philanthropy, holding board directorships in both the philanthropic and corporate worlds for the bulk of his public life.

Galarza was the first Mexican American to earn advanced degrees at both Stanford and Columbia, achievements he accomplished in 1929 and 1944 respectively (Galarza n.d.). In the early 1950s, Galarza, after long involvement with the Pan-American Union on the East coast, joined the National Farm Labor Union in California as the director of research and education. Known for his skill as a researcher, his intimate knowledge of farm worker conditions led him to write scores of articles and give senate testimony, which strongly influenced the cessation of the exploitative *Bracero* Program.² Galarza was what might be

termed an itinerant academician, holding appointments at such institutions as the University of Notre Dame and San Jose State; but for most of his career he was an independent scholar with no academic affiliation. Due to Samora's influence, Galarza was able to publish four books through the University of Notre Dame Press (Galarza 1970, 1971, 1977, 1982).

As a graduate student, Samora made the connection between community and scholarship. He provided the research necessary for his small community, San Luis, to approach the Colorado legislature to secure funds for a much needed public health clinic. Established at the University of Notre Dame as a professor in the combined Sociology/Anthropology department by 1959, Samora was head of that department by 1963. He edited the first book-length investigation of Mexican Americans entitled, *La Raza: Forgotten Americans*, published in 1966. Samora's research into leadership development in Mexican American communities led him to establish the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program at Notre Dame to create a leadership path within academia.

Of the three, Samora had the most traditional relationship with the academy and he was able to use that position to further their joint goals, particularly by publishing their work. They demonstrated, through their collective path, that the academy was but one method for furthering their ideas about leadership. Gallegos used philanthropy and Galarza used the time-tested methods of community organizing to grow leaders. All three, through the birth of the Southwest Council, demonstrated how to support communities through leadership development.

There are several significant aspects of their remarkable achievement, the founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza, that have been insufficiently analyzed. While there had been previous Mexican American regional organizations founded in the United States as early as the nineteenth century, the Southwest Council was created with unique guiding principles and support.³ They established an organization for Mexican Americans within the dominant culture without compromising Mexican American culture and ethnic capital (Gallegos 2008). They brought philanthropic support (through the Ford Foundation) to Mexican American concerns at a time when minority issues were conceptualized as a Black/White binary. In 1968, the three wrote a comprehensive study on Mexican Americans in the Southwest for the Ford Foundation (Galarza et al. 1968). Previously there had been very little scholarship regarding Mexican Americans as a cohesive ethnic group before 1968 (Camarillo 1979; Grebler et al. 1970; Samora 1966).

This dissertation sheds light on the theoretical frameworks Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora employed in establishing the Southwest Council. It was a groundbreaking achievement when philanthropic foundations refocused their giving by putting Mexican Americans at the center of the dialogue. The three leaders established an organization that focused on developing leaders and on empowering communities to overcome political and economic marginalization. While Los Tres did not name their methodology, Gallegos has come to call it “Transformational Leadership” and I will, too. The three scholar/activists injected research and activism with an energy that catalyzed their work into a powerful

force in leadership and community development. The three activists used their research for pragmatic ends and they insisted on keeping close ties with their constituents. They kept the broad communities of Mexican Americans informed about their findings, and they drew on those communities and cultural references to inform their work as they engaged mainstream America. Their research had a profound impact on the nation; they helped to awaken the United States to the reality of Mexican Americans as a national population worthy of both study and political/social policies. An analysis of their work is missing from the literature of the Chicano Movement. This dissertation brings attention to the importance of their research, an emphasis long neglected in an historical record that has focused on the activist achievements of Mexican Americans of that era.

Each man brought particular strengths to the trio's relationship that helped move their shared political agenda. Their collaborative work is a story of valor and creativity that must be brought to light for a new generation to explore. Their collective vision led to the founding of a regional organization that encouraged the development of Mexican American communities and the development of leaders within those communities.

At a time when the Chicano Movement was best known for its grassroots organizing, these three men valued and honed their intellectual capacities. Through scholarship and grassroots advocacy, Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora strategically pooled their resources working *en conjunto*, that is, together, to start a new organization.

Viewed through the lens of their productive relationship, I define this nexus to include the heart along with the mind, grassroots organizing along with scholarship. The coming together of these men is best understood not only as an intellectual relationship, but also as a spiritual and emotional relationship, which enabled them to address the deeply rooted issues of Mexican Americans that defined them as a “problem” in the mid-twentieth century. Their applied research resulted in creating what has become a leading civil rights organization for Latinos in the United States. They shaped networks at the margins of the dominant society that became mainstream networks engaging other mainstream networks. They were intellectuals of color developing strategies that effected change in public policy at the national level. These strategies included leadership development, the support of local and regional community activism through research and scholarship, and opening up the elite ranks of philanthropy to Mexican American communities.

Author’s Personal Perspective

As a scholar with art credentials, I have the experience to imagine and implement research projects that reverberate with creative energy. The Julian Samora Legacy Project, which I established in 2003, is a living testimony to that training. I view my scholarly work as a collage, putting disparate ideas in juxtaposition. Ideas resonate with each other in unexpected ways and bring a rich texture and added color to academic work. One example of this convergence is this dissertation. I have pursued the research and writing in a non-linear fashion, which allowed me to gather the contrasting details and polish them

before insertion into my dissertation collage. Because of my art training, I think conceptually, seeing the big picture as well as the small details. Incorporating my artistic thinking into academics, instead of suppressing it, gives me an advantage because I code-switch between linear and non-linear approaches. My interest in bringing these men and their achievements under scholarly scrutiny has a long history. I am Julian Samora's daughter. It was not until my father retired in 1985 that I came to fully realize the breadth of his work for social justice. He was an absent father; I was aware, of course, that he was working for social justice, but the breadth and depth of his involvement were details that were missing when I was a child. As I began investigating his career after his death in 1996, I came to realize the magnitude of his contribution as well as that of Gallegos and Galarza. I assumed that one of my father's graduate students would write about them and their work, but no one did.⁴ I felt a compelling urgency to record the stories and accomplishments of these men and other people who had worked during the Chicano Movement, whose stories were disappearing.

I am, essentially, a storyteller. I have always been interested in stories of my family. I remember "bugging" my grandmother, who was usually busy with household chores, to tell me stories about when she was a girl. I learned to clean and polish by her side as she told me about her life. She, and other family members, conveyed our family history to me. As I learned more of my father's story, in the last months of his life, I felt a responsibility to carry the stories forward. When I was teaching high school I used a few of the primary resources I have in my family collection to illustrate a lesson and was struck by the students'

positive responses to the new material. Since then I have added to the story of the Chicano Movement through the collection of dozens of oral histories given by activists and scholars from that era. Creating educational materials for students of all ages from these oral histories, from primary documents in the Samora archive and from archives of other activists from the Chicano Movement became my motivation for entering graduate school again.

The story of the founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza that I tell in this dissertation is from the viewpoint of Los Tres. Reading transcripts of their collected oral histories and interviews, I must deal with the issue of memory. In a 1996 interview, Tobias Wolff tackled the idea of memory, whose is intact and whose is flawed:

Our memories tell us who we are and they cannot be achieved through committee work, by consulting other people about what happened. That doesn't mean that at all times memories are telling us the absolute truth, but that the main source of who we are is that memory, flawed or not. A writer is responsible to that story that the memory tells you... and it is going to be different than the story that someone else's memory tells them and that doesn't mean that theirs is right either. (Wolff 1998, no page number)⁵

In my research, I found several versions of the founding of the Southwest Council that did not include even a mention of the involvement of Los Tres. It takes many people to found an organization, and many people to voice their ideas and to help those ideas take shape. This dissertation is their story. Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora have been passed over by history, even the history written about/by Mexican Americans.⁶

I wrote a biographical chapter about my father in 2004 for inclusion in the edited book, *Moving Beyond Borders: Julian Samora and the Establishment of*

Latino Studies, published in 2009. I found the process of writing about my father difficult. Mary Catherine Bateson expressed a guiding principle writing about her famous parents, Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, that I followed: “This book cannot be the child’s interpretation, for that child is now an adult...” (Bateson 1984). I had more experience of my father as a teacher than as a dad, yet I did not know him in the role of teacher as well as his students had. My father came to live with me in Albuquerque in September 1994, and for the last eighteen months of his life we sorted out the layers of dad/teacher and absent father. I realized then that Julian Samora was not the only family member who had made a contribution to the Chicano Movement. I was able to recognize and acknowledge the sacrifices my mother had made and that we, their children, had made.

Besides the emotional aspect of writing about my father, I had to deal with my memories. Were they accurate? When they differed from those of a family member, I had to make decisions about which account to quote. Other authors have also dealt with the issues of reconstructing the past. Bliss Broyard wrote about her father Anatole Broyard, a well-known book reviewer for the *New York Times*, who revealed on his deathbed that he was a Black man who had lived as a White man. In her book, *One Drop*, the biography of her father, she writes,

When you lose a family member or a close friend, people tell you, to console you, that your loved one will always live on in your memories. They act as if this process occurs involuntarily: a biological trick to offset your grief, just as the brain suppresses traumatic memories that are too difficult to handle. Your friends don’t tell you to record everything that you remember about the dead person because you will indeed forget many things over time. Nor do they warn you that your memories will become irreversibly

mortared into a monument of the “dearly departed” – some myth that you fashion to help organize your recollections to better retrieve them. Nor are you told about the contaminating influence of other people’s stories, which seem all the more vivid compared to the familiar old statue in the corner of your brain. And absolutely no one will suggest that you might begin to wonder how well you knew your family member or close friend in the first place, now that it’s too late to learn anything more firsthand. (2007, 315)

Fortunately I had 110 linear feet of archival materials to help confirm my recollections. Shortly after my father’s death, I went to the Julian Samora archive at the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin. A few years later, after initiating the Julian Samora Legacy Project, I visited again, but this time with the goal to thoroughly look at what was there. His archive contains documents related to every major political achievement for Latinos in the second half of the twentieth century. Dr. Christine Sierra, professor of Political Science at the University of New Mexico, whose own dissertation was on the organization of the National Council of La Raza, confirmed this during a presentation I made to the Southwest Hispanic Research Institute faculty.⁷

I first met Gallegos and Galarza in 1964, when I was a teenager. My father was working for the Ford Foundation in population research in Central America and we were living in Mexico City. Galarza and Gallegos came frequently to Mexico City to work on the Southwest Council founding and we entertained them for dinner during those visits. We children were allowed to eat with our guests because my parents felt we might learn something from their animated discussions. Much to my parents’ dismay, in the presence of these intellectual giants, what I was most interested in was that Mrs. Gallegos made her own

shoes and I was fascinated by this. I still have the booklet she sent me that described the process.

When I was an undergraduate student in a semester abroad in Mexico City, Galarza suggested that I send him children's books that interested me. I could do some research for him while I was living in Mexico, he suggested. I constantly went into bookstores and read children's books, but I never sent him any. Reflecting on this, I realize I was too shy to really engage with Don Ernesto, much to my later regret. I passed up an opportunity to discuss his ideas of educating the very young.

I have enjoyed a long friendship with Herman Gallegos. He agreed to several interviews in 2008 and 2009, reflecting on his relationships with Galarza and Samora, and I took the opportunity to ask him directly about his ideas concerning leadership. He has been very generous in responding to subsequent letters and emails asking questions to clarify particular points.

Research Methodology

Through personal papers, oral histories, and other archives, this dissertation investigates how Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora used scholarship as a pivotal ingredient of their activism, a story that has been almost lost in the scholarly literature of the Chicano Movement. The Julian Samora Papers 1934-1989, housed in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin, provide the lion's share of the data. This collection contains the correspondence among the principals, as well as letters exchanged between Samora and Southwest Council staff and board members. Included in

the collection are the proposals to Ford for the founding of the Southwest Council, minutes of early Council meetings, and letters between Samora and Ford Foundation staff members.

A search through the papers of both Ernesto Galarza [Galarza (Ernesto) Papers 1934-1984 (M0224)] and Herman Gallegos (unprocessed) at Stanford University revealed personal letters confirming the close friendship of the three. Their collections also include some early Southwest Council documents, copies of some of Galarza's speeches and a curriculum vita confirming Galarza's degrees.

After the Council was founded, Gallegos became the first director of the Council for a two-year period; Galarza became a consultant to the Ford Foundation for several years, and Samora sat on the board of the Council. Their papers record these important post-founding years.

The National Council of La Raza documents include interviews with Henry Santiestevan, the second director of the Southwest Council, who presided over the transition from a regional to a national organization. The NCLR documents also include Ford memos and reports about the Southwest Council missing from the above named sources.

The Julian Samora Papers, 1934-1989 concerning the Southwest Council are more numerous and comprehensive than those in the National Council of La Raza Records, 1968-1996 (M0744) archived at Stanford University. Fortunately for scholars, Samora kept everything of interest during his active career, so a study of his papers reveals an almost complete picture of the founding of the

Southwest Council. I have been able to fill in the gaps with research into the papers of two early staffers working for the council.⁸

In October of 2008, I met Gallegos at the Stanford Green Library and went through his collection with him. He was able to point out certain key papers to me to copy. At the time, his papers were unprocessed, since Gallegos had only recently given his papers to that library. In November 2007, I interviewed NCLR President and CEO, Janet Murguía, in Washington, D.C., and was given copies of papers concerning early years of both the Southwest Council and the National Council.⁹

I have assumed that a scholar would already have written a biography of Galarza. To date no one has published a full treatment of his scholarship or life.¹⁰ Galarza was persuaded to write his autobiography and he chose to center on his early life in Mexico and his journey North with his mother and uncles.¹¹

Gallegos is still living. He intended to write a book about the history of his involvement with the Community Service Organization. Instead, in collaboration with other former CSO colleagues, they produced a documentary called *Organize! The Lessons of the Community Service Organization* released in April of 2010, through University of California Television, UCTV. Dr. Albert Camarillo is writing about the CSO, but his book is not yet in press to date.¹² There is mention of the CSO in a few books, but, to my knowledge, no comprehensive analysis of its impact on the Mexican American communities in the 1950s and 1960s, exists.¹³ This lack of written scholarship about these particular activists and

organizations confirms my determination to add to the small list of books and articles about these people and their achievements.

In addition to the collections named, I rely on the books and articles written by Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora, including unpublished poems written by Galarza. I also rely on secondary sources such as Joan London and Henry Anderson's "So Shall Ye Reap" (1970), for insights into Galarza's actions during his organizer days. London, the daughter of Jack London and a personal friend of the Galarzas, and Anderson, published their interviews with Galarza which provide a personal view of Galarza's actions. Political scientist, Christine Sierra's dissertation, "The Political Transformation of a Minority Organization: The Council of La Raza" (1983) was especially helpful. Sierra's viewpoint centers on political aspects of the organization and studies the time of the founding and the early leadership of Raul Yzaguirre after the organization became a national institution. My dissertation centers on the personalities who founded the organization and how they intersected with each other and with those trying to squash the nascent organization. I also rely on a first person account co-written by Siobhan Oppenheimer Nicolau and Henry Santiestevan entitled "From the Eye of the Storm" (1990) which provides insider details about the attack on the Southwest Council by Henry B. Gonzalez. Nicolau was the Ford Foundation program officer in charge of monitoring the grant made to the Southwest Council and Santiestevan was on both the organizing committee and the first board of the Council. He served as the second director, taking the organization from a regional to a national concern.

I have interviewed my brothers, David Samora, Geoff Samora, and John Samora. I have also interviewed close friends and colleagues of my parents, Margaret McKenzie, Richard Lamanna, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Broden, Ricardo Parra, Olga Villa, and William and Lorraine D'Antonio. I have interviewed my mother's sisters Ruth Medina and Ida Trujillo, her brother Alfred Archuleta, and her brother-in-law Mose Trujillo. I have incorporated separate oral history interviews of Galarza and Gallegos conducted in 1982 and 1984 by Gabrielle Morris. I have also discovered two audiocassette-taped conversations of the three men recorded in Washington, DC in 1982. In the same unprocessed box from the Gallegos collection was an eighty-two-page transcript of that interview. Eleven audiocassettes of conversations Samora conducted with Galarza and Gallegos at Notre Dame were recently discovered in a box from Samora's home office. These informal conversations add a personal dimension not found in the archival collections. The Julian Samora Research Institute has a collection of video taped interviews with Samora conducted near the end of his life. He was interviewed along with a number of Mexican American leaders who were on the executive board of the SWCLR. The interviews provide a window into the times as the participants reminisce about the events they witnessed and experiences they shared.

Chapter Overview

Chapter One concerns the historical conditions that marginalized Mexican Americans from mainstream American life. I also provide a literature review and

a discussion of methodology from the viewpoints of Chicana Feminist Epistemologies, American Cultural Studies, and Folklore.

Chapter Two introduces Herman Gallegos, the youngest of the three men. Gallegos had ties to philanthropy. His connections to Ford and Rockefeller opened the pathway for the founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza. Biographical details gained from personal interviews and a formal oral history conducted in 1988 by Gabrielle Morris and archived at the University of California at Berkeley provide information about Gallegos's community organizing and political activism.

Chapter Three portrays Ernesto Galarza through his autobiography, *Barrio Boy*, nearing its 40th anniversary in print. Galarza, Mexican-born, describes his journey with his mother and uncles from Nayarit, Mexico to Sacramento, California during the Mexican Revolution. Galarza was the elder; he had been championing Mexican and Mexican American laborers while Samora was in short pants and before Gallegos was born. After his career as a labor organizer, Galarza turned his efforts to documenting his organizing efforts in several groundbreaking books describing the relationship between California agribusiness and farm workers. In a discussion of his ideas about leadership development and community engagement, I explore his final effort to help a community keep from being obliterated by "progress." Finally, I investigate Galarza's poetry, written on "scraps" during a lifetime on the road.

Chapter Four discusses Julian Samora's life-long efforts to understand leadership development and implement his ideas through the academy.

Interviews with Samora's in-laws and cousins provide details about his early life in a small town in Colorado. Through grit and hard work, Samora won scholarships and was able to progress beyond high school to become the first Mexican American to earn a PhD in Sociology. Just six years after his degree award, he was teaching at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. He conducted the bulk of his research from the Midwest, thus widening the geographical boundaries of knowledge about Mexican Americans. Samora's strong links to Notre Dame allowed him to publish four of Galarza's books through the University of Notre Dame Press. His plan to educate scholars reached fruition at Notre Dame with the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program. During the fourteen-year duration of the program fifty-seven students entered the program and fifty earned advanced degrees.

Chapter Five focuses on the founding and the early years of the Southwest Council of La Raza, before it became a national organization. I discuss the philanthropic ties that won them Ford Foundation support, the report they wrote for Ford that became *Mexican Americans in the Southwest*, a groundbreaking study that led to changes in national policy. I also delineate the bitter disputes between Mexican American leaders outside the SWCLR and the leaders of the fledgling organization, a schism which resulted in the United States Congress effectively clipping the wings of the organization.

The Conclusion summarizes each man's efforts in leadership and community development practices that motivated the three men throughout their lives of service. Influenced by his activities with Galarza and Samora, Gallegos

articulates his ideas about leadership development and the crucial role it now plays for the current generation of Mexican American college students. I detail the research that Galarza and Samora pursued in an effort to prepare universities and ethnic students for meaningful engagement. This chapter includes a close look at Samora and Galarza's ideas about making leaders in the academy. Los Tres led lives of service beyond the establishment of the Southwest Council of La Raza.

A Note About Terminology

This dissertation is concerned with the three scholar/activists who founded the Southwest Council of La Raza. One of these men, Ernesto Galarza, identified himself as an "American citizen of Mexican birth" (Galarza 1971). The other two, Gallegos and Samora, identified themselves variously as Mexican American or *Mexicano* (Gallegos 1989; Samora 1992). In a speech given in 1993 to a group of students at Michigan State University Julian Samora said, "When I was a little kid, growing up in Colorado, in Spanish, *éramos nosotros los Mexicanos*, but in English, we were Spanish American. That was because the dominant society didn't like things Mexican."

The organization they founded was designed to help people of primarily Mexican and Mexican American origin. Later, when the Southwest Council of la Raza (SWCLR) became a national organization, it became an advocate for a broader spectrum of Spanish speaking people and included people who identified as Cuban Americans, Puerto Ricans, as well as people who identified themselves as Central Americans and Latin Americans. The term, La Raza, was

chosen because it was a term in broad use, both in the United States and in Mexico, at the time of the founding of the SWCLR and “popularly means the people or the group” (Samora and Simon 1993).

Mexicans became Mexican Americans in 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Gómez 2007). And still, when speaking Spanish, some people were self-designating as *Mexicanos* even though they had been born in the United States (Acuña 2011). In the late 1960s important changes took place in terms of what the Mexican American population was called and what it called itself. Young Mexican Americans, both scholars, and activists, began referring to themselves as Chicanos as a way to distinguish themselves politically from their fellow Mexican Americans. In a lecture to students at San Jose State in 1973, Ernesto Galarza said, “I have just discussed the Chicano by contrastive description. But since his name is the keynote of this conference, he cannot be dismissed so passingly. I call him a Chicano, in the first place, because that is what he wishes to be called, and respect for self-identity is a universal right. I call him a Chicano because he is a historical presence within an ethnic minority that is already different because of him.”¹⁴ In a now classic column Ruben Salazar wrote, “a Chicano is a Mexican American with a non-Anglo image of himself” (Garcia 1995, 235). Interestingly, in his autobiography, Galarza referred to Chicanos as “recent working class immigrants from Mexico” (Galarza 1971, 269). Terms and names change with the times and location.

In the book, *The History of the Mexican American People*, Samora and Simon detail the history of the United States Census Bureau and the methods of

counting Mexican-origin and Mexican American people.¹⁵ Samora served as a consultant to the U.S. Census Bureau in the 1970s and helped to change the way the count was taken to be more inclusive of Mexican Americans and to provide an accurate count (Samora and Simon 1993). Because of his close involvement with the U. S. Census Bureau on a policy-making level, I take the opportunity now to review his findings.

The United States Census Bureau created confusion when counting our population because it failed to use the same standards from decade to decade. As Laura Gomez notes in *Manifest Destinies* (2007): “Between 1850 and 1920, Mexican Americans were not distinguished as a separate group in the census; they were counted in the white category” (151). In the 1930 census, the census takers were to count all people born in Mexico or having parents born in Mexico. This, of course, left out the people whose relatives had been born in the United States. In the 1940 census, the Bureau dropped the term Mexican and asked its census takers to count people who were Spanish speaking in the home. This left out people of Mexican or Spanish descent who were primarily English speakers (Samora and Simon 1993).

In the 1950 census, the criterion for counting the “Mexican” population changed again. The Bureau provided a list of several thousand Spanish surnames to its census takers and told them to count people whose names could be found on the list. Of course, this left out all the people who identified as Mexican or Mexican American but did not have a surname on the list. Moreover, the count of Spanish surnames was taken only in the five Southwestern states

and left out people of Mexican descent living in other parts of the country. Since the criterion for identification was different each decade, no conclusions could be made about actual numbers of Mexican American people living in the United States (Samora and Simon 1993).

In the 1960 count, the same criterion was used, thus making a comparison possible, at least in the five Southwestern states where most Mexican American people lived. Before the 1970 census was taken the bureau was urged “under pressure” by a group of consultants which included Julian Samora, “to change its categories for the enumeration of the Mexican American population” (Samora and Simon 1993, 10).

The 1970 census contained specific self-identification questions and included categories for people of “Spanish origin, Mexican descent, Puerto Ricans, Central and South Americans, Cubans, and other Spanish and it was asked in all states” (1993, 11).

In the 1980 census, the term Hispanic was coined by bureaucrats as an umbrella term to include all “Spanish origin” people. The term Latino had been in play beginning in the 1970s (Samora and Simon 1993).

Because all of us who identify as, or have been designated to be, of Mexican origin, Mexican American, Spanish surname, Spanish speaking, Hispano/a, Hispanic, Chicano/a and Latino/a want to be named appropriately, it can be difficult for the writer to confidently refer to people with the proper designation. In this dissertation, I use several different terms that variously reflect

terms used in different historical periods, geographical locations, and that individuals use to identify themselves.

I use the terms White, Anglo Saxon, and Anglo interchangeably to refer to people of European ancestry. The term Mestiza/o refers to people of mixed European and Native American descent. The term indigenous refers to people who self-identify as peoples native to this continent before contact with Europeans.

Chapter One: Historical Background

As we look toward the future to establish a new vision of leadership, we are reminded by Dr. Galarza that the past can be prologue to those willing to learn from it. In his words, "once a historical process is understood, a choice can be made as to one's place in its next moment, and the realization that the best history is that in which one has had an effective part."

- Polly Baca

Mexican American demands for social justice, roiling up for the better part of two decades, were on the political agenda in the United States in 1968, the year the Southwest Council of La Raza was founded. Reies López Tijerina's La Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres land grant movement was in full sway in New Mexico. Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzáles had formed the Crusade for Justice in Denver, an organization concerned with urban social issues. In California, Bert Corona and Edward Roybal had started the Mexican American Political Association, and Cesar Chavez had left the Community Service Organization in East San Jose to organize farm workers in agricultural communities in Central California. José Angel Gutiérrez had launched the Raza Unida Party in Texas which was offering Tejanos a rich slate of candidates from which to choose during local elections.

These people and organizations were some of the most prominent Mexican American activists working to influence American politics and society of the era. This activism coalesced for Mexican Americans as well as for Native Americans, African Americans, and women during the 1960s and 1970s (D. Gutiérrez, ed. 2004; Spickard and Daniel 2004). Added to that was a growing militancy and politicization of Chicano youth concerned with their participation in

the Vietnam War, lack of corresponding educational opportunities, and full inclusion in American society (Acosta 1973; Garcia 1994).

Countless books and articles chronicle the public political engagement of Mexican Americans during the 1950s through the 1970s.¹ This chapter discusses the history of how Mexican Americans were perceived racially and ethnically; it was into this context that Herman Gallegos, Ernesto Galarza, and Julian Samora were born and came of age. This discussion helps the reader understand the hegemonic viewpoint of white supremacy that dominated the United States – a viewpoint within which and against which Los Tres acted. Having established the historical background within which my data is situated, I then complete this chapter by delineating the three methodologies I used in gathering and examining the data.

The Points of Resistance

When Europeans arrived on this continent, they brought with them their fixed ideas of how to set up societies, how to build their cities, how to feed their people, and how to honor their monarchs with tribute taken from the new lands. Whether coming from northern or southern Europe, the invaders regarded the people native to these lands as not fully human, a group that could best be used as servants and slaves to meet the needs and whims of the European conquerors. From the outset, Europeans operated from a mindset that had more to do with the proscribed set of rules and understandings of the world they had left behind in Europe than with the new world and its specific peoples and landscapes (Cronon 1984).

This mindset determined that what they experienced in Europe was civilization and that the people they encountered in the Americas were uncivilized and possibly subhuman. For example, the Spaniards justified their genocide of the native peoples by their attempt to save the souls of the “savages” they encountered. If that proved problematic then the pretext of soul saving was dropped and the Natives were enslaved to harvest the riches that the Spanish took back to Europe. With few exceptions, Europeans were blind to the subjectivity of the peoples they encountered, dominated, and frequently killed (Acuña 2011; P. Deloria 1999).

From the start, Europeans and Indigenous peoples were in an unbalanced power relationship, operating out of radically different needs and viewing their worlds through opposing systems: “Each was guided by different value systems, different systems of logic, different anthropologies, and different mythologies” (Elizondo 1998, xiv). As the European presence expanded their engagement with civilization, Indigenous peoples steadfastly resisted the march across their lands and over their identities. Resistance has been one point of rupture of the discourse of power in the New World.

Added to the power disparity was the racial complexity of the people coming to the New World. The Spanish themselves were a mix of racial and ethnic cultures. Spain had a 700-year history of Jewish and Moorish influence that abruptly ended in 1492 when Isabella and Ferdinand ejected the Jews and Moors in an attempt to unify Spain (Samora 1993).

At the time of Spanish colonization in the 16th century, Spain was importing African slaves into Mexico. As Gómez states: “During the first century of Spanish conquest...there were about as many African slaves brought to Mexico as Spaniards who emigrated there, about 200,000 in each category” (2007, 50). It was not long before Spanish mixed with African and Indian to produce a racially mixed population (Gómez 2007; Samora 1993).

The dominant group, whose ideas and culture have prevailed in the historical development of the American Southwest, has at different times and in varying degrees, been composed of Spaniards and Anglo Saxons, or Anglos. They designated themselves the normative group. Membership requirements for this group were fluid and changed with the times (Gómez 2007; Jacobson 1999). Native peoples, and then Mexicans, have been or are now, the “other”: any group or person classified as “outside” by anyone in the normative group, that is, at the margins of society’s concern. Group membership likely is determined by skin color, accent, and generational position, among other factors (Gómez 2007; Haney López 1996, 2003; Jacobson 1999; Omi and Winant 1994).

When Spanish explorers came to the new world, their vision was one of conquest. The Natives’ lands were usurped, their religion was appropriated, their resources were stripped and sent back to Europe, and even their bodies were overtaken as they sickened by diseases, were sexually commodified or were made slaves. Even so, the Spanish mated with the Natives which resulted in a new group, Mestizos. Through the centuries, Europeans continued the subjugation of Natives as the continent became a political nation. Ironically, the

Spanish and the resulting Mestizo were included in “other” status by the mid- 19th Century land grab, which resulted in the U.S. war with Mexico (Acuña 2011; Meier and Ribera 1993).

That land grab, also referred to as Manifest Destiny, defined a particular ideology. The American west was seen as a site of redemption from the confused and unfinished American identity (P. Deloria 1999). The west was a “symbol of freedom and opportunity in our national consciousness” that “mostly celebrated the achievements of white males” (Limerick 1988 quoted in L. Pulido 1996, 145). Gone from the collective memory was the contribution of women and marginalized “others” such as Natives, Mestizos, Asians, Mexicans and Filipino workers in developing the West.

According to Philip Deloria, from the outset of our nation the discourse of civilization and identity has been a dichotomy: Euro-Americans were “imprisoned...in the logical mind...Indians represented instinct and freedom” (1999, 3). White America wanted the perceived freedom and yet did not seem intrinsically able to construct it for themselves. They relied on the “other” to provide this basic identity of freedom. At stake was the central identity that formed American consciousness. Deloria maintains that Euro-Americans did not have a national identity and so usurped one. Presuming he is correct, this could explain the difficulty White America had with “otherness” and their engagement with the historic struggle between “assimilation and destruction” (5). The young nation’s struggle for identity was made more difficult because of the ambivalence and ambiguity it felt with regard to Indigenous and Mestizo people. The desire to

take over Indigenous lands, and the lands the Spanish had taken, has been a national obsession for the entirety of United States history (P. Deloria 1999; Dunbar-Ortiz 2007; Montoya 2002).

The desire for land contributed to a racial hierarchy to create systems that marginalized and “othered” certain people. According to Gómez: “... both the Spanish and American regimes of colonization imposed a hierarchy grounded in race, and, thus, each heralded a new system of racial inequality” (2007, 50). Under this banner of inequality, a new people emerged.

Making Mexican Americans

Mexican Americans came into being when the United States president James K. Polk responded to the national cry of Manifest Destiny and provoked a war with Mexico. In 1848, after two bloody years, Mexico surrendered under the provisions drawn up in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Mexico lost nearly half of its land base, thus creating the area we now call the American Southwest. This area included California and the New Mexico territory, which then included present-day Arizona, New Mexico and parts of Colorado and Utah, and was home to about 115,000 Mexicans (Acuña 2011; Gómez 2007). The terms of the treaty specified that Mexicans would be granted full United States citizenship and would continue to enjoy private and communal land ownership (Gómez 2007; Montoya 2002). In actuality, the Mexicans were not accorded full citizenship rights and this disparity added to that of questions of racial classification and land disputes. Texas, previously Mexican territory had been lost a decade earlier, but its Mexican population was subject to the same disparities (Acuña 2011).

The U.S. war with Mexico was a signifier of the difficult relationship between the peoples of the two countries for generations to come (Gómez 2007; Montgomery 2002). White Americans racialized Mexican Americans, deeming them unworthy: “the American conquest, as well as the specific violence inflicted by troops and by law, reflected and expressed Americans’ conviction about White superiority and about the racial inferiority of everyone else, including Mexicans” (Gómez 2007, 47). Mexican Americans responded to that hate and violence in different ways and with varying results. Elite Mexican Americans aspired to align themselves with Anglos, but as Mestizos they had little success (Gómez 2007; Montgomery 2002; Samora 1992; Sánchez 1993).

Mexicans attempted to metamorphose from “dirty Mexicans” to a people worthy of citizenship in the period following the Treaty (Acuña 2011; Gómez 2007; Sanchez 1993). In New Mexico, for example, Hispanos invited the Anglos to co-create the Spanish-Colonial myth/history. They created a static but acceptable folk art and folk tradition that concentrated on architecture, the Santa Fe fiestas, artisanal output, and foodways. In California and Texas, a similar transformation took place manifesting in particular locations such as “Old Town Plazas” and Spanish Missions (Acuña 2011; Sánchez 1993).

Los ricos, or elite Mexicans, rejected a Mexican identity. They sought common ground with the Anglos to align themselves against the *pobres*, or *paisanos*. The mutual decision to adopt the Spanish Colonial mythos benefited both the Anglos and upper class Mexicans, while eclipsing poorer Mexicans. The result was that the elite Mexicans were more generally accepted as worthy

citizens, allowing Anglos to capitalize on the romance of the region in promoting tourism and business interests (Gómez 2007).

Anglos were motivated to adopt the Spanish American terminology for several revealing reasons: the term Spanish was more acceptable to Anglo society than the term Mexican, with its implications of Mestizo blood (Gómez 2007; Montgomery 2002). Spanish was equated with European, and that elevated the social standing of these upper class Mexicans. Eventually, this adoption was embraced by the elite Mexicans themselves as a way to distance themselves from their Mestizo heritage. The *Mexicanos* had a stake in creating a more palatable past in order to gain entrée into Anglo society. They transformed themselves into the descendants of noblemen, the elite, not of *Indios*, the unwanted. From the start of U.S. occupation in 1846, when Mexico was still the legal owner of the region, the land and its people have been fought over, used to negotiate the expansion of slavery, and the people denied the rights of full U.S. and state citizenship; in other words, Mexican Americans became defined as second-class (Gómez 2007).

Models of Identity

It was after the U.S. war with Mexico that the dominant Anglo view toward Mexicans shifted from ideas based on differences between them involving religion, culture, and language to differences that were based on skin color and descent. White racial ideology had a number of components. Whites were expanding westward under the banner of “Manifest Destiny,” taking land from Indigenous peoples as a matter of Divine right. Whites believed that dark skinned

people would soon be absorbed into the White population and cease to be a “problem.” Whites cast Mexicans in the racialized terms they reserved for Blacks (Sánchez 1993; Telles and Ortiz 2008). As Dunbar Ortiz notes: “The anti-Spanish and anti-Indian sentiments of the times combined with a basic anti-black racism that pervaded every U.S. institution” (2007, 117). Mexicans were seen as a mongrelized mixture of low-class European Spanish and Native people, too weak to fight for their lands. Mexicans were fit only for servitude not for citizenship; and Whites viewed themselves as naturally superior, fit for citizenship and rule from one ocean to the other (Gómez 2007; Haney López 2003).³

Whites, then, positioned Mexicans, as an inferior race. That inferiority found agency through skin color (Anzaldúa 1999; Haney López 1998). Mexican unworthiness was located in dark swarthy skin, and in the words “greaser” and “dirty Mexican.” Haney López writes, “From the very beginning, ‘greaser’ linked skin color to character” (Haney López 2003, 62). From that position of superiority, it was natural for Whites to regard Mexicans as lazy, thieving, cowardly, dirty, morally bankrupt, and sexually aggressive. The attack on physical features easily led to an attack on temperament, will and character. The U.S. government was and continues to be suspicious of the citizens of this region with their mixed-race ancestry, Spanish language, communal land use practices, and historic Catholic religious practices. For a century, the rest of the country had very little concrete knowledge of Mexican Americans (Haney López 2003). This began to change only when the Mexican American intelligentsia composed of lawyers, politicians,

judges, and writers, developed the networks that later helped support mid-twentieth century Mexican American civil rights activities (Sánchez 1993).⁴

In the early twentieth century, Mexican Americans were legally defined by the U.S. courts as White, although Whites treated them as non-White. Mexican Americans who were lighter skinned and in the middle classes had an easier time assimilating into the dominant society. For lower class and darker skinned people, assimilation was not feasible (Barrera 1979; Gómez 2007; Haney López 1996, 2003; Samora and Simon 1993; Sánchez 1993).

After WWII, during which Mexicans and Mexican Americans served in the military in numbers disproportionate to their population, they expected to receive the benefits that good citizenship and patriotism promised (Acuña 2011). When such benefits were denied, Mexican Americans became increasingly despairing of gaining agency through traditional political means. Because they were unable to assimilate into American society they began to see their predicament in racial terms (Camarillo 1984; Haney López 1996).

The discourse of race identification in this country has created tension and discord. Race is a social as well as a legal construction; those constructed as White inhabit the corridors of power (Haney López 1996,102). Construction refers to a complex social process that determines an intricate hierarchy of privilege. What is at stake in race construction is determining who does and does not qualify for social justice, who is eligible for material gain and who is not, and whose physical characteristics will serve as a code for good moral character and whose will be coded as lazy, stupid or criminal. To be White, free, and male was

and is to occupy one of the highest possible strata in American culture; add material wealth and you were/are at the top of the power pyramid. To be non-White is to occupy the lower levels, particularly in terms of economics (Bell 1992; Bonilla Silva 2003).

The United States is a white country by design (Haney López 1996). The gene pool and physical characteristics of potential citizens were determined by U.S. laws. Laws contributed to the racialization of our country. For instance, laws also influenced the meaning given to our looks, determining what physical features were deemed beautiful and acceptable. Laws also created the racial meanings, including moral character, which were attached to our looks (Bell 1992; Haney López 1996, 182; Silva 2003).

The unrelenting legal and social pressure to define race has resulted in the idea that race does, in fact, exist. People who are not white think of themselves and think of each other in racial terms. They also think of White people in terms of race. But Whites do not think of themselves in terms of racial categories but do racialize non-Whites (Dalton 2008; McIntosh 2008). Theirs is the normative race; their physical features and character traits are the norm, and they do not have to think of themselves in terms of color because they are the norm (Dalton 2008; Haney López 1996; Johnson 2008). The only time White people are likely to think of themselves as White is when they are in the company of large numbers of people of color. According to Haney López, “many White people think that people of color are obsessed with race” (1996, 158). Whites do

not understand that people of color cannot help but expend psychic energy because of the indignities, violence, and insults of racism.

According to Robert G. Lee, writing in *Orientalism*, “Race is a mode of placing cultural meaning on the body” (2000, 2). Stereotypical examples would be yellowface, wide noses, and slant eyes on Asian bodies; and brown or swarthy skin, short stature, and indigenous facial features on Mexican bodies. These cultural tags were constructed at particular moments in history. Lee explains:

Although it mobilizes legitimacy, the cultural hegemony of dominant groups is never complete; it can render fundamental social contradictions invisible, explain them away, or ameliorate them, but it cannot resolve them. However deracinated, whether co-opted, utopian, nostalgic, or nihilistic, popular culture is always contested terrain. The practices that make up popular culture are negotiations, in the public sphere, between and among dominant and subaltern groups around the questions of national identity: “What constitutes America? Who gets to participate and on what grounds? Who are ‘real’ Americans?” (Lee 2000, 6)

Lee carefully differentiates between the meaning of ethnicity and the meaning of race: “In ethnicity, boundaries of difference are constructed as permeable, and therefore ethnic differences are conceived as assimilable, and nonpolluting; in race, boundaries are constructed as impermeable, and therefore racial difference is conceived as unassimilable and polluting” (31). As Laura Pulido puts it, “ethnicity is deliberately and consciously developed” by oppressed people to counteract the many indignities to their personhood (1996, 48). These views of Mexican inferiority continued throughout the twentieth century (Galarza et al. 1969; Grebler et al. 1971).

This, then, was the climate in which Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora reached adulthood and began their careers. These views resonated in the early 1960s when Los Tres met one another. There was a twenty-five year difference in ages between Gallegos and Galarza, with Samora between them, but they each experienced a United States that excluded them. This is the world they entered, which they changed and expanded to include themselves and their compatriots.

In the early 1960s, groups emerged that gave voice to a new Mexican identity far different from the previous model of becoming part of the “American Dream.” The Chicano Movement, as it became known, arose in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement sweeping the country under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr. (The Civil Rights movement was not started by King, but the historical events that led to its origination are not the subject of this dissertation.) The movement’s purpose, supported by student activism, was to “unify Mexican Americans through the creation of an oppositional identity,” that of Chicano (Hames-Garcia 2000, 465).

By the mid-1960s, the notion that Mexican Americans would assimilate into American society was seriously questioned (Haney López 2003). The Chicano ideology took hold because Mexicans were still being treated as an inferior race, and there was “fertile space for a new approach to Mexican identity” (Haney López 2003,157). That new identity challenged the old stereotypes of the “dirty Mexican” and “elaborated a view of Mexicans as noble, cultured, connected to ancient civilizations, humanistic, family oriented and community-minded”

(Haney López 2003, 239). Los Tres were on the forefront of this new view and opened the way for a new generation of Mexicans to counter the constant negative message of inferiority. Through their writing, organizing and teaching, they each helped a generation of Mexican Americans counter the negative self-image that by now had been internalized.

Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora individually were concerned with the deep issues of social injustice and marginalization that Mexicans and Mexican Americans faced in this country. They had experienced discrimination first hand. They saw the effects of marginalization on the youth, farm workers, and students with whom they worked and Los Tres were moved to make every effort to rectify the social injustice. Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora, through their research and through their activism to bring forth the Southwest Council, sought to bring Mexican Americans to the attention of mainstream America. They sought national conversations about Mexican Americans in much the same way that conversations about Blacks and their concerns were beginning to shape policy discussions in the late 1960s. The trio sought to challenge the ideologies that had viewed Mexican Americans as unworthy and as a “problem” since the 19th century (Gomez 2007, 17). Their approach honored cultural values and practices familiar to Mexican Americans and deemed these practices acceptable for citizenship . Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora, in acknowledging the cultural differences Mexican Americans brought to the table, celebrated the bilingual and bi-cultural world-views in their writing, scholarship, teaching, and organizing (Gallegos 2009). The methodologies I use to investigate their work validates their

unique approaches to proving Mexican Americans worthy of full inclusion in American society.

Methodology/Critical Approaches/Theoretical Frameworks

For Los Tres, theory had to have meaning, practicality, and substance; it had to change lives. Los Tres did not name the theoretical frameworks they practiced. To tell their story I engage the theoretical frameworks that most resemble their methods: the epistemologies of Chicana feminists, American cultural studies, and folklore. The theorists I examine engage race and storytelling in their critical analysis, broaden the definition of what is considered data, incorporate spirituality as an integral part of the educational process and view emotions and feelings as evidence of intellectual activity. These theoreticians call upon our American culture to recognize and accept all who call ourselves American. This scholarship challenges the delimiting institutional systems that refuse to allow full inclusion and equity for all.

I am uncovering what are now referred to as alternative research methodologies. Los Tres employed very similar methodologies to gather and interpret the data they presented to the Ford Foundation to justify the Foundation's financial support. These methodologies were derived from their own families' consejos and dichos that each so strongly honored. Using scholarship and activism they made space for Mexican Americans within the dominant culture without compromising their Latino culture and ethnic capital. They harnessed philanthropic interest and support from the Ford Foundation for Mexican American concerns at a time when Ford was giving large sums to

Historical Black Colleges. Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora honored their cultural teachings as they engaged mainstream institutions. By making their community-based public service methodology more broadly known, my dissertation connects the historical origins of this pedagogy to an earlier generation. The three leaders created an organization that focused on the development of leaders and on empowering communities to overcome political and economic marginalization.

This scholarship is useful in understanding how the three scholars conceptualized transformational leadership and how they employed it. They supported leadership development by creating connected groups across diverse cultural, economic, and social structures. I use these particular theoretical frameworks to understand the three scholars' work because the theoretical models echo so closely how each man lived and the way they worked. Honoring the validity of their own standpoint, their own subjectivity, their own stories, and their own culture, Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora anticipated future scholarship that employs these ideas.

Chicana Feminist Epistemologies and Methodologies

I posit that Los Tres developed an inclusive epistemology, that is, they redefined knowledge by and about Mexican Americans as valuable. Viewed through Chicana feminist scholarship, this knowledge validates the perspectives of mixed race peoples, the unique standpoint of their experience and the multiple sources of knowledge that inform and explain that experience. This scholarship employs multiple methodologies across disciplines and is inclusive rather than exclusive. Los Tres valued the difference that Mexican American communities

brought to the national conversation and they demonstrated the importance of that difference.

Working within the boundaries delineated by Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora, I conceive that the relationship among the men, how they valued their separate and group knowledge, their love for one another, and their love for their fellow Mexicanas/os, provided them with more than the usual drive to pioneer new territory. They developed an epistemology for transformational leadership that can be examined under the light of epistemologies developed by Chicana feminist scholars. I employ Chicana Feminist scholarship to examine Los Tres, three men, because this scholarship validates the cultural practices of Mexican American families and authenticates the Mexican American experience as worthy of study. Chicana scholars acknowledge the perspectives of mixed race peoples, the unique standpoint of their experience and the multiple sources of knowledge that inform and explain that experience. This scholarship employs multiple methodologies across disciplines and is inclusive rather than exclusive. By examining the work of Los Tres through this lens, I am able to articulate their efforts using the language and criteria developed by the Chicana feminist scholars. I view their methods as honoring and valuing the information they collected on their site visits. They valued the difference that Mexican American communities brought to the national conversation and demonstrated the importance of that difference to the national conversation on civil rights.

Chicana scholars teach students that their home experience can be a source of knowledge that enriches what is learned at school. Chicana

epistemologies validate what is learned at home and challenges mainstream school practices that teach that school knowledge is objective, historically accurate, and universal (Rendón 2009). Claiming their space in the academy, Chicana scholars write about sometimes giving up their home space, denying their lived experience, and placing themselves outside of their home communities (Godinez 2000). Samora, and then his students, faced similar struggles against the regulated and policed halls of the academy.

In her article, “Theory in the Flesh” (2003), Aida Hurtado examines an epistemology of the brown body, which she terms an *endarkened epistemology*. The main components of this epistemology are revolutionary when viewed through the normative academic lens. Hurtado calls for revising what we consider data, incorporating spirituality as an integral part of the educational process, and conceptualizing identity as multi-dimensional and multi-positioned. Hurtado challenges the penchant of the dominant culture to disallow multiple identities, such as the presumption that an intellectual cannot also be a community activist.

Hurtado asserts that women in the academy, particularly women of color, are border crossers, and that in claiming that space on the border they insist on working from new paradigms, new epistemologies and new methods with which to conduct their scholarship: “They claimed fragmentation and hybridity not as a methodological development or as an intellectual intervention, but as best representing their lived experience. Theory, they claimed, should not come from written texts only, but from the collective experience of the oppressed...” (215). Arguing for the legitimacy of *multiple sources of data*, Hurtado recognizes poetry,

song, journals and performance as evidence of intellectual activity (217). In a similar vein, Galarza and Samora worked to provide resources to emerging Chicano Studies departments. They also challenged the university hierarchy to accept the experience of their Chicano students as “counting” toward certain graduate degree requirements. Their efforts are discussed in Chapter Six.

Gallegos and Galarza, I argue, brought a spiritual perspective to their organizing, and Samora brought a spiritual context to mentoring. I contend that the spiritual aspect allowed them to continue their work against all odds.⁵ Bringing attention to the spiritual aspects of their endeavors helps shed light on the unique perspective of those endeavors. The spiritual aspect helps define their tenacity, their strength, their perseverance against the dominant culture. Feminist epistemologies value the spiritual journey, the recognition of spirit in human endeavor (Anzaldúa 1999; Castillo 1994; Hurtado 2003; Rendón 2009). A spiritual recognition is at odds with the scientific lineage of the academy. Just because we have no models for a spirit-filled look at academics is no reason to exclude it (Hurtado 2003, 218).

Feminists of color deconstruct by constructing new theories and new methods. To deconstruct the experience of being marginalized without the hopeful attitude of constructing something in its place would be dispiriting and counterproductive: “To claim victimhood would inadvertently reinforce the hegemonic belief in people of color’s inferiority and inability to assert agency” (218). Los Tres constructed models of leadership in their collective and separate

endeavors. This dissertation details those constructive endeavors in the subsequent chapters.

Gloria Anzaldúa asserted her agency by starting, with others, her own press to publish works by women of color. Julian Samora accomplished something similar. He took the real experience of being marginalized by the academy and created spaces for his students and himself and others to create their own academic arena. He infused the Notre Dame Press with Ford Foundation funds to create a Chicano press, which enabled many authors to publish who had not had the opportunity before. Among them was Dr. Ernesto Galarza, whose book, *Barrio Boy*, is still in print, forty years later.⁶

Writing in *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1999), Anzaldúa introduces several terms to help her explain the experience of being a *Mestiza* in an Anglo world. These terms help me explain the dynamic vigor with which Los Tres engaged that Anglo world. *Mestiza* Consciousness, she says, breaks down the “subject/object duality” (102). The secret to healing the divide between male and female, white and colored is to heal this duality. Anzaldúa hoped that the healing would end violence to women from this racial, ideological, cultural and biological cross pollinization. In the second edition of *Borderlands*, Anzaldúa is interviewed by Karan Ikas, who asks Anzaldúa to explain *Nepantla*:

Nepantla is a Nahuatl word for the space between two worlds: It is a limited space, a space where you are not this or that but where you are changing. You haven't got into the new identity yet and haven't left the old identity behind either – you are in a kind of transition....It is very awkward, uncomfortable and frustrating to be in that *Nepantla* because you are in the midst of transformation. (Ikas 1999, 237)

Her theories center on how people construct their reality. *Nepantla* helps explain

being caught in between two ways of thinking and two ways of being. Anzaldúa wrote that being Mexican American involves the transfer of cultural and spiritual values of one group to another. In developing the methodologies for transformational leadership, Los Tres dealt with this duality by holding dear their cultural practices and validating the cultural practices of their students.

Much of my research comes from the investigation of the three archives left by Los Tres. An important question arises: how is the information in these archives disseminated? Who speaks for Los Tres? How is the information they assembled to be heard? Emma Perez, in *The Decolonial Imaginary* (1999), pushes the limits of historical narratives. She asks questions important to my project: what happens if there are no archives – if the players have nothing to leave? Where do we look for archives? Ethnographers, oral historians, and others listen for unheard voices in the interstitial spaces – look for spaces in the archives that can reveal the untold stories. Perez calls this the third space. Perez asks: who has been left out of history? The archival process itself is institutionalized and presided over by custodians who do not necessarily question whose stories are being collected. Decolonial is the space between colonial and post-colonial, although Perez says we are not yet in a true post-colonial moment. The space is inhabited by voices silenced by colonialism.

Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora viewed knowledge very differently from the formal and acceptable protocols employed by the mainstream, for example, schools and universities, government hearings, and book publishers. They sought out the wisdom of the agricultural worker, the undocumented person

incarcerated in a holding cell ready to be deported, the women working in factories. They sought validation for the cultural wisdom and knowledge already in practice by Mexican Americans. As they developed community leaders, Los Tres validated community wisdom.

Ana Castillo introduced a number of concepts in her book, *Massacre of the Dreamer* (1994), that help me understand the work of Los Tres. Chicana feminist epistemologies help us to analyze how knowledge is created and validated. For Castillo, an emotional reaction is valid and can be wisdom. She says that we know things without having to cite references. This knowledge is expressed in care for self, community, and family. We recoup the past- our history and experiences- in caring for our minds, bodies and souls.

Gallegos had poor Black parents appointed to elite San Francisco commissions to share their perspective and wisdom about helping the African American communities.⁷ Galarza interviewed farm workers in the fields for information he needed to assess the *bracero* program, deciding not to rely on the bureaucrat- supplied information.⁸ Samora taught his students to value their cultural upbringing and view their family teachings as a source of strength.⁹ Castillo's work is situated within Chicana feminist politics, and outside of Western tradition (Elenes 2006). It is experiential and autobiographical, the voice of a poet. Castillo's work is useful to articulate the work of Ernesto Galarza because he too, employs a poet's voice. In Chapter Three I discuss his poetry. His work as a labor organizer is more well known, but I see an important opportunity to understand Galarza's leadership ideas through his poetic imagination. His poems

reveal the toll on his family and marriage that his life's work took, a toll that is not in the books about his fight against Agri-business. Galarza's poetry speaks to the loneliness of his life's choices. This honesty informs in meaningful ways how difficult the path can be if one chooses service over another life-style.

Because Castillo journeys through uncharted terrain, she calls her work "critical essay" rather than strictly academic work, and she uses a variety of methods - academic essay, autobiography, personal narrative. She does this to call attention to the distinct type of writing she produces, so different from Western thought production. Alejandra C. Elenes calls it an "outlaw narrative" (2006, 109). Galarza was a community scholar with no formal academic home and Galarza's writing can also be understood as "outlaw narrative."

Gallegos and Galarza were active outside the academic culture. They paid attention to "ordinary" people who were ignored by the mainstream. Castillo says that ordinary Chicanas can provide a well-articulated analysis of the limiting conditions and constraints under which Chicanas play out their lives. Castillo explains that one need not be an academic to be able to provide this information because the analysis comes from the lived experience (Elenes 2006, 114). Gallegos and Galarza validated lived experience in their routine work. Samora validated his students' lived experience within an academic setting. "Ordinary" people are often ignored, Castillo cautions, but their analysis is nonetheless sound. Los Tres, through transformational leadership epistemologies, sought out the wisdom of the "ordinary" person. Los Tres, using techniques now recognized as Chicana Feminist theories, validated constructing multiple identities and

demonstrated through their leadership strategies how to resist the meta-narratives of the dominant society.

American Cultural Studies

The second lens through which I investigate Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora is cultural studies. George Lipsitz outlines a theory of inquiry in his essay “Listening to Learn and Learning to Listen” (1990) that invites scholars “to hear the voices” (615) that have been historically silenced and “understand the spaces and silences surrounding them” (615). By including scholars like Los Tres, his theory substantially alters the methodology traditionally used in cultural studies. Lipsitz explains that the new European cultural theory rejects the meta-narratives that grew out of the Enlightenment in favor of recognizing the multi-tangled voices uncovered through feminist studies, ethnic studies, gender, and queer studies among others. Lipsitz recognizes and details the specific elements that contribute to our changing culture. He posits that the “specter” of European cultural theory has revolutionized the study of culture and charges American Studies scholars with engaging this theory as we tackle the very real “social, cultural, and political problems” (616) facing our nation and our world.

Lipsitz examines European cultural theory as it critiques the toolkit of cultural studies to help us move from the theoretical to the concrete in effecting social change. Citing the “crisis of representation” (617) as one of the challenges to cultural studies Lipsitz explains that, “cultural texts are inescapably part of social processes and that social processes are themselves always textualized in some form” (617). Lipsitz urges culture workers to “listen” so that we may be

better able to engage “dominant ideology” and intervene at the “specific sites where it may be articulated and disarticulated” (621). Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora are “heard” through this dissertation. Their ideas and achievements are brought into focus, examined and critiqued as texts from the Chicano Movement.

Culture is a constructed, fluid, boundary-less social force. José David Saldívar (1997) and James Clifford (1988) approach the concept of culture in unique ways and demonstrate how each approach affects the social order. To draw on Lipsitz’s phrase, both authors show how culture is “articulated and disarticulated” in relationship to politics, nation, and popular culture.

In his chapter, “Cultural Theory in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands,” Saldívar (1997) examines culture as a social force unbounded by national, political, or social boundaries. He invites American Studies cultural workers to re-center the discussion to include the border (here I refer to border in the broadest possible meaning) with its myriad marginalized groups struggling between definitions of “‘everyday’ culture and ‘high’ culture, and between ‘people with culture’ and people ‘between cultures’” (17). Examining texts, art, and music, Saldívar looks at culture and the many ways to interpret and engage culture in this postmodern era. In his examination of Renato Rosaldo’s *Culture and Truth* (1989), Saldívar celebrates Rosaldo’s ability to see culture in broad brush strokes: “Rosaldo...redefines culture as encompassing ‘the everyday and the esoteric, the mundane and the elevated, the ridiculous and the sublime. Neither high nor low, culture is all pervasive’ ...Rosaldo complicates culture by repositioning it as a critical multicultural ‘borderland’...” (21).

Drawing from Rosaldo, Saldívar also stresses the daily aspect of culture and how that differs radically from a traditional Anglo-centric view, which isolates culture from formal education. Saldívar's methodology is grounded in action and meaningful "cultural practices" that emphasize the need to educate the next generation.

In his book, *The Predicament of Culture* (1988), James Clifford deconstructs the very notion of culture as he interrogates the old model of ethnography, long the venerable method used to "collect cultures." It is a model that created systems of power and hierarchy rather than reports of systems. Ethnographers of the "old school" wrote authoritative accounts and used a method of collection that did not recognize or acknowledge their own impact on the very cultures they studied. Disallowing polyvocality, which interrogates the monolithic and homogeneity in culture and language, the old model replicated the homogeneity in Western culture. Clifford tells us that the authority of representation is the predicament of culture. He asks who has the authority to speak for a group's identity and what are the boundaries of culture? Referring to his book, as a "spliced ethnographic object" (1988,13), Clifford presents the reader with a collection of essays "written ...from within a 'West' whose authority to represent unified human history is now widely challenged...Thus ethnography appears as writing, as collecting, as modernist collage, as imperial power, as subversive critique" (1988,13). Clifford challenges the static model of ethnography referring to it as "the science of cultural jeopardy" (1988, 147) and uses fragmented models in its stead, models that are multi-vocal, chaotic,

haphazard, and surreal. Clifford investigates collage, bricolage, and the ambiguities of a postmodern aesthetic in an effort to interrogate how the “self” clashes with the “other” in ethnographic encounters. While Clifford is eloquent in calling for a new way to do ethnographic work, and while he recognizes that the colonized are now part of the contact zone and are no longer silent, he is silent about the role gender plays, and has always played, in ethnographic scholarship.

According to David Gutiérrez, “...cultural syncretism has been a prominent feature in zones of American/Mexican interaction since the early nineteenth century, ... the predominance of non-Mexicans in the demographic mix tended to push Mexican cultural practices to the margins of American society” (2004, 69). Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora opened up cultural spaces for Mexican Americans to be viewed as citizens who contribute to the legitimate fabric of this country. They did this through their writing and through their active engagement with the institutions of government and philanthropy. By insisting that Mexican Americans were worthy of full citizenship, they challenged the reigning assumptions that Mexican Americans were to be relegated to the margins (D. Gutiérrez 2004; Martinez 2003). Clifford, Rosaldo, and Lipsitz offer critiques of those very mainstream American assumptions against which Los Tres worked.

Folklore

Folklore, understood as customs, stories, rituals and traditions, is a useful lens through which to look at disparate cultures. Mythologies explain the origins of cultures and human existence; and these stories validate and justify the status quo. Folklore serves to teach the culture to the young, conforming mores and

accepted patterns of behavior. It expresses disapproval and approval of behaviors. Folklore can serve to maintain the stability of the culture: "...folklore enables human beings to deal with the repressive nature of the dominant culture" (Georges and Jones 1995, 189). Groups distinguish themselves from one another through the competition for space, and folklore can serve that manifestation (193). Because the three scholar/activists valued their cultural mores and celebrated their rich cultural traditions, folklore is an appropriate methodology with which to study their contributions.

Folklore is not static, it exists in urban as well as rural settings, and it articulates a worldview, which we all "pick up" in early childhood. Folklore is in fact a logical way to study the "broad contexts of cultural production and reception" (Lipsitz 1990, 621). In his book, *The Dynamics of Folklore* (1996), Barre Toelken tells us that "[t]he historian may see in folklore the common person's version of a sequence of grand events already charted; the anthropologist sees the oral expression of social systems, cultural meaning, and sacred relationships; the literary scholar looks for genres of oral literature, the psychologist for universal imprints, the art historian for primitive art, the linguist for folk speech and worldview, and so on" (1). The field of folklore is notable for its variety of approaches in the recognition of and the study of "contexts of cultural production" (1).

Folklorists study performance, material culture, expressive culture, and group culture. In so doing, the definitions of "high art" and "low" or folk art fall away and all cultural production becomes worthy of study. Toelken states that,

“Folklore surrounds us all the time and it is so enmeshed in all we do and say that we seldom take the opportunity to regard it separately” (1996, 347).

Folklorists can be particularly adept at “exploring the spaces and silences” (Lipsitz 1990, 616).

As a study of human interactions, folklore engages culture theoretically. According to Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, culture is a concrete belief that lives and breathes in the minds and hearts of its members. A “vital culture is one in which persons devote their psychic energy through continual cultivation and in return are given a broader conception of themselves” (1981, 232). Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora each valued their cultural teachings and I demonstrate in the following chapters how each honored that upbringing through “continued cultivation.”

-Rituals and Traditions in Folklore

Rituals are the ceremonies or performances that enact deeply held beliefs, sometimes created by a group, sometimes passed down through the generations. Rituals signify changes in status, or the state of things, and often celebrate life stages like birth, death, retirement and the milestones in between. They are dense with meaning, signifying the group’s deeply held beliefs, values and identity (Sims and Stephens, 2005, 95).

My mother and father created rituals that validated the life experience of the students in the Mexican American Graduate Student Program at Notre Dame while passing on to us, their children, the family traditions and sacred teachings. Ritual is composed of many forms of folklore: verbal expression, art, visual

culture, and material culture including food, costumes, clothing, repeated patterns, or performance. The annual fall barbeque, the blessing before Thanksgiving dinner, singing Las Posadas at Christmas were all reminders of home for both my parents and the students. My mother's pot of beans and stack of tortillas was an ages-old welcome like any other cultural ceremony.

Ritual includes stylized and contextualized symbolic actions that help a group act out, celebrate and acknowledge its values, identity, and beliefs (Sims and Stephens, 2005, 95). For my parents, rituals were built out of the everydayness of their lived experience; ceremonial depth their students readily welcomed as reminders of home.

"Rituals are outward expressions of inwardly experienced values, beliefs, and attitudes" (Sims and Stephens, 2005, 96). They make the hidden and intangible tangible and expressed. Rituals have structure, but they can be flexible and dynamic and open to change and innovations. The values celebrated and enacted are important to the group to commemorate. In this way, the ritual reinforces the group's beliefs and common values. Everyone agrees implicitly that the group shares in the sense of common identity and importance through the act of the ritual. Samora's students organized an event unlike any Notre Dame had seen before when he retired. They held a three-day symposium at Notre Dame, presenting their current scholarship and honoring their mentor and teacher. This constitutes a ritual of its own.

Group members agree upon the set of values and beliefs to be reinforced; the ritual teaches and demonstrates these beliefs. Ritual is both static and

dynamic within groups, employing symbols and metaphors to function for the belief to be celebrated or imparted (Sims and Stephens, 2005, 96). Galarza wrote eloquently in *Barrio Boy* that his mother provided a sense of security as they journeyed North during the Mexican Revolution, through certain repeated and comforting rituals. She would open their cedar trunk and, no matter what kind of encampment they were in, the scent would invoke his first home in Jalcocotán, Nayarit .

According to Sims and Stephens, tradition is a cultural understanding of a shared process or text, from generation to generation or between and among current members of the group. Tradition may be created to express common beliefs. Tradition expresses and builds group identity. Tradition is a vital, dynamic feature of the culture of the folk group (2005, 64-65).

Tradition is both lore and process, and is essential to the process of folklore. Tradition refers to several related concepts: the lore of folk groups and the process of communicating that lore, which implies a sense of continuity; repetition helps establish continuity and defines what is important to the group. “Tradition incorporates space as well as time, since we share traditions from group to group, person to person, place to place – in the present – across and within groups” (Sims and Stephens, 2005, 66).

Tradition helps to shape and confirm a sense of identity since a group decides what traditions match their sense of identity in the present moment. Margaret Yocum observes that women make the handing down of traditions possible, as they are often the keepers of the stories, recipes, and knowledge

about process. In the subsequent chapters, I explicitly detail family traditions that enabled each of the men, as they grew up, to shape their ethnic and cultural identities (Hollis et al. 1993, 119-129).

-Telling Our Stories for Group Belonging

Storytelling is an element common to the three methodologies I use to investigate Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora. It is particularly salient in the fields of Folklore and Feminist Epistemologies. Chicana feminism and women's studies embrace personal experience as a way for women and other marginalized people to understand and construct knowledge. Telling one's story helps marginalized people overcome the "distortion and invisibility" (Elenes 2000, 106) of their experience of multiple forms of oppression. Knowledge is produced and constructed and transmitted through that feminist pedagogy.

Employing *situated knowledge*, an embodied knowledge, we use what we know of the self, our experience within our communities and our interpretation of those experiences to bear on our scholarship. Storytelling builds community, provides a rich oral legacy, and transmits the culture of the group (Elenes 2000, 107). Through story, subaltern women gain authority and agency to counter the hegemonic view that they cannot be the knowers in any community. They turn what they know into cultural citizenship of space and group.

Rayna Green (Hollis et al. 1993, 1-8) set about developing theory out of her own family history. She focused on who was telling the stories and whose agency mattered. By examining her grandmother's performances of storytelling, Green developed questions that were answered without resorting to obscure,

patriarchal definitions of folklore. In her analysis of her personal folklore, she developed challenges to the established protocol simply by including women in the conversation. In much the same way, by including Mexican Americans in the established practices of scholarship, Los Tres changed the national conversation.

In establishing her theoretical framework, Green questioned why no one had interviewed “ordinary women” (Hollis et al. 1993, 2). Had the scholars accepted the traditional male-dominated characterization of who was worthy of study, leaving out a rich source of performance and material expression? According to Green, “...theory is intended to pose interesting questions, not give final, for-all-time answers” (Hollis et al. 1993, 2).

Green insists that feminist folklore scholars are reexamining performance, and other folklore genres and helping to reclaim and name “those who found themselves outside the boundaries of definition, of meaning itself” (Hollis et al. 1993, 5).¹⁰ She equates the interview with a product like a pot or chant. Her work must include practicality and common sense. Her work must matter in the lives of other human beings. “I had to locate myself in what I was writing” (Hollis et al. 1993, 8) she says. “...this really matters, for all our abilities to negotiate creative survival. If the art matters, our form of caring about it must also matter” (Hollis et al. 1993, 8). Similarly, Los Tres wanted their work to matter, to change lives, to make things better for all Americans.

When I was a child, our family moved frequently as my father took new academic posts. In each new school, I was automatically placed in the bottom

reading group and by the third day I always worked my way up to the first group. The story I told myself was about being smart enough to eventually rise to the top of the heap. It was not until I examined that particular story in a class on racism that I realized that no teacher ever bothered to test me before relegating me to the lowest group. Had I been tested, I would have proved myself sooner and taken my rightful place in the top group. In a classroom setting I was able to examine and deconstruct that story and understand it for what it was; it was not a story of triumph, but rather one of marginalization. But that is not the end of the story. Borrowing from Hurtado, I was able to deconstruct that incident and many others I have experienced. I was better prepared to deconstruct situations in graduate school that were meant to marginalize me and literally silence me. Creating a space to talk about race, class, ethnicity and gender is difficult in our society, even in the relative freedom of a university, but in collaboration with other graduate students and a few teachers, I have been able to construct a new story. The end of this story, then, is that I no longer allow anyone to marginalize or silence me. Power comes from examining my own story.

There are many examples to draw from when demonstrating the healing power of telling one's own story in one's own voice. Each of the disciplines in my investigation contains a storytelling component. This is not coincidental. All people have demonstrated benefit from inclusion in this epistemology:

This new way of doing things includes rethinking what is meaningful and what has spiritual resonance. Finally one might reach the level of what we have called cosmic goals. Here one perceives objective relationships between the self and the wider patterns of practices like one's occupation or craft, art, music, or religion. Now the possibility of meaningful actions expand geometrically...Motivated

by a broad enduring set of goals, the self is no longer dominated by the needs that have shaped it thus far. It can take on the challenges and responsibilities of freedom and use meaning to fashion a new world in which to live. (Csikzentmihaly and Rochberg-Halton, 249)

This is what Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora set about doing. They employed their ethnicity, among other things, to create a methodology for service.

Like Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora, feminist folklorists use an interdisciplinary approach. They bring sociology, linguistics, anthropology, and popular culture to the interpretation of folklore. Sharing disciplinary fields has led scholars to creative insights, multiple perspectives, an epistemology of people marginalized and “othered,” and the recognition of the subjectivity of both the field worker and the people observed. Further, a feminist approach has led to the legitimizing of multiple perspectives, working in collaborative ways and the realization that men can take a feminist approach.¹¹

Feminist folklore scholars look for ways women use their marginal status to creatively undermine the prevailing system. Women invent traditions that signal the appropriateness of a “new way of doing things” (Young 1997, 294). This “new way of doing things” includes rethinking what is meaningful and what has spiritual resonance. This is what Samora so ably set about doing. He employed his and his students’ ethnicity to contribute to the creation of a new scholarship for a people.

Gallegos, Galarza and Samora used scholarship as well as their grass roots ties to obtain the resources to start the Southwest Council of La Raza. Ruth Chance, the president of the Rosenberg Foundation, invited Dr. Paul Ylvisaker, then the Vice President for Urban Affairs at the Ford Foundation to attend the

utilization conference to review Samora's *Forgotten Americans* (1966). Ylvisaker asked Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora to undertake a comprehensive regional study about Mexican Americans for the Ford Foundation. This study, conducted in 1966, was published in 1969 as *Mexican Americans in the Southwest*. Gallegos and others had approached Ford previously for help in funding Hispanic causes, but Ford did not have program officers or the infrastructure to adequately assess the requests. *Mexican Americans in the Southwest* provided that knowledge base. Ford and other foundations did not have research data about Mexican Americans and had seen them as a fragmented population. Ford seriously questioned whether Mexican Americans possessed the intellectual leadership to implement a project should they be awarded funds. The study conducted by Los Tres provided a context for Ford to understand the Mexican Americans' increased militancy and the civil rights agitation. The study confirmed that Mexican Americans demonstrated intellectual leadership and the cohesiveness Ford was looking for. The political energy of the activists, "the boots on the ground," combined with the intellectual analysis of their study convinced Ford to take a chance on funding this new organization. By combining scholarship with community organizing techniques, the Southwest Council was launched.¹²

Chapter Two: From the Barrio to the Boardroom -Herman Gallegos

I'd rather be seen as an individual who knows about urban issues, housing, education...and not as a single issue individual because I happen to be Hispanic, There are many more qualified Hispanics...who should be asked to serve.

- Herman Gallegos

Early Years

Very early in his life Herman Gallegos was introduced to both governmental and private sector philanthropy (“charity,” as it was called in the 1930s) that influenced his later work as a philanthropist. Born into the Great Depression on June 25, 1930 in Aguilar, Colorado, Gallegos remembers standing, at age six, in line with his mother to receive food packages from public assistance agencies (Gallegos 1989). He would carry the packages home in his wagon feeling the humiliation of needing the government handout. In 1939, when he was nine years old, Gallegos lost his leg above the knee in a train accident. Gallegos was resigned to using crutches to aid his mobility when his school principal contacted the Crippled Children’s Society. The Society deemed him worthy of their help and he was fitted with a \$125 prosthetic, which they paid for and which his family would never have been able to afford. The experience restored his dignity, and mobility, enabling him to learn to roller skate, ride a bicycle, and eventually to drive a car (Gallegos 1989). The difference between the two experiences, one of humiliating public assistance and the other of restorative private sector charity, informed Gallegos’s later work as one of the very first Latinos to serve on philanthropic boards. Gallegos developed an acute sensitivity to and awareness of pursuing pluralistic solutions to society’s

problems, and a deep commitment and understanding for the role government can play in providing a crucial safety net for individuals and families where needed.¹

This chapter traces the training Gallegos received from his family, from his engagement in community organizing, and from his education and later work as a social worker. I investigate the specialized training that enabled him to form the bases for his ideas about inclusion and equity, leadership development, mentoring, and development of marginalized communities; it was these ideas and ideals that empowered his participation in the formation of the Southwest Council of La Raza and his subsequent work with philanthropic boards. A focused theme of social justice informs all of Gallegos's public activities. His life's work, furthering responsible social change and promoting a more just and equitable society, provides a model for leadership that I present in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

Gallegos's parents were both born in Las Animas County, Colorado; his mother, Rose Ursula Ceballes, was born in 1909 in Hoene and his father, Elmer Amado Gallegos, was born in 1903 in Lynn. Each of the Gallegos and Ceballes families homesteaded ranch lands in the Trinidad, Colorado vicinity in the early 1900s.² The region of Southern Colorado in which they lived was rich in coal deposits (Montoya 2005). At the same time that the two families were establishing their ranchitos, the pastoral countryside was being turned into "a scene of bustling industrial activity" by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CFI) (quoted in Duetsch 1987, 87). Both sets of Gallegos's grandparents had

been born into a stable Hispano society, the landscape dotted with small villages, their economic and social community life centering on the village plaza (Clyne 1999). By 1914, CFI had forever changed both the human and physical landscape (Nogare 1988). CFI hired miners from many different nations, including people from Mexico and Eastern Europe (Montoya 2005, 207). By 1902 the “mines held representatives of thirty-two nationalities who spoke twenty-seven languages. Aguilar, ...Colorado [home to the Gallegos family] had been a tiny Hispanic village in the mid-nineteenth century. Fifty years later and surrounded by miners, it had quadrupled” (Deutsch 1987, 88).

In a 2009 interview,³ Gallegos described the hardships both sets of grandparents faced in making a living on their ranches and selling their crops locally. The mining companies had strict regulations and rules governing the mining towns, including who grew food for the company store (Clyne 1999; Deutsch 1987; Nogare 1988). The mining companies surrounding their ranches built planned communities including schools, churches, saloons, pool halls, and community centers, with the intention of regulating the lives of all who lived in the region. The towns were built on a grid, eliminating the village plaza, the heart of village life. They also tore down adobe homes, which had central courtyards, thus eliminating meeting places the company could not regulate (Deutsch 1987; Montoya 2005). In direct response to the changes in their community life, Hispanos, where they could, clustered in adobe homes outside of the company towns. “While moving them from the center to the margins of what had been their community, these clusters could maintain...informal visiting and social rituals

which had been fostered and reinforced by the physical environment of the village, with its connected houses, kin next to kin. Inhabitants of these Hispanic enclaves, however, retained but a tenuous hold over their livelihood” (Deutsch 1987, 90).

Ignoring state and national regulations, the mining companies enjoyed almost complete economic domination of the region (Clyne 1999, 22; Stein and Taft 1971). The Colorado Supply Company was the store chain that controlled all purchases within the camps (Clyne 1999; Nogare 1988). Miners were paid in scrip, “the currency of payment redeemable in goods at the company store” (Deutsch 1987, 91).⁴ The store kept track of all extraneous charges including dues, fuel, equipment, etc., taking it out of a miner’s pay beforehand. Further, store managers had the discretion to decide to whom to extend credit (Nogare 1988, 131). Then Colorado Senator, Edward P. Costigan, “summed up the outcome in this way: ‘The motto of large industrial concerns, especially in Las Animas and Huerfano Counties, might be expressed in two words, ‘We rule!’ asserting ownership of land, courts, schools, houses [and] churches...’ In the struggle over who would define the new types of community emerging on this frontier, Hispanics found their resources far outmatched” (Deutsch 1987, 92). Gallegos detailed how his paternal grandmother, Madre Sulita, would enlist her sons to load up the wagon and sell various crops under a bridge at night to the miners. Had either seller or buyers been caught they would all have suffered serious consequences from the mining companies.⁵ State and local law enforcement, judges, and lawmakers were controlled at worst, or heavily

influenced at best, by the mining companies. The companies employed thugs and hired guns to enforce their restrictive policies (Nogare 1988; Stein and Taft 1971). Given the lack of funds to hire a lawyer, and the absence of community advocacy groups, the Gallegos family would have had no recourse through legal means if they been caught and beaten by the thugs.⁶

Another constraint to making a living from ranching was the region's harsh environment. In his article, "Unsettled," Charles Peterson offers a glimpse into the realities that faced the early homesteaders: "But given how the Homestead Act worked in practice, with only a third of settlers gaining title to their claims, and most of these 'stickers' drifted off by drought within a generation, a better analogy might be the book of Exodus" (Peterson 2010, 30). Remarkably, Gallegos's maternal grandparents' land is still in the family.⁷

A defining event for the two families was the Ludlow Massacre, which occurred on Monday, April 20, 1914. In an effort to assert control over their lives, the miners began a strike on Tuesday, September 23, 1913, after many fruitless months fighting for recognition of the United Mine Workers as their bargaining agent. While the miners wanted better housing conditions, shorter hours, and higher wages, the strike was also "a revolt by whole communities against arbitrary economic, political, and social domination by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and the smaller coal companies that followed its lead" (Stein and Taft 1971, 15). By the turn of the last century, CFI was the most powerful and largest coal and steel company in the Western United States. The company had built its own railroad line to handle the iron ore and coal deposits that extended from

Wyoming to New Mexico (Montoya 2005, 206). The company had become so powerful that it controlled the company towns down to the selection of the ministers and schoolteachers. Considerations such as worker safety, adequate schools, health facilities and grocery and choices in the general stores only interfered with taking out the coal and making money for the owners (McGovern and Guttridge 1996). It was a classic “industrialist versus labor” dispute. In a secret buyout, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. became the principle shareholder in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.

The striking miners were evicted from company housing and they set up thirteen tent colonies near various mines, including a colony on public property in the town of Ludlow, Colorado using tents provided by the union. Working across ethnic lines, the miners organized themselves against the CFI. In addition to local Hispanos, the miners came from many countries, including Mexico, Greece, Poland, Italy, and Slavic countries. Women, in particular, were establishing networks across cultural and ethnic lines within the tent colonies. “The tent colonies survived by cooperation and mutuality, and away from the company structures and institutionalized life, different, older processes of community formation appeared” (Deutsch 1987, 105). Gallegos’s paternal grandmother would bake bread and send a wagon filled with bread and “other foodstuffs they could spare” to the miners in Ludlow to help out the strikers’ families.⁸ Gallegos told me that Madre Sulita sent weekly deliveries of food to the miners.⁹

Seven months into their dispute with the striking miners, the CFI called on the governor to bring in the Colorado Militia and the Baldwin Felts Detective

Agency. The agency brought an armored car with a machine gun (The Death Special) mounted on the roof. Starting about 10:00 AM the rounds of machine gun fire commenced. The men ran into the hills hoping to draw fire, but the shooting into the tents continued (Deutsch 1987; McGovern and Guttridge 1996). The machine gun fire ravaged the tents and the entire encampment was destroyed. By the end of the day, at least 45 people had died, among them two women and eleven children who had burned to death when they were pinned down by gunfire and were unable to flee the trenches once the tents were set ablaze. The colony had a tent used as a women's infirmary and a trench had been dug inside that tent for storage. When the fighting started the women and children took shelter in the trench to avoid the machine gun bullets, only to be trapped once the tents were on fire.

Gallegos's parents were impressed with the workers' willingness to fight for their dignity even if it meant death. As he remembers:

My parents never forgot what happened at Ludlow and it was part of our family lore about the brutality of what took place there and [they] have always been champions for the working person...As I grew up, stories about Ludlow remained very much in the forefront of discussions we would have about justice... when I got involved in helping to fight for justice for farm workers and other groups, my parents understood that and I was well motivated by the fact that workers and common ordinary folks could end up doing extraordinary things by organizing.¹⁰

Both of Gallegos's parents were deeply affected by the economic hold that the mining companies held over Southern Colorado. Their families' ability to make a living from their lands was severely compromised. His parents viewed the miners and their families as nothing but heroic and they held them up to their own children as exemplary role models.

One of the results of the strike and the negative public sentiment levied against John D. Rockefeller Jr. was his dramatic commitment to philanthropy through the Rockefeller Foundation.¹¹ Although the Foundation did not relieve the poverty endured by the miners in Colorado, it did serve to strengthen Rockefeller's social conscience. The Rockefeller Foundation would play a significant role in Herman Gallegos's adult life.

Coalmines were a central theme in Gallegos's early life. Las Animas County is situated in the rich coalfields in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and work in the coalmines was a source of income when ranching and farming became too difficult (Montoya 2005, 206-207). Gallegos's father, Elmer, Sr., began working in the mines in Berwind, Colorado when he was 15 years old. Some years later, he met Rose Ursula Ceballes and they soon married and moved to Aguilar, Colorado. Elmer Gallegos worked in the coalmines in and around Aguilar, and Rose worked as a hotel maid in another mining camp in nearby Berwind. Their first two children, Elmer, Jr. and Herman, were born in Aguilar.¹²

The mining companies destroyed the fabric of Hispano life in Southern Colorado (Clyne 1999). Because of economic hard times affecting the mining families and continued labor strife, life became very difficult for the Gallegos family. As a result, the family left Colorado for Terreros, New Mexico, where Elmer, Sr. found work in the mines. While in New Mexico, he built a log cabin where Gallegos's sister, Dorothy, was born. After Elmer Gallegos, Sr. was diagnosed with the early stages of black lung disease, the family left New Mexico

for East Los Angeles. In 1936 when Herman was six years old, the family moved to San Francisco.¹³ Deutsch explains that with life disrupted by the mining companies and with little autonomy for their own lives, families began to migrate: “These Hispanics looked ...to cities and towns, and to the network of kin that connected them” (1987, 106). This is precisely what the Gallegos family did. As Gallegos explained: “Life in Southern Colorado was very harsh...Little by little, everyone left the area and migrated to California. Most of my father’s family ended up in San Francisco. Most of my mother’s family ended up in Los Angeles.”¹⁴ Gallegos’s paternal grandfather lost his ranch during the Great Depression because he was unable to pay the \$16.00 property tax.

Gallegos remembers that the move from the poverty of rural Colorado to urban life in San Francisco gave the family a degree of hope that their economic situation would improve. All around them were the riches that city life had to offer: “sidewalks, clean water, flushing toilets, streetlights, police safety, [and] public health...we felt that we had gotten rich overnight just simply because we could walk on sidewalks instead of in mud.”¹⁵

As mentioned previously, Gallegos lost his leg in a childhood accident. On his way to confession one Saturday afternoon in August of 1939, young Herman stopped to play with pals at the railroad yards. He was playing on the tracks and was unable to get out of the way of an oncoming train. He was nine years old when he lost his left leg above the knee. His parents worried about what kind of life he would be able to make for himself since the kind of work he would be able

to do was limited. After two operations, Gallegos was resigned to life on crutches when his school principal intervened, opening up his life chances considerably:

In school, I managed to play with the other kids and with the new prosthesis I really forgot that I had any kind of disability. I recognized that there were other disabilities that one faces in life and one experiences those through discrimination and exclusion...¹⁶

Even at that young age, Gallegos realized that the experience of discrimination could set one apart as if it were a kind of disability.

Gallegos spent a great deal of time alone with his mother as he recuperated from the two surgeries. This led, he said, to a “special bond” and a relationship of “confidence and trust” with his mother that was very sustaining for him. Gallegos recalled that when he was 14 years old, his older brother was verbally assaulted by a clerk at the grocery where the family traded. Elmer, Jr., who was nearly 16 years old, was so affected by the insult that he came home crying. Wondering how they were going to respond to this incident of racial discrimination, Gallegos’s mother came up with the solution:

My mother said very quietly, “We’ll show them.” She instructed us to ...go a block and a half ...to another grocery store but on the way back we would carry our groceries in front of the store that insulted my brother...to show our displeasure with the way my brother was treated. So I would take my turn, limping up and down the street carrying groceries, with the knowledge that what we were doing was a protest against something that wasn’t right...I think the lesson for me was that this ability to make change in a very quiet way was something that I always remembered...My mother showed the power of a dignified approach to change that was an immensely important lesson for me.¹⁷

In the end, the wife of the storeowner apologized to the family and offered Elmer, Jr. a job at the store. Gallegos absorbed this important lesson of quiet protest and relied on it in adulthood where it helped shape his work for social justice.

Gallegos's father provided a different model for him. Always a hard working provider, Elmer Gallegos, Sr. went to night school to learn welding and blueprint reading.¹⁸ This demonstrated to Gallegos how important education is to advance oneself. Elmer Gallegos, Sr. belonged to a union and served as shop steward for many years until he retired. Young Herman enjoyed listening to the radio with his father. They listened to President Roosevelt's fireside chats and they loved to listen to the heavyweight fights, particularly when Joe Louis was fighting. Elmer Gallegos, Sr. demonstrated to his son a lifelong interest in politics and community involvement. When the two Gallegos brothers got paper routes and sold magazines, "we would bring journals and print into the house and my father...[read] about national affairs. He was very interested in politics to the very end and always voted..."¹⁹ He also was the patriarch for his family, serving as the respected elder who could help straighten out a wayward youth, or provide advice and guidance when asked. Elmer Gallegos, Sr. modeled both responsibility and nurturing for his immediate and extended family.

Elmer Gallegos, Sr. was happy that he had moved his family away from the poverty and discrimination of rural Southern Colorado. He was not sentimental about his roots and did not remember his youth fondly. When his grandchildren asked him about the "good old days," he responded, "No, I don't want to talk about it, there was nothing good about the 'good old days.'...When there are signs that say 'Mexicans and dogs not allowed' and... they don't treat workers right and ... you're abused and you lose your land ...you can't sell your products"²⁰ The move to San Francisco resulted in Elmer Gallegos, Sr. being

able to support his family economically and emotionally while making a social contribution through his union work. He and his wife grew old with the satisfaction that their children had been raised with a social conscience.²¹ “My dad was a miner, and given the whole struggle of workers to make a living, the whole issue of human rights, the issue of rights of workers, the dignity of workers was very much a matter [of] constant discussion in my family” (Gallegos 1989, 24).

Herman Gallegos took this model into the public and national realm. The lessons he learned at home became the basis for his life’s work.

Because of his injured leg, Gallegos was never going to be able to perform physical labor. He needed to prepare for other kinds of work. Elmer Gallegos, Sr. knew the value of an education and he encouraged his sons to go beyond high school. His sons knew, however, that there would be no financial support and that they would have to manage that on their own.²² Elmer Gallegos, Sr. encouraged their entrepreneurial skills. Besides selling newspapers and magazines, the Gallegos brothers shined shoes and looked for other ways to add to the family income and to save for schooling (Gallegos 1989). High school was marked by violence: the violence of the Zoot Suit Riots²³ during the war years and an increase in urban gang violence (Leonard 2006). Gallegos sharpened his intellectual abilities; as he continued his education he noticed that, “While I was raised in a very diversified neighborhood, the fact is that the city had not been adjusting too well to this massive impact of racially and culturally diverse people. I think these conflicts that I mentioned, the Zoot Suit Riots and gang fights, were evidence of that inability to resolve that conflict” (Gallegos 1989, 27). The

experience bolstered his interest in working with diverse groups of people for common cause.

After high school, Gallegos went to college, even though there was no money for it and his high school teachers had discouraged it. In fact, his teachers had suggested he take typing and become a secretary. His brother had enrolled in college ahead of him but his education was interrupted by a stint in the Army to serve in the Korean War.²⁴ Gallegos was seventeen years old and in college with men who had gone to war and were on the GI Bill. "...I found myself in college with older men. They were on the GI Bill and could devote their time to studying. They were very good students and more mature than I was. I was still somewhat young" (Gallegos 1989).²⁵

He went two years to San Francisco State and then transferred to San Jose State after two of his major professors were forced to leave their positions when they refused to sign loyalty oaths. One in particular, Dr. John Beecher, "...was the first one who got me to learn how to ...think about thinking...It was good to have a professor who encouraged me to appreciate my own insights, thinking, and judgment. He gave me confidence in my own abilities" (Gallegos1989, 30). As a result of the uproar on campus, Gallegos felt that he had to leave San Francisco State.

An Education from the Community Service Organization

In 1951, Gallegos transferred to San Jose State and worked in a gasoline station to make ends meet. The station was located in an area known locally as *Sal Si Puedes*, which translated means Get Out If You Can. Gallegos met a

number of people in San Jose who helped shape his ideas and gave him a means of expressing his desire to become more politically involved. He met Fred Ross, a protégé of Saul Alinsky, the labor organizer, and later he met and worked with Alinsky himself. Ross was a field agent for Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation. Alinsky had established the IAF to help communities who had asked for organizing help (London and Anderson, 1970). Alinsky had developed certain essential community organizing tenets. Among them were: "no decision-making by outside élites; no demagoguery, bombast, or empty threats; rather, a long series of small meetings in private homes, gradually joining in a larger structure. When the time came for a confrontation with existing structures, the power would be real, not merely theoretical, and could be channeled overnight into picketing, boycotting, sitting-in, voting the rascals out, or other appropriate forms of action" (1970, 145). Alinsky cautioned against the dangers of organizing people to reflect the organizer's image (Santow 2007). Gallegos remembered Alinsky saying that, "real organizers have to go in and work with the people where they're at...not from where you're at" (Gallegos 1989, 44). This approach was particularly effective in helping Mexican Americans in California to organize around common cause (Horwitt 1989, 520).

Ross had been invited to speak at San Jose State by one of Gallegos's professors. Ross was telling the class about the community organizing he was involved with in East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights, and someone asked why he wasn't organizing in *Sal Si Puedes*. After a tour of the barrio, Ross asked

Alinsky to support his idea to organize a second Community Service Organization (CSO) chapter, this one in San Jose (Gallegos 1989).

The Community Service Organization was an organization that appealed to both the emerging middle class and the poor Mexicans and Mexican Americans (Garcia 1991). Understanding how it operated provides insight into the training Gallegos received while working with this committed group. According to the 2010 film, *Organize! The Lessons of the Community Service Organization*,²⁶ there were many people involved at the start of the CSO. “Influenced by leaders such as Saul Alinsky and Fred Ross, more Mexican Americans began to think of community organizing as a path toward democratic participation” (Acuña 2009, 250). Among them are people who later went on to distinguished careers in politics or education, and others whose renown stayed more local or disappeared altogether: Louis Zarate, Gil Flores, Gil Padilla, Hector Tarango,²⁷ Gil Padilla,²⁸ Edward Roybal,²⁹ Alex Zermano, Frank Ledesma, Juan Marcoida, Al Pinion, Jennie Diaz, Sally Gutierrez, Lucy Rios, Helen Delgadillo, Anna Chavez, Rita Medina, Sandra Rios, Cecilia Sanchez, Carmen Fernandez, and Marion Graff (Organize 2010). This recognition also affords me an opportunity to name people who have gotten very little acknowledgement for their contribution over the years.³⁰

In 1947, Edward Roybal ran for a seat on the Los Angeles City Council. He lost by a wide margin. His friends and supporters organized to help him with his next campaign. He won his seat in 1949, and he served the City of Los Angeles, the first Mexican American elected to that body in seventy years, until

he ran for Congress in 1962 (Garcia 1991). The CSO was established as a non-partisan organization and built its reputation of empowering communities of people “through the promotion of civil rights advocacy, neighborhood improvement campaigns, citizenship classes, classes in basic English, voter registration, and get out the vote campaigns.”³¹ It is important to note that although the membership was primarily Mexican and Mexican American, membership was open to all and there were substantial numbers of African American, Euro American, and Jewish members (Gallegos 1989; London and Anderson 1970). After the Roybal loss, the group realized the need for a broad base of Mexican American registered voters and they began conducting voter registration drives. This became one of their most important activities. As they became focused on voter registration, the CSO strove to be non-partisan (Horwitt 1989; London and Anderson 1970).

The CSO was successful in changing the manner in which potential voters could be registered. Previously, one had had to register at the courthouse, and many people found this intimidating. The CSO petitioned the City of Los Angeles to be able to register voters from a variety of venues. As soon as the petition was granted, the CSO were registering large numbers of Hispanics after Catholic Mass on Sundays, at local businesses in the neighborhoods of East Los Angeles and Boyle Heights, house to house, on street corners, and in many other local meeting places (Horwitt 1989; London and Anderson 1970).

The CSO effectively politicized the community of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in Los Angeles after WWII. CSO organizers soon realized

that many people they encountered wanted to vote but were not citizens of the United States. The CSO translated the citizenship guide published by the Daughters of the American Revolution into Spanish. Then they set up citizenship classes conducted in Spanish and in English to help people gain the right to vote. CSO members held classes in school classrooms, in private homes, and in community centers. The teachers were volunteers trained by CSO volunteers. They were people who received the training then went on to train others. As Cruz Reynoso³² put it, “We built citizens from the ground up” (*Organize!* 2010).

One of their most effective organizing techniques was the house meeting (Horwitt 1989), attributed to Fred Ross Sr. (*Organize!* 2010). The organizer would enter a neighborhood and gain the trust of one person or family, who would then invite friends and neighbors into his or her own home. The invitees would hear about what they could do to change their own neighborhoods with their own initiatives. People would then hold their own house meetings and soon a broad base of people would have gathered to talk about the particular issues in their neighborhoods. Later a general meeting would be held to discuss ways that the local people could help solve the problems they had identified. General meetings could attract as many as 600 to 700 people (London and Anderson 1970).

According to *Organize!*, “The Community Service Organization was a grassroots organizing effort that empowered a generation of Mexican Americans and marked the beginning of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement.” The grassroots group tackled such issues as police brutality and securing city services in their neighborhoods. “Between 1947 and 1956, the L.A. Community

Service Organization conducted 35 investigations of police misconduct” (Acuña 2011, 251). The CSO taught ordinary people how to be citizens of this country. They brought lawsuits against school districts that were not providing adequate education for their children, and they initiated legislation that helped people fight discrimination in housing, employment and education (Horwitt 1989).

In the film, *Organize!*, Fred Ross, Jr., himself a community organizer, illustrated how powerful the link was between the organizer and the community. He acknowledged that his father had been hailed as the originator of the house meeting, CSO’s most effective tool (Horwitt 1989). In actuality, according to Ross, Jr., it was a Mexican farm worker who suggested it to Ross, Sr. Ross had been going door to door and the Mexican farm worker asked if it wouldn’t be easier on Ross and more effective if he (the farm worker) invited his neighbors over and Ross could speak to them all together? Ross, Jr., closed his remarks by saying that the CSO taught love for one another. Love had brought people together, he continued, and enduring love had kept people going in the face of seemingly insurmountable difficulties.

The CSO effected many social and political changes within Hispanic communities in addition to registering voters (London and Anderson 1970). It provided a venue for women to bring real change to their own communities. Women held the house meetings, ran the offices out of their living rooms, modeled active citizenship to their children, and empowered one another. Sally Gutierrez recalled using her living room as the CSO office, and Cecilia Sanchez remembered making tamales to sell at the dances held to raise money to support

their causes. They were just as active as the men in writing the lesson plans for the citizenship classes and teaching those classes. Marion Graff, a Spanish teacher, translated the citizenship lessons into Spanish and helped run the lessons off on the mimeograph machine. The CSO was a vehicle for promoting citizenship issues. People learned valuable community and organizing skills; they learned to interview officials; they learned how to bring brutality charges against the police; they learned to bring justice to their barrios; and they learned that together they had an effective power base (Burt 2004; Horwitt 1989).

Herman Gallegos began working with this successful grassroots organization as it organized a second chapter in California, this one in the barrio of *Sal Si Puedes*.³³ Gallegos began his community activism as a volunteer speaker at house meetings while he was still in college. Just after graduating in 1952 from San Jose State with a degree in Liberal Arts, Gallegos was elected President of the East San Jose CSO chapter, and Cesar Chavez was elected its First Vice President. Gallegos worked as a social worker by day, and knocked on doors in the evening registering voters and taking the pulse of the neighborhoods. Gallegos learned to ask questions during the house meetings to learn from the residents just what the problems were in the neighborhoods. In this way, the issues were coming from the people themselves and solutions would come from the people, too, not from the top down. After many house meetings had been held and a number of committed people identified, the leadership would hold a general meeting. In East San Jose, the CSO got permission from the school board to hold its general meetings at a local school.

As many as 600 people typically attended the general meetings in *Sal Si Puedes* (London and Anderson 1970).

Gallegos learned to evaluate and assess situations and people from his work with the CSO, and in particular from Fred Ross, Sr. Gallegos remembers that Ross spoke about critiquing every meeting and learning from the mistakes as well as the successes, “We didn’t do this ourselves. We learned from each other. We learned that we hold an action, we plan, and we evaluate it” (*Organize!* 2010). In this way, Gallegos was building valuable leadership skills and contributing to the training of other leaders.

There were many difficulties faced by the members of the CSO. Throughout its history, they faced criticism that their activities were suspiciously un-American. Members faced accusations of being Communists. McCarthyism contributed to an Anti-Hispanic atmosphere (Burt 2004; Horwitt 1989). Their supporters, particularly the parish priests, were scrutinized and harassed by their superiors. Law enforcement was often vindictive to the local members and their families when police brutality claims were pressed.

Eventually the CSO, with leadership from Gallegos and others, established 44 statewide charters, and ultimately the CSO went national (Gallegos 1989). In 1954, Gallegos was elected the First Vice President of the national CSO and then became its President in 1959. Under his leadership, the CSO lobbied the state legislatures to end discrimination in housing and employment practices and to effect public policy changes:

As a direct result of CSO efforts, two major pieces of legislation were enacted. Old Age Security benefits were extended to first-

generation Mexicans even if they had not become naturalized citizens; and the state disability insurance program was extended to agricultural workers (London and Anderson 1970, 146).

These were two very important social gains for Mexican and Mexican American workers in California. The latter meant that for the first time, agricultural employers had to make precise reports to the State of California about who worked for them and for how long, “information basic to the ultimate stabilization of the farm labor market” (1970, 146). This proved useful to those working to eliminate Public Law 78 that had created the *Bracero* Program (Galarza 1956).

In the 1950s, Latinos were about 80% urban in California, and the CSO was addressing problems in city neighborhoods (D. Gutiérrez 2004). There was recognition that rural workers needed advocates, too (Horwitt 1989, 520).

Gallegos met Ernesto Galarza in California sometime in the early 1950s, but does not remember exactly where or when:

[A]s I began my organizing experience in '52, I'd already heard about Ernesto from Fr. (Don) McDonnell and from Ross and Alinsky because they knew about Ernie and the work he was doing with the farm workers struggles. Along the way we connected...about the whole issue of the *Bracero* Program...He had just a superb reputation long before I had actually worked with him. I really didn't begin working with him until we got involved in trying to end the *Bracero* Program. (2008 V, 10)

Galarza had been working with farm laborers in California,³⁴ and the CSO had formed chapters of the CSO Farm Labor Committee in a number of California rural communities (Horwitt 1989). Gallegos worked with both Ernesto Galarza and Cesar Chavez in the early 1950s when both the CSO and Galarza were organizing farm laborers. Galarza, Gallegos observed, though not as well known as Cesar Chavez:

... set out a lot of the groundwork and the rationale and the basis for such organizing. He also managed to set forth the whole idea of organizational integrity; ...He felt that the people he worked with should ...never be manipulated, nor should important information ever be withheld from them. Ernesto was a principled, wonderful human being. Both of them are. But working with them very intensely over the years has certainly given me an appreciation of how any movement needs both intellectual visionaries like Galarza and good nuts-and-bolts, charismatic people like Cesar. (Gallegos 1989, 42-43)

Gallegos provides insight into the leadership style employed by Galarza. His assessment of Galarza is a valuable addition to the small body of knowledge about Galarza, the person.

Even as Gallegos and Chavez led the CSO into the rural areas, a rift was forming within the membership between people who wanted the CSO to continue addressing farm worker issues and those who did not (Horwitt 1989, 520).

Finally, in 1961, the membership voted to return to its urban focus and both Gallegos and Chavez broke with the CSO (Gallegos 1989). For Gallegos, whose activism for and with the CSO had informed his adult work life this was a “traumatic break” (Gallegos 1989).

By the mid-1960s, the new Great Society programs of President Lyndon Baines Johnson created jobs that many of the CSO volunteers found they were well trained to take, thus diminishing the volunteer base and leaving the CSO understaffed. At its height, the Community Service Organization had strong coalitions with Jewish, African American, and Anglo leadership. Gallegos learned from working with these coalitions of people and was able to transfer skills.

Professional Life

Gallegos earned a Master's in Social Work from the University of California at Berkeley in 1958 when he was twenty-eight years old. He had won a John Hay Whitney Opportunity Fellowship in 1955 that paid the majority of his expenses. Looking back, Gallegos felt that the Whitney Foundation was "really interested in... bringing students in that would do something in a practical way with their education. I think I made the case" (1989, 51). One of the efforts he made to "do something in a practical way" was to investigate his own cultural experience. "...[W]hen I was in graduate school at Cal, I wrote a paper...built around Mexican families and what they were going through [in] child-rearing...So, the professor in the class liked it so much he said, 'Would you mind giving a lecture to several of my other classes on this subject because we don't have any of this kind of material?'"³⁶ Gallegos further commented that throughout his graduate school experience there was a dearth of materials and books that explored other ethnic and racial experiences.

Earning the fellowship meant that he could devote himself full time to school, an opportunity that allowed him to develop his intellectual capacity more fully.³⁷ His studies permitted a rigorous investigation into many methods of organizing communities for social welfare in addition to what he had learned and put into practice with the CSO. As he remembers, "...[T]hey didn't really teach Alinsky...there was no discussion about how organizing takes place under his aegis versus a social planning council, where you are organizing for services for the broad community" (Gallegos 1989, 50). Gallegos was learning other ways to

organize communities and to work with communities in a broader context. Just before he graduated, Gallegos was offered a job by Alinsky, organizing for the Industrial Areas Foundation in Los Angeles. After much soul searching, Gallegos turned his mentor down. Alinsky, according to Gallegos, was furious at the refusal (Gallegos 1989). Knowing that he could never be another Alinsky, Gallegos explained, "I think that I need[ed] to be myself. If I got anything out of school, it was that...People must have a chance to grow at their own pace, and not try to be what somebody else wants you to be" (1989, 48). Although it was a difficult decision, Gallegos never regretted his choice. "I do think that I had to... look at the world beyond Saul Alinsky...which I learned to appreciate when I actually worked through those kinds of community organizing experiences. I always felt that I was solidly rooted in at least one method [of] ...effective leadership."³⁸ Gallegos has termed that method "transformational leadership," and it will be fully discussed further in the final chapter of this dissertation. Gallegos left graduate school with more completely developed ideas about organizing communities and promoting leadership. He would put his previous experience, his scholarship, and his firm commitment to work for social justice into play during the rest of his career.

From 1958 through 1964, Gallegos brought his skills to bear in a number of social service programs. The San Bernardino County Council of Community Services had a community development grant from the Rosenberg Foundation and recruited Gallegos while he was still at Berkeley. The project Gallegos directed offered, in a rural setting, services that were already in place in urban

areas. The project was to explore the differences in how services could be delivered over “twenty-two square miles of land” in the Victor Valley desert (1989, 51). It was here that Gallegos met Ruth Chance, the executive director of the foundation that funded the project. This meeting led to a very fruitful relationship for them both (Chance, 1989).

Gallegos left that job for the Fair Employment Practices Commission in San Francisco, where he worked as the liaison for the commission to provide educational information about anti-discrimination legislation that affected the public. He then went to the San Francisco Youth Opportunity Center, an interagency Job Training Program based in the African American ghetto of Hunter’s Point. This project was funded in part by the Ford Foundation. As Gallegos remembers, “I met Paul Ylvisaker while working on a Ford Foundation supported program in San Francisco. Paul asked, ‘What was a Mexican American doing working in essentially a program for blacks?’ I replied, ‘Ford does not fund programs to help Mexican Americans.’”³⁹ This was Gallegos’s first opportunity to talk about the lack of support for Mexican American projects with the National Affairs Director from the organization that he would later work with as a consultant and as a trustee.

The common thread woven throughout these jobs was that many of the constituents served by these programs were African Americans, and critics questioned whether Gallegos would over-identify as an Hispanic and be unable to cross ethnic and racial lines to provide suitable services (Gallegos 1989). As Gallegos recalled:

[A]s I got into my work, the director approached me... and said, 'Look, I've been noticing that you've been spending a lot of time with Mexican American groups and taking on some of the issues that they're concerned about...I'm concerned you may be over-identifying with this community.' I said, 'Well, that's very interesting, Jack, that you're a member of Kiwanis and Lions and Rotary and ...you don't seem to be bothered that you're identifying with white people...how can you accuse me of over-identifying when you're going to all-white organizations?'⁴⁰

Gallegos never saw himself as a "one issue Hispanic," a criticism sometimes levied at him by officials who were suspicious of his abilities to work effectively with people outside of his ethnic group, and Gallegos fought hard to bring services to all of his constituents (Gallegos 1989).

What Gallegos brought to the table was a wealth of experience living and working with ethnically diverse peoples. Beginning in his early childhood, the miners his father worked with and whom Gallegos knew were from many ethnic backgrounds. In fact, the lack of a common language was one of the reasons the mining companies recruited from many countries: it hindered unionization (Montoya 2005; Stein and Taft 1971). The neighborhood in San Francisco where Gallegos grew up was also ethnically diverse, as were the public schools he attended. Gallegos also fought the established order by hiring Hispanics for programs that typically hired Anglos to serve African Americans (Gallegos 1989). In his conversations with the program officers from the Rosenberg and Ford Foundations, he was frequently questioned about his interest in working with African Americans. His typical reply was that he wanted to serve underrepresented communities and if the foundations would serve Hispanics then he would work with that population as well. But in the early 1960s no foundations were interested in the Hispanic population. As a result of the Civil

Rights Movement African Americans were receiving support, but not the Hispanic population (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1990).⁴¹

Gallegos's work with African American youth of the Hunter's Point-Bayview Youth Opportunities Center in San Francisco illustrates the particular skills he had developed: listening to his constituents allowed him to provide meaningful services. Juvenile delinquency was on the increase in 1964, and San Francisco hoped to take a proactive stance in addressing the problem (Eisner 1967). The San Francisco Committee on Youth, funded by the Ford Foundation,⁴² the Department of Justice, and the Manpower Development and Training Act:

was part of a national research and demonstration project testing the 'opportunity theory' that improving the employability and job placement of youth living in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods would help to reduce delinquency. Local agencies included, United Way, the public schools, the police department, the welfare department, housing authority, Hunters Point Boys Club, Bay View Neighborhood Center, and State Department of Employment.⁴³

This committee established a job-training program for African American youth. The city of San Francisco hoped to reduce juvenile delinquency by training youth for jobs (Gallegos 1989).

As Gallegos explained the project, there was a disconnection between what the city had in mind and the reality of the youth at Hunter's Point. "While we had 1,800 youngsters that registered the first year, the placement factor and the training were difficult because the only kind of jobs that one could train young people for were office-type jobs..." (1989, 69). What is more, these jobs required at least an eighth-grade reading and writing level and these young people simply did not have this level of skill. It became clear to Gallegos that his constituents

wanted blue collar jobs and some of the youth had police records that had to be dealt with before they were employable. The parents of the young people were upset because they felt their children had been set up for failure. All these problems seemed designed to sink the new project.

But Gallegos employed his listening and organizing skills and found out what the parents' concerns were, what the youth wanted, what the limitations of the agencies were, and what kinds of jobs were available. Gallegos also came to understand that "[t]he problem...was that the executive director (Gallegos) of the Youth Opportunity Center was only a coordinator, and not a full-fledged operating officer. There is a difference" (1989, 70).⁴⁴ His task, then, was to cut through the bureaucracies of the various sponsors to provide usable services to the youth and their parents. Gallegos began a remedial reading and writing program, found police officers to sponsor the students on probation and to speak on their behalf with potential employers. He then went to the California State personnel office to get them to change service providers' work hours, making them more flexible so that the program could schedule after-hours and weekend services. Perhaps the most important change Gallegos made was to get several of the parents and residents from Hunter's Point appointed to the San Francisco Committee on Youth. In this way, the residents could become directly involved in policy and become their own advocates (1989). Gallegos set about to create a structure to fit the people involved, a very different program than had been conceived of by the San Francisco elites.

Ultimately, while some agencies took advantage of the freedom to experiment with new ways to serve youth, most agencies resisted institutional change to their traditional practices and policies. Moreover, other structural constraints, such as the chronic unemployment of parents and the change away from the blue collar work that had traditionally provided opportunities in the apprenticeship trades, proved to be beyond the scope of the San Francisco Committee on Youth and what it hoped to accomplish.⁴⁵

Gallegos was ready to involve himself in an effort that would effect structural changes. That effort was the founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza, which officially opened its doors in February of 1968 with Gallegos as the first executive director.

Gallegos met Julian Samora in 1964, in Washington DC when each of them went to meet with Sargent Shriver, then the head of the Peace Corps, to discuss high level appointments within that organization. Gallegos tells the story that he had gone to Washington with no serious thought of accepting a job with the Peace Corps, but rather intending to use the trip as an opportunity to lobby Willard Wirtz, the Secretary of Labor, against Public Law 78, the law that created the *Bracero* Program during WWII:

This was a program for the recruitment of manual laborers from Mexico for employment in the United States in agriculture and railroad maintenance. Midway through my interviews, I met with Sargent Shriver, head of the Corps, at which time I gratefully declined pursuing whatever opportunities he had in mind. He seemed to understand when I explained that my greater commitment was to continue seeking justice and equity here at home. Walking down an empty hallway on my way out, I spotted someone I had not met before, sitting quite relaxed on a bare, grey-colored government desk, his back to the wall, left leg bent and left

wrist resting on his knee. As I approached, we nodded and introduced ourselves. His name was Julian Samora. Little did I realize then how much we had in common, or that the friendship that began at that moment would last for years to come. I asked Julian if he planned to join the Corps and he shook his head, laughed and replied, “Nooooo.” I mentioned my pending meeting with Secretary Wirtz regarding Public Law 78. Julian expressed his knowledge of the issue and suggested we meet later to get better acquainted. So, following my meeting with Secretary Wirtz, we got together in Julian’s room at the hotel where the Corps was putting us up. I was immediately impressed with Julian’s sense of humor. On spotting several mushrooms sprouting from a corner of the hotel rug, he asked, “Just what kind of a ‘high level’ appointment did they have in mind?” (Gallegos in Pulido, et al. 2009, xiii-xiv)

One of the things the two men held in common was that each was a recipient of a John Hay Whitney Fellowship.⁴⁶ They found that they had many common bonds that began with their passion for social justice for all people.⁴⁷

Into the Boardroom

From the 1970s until his retirement, Gallegos worked to further open the doors of both foundation and corporate support for Latino causes. In addition to his consultant work with the Ford Foundation in the 1960s, Gallegos was a director on the board of the Rosenberg Foundation from 1973 to 1979; elected to the board of directors of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph in 1974, and for thirty continuous years to successor Telecom boards until he retired from what is now AT&T in 1994; he was director of Union Bank of California for twelve years; he was appointed to the board of the Student Loan Marketing Association by President Jimmy Carter; and he was a consultant for Hallmark Cards, Broadcast Advisory Group starting in 1986. Gallegos served on a number of philanthropic boards, including as a trustee of both the Rockefeller and the Rosenberg

Foundations. He was a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation from 1979 to 1989, a trustee of the San Francisco Community Foundation and served from 1989 to 1993, and he served on the California Endowment as well as several other philanthropic boards.

In 1983, with Luz Vega-Marquis and Elisa Arévalo, Gallegos co-founded Hispanics in Philanthropy (HIP), a not-for-profit formed to address many of the challenges Gallegos dealt with as a Latino trying to gain entry into the world of philanthropy. “It’s not enough to ...appoint a diversity committee at the university level. We’ve got to have a diversity person on the corporate staff” (Gallegos 2008 IV, 26). HIP is dedicated to increasing Latino representation on philanthropic boards, on staff and in grant making. Based on his experience serving on many boards, Gallegos strongly believes that board diversity increases the knowledge base from which decisions are made, potentially making those decisions better decisions. HIP is now promoting board diversity nationally and internationally.⁴⁸

The three HIP founders recognized that Latinos were underrepresented in all levels of philanthropy, from staffing and board representation to grantees. They saw philanthropy as a “vehicle for promoting social justice and for tackling the challenges facing Latino communities.”⁴⁹ The purpose of the organization was to increase the Latino presence at all levels of philanthropy. Starting with about \$50,000, the organization has increased its assets to about \$35 million and serves as a bridge between Latino communities and other foundations. The level of Latino involvement is still too low, according to Gallegos, but his efforts have made a huge difference in the outcomes of many projects.

Gallegos wants to make very clear that other than the California Endowment, he was the “first person elected to serve as a trustee or director who happened to be Hispanic.”⁵⁰ He was responsible to all shareholders and stakeholders that he served, that he was not elected as a constituent director.⁵¹ In most instances, there were no Latinos on the administrative support staff or working as program officers. He had no models or mentors to suggest ways of dealing with difficult issues. For example:

...when I was elected to the board of the phone company... white people [asked], “How did you get on this board?”...I noticed that I seemed to be the only one getting that question. At first I tried to explain that I had this kind of experience, I’m certainly prepared for that kind of assignment...And it was a troublesome ...because I didn’t have any peer, any Hispanic who had gone through the same thing that I could talk to and say, “How do you respond?” ...So next time I was asked I said, “Well, the first time I was elected to the board I received 197 million shareholder votes--that’s how I was elected to the board.” One of the last times I was asked that question, years later...I said, “Well, I received 3.5 billion shareholder votes, that’s how I got on.” So there was this dilemma...It was troublesome to them, obviously, that they see a brown face in a place where only white faces dominated.⁵²

Gallegos’s savvy as an organizer came to the surface as he quickly employed those skills of listening, doing his homework to understand the issues and he responded with confidence and skill.

He had much broader interests than being the token Latino on the board. As a Rockefeller Trustee he served on key committees, including the Finance Committee, Nominating Committee and Special Board Committees. As Gallegos remembers:

It was a privilege to sit on the Finance Committee with such brilliant minds as Paul Volker, James Wolfenson, Bob Roosa, Michael Blumenthal, Cyrus Vance and others. This association and knowledge gained helped immensely on my service to other boards

as well. Among my best achievement was the Foundation's adoption of an external affirmative action policy and guidelines requiring grantee organizations to demonstrate diversity within their foundation boards and staffs. Later, I was also instrumental in having the San Francisco Foundation and the California Endowment adopt a similar policy, a benefit not only for Latinos, but for other marginalized groups as well.⁵³

Gallegos wanted to help Latinos enter into this elite world, of course, but he also wanted to avoid being pigeonholed with the assumption that he was *the* Latino spokesperson.

At the Rosenberg Foundation, he was one of the few directors "who had been at every end of the foundation's table" (Gallegos 1989, 103). In this way, he was sensitive to every aspect of the process. As Gallegos remembers:

For its size, the Rosenberg Foundation is one of the most preeminent foundations in the United States. The trustees are uniquely talented, each Executive Director exceptionally skilled, especially in the courteous and generous way all applicants are treated. The Rosenberg Foundation was among the first foundations to recognize the plight of economically poor and marginalized Mexican Americans in California, and accordingly made important grants to assist that group. The Foundation also pioneered by electing me as one of the first Latinos to serve on a foundation board, thereby opening the conversation for such change to happen again.⁵⁴

Through his experience at Rosenberg and in subsequent years of working both in private and corporate philanthropy, Gallegos developed very specific criteria for grant-making: he always asked about the makeup of the staff and constituency of the potential grantees; and he required external affirmative action as a philanthropic responsibility and was successful in 1988 when the Rockefeller Foundation adopted it as official policy (Gallegos 1989).

Throughout his career as the only Hispanic in the room, he resisted being made the expert on Latino matters. At his first board meeting at Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, the issue of affirmative action was raised in connection with an internal policy. Gallegos was expected to give them the answers. Instead he said: "All the directors looked at me to respond, to give them answers. I was supposed to be their house expert on those issues. I didn't say a thing. There was kind of an embarrassed silence, then they...hemmed and hawed and then went on from there."⁵⁵ Gallegos dealt with the issue in his own way, through careful study and weighing of evidence, surprising the other board members by not spouting out a hurried answer.

Never one to flinch from the realities, Gallegos reflected on his role as a path breaker:

The San Francisco Foundation was in business fifty years before I was finally elected as the first Latino. The Rockefeller Foundation...had four African Americans and I was the first Hispanic. We start at a big disadvantage because we don't control the resources to be able to develop the intellectual prowess and be able to think through...as [Julian] and Galarza would...They were tough enough and disciplined enough and willing to take risks professionally to ask hard questions without fear of being typed, of having tunnel vision. They said, 'Look, we know what has to be asked,' and they asked it.⁵⁶

Not willing to fully acknowledge his own groundbreaking role in opening doors for Latinos and other underrepresented people, Gallegos was characteristically modest in giving more credit to Galarza and Samora than he took for himself. He too, has asked the hard questions all of his adult life and subsequently he has chosen the hard path.

After Gallegos had joined the Board of Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, he was visiting his father in San Francisco in 1979. His dad asked him what he was doing, what was new in his life and Gallegos answered that he had just joined the Rockefeller Foundation board:

“The what? ...Rockefeller, what are you doing with him?” My Dad just almost jumped off his seat. I laughed and I couldn’t think of anything better to say, so I said, “I’m going to give away his money.” “Give away his money?” “Yes, that’s what a foundation does, it gives away money.” “Well, that doesn’t sound too bad... How much are you going to give?” “Well, a lot.” “Like how much?” “Well, maybe a 100, maybe 150 million a year, maybe more.” He said, “Well, that’s good. How long is it going to take you to give that money away?” “Well, the market is pretty good and we only give away six percent of our assets.” “You’re not doing a very good job of giving away his money.”...He shook his head. From time to time [at subsequent visits] when we’d be talking he would ask me, “How are you doing giving away Mr. Rockefeller’s money?”⁵⁷

For the ten years that Gallegos traveled throughout of the world for the Rockefeller Foundation, he saw the good that came from Rockefeller’s money and his own contribution to the choices made in spending it (Gallegos 2009).

Gallegos saw his father at peace in his old age after a lifetime of working hard to support his family and to uphold social justice issues. Elmer Gallegos, Sr. had been a union man and he had worked hard to support equity for all workers during his lifetime.

Gallegos was able to buy the ranch lands that his mother’s people owned. He has improved the property and visits the place from time to time. Retaining the ranch in the family was a very important outcome for Gallegos and his family. Herman Gallegos, though retired in California, has never stopped working for social justice, and he has never stopped being a community organizer. Even after his retirement, his work as a development consultant to the Hispanic

University in San Jose and as a trustee to Stanford continued his interest in investing in the leadership development of the next generation. He still believes that building community-based leadership is critical for communities to define their own agenda while working for responsible social change. He continues to monitor Latino access to philanthropic money and is an open and responsive source of information for scholars and inquisitive students.

Chapter Three: The Burning Light-Ernesto Galarza

A mind placed at the forward edge of events and guided by knowledge uses the past, affects the present, and possibly helps form the future.

- Ernesto Galarza

Beginnings

When Henriqueta Galarza was nine months pregnant with her son, Ernesto, she walked with her two orphaned younger brothers twenty miles up a steep mountain trail to reach her sister's home in Jalcocotán, a tiny village in the state of Nayarit, Mexico (Galarza 1971). Doña Henriqueta's parents had just died, her civil marriage had ended, and her sister's husband, Don Catarino, had agreed to house all of his wife's remaining family.

Writing in his autobiography, *Barrio Boy*, Ernesto Galarza details the property settlement his father made at the time of his parent's divorce. Galarza's mother kept the gold wedding ring and an Ajax brand treadle sewing machine that she had received as a wedding present. Interpreting the conditions of the settlement, Galarza assumes that his mother could have made her way with nothing, but with an infant to care for and two young brothers, the wedding ring could be pawned in times of need and the sewing machine was a means of making a living. "...even though I was something less than an infant, I had played an important part in the negotiations...as I see it, I earned my way from the start" (Galarza 1971). Hard work is an important theme in Galarza's life and this story he tells early in his autobiography gives the reader a wealth of information about

the grit and determination his mother modeled and that Galarza emulated, “earning his way” even before he was born.

This chapter tells Galarza’s life story through his own words, by means of his autobiography, his scholarly writing, speeches, legislative testimony, and through a close look at his poems, both published and unpublished.¹ There are two themes that I want to underscore in this chapter: Galarza’s fearless engagement with authoritarian power as he supported social justice even when he could not possibly “win”; and his life work as a tireless fighter for the working poor, for the people left behind by the giants of agribusiness, those agricultural workers left to do the backbreaking labor while others reaped the profits.

Galarza’s is at once an immigrant’s story of acculturation to the United States, an orphan’s tale of loss and perseverance, and that of a path breaker and organizer of the working poor; ultimately it “is a true story of the acculturation of Little Ernie” (Galarza 1971).

Galarza, who is recognized by many scholars as a giant in labor studies, Chicano studies, immigration, and bilingual education, could have written an autobiography about his many achievements. He chose rather to detail the first thirteen years of his life, the years of his immigration to the United States.² An essay in the program celebrating the “Life and Legacy of Ernesto Galarza” on April 9, 1987 at Occidental College, written by Dr. William D. Estrada and Dr. Antonio Ríos-Bustamante, states that Galarza was the first Mexican American to earn a Master’s degree from Stanford University (1929), and he was one of the first Mexican Americans to earn a Ph.D. (Columbia, 1944). In 1979, he was the

first Mexican American to be nominated for a Nobel Prize in literature for his autobiography, *Barrio Boy*. Yet Galarza chose rather to write about his early years in a small village high in the “wild, majestic Sierra Madre de Nayarit” (1971, 3) on the West coast of Mexico, and the journey he made with his family to Sacramento, California during the Mexican Revolution. His choice provides great insight into Ernesto Galarza, the man. A close reading of his autobiography reveals the origins for most of his later accomplishments in life. The reader gains, then, a view into the “development of his political will” as he details his life from birth to age thirteen (Barriga 2003, 258).

Galarza’s story begins on the eve of the Mexican Revolution. He was born August 15, 1905 into a family of peasant farmers. His aunt’s husband, Don Catarino, owned a bit of land and his young uncles, Gustavo, and José, worked the land with the patriarch. In her essay for the Fourth Annual Ernesto Galarza Commemorative Lecture, Antonia Castañeda writes, “In the village of his birth, Jalcocotán, he learned that everybody – male, female, young, and old – worked, that all contributed to the economy of the household and the community” (Castañeda 1989).

In *Barrio Boy*, Galarza gives us a description of Jalcocotán, the only home he knew until the age of five: “the one and only street in Jalcocotán was hardly more than an open stretch of the mule trail...” (Galarza 1971). It was this isolated place that provided the foundation for the whole of Galarza’s life’s work. Castañeda notes, “Ernesto Galarza drew strength from and remained committed to the working people and the values that shaped his early life” (Castañeda 1989,

no page number). Galarza comments that: “Jalcocotán was a *pueblo libre*, a free village, where people work for themselves and not for an *hacendado*” (1971, 43). He lets the reader know, in the very beginning of his story, that he comes from a free people. They are free, but they are poor. Watching the few travelers pass through town, he learns: “For me the world began to divide itself into two kinds of people—the men on horseback and the men who walked” (1971, 59). Galarza is keenly observant of life in the village. He notices that his mother had one of the few books in town, “Books were rare. My mother had one, which she kept in a cedar box...” (1971, 33). His mother read it to him and began opening his intellect to the printed word. He also learns, through stories from the village elders, that there “had been a time called Before the Conquest, when the Indian tribes had their own kings and emperors” (1971, 42). The entire village helped shape his knowledge of himself in relationship to the collective.

Galarza provides us many details of the teachings and guidance his family, particularly his mother, used to educate and mold him into a contributing member of the collective. The reader learns how his mother helped to shape his social and political consciousness. Galarza’s mother, Doña Henriqueta, was the rock upon which Galarza built his life’s foundation. Doña Henriqueta, as described by her son, was a short, plump woman with a mass of thick brown wavy hair. She taught her son about fairness and justice:

She never did household chores without singing, accompanying herself by imitating a guitar that plinked and plonked between the verses of her song. Her features were good-looking, almost soft, not much like her temper. Doña Henriqueta knew about people in deep trouble for she was one of them. But unlike most of them, she

believed in rebelling against it, in resisting those who caused it.
(1971, 18)

From Doña Henriqueta Galarza learned to question authority and trust his own judgment: “Doña Henriqueta stood between us and Don Catarino when he was in one of his cantankerous moods. She drew a line between respect, which we were expected to show, and fear, which we were not” (18). Pointedly, she taught Galarza that he must respect his elders, but he did not have to take abuse from them.

His aunt, Doña Ester, also modeled how to live under authoritarian rule. Don Catarino, her husband, “who could clench his voice as quickly as his fist” (17), ran his household in a traditional patriarchal style, as “*jefe de familia*” (17). But as Galarza explains, “She had lived all her life under authority but it had not bent her will: standing up to it she was more than a person, she was a presence” (17). Between his mother’s guidance and his aunt’s example, Galarza learned to stand up for himself, and later to stand up for others against those who would “break their will.”

Galarza was born into a patriarchal society, a system that assumes men have innate abilities for leadership and power and that women do not. His mother demonstrated how that bias subjugated people, both men and women, and she taught him to both recognize and resist that tyranny. Doña Henriqueta’s teachings demonstrated women’s power. Women have defied patriarchy through their folk expressions. Young and Turner note that “deconstructing the dominant male paradigm” (1993, 13) and replacing it with a woman-centered perspective has been an ongoing effort to counter the silencing and marginalization of

patriarchy using material expression and ritual. This resistance is not just the province of educated, white, or upper class women, but as Doña Henriqueta shows, an action that can be engaged in by women regardless of origin or socioeconomics. Throughout his life, Galarza employed his mother's techniques of resistance when he encountered hierarchies of power.

Doña Henriqueta's wisdom seems boundless. Although her life was chaotic, she managed to create a space of safety and love for her son. This would have been difficult under any circumstances, but as the family left the shelter of village life and began their exodus out of Mexico to the United States to escape the pandemonium of the Mexican Revolution, her warmth surrounded "Little Ernie." The move from rural life to city life upset the balance in all their lives. The family of four moved first to Tepic, then to Mazatlán, and then to Nogales, finally settling in Sacramento, California. Galarza remembers that his mother created consistency in his young life:

It was a gift my mother had, explaining things in such a way that our life seemed only to be taking a different shape, not coming apart. Wherever Mazatlán was – far away and unknown – our sewing machine would be there. It was like the feeling I had whenever the rainbow serape came out of the cedar box for an airing. We, the serape and I, had been together in Jalco....Even the smell of the cedar box was exactly the same in Tepic as it had been in Jalco...(1971, 101)

His mother kept the orbit of his young life steady and safe. For young Galarza, the long and difficult emigration to escape from the Mexican revolution was an adventure and a learning experience, not the fearful episode it was for so many others.

Consistent with making Galarza safe, Doña Henriqueta taught her son how to conduct himself by learning the time-honored lessons of their Mexican culture. Doña Henriqueta found she needed to protect her son by building an internal code of conduct that would safeguard him when she and his uncles could not be with him. Included in that teaching was learning the differences between correct behavior and unacceptable behavior. These distinctions are important because I posit that learning these values gave Galarza self-confidence and assurance when he confronted authority throughout his life. Galarza goes to great lengths to describe the difference between an education, which is to “know how to read, write, and count” (Galarza 1971, 148), and to be *educado*,³ which involved a more complex set of skills:

I was taught all the ceremonies of *respeto*⁴ ...to speak only when addressed and not to put my spoon into adult conversation; never to show that I was bored with the questions adults asked me... never under any circumstances to ask for anything to eat...to answer instantly when called...Breaches of these rules of *respeto* fell somewhere between a sin and a crime. Not to know them thoroughly and to observe them unfailingly showed more than anything else that you were *muy mal educado*.⁵ (148)

These rules of conduct that Henriqueta taught her son are but one example of how she created an environment in which Galarza, armed with the proper social tools, could flex his intellectual muscles with self-assurance.

Other important tools by which cultural wisdom and experience was conveyed were the *consejos* and *dichos*⁶ Doña Henriqueta used to teach right from wrong. The lessons “were put into a familiar phrase that not only explained matters but also gave you a safe rule to go by” (148). These nuggets of advice

and easy-to-remember proverbs provided Galarza with a handy primer of behavior as he spent more time away from his mother.

Henriqueta's brothers found work on the railroads, and she, using the prized family possession, the Ajax sewing machine, made money sewing for the wealthy women in Tepic and then Mazatlán. Galarza also contributed to the family support through small jobs and by running errands. In this way, little by little, they worked their way down the mountain (Galarza 1971).

As Galarza became comfortable with city life, he negotiated his *barrio* and the cities. When he accompanied his mother on her sewing deliveries, he witnessed for himself the lives that *los ricos* lived: "By quick looks through the *zaguanes*,⁷ since my mother would not let me stop and stare, I began to have some idea of how *ricos* lived" (1971, 91). He noticed the children of the rich, dressed elegantly, making their way to school, while the poor children variously "were shining shoes in the plaza, carrying trays of candy on their heads, helping the tradesmen...I began to understand a difference between boys – those who went to school and those who worked" (93).

While Galarza would have preferred the relative freedom of a working boy, his mother had other ideas. She set up a school for him at home, and while she sewed, Galarza learned to read and to count. He tells us: "My first lessons were demonstrated on the slate and the abacus" (93). As the lessons progressed they took on a more scheduled occurrence, and in this way Galarza learned to read and write and to add, subtract, and multiply (1971, 94). Later, when they had moved to Sacramento, Doña Henriqueta continued her lessons by buying poetry

and history books in Spanish. She helped Galarza read them until he was a fluent reader in Spanish (1971, 238).

As fighting grew closer, Henriqueta, wanting to protect her younger brothers from being drafted into Diaz's army, or from running off impulsively to fight against Diaz, made the decision to leave Tepic, and they made their way with greater urgency to the United States: "She must also have been thinking that José would be safe from the draft and less likely to run away into the mountains to join the guerillas" (100).

They settled in Mazatlán for a time and Galarza started first grade. He had small after school jobs, activities that encouraged his independence from Doña Henriqueta, helped the family coffers, and demonstrated her confidence in his ability to negotiate the world outside of their home. He writes: "...beyond the school and the *barrio* the city began to take shape as my home town, with places and people I began to know well" (156). Through his errands and small jobs he learned about people as he got to know his neighbors.

Another complex cultural lesson involved learning the concept of *vergüenza*, described by Galarza as "a sense of shame, of personal dignity; conscience; doing right; modesty; responsible behavior; trustworthiness not based on the fear of getting caught" (275). He was taught that to give his word was a sacred oath: "As to *vergüenza*, I learned by a hundred examples what it was to have it or not have it. Doña Henriqueta wrapped all hypocrites and deceivers in one of her sayings: 'They are born naked, which they can't help; and

they die without *vergüenza*, which they can” (148). In a sense, *vergüenza* was a self-regulatory code of conduct.

According to Miguel Diaz Barriga in his essay on *vergüenza*:
...Ernesto Galarza (1971) [has] noted that in Chicana and Chicano culture *vergüenza* is based on what other people think and an internalized set of beliefs about what constitutes proper behavior and norms. On the one hand, *vergüenza* involves a sense of living up to the standards of a community and is therefore founded on fear of rejection or scorn. On the other hand *vergüenza* encodes a sense of social responsibility and well-being. (Barriga 2003)

Barriga aptly notes the various possibilities of meanings for *vergüenza*. He captures what Galarza conveyed in *Barrio Boy* about the subtle teachings imparted by Galarza’s mother. This learning of the codes of conduct, that Galarza detailed and Barriga interprets, carried great importance for Galarza, for it was the map for his future when he was orphaned at a young age.

Henriqueta Galarza provided her son with a sense of community, a sense of purpose, and a sense of justice for the poor (Galarza 1971). Discussions about the coming Revolution that Galarza overheard made it clear to him that Porfirio Diaz⁸ exploited the poor and protected the rich, *los ricos*: “The *rurales* and the soldiers with rifles and bayonets were there to protect *los ricos* from *los pobres*, who were ourselves...”(97). Galarza learns early in life about class distinctions and the resulting inequities.

An important aspect of Galarza’s story is his growing independence after the family began its journey to the United States. Noting that Galarza is a young child of about five or six years of age, it is remarkable how loose the tether was between mother and child. Doña Henriqueta’s confidence in him translated into confidence in himself, a confidence that was critical as he tackled the agri-

business giants in the United States as an adult. A close reading of *Barrio Boy* brings the reader to an understanding of the origins of this confidence.

Life in the cities in Mexico broadened Galarza's outlook. He learned to speak the language of the rough "gang" boys he played with. His initiation as a "junior member of the gang" (1971, 144) increased his independence from his immediate family. Galarza uses humor to convey this shaping of his own identity: "It was well known, because I told it, that I had fought crocodiles in the arroyo in Jalcocotán..." (145). He was constructing an identity apart from his family, an identity of his own invention.

His mother did not shelter Galarza from the family troubles: "Living cramped in two rooms...hearing all the family conversation...I had a fairly good sense of how we were managing" (Galarza 1971, 99). And he knew about the family finances, "I felt like the assistant treasurer of the family when I helped my mother sort the coins on the top of the table in making up the budget" (1971, 99). In this way, Doña Henriqueta gave him a realistic idea of what the family was going through and helped Galarza invest in the wellbeing of the family. The scrupulous teachings in letters and deportment by his mother, coupled with his freedom of unsupervised play with the "gang" helped Galarza flex his muscles.

In Sacramento, the Galarzas found American customs confusing and the people difficult to understand: "We found the Americans as strange in their customs as they probably found us...With remarkable fairness and never-ending wonder we kept adding to our list the pleasant and the repulsive in the

ways of the Americans. It was my second acculturation” (204-205). And the Galarzas moved swiftly to become acquainted with the “ways of the Americans.”

In typical Henriqueta fashion, with Galarza in tow, the two of them set out on foot to explore the borders of their neighborhood: “These were the boundaries of the lower part of town...Nobody ever mentioned an upper part of town...We were not lower topographically, but in other ways that distinguish between Them, the uppers, and Us, the lowers” (198). Even at this young age, Galarza intuited in which side of town he belonged.

In their new environment, his mother provided the comfort of the folkways and folk objects that they had managed to bring with them from Mexico. “The family talk I listened to with the greatest interest was about Jalco. Wherever the conversation began it always turned to the pueblo, our neighbors, anecdotes that were funny or sad, the folk tales and the witchcraft...” (238). And while the Ajax had not made the long trek with them, the splendid cedar box had. “I never lost the sense that we were the same, from Jalco to Sacramento. There was the polished cedar box, taken out now and then from the closet to display our heirlooms...there was the butterfly sarape [sic]...When our mementos were laid out on the bed I plunged my head into the empty box and took deep breaths of the aroma of *puro cedro*, pure Jalcocotán...” (237). His mother provided predictability and security for Galarza's first 13 years of life.

He lived among his own people, other “poor refugees” (201) fleeing the Revolution: “Like ourselves, our Mexican neighbors had come this far moving step by step, working and waiting, as if they were feeling their way up the ladder”

(1971, 200). And even though they themselves were very poor, the Galarzas always helped out when they could: “It was not charity or social welfare but something my mother called *asistencia*, a helping given and received on trust, to be repaid because those who had given it were themselves in need of what they had given” (1971, 201). His family modeled the generosity of their own teachings for Galarza.

They lived in an ethnically diverse neighborhood with Chinatown “on the other side of K Street” (199). There were Filipino farm workers, Hindus, Portuguese and Italian “families gathered in their own neighborhoods along Fourth and Fifth Streets” (199). Poles, Slavs, and Koreans as well as other Mexican immigrants filled out the neighborhood. Galarza notes the diversity of the people living in the barrio: “It was a kaleidoscope of colors and languages and customs that surprised and absorbed me at every turn” (199). Galarza soon knew his neighbors by running errands for them.

The diversity Galarza notes is an important aspect of his second acculturation. He went to school with the children of other immigrants. In his adult work, he helped to organize not only Mexican farm workers, but also Filipinos, African American, Japanese, Chinese and White people from many regions of the country (Chabran 1985).

Galarza noticed that the importance of work had migrated with them: “The password of the barrio was *trabajo*” (201). The barrio, as Galarza describes it, was a fury of activity: “If work was action the *barrio* was where the action was...” (202). Here, Galarza continued his practice of finding odd jobs and helping

people for tips. In the hustle of the city he could create his own work by collecting bottles and cans to sell.

During their trip north, Galarza had been curious about the United States: “In Tucson, when I had asked my mother again if the Americans were having a revolution, the answer was: ‘No, but they have good schools, and you are going to one of them.’ We were by now settled at 418 L Street and the time had come for me to exchange a revolution for an American education” (207). Doña Henriqueta enrolled “Little Ernie” in the Lincoln Elementary School where he encountered a principal and first grade teacher who clearly knew how to help their students acculturate. “At Lincoln, making us into Americans did not mean scrubbing away what made us originally foreign.... it was easy for me to feel that becoming a proud American, as she [his teacher] said we should did not mean feeling ashamed of being a Mexican” (211). His second acculturation was underway.

By the time Galarza entered third grade he spoke English well enough to help translate for the community: “By this time there was no problem of translating or interpreting for the family I could not tackle with confidence” (250).

Galarza was already on the path of service to others:

Early on, it seemed, Galarza was destined to be a leader, the public voice of a people whose own voices were often muted by racism. “I was a boy and I saw a lot,” he explained. “And so many people asked me for help that it was to leave a lifelong impression on me.” (Guilbaut 1990, 3)

He helped his family during their daily activities, he helped new children and their parents when they came to school, and “he was part of a corps of volunteers who attended to the daily needs of the barrio...He became, in a sense, the public

voice” (Castañeda 1989). Galarza gave *asistencia* to people in need, helping them negotiate the courts and police, and other public arenas. This knowledge and skill separated him from his family. He writes: “These experiences and new friendships about which my family knew so little and guessed a great deal became the other side of my double life” (245). His “double life” helped him negotiate the future as events unfurled, changing his life completely.

He read and translated articles from the daily newspaper about the effects of Spanish influenza on the far-off cities and towns in New York and Texas. Soon the stories had California by-lines and then the family all found themselves sick with fever. Galarza’s beloved mother and Uncle Gustavo succumbed to the disease. A few years before her death, his mother had remarried and had three more children. Galarza does not write about his stepfather, we do not even know his name. We do know, however, that within a month, Galarza bundled up all his belongings, including the colorful butterfly serape and he and Uncle José found a room to share. Galarza was thirteen years old. Uncle José provided food and shelter, but Galarza had to pay for books and clothes (Galarza 1970).

Galarza had sympathetic teachers who recognized his talents. Mr. Everett, a favorite junior high teacher, suggested he attend high school and told him that college was even a possibility. Mr. Everett encouraged him to join the debating team in high school. Another teacher, upon learning that he was trading violin lessons in exchange for playing at a honky-tonk on Saturday nights, got him a job illustrating Christmas cards and ordered fifty for herself and made sure other teachers ordered from him, too: “I spent my Christmas vacation as an illustrator,

with enough money saved to quit playing in the saloon” (1971, 261). In a sense, the *asistencia* he and his family had given in the barrio, was coming back to him when he needed it.

As *Barrio Boy* comes to a close, Galarza makes a point to tell a story that is emblematic of his future work as a labor organizer. He details how in the summer he often found work on the ranches and farms just outside of Sacramento: “I learned firsthand the chiseling techniques of the contractors and their pushers—There was never any doubt about the contractor and his power over us” (263). Staying in labor camps, he experienced the conditions of the farm laborers. In one camp, children sickened and one died from contaminated drinking water. He was appointed as the camp spokesman and he rode his bicycle into town to report on the camp abuses. He found a man, a Mr. Simon Lubin, who promised to send in health inspectors. As Galarza remembers: “I thanked him and thought the business of my visit was over; but Mr. Lubin did not break the handshake until he had said to tell the people in the camp to organize. Only by organizing, he told me, will they ever have decent places to live” (265). Reporting back to the camp members, Galarza made his “first organizing speech” (265), and lost his job.

Barrio Boy ends here, with Galarza a week away from starting at Sacramento High School. Galarza had taken the first steps in fulfilling his mother’s promise of an American education. Little is known of Galarza’s time in high school. Some information is contained in a letter written by the principal, Thea Stidum, of Sacramento High School in 1987 and presented at a celebration

of Galarza's life held at Occidental College two years after Galarza died. She wrote:

Galarza demonstrated his talents and dedication as a student at Sacramento high school. He was a born leader, holding office in several classes and honor societies. He was on the staff of the school yearbook and a member of the debating team, where he gained recognition as being among the finest high school debaters in California. When he graduated, in 1923, he was at the top of his class. (Stidum 1987, no page number)

Galarza's Curriculum Vita shows that he held many jobs before college:

newsboy, Western Union messenger, stock clerk, farm worker, cannery and packing shed laborer, camp counselor, Christmas card designer, social work aide, and court reporter, among others (Galarza 1979).

Higher Education and an Education in Latin America

After high school, Galarza, at the urging of sympathetic teachers, attended Occidental College on scholarship (London and Anderson 1970). Not intending to go to college, Galarza encountered other teachers, who like Mr. Everett, had made "other by-the-way comments that began to shape themselves into my future" (Galarza 1971, 257). Galarza was a national debater and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He was a natural leader and was known on campus for his "independent spirit and for championing causes that were then unpopular—progressive politics, the rights of immigrants, the poor and ethnic minorities" (Estrada and Rios-Bustamante 1987, no page number). To pay his room and board, Galarza waited on tables and mowed lawns. He had a Model A Ford he drove back to Sacramento on weekends to keep tabs on his younger sisters and

brother (London and Anderson 1970). He graduated from Occidental in 1927 with a degree in political science (Galarza 1979).

In 1929, Galarza became the first Mexican American to earn a master's degree from Stanford University (Estrada and Rios-Bustamante 1987). His degree was in history and political science (Chabran 1985). In 1928, while still a master's student, his first book, *The Roman Catholic Church as a Factor in the Political and Social History of Mexico* was published; he was 23 years old. The book had developed from his senior thesis at Occidental during a study year abroad in Mexico (Chabran 1985). In the foreword, Galarza explains his interest in the effect that President Calles's reform measures against the Catholic Church would have on the "international relations" between the United States and Mexico (Galarza 1928). His long-standing interest regarding U.S./Mexico relations was already taking shape in college.

In 1929, while he was at Stanford, Galarza married Mae Taylor, a teacher in Sacramento who taught his younger sister Nora (Rosaldo 1990, no page number). They moved to New York and enrolled in classes (Rosaldo 1990). Galarza completed course work for a PhD at Columbia University in 1932. He received the PhD in 1944 in History and Political Science (Galarza 1979). His dissertation was entitled *La Industria Electrica en Mexico*. Carlos Muñoz, writing in the Forward to the First Annual Commemorative Lecture Series, gives the reasons for the gap of fifteen years between completion of course work and completion of the dissertation: "The Depression, the Spanish Civil War, and World War II delayed the completion of his doctoral dissertation until 1944"

(1987, no page number). Galarza was developing his *raison d'être*, which as Chabran defines it, was “to improve the living conditions of working-class Latinos” (1985, 136). After his coursework was completed, Galarza became active in fundraising to support the Loyalists against the fascists during the Spanish Civil war in 1936.

He was employed as a researcher for the Foreign Policy Association and traveled widely throughout Latin America and Mexico. He increased his knowledge about working people and “became a noted expert on Spanish and Latin American politics” (Muñoz 1987, no page number). Galarza had been the first Mexican American to be admitted into Columbia University’s graduate school and the first Mexican American to earn a PhD in either History or Political Science (Chabran 1985; Muñoz 1987).

The Pan American Union

An Early Investigation of the Bracero Program

In 1939, Galarza joined the Pan American Union, now the Organization of American States, an organization founded in 1910 to promote cooperation among the nations of the Americas (Driscoll de Alvarado 2009). Galarza started the Division of Labor and Social Information (London and Anderson 1970). Galarza employed activism and scholarship to expose exploitive working conditions for laborers. At the start of WWII, the United States entered into a contract labor agreement with Mexico to ease labor shortages, primarily in the agriculture fields and the railroads. Because it was a “labor agreement between

two member nations” (London and Anderson 1970), the nascent *bracero* program fell under Galarza’s review.

To avoid the layers of bureaucracy that interfered with gathering accurate information, Galarza made three field trips and interviewed “some 200” *braceros* in five states (Galarza 1944, 2). Written in 1944, his report, “Personal and confidential memorandum on Mexican Contract Workers in the United States,” explains: “It should be made clear that the aim herein is neither to describe or appraise the Mexican recruiting program in its entirety but simply to call attention to some of the characteristics of camp management...as viewed by the workers themselves” (Galarza 1944). Later, his scholarship would not only “appraise” the *bracero* program but would ultimately help end the program.

Galarza gained an understanding of the conditions experienced by Mexican contract workers, or Mexican nationals, as he termed them: there were incidents of racial discrimination, wage shortages, and “repatriation”⁹ for workers who complained (Galarza 1944). The United States was reaping the benefits of Mexican labor:

[The *bracero* program] was initiated between 1942 and 1951 on an emergency basis through a series of agreements between the governments of the United States and Mexico. The experiment was a success. Logistically, farm labor contracting under government oversight was efficient. Farmers in northern California were supplied with *braceros* from contracting centers 800 miles away on 48 hours notice. Not a crop was lost. Wages were held in line. The *bracero* lived up to his reputation as a tractable, obedient, cheerful and eager worker. (Galarza 1964)

However, the educational, social, health, and legal needs of the Mexican nationals were ignored. Galarza asserted that had the governments of both countries maintained control at the local level by regulating the camps, setting up

health clinics and educational programs, and providing recreation and news sources for the workers, many of the problems would have been avoided. Left to local communities with inadequate funds and no knowledge of the Spanish language, none of the measures were taken (Galarza 1944).

A close reading of his report informs the reader of Galarza's compassion, as well as the critical thinking he brings to the subject. In the recommendations section of his report he suggests very practical solutions to the problems of mixing two different cultures: provide English classes for interested workers, provide an orientation to camp managers to familiarize them with the cultural differences of their "Mexican guests." He also recommended a USO-type troupe of Mexican entertainers to travel to the larger camps in the U.S. (Galarza 1944). His recommendations presuppose an attitude of welcome on the part of the U.S. and a willingness to recognize the humanity in the Mexican nationals, not solely their labor. Galarza wrote compassionately of Mexican workers caught between two governments:

His fears were not born when he signed up as a managed migrant. They came from a lifetime experience of poverty and authoritarianism as the Mexican rural proletarian. This was his cultural inheritance, so deeply ingrained that it seemed almost a racial trait. Such fears were not allayed by anything he experienced when he became a ward of an association and an official bureaucracy too alien for him to understand, and too powerful to resist... (Galarza 1972)

Galarza brought compassionate insights to his critique of the *bracero* program. His research relied on facts and data from the "ground" enabling him to provide a clear picture of the camps and work conditions.

Latin America

During the early 1940s, while employed with the Pan American Union, Galarza used his expertise on Latin America, traveling widely promoting democracy: “His research and travels throughout the Americas also gave him the opportunity to observe at first hand the oppressive conditions confronting the poor and working classes and their struggles against those who oppressed them” (Muñoz 1987, no page number). Bolivian tin workers were close to achieving a minimum wage, decent housing, medical facilities, collective bargaining and other basic rights. Galarza witnessed American governmental officials intervene during negotiations with the mine companies and negotiations stopped (Muñoz 1987, no page number). American officials were secretly representing American business interests that did not want to pay higher prices for Bolivian tin. To strengthen their position, the Americans leaked information to the U.S. press alleging that the Bolivian unions were linked to Nazis (Muñoz 1987, no page number).

Fiercely defending the principles of democracy, Galarza wrote: “I believe that democracy and production must go up or down together. The contrary is the thesis of totalitarianism” (Galarza 1943, 59). Characterizing the workers as Nazis, the US government was portraying the tin workers’ struggle inaccurately (Galarza 1943). Galarza protested U.S. policy toward the vulnerable tin workers. He contrasted President Roosevelt’s public statements “...with the everyday, practical, and immediate effects of American policy in the Latin American countries” (Galarza 1943). Galarza’s championing of Bolivian tin workers led to

the awarding of Bolivia's highest honor to a non-citizen, the Order of the Condor, in 1952.

Galarza's sympathy with the tin workers led to his battle with the United States government over their exploitive foreign policy affecting the Bolivian workers. He would not back off from his accusations and he resigned from the Pan American Union position (Muñoz 1987, no page number). Galarza recalled his decision:

I resigned voluntarily...on account of illness. I suffered a stroke of nausea when I observed at close quarters the betrayal of the Bolivian miners and farm workers by the United States Department of State. (London and Anderson 1970, 117)

During his employment with the Pan American Union, Galarza researched and wrote about the rights of workers, government and industry exploitation of workers, and the work conditions and attitudes of workers both in the United States and abroad. His research combined with his youthful experience in the fields of California prepared Galarza to tackle the next phase of his work life.

Organizing Farm Workers

After he left the Pan American Union, Galarza was "at large" for a time, waiting for the right opportunity. According to Muñoz, Galarza was offered appointments with Harvard and with the United Nations, but he refused them all (1987, no page number). He was looking for just the right situation, one that would allow him "to come directly to grips with social injustice" (London and Anderson 1970, 117). In 1947 Mr. H. L. Mitchell, founder of the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union, a multiracial union in Arkansas, received a grant enabling him to expand his base outside of the South. The union needed a Spanish-speaking

labor organizer familiar with Mexican and Mexican American farm laborers.

Mitchell hired Galarza. A letter from H. L. Mitchell confirms Galarza's posting with them:

We recall the first meeting he attended of the national farm labor union, AFL, in Washington, D.C. in early 1946. He challenged our organization to assist the Latin Americans in the Southwestern states, and we called upon him to join us in our efforts in that field. In due course, he became the Director of Education and Research for the National Farm Labor Union, which he later served in many other capacities, among them—Vice President and Secretary—Treasurer, but he always preferred his original title. (Mitchell 1987)

The Southern Tenant Farmer's Union became the AFL National Farm Labor Union (NFLU) in California. Galarza moved to California in 1948 and began work on a strike already in progress with the Di Giorgio Fruit Company. Galarza and the NFLU proved to be a lightning rod for the Di Giorgio Company, representing all that the company despised concerning organized labor. In turn, the company represented all that Galarza despised in the exploitation of working persons (Galarza 1970). As discussed later in the chapter, over a twelve to fifteen year period, the battle raged with a disastrous outcome to the NFLU.

Union Organizing

For eighteen years, Galarza organized agricultural locals and investigated the abuses of the *bracero* program. During this time, he traveled up and down California helping to organize field workers - from peach pickers in the Sacramento Valley, to tomato pickers in Tracy, to cantaloupe harvesters in the Imperial Valley - to strike in protest of unjust labor practices.¹⁰ In mid-1951, Congress enacted Public Law 78, a more permanent and far-reaching version of the original *bracero* program than had been in place since 1942. The NFLU had

led the fight against passage of Public Law 78 (London and Anderson 1970).

Seeking to work within the confines of the new law: “Galarza noted an obscure clause in the treaty with Mexico which implemented Public Law 78: ‘No workers shall be assigned to fill any job which is vacant because of strike or lockout’”

(London and Anderson 1970, 120).

The farm owners deliberately flouted the no-strike clause, and hired *braceros* and undocumented Mexican workers immediately after domestic field workers went on strike (Galarza 1956). The U. S. government took no action. It was clear to Galarza that farm worker’s rights would never be established as long as Public Law 78 was on the books. In an interview he explained that:

There was no choice...without a frontal attack on the *bracero* program, nothing was possible. Farmworkers couldn’t be organized, they couldn’t have a union, they couldn’t have any rights, as long as the program existed.¹¹ (Meister 1978, no page number)

Galarza worked against an entrenched system that allied local growers with government bureaucrats (London and Anderson 1970, 126).

Galarza “accused the United States Department of Labor of conducting collective-bargaining on the part of agricultural corporations exclusively and said that the California State Board of Agriculture ‘illegally dominated’ the State’s farm placement service.”¹² He documented the abuses, wrote articles, and spoke before congressional hearings, all in a vain effort to dislodge the partnerships that kept Mexican *braceros* pouring into the fields to the detriment of domestic farm worker unionizing efforts (Galarza 1956, 1970, 1977). At the time, Galarza had scant resources, few assistants, and no audience with any power to challenge the abuses of Public Law 78 (Chabran 1985, 123).

But Galarza did have enemies among the growers in California. Red-baiting was a popular tactic to slow down activists. Galarza and his wife were publicly accused of being Communists. Mrs. Galarza, a teacher, was told her contract with the San Jose public schools would not be renewed. Galarza sued:

Ernesto Galarza, vice president of the International Farm Workers' Union settled his \$25,000 slander suit against Kenneth A. McDonnell, superintendent of the Union Elementary School District, out of court yesterday for \$1, plus cost of the suit. Costs will run to \$309, Galarza said. A stipulated judgment for these amounts, Galarza said, was filed in Superior Court by his counsel, James A. Murray, of San Francisco to end the litigation which began two years ago when Galarza charged McDonnell falsely called him a "Communist." Galarza said last night he considered the judgment a "moral victory." He said he did not seek money compensation for the alleged slander, but he wanted his name formally cleared in court of the Red imputation.¹³

Mrs. Galarza's contract with the San Jose Unified School District was never renewed (London and Anderson 1970, 128).

In 1956, Galarza wrote a comprehensive critique of the *bracero* program, *Strangers in Our Fields*. The Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee published the report with support from the Fund for the Republic.¹⁴ Galarza's objections to the *bracero* program were: Mexican nationals in the *bracero* program were subject to abuses by growers who did not follow the law; undocumented Mexican nationals were often hired by the growers in violation of the law; and American-born farm workers had no possibility of unionizing as long as Mexican nationals (legal and undocumented) were used as strike breakers. This 80-page report "was given national press and was a serious blow to the *Bracero Program*" (Chabran 1985, 123). Also critical to the impact of the publication were the many photos Galarza took of camps, water sources, shorted

checks, and portraits of the workers themselves. This photo-journalism greatly enhanced the verbal descriptions of the publication.

The success of *Strangers in Our Fields* reinvigorated the interest of the larger labor unions in the farm workers' cause. In 1957, after Galarza had worked for ten years in California, the AFL-CIO gave the National Agricultural Workers Union and Galarza \$25,000 to "organize California" (London and Anderson 1970, 130). This amount was hardly enough to accomplish the task, but it was recognition from the AFL-CIO of Galarza's efforts.

As Galarza stated in an interview late in his life, he had developed "a movement at the bottom of which was an educated core of farm labor... In the late 1950s, I had the pleasure of seeing a little nuclei of workers who were still in the fields hold meetings, organize strikes, sign contracts—do the whole thing on their own" (Mills 1982).¹⁵

By mid-1963, Public Law 78 was dead as a result of Galarza's ceaseless efforts. The fight to end Public Law 78 exacted a great toll upon local farm unions in California. Galarza reflected:

What happens to a Mexican-American community and those who presume to lead it when they do pinpoint the enemy? And we did. I helped to organize some 20 locals of farm workers in the state from Yuba City to the Mexican border. It was our continuous effort not only to organize the farm workers, but to try to help them to understand where the enemy was. I think we succeeded. In fact, the best evidence that we did succeed is that we were so thoroughly destroyed. (Galarza 1982, 4-5 [excerpts from a conference talk circa 1959-1960])

Galarza prepared the soil for Cesar Chavez and, what would become the United Farm Workers (UFW) (Meister 1978). Although *braceros* continued to work in the United States after 1964, their numbers were greatly reduced, allowing the

organizing efforts of the UFW to gain purchase (Estrada and Rios-Bustamante 1987).

Scholarship and Authorship

In the early 1960s Galarza left labor organizing and turned to writing, lecturing and teaching (Guilbaut 1990). His skills as a “dynamic researcher” (Galarza 1977), a term Galarza coined to express engagement with the enemy, are evidenced in his prolific output of some one hundred articles and five scholarly texts, one co-written with Gallegos and Samora (Estrada and Rios Bustamante 1987). In addition, he wrote an autobiography, one book of poetry, and ten “*mini-libros*” for children.¹⁶

In 1987, Stanford University inaugurated the Ernesto Galarza Commemorative Lecture Series.¹⁷ Mae Galarza was invited to speak about her late husband at several of the lectures. According to her:

...with Ernest's tireless determination to know the truth in this agricultural industry, he, of course, looked into laws, the records of previous officials, and many other sources. All this research was so necessary for the driving power of his written works, as well as his speeches. The research was always very, very necessary, as well as very long and complex, and yet he never suffered a bit from the effort or from the time that it took. For quite a time, when he was asked to cite his occupation, he used the title "Researcher" (Galarza 1995).

Galarza had a story to write, but how could he get his books published? The first book, *Merchants of Labor*, was subtitled *The Mexican Bracero Story*, and it tells a comprehensive story of the managed migration of Mexican nationals to the United States from 1942 to 1960. Completed in time for a 1964 publication date,

when Public Law 78 was heavily in the news, publishers declined to publish it (London and Anderson 1970). Galarza borrowed \$1500, and self-published the book through McNally and Loftin, a publishing company in San Jose (London and Anderson 1970, 140).

Galarza was never closely associated with a university, but he was invited by universities such as San Jose State and Stanford, as a conference speaker and guest lecturer: “Although he did some college teaching in his later years, he referred to universities as ‘graveyards of ideas’ and remained suspicious of scholarship which was not based in achieving social justice” (Pitti 1997, 2).

Research had to have a purpose, for Galarza, and it had to have practical application. He shied away from the constraints of a more defined role at a university, but he strongly supported that there be scholarships available to Mexican American and other minority youth to attend college.¹⁸ In 1964, Herman Gallegos introduced Julian Samora to Galarza:

Dr. Ernesto Galarza was a great person. I first met him and his wife Mae in 1964. I had known about him before and had read about his work with the *bracero* program, which was instituted as an emergency war program by our government. The war ended in 1945 yet the *bracero* program continued until 1964! (Samora 1992, 1)¹⁹

While the three were at work on the research for the Southwest Council of La Raza (which will be covered in Chapter 5), Samora was formulating plans to support Galarza’s research. Jorge Bustamante, Samora’s first graduate student in Samora’s Mexican American Graduate Studies Program²⁰ remembers meeting Galarza for the first time:

I met Dr. Galarza in South Bend, Indiana in 1969, thanks to Dr. Julian Samora, who had brought him into Notre Dame’s

Department of Sociology and Anthropology as a "research associate" — an institutional appointment. This was one of Julian Samora's numerous tricks to beat the bureaucracy in order to help or promote a colleague or a graduate student's academic project. Dr. Galarza's project at the time was the publication of *Spiders in the House, Workers in the Field* (1970). (Bustamante 1994, 1)

Samora recognized that if Galarza's work bore the imprimatur of a university press, then his audience could be larger.

With funding from the Ford Foundation, Samora started the U.S.-Mexico Border Studies Project at Notre Dame, where he was a full professor in the Sociology/Anthropology Department. Samora was also on the editorial board of the Notre Dame University Press and actively made recommendations for new publications (Pulido 2002). Alberto López Pulido, one of Samora's graduate students and now professor at the University of San Diego, details how Samora sought to support Galarza:

On numerous occasions, Samora shared with me how Galarza...had forgone any permanent academic appointment... It was precisely because of his politics and distrust of University institutions that Galarza struggled to find support for his scholarship in higher education. Of his...publications on farm labor and Mexican American communities, only two were supported by an academic press, both published by the University of Notre Dame press as a result of the... advocacy of Julian Samora. (Pulido 2002, 721)

Using funds from the Borders Studies Project, Samora published two of Galarza's books, *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field* in 1970, and *Barrio Boy* in 1971. A third book, *Farm Workers and Agri-business in California, 1947-1960* was also published by the University of Notre Dame Press in 1977 with the help of a grant from the John Hay Whitney Foundation. A fourth book,

Kodachromes in Rhymes was published by the University of Notre Dame Press in 1982.

Samora encouraged Galarza to write an autobiography and provided funds from the U.S. Border Studies Project for Galarza to do research in Mexico.

Galarza wrote to Samora telling him about the trip:

Two weeks in Sinoloa and Nayarit were well spent. The turnaround point of the trip was Jalcocotán, the village where I was born. The route back was the trail of the emigrants of the early 1910s, the one my family followed through the early days of the revolution. Long talks with old timers who still survive, including militant campesinos, dusted off my own recollections of the way it was.²¹

Samora's urging and funds enabled Galarza to tread over old ground in order to recall his story.

Ernesto Galarza was a principled man, a fighter for basic human justice, a seemingly tireless advocate for marginalized people. My parents always characterized Galarza as a fighter. When Galarza was a research associate at Notre Dame he spent many evenings at our house. One of my favorite stories that Galarza told was about his confirmation. When the bishop slapped his cheek, to indicate that Galarza was now a "soldier of Christ," Galarza slapped him back.

Galarza's research, analyses and publications provided the theoretical framework for understanding how to organize farm workers through unionization. However, Galarza's focused research and commitment to advocate for farm workers in the Southwest made him a pariah to institutions of higher learning (Driscoll de Alvarado 2009). As Stephen Pitti suggests:

Even though his research and publications stand among the most significant of any Mexican American, Galarza was never able to

formally enter the academy as a faculty member. His work was simply too critical of the “establishment.” ...Galarza had tremendous difficulty finding a university audience for his writings, and it was only because of the intercession of Julian Samora, by then at Notre Dame, that his first book, *Strangers in our Fields* [sic], found a publisher in 1965 (Pitti 1997, 2).²²

Samora’s “intercession” is just one example of how the three men supported one another even as they focused on the larger goal of advocacy for Mexican Americans.

Galarza’s *Spiders in the House* is the story of the demise of the National Farm Workers Union, which Galarza had organized in 1947. In the book, “he wrote about the ways that government regulations and government agencies undermined the struggle to unionize farm workers” (Guilbaut 1990, 3-4).

Congressman Richard M. Nixon played a particularly central role when he sided with the Di Giorgio Fruit Company and the Associated Farmers of California and against the nascent union (Galarza 1977).

Galarza and the union were forced to abandon their strikes and ultimately, the Associated Farmers, the U.S. Congress, the insurance companies, the banks, and the *braceros*, proved too powerful for the union:

Step by step, in a series of strikes, we challenged that power. We named institutions and we named persons. We named places...But to the degree that we did define the opposition, the opposition grew in strength, in determination to destroy the union, and it did destroy the union (Galarza 1977).

Galarza’s documentation of community advocacy based on thorough academic research helped to lay the foundation for the new field of scholarship, Chicano Studies (Pulido 2002).

Fighting for Alviso

In the early-1970s Galarza turned his attention to a small community on the southern tip of San Francisco Bay, Alviso, California. Galarza was concerned with a trend he saw: small minority communities losing their cultural identities as they were swallowed up by encroaching cities. He called this development “superurbanization” (Galarza 1974, 14). Anticipating the studies of “barrioization” several decades later,²³ he applied “dynamic research” (Galarza 1977, 5) to help empower the community of Alviso to preserve its identity as a Mexican American community in the face of rapid change threatening its cohesion:

In the case of Mexican-Americans now living in the United States...little attention has been paid to the process by which the Mexican communities - the barrios - are fast losing their precarious hold on the physical space that gave their location, a presence in numbers, an identity, and a cultural refuge. (Galarza 1973, i)

Located on an original land grant deeded to Ignacio Bautista in 1776,²⁴ the area had been predominantly swampland used as a garbage dump by surrounding communities: but what little land was habitable served as home to the poor and marginalized, about 60% of whom were Mexican Americans. The residents had dropped out of the migrant stream and many were second generation Mexican Americans. They served as a labor pool for seasonal labor in area farms and service work in nearby wealthier communities (Galarza 1974).

Galarza wanted to provide training to help the Alvisans negotiate the intricacies of urban change while maintaining their cultural identity. He noted that there was no infrastructure in place to help communities maintain their identity in the face of rapid changes. He was critical of federal and private programs that

gave money without also putting advisory teams in place. He wrote a 50-page booklet entitled *Alviso: The Crisis Of A Barrio* about the results of his research.

In 1968, the community residents had narrowly voted for annexation to San Jose (189 for, 180 against). The losers had filed a series of lawsuits and the developers were stalled “reluctant to commit millions of dollars” while the town’s fate was in legal limbo (Galarza 1973, 9). The plaintiffs wanted time “to plan and prepare for a different kind of future for the community than the developers had in mind” (9). It was Galarza’s contention that most of the residents had not understood what the consequences to their town would be with a positive vote for annexation (Galarza 1974). He felt that they had not understood that the swampland would be drained for housing that would then be sold to wealthy outsiders. They did not understand that the proposed highways would be built through their existing neighborhoods and they would be displaced (Galarza 1973). Galarza wrote in the introduction to the study:

Research has not documented this process. Social scientists have not concerned themselves seriously with its sociological significance to the Mexican ethnic group itself, its connection and relationship to the deep currents of American life that do not originate in the barrio but do destroy it physically and culturally. (Galarza 1973, ii)

The Alviso Study Team, Galarza made clear, was not an academic exercise but a “dynamic research” project designed to give the residents information about the annexation plans and access to power to change the outcome (Galarza 1973).

Galarza reasoned that there was a way to support local communities through education and training. Not only were developers changing the landscape of barrio neighborhoods, but so were federal and private monies then

available for urban renewal. Local residents, Galarza felt, needed to learn how to use those large sums of money to meet their own needs, not the needs of outside interests (Galarza 1974). Galarza was critical of the Federal and private programs which were bringing money into communities that did not have the infrastructure to deal wisely with the rapid change. Nor did they understand that urbanization could fragment their Mexican American communities forever. The federal and private money came without advice and he hoped to provide that guidance. Building on a previous study funded by the Southwest Council of La Raza in 1970, Galarza received a small grant from the John Hay Whitney Foundation in 1971 which he used to form the Alviso Study Team.

In 1968, the Ford Foundation had provided \$10,000 for a much needed medical/dental clinic for Alviso. The community rallied, and with sweat equity remodeled an old motel they had moved onto donated land. Another grant was written to purchase equipment and hire trained staff. Soon money was secured from the Office of Economic Opportunity and the clinic was administering a yearly budget of \$1,500,000. Within three years, the clinic was the largest employer in town. Because of its size, the clinic soon drew clients from the larger Bay Area. The community of Alviso was once again underserved as the clinic stretched to serve patients outside the small community (Galarza 1973).

In 1971, Galarza saw two distinct and conflicting issues: the medical center had been created for the delivery of medical care to the underserved, and was not now serving their original client base. The medical center had become more of a “civic center” (33) participating in “urban planning, economic

development, community organization and so forth” (Galarza 1973, 33). The Alviso Study Team could see the dangers to the fragile community networks and “...lost no opportunity to identify these trends and to explain why...they did not fill the crucial demands of community survival” (Galarza 1973, 38). They also recommended a resident-led body that would learn the political strategies that stave off community extinction. (Galarza 1973).

Had there been Federal money to fund the kind of study that Galarza's team was engaged in, he felt that the Alvisans would have been offered political and legal guidance to better manage the political, economic, and demographic changes. He understood that changes were inevitable; he wanted to help prepare communities for them. As Galarza put it, “the forces in American society which are demolishing the physical base of the Mexican American culture are at work” (1973, 41). The kind of preventive research provided by the Alviso Study Team made some differences in the short-run. But on the whole, Galarza and the Alviso Study Team did not have enough time “before the bulldozers...moved in” (41). Galarza's team noted that such a team “can play a significant supportive role ...where there already exists an institutional structure with a strong cultural base” (45). In the end, Galarza could not stem the tide of progress: “Alviso will be in the mainstream of the American way. Its face will be different and it will not be brown” (45). Galarza did not live long enough to see the area become a bedroom community for the Silicon Valley.²⁵

The Poet

Galarza was a multi-faceted intellectual. He has been called a

“renaissance man” (Chabran 1985; Estrada and Rios-Bustamante 1987; Muñoz 1987). Not only was he a fighter for social causes, he was also a poet.

Galarza’s poetry provides a sharp contrast to his image as a “fighter.” The poems were written over the course of his life on scraps of paper and in the margins of notebooks (Galarza 1995). His scholarly writing was “tedious and precise research” (Galarza 1982), but his poetry was “a different view” (Galarza 1982). His wife Mae wrote the foreword to his sole book of published poetry. Her brief one-page foreword is resonant with information about how meaningful the writing of poetry was to Galarza: “Here is beauty of expression, personal creative effort to soothe the soul...poetry has been play for the mind to move into the reality of the demanding hurdles again” (1982, no page number). We learn from his wife that poetry was a salvation for Galarza, a way to recharge after grueling unwinnable battles.

Writing in the “Introduction” to *Kodachromes in Rhyme*, Galarza asks, “How does one return from the javelins of barbarism, the jabs of barbarians, to an earthly equilibrium and a desire for life?” (Galarza 1982). For him, it was in the writing of poetry that he was able to change perspectives and try one more time to engage the enemy.

I was invited to review the contents of boxes taken from my father’s home office before they were archived at the Michigan State University Archives. In one box was a bundle of 157 sheets of paper with one poem typed on each page, and each page numbered in pencil. The poems were not dated, although several are about historical events and one can guess in what era they were written. Also

in the box was a typed letter from Galarza to my mother thanking her for a particularly savory dinner. The sheaf of poems were for my father to review since he was on the review board of the University of Notre Dame Press. Out of 157 poems, 42 were chosen for Galarza's last book, *Kodachromes in Rhyme* (1982).²⁶

Galarza's 157 poems do not seem to be arranged in any particular order, and they range from poems about nature and the environment, to political events, poems about the poor, love poems, and several poems about death. The poems I have chosen to present are reflections on his life's work, his wife's love and his love for her, and his thoughts about his death.

Reflections on his life's work:

No Complaints

I was not, and I will not be,
between the two of which
I will not moan my destiny
or bitch.
If by regrettable mischance
I came before the time was ripe
I will not blame my circumstance
or gripe.
It will be over soon enough
for me to end this interlude,
and I will murmur: "It was rough—
but good." (Galarza 1982, 19)

"No Complaints" speaks to his years as a labor organizer in which every strike was broken by the growers and ultimately the union was dissolved. For almost twenty years Galarza labored to form strong locals in which workers' rights would be honored. He also labored to end the *bracero* program. The very year that Public Law 78 was ended, "If I came before the time was ripe," Cesar Chavez

started United Farm Workers. Few in this country know that Galarza's initiatives made Chavez's efforts possible.

Love poems:

Conitron

The fruits of penance shall be sweet
if they be served for two.
Your loneliness shall be the half:
I took the rest from you,
for token of the miracle
only two hearts may see:
The lesser grief I bear because
you took the rest from me. (Galarza 1982, 6)

Galarza married Mae Taylor in 1929 and he died in 1984. They were married for 55 years. She carried the burden of raising their two children as he traveled extensively for the Pan American Union, the National Agriculture Workers Union, and for the causes he supported. In the last line, "The lesser grief I bear because you took the rest from me," Galarza is acknowledging the burden of loneliness and worry that Mae carried during their life together.

Breathless interlude

Such fragment of eternity is ours
as lies between my waking and your sleeping –
strange interlude of breathless hours
given to laughter and to weeping.
Time was, and after us
time again will be;
but in this brief parenthesis
it stops for you and me,
fearful lest Something break the interval
of our embrace
leaving you for memorial
only my song in space.²⁷

This poem speaks to the brevity of life, "but in this brief parenthesis it stops for

you and me.” Yet it is a celebration of their love for each other: “Such fragment of eternity is ours.” Perhaps this poem was written late in his life. The last line suggests this: “...fearful lest Something break the interval of our embrace leaving you for memorial only my song in space.”

Death

Obituary

The day after the last of all my days
I will not sleep in some trim cubicle
(The prying earth has many devious ways
to violate such welded citadels.)
But you, who loved me most, ascend a stair
high on a hill, or up some city tower,
to loose my ashes on the listless air
like sun-charred petals from a cherry bower;
and I who loved you most shall be free
and as intangible as the blown kiss
I gave you with my eyes, in agony
that death could break so sweet a synthesis. (Galarza 1982, 49)

This poem is both an acceptance of death and an acknowledgement of the deep love Mae and Ernesto shared. Galarza’s opening line: “The day after the last of all my days” is provocative. The reader pauses to think, oh yes, the day after his death life will be ongoing. Galarza’s command of the language to produce a line like, “as intangible as a blown kiss,” is masterful. That line evokes sensuousness, familiarity, and passion.

Could Be

I only sang
because the lonely road was long;
and now the road and I are gone
but not the song.
I only spoke
the verse to pay for borrowed time;
and now the clock and I are broken

but not the rhyme.
Possibly,
the self not being fundamental,
eternity
breathes only on the incidental. (Galarza 1982, 53)

Could Be is Galarza's anthem. It was the last poem in the sheaf of poems, and it is the last poem in *Kodachromes in Rhyme*. It is a poem of hope: "and now the road and I are gone but not the song." The "song" is everything Galarza fought for: social justice, education for children, intact neighborhoods, and human rights for all. This poem, Galarza's song, blends his voice with the voices of everyone else who "sings" for justice: "Possibly, the self not being fundamental, eternity breathes only on the incidental." Galarza, in his modest way, joins with others in the pursuit of the most basic request, to be treated as a human being.

Galarza wrote a letter to his sister, Nora Lawson, in 1952, reflecting on his life choices. Galarza honored his mother:

I don't know how many opportunities I have had to make money...Each time such a chance has come my way, my problem was whether I should take it so that I might be able to do something for those I love – sending you to college, for instance. But I have always resolved the conflict against the advantages to my family, and always because I could not see myself cutting myself off from the world that really bore me – my mother's world and that of her people. (Guilbaut 1990, 3-4)

The person Galarza became grew from his mother's strength, his investment in the cultural teachings she imparted, and his commitment to his community.

Galarza could not, and did not, turn away from his dogged belief in his *gente*.²⁸

Chapter Four: The Fifth Horseman-Julian Samora

I have never doubted that our history, our heritage, was important, nor that we had something to contribute to society. But many people have had serious doubts about this, and have hastened to tell us about them. For example, our native language has not always been held in high regard, and even after we have suppressed it or forgotten it and mastered the dominant language we may be told: 'But you speak with an accent!' Of course everyone speaks with an accent. But ludicrous as these statements are many of us are persuaded to learn unaccented English by imitating the speech patterns of some of our untarnished leaders, such as Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Baines Johnson, Jimmy Carter or Henry Kissinger...

- Julian Samora

When Julian Samora retired from his faculty position at the University of Notre Dame in 1985, his students honored him with a three-day symposium. They presented scholarly papers as well as tributes to their mentor. One of his students, Jose Hinojosa, described his and his family's excitement at the prospect of studying at Notre Dame because they were all diehard college football fans. Hinojosa quoted the article about Notre Dame's famed football players written by Grantland Rice for the *New York Herald Tribune* in October 1924: "Outlined against a blue, gray October sky the four horsemen rode again. In dramatic lore they are known as famine, pestilence, destruction and death. These are only aliases. Their real names are: Stuhldreher, Miller, Crowley and Layden."¹ Hinojosa cast Julian Samora as the fifth horseman: "To his students at Notre Dame, he is the fifth horseman – the knight of knowledge, the champion against ignorance, intolerance and injustice" (Hinojosa 1985, 1).

This chapter details Samora's birth into utter poverty in rural Colorado, and, with apparently few opportunities, Samora's trajectory from a mountain village in the Southwest to a teaching post in an elite private university in the

Midwest. His is a compelling and unique American story. The reoccurring themes in Samora's life and life's work are the twin concepts of leadership: development and mentoring. Samora investigated what leadership was, how one became a leader, how leaders were trained and mentored, and he modeled leadership and mentoring from his freshman year in college throughout his long career. Samora viewed education as the cornerstone for changing one's circumstances. Indeed, that was the method he had used and he employed it throughout his professional life. Using his thesis and dissertation, interviews and correspondence, I trace his journey, a straight course from elementary through graduate school to become the first Mexican American to earn a PhD in the combined disciplines of Sociology and Anthropology. Not only was education Samora's method for rising out of poverty, he offered it to others, his family and his students, as well.

Mountain Origins

Julian Samora was born on March 1, 1920 in Pagosa Springs, Colorado. At that time, Colorado was a place of active discrimination against Mexicans, and Mexican Americans.² Colorado became a state in 1876, just twenty-eight years after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at the end of the U.S. war with Mexico. Anglos were attracted to the territory abounding in silver mines, prairie grasslands for raising cattle, and valleys suitable for agriculture. Many of the Anglos in Colorado had come directly from Europe, making a new start in a rich and fertile land: "European immigrants were coming to Colorado, assimilating into the mainstream, and becoming Americans. The irony was especially clear to Hispanos: Despite their deep roots in American history and

their U.S. citizenship, they were rejected in Anglo-American communities” (Donato 2007, 8).³

The Hispanos lived separately from the Anglos in all respects: “Anglo-Americans viewed them as inferior, treated them as second class citizens, and kept them on the margins of local life” (90). People worshipped at the same church, but Anglo Catholics received communion first and then Hispanos lined up to receive the body of Christ.⁴ Hispanos went to the movie theatre and saw the same shows as the Anglos, but from the restricted balcony assigned for their use: “Given these attitudes, it was not surprising that there was a Jim Crow-like environment in town. Several businesses straightforwardly refused to serve Hispanos. Others, such as the local movie theatre, had special seating arrangements for them” (93).⁵ Life for Hispanos in the small towns in Colorado was marginalized when Samora was a youngster.

Children went to the same school, but the Spanish-surnamed first graders were diverted to the “Mexican room.”⁶ Writing about the public schools in Colorado, Donato informs us that:

Like many schools in ...Colorado...Elementary Schools had separate classes in the early grades...Anglo parents in Monte Vista demanded separate classes for their children. With so many parents making this request, “the superintendant...complied with [Anglo] requests in every case.” (Donato 2007, 94)

By custom, the children in that room repeated first grade ostensibly to learn the English language. The irony is that, although some of these children were English-only speakers at home and others became competent English speakers in their first year of schooling, the system did not recognize any such individual competency (Donato 2007).

The work that was available to Mexicans in Samora's village was limited: "There were caste-like occupational structures that ...relegated [Mexicans] to the most menial jobs" (Donato 2007,10). Men worked for the railroad, in the mines, for the Forest Service, or herded sheep; these jobs kept the men away from home for months at a time. The women worked as maids and servants for the wealthier Anglo ranchers and town folk (Donato 2007). Very few Hispano adults had an eighth grade education and Samora's people were no exception. His mother had gotten only to the third grade. It is not known if his grandparents had any schooling at all.⁷

Donato reviews the literature written about Mexican and Mexican American school achievement rates in Colorado, finding that Hispano children were at the bottom. However, Donato noted: "These scholars failed to raise questions about unequal power relations, the relationship between local economics and the schools, and how Mexican and Hispano child labor was central in some communities" (11). This was the reality into which Samora was born.

As a boy, Samora never asked his mother why she had not married his father.⁸ He never knew anything about their relationship before his birth, and his parents had no further relationship afterwards.⁹ He had a close connection to his uncle, Miguel Samora, his mother's brother. In an interview in 1985,¹⁰ Samora, when asked about his background, used the expression "social father" to describe his relationship with his uncle. He worked alongside *Tio Miguel*¹¹ in the forests during the summers.

Although Samora's early years were made difficult by the constant discrimination against his people, the extreme poverty of his household, and by the teasing and insults he endured due to the fact of his illegitimacy, he grew up in a loving and supportive home. His grandmother, Selza Madrid Samora, born in Abiquiú, New Mexico Territory in 1859, was a *curandera*¹² and *partera*¹³ and held some status in their community as a healer and aid. His mother, Carmen, born in Los Ojos, New Mexico Territory in 1897, cleaned the bank and the hotel, and worked as a domestic in Anglo homes. Both women were well respected in their community and were remembered as being cheerful and helpful.¹⁴ Carmen is remembered as good-natured, and there are many photos of her with a joyful expression.¹⁵ Carmen was the youngest daughter, and she lived with Selza and raised her boy with her mother's help. The Samora family had all been born in New Mexico territory and had come to Colorado only after the deaths of four older children during a smallpox outbreak.¹⁶

Carmen kept a scrapbook and a photo album, which I was given in 1987. My father and I were in Pagosa Springs visiting his aging aunt, Antonia Valdez, Carmen's eldest sister. While my dad was talking with his cousins,¹⁷ *Tia Tonita*¹⁸ brought out Carmen's albums and sat with me and identified all of the people in them that she could remember. After his death I started poring over the pages in search of clues to his early life. That album is the closest connection I have to my father's early life, it is the material record of his boyhood.¹⁹

Carmen, my grandmother, kept careful track of her son's many academic and athletic achievements. The material record of Carmen's support is that

scrapbook of my father's accomplishments that she had assembled. In it she had glued each school report card, clippings about his sports successes, and the awards and ribbons from his academic efforts. Leafing through the scrapbook, one is immediately impressed with the care and pride that it conveys. His mother and grandmother had absolute faith in his future accomplishments and let him know of their support through their careful gathering and pasting. The scrapbook is a remarkable artifact. The very fact that it made its way to me, along with the photo album, reveals the regard the family held for both Carmen and her son. The family was so poor, Samora recalled, that they sometimes went hungry, yet there were resources to afford the album, glue and scissors to track their boy's progress. I can easily imagine a ritual between mother and son as she glued each memento onto the pages of that book. In many ways, the scrapbook became Samora's own model for success.

Education

Most of the Hispano boys in Pagosa left school after eighth grade, if not before, to become wage earners.²⁰ Selza and Carmen recognized Samora's potential and insisted that he attend high school.²¹ He worked as the night clerk at the hotel, which his mother cleaned by day, enabling him to study during his shift. During the summers, Samora worked with his uncle cutting trees for the forest service. He also helped his mother glean the fields for potatoes and carrots after the harvest.²²

Samora graduated from high school in May of 1938. Donato notes that for this ethnic group: "Graduating from junior high was a major accomplishment;

receiving a high school diploma was the exception to the rule” (2007, 119). In an interview in 1985 Samora explained that he had had a sympathetic male teacher in the eighth grade, who served as a supportive father figure.²³ Samora saw that becoming a teacher was a way to help others as he had been helped, and it seemed a reasonable path to follow. While Samora did not have a firm plan to become a college professor, he knew that he had to leave Pagosa Springs. He reasoned that furthering his education might be a better way to forge a life than working at one of the menial jobs that he despised and for which he had no real talent.²⁴ This simple idea, avoiding menial labor, led Samora to follow a path to academia. He helped to pioneer an epistemologically inclusive way to educate students traditionally excluded from the academy.

Through hard work, Samora was one of twenty-nine students (out of a field of 582 applicants) selected by the Bonfils Family Scholarship committee to attend a Colorado college of his choice.²⁵ The Bonfils family owned the *Denver Post* and supported this scholarship for many years to enable Colorado high school graduates to attend state colleges. Samora chose to attend Adams State Teachers College in Alamosa, a school just over Wolf Creek Pass from Pagosa Springs.

As the time came close, Samora was hesitant to attend the college. There were nasty remarks about his suitability to win one of the coveted scholarships when there were “more worthy” (Anglo) candidates. More urgently, his mother was ill with metastatic breast cancer. Radiation treatments in Denver had not altered the course of the disease and Carmen had refused surgery. Samora

wanted to stay in Pagosa and work full time and provide support for his mother, to be close by to care for her. He argued that he would get to college later.²⁶

Carmen would not hear of it. She stressed that he had earned his place in college, regardless of the grumbling around town. Her sister, *Tonita*, would care for her while Samora was away at school. Samora then argued that the scholarship paid for books and tuition only - where would he get travel money to come home to attend her? Right then and there, Carmen got out the ironing board and taught her son to press a shirt. She told him he could set up a little business and earn money for travel.²⁷ My mother had not known that Carmen had given her son the means to attend school. This is the story we children knew:

He had several jobs to augment the scholarship, which paid only for tuition and books. He worked in the college library where he met Betty Archuleta, who would become my mother. She remembered seeing a dashing, well dressed, and handsome young man who seemed to be everywhere on campus. Mom said she started studying more and spending more time at the library to be sure to catch sight of Julian. One of Julian's favorite stories about himself was how he earned travel money. He set up a business washing shirts. He was so well dressed because after washing and ironing his classmate's shirts, Julian wore them, then washed and ironed them again and returned them to the owners. He earned a nickel a shirt. (C. Samora 2009, 13)

Each of my aunts had stories about my father's skill with an iron. I only learned of his mother's insistence that he leave home to go to college when interviewing his cousin, Cordelia Gomez, who had witnessed the conversation.

Samora's college career can be traced through his yearbooks. As a freshman, he joined the "A" Club, the track team, the Mimes Club, the Art Club, and El Parnaso.²⁸ He was a member of the Honor Society all four years. By his

senior year he was involved in student government, had lettered in sports, and was an officer (usually president) of most of the clubs to which he belonged:

In his freshman year, Julian joined the newly formed El Parnaso Club, which was designed to promote friendship and understanding among the peoples of the Western hemisphere. The keynote speaker at the first annual conference was Dr. George I. Sanchez, and Julian gave the invocation. Dr. Sanchez, who subsequently became a pioneer scholar on the education of Mexican Americans, had received his Ph.D. in Education from the University of California at Berkeley in 1934. Julian struck up a relationship with Dr. Sanchez and the two men remained colleagues and friends until Dr. Sanchez' death in 1972. Already in his first year of college, Julian was making the connections that would serve him throughout his long career. (C. Samora 2009, 13-14)

Samora used college as an internship to learn the leadership and mentoring skills that he would hone and teach to others.

After Samora completed his freshman year, he spent the summer in Pagosa Springs caring for his mother. Carmen died in July of 1939. His grandmother, Selza, died the following year, and Samora was left an orphan at 20 years of age. Carmen had supported her son's engagement with higher education. Without her unwavering encouragement and willingness to do without his earnings, even in her illness, Samora could not have left home to pursue college. His mother taught him the skills to earn money to afford the extra expenses of college, and she had insisted he take the scholarship even though she was dying. Her sacrifice for him and her faith in him launched Julian Samora into public life.

Leadership

In Samora's senior year, he ran for student body president. He lost when his roommate cast the deciding vote against him. While his roommate liked

Julian well enough, he said it was just not possible for him to vote for a Mexican.²⁹ Turning humiliation to victory, Samora ran for, and was elected to, the position of president of Associated Students and Faculty Council,³⁰ a more prestigious position because that body oversaw the running of the college.³¹ This was not the first time that he had encountered the bitter pain of discrimination and it was not the first time that he had turned the encounter to his advantage. His experiences with racism proved to be effective preparation for his later work in social justice.

Samora graduated from Adams State in 1942 with an AB in History and Government. Samora taught high school for one year in Walsenburg, Colorado. That November he married Betty Archuleta. They made a pact to do everything in their power to enable other Mexican Americans to obtain an education. Samora saw an opportunity to begin his outreach to others and together, he and his wife began a life-long practice of helping other marginalized people achieve academic success.³² Putting their ideas about leadership into practice, Samora urged his brothers-and-sisters-in-law to complete their college educations. They all did so, and the men each completed course work for, or received, Master's degrees.

Samora taught at Adams State for the next twelve years, while he pursued both a Masters and a PhD, writing his thesis and dissertation in between his teaching duties. Samora's abiding scholarly concern was his own people.

The San Luis Institute of Arts and Crafts

In late 1943, Adams State started the San Luis Institute of Arts and Crafts in San Luis, Colorado. Settled in 1851, San Luis is the oldest continuously settled town in Colorado and has a rich history of providing education for its inhabitants, the majority of whom have been Hispano (Donato 2007). Civic leaders in San Luis petitioned Ira Richardson, the president of Adams State Teachers College, to found a junior college in San Luis (Donato 2007,111). Richardson was agreeable, and with the help of state leaders secured an unused WPA building for the purpose. According to Mose Trujillo, Samora's brother-in-law and a graduate of both the San Luis Institute and Adams State, it was Samora who noticed Hispano GIs, returning from the war, were entering and then dropping out of Adams State. Samora approached Richardson, and suggested that there needed to be a stepping stone for returning veterans to acclimate before entering classes with youngsters who had not been to war.³³ Richardson appointed Samora the Associate Director of the Institute, and Samora set about attracting veteran students. Samora taught classes and coached the men's basketball team.³⁴ Besides Julian Samora, there were two other Mexican American teachers at the Institute, Bridget Olguin and Eva Borrego, serving as role models for their Hispano students (Donato 2007, 112). The program was a success and larger numbers of Hispanos were entering and graduating from Adams State via the Institute. By 1943, in part because of the San Luis Institute, 27% of the student body was Hispano, and that figure kept growing as Adams State became the destination for Hispano students in the region, most of them to earn their

teaching credentials (Donato 2008, 119).

In addition to his work as a teacher and administrator, Samora was also taking a greater leadership role in the community of San Luis. The townsfolk welcomed the Institute and looked to its teachers to provide leadership for the community. The activities that Samora and his wife, Betty, engaged in set the stage for Samora's continuing research and for their joint commitment to mentoring students and developing leadership opportunities for others. In many ways, Samora's work at the San Luis Institute served as a template for the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program that he founded at the University of Notre Dame in 1971.

Advanced Degrees

Samora earned a master's degree in sociology from the Agricultural and Mechanical College, now Colorado State University, in 1947. His thesis, "The Acculturation of the Spanish Speaking People of Fort Collins, Colorado," is a study of the community he and his wife lived in for one year; it measured, among other things, the use of the Spanish and English languages in a variety of circumstances, consumption of Mexican and Anglo foods, and culturally specific customs taught in the Hispano homes. Through his research study, Samora continued his observations of the interactions between dominant and subordinate groups. Using his wife, Betty, as a co-investigator:

Samora thus articulated early on a dilemma endemic to minority group leadership. He also evinced methodological sophistication in using his family as a research entity rather than adopt the more Anglo individual investigator model. The result was an account articulated from the perspective of the minority rather than the majority....(Blasi and Donahoe 2002, 163).

This observation by Blasi and Donahoe, in their well-researched book about the history of the sociology department at Notre Dame, is particularly important, as this minority perspective was one that defined Samora's scholarship and mentorship.

After receiving the Master's, Samora went to the University of Wisconsin in Madison to pursue a Ph.D. He returned after running out of funds and not finding support for his research agenda: "People didn't know that Chicanos were in the Midwest. When I was a student at Wisconsin, a professor wanted to know what I wanted to do my dissertation on. I said on Mexican-Americans. The professor said, 'Oh yeah, they are in the Southwest'. He didn't know a dang thing about Mexicans."³⁵ Returning to Adams State, Samora taught for several more years. He applied for a Herman's Fellowship, which he was awarded in 1950 and he began his studies for a PhD in Sociology and Anthropology at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. Samora won a John Hay Whitney Fellowship for 1951-1952 that enabled him to finish his coursework.

Samora's dissertation, "Subordinate Leadership in a Bi-cultural Community: An Analysis," investigated leadership relationships between Mexican Americans and Anglos. His research showed that: "In situations of dominant-subordinate relationships, where the goals of the subordinate group are largely goals to be achieved within the dominant system, the in-group cohesion of the subordinate group will be considered inadequate by members of the subordinate system" (Samora 1953, 2). In other words, members of the subordinate group, in this case Mexican Americans, will feel that they cannot be as effective as the

dominant group as long as the goals are defined by the dominant group. Samora articulated a major element in minority group leadership: that Mexican American leaders were co-opted by Anglo culture and thereby rendered ineffective as leaders within their Mexican culture.

Samora based his findings on research conducted in Del Norte, Colorado. Samora realized the institutional difficulties Hispano leaders faced as they tried to negotiate their way through the Anglo-dominated society. Samora stated his thesis problem in the opening paragraphs of his dissertation:

When two groups of people live together in an area for a number of years certain patterns of intergroup interaction will be established. In American society these patterns of intergroup interaction have generally taken the form of dominant-subordinate relationships. This has been true particularly in the relationships between minority groups and the larger society. Quite often the minority has been accorded the lowest status in the society and has suffered discrimination and segregation, thus being placed in a position of inferiority with reference to the larger society. (Samora 1953, 2-3)

Learning how to operate in such a world meant learning Anglo mores and customs, but often at the risk of compromising or even losing the *Hispano* culture as a result.

Samora investigated goals which the subordinate groups could achieve within the dominant society: he studied the fact that leadership emerges from a group for specific reasons, and he explored the dynamics of inter-ethnic leadership. He states:

The social system is such that the dominant group is open enough to permit certain qualified members of the subordinate group to enter its ranks. The qualifications that these individuals possess are likely to be qualifications necessary for inter-ethnic leadership. These qualified individuals will not be effective leaders because they will appear to have "sold out" the subordinate group in moving

toward the goals of the dominant group. On the other hand these qualified individuals may not have any inclination to lead the subordinate group because the qualifications which they possess have estranged them from the subordinate system. (Samora 1953, 3)

This understanding of the leadership conundrum between Mexicanos and Anglos guided Samora's efforts in planning for and establishing the Southwest Council of La Raza, described in Chapter Five.

Samora's dissertation appears to be the first academic research of any length to examine these complex leadership relationships between Mexicanos and Anglos. As Dr. Barbara Driscoll de Alvarado wrote:

It should be noted that Samora's dissertation bibliography contained only one citation authored by a Mexican American, namely George Sanchez. Of forty-two items listed in the bibliography, only ten treated Mexican Americans specifically. Only one entry studied Mexican American leadership; Sanchez wrote a two page article published in 1950 by the Southwest Council on the Education of the Spanish-Speaking People about "The Default of Leadership." Julian's dissertation was the first academic research conducted on the question of leadership in the Spanish-speaking community and its relationship to the Anglo-dominated system. (Driscoll de Alvarado 2009, 35)

Samora's dissertation demonstrates his early interest in leadership development in the Hispano community. This interest began to shape and later defined his scholarship and the course of his career.

Preparation for University Life

Of the three men investigated in this study, Samora had the firmest ties to the academy. Like Galarza, he was the first in his field to earn a PhD, but unlike Galarza, Samora shaped his career through the university. Perhaps because he had a large family by this time, Samora kept close ties with a college. He taught

at Adams State intermittently for fourteen years, taking leaves of absence to complete his Master's and Doctorate. Samora looked for mentors early in his career, and two relationships stand out based on archival research. He developed strong relationships with Lyle Saunders, a prominent sociologist (Driscoll 1993) who helped guide Samora's early path, and with Charles Loomis, who modeled how to negotiate grants and develop large research projects.

Lyle Saunders: Mentor in Medical Sociology

In 1944, Samora wrote to Dr. Lyle Saunders asking for a copy of an article. That precipitated a correspondence of nearly forty years that fills seven files in the Samora papers.³⁶ Saunders was a sociologist teaching at the University of New Mexico with a significant interest in the Spanish-speaking people, when they started their correspondence. Their friendship evolved, and Saunders served as a mentor, offering support for Samora's doctoral studies. Samora sent drafts of his dissertation proposal for Saunders's comments and Saunders offered critical reviews throughout the writing process.³⁷ By early 1952, Saunders was working at the University of Colorado Department of Medicine, Department of Preventative Health and Public Health. Saunders's work, supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, researched issues of cultural differences in the delivery of health care. As a sociologist working in a medical school, he was doing cutting edge work (Driscoll de Alvarado 2009).

In an exchange of letters in Spring 1952, Saunders had read enough of Samora's dissertation to suggest that Samora put a "health twist" in a chapter. Some of Samora's data could be useful to Saunders's own research. Saunders

found an extra \$400 to pay Samora to study folk medicine and folk healers in rural Southern Colorado. Samora expressed an interest in gathering data on “health attitudes and practices in rural Spanish-speaking people” and how they felt about Anglo medical personnel.³⁸

Samora turned in a report and expressed dissatisfaction with the life histories he had collected. Saunders agreed with the assessment and sent him two long letters explaining the nuances of collecting a life history: “Like the making of wine, the taking of a life history cannot be rushed.”³⁹ Saunders was instructive and offered quiet guidance and gentle criticism.⁴⁰ Clearly, Saunders had taken Samora, still a graduate student, under his wing.

Saunders and Samora continued their discussion about folk healers and folk medicine, Saunders asking for the English names of plants. Samora couldn’t supply the English translations but did offer that the plants were available in many drug stores in Del Norte and Alamosa.⁴¹ Saunders asked for the definitions of the terms *medica*, *curandera*, *albolario* and *bruja*.⁴² These discussions are significant because Saunders and Samora were including ethnic practices in the emerging and unnamed field of Medical Sociology.⁴³

Early in the Spring of 1953, Samora applied for a teaching post in the Sociology department at UNM. Saunders wrote enthusiastic letters of recommendation to his former colleagues.⁴⁴ Although Samora did not get the job, he made a good impression and taught summer sessions at UNM for two years. On September 15, 1953, Samora took his orals.⁴⁵ He passed them, his dissertation was favorably received and he received his PhD in the combined

disciplines of Sociology and Anthropology.

Saunders and Samora discussed the reasons for the demise of the Costilla County Cooperative Health Association. The health center had been a joint effort between Hispanos and Anglos. They surmised that fear and distrust by Hispanos of Anglos were elements in the failure. They also thought that perhaps the roles that folk healers had in the lives of the Hispanos needed to be better understood. Samora now had time to write up the Costilla County study, of interest to him since he started the PhD program, and asked Saunders to co-author. By this time, Saunders had told Benjamin Paul, his counterpart at the Harvard School of Public Health, about Samora and suggested that the article would be a good fit in the book Paul was editing. "A Medical Care Program in a Colorado Community" was published in *Health, Culture, and Community* (1955). Samora wrote most of the article with Saunders serving as editor and go-between with Paul. One of the major accomplishments credited to Samora was the re-establishment of the state-run public health clinic. Samora had provided the research and documentation of need that local leaders took to the statehouse to secure the funds to re-establish the health facility in Costilla County (Blasi and Donahoe 2002).

Both Samora and Saunders were invited to Fisk University to present to the 11th Annual Institute of Race Relations. Samora suggested leadership as their topic and Saunders agreed. Saunders suggested a "horizontal and vertical approach," with Saunders doing "a more general discussion to set the stage for your specific analysis," and Samora "going fairly deeply into leadership factors in

social and cultural integration.”⁴⁶ Saunders’s recommendations promoted Samora, who would be able to use his dissertation research for the paper while Saunders took more of a back seat.

In November 1954, Saunders approached Samora about a job working with him in Denver at the Medical School. Saunders had too much work for one sociologist and he had contacted the Russell Sage Foundation to expand the grant to include another researcher. Saunders suggested five reasons Samora should take the job: Samora would get a publication out of the association; he would develop ties with a foundation; he would explore working in the medical area; he would get better known professionally; and he could use the Denver move as a stepping stone to finally leave Adams State.⁴⁷

Samora and his wife were interested. The work intrigued him: they would be studying patient-centered care at the General Medical Clinic, and at least 30% of the patients were Spanish speaking. But Samora also had reservations. He felt inadequate: “if I have a ‘long suit’, [sic] I would judge it to be in certain abilities to entertain students and now and again give them an idea. I like research, but I am a better teacher...”⁴⁸ He asks about teaching a class, if he would have a faculty appointment, what would be his faculty rank (he was tenured at Adams State), he would need a raise because of the higher cost of living in Denver, and on and on. By this time, Samora and his wife had four children and this was a big move for him and his family.

Saunders responded with enthusiasm that this was an opportunity to develop new skills: “communicating to people in medical teaching and students

of medicine whatever it is that social science may have to offer...this is not teaching in the usual sense of the term...there is much opportunity to devise and try out new techniques of teaching.”⁴⁹ Saunders had investigated the answers to some of Samora’s many questions in an effort to encourage and assure him that this move could be a good one for them both. Saunders wrote:

I’m gambling, in a sense, that together we can get something good accomplished...Nobody expects miracles...But it will be...a little like playing a game in which there is a great crowd watching but you don’t quite feel that you know all the rules. Meanwhile, look into your mind and soul...and dig up any questions... you think appropriate.⁵⁰

Samora took the job and started work August 1, 1955 with a rank of Assistant Professor and a salary of \$6000 per year, \$1000 more than his Adams State salary.

Samora was at the Medical school for two years; he applied an innovative approach to understanding what medical students were communicating to their patients and what Spanish-speaking patients understood the doctors to be saying. Using his skills as a teacher, Samora taught the medical students that the divide between cultures and class could and must be bridged for the better health of the patients. Saunders sent a note to Samora in which he wrote:

Nothing either of us does in the foreseeable future is likely to revolutionize or astound the sociological world. But I think, with you, that we can do a competent job, enjoy doing it, and maybe that is enough to expect.⁵¹

Saunders was too modest: he helped to open medicine to social science inquiry and Samora helped to bring the “Spanish-speaking people” into the conversation (Driscoll de Alvarado 2009).

Michigan State and U.S. Mexico Border Studies

The start date for the position in Denver was delayed so that Samora could spend six weeks at Michigan State working with Charles Loomis:

...The inkling that I had of Border Studies came from Dr. Loomis, and I am convinced that Dr. Loomis probably was the originator of the concept "Border Studies." My introduction...came in 1955 when Dr. Loomis invited me to join his staff at Michigan State University, where he indicated that he had a Border Studies Project....(Driscoll 1993, 34)

Loomis, the chair of the Sociology and Anthropology Department at Michigan State University, initiated and funded a U.S./Mexico Border Studies Project in the early 1950s.

Loomis created the networks of scholars and graduate students working on the project. Samora, "attracted as much by Loomis's personality as by his ability to get research money," joined Loomis at MSU during the 1957 and 1958 academic years (C. Samora 2009, 19).⁵² Loomis had institutional and financial support from MSU, an Agricultural Land Grant university with close ties to the United States Department of Agriculture. *Rural Sociology*, an influential journal of rural studies was located at MSU and was a route for publishing the study findings (Driscoll 1993, 26).

Samora took note of Loomis's well-structured project and employed many of the same features with his own future projects at Notre Dame.⁵³ The scholars and students were encouraged to work on projects that interested them and students wrote their dissertations and Master's theses from their research. The result was a wide range of research topics and publications:

According to Loomis, Samora's contribution to Border Studies was

sought not only because he had multi-disciplinary training and experience but more importantly because he was Mexican American, and as such, brought a singular and essential point of view to academic study of the region. (Driscoll 1993, 30)

Driscoll observed that Loomis was the first scholar to understand that the Southwestern Mexican Americans were integral to understanding the U.S. Mexico border and was delighted to include Samora in the project. Samora, for his part, was interested in how Loomis “had a health project and a border project...combined neatly into...[a] border cross-cultural” project (Driscoll 1993, 38).

Samora was at Michigan State for the 1957-1958 school terms. During that time he published several articles on border issues resulting from his work with both Loomis and Saunders.⁵⁴

Notre Dame: Research and Scholarship

In the spring of 1958, Samora and a colleague, Bill D’Antonio, whose grandparents were Italian immigrants, went to a conference, “Values in America” hosted by the Sociology and Anthropology Department at Notre Dame. Samora had been on D’Antonio’s dissertation committee at MSU. The conference related to their research on the Border Studies project. Loomis paid their way (Blasi and Donahoe 2002, 158; D’Antonio 2007). Notre Dame, then expanding their Sociology/Anthropology department, was interested in hiring Samora and D’Antonio because they were practicing Catholics. Both were offered faculty positions and both accepted. MSU, facing a state budget crisis, could not match Notre Dame’s generous package. Arriving at Notre Dame for the fall term of 1959:

With Julian Samora and William V. D'Antonio on the faculty, President Hesburgh could attract grant money to Notre Dame with greater success, especially for research related to civil rights and Latin American development. (Blasi and Donahoe 2002, 159-160)

Samora became especially successful at attracting his own grants to support Mexican American projects which earned him a measure of independence from the administration.

At Notre Dame, Samora obtained multiple grants and conducted multiple studies that contributed to the knowledge base about Mexican Americans: In 1960, \$12,000 from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to conduct a national study of Spanish Speaking People;⁵⁵ in 1960, a grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health to investigate Mexican American conceptualizations of health and medicine (Samora 1961, 314-323); in 1967, \$149,000 from the Ford Foundation to conduct a study on Population Trends in Mexico and Central America; in 1968, \$140,000 from the Ford Foundation to establish a U.S./Mexico Border Studies Project at Notre Dame; in 1971, \$449,545 from the Ford Foundation to produce scholars and scholarly materials in the field of Mexican American Studies;⁵⁶ in 1972, \$100,000 from the National Institutes of Mental Health Continuing Education Branch; in 1973, \$51,000 from the John Hay Whitney Foundation to conduct research on the Texas Rangers (Samora 1979); in 1975, \$30,000 from the Ford Foundation to research dilemmas and issues of the U.S./Mexico Border; and in 1978 and again in 1981, a total of \$853,400 from the U.S. office of Education Fellowships to support graduate students at Notre Dame.⁵⁷

By 1963, Samora was the head of the Sociology-Anthropology Department.

In the mid-1960s, he was taking on larger responsibilities outside of the academy. He accepted an assignment from the Civil Rights Commission (described in Chapter Five), accepted appointments on two Presidential Commissions during the Johnson Administration, and began to serve as a consultant on boards and national governmental panels. He also collaborated with other Mexican American scholars and activists as co-author of numerous publications and as co-founder of important Mexican American institutions.⁵⁸

Blasi and Donahoe commented: "One can readily imagine what kind of work schedule hides behind those bare facts" (2002, 156). Samora's engagement with the university was done in conjunction with broad involvement outside of academia.

Each study which Samora directed, in addition to those to which he contributed, added to the growing body of socially relevant scholarship about Mexican Americans and "One detect[ed] no artificial multiplication of articles in his work, no slicing of a single study into as many small articles as possible" (Blasi and Donahoe 2002, 162). Many of the studies were conducted with scholars and activists in other fields making Samora a pioneer in interdisciplinary scholarship. Using his contacts and networks:

Samora began to develop a sociological account of Mexican Americans in general, going beyond micro issues of their access to medical care in small communities and their status in one industry. In so doing he met a need in the discipline and, for that matter, in the United States at large. There was widespread ignorance about Mexican Americans. In a study of education, Samora demonstrated that dropping out of school occurred primarily in the high school years. He refused to believe that the family and culture supported education in the earlier years and reversed themselves in the high school years. The problem of Mexican Americans dropping out of

high school had to be rooted in the school.⁵⁹ (Blasi and Donahoe 2009, 165)

Samora's impact on scholarship can be understood in two ways: through the influence he had on his home department and through his books and articles. By 1970, when Samora had been at Notre Dame eleven years, the Notre Dame Sociology department had "published more articles and books on Mexican American Studies than any department in the United States" (Blasi and Donahoe 2002, 250). Samora's leadership and national influence had an impact on Notre Dame that can be traced through the research studies and subsequent publications.

Samora's Epistemology: Individual and Community Knowledge

Samora's epistemological grounding came from his own cultural background. His epistemological kit included working in collaboration and reaching across ethnic and racial lines, ignoring the hierarchies of the academy, and telling stories as a pedagogical tool. I look to the Chicana feminists to understand and to describe Samora's epistemological range: "...implicit in all these theories...is the epistemological validation of everyday life as a key source of knowledge" (Elenes 2000, 216). Samora sought an institutional model to train leaders who would be fully invested in their own culture and yet fully accepted by the larger society. Samora wanted to create students who were well-trained, effective leaders in both the academy and in the community.

Samora modeled academic rigor in the classroom. His method of cooperative engagement was key to his strategies as a teacher. One of his students, Victor Rios wrote:

Dr. Samora had a way of allowing the class to teach itself...Dr. Samora was always open to new interpretations and others' contributions...he was open to hearing the arguments in the colloquium and supporting the efforts of those students who adopted newer, alternative approaches. In this role of facilitator/teacher Dr. Samora was practicing a pedagogy that was liberating, democratic, and learner-centered. We as students found ourselves in a learning environment in which we were free to express our opinions without fear of negative criticism and in which our opinions and suggestions were welcomed by all and especially by the authority figure in the class. Although Dr. Samora was obviously an "authority" in the fields he specialized in, he was always approachable, never condescending, and always open to other viewpoints. This minimization of ego and interacting with his students on a personal, humane, and equal level, I, at whatever level I taught, would strive to do the same. I don't know whether any of his students realized it at the time, but Julian Samora was offering us a model to emulate without directly telling us how to teach or help people learn. (Rios 2009, 138-139)

Samora provided a model for Rios when Rios started his own teaching practice.

One benefit of Samora's pedagogy was that he lived and demonstrated his methods of teaching.

Collaboration

Samora collaborated with his students and colleagues inside the academy and with colleagues outside of the academy. Samora co-authored articles with other sociologists. He brought students into the research and writing of two of his books granting shared authorship. And he co-wrote one book with activists and politicians and another with an activist and a labor organizer.⁶⁰ Samora was an active and generous collaborator, sharing funds from grants to work on interesting projects.

Samora's penchant for working in collaboration was a hallmark of his professional life. He sought collegiality, and he modeled it as a way of academic

life. He was the only Latino on the Notre Dame faculty for almost 20 of his 26 years of tenure at Notre Dame. The first African American faculty member, Dr. Joe Scott, was hired in 1970, and he remained the only African American faculty member for a number of years. Together they formed a two-man coalition; they team taught classes and brought awareness of ethnic groups to their students. They were ahead of the Chicana feminist maxim that research and scholarship in academia can and must lead to social justice (Hurtado 2003). Scott and Samora strove to engage the University in a racial and social justice dialogue that manifested in service. Service bespoke humility and humility bespoke meaningfulness.⁶¹

Ignoring Academic Hierarchies

A strong component of Samora's epistemology was to teach his students to value the strengths they brought to their own research. Samora recognized that in order to survive within the academic system, his students needed to work cooperatively, as opposed to the more usual competitive system in academia, which mirrored the dominant culture. His seminars taught his students to honor cooperative learning and to believe in and cherish their cultural ways of cooperation and decision-making (Pulido, et al. 2009). Ken Martinez, who is now the majority leader of the New Mexico House of Representatives, remembered his first weeks as a law student at Notre Dame in 1981: Law school was fiercely competitive and the workload overwhelming; he resented having to go to the graduate seminar. But once there, he found a sympathetic teacher in Samora who assigned projects in the local Mexican community. Martinez remembered

the experience as reinforcing the values of cooperation and generosity he learned at home in New Mexico. A bonus for Martinez was meeting the Mexican American second year law students. In contrast to the dominant learning style at the Notre Dame Law School, the second year students helped the first year law students with their assignments by revealing where the law books were hidden in the library. Martinez said the competition in the law school was so fierce that the students actually hid the needed law books from each other, a practice foreign to the Chicano students' methods of learning and sharing.⁶²

Storytelling

One of Samora's tactics in the graduate seminar was to tell stories of his youth. These stories revealed vulnerabilities as he told of his humiliations, personal defeats and occasional triumphs.⁶³ Further, his stories served to impart to his students lessons of perseverance and tenacity. To deconstruct the experience of being marginalized without the hopeful attitude of constructing something in its place would be dispiriting and counterproductive: "To claim victimhood would inadvertently reinforce the hegemonic belief in people of color's inferiority and inability to assert agency" (Hurtado 2003, 218). Rather than claim victimhood, Samora was claiming triumph.

Telling one's story helps marginalized people overcome the "distortion and invisibility" of their experience of multiple forms of oppression (Elenes 2000,106). Knowledge is produced and constructed and transmitted through this pedagogy that is common to folklore, American cultural studies and feminist

epistemologies, the three lenses through which I am conducting this investigation.

Samora told the story of his search for a hotel room in 1943 in Fort Collins, Colorado, where he had gone for a graduate school interview. All the hotels posted signs that read: "No dogs, Indians, or Mexicans allowed." Finally he found a clerk who mistook him for an Asian Indian and rented him a room "in a fifth rate hotel." This story illustrated Samora's perseverance. He ignored the insult, knowing that he was accepted into graduate school and he was climbing out of poverty.⁶⁴

He often told the students about the hotel in his college town of Alamosa that would not rent to Mexicans. When he was a tenured professor at Notre Dame, he was invited to speak at his alma mater, Adams State, and found that he was to be put up at that very hotel. He declined their invitation and stayed with relatives rather than enter the hotel that had been so hostile.⁶⁵

I surmise that Samora enjoyed telling these recollections because he knew his students could relate so fully to his experiences and that they would find validation in them from their own personal knowledge.⁶⁶ Employing situated knowledge, an embodied knowledge that came out of his own experience as a Brown person in the United States, Samora used what he knew of the self, his experiences within his communities and his interpretation of those experiences to enrich his teaching and his scholarship.⁶⁷ Storytelling builds community, provides a rich oral legacy, and transmits the culture of the group (Elenas 2000, 107). When interviewed by former students in 1985, Samora said:

I think the thing that has gotten me going is discrimination. I tried to be equal to, and as good as, the Anglos. I wanted to make as much money, speak as well, and have all the goodies as the dominant society. But no matter what I did, I was always a "Mexican."⁶⁸

From the very beginning of his scholarly investigations Samora turned to his own community in an effort to shine the spotlight on an ethnic group virtually ignored up to that time by the academy and by national political and social policy.

Notre Dame Institutional Changes

Samora enjoyed collaborating with colleagues through the classroom, through research and through activism. He team-taught a class with Professor Tom Broden of the Notre Dame Law School. Broden headed the Institute for Urban Studies at Notre Dame. The Institute was concerned with urban social justice issues and issues of diversity, and Broden served as its director from 1970 to 1990. Their association led to several collaborations.

They decided to hold a conference on Mexican Americans to discuss the needs of Mexican Americans and other Latinos in the Midwest. After the founding of the Southwest Council in 1968, leaders in the Midwest wanted to create a similar advocacy organization. This conference was scheduled to discuss their idea. Conference planners included Ernesto Galarza, then a Research Associate at Notre Dame, and Graciela Olivarez, in her last year in law school. In April 1970, The Mexican American Conference was held at Notre Dame. The conference attracted over 200 participants, including leaders from Washington, D.C., ten Midwest states, the Southwest and student leaders.

During the conference it was decided to establish an organization for Latinos in the Midwest; The Midwest Council of La Raza (MCLR) was born.

MCLR was headquartered at the Institute for Urban Studies at Notre Dame, demonstrating a unique collaboration. The Midwest Council was instrumental in bringing attention to Mexican Americans and other Latinos who had been in the Midwest cities and rural areas since the 1910s. The MCLR developed migrant transition centers throughout the Midwest (Parra and Villa 2009, 81).

Concerned with the question of leadership since the inception of his career, Samora next sought to implement an opportunity to bring change to the academy while creating advantage for students. He sought recognition from the academy through his solid scholarship, a scholarship that embraced, rather than diminished, his ethnic viewpoint. Samora grew up bi-lingual and bi-cultural. He was all too aware of the challenges his students faced in society and in the academy because he had faced them himself.

Comprehensive Plan to Educate Mexican Americans at Notre Dame

The road Samora traveled to achieve the distinction of being the first Mexican American to earn a PhD in Sociology was arduous and painful, traveling into new territory from the Southwest into the Midwest to find academic success.⁶⁹ Samora understood the importance of leadership among the Mexican American people. He understood the historical lack of effective leadership. Taking advantage of the changes to the academy, perhaps brought about by the political activism of the 1960s and 1970s, he developed a plan to educate Mexican Americans and those interested in producing research about Mexican Americans. He discussed his idea with Broden, who gave Samora a small grant, seed money, to start a pilot program that would produce scholars and scholarly

materials (Blasi and Donahoe 2003).⁷⁰

Based on his research findings, Samora was prepared to improve the educational opportunities for Mexican American students as soon as funding was secured. Broden's seed monies allowed Samora to support Jorge Bustamante,⁷¹ who had come to campus in the fall of 1968 to work with Samora and whose money had run out. Bustamante was a graduate student in the Sociology Department and Samora was his advisor. Samora felt that in order to attract foundation money he needed to show that there was a base of support from his department and a budding program already operational at Notre Dame.⁷²

By 1971, Samora had secured a grant from the Ford Foundation and he began to recruit students for his Mexican American Graduate Studies Program (MAGSP) in earnest. Samora recruited through the departments, offering four-year fellowships in Sociology, History, Government, and Political Science. Three to five students were accepted per year, and students came from all over the country and a few from abroad into his graduate studies program.

Mexican American Graduate Studies Program

The MAGSP had four components, students were recruited and mentored through the process of graduate work; the Notre Dame Press was a partner in publishing works by Mexican American scholars; increases in the university library acquisitions provided specific resources to enhance Mexican American studies, including publications by emerging scholars; and a lecture series invited scholars, politicians, and activists to meet with the students in a seminar setting and then each gave a public lecture. This comprehensive plan was attractive to

the Ford Foundation, and they supported the program for the first five years of Samora's Mexican American Graduate Studies Program.⁷³

The Students

In 1971 the first students were admitted under the Ford Foundation grant. The terms of the MAGSP for the entire 14-year history stipulated that a student be admitted into an academic department and then attended a weekly seminar with Samora.⁷⁴ The program was an interdisciplinary project in which students were accepted into their home departments of sociology, history, political science, government, psychology, and law. The students were encouraged to write their dissertations on Mexican American topics even though there was no Mexican American Studies department or program as such. Samora implemented his strong belief that scholarship had to be grounded in need and had to be relevant.

The students were required to attend the Mexican American Graduate Studies seminar for at least two semesters, but many attended every semester during their graduate program. The seminar was the life-blood of the program, because it was there that Samora trained his students for the rigors of academic and professional life.⁷⁵ His program created community for Mexican American students within the walls of academia. The weekly seminar provided a forum for supporting the students while they negotiated the academy. It was in the seminar that students were able to meet with leaders and discuss issues one on one.

Unofficially, Betty Samora provided a home away from home for the students, inviting them to supper for beans and chile. She also entertained the

guest speakers, hosting parties and gatherings to which students were always invited.

The Press

Samora had persuaded Ford that publishing new research was a key element to the graduate program. Samora became a member of the editorial board of the Notre Dame Press and helped to choose manuscripts for publication. Samora was concerned that there were too few outlets for emerging Mexican American scholars to publish their work. The Ford money gave Samora and the Press the ability to publish works by such scholars as F. Chris Garcia and Mario Barrera. Ford money also insured that controversial figures like Ernesto Galarza would be published. Samora's dedication to publishing Galarza's books assured that they would see the light of day. Publishing new works also supplied much needed resources for emerging Chicano Studies departments in colleges and universities across the country. Almost two-dozen books were published during the fourteen-year history of the program. Buoyed by the sudden acclaim for its innovative and cutting edge publications, the Press was all too willing to engage with Samora. By 1976 the Notre Dame Press was noted for its publications in Mexican American and Chicano Studies.

The Lecture Series

During the tenure of MAGSP, Samora invited a wide assortment of scholars, activists, politicians, writers, and filmmakers to campus to meet with the students during their seminar. Samora also had invited the Northern Indiana and Southern Michigan community to the public lectures each invitee was expected

to give.

Carey McWilliams and Paul S. Taylor, among the first to write about Mexican Americans in the 1940s and 1950s, were among the guest speakers. Galarza had been hired as a Research Associate, so he was not, strictly speaking, part of the lecture series. But he interacted freely with Samora's students in those early days of the MAGSP. Cesar Chavez spoke at Notre Dame on two occasions, and his public lecture was attended by thousands of people. Samora invited both Mexican American governors of New Mexico, Toney Anaya and then Jerry Apodaca, as well as California Representative Edward Roybal. The students held a conference on Catholicism and Mexican Americans, and the three Chicano Archbishops gave presentations. Rodolfo Anaya had just published *Bless Me, Ultima*, and he gave a reading. Moctezuma Esparza, the filmmaker, was working on *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez*, and the students read the screenplay and offered critiques. Vilma Martinez, president of MALDEF, and Gloria Molina de Pic, chair of the Executive Committee of the National Council of La Raza gave lectures. This is but a partial list of people who came to interact with Samora's students. The students were exposed to people who were active nationally in effecting social change and the experience was one of the most powerful aspects of the program.

Successful in its charge to provide avenues for Mexican Americans students and to produce knowledge about Mexican Americans, the program was ended when Samora retired in 1985. That Samora's graduate program had achieved a near 90% retention rate (fifty students earned advanced degrees

during the life of the program), is both a testament to Samora's tenacity and his skill in creating a program in which the students, in addition to earning advanced degrees, also developed strategies to negotiate the hostilities they routinely encountered. With creativity and determination, Samora provided a space for his students to gain the skills and confidence to function at the highest levels of both the academy and the professions.

A Man of His Time

Samora completed his masters just after WWII and earned his PhD just at the threshold of major social changes in civil rights in this country. Samora was a man of his time in many ways. He was able to capitalize on those changes and use them to implement radical programs in education at the university level and to implement political civil rights policies at the national level. When he came of age, Mexican Americans were categorized as white, when they were thought of at all. Commenting on the labels used throughout his lifetime to name his ethnic group, Samora said:

Hispanic is a good bureaucratic term. Before we were Hispanic, we were people of Spanish origin; and before that, we were people of Spanish surname. In 1930, we were Mexicans until someone discovered that no one was born in Mexico, "How can they be Mexicans?" That is why I prefer Latino. In California, it was Mexican-American; in Texas, it was Latin American; in New Mexico, Paisano; in Colorado, Spanish-Americans. (Samora 1994)⁷⁶

In his middle years, during the civil rights activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s, Chicano Power signaled a sea change in social activism for this ethnic minority. Mexican American and other ethnic groups were self-identifying and refusing to be labeled by society, the U.S. Government or any other institution.

By the time Samora began the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program, he was 51 years old. He lived twenty-five years more, not a terribly long life by today's expectations. But his life was characterized by his constant and indefatigable march toward social justice. A few of his students complained that he was of the "old guard" and could not embrace the political activism of Brown Power. They failed to realize, because there was so little history written at that time, that by 1971 men like Samora had already been challenging the political and educational status quo for thirty years. Samora knew that Chicano Power was exciting and motivating but that it would leave no trace unless substantive institutional changes were in place. His role in the founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza emphasized his commitment to incorporate Mexican American concerns at the institutional level.

As a university professor, Samora was acculturated in U.S. hegemonic discourse. He saw his task as a teacher to deconstruct that discourse as it related to Mexican Americans in general and to his students in particular. He did this by firmly maintaining his own ethnicity. His life's work, deliberate and detailed, included understanding how organizations worked, understanding the dynamics of leadership, and understanding the power of education to effect social change. And he used the powerful elements of his cultural teachings as a significant force in educating his students and in reshaping the dominant stories.

Samora was able to publish a wide variety of academic works that were, and are still, used by academic institutions across the nation. His work in establishing a national civil rights organization for all Latinos cannot be

overvalued. His scholarship was groundbreaking, pioneering, and far-reaching. Samora serves as a model on many fronts: in civil rights, in social justice, in activism, in providing research to effect public policy, and in the education and mentoring of emerging leaders. Samora was a man of his time and he took full advantage of the sweeping changes that the Civil Rights era brought to our country. He served as mentor to 57 graduate students through the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program, and to countless undergraduate students during his 40-plus years as a teacher. Samora told his students, at the time of his retirement symposium, that they were his most important legacy. Dr. Samora effectively created a generation of Latinos prepared to assume leadership roles in their communities. These students represented the next generation of Latino/a leaders and included scholars, researchers, policy makers, lawyers, a university president, an assistant provost, a federal court judge, a state legislator, authors, therapists, high school teachers and doctors. They now mentor and educate yet another generation of Latino/a leaders in America.

Samora's teaching, his research, and his writing reflected the duality of action for the sake of valuing one's own subjectivity, with the certain knowledge that one's actions will not bring about the desired societal changes. Dr. Jorge Bustamante, delivering the keynote address at the 20th anniversary of the Julian Samora Research Institute at Michigan State University told this story which illustrates this point.⁷⁷ Bustamante was present when Samora told a newspaper reporter that, no, he was not tired of the struggle, nor did he feel his work was in

vain. He said he did not work for results but rather, he worked from conviction, and he had stood by his convictions.

Chapter Five: The Founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza

Several years ago I attended a reception in California and fell into conversation with two young Chicano students...I inquired about the status of Chicano students at their college, and that question led to a discussion of the Chicano movement. Totally unaware that I knew anything about the subject, they launched into a remarkable explanation of how the National Council of La Raza had been born. It seems that "the Ford Foundation didn't give a damn about brown people and was refusing to give money to our folks until several members of the Brown Power movement went in to see Michael Smirnoff and talk to him straight. Then we got money." I said something profound, like "Gee whiz," and inquired where they had learned all this. They told me it was taught in Chicano studies. I realized that I had just been exposed to an institutionalized myth. Now you could go to school and learn about Leda and the Swan, The Labors of Hercules, and Michael Smirnoff and the Foundation Gold.

-Siobhan Oppenheimer Nicolau

As this epigraph makes clear, there have been many different "origin myths" about the founders and founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza (SWCLR). This is, of course, true of many organizations. In this chapter, I aim to rectify the historical "invisibility" accorded to Herman Gallegos, Ernesto Galarza, and Julian Samora,¹ emphasizing their pivotal roles in the organizing, research and scholarship that led to the founding of the Southwest Council. Because of their inclusive leadership style, which encouraged the participation of Chicano youths, the nascent organization ran headlong into the battles between those young leaders and Henry B. Gonzalez, a seasoned Congressman from Texas. This led to the Southwest Council getting caught in the political fallout between the United States Congress and the Ford Foundation through a tax reform act in 1969 which effectively controlled the flow of monies from the Southwest Council to their affiliates. The result was a significant change in the way the Council

operated and a significant change to the original goals as conceived by Los Tres. Using their letters, interviews, and secondary sources, this chapter details their leadership in securing monies for the founding, and explores how their leadership framed the first two years of the organization's existence.

The facts gleaned from my research make it clear that in 1968, Ernesto Galarza, Herman Gallegos, and Julian Samora founded the Southwest Council of La Raza (SWCLR), with a grant from the Ford Foundation. Their applied research resulted in creating what has become, some forty years later, a leading civil rights organization for Latinos in the United States, the National Council of La Raza. The founding of this organization was a milestone for Mexican American political and community organizers who had long struggled to secure funds to help their communities help themselves. Los Tres were intellectuals of color developing strategies that allowed them to effect change in public policy. These strategies included leadership development, cross-cultural cooperation, the creation of support communities, opening up the elite ranks of philanthropy, community activism, and research and scholarship. Los Tres led dynamic Mexican American networks, providing leadership that engaged the select networks of the philanthropic world.

The birth of this organization was achieved in the midst of the turbulent years of the Chicano Movement, when the various threads of the movement were being fashioned into whole cloth: "The Chicano Movement was both a product of and a participant in the sweeping civil rights movement that was challenging the prejudice, bigotry, and discrimination long embedded in laws, and

institutions as well as in attitudes” (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1990, 8). Los Tres brought together a group of leaders that represented a broad spectrum of interests both within the movement and within philanthropy. Youth leaders Juan Patlan and Willie Velasquez were at the table with labor leaders Maclovio Barraza and Henry Santiestevan. Political leaders, Bert Corona, Albert Peña, and Carlos Truan sat on the board with community organizers Manuel Ramirez and Leandro Soto. Representatives from established Mexican American organizations, Mario Vazquez and Robert Sanchez of the G.I. Forum and Armando de Leon of LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) sat with Rafael Arvizu and Joe Salas, young leaders still in college. This is not a comprehensive list but it does make the point that the membership of the organizing committees, the first board, and the first affiliates were drawn from a wide-ranging group of community activists, labor leaders, and students. Telling their story is important because in conceiving of SWCLR as a mainstream institution funded with elite philanthropic monies, Los Tres positioned the Mexican American organization and its participants as worthy of full inclusion into American life.

The Background: Los Tres and the Ford Foundation

During the early years of the Civil Rights Movement, the plight of Mexican Americans remained largely out of the national spotlight (Sepulveda 2003). Individually and collectively, Los Tres recognized the web of interrelated challenges of discrimination, poverty and inequality that Mexican Americans faced in the United States. Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora consciously used

their skills as scholars, activists, organizers, and teachers to address these issues. Each of them brought distinct assets to their collaboration. The Ford Foundation's history of engagement with minorities intersects with their story.

Herman Gallegos had made strategic contacts during his years as a social worker in the Bay Area. In 1958 he was working in San Bernardino County for a Rosenberg-funded project, and met Ruth Chance, the executive director of the Rosenberg Foundation. They worked together on several Rosenberg supported projects and Gallegos impressed Chance as a very savvy leader. She wrote of Gallegos: "...he was not just a technician or a theorist: his planning was practical and was meant to achieve results" (Chance 1989, 12). Chance opened philanthropic doors for Gallegos and his colleagues.

Julian Samora had prepared a pilot study for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1962. This study, using 1960 Census data, interviews, and secondary sources, presented a broad look at the "Spanish speaking" population in the United States "in terms of education, housing, employment, administration of justice, voting, public accommodations, and health" (Samora 1962, 1). The study is notable for its extensive assessment of American life for Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. Samora includes a section on migratory labor, entailing an evaluation of undocumented laborers, Mexican contract workers, and domestic farm workers, reaching similar conclusions to those of Ernesto Galarza. In the Summary and Conclusion, Samora suggests the "establishment of an agency at the national level to help the Spanish speaking resolve their many problems" (18). Within four years he was deeply involved in that endeavor.

Ernesto Galarza was transitioning from labor organizing to writing about the ordeals of domestic farm laborers organizing against the tide of Mexican nationals flowing into the United States under the *Bracero* Program. He had documented the many infringements to Public Law 78 that put both domestic farm workers and Mexican nationals at risk. On September 17, 1963, an old run-down truck overloaded with *bracero* workers drove into the path of a Southern Pacific freight train, and 32 workers were killed. Galarza called for a full-scale investigation by the House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor. He was appointed staff director, and he wrote the committee report. Almost none of his recommendations were enacted, but his thorough documentation of employer negligence led to settlements totaling over \$2 million for victims' families (Galarza 1977).

The Ford Foundation had a history of philanthropy to African American institutions and to programs that benefitted African Americans. Beginning in 1950, Ford gave directly to "Negro Colleges," the United Negro College Fund, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (Sierra 1983, 129). Through the foundation's Urban Affairs program, called Great Cities, Ford looked at problems of cities including urban renewal, urban decay, and urban youth issues. Minorities benefitted from this money directly and indirectly as Ford developed "an interest in urban affairs" (Ylvisaker 1991, 161). Through the Great Cities program, Ford funded high schools in predominantly Black neighborhoods in an effort to help Black children in decaying urban schools (Sierra 1983).

Ford, under Ylvisaker's leadership, established the Grey Areas Project in the mid-1950s, which was "meant to distinguish urban sections falling in between prime areas of a city which needed no intervention and the hard-core slum areas where, it was thought, little if anything could be done" in an effort to provide funds for studies and programs in urban areas (Sierra 1983, 108). The Grey Areas Project helped give shape to President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty programs, thus providing continued collaboration between government and private funds (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1991).

In addition to the above-mentioned projects, the Ford Foundation took on a worldwide focus, aiming to improve the economic conditions of people everywhere. Ylvisaker, the National Affairs Director at Ford and an academic and educator readily adopted this stance. For example, as Ylvisaker explained, he was deeply interested in issues of migration: "[I] collaborated on a proposal to make migration the global theme of the foundation for the next quarter century. It went nowhere; the officers of the foundation had a hard time visualizing what in retrospect turned out to be one of the dominant forces at work both here and abroad" (Ylvisaker 1991, 162). However, the stage was set for learning more about Mexican Americans.

Laying the Ground Work

In the early 1960s, while working at a Ford Foundation supported project based in the African American ghetto of Hunter's Point in San Francisco, Gallegos met Ylvisaker, who asked him what a Hispanic was doing working with a group of African Americans. Gallegos told him that Ford did not support any

projects for Hispanics and asked him repeatedly to consider funding projects that directly benefitted Mexican Americans (Gallegos 1989).

Ylvisaker had already served as project director for substantial grant to study Mexican Americans; in 1964, Ford gave Leo Grebler, a professor at UCLA, \$647,999 for a multi-year study (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1991). His study asked, among other questions: “In what respect are the adaptation problems of Mexican-Americans unique, and in what respects are they comparable to those of other immigrants of previous generations or of Negroes to-day?”⁶ This grant was the first of its scale awarded by Ford to a project concerning Mexican Americans (Grebler et al. 1970; Nicolau and Santiestevan 1991). *The Mexican American People* was published in 1970, two years after the founding of the SWCLR.

Mexican Americans in Los Angeles and other locales strongly protested that a grant of this size, the first of its kind, did not employ a single Mexican American (Gallegos 2008). As a result of the protests, Ralph Guzman, a graduate student, was hired as associate director. He obtained a PhD in Political Science from UCLA in 1970.⁷

Drawing attention to the existence of Mexican Americans in the Midwest, Samora and Richard Lamanna, one of his colleagues at Notre Dame, produced “Advance Report 8” for the Grebler study.⁸ “Mexican Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago,” was published separately in July 1967.⁹ This report warranted a Foreword by Leo Grebler: “if for no other reason than because its subject matter goes beyond the confines of the Southwest” (Grebler

1967, v). Grebler made clear that a study the size of the UCLA project needed to include the “colonies that...for some time have existed outside the Middle West” (v). Samora and Lamanna provided information about health, education, employment, history, politics and religion (Samora and Lamanna 1967).

The Grebler study was not a project that directly benefitted Mexican Americans, the study was very academic and was still several years away from publication, and Ford was sensitive to the protests over Grebler’s omissions (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1991). Ylvisaker wanted Ford to respond to the needs of Mexican Americans, but he needed to see more evidence of Mexican American capability. Ylvisaker perceived “two persistent problems: one, the difficulty of finding common ground and presenting a united front; and two, the arduous...task of accumulating resources needed for effective action” (Ylvisaker 1991, 164). Ylvisaker maintained an active interest in funding other studies or programs concerning Mexican Americans.

Gallegos spaded the ground and sowed the fertile seeds; he had firm contacts with Rosenberg and with Ford through his work with several programs funded by the two foundations, and he had had several conversations with Ylvisaker concerning funding projects directly benefiting Mexican Americans. Chance approached Gallegos in 1964 about writing a book to honor one of their trustees, Charles de Young Elkus, who had passed away (Sorenson in Samora 1966, v). Elkus had been the guiding force at Rosenberg for over twenty-five years, and the trustees wanted a memorial that “would contribute to the future of one or more of the social movements in which he had a life interest” (Sorenson in

Samora 1966, v). Chance asked Gallegos if he knew anyone who could undertake such a work. Gallegos recommended Julian Samora, who had established himself at the University of Notre Dame by investigating Mexican Americans through scholarly research. Gallegos also recommended Ernesto Galarza, and the three of them formed an editorial board that included Saul Alinsky, Evelio Grillo, Ruth Chance, and the Rev. Donald McDonald. Samora produced what became the first book-length study of Mexican Americans published in the United States, *La Raza: Forgotten Americans* (1966).

In 1965, Chance held a conference in San Francisco to review the book and she invited Ylvisaker. The review conference, Gallegos remembers, included:

Ruth Chance... and Julian. Ylvisaker attended as did other contributors, including Mexican American Political Association activists, Eduardo Quevedo and Bert Corona, scholars Dr. Ernesto Galarza, Dr. George I. Sanchez, Dr. Lyle Saunders, Rev. John A. Wagner, John R. Martinez, Rev. William E. Scholes, Lawrence B. Glick, Paul M. Sheldon, and Donald N. Barrett, and community activist Leandro P. Soto and I [sic]. (Gallegos 2008 B, 3)

This was an important group of people because it included community activists, scholars, and labor leaders. Some of these people became founding board members of the Southwest Council of La Raza, and all had a stake in advancing a Mexican American agenda.

Ylvisaker noted the depth of intellectual discussion at the conference and the “common ground” he saw among the participants. Gallegos remembers that: “The meeting lasted two days. Paul came away impressed with the high quality of discourse, civility, passion and commitment to problem solving demonstrated by everyone there. The myth that Chicanos could not work together quickly

dissipated” (Gallegos 2008, 4). Ylvisaker decided he wanted to learn more about Mexican Americans from this group of activists and scholars, with an interest in funding a project that the group might develop. Samora wrote in the

Acknowledgements to *La Raza: Forgotten Americans* that:

For many years I have admired the patience, tenacity, and courage of the Spanish-speaking people, the subject of this report. This population, exploited at times, living mostly on the fringes of society, misunderstood by public and private agencies, and largely ignored by the federal government and its programs, has managed to survive with dignity, composure, and pride. No other population has contributed more to American society and received so little in return. (Samora 1966, vi-vii)

This book helped alert the American people, private and public agencies, and fellow Mexican Americans to an emerging group rapidly losing its patience.

The review conference led to Gallegos being hired as a National Affairs consultant to the Ford Foundation from 1965 to 1968. Gallegos brought Galarza and Samora to the attention of Ford, and Gallegos helped to initiate the foundation’s interest in long-term philanthropic support for Latinos.

The Study

Employing the same team that Rosenberg had used, Ylvisaker asked Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora to undertake a comprehensive regional assessment of Mexican Americans for the Ford Foundation. Ford recognized that little was known from a policy formation standpoint about a significant population of Americans and they contracted with Los Tres to conduct a study of Mexican Americans in the Southwest. Ylvisaker asked for a completed evaluation in six months time (Galarza et al. 1969, vii).

Gallegos recalled that the three consultants: “had absolute freedom to go wherever and whenever we wanted...we were not given any pre-conceived set of ideas or proposals to pursue. When asked if there were materials in Ford’s files we should look at or persons we should contact, Paul Ylvisaker replied, ‘No,’ and said, ‘*Go out and dream your dreams*’” (Gallegos 2008, 4-5).¹⁰

In a letter to Galarza, Samora confirmed that “Paul said that we should take the initiative.”¹¹ In the same letter, Samora acknowledged that all three would “be placed on a consultant basis to see if we could develop a program within six months.” Samora was not sure what his role would be as a consultant since he planned to leave for Mexico that July. Further he wrote, “I do, however, want to get thoroughly involved with this project until I leave and I would hope to be able to join it on a research basis when I return.” Samora had already been hired by Ford to work in Central America, with a base in Mexico City, on population issues, an assignment he held for 24 months.

The three consultants took their assignment seriously, but they also used these meetings as a vehicle for camaraderie.¹² They met frequently, using Ford monies, in such interesting places as New York, San Francisco, Albuquerque, San Antonio, and Mexico City. As they met with leaders, elders, and youth groups, they conceived of an organization that would address disparities in education, health, and political activities, and they “dreamed their dreams.” They made plans for an organization that would identify and support leaders and support communities. The letters and documents they exchanged trace the

course of their thinking about how to include the communities they hoped to assist and how best to phrase the content of their recommendations.

Los Tres knew that the Mexican American population was not homogenous and must not be treated as a bloc (Samora 1966), so they emphasized that SWCLR take into account the diverse and differing problems and circumstances of local populations. At the same time, it was clear that information about the council development had to be shared with the larger community.¹³ The preliminary organizing meetings had to be open and transparent.

They wanted an organization that had “a broader base and deeper roots”¹⁴ than any other they had yet experienced. They wanted an organization free of the “client system” of welfare programs and an approach where the communities would be participants (Gallegos 2008). The council was not intended for any one specialized group: “It should be a device by which organizations working on the many fronts of Mexican-American concern can explore their common ground, develop mutual support, share common services and technical assistance.”¹⁵ Leadership was to come from local sources, aided by technical support for community programs, educational opportunity, and research and information.¹⁶ Los Tres envisioned providing basic research support to the Mexican American communities both as a database, tapping “the resources of that great University – Washington D.C.” and research in the form of periodic reports “supported by the heavy artillery of scholarship.”¹⁷

In mid-1966, Ylvisaker left the Ford Foundation, to return to his academic career, as Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education (Gallegos and O'Neill 1991). Ford had other personnel changes at that time; for example, McGeorge Bundy was named president of the foundation. Bundy had been special assistant to President Johnson for national security affairs. Bundy was one of the primary architects of escalating U.S. involvement in Vietnam (Goldstein 2008; Holbrooke 2008). The three consultants met with Bundy who, according to my father's report to the family, thought the three men were Puerto Ricans. During the entire meeting Bundy appeared to be writing furiously. When the meeting ended Bundy put down his notepad, revealing scores of paisleys he had been doodling. Bundy didn't know anything about Mexican Americans and was hesitant "to plunge into a new minority" (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1990, 10).

Fortunately, S. M. Miller, who took Ylvisaker's place, shared his assessment that Ford should broaden its minority-serving base to include Mexican Americans and others. Bundy and the new vice president of National Affairs at Ford, Mitchell (Mike) Sviridoff, were pressed by Miller to expand "their definition of disadvantaged" (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1990, 10).

The study written by Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora allayed Ford's concerns about whether Mexican Americans possessed the intellectual leadership to implement a project should they be awarded funds. The study raised Ford's awareness about Mexican Americans and Ford was convinced to spend a significant amount of money on research regarding this ethnic group. The study provided a context for Ford to confirm that Mexican Americans were a

significant demographic. The findings of the consultants expressed in the Conclusion to the study and the recommendations to Ford were:

- I. To create a Spanish Speaking Social Action Council for the Southwest.
- II. To support local community cooperative action projects formulated and controlled by recipient neighborhood organizations.
- III. To establish a leadership training center for developing and giving technical assistance to community workers in Mexican American neighborhoods.
- IV. To organize and maintain a research and information center and services related directly to the encouragement of region-wide social action, cooperative community projects and leadership training.
- V. To initiate educational opportunity programs designed to improve the use of present scholarship and other funds by Mexican Americans, to investigate the possibility of increasing present resources, and to enlarge community participation in support of educational opportunities for Mexican-American youth. (Galarza 7/9/67, 6)¹⁹

This seminal study was the result of the effective use of research. Although Ford had made no promises regarding funding, the success of the study was evidenced by the Foundation's ultimate willingness to take a chance on funding the new organization.²⁰ The report was dated December 31, 1966. Los Tres had made their deadline. They asked for an initial grant of \$10 million over a five-year period. The study was published in 1969 as *Mexican Americans in the Southwest*.

Taking it Public

Mexican Americans were on a different footing than African Americans at this point in the Civil Rights Movement. Mexican Americans did not have a legacy of colleges like the Historically Black Colleges, nor did they have institutionalized religious leadership such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, nor strong national Civil Rights organizations such as the NAACP or the Congress of Racial Equality (Sierra 1983). In addition, they did not have liberal support like the middle and upper class Whites who took up the Civil Rights “cause” in the late 1950s (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1990).²² Los Tres saw the creation of SWCLR as a partial solution to this historical inequity. Fortunately the nascent Mexican American organization did have support from Organized Labor. Sviridoff and Henry Santiestevan with roots in the United Auto Workers, Macolvio Barraza of the United Steelworkers of America, and Bert Corona of the International Longshoremen and Warehouse Union, all played significant roles in the founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1990).

According to political scientist, Christine Sierra, a new “political climate that allowed Mexican American problems to be presented on a national level, with national visibility” (1983, 149), had evolved in the mid-1960s. A series of events transpired in 1967 to move a Mexican American agenda into the public arena: The establishment of the Office of the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs in July, a White House Conference on Mexican Americans held in late October, and a “pre-White House Conference” held in mid-October.

Mexican Americans were calling for a White House conference to address their issues. On February 17, 1967, Samora and Gallegos had breakfast with Harry McPherson, Special Council to President Johnson, and asked specifically about the proposed conference. The conference, they said, was an important vehicle for Mexican Americans to speak out on their own issues. Samora and Gallegos rejected the White House offer of a special office in HEW (Health Education and Welfare) as being “imposed from above.”

In a memo to President Johnson, McPherson stated that he was “evasive and non-committal” when pressed by Samora and Gallegos. But, he added, Samora and Gallegos seemed like “level-headed activists” and McPherson recommended that the conference be approved. McPherson ended his memo with the reminder that Mexican Americans were a major voting power in five states and “that risk is greater if we deny them the conference that they think they are entitled to, than if some hell is raised.” At the bottom of the memo President Johnson wrote a note saying, “Don’t let this trash in the White House.”²³

Responding to pressure from the Mexican American community (Sierra 1983), on July 9, 1967, President Johnson established the Office of the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs. The agencies and secretaries involved were the departments of Labor (Willard Wirtz), Housing Education and Welfare (John Gardner), Housing and Urban Development (Robert Weaver), Agriculture (Orville Freeman), and the Office of Economic Opportunity (Sargent Shriver).²⁴ The Inter-Agency chair was Vicente Ximenes, commissioner of

OEO.²⁵ Instead of holding a conference at the White House, President Johnson decided to hold cabinet level meetings in El Paso on October 26-27 of that year, under the direction of the Inter-Agency. Ximenes started organizing the meetings, inviting the participants, and planning which people would present to which Secretary.²⁶

The response from the planning group for the as yet unnamed Southwest Council was immediate.²⁷ In a letter to S.M. Miller on October 12, 1967, Galarza outlined the events that transpired. The California Unity Council met in Fresno and a “tentative approach” for El Paso was adopted. A statewide meeting of representatives of organizations and of individuals met in Los Angeles on October 7-8. Galarza termed this meeting a “pre-White House Conference.”²⁸ A cohesive plan emerged of “program and policy papers” to present to the Secretaries later in the month in El Paso (Sierra 1983,155).²⁹ According to Galarza’s letter, it was decided that a small group would convene with Ximenes on October 14 regarding the structure of the meetings.³⁰ Gallegos and Galarza assumed leadership for an alternative conference, a rump conference, to be held in El Paso at El Segundo Barrio’s Sacred Heart Church (Sierra 1983, 157).

On October 9, Al Piñon, Henry Santiestevan, and Bert Corona called a gathering of the newly named Organizing Committee of the Spanish-speaking Social Action Council, at what was really the first meeting of the Southwest Council of La Raza. Maclovio Barraza was chosen as temporary chair of the Organizing Committee and he later became chairman of the SWCLR Board of Directors.³¹ Galarza contacted Miller with an update:

Publicity from these events brought a chain of calls from Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. Our detailed report...has very likely precipitated moves in those states in the same direction. Preparations for El Paso now appear to have a strong regional and organizational base.³²

At this first meeting, committees were formed, assignments made and all concerned prepared for the momentous events of October 26-28, 1967.

The El Paso meetings were tremendously important to the cohesiveness of the Mexican Americans/Chicanos in attendance. It served as a catalyst for individuals and groups to make a place for themselves in the American landscape. People of different ideologies and political agendas listened to each other and they all participated in a “newly articulated ideology of La Raza” (Sierra 1983,157).

Galarza made a presentation to the Secretary of Labor and then left the meetings for the rump council. In typical tongue-in-cheek fashion, he characterized the 800-person rump conference as follows: “Mexicans, middle class, Chicanos, squares – just an awful hodgepodge...all the brown eminences” were there (Galarza 1972, 203). In the midst of the chaos, Lee Soto, who was in charge of public relations, kept after Galarza to name a theme for the rump meetings. Galarza remembered: “I didn’t have time to give any thought to any theme, so to get rid of the guy, I said call it La Raza Unida. He handed it out to the press, and so help me, the next day it was all over the country” (204).

Analyzing the results of the meeting, Galarza was critical of the official White House Conference for excluding the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres³⁴ from New Mexico (Tijerina had not been invited); for confusion about the national role of the government’s Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican Americans Affairs;

and for the undetermined relationship between the Inter-Agency and the Southwest Council “if and when it is created.”³⁵

Galarza reported satisfaction that the usually marginalized groups were heard, not by the administration, but by each other at the rump conference.³⁶ Fifty-two civic, labor, and other organizations from ten states were represented. In a very revealing letter from Galarza to Miller dated November 3, 1967 he reflected:

During the past 48 hours I have been picking bits of shrapnel from portions of my hide not usually exposed to public view. They are more revealing than tea leaves and they tell me there’s an agonizing reappraisal going on. It remains to be seen whether there will be any ecstasy after the agony. In any event the momentum has passed from three consultants to the intermediate stage of broad organization participation. Beyond that, way down community involvement is in the making.³⁷

Los Tres passed the baton to the community organizers. Their work was not yet finished, by any means, but their role had changed. Their leadership styles did not suggest that they would control the direction the council took. Both Gallegos and Samora quoted Galarza who admonished them to “never seek power” (Gallegos 2008; Samora 1992).³⁸

As a postscript to the White House Conference for Mexican Americans, the White House issued a press release detailing point by point what the Johnson administration had accomplished or planned to accomplish as a result of the meetings. Included in those accomplishments was a “law authorizing the first bilingual education program” and the appointment of Julian Samora “to a Presidential Commission evaluating the Nation’s welfare system.”³⁹

The Founding

Los Tres had assembled a planning committee of about twenty-five individuals to take their recommendations and institutionalize them (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1990, 11). Acting quickly after their display of cohesiveness in El Paso, Barraza, as chair of the organizing committee, wrote to Miller on November 6, 1967 requesting \$19,830 for operating funds for the “Spanish-speaking Social Action Council” (as the Southwest Council was temporarily named) for three months, long enough to set up the organization of the Council. With funds from the Industrial Union and the National Council of Churches, along with a small grant from Ford, the planning committee moved forward.⁴⁰ Labor, activism, and scholars conjoined to promote a new ambitious concept for Mexican-Americans. Lee Soto, of the Organization for Business Education and Community Advancement (OBECA) agreed to be the fiscal agent for the new organization.⁴¹

With the aid of Los Tres, in late 1967, the committee wrote the proposal for submission to Ford. After a series of meetings, and many drafts and many rewrites, the proposal was accepted by Sviridoff, the Vice President for National Affairs at Ford.⁴² The proposal focused on encouraging and training new leadership and developing community grassroots organizations, both achieved through sub-grants from the SWCLR to the community groups.

Galarza’s ideas had a huge impact on the direction the fledgling organization would take. In a Statement of Priorities and Aims, Galarza wrote:

...Those who enjoy least the benefits of American life, and who fall furthest behind in opportunities for responsible participation

in citizenship, constitute the greatest number of Mexican-Americans. They must be reached by community activity that is increasingly effective...

The spirit in which the Southwest Council of La Raza is founded acknowledges that technical assistance, guidance, counsel, support or aid from outside or from above to the local community are desirable and tolerable only when they in no way interfere with the democratic procedures of that community.

The local democratic processes and their inseparable educational supports offer the only possibility for releasing the creative energies, enlisting the commitment and drawing upon the springs of cultural and ethnic dignity of the Mexican-American.

As these aspirations are realized the spiritual and material foundations for self-help will be laid, and on them the ethnic minority can take its stand as the peer and partner of all those Americans who seek, with equality of economic opportunity, consideration and respect for personal dignity regardless of color or race.

Dr. Ernesto Galarza
January 16, 1968.⁴³

Galarza's ideas, honed from over thirty-five years of organizing and writing, were ripe for implementation. He had an eager audience who recognized his leadership and his status as the "Don" of the Chicano Movement.

Sviridoff was concerned about the ability of the seasoned elders to contain the "angry young Turks" who were an integral part of the planning committees, the community-based organizations that the Council intended to assist, and who were now members of the new board (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1990, 12). On June 10, 1968 the Ford Foundation made a \$630,000 start-up grant to the Southwest Council of La Raza: "with this announcement, private philanthropy pledged its resources to substantially support the organizational efforts of Mexicans in the Southwest for the first time in history" (Sierra 1983, 160). About this time, Ford assigned Siobhan Oppenheimer (later Nicolau), to be the Program Officer to SWCLR.

The Organization

Resigning as a consultant to Ford, Gallegos, agreed to serve as the SWCLR's founding director for a period of two years (Gallegos 2008). By September, Gallegos had hired staff (Annual Report 1968-69).⁴⁴ Considered "neutral" territory between California and Texas, the new organization was headquartered in Phoenix, and Gallegos maintained an office in San Francisco, where he was still involved in community action work. Polly Baca and Miguel Barragán oversaw the Phoenix office. Galarza continued in an advisory capacity with Ford. The SWCLR set up a 25-member board drawing from organizations and individuals from California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and seven Members at Large. Samora served on the board in that last category. Maclovio Barraza was voted in as the chairman of the board and the organization opened for business on September 7, 1968 (Annual Report 1968-69).⁴⁵

The \$630,000 grant from Ford gave the Council a "limited degree of financial independence never previously experienced by a Mexican American organization" (Annual Report 1968-69, 10). The SWCLR advocated for Mexican Americans by providing information, research, leadership and community development. The SWCLR served as an umbrella organization for four original affiliates, or "local councils" (Annual Report 1968-69, 12): The Spanish Speaking Unity Council (SSUC) based in Oakland, The Mission Development Council (MDC) in San Francisco, The Mexican American Unity Council (MAUC) out of San Antonio, and The Mexican American Community Programs Foundation (MACPF) based in Los Angeles. Those four organizations in turn responded with

funds and program initiatives to their own local communities and organizations. SWCLR provided technical assistance, research, and advocacy for the affiliates (Annual Report 1968-69).

The Mexican American Community Programs Foundation (MACPF) based in Los Angeles was founded in January of 1968, with a 25-member board comprised of representatives from local barrio organizations. By the end of their first year they had launched a voter registration and education program (Annual Report 1968-69).

The Spanish Speaking Unity Council (SSUC), based in Oakland, was a combined effort by two local organizations, the Oakland Spanish-speaking Unity Council, an already six-year old organization, and the recently organized Mission Development Council. The two organizations represented over 22 separate organizations. This dual organization concentrated on leadership training, urban development, and education (Annual Report 1968-69).

The Mexican American Unity Council (MAUC) of San Antonio was incorporated November 16, 1967. MAUC was the first affiliate to receive funds from SWCLR. They developed leadership among high school and college students, implementing programs to arrest the high drop out rate of high school students and they “sought recognition and acceptance of the Spanish language on all high school campuses” (Annual Report 1968-69,15).

The Council also implemented its own education initiatives: a multi-media Mexican American history program for junior and senior high school students and the publication of the study, *Mexican-Americans in the Southwest*. To study

political empowerment, the Council developed PREP, the Political Research and Education Project. This initiative was funded by small grants from the United Auto Workers and the United Steelworkers. The goal of this project was to form an institute to provide research and education to “develop more effective voter registration and education programs in the Southwest” (Annual Report 1968-69, 25). Further, PREP “will not be geared to direct involvement in political action” (Annual Report 1968-69, 25). In the conclusion of the report, a cautionary note sounds: “the Council must take into consideration new developments on the contemporary scene...Consideration must be given to the relationship of the Council to the new Republican administration...”(Annual Report 1968-69, 28).

The Chaos of 1969⁴⁶

Within one year of its founding, in 1969, SWCLR confronted a crisis of extraordinary proportions – the climate of public opinion was changing and financial and ideological support could no longer be counted on. The people and organizations involved were interrelated and the results changed the Council irrevocably. The country was moving away from grass-roots initiatives and student-focused activities (Sepulveda 2003). Richard Nixon⁴⁸ took office in 1969 and a new conservatism was on the rise (Montejano 2010). The fact that the Chicano Movement itself was still on an upswing meant inevitable clashes (Sepulveda 2003).

MAYO was a student-led organization founded principally by Juan Patlán and Willie Velasquez. In Fall 1967, Velasquez and Patlán met with Herman Gallegos, then a Ford Foundation consultant, about the feasibility of creating an

organization to deal with problems in the San Antonio barrio (Sepulveda 2003). Velasquez and Patlán formed the Mexican American Unity Council (MAUC). MAUC was an umbrella organization for several groups of professionals and students including the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO). MAUC approached the Ford Foundation for funds to incorporate. The Foundation, based on Gallegos's recommendation, was supportive of the organization but decided that it would be best served through a "pass-through" grant from the Southwest Council to MAUC.⁴⁹ On June 10, 1968, the Council made a grant to MAUC (Annual Report 1968-69, 14). MAUC was the first affiliate funded by the newly incorporated Southwest Council (Sepulveda 2003, 72). MAUC then made a sub-grant to MAYO and other neighborhood organizations who used the money to "challenge existing power structures" in South Texas (Sierra 1983, 176).

Velasquez, executive director of MAUC and a member of MAYO, was a leader in voter registration activity in South Texas. The board of directors of both MAUC and MAYO was composed mainly of student leaders who were intent on making a political impact (Montejano 2010; Sepulveda 2003).

Henry B. Gonzales, Democrat from Bexar County, Texas, had been elected to the San Antonio city council in 1953: "Gonzalez quickly became a household name – either revered or despised because of his bold, iconoclastic, liberal style" (Sepulveda 2003, 82). He was elected to Congress in 1961.⁵⁰ He was a member of the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs. Gonzalez considered Velasquez one of his protégées after sponsoring him as a summer intern in 1964 (31). Gonzalez professed to have liberal views, however,

he turned on his fellow Mexican Americans when he became “convinced that these student militants were his political enemies, and he set out to do battle with them” (Sierra 1983, 176).

Even before the founding of the SWCLR, on August 10, 1967, Gonzalez had written a three-page letter to S.M. Miller. Gonzalez challenged Ford’s plans to fund a new regional organization for Mexican Americans. Trying to undermine the movement, Gonzalez criticized the deficits of the Mexican American community and its lack of cohesiveness. Interestingly, he cited a lack of leadership as one reason for failure to organize Mexican Americans: “This lack of organization reflects, for one thing, a lack of leadership.”⁵¹ Gonzalez goes on to say that: “I seriously question whether a lastingly effective national organization could be created by injection of technical and financial assistance.” He told Miller that people at the local level can accomplish substantive changes and then mentioned: “I saw a group of poor people organize a Little League.” Miller responded with a short letter in which he thanked Gonzalez for his “willingness to counsel us and hope that you will let us have more of your ideas.”⁵²

In 1968, Velasquez organized a conference sponsored by the Bishop’s Committee for the Spanish Speaking, drawing about 1500 people. It was a galvanizing conference for people who were ready for social change. Velasquez invited Gonzalez who “chose to attack rather than attend” (Nicholau and Santiestevan 1990, 15). Velasquez was concerned that: “something dangerous was brewing...Congressman Gonzalez felt the same way and quietly waited for

the young leaders...to stumble, hoping to...make sure they would not get up again” (Sepulveda 2003, 81).

Bexar County Commissioner Albert Peña and State Senator Joe Bernal befriended Velasquez, drawing Gonzalez’s ire (Montejano 2010).⁵³ Those three were involved in helping Chicano candidates in local elections that spring (Montejano 2010). For his part: “Velasquez closely followed the escalating barbs being thrown back and forth between Gonzalez, Peña, and Bernal as an interested observer, but with no desire to engage as a participant” (Sepulveda 2003, 84). This changed when Gonzalez escalated his attacks to include Velasquez.

On April 28, 1969, Gonzalez read a speech into the Congressional Record entitled “Racism in South Texas.” In it he denounced the young Turks in South Texas (including Velasquez), the organizations they represented, and he blamed their activities on monies obtained from the Ford Foundation.⁵⁴ Velasquez took the attacks in stride: “Although personally scarred by these statements...Willie thought the Unity Council’s continuing successes would douse Gonzalez’s attacks and everything would be normal again” (Sepulveda 2003, 85). He was very wrong.

Gonzalez enlisted the help of United States Representative Wright Patman (D–Texas) and Representative Edith Green (D – Oregon) who were investigating tax reform and private foundations. Through the Tax Reform Act of 1969, Congress made major changes to the way foundations could distribute their money and the ways grantees could use it, forcing Ford and the SWCLR to

rethink plans for political research, education and voter registration. Although the Tax Reform Act of 1969 was not signed into law until December 30, 1969⁵⁵ Ford saw the changes coming and directed SWCLR to revamp their programming.

SWCLR responded to this directive at the Executive Board Meeting held at Asilomar in June 1969, voting to shift into “hard programming such as economic development, housing development and education.”⁵⁶ A statement from MAUC and Velasquez in support of political action was read at the meeting, but the board voted instead to shift into “hard programs” or lose their funding from Ford.⁵⁷ Thus the political agenda supported by Los Tres and others was considerably weakened, changing the original intent of the founders of the Council.

Gallegos and Samora, along with Sviridoff and other staff from Ford met with Gonzalez on September 9, 1969. Gonzalez sent letters to both Samora and Gallegos thanking them for their courtesy. In addition, Gonzalez scolded Gallegos for not knowing what the affiliate, MAUC, was up to in Texas.⁵⁸ SWCLR, Ford, MAUC, and MAYO were under attack and Ford responded by severely curtailing the Southwest Council: “Ford executives had been pushed to the brink...and they were going to do everything they could to make sure a repeat performance did not occur in the broader Mexican American portfolio of the foundation” (Sepulveda 2003, 98). Ford hired two consultants, Hank Lopez and Bill Grinke, to ensure that the Ford staff did not get into trouble and to ensure that SWCLR toed the line concerning programming (Nicholau and Santiestevan 1990, 16).

Another granting period was approaching and a new proposal to Ford was prepared to continue the funding for the Council. Galarza eloquently protested the shift in programming when he wrote:

A hard program is not such because it produces bricks and concrete. What makes any program hard given the way things are in the country today is the solidity and the staying power of the community organization behind it, assisted by professionals and community people who are willing to act in a subordinate role to that organization. ---Dr. Ernesto Galarza⁵⁹

Los Tres had carefully constructed an organization that served Mexican American communities and avoided reproducing “old power dynamics and repressive practices inherited from the Anglo hierarchy of the past” (Sepulveda 2003, 76). The new tax law adversely impacted the new organization. Los Tres could not stem the tide that flowed against their carefully constructed plans for lifting their fellow Mexican Americans out of poverty and into full inclusion in American life.

At the Executive Board meeting, held January 10, 1970, Gallegos informed the board that he was resigning effective January 31, 1970, thanking the board for its support during this difficult period.⁶⁰ After struggling to fund programs that would benefit Mexican Americans, the board found itself in the peculiar position of having a source of money but the means (programs) had been taken away. The SWCLR was assured funding for the new cycle. They received over \$1 million for a three-year period from Ford (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1991). The minutes reflect a dispirited board grappling with the changes to their organizational structure. Trying to maintain some of their goals, the board discussed the new initiative, PREP (Political Research and Education

Project), and how they might launch the voter research and education proposal: “Mr. Gallegos stated that La Raza did not plan to ask the Ford Foundation for a separate fund for PREP. Separate plans are being made to finance and implement Project PREP.”⁶¹ Funding could not come from Ford and several sources were suggested. Ultimately, PREP was never implemented.⁶²

Another discussion concerned how to launch “hard programs” and the Council staff had prepared a proposal for housing developments. It was noted that LULAC and the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs had both prepared housing proposals for submission to Ford.⁶³ The minutes continue for nineteen more pages detailing the discussions about the difficult choices before them. The debate kept circling back to the new restrictions and how proposals must be phrased and what kinds of proposals were now lawful.

By the next Executive Committee Meeting on August 27, 1970, Henry Santiestevan, member of the current board and past member of the organizing board, had assumed the executive director position.⁶⁴ Samora remained on the board for several more years. He continued to struggle with the new constraints. In a letter to Santiestevan, Samora wrote:

It appears to me that the Southwest Council should not let the Ford foundation make decisions for us. I think our position was very clearly set forth at the Asilomar meeting in Monterey. I think if we buckle in to the Foundation we will not accomplish what we hoped to do, and further, we would be jumping every time a vice president asked us to jump. I don't think any of us on the board would favor such a situation.⁶⁵

In 1972, the organization became a national institution and changed its name to the National Council of La Raza (NCLR). In 1973, the NCLR voted to amend the by-laws making the board fifty per cent women. Graciela Olivarez led the

campaign for equal representation of men and women: “she lost her seat but her cause prevailed” (McKay 1993,14). To make room for women on the board, Samora resigned his seat.

Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora had had the opportunity to work for Mexican Americans in a manner that reflected their strengths and interests. The organization that they had nurtured reflected their goals of both leadership and community development. Ultimately, it was adherence to those goals, fostering and developing young leaders, that proved too threatening to another Mexican American leader, and to the society that Los Tres Grandes were insisting on entering. They did not, however, let the dust settle on their feet. They persisted in encouraging leaders within the communities that they developed. They continued their productive friendship, caring for and supporting one another, opening doors and building communities just as they had been taught.

Chapter Six: After the Founding

Skeletons have rattled in our closets, and we have feared to pull them out into the light of day and thereby lay their ghosts. Of vital issues—shocking health conditions, ignorance, abysmal poverty, wholesale peonage—have been ignored or covered up; locked up, like the idiot child, in our gloomiest attic so that the neighbors may not doubt our respectability. I think that it is high time that we begin to call a spade a spade, and to act accordingly.

But more is needed in conferences and other professional avenues of communication. We need effective professional leadership—leadership that expresses itself beyond the halls of learning and beyond the narrow limits of academic specialties. We need a new conception on the part of public institutions and of public figures of their social responsibilities—and of the fact that the Spanish-speaking people loom large in those responsibilities.

- George I. Sánchez

Herman Gallegos, Ernesto Galarza, and Julian Samora each had strong ideas for leadership development, scholarship, and educational improvements, and they continued to put them into practice in the years after the founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza. I have described how Gallegos made a place for Mexican Americans in philanthropy, how Galarza continued to organize communities even while he wrote about his experiences, and how Samora established the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program at Notre Dame.

Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora had worked closely with the young idealists of MAYO (Mexican American Youth Organization) during the first year of the Southwest Council. Samora sat on the executive board of the Council with several of the student leaders. He was actively engaged with graduate students and undergraduates on his home campus. Galarza was wrestling with bilingual education and writing books for bilingual programs. Galarza thought that it was important to start at the beginning of a person's education and to provide relevant

materials to nurture young students and provide appropriate resources for the early grades.

Using letters, interviews and published articles, this final chapter describes the continued activities Los Tres Grandes engaged in after they established the Southwest Council. Their friendship continued past the founding and lasted into their final years. This chapter also describes aspects of their friendship that demonstrated their regard for one another. These three did not rest after retirement. They did not settle into pleasant old age with few responsibilities and cessation of work. Galarza and Samora stopped only when felled by illness and, ultimately, death. Gallegos is alive and is still active.

The Roots of Friendship

Gallegos and Galarza met in the mid-1950s; their interests centered on organizing Mexican Americans, Gallegos with communities and Galarza with domestic rural workers. Their friendship was sustained over the decades, with Gallegos showing great deference to his older friend. Gallegos began the letter campaign to nominate Galarza for a Nobel Prize in Literature.¹ When Galarza was ill, Gallegos petitioned the City of San Jose to turn Galarza's home and gardens into a museum, an action that would have provided an income to Mae Galarza for the rest of her life. Gallegos saved Galarza's papers from moldering in his garage after he and his wife had died, and he orchestrated the transfer of those papers to the Stanford library.

Samora had first met Gallegos in 1962, when they were both in Washington D.C., ostensibly to interview for the Peace Corps. They became fast

friends, and their friendship grew over the following decades.² Samora's files contain correspondence between the two men starting in 1962 and continuing until 1984. In a March 12, 1962 letter, Samora asked for community support to get his Civil Rights report published. Gallegos was working for the Division of Fair Unemployment Practices in California, and he had many contacts whom he solicited to write letters on behalf of Samora's effort.³ The letters are a rich exchange between the two men. Gallegos knew many people in California state politics and government and was generous about sharing those contacts with Samora. For his part, Samora offered Gallegos a steadying influence. In deciding to take on the directorship of the Southwest Council, Gallegos wrote to Samora: "The most convincing argument for accepting the position of Executive Director with the Council, is the fact that you are a member of the Board of Directors."⁴ And indeed, Gallegos solicited Samora's advice throughout his term as Executive Director.⁵ After Samora retired, Gallegos recommended him for a Rockefeller writing fellowship, affording Samora a trip to Bellagio, Italy to complete a manuscript.⁶ After Samora became ill in 1992, Gallegos made himself available to be interviewed with Samora. On the tapes, Gallegos is warm and respectful of his old friend, gently supplying words Samora can no longer pronounce and finishing stories Samora can no longer remember.⁷

Samora and Galarza's friendship was linked to their passion for education. As stated earlier, Samora was able to support Galarza for a year at Notre Dame as a Research Associate. Under the Ford Foundation grant for the U.S. Border Studies Project, Samora was also able to support Galarza's expenses for

research and travel. Galarza was very frugal and the first expense report for reimbursement was for \$26.22. This included \$4.15 under the heading “Travel and Subsistence.”⁸ Even in 1968 dollars, that is a strikingly small amount.

Samora’s ties to Notre Dame enabled four of Galarza’s books to be published. When Galarza began writing bilingual materials for children, both Gallegos and Samora ensured that they were distributed to communities through the Southwest Council.

In a letter dated December 14, 1971, Galarza wrote a friend offering an introduction to Gallegos:

Dear Triny:

Very reluctantly I have complied with your wish for an introduction to Herman Gallegos. He steals affections—not wantonly or a purpose but because charm glows from him like moonlight on the snow. Unfeeling people have referred to our books as The Books by Herman Gallegos and those other two guys. Since he never talks about himself you must take it from me that he is active, sensitive, pensive, non-acquisitive, and gustive. Not a good correspondent, he will greet you after months of silence in such a manner that you feel you are the bum for writing so much, not he for writing so little. Herman knows the difference between a commitment and a committee. He gives trust without bonds, loans his talent without interest, lives perpetually serene in the midst of confrontations on many fronts, and in any coalition brings his own coal. I’m glad he is my friend and I am sure you will be glad to make him yours.¹⁰

In a 1967 letter to Galarza, Samora comments: “It is of concern to me that Herman never bothers to answer letters or write letters and I am wondering what he is up to at the moment.”¹¹

Samora and Galarza: Chicano Studies

Throughout their careers, Samora and Galarza were concerned with the education of the young. In a letter to Henry Santiestevan dated May 11, 1970,

Galarza wrote: "During the past few months Julian Samora and I have been trying to shape some sort of sense out of the crisis of Mexican-American studies on campuses throughout the nation. It is quite clear that this is one of the major tides of interest and collective action that are cresting throughout the Mexican-American community." The result of their concern was the booklet they wrote that year.

One of the many issues they wrestled with was providing resource materials to the emerging field of Chicano Studies. They sometimes used the term Mexican American Studies; I believe they used the two terms interchangeably. In the grant proposal to the Ford Foundation establishing the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program, Samora requested funds for publishing new materials. He "had created a publication series at the University of Notre Dame Press with a special focus on the Mexican American experience, the first such series in the nation" (Muñoz 1989, 129). In addition, Samora and Galarza wanted to create opportunities for students to go to school, to conduct relevant research, to have a chance to publish their work. Together, Samora and Galarza addressed these issues.

With a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, they published a booklet entitled "Research and Scholarly Activity" (1970), prepared for the Chicano Studies Summer Institute. Galarza and Samora worked together to make relevant materials available to college-age students. This document was written to direct discussion during the three sessions of the Institute (Galarza and

Samora 1970, 13). This booklet illustrates many of their core principles and ideas.

On the cover page, underneath their names, Galarza and Samora wrote: "Prepared for The Chicano Studies Summer Institutes to be held in Summer, 1979, in Atzlan." This is an acknowledgement of the student movement to establish centers for Chicano Studies within colleges and universities. This document illustrates the involvement of the authors in Chicano Studies, seeking to provide adequate and relevant materials for their students. Gallegos, too, was involved, but more peripherally, as they sought to use the Southwest Council as an umbrella organization to disseminate materials.

The purpose of the booklet was to help universities overcome their lack of preparedness to engage with ethnic students: "An avalanche has descended on academia from this quarter of American society, and the academicians are hardly aware of it yet. What is presently a crisis may turn into a disaster if the inadequacies of the establishment are not grasped" (Galarza and Samora 1970, 1). Note that the authors begin their treatise with the inadequacies of the institution, and not those of the students.

The authors offer a comprehensive plan to prepare for the tide of students who "are on campus making new demands that may seem strident and impulsive to some but that have a core of profound significance for the future of the ethnic groups and for American society as a whole" (2). They articulate eight distinct but inter-related areas of need: to provide opportunities to attend graduate school; to support students as they choose research topics; to provide much more reading

materials at the undergraduate level; to develop preparatory course materials for students; to provide in-service training for faculty and staff recruited to teach ethnic classes and administer ethnic departments; to support advanced writing and research by Mexican Americans to stimulate intellectual effort from the larger Mexican American community; to prepare teachers and counselors at elementary and secondary schools; and to implement research-based changes to curriculum development and teaching methods.

The authors then expanded each of these areas, providing advice about relevant courses for undergraduate students and how to provide monetary and intellectual support for graduate students in the pipeline. It is notable that Samora and Galarza held the educational system accountable for changing to meet the needs of Mexican American students. They suggested in-service training to educate teachers and administrators unfamiliar with this ethnic group: “It is [to] this front-line sector that in-service help should be addressed, to take the form that most quickly and effectively responds to the pressures in which it finds itself” (6). They also spoke of the need to train Mexican American teachers for elementary and secondary schools. But they didn’t intend to reproduce a system in which young Mexican American students are further marginalized, a problem which they described as “the product of the pedagogical shortcomings of the teacher-training institutions” (7). Rather, they wanted “machinery created” so that “the creative mind is started on its course toward creative studentship and scholarship” (7).

Samora and Galarza also addressed the needs of students inadequately prepared for college: “[their] skills are, understandably, quite limited. This, too, is a symptom and an indictment of educational starvation of the Mexican-American youth in the past, of a tracking system which eventually shunts these youths to a siding of the main line of America...to write a simpler score of a few basic treatises...does not mean lowering of standards but simply of keeping them from sinking as they learn to swim” (5). And they wanted the student who had reached the level where a research topic was needed to be able to choose a topic that would benefit their communities and not “the esoteric, the minutely brilliant...the safely professional” that the “Mexican Academic elite” were expected to choose (7).

Their article spoke to a revolution in education for the Mexican American students from kindergarten through professional school. The authors wanted Mexican American professional students, through their theses and dissertations, to be the ones providing the newest research to help change educational systems at the core. They wanted collaboration across disciplines (9), and they sought cultural relevancy in all levels of the educational experience for Mexican Americans (9). They suggested that the university involve itself with ethnic communities for both research and activism (10).

The authors sought to guide discussion by posing pragmatic questions such as: “How can basic research be related to the central concerns of the Mexican-American community?” (8). And they asked philosophical questions such as: “Whose enlightenment do historical studies serve, other than those of

the historical fraternity itself?" (9). They also asked socially relevant questions such as how can school boards be reeducated to help ethnic communities? (12).

Samora and Galarza ended the document with perhaps the most difficult questions of all: how to prioritize a research agenda? What issues had the most urgency in 1970? Should it be urban problems or rural issues? Should it be immigration or internal migration? Should it be the family, bilingual education, political participation or demographic studies? This list is still fresh and their questions remain as piercingly relevant today as they were forty-one years ago.

Awards and Publications

Ernesto Galarza was the first Mexican American to earn a Master's degree from Stanford University. His degree in 1929 was in History and Political Science. In 1944 he became the first Mexican American in the United States to earn a PhD in History and Political Science, and the first to earn any sort of Doctorate from Columbia University. In 1952, Ernesto Galarza was awarded the Order of the Condor, Bolivia's highest honor to a non-citizen for championing the Bolivian tin workers against exploitation by the United States government. In 1979 he was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature.

The books and articles he published after the founding of the Southwest Council are; *Mexican-Americans in the Southwest* (1969); *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field* (1970); *Barrio Boy* (1971); *Alviso: The Crisis of a Barrio* (1973); *Farm Workers and Agri-business in California, 1947-1960* (1977); and *Kodachromes in Rhymes* (1982). Between 1971 and 1973, Galarza wrote a collection of ten "mini-libros" to be used in bilingual pre-schools. They were self-

published and he took the photographs himself. The titles include: *Historia Verdadera de una Gota de Miel*; *ZooRisa*; *Zoo Fun*; *Todo Mundo Lee*; *La Historia Verdadera de una Botella de Leche*; *Poemas Pe-que Pe-que Pe-que-ñitos*; *Aqui y Alla en California*; *Poemas Párvulos*; *Más Poemas Párvulos Un Poco De Mexico*; *Rimas Tontas*; and *Chogorrom*.

In a letter dated October 9, 1980, Mae Galarza told Samora: "I push Ernie a little all the time. He resists excellently. He doesn't talk much...it is abnormal that he should have lost so much vigor. He is only 75."¹² Ernesto Galarza died on June 23, 1984 in San Jose, California.

Julian Samora was the first Mexican American to earn a PhD in Sociology and Anthropology, which he received in 1953 from Washington University in St. Louis. In 1979, he won the La Raza Award from The National Council of La Raza and the Hispanic Scholarship in the Humanities, National Endowment for the Humanities. In 1980, Samora was awarded the Citation from the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund and an Honorary Doctor of Law from Incarnate Word College in San Antonio, Texas. In 1981 he won the Alumnus Award from Colorado State University and the Emily M. Schossberger Award, University of Notre Dame Press. In 1983, Samora was awarded the Scholar's Citation from the National Association for Chicano Studies (now the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies). In 1985, when he retired, Samora was awarded the following: an Achievement Award from Adams State College; the Medalla de Honor, a Colorado Alumnus Award; a retirement award from the National Hispanic University in Oakland, California; and from the

Midwest Latino Council on Higher Education, a retirement citation. In 1989, Michigan State University named their Midwest Latino Institute the Julian Samora Research Institute. In 1990, he received the Aguila Azteca award, the highest honor Mexico bestows on non-Mexicans. In 1993, Samora was awarded the Order of Cuauhtemoc from The University of Southern California. In 1994, Samora was presented with a Lifetime Achievement Award from the California Polytechnic Institute in Pomona and the Keys to the City of Los Angeles. In 1999, the University of Notre Dame established the Institute for Latino Studies and its founding director, Gilbert Cardenas (a student of Samora's) holds the Julian Samora chair.

The books that Samora published after the founding of the Southwest Council are: *Mexican-Americans in the Southwest* (1969); *Los Mojados: The Wetback Story* (1971); *A History of the Mexican-American People*, with P.V. Simon (1977); and *Gunpowder Justice: A Reassessment of the Texas Rangers*, with J. Bernal and A. Pena (1979).

In 1989, Samora became ill. The illness was misdiagnosed as Parkinson's, and it was not until October 1994 that he received the correct diagnosis of Progressive Supranuclear Palsey. Samora died on February 2, 1996 in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Gallegos and Transformational Leadership

As demonstrated, Gallegos had some impressive teachers who mentored him and helped him shape his ideas of leadership development, among them Fred Ross, Sr., Saul Alinsky, and Ernesto Galarza. Gallegos formed his ideas

through his work as a community organizer and what he terms “boots on the ground” activities through the CSO. He then sharpened his skills while employed as a social worker in various programs in the early 1960s. He observed that leaders need training, nurturing, and mentoring.¹³ They don’t necessarily need higher education, but they do need support. Gallegos asks: “To what degree did the formal educational system prepare us...? I would say that it gave us tools that we could use in the field, but I don’t think that the coursework or the things we learned were necessarily aimed at becoming effective agents for change.”¹⁴ The kind of leader Gallegos talks about views his leadership as a commitment and a vocation. The full embodiment of his leadership ideas coalesced with the founding of the Southwest Council.

While the three activists were working together they never formulated a theoretical framework for their ideas of leadership.¹⁵ Although they did not attempt to define their approach in any theoretical way, my research of their lives and their papers reveals a defined and particular leadership style that was inclusive and interdisciplinary, and that grew directly out of and included their cultural teachings.

This leadership approach is demonstrated in Gallegos’ career by the various social and political activities that ranged from local and state, to regional, national and international concerns. Serving on national public and private sector boards and commissions provided valuable transformational experiences that added to his increased sensitivity and awareness about the power and functioning of the private sector, including foundations and corporations, and

which expanded his ideas about finding pluralistic solutions to society's problems. This information was not learned from the Gallegos family, nor did these insights exist to any great depth at the time within the Latino community. The fact that Gallegos continued to share and apply this knowledge proved advantageous to advancing Latino causes.¹⁶In our discussions Gallegos reflected on the accomplishments of the three friends, and he uses the term "transformational leadership," a term I also employ.¹⁷

Gallegos told me that Los Tres did not have a name for their methodology (Gallegos 2010). He also stated that there had been no effort on the part of institutions to help boost his ethnic pride, nor had he ever attended leadership workshops as a member of any board. His theoretical ideas were formed by his own experiences and practice (Gallegos 2010). "Transformational Leadership," as Gallegos refers to it, was born from lived experience and practical application. Gallegos does not remember a meeting where he, Galarza, and Samora delineated their tactics. They seemed collectively to understand, based on their common origins and shared ideals, the components that defined their leadership practice.¹⁸

I have noted key tenets of their leadership style as Gallegos has described it, and as demonstrated by the lives and accomplishments of the three. I have split these tenets into two sections, based on our conversations, one for students and one for community, because that is how Gallegos presented them. Other scholars, notably Emma Pérez (1999), Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), Aida Hurtado (2003), Laura Rendón (2009) and L. Esthela Bañuelos (2006), have written

extensively on ways to include marginalized people into the mainstream of American life, including into the academy. Gallegos has company now; there is a chorus of voices calling for inclusion, leadership, and teaching to the heart.

According to Gallegos, teaching transformational leadership at the student level should include: honoring the cultural capital the student brings to the classroom; teaching to the heart as well as to the mind, to sensitize students to the needs of others; modeling how to give back to one's community; demonstrating equity and inclusion; conducting research that leads to activism for the betterment of people. Transformational community leaders build on the old community organizing adage – “never do for people what they can do for themselves”:¹⁹ sharing knowledge/research with everyone in the community so the community can make an informed decision; becoming an agent for change and never seeking personal power. In Gallegos's own words the leadership tenets they developed and practiced are:

1-Honoring the cultural capital the student brings to the classroom:

So it's a way of trying to fit you into a system. It's basically a controlled system and so therefore people would argue, “we just can't have people approaching science in a non-scientific way.” What is non-scientific about being culturally sensitive?...I think that the challenge is to develop transforming leadership by whatever name one chooses to call it....that's what Samora was doing. He was developing transformational intellectual leaders who were able to feel comfortable working with [their community]... at the level of excellence. And to equate equity as somehow being less than excellence is racist, I think...that's part of the institutional racism that's grown up in education.²⁰

Professors know their students and they know their capabilities as well as their perceived deficits. A professor who values her/his students will acknowledge the strengths the student brings to the classroom at the same time she prepares the

student for the rigorous assault by the academy. This is precisely the preparation Julian Samora provided graduate students through the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program. Echoing Samora's practices, Hurtado states: "Many professors of color may not believe in the complete validity of the established standards, but if meeting these standards helps students of color achieve and avoids them falling off the face of the earth, then it is worth the struggle – they hold both notions of compliance and resistance simultaneously" (Hurtado 2003, 220). Hurtado expresses how difficult it can be for a professor of color to establish her place within the university system while still serving as a model for her students.

2-Teaching to the heart as well as the mind to sensitize students to the needs of others:

I'd say educating for the heart and the mind go together and we must insure that students have summer internships where they can work with economically and politically marginalized groups....It seems to me that we begin to deal with the world, see the world for what it is and try to prepare students for that.²¹

In her 2009 book, *Sentipensante Pedagogy: Educating for Wholeness, Social Justice, and Liberation*, Laura Rendón writes about choosing a different path when she made a decision to include social, emotional, and spiritual development along with intellectual development in her teaching. Her motivation for risking her academic career was her students and the need to reach beyond teaching them academics and to include preparing them for life.

3-Modeling how to give back to one's community:

If you talk about the idea of education that transforms the intellectual in the heart, the soul of scholars so that they are then comfortable and adept in dealing with these issues in these

communities [they] will go a lot farther in helping to transform and improve community.²²

Aida Hurtado has created a theory of inquiry and an epistemology whose purpose is to create social change and bring about social justice. As is evident in her article, "Theory in the Flesh" (2003), Hurtado demands that academia responds to the idea that our research and scholarship can and must lead us to social justice. We, as scholars and teachers, must make room in academia for the student of color, who has been marginalized and made invisible through the experience of being "othered" (216). Including people of color, particularly women of color into the existing academic frameworks, or even altering the frameworks to reflect our experiences, Hurtado calls an *endarkened epistemology*. Theory is useful for liberating us from the oppression of our lived experience only when it is drawn from that experience, only when the broader aspect of our experience and the hybridity of our natures are factored into theoretical frameworks.

4-Demonstrating equity and inclusion:

I think as you look at transformational leadership, ...being able to deal with as broad a context of humankind as you can...the issue is not simply improving the lots of Mexicans but of all people left behind. That may be idealistic, but that is what leadership should be about. And I can see that Galarza and Samora were very much on track along those lines as well.²³

Building on Pérez and Anzaldúa, L. Esthela Bañuelos, in her article "Here They Go Again With the Race Stuff," uses race as the central lens to look at the struggle of Chicanas for cultural citizenship within academia, a struggle that is political in nature. Chicanas, Bañuelos says, resist the prejudice of the academy by forming coalitions of informal groups and, most importantly, seeking mentors to help them feel a sense of belonging in school (2006, 100). Bañuelos

comments that these two strategies could easily be supported by universities should they choose to aid the cultural citizenship of marginalized others. Writing thirty years after the founding of the Southwest Council, Bañuelos is suggesting strategies very similar to those used by Gallegos, Galarza, and Samora to support their drive for developing leaders and communities.

5-Conducting research that leads to activism for the betterment of people:

So, I see this convergence of both the intellectual and the organizer as empowering agents for change. I don't think it's "either/or." ... [S]ome would... see great value ...organizing at the bottom. Then we have others, as [Julian] did, develop and nurture and train new generations of scholars who also have an appreciation of activism and know how to apply [it].²⁴

Each of the three leaders deliberately used their research to effect policy changes within their communities and on a national level. The two ideas, research and activism, were inseparable concepts that motivated each of them throughout their lives.

6-Never do for people what they can do for themselves:

So then, what would be the qualities of such leadership? I think one has to look at...people like Galarza, like Samora, and myself to a degree, not hesitating to place [research] in the hands of people who can help themselves.²⁵

This tenet is the keystone to community organizing. It also makes for good parenting and it is a step in Alcoholics Anonymous. This tenet is just common sense. The secret to empowering people is to help them understand that they hold the tools for power and that they have held them all along.

7-Sharing knowledge/research with everyone in the community so the community can make an informed decision:

We didn't call it transformational leadership but Ernie was very, very solid in terms of saying that you have to...pull together the information. But then you need to get it where the people are to share and provide that information as a basis for action.²⁶

This tenet is a sequel to number six. All three of these activists were committed to the concept of community wisdom. They believed that change that comes organically from within a community has a better chance at success than change imposed from outside the community.

8- Becoming an agent for change and never seeking power:

I guess the ...intersection of these three consultants provides an example of a strong commitment for change. (Gallegos 2008 V, 12)

Samora taught his children and his students that we were put on this earth for a purpose, and for him that purpose involved being a change agent. This lesson was always accompanied with the caveat that no lasting change was possible if it was accomplished for personal gain or self-aggrandizement. Seeking personal power was ridiculed as very bad manners and a strike against the collective.²⁷

In the end, Gallegos, while hopeful, is realistic about the future of training leaders with the particular qualities he, Galarza and Samora possessed, valued, and taught:

The reality is that we do not have many places where our kids can go for development of that transformational leadership. For example, how many projects do you know where they train leadership for active participation in civil society? ...where beyond job training...they develop the leadership base of...clients so they know how to deal with confronting institutions in positive ways...? Where is it happening?²⁸

It is up to the current generation to continue to educate the next generation. That is always the way culture, social mores, and learning gets passed on. But if we are not passing on those teachings, what are the consequences to a civil

society? What are the consequences to the coming generations? Those questions are being answered now as the United States faces the consequences of high drop out rates in high school and middle school for children of color, relying on textbooks that continue to ignore the contributions of all its people, and curricula that fails to teach students the importance of giving back to their communities (Chávez 2008; Gutiérrez 2004; Johnson 2008).

Awards and Publications

Herman Gallegos has authored the following publications since 1968: *Mexican-Americans in the Southwest* (1969); *U. S. Foundations and Minority Group Interests* (1975); and *Hispanics in the Non Profit Sector* with Michael O'Neill (1991). In 2010, Gallegos produced a documentary entitled *Organize! The Community Service Organization*.

A partial list of the awards and honors Gallegos has received include: 1992, the Independent Sector Distinguished Service Award; in 1996, the Ohtli Medal, La Secretaria de Relaciones, from Mexico; in 1997, the Premio Herencia from Hispanics in Philanthropy; in 2001, Gallegos won the Award from the Order of Friars Minor, Province of Santa Barbara; in 2002, Gallegos was awarded a Doctor of Humane Letters from the University of San Francisco; in 2003, he was an Honoree of the National Coalition of Hispanic Organizations; also in 2003, Gallegos received a Resolution from the State of California by Cruz Bustamante, Lt. Governor; in 2008, Gallegos was awarded the Hispanics in Philanthropy, 25th Anniversary Founder's Award; and from the California Latino Legislative Caucus, Achievement in Community Giving and Support; in 2009, the U. S. Hispanic

Leadership Institute bestowed its Lifetime Achievement Award on Gallegos; and he was awarded the Trailblazer in Philanthropy Award from the Latino Community Foundation. In October 2011, Herman Gallegos will be inducted into the California Social Work Hall of Distinction.

Conclusion

This last chapter demonstrates that Los Tres Grandes — these three activists/scholars, these friends and colleagues, these men who were organizers and leaders, these men who blazed the trail for so many Mexican Americans and Chicanos in so many varied fields — continued in the years after the founding of the Southwest Council the work that they had begun so many years before.

Looking back to those beginnings, the passions and the causes that animated each of these men throughout their adult lives can be traced to their childhoods, to the families and communities in which they were raised, and to the mothers who, for each one of the three, played such a critical role. These men were each born into extreme poverty, into communities from which virtually no one went to school past high school, much less college, and where the prejudice against color and poverty was overwhelming for most everyone caught in its web. This dissertation has investigated how these three men succeeded in so many ways: they did not just “escape” their roots, they transcended and transformed their origins, bringing the lessons of community and caring into the worlds of academia, of literature, of politics and social action, and of philanthropy. In each and all of their endeavors, leadership development was a central and recurring focus, as was the friendship which these men felt for each other. The story of

Los Tres Grandes serves to inspire and to teach all of us about the importance of family, community and friendship.

Endnotes

Introduction

¹ Spanish for “Get Out If You Can.”

² The *Bracero* Program was established in 1942 by a treaty between the United States and Mexico whereby Mexican nationals immigrated legally to the United States to work in agriculture, mining, and for the railroads. These workers helped replace labor shortages during WWII. The program was finally dismantled in 1964. See Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of Labor* (1964); *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Fields* (1970); Meister and Loftis, *Long Time Coming* (1977), 71-91.

³ For a discussion of Mexican and Mexican American organizations from the late 19th century forward see *Occupied America* by Rodolfo Acuña; *Mexican and Hispanos in Colorado Schools and Communities, 1920-1960* by Rubén Donato; *Mexican Americans/American Mexicans: from Conquistadors to Chicanos* by Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Ribera; *Chicanos in a Changing Society* by Albert Camarillo; and *Rise of the Mexican Middle Class* by Richard A. Garcia, to name a few.

⁴ In 2003, two of Dr. Samora's former students approached me about writing a book about him. The result, *Moving Beyond Borders: Julian Samora and the Establishment of Latino Studies*, was published in October of 2009.

⁵ <http://www.continuum.utah.edu/summer98/finally.html>. Accessed on February 4, 2011.

⁶ For example, in the 7th edition of *Occupied America* (2011), the author, Rodolfo Acuña does not mention the founding of the SWCLR and in the index, Galarza has one entry in another context, and Gallegos and Samora are not mentioned at all. The website of the National Council of La Raza, in 2003, did not list Los Tres by name and referred to them as “three scholars.” Additionally, the NCLR website gave credit to the founding of the SWCLR to Raul Yzaguirre, who served ably as President and CEO for 30 years beginning in 1974, six years after the actual founding of the organization.

⁷ Southwest Hispanic Research Institute faculty meeting, February 26, 2010.

⁸ Polly Baca and Miguel Barragán were the first two staff members hired to work for the Southwest Council of La Raza. Their perspectives were very helpful in understanding the nascent SWCLR. Ms. Baca's papers, Polly Baca (Polly Baca papers, 1941-) at the Denver Public Library filled some gaps in the SWCLR papers I researched.

⁹ Charles Kamasaki, Senior Vice President, at NCLR was very helpful in locating the papers and interviews and getting them digitized for my use.

¹⁰ In a letter to Samora (July 10, 1986), Carlos Muñoz Jr. notes that he had completed interviews of Galarza and his wife, Mae. Several other people had agreed to be interviewed, including Julian Samora in preparation for writing Galarza's biography (Julian Samora Papers at the Michigan State University Archives Box 9 Folder 34). In personal correspondence with the author, Dr. Muñoz assures me that the project is still viable (January 12, 2011 email with author). In a footnote to the *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* article by Richard Chabran, there is mention of a proposed article by him and Dr. Estevan Flores about Galarza. In personal correspondence with the author, Flores confirms that no such article was ever written (January 28, 2011 email with the author).

¹¹ According to my family stories, *Barrio Boy*, Galarza's autobiography published by the University of Notre Dame Press in 1971, was written at the urging of his wife, Mae Galarza and Julian Samora. They encouraged Galarza to write a second volume, but he declined to do so, asking who would be interested in his humble life!

¹² Personal correspondence with the author, May, 2010.

¹³ For some information about the Community Service Organization see: London and Anderson, *So Shall Ye Reap*, 144-147; Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans*, 171-185; García, *Memories of Chicano History*, 165-168; Jamison and Eyerman, *Seeds of the Sixties*, 178-208; Burt, “The Battle for Standard Coil”, 118-140.

¹⁴ Quoted from “Social Work Education and the Chicano Experience”, speech delivered December 1973 by Ernesto Galarza at San Jose State University.

¹⁵ For an additional discussion of the history of the census see: Gomez, *Manifest Destinies*, 149-161.

Chapter One

¹ See *Occupied America* by Rodolfo Acuña (2011); *La Causa Política* edited by F. Chris Garcia (1974); *Brothers Under the Skin* by Carey McWilliams (1943); *The Lost Land* by John R. Chavez (1984); *The Counter Culture* by Manuel Luis Martinez (2003), to name several scholarly publications in which this issue is discussed.

³ See Ian F. Haney Lopez, *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice* (2003), for a full discussion of the history leading up to the Chicano Movement in California.

⁴ See Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America* (2011), for a thorough discussion of Mexican American leaders in Texas, California, Arizona and New Mexico from 1848 through the Chicano Movement. Acuña discusses the lawyers, judges, writers, teachers, and activists who helped form the many organizations and civic groups from which the Mexican American communities in the Southwest developed.

⁵ See *Moving Beyond Borders* (2009) for discussions of Samora’s spirituality.

⁶ Our own former University of New Mexico president, Dr. F. Chris Garcia published his first four books through the Notre Dame Press. This proactive model is very empowering and adds significant knowledge to the academy whether the academy realizes it or not.

⁷ See Chapter Two of this dissertation for a longer discussion about Gallegos’s methods.

⁸ See Chapter Three of this dissertation for a review of Galarza’s work with *Braceros*.

⁹ See Chapter Four of this dissertation for a more thorough discussion of Samora’s Mexican American Graduate Studies Program at the University of Notre Dame.

¹⁰ Some of the feminist folklorists Green is referring to include: M. Jane Young, Linda Pershing, Susan Tower Hollis, Judith Levin, Margaret Yocom, Kay Turner, and Joyce Ice.

¹¹ Many thanks to Dr. M. Jane Young for the above insights expressed in conversation during the summer of 2007.

¹² For a more comprehensive description and analysis see Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

Chapter Two

¹ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.

² Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.

³ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview “Family Questions,” transcript.

⁴ Scrip was the name for the “money” a company in the late 19th and early 20th centuries used to retain complete control of the people who worked for that company. Wages were paid in scrip, which the families then used to pay inflated prices for goods in the company stores. Workers were housed in company owned houses, worshipped at the company built churches, sent their children to company schools. Preachers, teachers, and even storeowners were hired by the company, giving the workers no say in these important civic and religious matters. In this way, a company had economic and political control over its workers. The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company was no exception to these practices. For more information see:

www.umwa.org/?q=content/ludlow-massacre Accessed on June 12, 2010.

⁵ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview “Family Questions,” transcript.

⁶ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.

⁷ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.

⁸ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview “Family Questions,” transcript.

⁹ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview “Family Questions,” transcript.

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- ¹⁰ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript, 3.
- ¹¹ The Rockefeller Foundation was established "to promote the wellbeing of mankind throughout the world." The Rockefeller Foundation was founded in 1913 with more than \$100 million from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. For more information see: www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/rockefellers/peopleevents/p_rock_jjr.html, accessed June 12, 2010.
- ¹² Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript.
- ¹³ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ¹⁴ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript, 2.
- ¹⁵ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript, 4.
- ¹⁶ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript, 4.
- ¹⁷ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript, 5.
- ¹⁸ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript.
- ¹⁹ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript, 6.
- ²⁰ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript, 7.
- ²¹ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript.
- ²² Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript.
- ²³ The Zoot Suit riots occurred in Los Angeles during WWII. Male Mexican American youth, known as Pachucos, favored a dress suit with a drapey pant known as a Zoot Suit. This style was also worn by African American youth on the East coast. Service men stationed in Los Angeles ambushed and fought these young men stripping them of their clothing. Large numbers of Mexican American youth retaliated and eventually Los Angeles was declared off-limits to service men. For more information see Chapter 5 in *The Battle for Los Angeles* (2006) by Kevin Allen Leonard.
- ²⁴ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview "Family Questions," transcript.
- ²⁵ See Chapter Four for a discussion of Samora's recognition of this phenomenon between students of mixed ages and experiences.
- ²⁶ UC Television: www.ucsd.tv/search-details.aspx?showID=18203, accessed March 29, 2010 and hereafter referred to as: Organize 2010.
- ²⁷ Hector Tarango and his involvement with Mendez v Westminster Schools 1947
- ²⁸ Gilberto Padilla was a labor organizer and a co-founder of the United Farm Workers along with Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta.
- ²⁹ Edward Roybal served in the US House of Representatives from 1960 to 1992.
- ³⁰ Other important leaders that came out of the CSO movement were Cruz Reynoso, Jimmy Delgadillo, Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Rafael Vega, A.P "Tony" Rios, J. J. Rodriguez, Gilbert Anaya, Henry Martinez, David Burciaga, Juan Govea, Evelio Grillo, Abelicio Chavez, Henrietta Villascusa, Maria Duran Lang, Elisio Carrillo, Ralph Guzman, Julian Nava, and others. While Cesar Chavez was among the best known leaders to come out of CSO, the organization, a membership based, democratically run organization produced many leaders, including Roybal who went on to Congress, Reynoso became an Associate Justice of the California State Supreme Court, Rodriguez became the head of the Los Angeles Labor Federation and Chavez, along with Padilla, Huerta, Burciaga and Martinez went on to co found the farm worker's union, while others, like Gallegos used skills learned from CSO to organize socially responsible change, not only for Hispanics but for other minorities as well.

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- ³¹ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ³² Cruz Reynoso, Professor Emeritus in Law UC Davis, was an early CSO volunteer.
- ³³ Spanish for Get Out If You Can.
- ³⁴ See Chapter 3 in this dissertation.
- ³⁶ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035D, transcript, 26.
- ³⁷ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript.
- ³⁸ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript, 9.
- ³⁹ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035A, transcript.
- ⁴⁰ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035D, transcript, 23.
- ⁴¹ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035C, transcript.
- ⁴² The Ford Foundation was established on January 15, 1936 and was initially a local Michigan philanthropic organization focusing on “scientific, educational and charitable purposes.” The nonvoting stock that Edsel and Henry Ford left to the foundation created the largest philanthropic foundation in the world. In early 1950, the foundation trustees voted for a more national and international focus and moved their headquarters to New York City. The new focus included contributing to world peace, using the concepts of freedom and democracy to advance solutions to persistent problems, improving the economic well-being of people everywhere, and strengthening educational facilities and methods. <http://www.fordfoundation.org/about-us/history>. Accessed March 18, 2011.
- ⁴³ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ⁴⁴ “The program did not have a full-fledged operating officer with authority to fire, remove or replace staff assigned by their respective agencies. In the end, the coordinating model proved to be a weak model.” Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ⁴⁵ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ⁴⁶ Discussed previously in this chapter and again in chapter 5.
- ⁴⁷ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript.
- ⁴⁸ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ⁴⁹ <http://www.hiponline.org/Home/About/+HIP/History.htm>, July 26, 2010.
- ⁵⁰ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ⁵¹ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ⁵² Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035D, transcript, 22.
- ⁵³ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ⁵⁴ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ⁵⁵ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035D, transcript, 21.
- ⁵⁶ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript, 30.
- ⁵⁷ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, September 24, 2009, interview “Family Questions,” transcript, 7.

Chapter Three

¹ There is no biography of Galarza. The few secondary sources that deal with biographical material do not always agree on pertinent details. I confirmed my facts with documents found in the archives listed in the introduction. For example, there was no agreement about the degree Galarza earned from Columbia, history, political science, or economics. His CV states that his PhD was in History and Political Science.

² In the Preface to *Barrio Boy*, Julian Samora writes that it is the second publication funded by the United States – Mexico Border Studies Project, a project at the University of Notre Dame funded by the Ford Foundation, of which he is the director. Samora says, “This book is a most important contribution to the rapidly developing field called Mexican American Studies.”

³Spanish for education, but in this context, the education is about knowing how to conduct oneself properly to bring honor to one's family.

⁴Spanish for respect.

⁵Spanish for very badly behaved. This concept is a very important one, for to be badly behaved not only brings shame to the perpetrator but also to his family. Culturally, this concept is still an important one for Latinos and in social settings it is easy to see who was brought up properly and who was not.

⁶Family wisdom and folk proverbs that provide interesting ways to remember important lessons.

⁷A carriage opening or gateway to a compound.

⁸Diaz was the president/dictator of Mexico for 30 years who encouraged foreign investment in Mexico in the hopes of bringing new capital into Mexico. The results of the foreign investment led to exploitation of Mexico's natural resources and her peasant class.

⁹See *Becoming Mexican American* by George J. Sanchez (1993) for an in-depth discussion of the repatriation of Mexicans, particularly during the Great Depression. Especially relevant is Chapter 10: "Where is Home? The Dilemma of Repatriation."

¹⁰Galarza also helped to organize sugar cane workers in Louisiana and field workers in Hawaii. He visited Mexican *braceros* in camps across the country and made frequent trips to Mexico to visit sites of origination of the *braceros*.

¹¹Dick Meister, 1978, "Ernesto Galarza: *Bracero's* Boswell," *Rural America* 3 (5), Ernesto Galarza Papers, MO224-1: 2, Green Library, Stanford University Libraries (hereafter cited as Galarza Papers).

¹²"Minorites' Voice on Farm Labor," Phoenix, Dateline, *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 13, 1964, Galarza Papers, MO224-1: 2

¹³"Galarza Suit Settled For \$1, Costs," *San Jose Mercury News*, September 6, 1951, Galarza Papers, MO224-1: 2.

¹⁴The Fund for the Republic was officially incorporated in the state of New York on December 9, 1952 as a nonprofit membership corporation. However, its *raison d'être* can be traced back to 1950 when the Ford Foundation recognized that pressures from the political and cultural right threatened to restrict basic freedoms. In an effort to "support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights," the Ford Foundation created the Fund for the Republic. The Foundation concluded that the importance of defending and advancing the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights required the undivided attention of a wholly separate organization. Although the Fund's stated objectives were to "help promote within the United States security based on freedom and justice," the Foundation trustees were made aware that the Fund's agenda would include controversial issues such as religious and racial discrimination. Despite the controversial agenda, the Foundation trustees agreed that the Fund would not be subjected to annual reviews by the Foundation nor would it manage any of the Fund's affairs. From the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University Library. <http://www.princeton.edu/mudd/>; accessed February 27, 2011.

¹⁵Kay Mills, "Ernesto Galarza: Activist Historian," *Los Angeles Times*, September 26, 1982, Galarza Papers, MO224-1: 2

¹⁶*The Roman Catholic Church in Mexico*, (1928); *La Industria Electrica en Mexico* (Spanish), (1942); "Strangers in Our Fields," (1956); *Merchants of Labor*, (1964); *Coleccion Mini-Libros*. (Lecturas para Maestros), (1968-1973); *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field*, (1970); *Barrio Boy*, (1971); "The *Bracero*." In *Aztlan: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature*, (1972); *The Tragedy at Chualar*, (1977); *Farm Workers and Agri-Business in California 1947-1960*, (1977); *Kodachromes in Rhyme*, (1982).

¹⁷Galarza died June 1984.

¹⁸"Ernesto Galarza outlines program to meet problem of Mexican-American minority group," *Daily Palo Alto Times* (Palo Alto, CA), August 2, 1944, Galarza Papers, MO 224-58: 3

¹⁹The initial letter in a series of correspondence between Samora and Galarza is dated April 29, 1963. In the letter Samora tells Galarza that he read about him in the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking Newsletter and that Galarza may be having trouble getting the manuscript

published. Samora wonders if Galarza has found a publisher for the manuscript and suggests that Galarza try a university press. Samora asks if he might have a copy of the manuscript or a copy of the book, if Galarza has gotten it published. This is the beginning of Samora's interest in getting Galarza's books published. Samora contributed to getting four of Galarza's books published by the Notre Dame Press. See Chapter Four of this dissertation for further information on this subject.

²⁰ Detailed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

²¹ Galarza to Samora, May 5, 1969, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16:3.

²² Stephen Pitti is correct about Samora's role in publishing Galarza's books, but the first book published by Notre Dame Press was *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field*, (1970). *Strangers in Our Fields*, as previously discussed, was published through a grant by the Fund for the Republic.

²³ See: Raul Homero Villa, *Barrio Logos*, (2000).

²⁴ <http://www.preservation.org/districts/alviso.html> accessed February 27, 2011.

²⁵ <http://www.preservation.org/districts/alviso.html> accessed February 27, 2011.

²⁶ The sheaf of poems is housed in the Julian Samora Papers HC 173, University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University, 11: 46 (hereafter cited as Samora Papers MSU).

²⁷ Samora Papers MSU, HC 173, 11:46-156.

²⁸ Spanish for people.

Chapter Four

¹ The rest of the quote continues, "They formed the crest of the South Bend cyclone before which another fighting Army team was swept over the precipice at the Polo Grounds this afternoon as 55,000 spectators peered down upon the bewildering panorama spread out upon the green plain below. October 18, 1924 - *New York Herald Tribune* - writing about Notre Dame's 13-7 football victory over Army.

The "Four Horsemen" were Halfback Jim Crowley (b. Sept. 10, 1902, d. Jan. 15, 1986), Fullback Elmer Layden (b. May 4, 1903, d. June 30, 1973), Halfback Don Miller (b. May 30, 1902, d. July 28, 1979) and Quarterback Harry Stuhldreher (b. Oct. 14, 1901, d. Jan. 26, 1965).

² The entire Southwestern United States was a discriminatory place for Native Americans, Mexicans and Mexican Americans. However, for this chapter I focus on Colorado and Mexicans and Mexican Americans because that was the site of Samora's experience and was his ethnicity.

³ Donato makes a distinction between the Hispanos and their descendants who lived in the region before 1848 and Mexicans who emigrated from Mexico to work in the sugar beet fields in Colorado. As discussed in Chapter 1, I will follow Donato's terminology for this portion of the dissertation.

⁴ We children often asked our parents what their childhoods were like and these are some of the stories they told.

⁵ Donato is talking about Monte Vista, not Pagosa Springs. I use the quote because my mother, Betty Archuleta, was born in Monte Vista and she reported similar restrictions. She spoke about the restrictions in churches and movie houses, and she, too, repeated first grade in the "Mexican room."

⁶ The term "Mexican room" was used by both my parents and all the relatives I interviewed. This is in contrast to Donato who used the term "Spanish room."

⁷ Conversations with my parents as a child.

⁸ See: 7th Annual Galarza Lecture 1992. This is the only known autobiographical writing from Samora.

⁹ As children, we had only one set of grandparents, our mother's. We were told very little about Dad's mother, since she died before my parents married. His illegitimacy was very embarrassing to him and our mother was the source of information about our dad's relatives. By the time of his retirement, after a lifetime of accomplishments, Dad seemed comfortable enough to write somewhat openly about his early life for the Galarza Lecture. The lecture is published online at http://chs.stanford.edu/pdfs/7th_Annual_Lecture_1992.pdf and also in the appendix of *Moving Beyond Borders* (2009).

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- ¹⁰ Samora interview conducted by Miguel Carranza and Estevan Flores, June 12, 1985.
- ¹¹ Spanish for Uncle Mike.
- ¹² Spanish for a natural healer.
- ¹³ Spanish for a midwife.
- ¹⁴ Interview with author: Pagosa Springs relatives and townfolk, January 15, 2003.
- ¹⁵ Samora Family photo collection.
- ¹⁶ Interview with author: Cordelia Gomez October 21, 2009, Petaluma, CA.
- ¹⁷ It may seem curious that my dad did not join me and Tia Tonita to look at his albums. I know that his returns to Pagosa Springs brought up painful memories of a childhood marked by teasing because he was an illegitimate child. It may be that he was not interested in looking at the photos with us.
- ¹⁸ Julian Samora's Aunt Antonia Samora Valdez was the eldest of the Samora siblings. She lived to be 98 years old. My father and I visited with her on several occasions.
- ¹⁹ I am left with a scrapbook of evidence that connects me emotionally to a grandmother I never knew, but for whom I was named. This evidence of materiality serves to anchor me in my own identity development as much as it answers questions about my father. "Our experiences are communicated through material objects as well as through words and emotion. From a folklore standpoint, material culture includes many forms of expression. When an object carries meaning, that meaning is determined by what the object represents through past experience or through anticipation of meaning. The emotion invoked also carries meaning. These material objects contribute to our ideas of self" (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981, 28).
- ²⁰ Interview with author: Cordelia Gomez, October 21, 2009, Petaluma, CA
- ²¹ Interview with author: Cordelia Gomez, October 21, 2009, Petaluma, CA
- ²² In a letter (circa January 1955) to Lyle Saunders, Samora makes reference to the low cost of feeding his family of six because potatoes cost nothing if he gleanes the fields himself. This coincides with a story from my family about my father gleaning the fields for potatoes in his youth. Samora to Saunders, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42:18-60.
- ²³ Unpublished interview conducted by Dr. Estevan Flores and Dr. Miguel Carranza, 1985.
- ²⁴ My father always said he had wanted an indoor job and that is what propelled him to college. For more discussion about this see chapter one in *Moving Beyond Borders* (2009).
- ²⁵ The newspaper clipping entitled "Bonfils Foundation Awards Scholarships to Twenty-Nine" is located on page two of the Samora scrap book. No page number or newspaper title accompany the clipping. The scholarship certificate is located in the Samora Papers 1934-1989, 1: 1.
- ²⁶ Interview with author: Cordelia Gomez, October 21, 2009, Petaluma, CA. Mrs. Gomez told me all the information in this paragraph. Her recollections filled in many gaps in my knowledge about the discrimination in Pagosa Springs that my father alluded to but was seldom specific about. She also helped me to understand the closeness Julian had with his mother and his hesitation to leave her.
- ²⁷ Interview with author: Cordelia Gomez, October 21, 2009, Petaluma, CA
- ²⁸ The "A" club was a booster club for the football team and there is a picture in the 1938 Adams State yearbook of Samora selling Cokes. The mimes club was a theatre club and Samora was listed as a member during his freshman year. El Parnaso was a club to promote understanding among all peoples in the Americas. It was started in 1938, Samora's freshman year in college.
- ²⁹ Samora family story told by Betty Samora.
- ³⁰ This governing body still exists at Adams State College.
- ³¹ 1942 Adams State year book.
- ³² Family stories told by Betty Samora.
- ³³ Interview with author: Mose Trujillo, September 8, 2008.
- ³⁴ Interview with author: Mose Trujillo, December 17, 2001; Bridget Mestas Olguin, December 18, 2001.
- ³⁵ Unpublished interview conducted by Richard Navarro at the Julian Samora Research Institute, 1990, d93005.
- ³⁶ Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 17, 18, 19 and 43: 1, 2, 3, and 4.
- ³⁷ Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 17.
- ³⁸ Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 17.

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- ³⁹ Saunders to Samora, October 2, 1952, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 17-19.
- ⁴⁰ Saunders to Samora, September 18, 1952, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 17-17.
- ⁴¹ Samora to Saunders, September 5, 1952, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42:17-14.
- ⁴² Samora defined the terms Saunders asked about. "In popular usage there is no distinction between 'medica' and 'curandera'... 'Albolario' is an individual who cures people who have been 'embruado'. [sic] A 'brujo' is a sorcerer who makes people ill by various means, usually thru some food item. As far as I know 'albolarias' do exist. The above definitions and distinctions apply in the San Luis Valley and may or may not apply any place else." Samora to Saunders, Oct 7, 1953, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42:17-44.
- ⁴³ In a humorous exchange, Saunders, interested in a schedule documenting medicine and health issues tells Samora that he knew of a master's student in Fort Collins who had collected some interesting data, "but I've forgotten who and was it ever finished, and if so, is there a copy available? (Saunders to Samora, October 2, 1952, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42:17-19). Samora replied that he was the master's student and he has 120 schedules divided by age and sex with a wealth of information on the Spanish-speaking people in Fort Collins. (Samora to Saunders, October 14, 1952, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42:17-20).
- ⁴⁴ Saunders to Samora, March 9, 1953, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42:17-31.
- ⁴⁵ Samora to Saunders, September 21, 1953, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42:17-40.
- ⁴⁶ Saunders to Samora, May 26, 1954, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 18-15.
- ⁴⁷ Saunders to Samora, November 29, 1954, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 18- 46 & 47.
- ⁴⁸ Samora to Saunders, no date, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 18-60.
- ⁴⁹ Saunders to Samora, January 20, 1955, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 18-61.
- ⁵⁰ Saunders to Samora, January 20, 1955, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 18-61.
- ⁵¹ Saunders to Samora, January 24, 1955, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 42: 18-62.
- ⁵² "Moreover, while associated with the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Dr. Loomis was appointed to the board of Directors of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Costa Rica, a research and teaching organization associated with the Organization of American States, whose foundation and development had been facilitated by some individuals in the USDA. This institutional connection expedited a large grant of \$150,000 from the Carnegie Foundation" (Barbara Driscoll 1993, 25). The Organization of American States was the same organization that Galarza worked for in the 1930-40s then known as the Pan American Union.
- ⁵³ Interview with author: William D'Antonio, Washington, D.C., November 30, 2007.
- ⁵⁴ "Occupational Stratification in Four Southwestern Communities: A Study of Ethnic Differential Employment in Hospitals," *Social Forum* 1962. The data was drawn from Dr. Loomis's Anglo-Latino Relations in Hospitals and Communities Project at Michigan State. The study proposed to examine the degree and quality of the acculturation of an ethnic group through an analysis of employment patterns in hospital settings, (Driscoll 1993, 32); Lyle Saunders and he published "A Medical Care Program in a Colorado Community" (*Health, Culture and Community* 1955, 31).
- ⁵⁵ The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights commissioned Samora to conduct a national study of Spanish Speaking People.
- ⁵⁶ This resulted in the Notre Dame Press publishing over a dozen books by emerging scholars in the field.
- ⁵⁷ Fifty-seven students applied to this program and 50 graduated with advanced degrees.
- ⁵⁸ The founding of the Southwest Council of La Raza is discussed at length in Chapter Five. Samora played a significant role in the establishment of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, established in 1968. See the Preface to *Moving Beyond Borders* (2009) by Vilma Martinez.
- ⁵⁹ This account was published by Julian Samora: "The Educational Status of a Minority," *Theory into Practice* 2:2 (1963), 144-150.
- ⁶⁰ For example, *Los Mojados: The Wetback Story* was written with the assistance of Jorge Bustamante and Gilberto Cardenas while they were graduate students in the MAGS program. *Gun Powder Justice: A Reassessment of the Texas Rangers* was co-authored with Joe Bernal and Albert Peña, politicians from Texas. *Mexican Americans in the Southwest* was written with Ernesto Galarza, a labor organizer and Herman Gallegos, a community organizer.
- ⁶¹ Interview with author: Dr. Joseph Scott, June 20, 2006, Albuquerque, NM.

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- ⁶² W. Kenneth Martinez. Personal interview, August 17, 2006, Albuquerque, New Mexico
- ⁶³ Interview with author: Margaret McKenzie, June 17, 2003, Beverley Hills, California.
- ⁶⁴ Our parents told this story to us to illustrate how to handle the discrimination we encountered in Indiana.
- ⁶⁵ I heard these stories from my father as a child and young adult.
- ⁶⁶ I was a student in Samora's Chicano Seminar for three semesters in 1980 and 1981. I heard him tell these stories in seminar, and he would tell stories about his life at the many parties we hosted for his students.
- ⁶⁷ For more discussion of situated knowledge and embodied knowledge see: Castillo (1994); Delgado Bernal (2006); Elenes (2006); Hill Collins (1990).
- ⁶⁸ Interview with Dr. Estevan Flores and Dr. Miguel Carranza, 1985
- ⁶⁹ Thank you to Dr. Alberto Pulido for articulating this point.
- ⁷⁰ Interview with Tom Broden, South Bend, Indiana, June 13, 2009.
- ⁷¹ Bustamante is now considered to be the leading expert on world-wide migration. His designation by the United Nations as Special Rapporteur testifies to this. In 2006, Bustamante was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Peace.
- ⁷² Interview with author: Dr. Tom Broden, June 13, 2009, South Bend, Indiana.
- ⁷³ For a full account of the MAGSP see *Moving Beyond Borders: Julian Samora and The Establishment of Latino Studies* (2009). Chapter three discusses the failure of Notre Dame to comply with the terms of the grant and the withdrawal of Ford. Samora, with PhD candidates in the pipeline was able to secure money from the Graduate and Professional Opportunities Program through the Department of Education.
- ⁷⁴ Most of the students were admitted to the Sociology Department. Samora was eager to swell the ranks of sociologists. At the time there were three Mexican American PhDs in sociology with a fourth in ABD status in the MAGS Program (Blasi and Donahoe 2003).
- ⁷⁵ For a thorough examination of Samora's Mexican American Graduate Studies Program refer to *Moving Beyond Borders: Julian Samora and the Establishment of Latino Studies*, (2009).
- ⁷⁶ Interview conducted by Richard Navarro at the Julian Samora Research Institute for the JSRI project video: c91008-9, collection of the author.
- ⁷⁷ Keynote delivered on November 6, 2009 at Michigan State University

Chapter Five

¹ The role that Herman Gallegos, Ernesto Galarza, and Julian Samora played has either been diminished or is missing from much of the literature, and mention of their scholarship and activism has largely been ignored. In addition, the Southwest Council of La Raza is often either a footnote, or the organization is left out altogether from Latino historical timelines, anthologies and history books. The National Council of La Raza website in 2005 described three "scholars" who had an impact but did not name them. http://www.nclr.org/index.php/about_us/history/ accessed October 15, 2005.

In the Foreword to *Generations of Exclusion* (2008), the follow up study to the Grebler report, Joan Moore writes that there were few "Mexican American sociologists or economists" in the country during the time covered by the report. While she is correct about that fact, Samora was a sociologist and he had contributed to the Grebler report, which she does not mention. In *Occupied America* (2011), Rodolfo Acuña includes some of Galarza's activities regarding organizing farm workers and Gallegos and Samora are mentioned in footnotes. *Mexican Americans* (1989) by Mario T. Garcia has one entry for Galarza (231) and one entry for Samora (232) although Samora is not listed in the index.

Authors of *Mexican Americans* (Garcia 1989), *Occupied America* (Acuña 2011), *Race and Class in the Southwest* (Barrera 1979) do not mention the Southwest Council of La Raza. Authors of *Chicanos in California* (Camarillo 1984, 1990, 36, 88, 89-90, 95), *Mexican Americans/American Mexicans* (Meier and Ribera 1972, 1993, 183, 209, 227, 228, 237), and *Quixote's Soldiers* (Montejano 2010, 105, 108, 146, 230, and 243) do mention Gallegos, Galarza and Samora and the Southwest Council in some depth.

⁶ Prospectus of the Mexican-American Study Project, page 5; January 27, 1964. Galarza Papers, MO 224 Box 15, Folder 1.

⁷ In Memorium, "Ralph Guzman, Politics, Community Studies: Santa Cruz"
http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb967nb5k3&chunk.id=div00025&brand=calisphere&doc.view=entire_text; accessed March 17, 2011.

⁸ Letter from Grebler to Samora, January 26, 1964, in which Grebler asks Samora "whether your commitments would make it possible for you to become involved in our study in spite of physical distance." Samora Papers, Box 30: 5-2.

⁹ "Mexican Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago" was published in 1967 by the Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration at UCLA.

¹⁰ Gallegos offers further comment: "Note: after we got started, Paul did suggest that since I had a particular interest and experience in voter registration and education programs, he suggested I visit Vernon Jordan, then with the Southern Leadership Conference in Atlanta. I did so. Later, we incorporated voter registration into SWCLR program activities." (Gallegos 2008, 5). This suggestion led to some of the problems the nascent organization encountered when Henry B. Gonzalez objected to the voter registration drives led by Willie Velasquez in Texas.

¹¹ Letter from Samora to Galarza and Gallegos dated March 2, 1966. Samora Papers Box 16, Folder 2.

¹² See Gallegos Bancroft Oral History, transcript of Samora, Gallegos and Galarza discussion at Notre Dame, Gallegos Papers, MO 821, 8: no folder.

¹³ Galarza to Edward V. Moreno, November 3, 1967. Samora Papers 1943-1989, 16: 2. In the letter, Galarza tells Moreno, "Please feel free to duplicate this letter...".

¹⁴ Galarza to Edward V. Moreno, November 3, 1967. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16: 2.

¹⁵ Galarza to Edward V. Moreno, November 3, 1967. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16: 2.

¹⁶ "Mexican Americans in the Southwest: A Report to the Ford Foundation" (1), Polly Baca WH 1793: 89, The Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Department, Denver, CO (hereafter cited as Baca Papers).

¹⁷ Galarza to Samora, January 7, 1968. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16: 2.

¹⁹ Report in author's collection from Herman Gallegos dated 7/9/67 signed "eg" (Ernesto Galarza).

²⁰ Gallegos to S.M. Miller dated May 15, 1967 from Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora in which they ask Ford to make a commitment. "At this point we believe, the Ford Foundation should consider its options; make its choice, if it wishes to become involved with Mexican Americans; indicate approximately the funding limits of its present interests; and consider whatever advice we as consultants can offer these limits" (page 4). Once they heard from Ford they were willing to draft a proposal for Ford's consideration, but not before. This memo indicates that there was a good deal of hemming and hawing on Ford's part before they committed money. Author's collection.

²² This liberal White support would come later in the mid-1960s when Bobby Kennedy embraced Cesar Chavez and the Grape Boycott and Eastern liberals followed suit.

²³ Gallegos Papers, MO 821, 8: no folder. This memo was given to Gallegos by Julie Leininger Pychior. She was a student in the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program at Notre Dame. She found the note when doing research for her book, *LBJ and Mexican Americans: The Paradox of Power* (1997). The book was awarded the T. R. Fehrenbach prize by the Texas Historical Commission.

²⁴ John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. Available from World Wide Web: (<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=28293>).

²⁵ Interview with Vicente Ximenes, October 8, 2009

²⁶ Interview with Vicente Ximenes, October 8, 2009. Interview with Polly Baca, September 9, 2008. Polly Baca was Ximenes's chief of staff. She later became the first staff member Gallegos hired for the Southwest Council of La Raza.

²⁷ The Council was called by at least three different names. Galarza refers to it as the Southwest Social Action Council in the October 12, 1967 letter to S.M. Miller. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16: 2. Maclovio Barraza refers to it as the Spanish-speaking Social Action Council in his November 6, 1967 letter to S.M. Miller. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 93: 1.

Christine Sierra, quoting Jack D. Forbes in *Aztecas* (1973, 291) refers to the Southwest Unity Council for Social Action. By January 1968 the participants had settled on the Southwest Council of La Raza and Galarza is credited with naming the organization.

²⁸ Galarza to S.M. Miller, October 12, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 93: 1.

²⁹ Galarza to S.M. Miller, October 12, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 93: 1.

³⁰ It was learned that Reis Lopez Tijerina was not going to be invited much less allowed to speak. Other Chicano leaders were excluded and the now more cohesive Southwest Council wanted to make room for a broader set of voices. Galarza to Mike (presumably S.M. Miller), October 30, 1967. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16: 2.

³¹ Galarza to S.M. Miller, October 12, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 93: 1.

³² Galarza to S.M. Miller, October 12, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 93: 1.

³⁴ For a comprehensive discussion of the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres see: *They Called Me "King Tiger"* (Tijerina and Gutiérrez 2000); *Tijerina and the Courthouse Raid* (Nobokov 1970); *Chicano!: The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Rosales 1997).

For a comprehensive discussion of the history of land grant movement in New Mexico see: *Roots of Resistance: A History of Land Tenure in New Mexico* (Dunbar Ortiz 2007); *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict Over Land in the American West, 1840-1900* (Montoya 2002).

³⁵ Galarza to Mike (presumably S.M. Miller), October 30, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16: 2. Although the letter is addressed to "Mike" and no last name is included, the letter is in a folder of correspondence between Galarza and S. M. Miller.

³⁶ Galarza to Mike (presumably S.M. Miller), October 30, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16: 2.

³⁷ Galarza to S.M. Miller, November 3, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16: 2.

Samora Papers Box 16, Folder 2.

³⁸ For a full discussion of their leadership styles see Chapter Six

³⁹ White House Press Release, February 23, 1968, Baca Papers, WH 1793: 76.

⁴⁰ Baca Papers WH 1793-56:98.

⁴¹ Barraza to S.M. Miller, November 6, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 93: 1.

⁴² Memo from Galarza to Samora, November 6, 1967 responding to a draft written by Samora, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 93: 1.

⁴³ Samora Papers 1934-1989, 97; 1.

⁴⁴ Southwest Council of La Raza Annual Report, February 1968 to February 1969, Baca Papers, WH 1793, 56:98, 3-4.

⁴⁵ The founding board members were: From California- Bert Corona, National President of the Mexican American Political Association; Al Juarez, President of United Mexican American Students; Audrey Rojas Kaslow, Deputy Juvenile Probation Officer, Los Angeles County; Robert Olivas, Carpinteria City Council member; Mario Vazquez, State Chairman, American G.I. Forum. From Texas - Rev. Miguel Barragan, Catholic Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking; Albert Peña, Bexar County Commissioner; Manuel Ramirez, representing the grass-roots poor in Laredo; R.P. Sanchez, Chairman, McAllen Committee on Migratory Labor; Carlos Truan, Texas State Representative; José Uriegas, Special Education teacher, Uvalde High School. From Arizona - Maclovio Barraza, Representative, District 78, United Steelworkers; Tranquilino Madrid, teacher, Roosevelt Junior High School. From New Mexico - Alex Mercure, Director, Home Education Livelihood Program; Facundo Valdez, Assistant Director, Center for Community Action Services, University of New Mexico. From Colorado - Bernardo Valdez, Manager, Denver Department of Welfare; Juan Rosales, Professor, Southern Colorado State College. Members at Large – Rafael Arvizu, Student Body President, University of Arizona; Rev. Leo Nieto, Director, Migrant Ministry, Texas Council of Churches; Joe Salas, student from Wisconsin; Henry Santiestevan, Director, Information Center, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; Tony Tinaja, O.E.O. Office of Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.; Julian Samora, Professor of Sociology, University of Notre Dame; Armando De Leon, Attorney at Law, Legal Advisor to Arizona State Director of LULAC.

⁴⁶ Gallegos referred to the "chaos of 1969" in his speech at the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the Council, July 13, 2008.

⁴⁸ Richard Nixon was the congressman who took the side of the Di Giorgio Corporation against the National Farm Workers Union for whom Galarza worked.

⁴⁹ The Southwest Council was just months away from being founded and MAUC had to wait until June 1968 for its grant of \$110,000 from the Southwest Council (Sepulveda 2003, 72). In the 1967 meeting with Gallegos, Velasquez learned about the plans for a southwest council and Velasquez became involved in that planning as well (Nicolau and Santiestevan 1990).

⁵⁰ Biographical information about Henry B. Gonzalez accessed March 21, 2011:
<http://www.cah.utexas.edu/feature/0611/>.

⁵¹ Henry B. Gonzalez to S.M. Miller, August 10, 1967. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 18: 4.

⁵² S.M. Miller to Henry B. Gonzalez, August 15, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 18: 4. In the many interviews with the author, Gallegos talked about the Tax Reform Act only in terms of its political impact and never in personal terms.

⁵³ Both Peña and Bernal co-authored *Gunpowder Justice* (1979) with Samora. The book is a reassessment of the Texas Rangers.

⁵⁴ Reprint from the Congressional Record, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 18: 5. In a very courteous letter (July 22, 1969) to Gonzalez, Samora asks for a copy of "The New Racism." Then he asked for a copy to be sent to Galarza. In the next sentence he asks for 40 copies to be sent to the Southwest Council offices. In the very courteous response (July 26, 1969) Gonzalez offers 1 copy to Galarza and only 10 copies to the Council as he is running short.

⁵⁵ A copy of the Tax Reform Act is available at:

<http://www.archive.org/stream/generalexplanati00jcs1670#page/n9/mode/2up>
accessed March 21, 2011.

⁵⁶ Minutes of the Executive Board Meeting, July 18, 1969, Asilomar, Pacific Grove, California. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 95: 5.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the Executive Board Meeting, July 18, 1969, Asilomar, Pacific Grove, California. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 95: 5.

⁵⁸ Gonzalez to both Samora and Gallegos, dated September 10, 1969, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 18: 4

⁵⁹ Proposal from SWCLR to Ford Foundation, Oct. 15, 1969, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 98: 1.

⁶⁰ Minutes to the Executive Committee Meeting, January 10, 1970. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 95: 6.

⁶¹ Minutes to the Executive Committee Meeting, January 10, 1970, page 4. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 95: 6.

⁶² Baca Papers WH1793-56:98, 4-5.

⁶³ Minutes to the Executive Committee Meeting, January 10, 1970, pages 5-6. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 95: 6.

⁶⁴ Henry Santiestevan was voted in as director in February 1970. Minutes to the Executive Committee Meeting, August 27, 1970. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 95: 6.

⁶⁵ Letter to Henry Santiestevan from Julian Samora dated November 10, 1971. Samora Papers 1934-1989, 93: 6.

Chapter Six

¹ Herman Gallegos Papers (unprocessed), Stanford University Archives.

² See Chapter 2 for Gallegos's remembrance of their meeting.

³ Samora to Gallegos, letter dated March 12, 1962, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16:12-2.

⁴ Gallegos to Samora, letter dated September 10, 1968, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16:13-17.

⁵ Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16: 12-16.

⁶ Personal communication with author: Julian Samora to Carmen Samora.

⁷ Julian Samora Project Tapes, collection of the author.

⁸ Samora to Richard Burke, letter dated September 3, 1968, Samora Papers 1939-1989, 16: 9-2.

¹⁰ Gallegos papers, MO821, 8: no folder.

¹¹ Samora to Galarza, letter dated November 21, 1967, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16:2.

¹² M. Galarza to Samora, letter dated October 9, 1980, Samora Papers 1934-1989, 16:1-4.

¹³ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035A, transcript.

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- ¹⁴ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript, 12.
- ¹⁵ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript.
- ¹⁶ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ¹⁷ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript. It should be noted that James MacGregor Burns, who conducted research on political leaders used the term transformational leadership in the mid 1980s. Bernard M. Bass wrote extensively using this term in conjunction with organizational psychology. It is now used extensively in business schools to promote managerial skills. To learn more about Transformational Leadership from a business application see:
http://www.swlearning.com/management/leonard/leonard_9e/Text_14-1.pdf , accessed July 25, 2010.
- ¹⁸ Personal communication with Herman Gallegos, January 10, 2011 via email.
- ¹⁹ Gallegos learned this specifically from Saul Alinsky's teachings as noted in Gallegos 1989.
- ²⁰ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035D, transcript, 24.
- ²¹ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript, 10.
- ²² Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript, 15.
- ²³ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript, 21.
- ²⁴ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035D, transcript, 4.
- ²⁵ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript, 7.
- ²⁶ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 16, 2008, interview 035D, transcript, 25.
- ²⁷ It was not until I started the research for this dissertation that I realized how deeply embedded this idea is in the cultural mores of my upbringing.
- ²⁸ Herman Gallegos, interview by Carmen Samora, March 17, 2008, interview 035E, transcript, 15.

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