LATINOS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY CALIFORNIA

National Register of Historic Places
Context Statement

Latinos in Twentieth Century California:

National Register of Historic Places Context Statement

California Office of Historic Preservation

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Table of Contents

Introduction **1**
Making a Nation **3**
Latino Immigration and Settlement 3
Latino Immigration in California Before 1900 3
Mexican Immigration in the Early Twentieth Century (1900-1917) 4
Changes in U.S. Immigration Policy (1917-1929) 5
Mexican Migration and Settlement Patterns (1900-1929) 5
Mexican Repatriation during the Great Depression (1929-1939) 8
World War II and the Bracero Program (1940-1964) 9
Mexican Immigration and Settlement in the Post-World War II Period (1945-1969) 10
Mexican Immigration and Settlement in the Late Twentieth Century (1970-2000) 11
Central American Immigration (1970-2000) 12
Central American Migration and Settlement (Pre-1970) 13
Central American Migration and Settlement (1970-2000) 14
South American Immigration and Settlement in the Twentieth Century 15
Latinos in the Media 16
Print Media 17
Radio 20
Film 22
Television 24
Making a Life **27**
Religion and Spirituality in Latino Culture 27
Latinos in the Catholic Church 27
Latinos and Protestant Denominations 31
The Intersection of Religion and Activism 34
The Sanctuary Movement 36
Latinos in Sports 38
Boxing 39
Baseball 41
Handball 43
Charrería 44
Soccer 45
Other Sports 45
Latinos in the Arts 47
Music 49
Theater and the Performing Arts 53

Literature 55
Painting and the Visual Arts 57
Making a Living 62
Latinos in Labor History 62
1900-1920s: Era of Labor Subjugation 62
1930s: Tempered Progress in an Era of Despair 68
1940-1960s: Fusing Labor and Civil Rights 72
1970s-2000: Economic restructuring and the Emergence of a Latino Labor Vanguard 78
Business and Commerce in Latino Communities 82
Latinos in the Military 87
World War I 88
World War II 90
Korea, Vietnam, and the Anti-War Movement 94
Latinos in the Military During the Late Twentieth Century 97
Making a Democracy 98
Latino Struggles for Inclusion 98
History of Segregation and Discrimination 98
Building the Latino Civil Rights Movement 99
Housing 106
Education 109
Politics 113
Appendix A – Associated Property Types 119
Property Types Associated with Immigration and Settlement 119
Property Types Associated with Media 122
Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality 126
Property Types Associated with the Arts 129
Property Types Associated with Labor 132
Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce 135
Property Types Associated with Military History 137
Property Types Associated with Struggles for Inclusion 139
Appendix B – Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods 143
Appendix C – Guide to Using the Multiple Property Document Form 146
Appendix D – Latinos in Twentieth Century California Advisory Committee 146
Major Bibliographic References 149
Endnotes 161

Introduction

This context statement documents the history of Latinos in twentieth century California and provides a framework for the nomination of associated properties to the National Register of Historic Places. The term Latino generally refers to anyone of Latin American origin. It emerged in the twentieth century as immigration from Central and South America grew. It is differentiated from the term Hispanic, which refers mostly to persons of Spanish-speaking ancestry, including Spain. The term Latino was used in this document instead of Hispanic to emphasize the shared history of people from the Americas rather than Europe.

While the Latino population in California is diverse, it has historically been dominated by Mexican Americans. Despite the fact that California was settled by the Spanish in the eighteenth century and governed by Mexico during part of the nineteenth century, the Mexican American population of California remained relatively small until the twentieth century. When California joined the union in 1850, the existing Mexican population became American citizens. Los Angeles immediately became the largest Mexican American city in the United States. Mexican Americans throughout California lost land, status, and power over the subsequent decades. They were also quickly outnumbered by a surge of migrants from the Midwest and East Coast.

Mexican immigration to California began to increase at the beginning of the twentieth century as large numbers arrived to escape the violence of the Mexican Revolution. Despite changes to U.S. immigration policies in 1917, 1921, and again in 1924, the U.S.-Mexican border remained relatively porous and the demand for labor in the U.S. fueled Mexican immigration. Soon Latinos comprised the backbone of the state's workforce and permanent Mexican neighborhoods began to form. The formation of Latino neighborhoods, most often referred to as barrios in urban areas and colonias in rural areas, fostered the development of community activities, churches, mutual aid societies, sports teams, and small businesses.

During the Great Depression, Latinos became the scapegoats for the economic hardships faced by millions of Americans. Regardless of their citizenship, they were viewed as unwelcome competitors for employment and government assistance programs. As a result, both individual states and the U.S. government began to pass laws to discourage hiring of Mexican workers and to encourage their deportation. Despite the distrust that Latinos developed for the U.S. government and law enforcement during this period, they responded to the call to serve their country during World War II in large numbers. The industrial expansion brought about during the war allowed Latinos to gain entry to occupations that had been closed to them in the past.

Even though they were relegated to the lower echelon of the economy and discriminated against in access to housing and education, the postwar era was generally positive for Latinos. The G.I. Bill of Rights provided veterans with subsidies for education and loans to start businesses and buy houses, which allowed more Latinos the opportunity to join the middle class. World War II as well as Korean War veterans laid the groundwork for the Latino civil rights movement by founding a variety of organizations including the Unity Leagues, the Community Service Organization, and the Mexican American Political Association.

The Chicano movement of the 1960s gave rise to increased political representation in subsequent decades. Although the agenda of the movement was primarily political and social reform, it also generated a cultural renaissance in art, music, theater, and literature. Since the 1970s, other Spanish-speaking immigrants, especially Guatemalans, Nicaraguans,

and Salvadorans, have joined Mexican Americans in California. Latinos are now the largest ethnic group in California.

About the Multiple Property Submission, Multiple Property Documentation Form, and This Illustrated Context Statement

On April 7, 2015 the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places approved the *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* Multiple Property Documentation Form. The California Office of Historic Preservation contracted with GPA Consulting to prepare this Multiple Property Documentation Form, which was written by Teresa Grimes, Laura O'Neill, Elysha Paluszek, and Becky Nicolaides. In preparing this document, the consulting team and the Office of Historic Preservation worked with a distinguished advisory panel whose members are listed in Appendix D of this document.

The Multiple Property Documentation Form puts in place the framework through which associated individual California properties can more easily be nominated for listing in the National Register. The National Park Service first introduced the Multiple Property Submission (MPS) format in 1984. The purpose of the MPS is to document as a group for listing in the National Register, properties related by theme, general geographical area, and period of time. It may cover any geographical scale—local, regional, state, or national. It is used to register thematically-related properties simultaneously and establishes the registration criteria for properties that may be nominated in the future.

Technically the Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) acts as a cover document and is not a National Register nomination. The MPDF must be submitted with at least one nomination. The MPDF and accompanying individual nomination form(s) constitute a Multiple Property Submission. Information common to the group of properties (the historic context statement) is presented on the MPDF, while information specific to the nominated individual building, site, district, structure, or object is presented on the Individual Registration Form. Once an MPS is listed in the National Register, additional associated property nominations may be submitted at any time.

This copy of the historic context statement for *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* provides an illustrated version of the plain text Multiple Property Documentation Form approved by the Keeper of the National Register. Any properties depicted in this illustrated text do not necessarily represent properties that have been or will be nominated to the National Register.

Making a Nation

Latino Immigration and Settlement

Latino Immigration in California Before 1900

Latino immigration in the United States is predominantly viewed as a twentieth century phenomenon due to the large numbers of people from Mexico, South, and Central America who settled in this country during the period. California experienced small waves of Latino immigration, primarily from Mexico, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Mexicans were drawn to the state, like many others, by the prospect of gold. An estimated 10,000 Mexicans came to California during the Gold Rush that began in 1848, just two years after California became a U.S. territory and two years before official statehood.[1] While many gold prospectors from Mexico returned to their home country after finding only limited success, if any at all, some remained and others began to join them. By 1900, at least 100,000 Mexicans had migrated to the U.S.; over 8,000 of them settled in California.[2]

The earliest Mexican immigrants found work on the railroads and in agriculture, mining, and construction. They lived in camps or company towns near their places of employment. Railroads expanded in the second half of the 1800s throughout the U.S., especially in the West, resulting in an economic boom, and technological developments in agriculture encouraged the growth of large-scale farming and the emergence of agribusiness.[3] As a result, both industries needed more workers. The increasing demand for labor was compounded by legal restrictions imposed on Asian immigrants, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the 1907-1908 "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan.[4] By the turn of the century, a pattern of U.S. reliance on Mexican labor was beginning to form, a pattern that became a major factor in the California economy throughout the twentieth century and beyond. Likewise, a pattern of Latino settlement in the vicinity of common places of employment also emerged. This pattern continued throughout the century as well, notably in the first three decades.

In addition to small numbers of immigrants from Mexico, California's nineteenth century Latino population consisted of Californios, who were Mexican citizens before the U.S.-Mexican War, and chose to remain on their land after it was incorporated into U.S. territory. Like the oft-repeated words of Tejanos, they did not cross the border; the border crossed them.[5] An estimated 75,000 to 100,000 Mexican citizens were nationalized as part of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war in 1848.[6] They were guaranteed citizenship and equal rights in theory, and in reality they were typically treated poorly and robbed of their land. They remained on their land if they were able to keep it, or relocated if necessary. The settlement areas of Californios had little connections, geographically or culturally, to those of new Latino settlers.[7] The pattern of separation between non-immigrant Californios and Latino immigrant groups continued into the twentieth century.

Pío de Jesús Pico, last Mexican territorial governor of California and first-generation Californio. Pictured with his wife, María, and two nieces, c.1850.

Mexican Immigration in the Early Twentieth Century (1900-1917)

In California and in the U.S. as a whole, the vast majority of Latino immigrants in the early twentieth century were of Mexican origin. A complex, intertwined set of push and pull factors drew Mexican immigrants to the U.S. at a rapid pace in the first two decades and more fully established the trend of U.S.-Mexico reliance that began toward the end of the nineteenth century. Illustrating the dramatic increase in immigration in the 1900s and 1910s, the estimated Mexican population in California quadrupled from 8,086 in 1900 to 33,694 in 1910, and then increased by two and a half times to 88,881 in 1920.[8] The key push and pull factors included: transportation improvements on both sides of the border, wage disparities between the two countries, farm and land policies in Mexico, high U.S. demand for labor, improvements in agricultural technology, the Mexican Revolution of 1910, and the relative ease of border crossing prior to 1924.

A complex, intertwined set of push and pull factors drew Mexican immigrants to the U.S. at a rapid pace in the first two decades and more fully established the trend of U.S.–Mexico reliance that began toward the end of the nineteenth century.

The transportation improvements that most directly influenced Mexican immigration were the completions of north-south railroad routes in Mexico and the expansion of existing railroad systems in the U.S. The Mexican routes made travel to the border easier and faster. The expanded American railroads yielded an economic boom in the West and streamlined travel to locations of employment for immigrants once inside the country. They were especially useful for transporting Mexicans recruited to work on American railroads, in place of banned Chinese laborers.

While improved rail transport provided an important pull factor, a great wage disparity between the U.S. and Mexico provided a critical push. For example, a farm worker in Jalisco, Mexico made a reported $0.13 per day for working sunrise to sunset, while a truck laborer in the U.S. made $1.25 for a ten-hour workday.[9] As a result, Mexicans seeking to better their economic situations were understandably drawn to America by the promise of higher incomes.

At the same time Mexico's government, under the rule of President Porfirio Díaz, unintentionally provided further incentive for relocation by instituting agricultural policies that heavily favored large farms, known as haciendas, over smaller, family-run farms.[10] The policies drove small farmers off their land and forced them to work for the haciendas or to seek different kinds of work in urban areas. These policies, combined with the wage disparities, made work in the U.S. particularly attractive.

In 1910, the Mexican Revolution began. President Díaz was overthrown, and a decade of political unrest followed as different factions vied for control. Violence surged and financial hardships compounded. The quality of life in Mexico was especially poor during the revolutionary period, which created another critical push factor and caused many to seek employment in America as a means of improving their situations.

Corresponding with Mexicans' desires for higher wages, refuge from the hardships of civil war, and overall improvement in quality of life, U.S. companies, especially those in the agriculture and transportation sectors, had high labor demands in the early twentieth century, and they did not sit back and wait for workers to pour in on their own. Rather, American companies employed labor recruiters to secure large numbers of Mexican workers and to ensure successful border crossings and transportation to job sites. Labor recruiters represented the interests of big business and relied on dishonesty and exploitation tactics to attract able-bodied Mexican men to work the least desirable jobs on railroad lines, farms, and in factories under the least desirable conditions.

Despite the unsavory practices of recruiters and the poor working conditions awaiting them, many Mexicans contracted with labor agencies. Most intended for their time in the U.S. to be transitory; they did not intend to settle permanently. They would work on farms or in railroad yards seasonally, save money for their families, and return to Mexico in the off-seasons or when they had earned enough to live for a while. The border in the first two decades of the twentieth century was porous. There were few regulations and the border patrol did not exist yet. Thus, it was relatively easy to move back and forth between the U.S. and Mexico, and a circular pattern of migration developed that would continue until later in the twentieth century when a new set of forces would encourage permanent U.S. settlement over back and forth migration.[11]

"From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz to the Revolution," a mural by David Alfaro Siquieros. The 1910 Mexican Revolution propelled even greater numbers of immigrants from Mexico into the U.S. (*Photo courtesy Creative commons/wikiart*)

Changes in U.S. Immigration Policy (1917-1929)

The Immigration Act of 1917 marked a turning point in U.S. immigration policy.[12] The new law restricted immigration by imposing an eight-dollar head tax, a literacy test, and a physical exam on all who wished to enter from a foreign country.[13] These requirements applied to all immigrants, not just those from Mexico. The supposed goal of the law was to keep out "undesirables," such as people with mental or physical disabilities or with criminal histories. While the law did not significantly reduce the numbers of people emigrating from Mexico, it did have a significant impact on the circular pattern of migration established in previous decades. Instead of moving back and forth across the border with relative ease, Mexicans had to pay the head tax, take the literacy test, and endure an embarrassing physical exam at each crossing. Increasing numbers of migrants sought to avoid the new red tape at the border either by staying in the U.S. indefinitely or by crossing illegally.[14]

The subsequent Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 took U.S. policy a step further by imposing numerical limitations on immigration. These acts set quotas by country of origin and prompted the formal creation of the Border Patrol in 1924. The Border Patrol's primary charge was to curb illegal border crossings. At the time, agents were not particularly concerned with Mexicans. The demand for Mexican labor in the U.S. was still very high, and big business was able to use political influence to ensure that its demands were met.[15] As a result, the Border Patrol's focus during its early years was catching immigrants from Asia who attempted to enter the U.S. illegally through Mexico.[16] Nonetheless, the establishment of the Border Patrol created another reason for Mexicans who would normally return to their home country during off-seasons to stay in the U.S. indefinitely.

Mexican Migration and Settlement Patterns (1900-1929)

Most Mexicans migrating to the U.S. in the early twentieth century originated from central and southern Mexico and traveled by rail to border towns, like Juárez and Tijuana, before crossing the border. Very few came directly to California. For example, naturalization records indicate that less than seven percent of Mexicans arriving in Los Angeles came through the land ports of Calexico or San Ysidro or the seaports of San Diego or San Francisco.[17] By far, the most common crossing point for Mexicans who would end up in California was the Juárez -El Paso crossing on the Mexico-Texas border.[18] Most settled

initially in Texas and remained there for several years before heading west in search of higher wages.[19] Once in California, common settlement locations included the Imperial Valley and the San Joaquin Valley.[20] Both valleys were major agricultural regions and benefited from significant improvements in irrigation and farming technology in the early twentieth century. These improvements led to increased production, which in turn led to increased labor demands. One-third of the farm laborers in the Imperial Valley were of Mexican origin by the late 1920s.[21] Likewise, Mexican laborers formed the San Joaquin Valley's largest single ethnic group as early as 1920.[22]

As the numbers of Mexicans remaining in the U.S. increased in the late 1910s and 1920s, settlement patterns shifted. Instead of taking seasonal work in agriculture, immigrants sought permanent or at least better off-season employment in the industrial, construction, and transportation sectors.[23] These jobs were typically located in urban areas. By 1930, more than half of the Mexican population in the U.S. resided in urban areas, rather than in rural, agricultural areas.[24]

In California and in the nation as a whole, the primary urban area for Mexican settlement was Los Angeles.[25] Mexicans often ended up in Los Angeles after working for a while in one of the agricultural valleys.[26] Much of Los Angeles remained agricultural during this time period, so the attraction of the city to farm workers was obvious. It also provided coveted permanent and off-season employment opportunities in other fields, primarily transportation and manufacturing.[27] Another key factor adding to the appeal of Los Angeles was the rapidly expanding public transportation system.[28] While achieving permanent employment was the goal of most Mexican immigrants, it was not necessarily easy. Therefore, even after moving into a city, many still worked several different jobs each year. Los Angeles' public transit allowed workers to take Red Car lines to work in the fields during prime agricultural seasons and to factories in off-seasons without changing residence. Other California cities attracted Mexicans as well, just in smaller numbers than Los Angeles. Examples include Santa Barbara, San Francisco, San Jose, Sacramento, and San Diego. Table I provides a comparison of Mexican populations in three California cities in the early twentieth century.

TABLE I: TOTAL MEXICAN POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION, SELECT CALIFORNIA CITIES, 1900-1930

City/Year	Total Population	Mexican Population (high-low range)	Percentage of Total (high-low range)
Los Angeles			
1900	102,479	3,000 - 5,000	2.9 - 4.9
1910	319,198	9,678 - 29,738	3.0 - 9.3
1920	576,673	29,757 - 50,000	5.2 - 8.7
1930	1,238,048	97,116 - 190,000	7.8 - 15.3
San Diego			
1900	17,700	638 – 893	3.6 - 5.0
1910	39,578	1,588 - 1,595	4.0 - 4.0
1920	74,683	3,563 - 4,028	4.7 - 5.4

1930	147,995	9,266 - 20,000	6.3 - 13.5
Santa Barbara			
1900	6,587	1,108 - 1,551	16.8 - 23.5
1910	11,659	1,644 - 2,221	14.1 - 19.0
1920	19,441	2,558 - 2,888	13.1 - 14.8
1930	33,613	3,279 - 5,157	9.7 - 15.3

Source: Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 34.

Mexican immigrants during the early twentieth century often settled among other immigrant groups from Europe and Asia, not in isolated communities. For example, the area around Los Angeles' Plaza was a common place of residence for many European and Asian immigrants, not just for Mexicans. The Plaza vicinity had a significant Italian population, as well as a Chinatown and a Little Tokyo.[29] The Mission District in San Francisco and the Lower Quarter in Sacramento are additional examples of mixed immigrant neighborhoods that included large Mexican populations.[30]

A noteworthy exception to the mixed immigrant communities in which many Mexicans settled before 1930 was Belvedere. Since known as East Los Angeles, Belvedere was located east of the Los Angeles city limits on unincorporated county land. A mixed community of white citizens and European immigrants in the early 1900s, Belvedere became attractive to Mexican immigrants in the 1920s due to the completion of a new interurban rail line and the low cost of housing.[31] By 1930, the community was home to the largest single concentration of Mexicans in the Los Angeles area – 90,000 out of the total county population of one million.[32] While some residents of other nationalities remained, it could no longer be described as a mixed community.

Another noteworthy, albeit much smaller, example of a Mexican community that developed prior to 1930 is the Casa Blanca neighborhood in the City of Riverside. Casa Blanca was subdivided in 1889. It developed gradually in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and primarily consisted of workers' housing for Riverside's thriving citrus industry. Residents were mostly Mexican at first, though some Chinese and Italian residents were also present. In the 1920s, like Belvedere, Mexican settlement in the area increased significantly. The increase is attributed to the fallout from the Mexican Revolution, as well as a change in

Mexican families settled in the Casa Blanca neighborhood of Riverside beginning in the 1880s; the neighborhood maintained its Latino majority and identity throughout the twentieth century. (*Photo courtesy City of Riverside*)

preference among citrus farmers for year-round, rather than seasonal labor. Also like Belvedere, Casa Blanca retained a large Mexican majority throughout the twentieth century.[33]

In addition to the geographic changes, demographic shifts accompanied the increase in permanent settlement in the late 1910s and 1920s. Previously, when circular migration was simpler, the vast majority of Mexicans entering the U.S. were working age males. Once it became more difficult to cross the border and Mexican men working in the U.S. extended their stays indefinitely, the numbers of women and children emigrating from Mexico increased accordingly. They came to join their husbands, fathers, and sons, and those of working age looked for employment to help support their families. Women typically found employment in factories and services in urban areas and in canneries in rural areas.

Mexican Repatriation during the Great Depression (1929-1939)

With the stock market crash of 1929 and the economic turmoil that followed in the 1930s, millions of Americans lost their jobs. Both work and government assistance were scarce. Consequently, resentment of new immigrants and non-U.S. citizens, who were viewed as unwelcome competitors for employment and assistance, rose sharply. In response, both individual states and the U.S. government began passing laws to discourage hiring of Mexican workers and to encourage deportation. The laws led to repatriation programs in which Mexicans citizens and Mexican Americans alike were returned to Mexico en masse. Mexican repatriation in the 1930s meant that Latino immigration ceased and the numbers of Mexicans living in the U.S. and California decreased for the first and only time in the twentieth century.

While some immigrants may have left by choice due to a lack of economic opportunities, most went by force. The majority of the victims of repatriation were U.S. citizens whose civil rights were unjustly violated. Estimates of the numbers of affected Mexican Americans in California vary widely from approximately 100,000 to as many as 400,000, the number cited by the California Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program.[34] The act also states that an estimated 2,000,000 were deported nationwide and that 1,200,000 of them were born in the U.S.[35] Deportations were often the result of clandestine raids of known Mexican neighborhoods.

Repatriation, in conjunction with the new immigration laws and other forces favoring permanent U.S. residency and citizenship in the early 1910s and 1920s, led to the beginning of a significant shift in the numbers of foreign-born Latinos living in America versus U.S.-born. Prior to 1930, population estimates indicate that there were more immigrant Latinos than U.S.-born. The numbers began to shift in the other direction in the late 1920s; in 1930, the immigrant population remained larger. By 1940, the shift was complete. For the first time in the twentieth century there were more U.S.-born Latinos, estimated at 262,100, than foreign-born, estimated at 111,900. The higher proportion of U.S.-born Latinos was a trend that continued and magnified at least through 1960, as demonstrated in Table II below.[36]

TABLE II: U.S.-BORN AND FOREIGN-BORN LATINOS IN THE U.S., 1910-1960

Decade	Foreign-born Latinos	U.S.-born Latinos	Total Latinos
1910	33,444	24,744	58,188
1920	86,610	34,566	121,176
1930	199,165	168,848	368,013

1940	111,900	262,100	374,000
1950	189,800	819,600	1,009,400
1960	282,400	1,174,500	1,456,900

Source: David E. Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State*, 17.

World War II and the Bracero Program (1940-1964)

The complex demands of the wartime economy during World War II produced a drastic change in attitude regarding Mexican labor. The war boosted the U.S. economy and at the same time yielded a shortage of American workers, especially males due to the draft. This, in turn, yielded an increase in the demand for labor, farm labor in particular. In response, the U.S. formed an agreement with the Mexican government in 1942 creating a guest worker program officially called the Emergency Farm Labor Agreement, commonly known as the Bracero Program.[37] The agreement allowed Mexican farm workers to enter and work in the U.S. legally for limited amounts of time. It was extended by various means for a period of 22 years and had a major, lasting effect on the U.S. economy.

The first 500 braceros were sent to Stockton to work on sugar beet farms.[38] The program rapidly expanded with more than four million Mexicans working in California during the 22-year period.[39] As in the decades before the Great Depression, the economic situation in Mexico was poor in comparison with the U.S. As a result, Mexicans flooded into border towns and waited in long lines for physical exams, hoping to receive labor contracts.

Workers vying for legal work under the Bracero Program, Mexicali, 1954. The Bracero Program lasted from1942 to 1964 and had lasting effects on immigration between Mexico and the U.S. (*Photo courtesy Los Angeles Times/en.wikipedia*).

The Bracero Program had lasting effects on the immigration to the U.S. It reopened the border with Mexico, which had been closed during the Great Depression, and reinstituted the use of large numbers of migrant workers.[40] This resulted in a renewed and strengthened U.S. dependency on Mexican labor that continued into the twenty-first century. The Bracero Program also had the unanticipated effect of increasing both sanctioned and unsanctioned emigration from Mexico.[41] Despite the poor conditions and difficult tasks assigned to guest workers, wages were still seven to ten times higher in the U.S. and many Mexicans remained in the country illegally after their contracts expired.[42] Others avoided the Bracero contracting process altogether by crossing the border illicitly. The estimated ratio of unauthorized workers to contracted braceros nationwide in the 1940s through the 1960s was at least two to one.[43] Illegal immigration as a result of the Bracero Program was the target of a federal crackdown in 1954 known as Operation Wetback, in which many Mexicans suspected as being illegal were deported.[44]

As immigration under the Bracero Program was not supposed to be permanent, the type of settlement associated with it was temporary at first. Farm owners were typically responsible for supplying housing for braceros. It was usually substandard, at best, and located adjacent to work sites. Workers' camps took the form of tent cities in fields, vacant barns, abandoned hotels, and the like. Workers who stayed after their contracts expired settled where they could find work. Increasingly, this was in cities, rather than on farms.

Mexican Immigration and Settlement in the Post-World War II Period (1945-1969)

The economic and political climate in the U.S. during the post-World War II period was strongly influenced by the Cold War. The federal government invested heavily in military spending by contracting with research and technology firms specializing in ammunitions, aviation, and aerospace. Many of these firms were headquartered in California. The influx of capital and large acreages of available land contributed to a major development boom in the state, as well as an increase in the demand for labor in manufacturing, the service industry, and construction.

In 1965, the federal government overhauled its immigration policy with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. The act set a strict quota for the number of authorized immigrants from the Western Hemisphere. This, in combination with the end of the Bracero Program and the persistence of low wages in Mexico, caused even greater numbers of unsanctioned migrations as the second half of the twentieth century continued. Table III demonstrates the significant increase in the Mexican population in California during the postwar period and through the 1970s.[45]

TABLE III: SPANISH SURNAME POPULATION IN CALIFORNIA, 1940-1980

Census Period (with Census terminology)	Spanish Surname Population	Spanish Surnames as Percentage of Total Population
1940 (Spanish Mother-Tongue)	416,140	6.0
1950 (Spanish Surname)	758,400	7.2
1960 (Spanish Surname)	1,426,538	9.1
1970 (Spanish Origin)	2,369,292	11.9
1980 (Spanish Origin)	4,543,770	19.2

Source: Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 87.

The Bracero Program remained in effect until 1964, throughout much of the postwar period, and helped fulfill the demand for agricultural labor in California. As farmland was converted to housing developments and labor contracts expired, Mexicans who wanted to stay in the state found other means of employment. They moved into the major cities, just as large numbers of white residents moved out to the newly developing suburbs. Neighborhoods that were at one time either entirely Anglo or melting pots of a variety of immigrant groups became increasingly Mexican. Los Angeles remained the largest Mexican city in the U.S.[46] Existing barrios, such as East Los Angeles, became more cohesive, and new barrios emerged in formerly white areas, like the working class neighborhoods of Southeast Los Angeles. Significant Mexican communities developed in San Diego, Santa Barbara, San Bernardino, San Jose, San Francisco, and in Los Angeles "satellite" barrios, such as Watts by 1960.[47] During the 1950s, some Mexicans moved to the suburbs as a result of the G.I. Bill, and most remained in segregated barrios.[48]

Mexican Immigration and Settlement in the Late Twentieth Century (1970-2000)

As in previous decades, economics were the driving force behind Mexican immigration in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. For example, the U.S. embargo on Arab oil in 1973 disrupted the American labor force and is credited with causing a spike in both legal and illegal immigration in the 1970s.[49] It triggered a "massive reorganization of work and production processes" that led to a decrease in high-wage, high-benefit union jobs in manufacturing and industry and yielded an increase in low-wage, low-benefit, non-union jobs in the service and "informal" employment sectors.[50] Mexicans, both sanctioned and unsanctioned, filled many of these new positions in California and continue to do so, as expanded globalization has contributed significantly to continued outsourcing of high-wage U.S. jobs and insourcing of low-wage workers.

Mexican immigrants at the end of the twentieth century were attracted to existing barrios in urban cities, and they were also drawn to newly Latino suburban communities, such as Anaheim and Santa Ana in Orange County. Orange County was home to the second largest Mexican population in the state by 1980 and retained that spot in 1990 and 2000. San Diego had the third largest Mexican population in all three census years. Table IV indicates the 15 counties with the largest Mexican populations in 1980, 1990, and 2000. The majority of California's Mexican residents were distributed among these 15 counties. Table III illustrates that while shifts in settlement patterns occurred between 1980 and 1990, between 1990 and 2000 areas of settlement remained mostly unchanged.

TABLE IV: CALIFORNIA COUNTIES WITH THE HIGHEST MEXICAN POPULATIONS

	1980		1990		2000	
Rank	City	Hispanic[51]	City	Mexican	City	Mexican
1	Los Angeles	2,065,727	Los Angeles	2,519,514	Los Angeles	3,041,974
2	Orange	286,331	Orange	472,284	Orange	712,496
3	San Diego	275,176	San Diego	433,708	San Diego	628,460
4	Santa Clara	226,611	San Bernardino	321,818	San Bernardino	532,186
5	San Bernardino	165,295	Riverside	265,723	Riverside	463,465
6	Fresno	150,820	Santa Clara	248,225	Santa Clara	323,489
7	Alameda	129,962	Fresno	218,844	Fresno	302,120
8	Riverside	124,496	Ventura	157,104	Ventura	211,925
9	Ventura	113,241	Kern	136,765	Kern	210,828
10	Kern	87,025	Alameda	116,679	Alameda	193,011
11	San Francisco	83,373	Tulare	113,355	Tulare	163,401
12	Monterey	75,129	Monterey	104,048	Monterey	162,318
13	Sacramento	74,139	San Joaquin	97,213	Sacramento	150,909
14	San Mateo	73,362	Sacramento	92,875	San Joaquin	144,220
15	Tulare	73,296	Santa Barbara	86,774	Stanislaus	119,252

Sources: For 1980 data: Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 106. For 1990 and 2000 data: Minnesota Population Center, National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0.

Central American Immigration (1970-2000)

The Latino immigrant population in the U.S. began to diversify after 1970.[52] In California this was evidenced by an increase in Latinos emigrating from Central America. For example, in 1970 Los Angeles the estimated numbers of Salvadorans and Guatemalans, the two largest Central American groups in California, was 7,700 and 5,600, respectively.[53] By 1980, the city was home to 61,600 foreign-born Salvadorans and 38,000 Guatemalans, representing an increase of 800 percent for Salvadorans and nearly 700 percent for Guatemalans.[54] Central American immigration continued in large numbers in the 1980s. By 1990, the Salvadoran population in Los Angeles County was over 253,000, and the Guatemalan population exceeded 125,000.[55]

Prior to the 1970s, Central Americans came to the U.S. in small numbers. They were predominantly upper- or middle class, came initially to visit relatives, for school, or for vacation, and decided to stay.[56] Most originated from Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and El Salvador. In addition to the upper and middle class immigrants, a small number of poor and working class people immigrated in 1940s and 1950s as part of the Bracero Program. Because the program applied to Mexican workers only, Central Americans pretended to be Mexican to broker entry to the U.S.[57]

In the second half of the twentieth century, major global economic forces reshaped the economies of many Central American countries. For example, the Central American Common Market, established in the 1960s, brought increased foreign investment to the region. Businesses in the U.S. invested heavily, building and staffing manufacturing plants in major cities and free trade zones. When recession hit in the 1970s, Central American workers successfully transferred their manufacturing experience to the same or similar jobs in the U.S.[58] Many became domestic workers for their American employers, and networks developed between American employers and Central American domestic employees.[59] This led to an increasing trend of Central American domestic workers in U.S. households.[60] Thus, the primary motivation for Central American immigration throughout much of the 1970s was economic in nature, and the majority of immigrants were women, because it was relatively easy for them to find domestic or garment industry employment.[61]

In the late 1970s and 1980s, the motivations of Central American immigrants changed from economic to political. Revolutions and civil wars raged in their home countries and often involved ideological struggles among dictatorships, democracies, and communist forces. The turmoil, bloodshed, and economic fallout caused many to flee to the U.S. and to California in particular. It also caused an increase in the number of male immigrants, as opposed to the female-dominated immigration pattern of earlier years.[62]

In the late 1970s and 1980s the motivations of Central American immigrants changed from economic to political. Revolutions and civil war raged in their home countries and … caused many to flee to the U.S. and California in particular.

It is important to note that the increase in immigration in the 1970s and 1980s was not limited to an influx of Latinos. Global economic change and geopolitics yielded increased immigration from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Iran, and Russia, as well.[63] Many of the immigrants from these countries came legally as refugees, in contrast with those from Central America who were rarely granted refugee status due to underlying U.S. political interests and involvement in the civil conflicts of the region.[64] As a result, most Central American immigrants in the 1980s were undocumented, lived in

constant fear of deportation, and were unable to qualify for the types of government assistance usually available to asylum seekers.[65]

In the 1990s, the number of Central Americans living in California declined from 637,656 in 1990 to 576,300 in 2000.[66] This negative trend was short-lived. In the next decennial census, the number of Central Americans in California soared to 1,132,520.[67] The apparent decline in the 1990s was likely due to the return of some Central Americans to their home countries either by choice or through deportation, relocation to other states, and inaccurate counting due to high numbers of undocumented immigrants. The subsequent sharp increase may be attributed to continued economic hardships in Central America, better counting techniques, and an increase in immigrants with legal status due to the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act of 1997 (NACARA).

NACARA was enacted in response to the numbers of asylum seekers from both Central America and former Soviet Bloc countries in the 1990s and to counteract the new restrictions created by the Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA).[68] The 1997 law created new immigration benefits and relief from deportation for asylum seekers, provided certain criteria were met. Latino refugees affected by the law included those from Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Although it was enacted in 1996, NACARA did not begin to have an impact until later in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Central American Migration and Settlement (Pre-1970)

Before 1970, Central American immigrants primarily settled in San Francisco. There, they joined small, existing Salvadoran and Nicaraguan communities.[69] San Francisco had a distinct connection with Central American dating back to the early 1900s through the coffee trade: Central American countries were coffee producers, and the Port of San Francisco was the key entry point for coffee to the U.S.[70] As such, coffee entrepreneurs from the region traveled to San Francisco for business, as well as pleasure, frequently in the early twentieth century.[71]

From early in the twentieth century, the Mission District of San Francisco has been home to an active Latino community of homes, cultural centers, and Latino-run businesses. (*Photo courtesy* SFH*eritage*)

Another factor luring Central Americans to San Francisco in the early twentieth century was the construction of the Panama Canal. Many Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, and other Central Americans were recruited to work on the massive construction project. Once it was complete, many of the workers joined shipping lines operating in the canal. These shipping lines brought them to San Francisco as it was the West Coast's major port.[72]

Early twentieth century immigration to San Francisco began to manifest into a distinct Central American barrio within the city's larger Mission District as early as the 1920s. The barrio was previously developed by Mexican immigrants fleeing the 1910 revolution. Residents in the 1920s and 1930s increasingly originated from Nicaragua and El Salvador. Later, during World War II, more Central Americans came to the area to work in munitions factories. Many more Salvadorans and Guatemalans arrived in the 1970s and 1980s due to the economic and political turmoil in their home countries.[73]

Central American Migration and Settlement (1970-2000)

In contrast with early twentieth century Central Americans who came to California by sea, those trying to gain entry to the U.S. in the 1970s and 1980s usually came over land through Mexico. They hired smugglers known as "coyotes" and paid them up to $2,000 per person.[74] The smugglers were often untrustworthy to say the least. They would rob, rape, and abandon their passengers in the desert. Those who made it across the border to California came through Tijuana, sometimes on foot. Once in California, most new immigrants went to Los Angeles. Los Angeles was much closer to the Mexico border than San Francisco, and it had a booming economy with a demand for workers in the garment industry and service sectors. In addition, economic and geographic population movements left an abundance of low-cost housing near sources of employment.

Many Central Americans in the 1970s and 1980s settled in existing and newly established Mexican neighborhoods, because Mexican immigrants were seeking the same things—employment and affordable housing. For example, the cities along the Alameda Corridor in Southeast Los Angeles were experiencing significant economic restructuring in the 1980s. Major companies in the area, such as General Motors and Firestone closed, eliminating many high-paying union jobs. In their absence, new garment industry businesses moved in. One hundred new garment plants opened in the City of Vernon alone. Mexican Americans who had resided in the area and had relatively high-paying jobs in the auto industry either took lower paying garment industry jobs or moved out of the area completely. When they moved out, Central Americans moved in, attracted to the proximity to jobs and low cost of housing.[75]

MacArthur Park in the Westlake part of Los Angeles became a hub of social activity and political demonstrations for Latinos in the Pico-Union neighborhood of Westlake. (*Creative Commons/en.wikipedia*)

While Central Americans eventually branched out and settled in Southeast Los Angeles, as well as East Hollywood, Glendale, and the San Fernando Valley, the primary point of entry was the Pico-Union neighborhood. Pico-Union is part of the Westlake section of the city, just west of downtown. Westlake began as a white bedroom community in the early twentieth century, and by the end of the century it was distinctly Central American. White residents started to move out of Westlake with the increasing popularity of the automobile as early as the 1920s and 1930s. It remained a majority white community through the 1960s. In the 1970s, the rate of "white flight" in Los Angeles accelerated, and Westlake became predominantly Latino. Mexicans made up the largest ethnic group until the 1980s and 1990s, when the influx of Central Americans, predominantly Salvadorans and Guatemalans, took over.[76]

Like many immigrant enclaves, Westlake attracted Central Americans because it offered low-cost housing, a common language, in this case Spanish due to the extant Mexican population, and close proximity to jobs, primarily in the service and garment industries in

downtown Los Angeles. MacArthur Park, located in the center of Westlake, became a hub of social activity and political demonstration for the community.[77] On the adjacent streets Central Americans started businesses and restaurants catering to the needs of the immigrant population, further solidifying it as the Central American heart of the city.

In the 1990s, Los Angeles County retained the largest Central American population by a significant margin. Numbers in other counties shifted with Orange County eclipsing San Mateo and San Francisco Counties. To illustrate the dominant areas of Central American settlement in the 1980s and 1990s, Table V lists the ten California counties that had the greatest Central American populations according to 1990 and 2000 census data.

TABLE V: CALIFORNIA COUNTIES WITH THE HIGHEST CENTRAL AMERICAN POPULATIONS

	1990		2000	
Rank	County Name	Central Americans	County Name	Central Americans
1	Los Angeles	453,048	Los Angeles	372,777
2	San Francisco	34,119	Orange	27,648
3	San Mateo	25,814	San Francisco	23,367
4	Orange	25,438	San Mateo	21,830
5	Santa Clara	14,073	San Bernardino	19,735
6	Alameda	12,979	Alameda	16,975
7	San Bernardino	12,452	Contra Costa	13,693
8	San Diego	9,062	Santa Clara	12,032
9	Contra Costa	8,757	Riverside	11,895
10	Riverside	8,398	San Diego	11,539

Source: Minnesota Population Center, National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0.

South American Immigration and Settlement in the Twentieth Century

South American immigration to California in the twentieth century never approached the magnitude of Central American and Mexican immigration. Concentrations of South Americans did develop in a few southern California and Bay Area counties, as demonstrated in Table VI. As of 2000, South Americans constituted only 1.5 percent of the California population.

Like many Central Americans and Mexicans, South Americans were drawn to the U.S. for economic reasons. The background of most South Americans was quite different from other Latino immigrants. Unlike the low-wage, unskilled workers who emigrated from Mexico and Central America in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the majority of South Americans were educated, skilled workers with college or professional degrees. They originated from Argentina, Peru, Chile, Colombia, and Ecuador and were attracted to the U.S. by better job prospects.[78]

TABLE VI: CALIFORNIA COUNTIES WITH THE HIGHEST SOUTH AMERICAN POPULATIONS				
	1990		2000	
Rank	County Name	South Americans	County Name	South Americans
1	Los Angeles	95,387	Los Angeles	74,750
2	Orange	19,758	Orange	18,316
3	San Diego	8,276	San Diego	8,823
4	Santa Clara	7,223	San Bernardino	7,537
5	San Bernardino	6,518	Santa Clara	6,856
6	Alameda	6,273	Alameda	6,321
7	San Mateo	6,060	San Mateo	5,836
8	San Francisco	5,549	Riverside	5,183
9	Riverside	4,250	San Francisco	5,007
10	Contra Costa	4,083	Contra Costa	4,862

Source: Minnesota Population Center, National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0.

Latinos in the Media

The term media, as utilized in this context, encompasses print periodicals, radio, film, and television. The history of Latinos in the media in twentieth century California is dichotomous, involving both the Anglo media and the Latino media. The Anglo media is defined as English-language media directed at the "general mass audience of the U.S."[79] Generally, the Anglo media employed an Anglo point of view in its reporting and entertainment throughout much of the twentieth century. It rarely addressed Latino issues, and when it did address them, it was typically in a negative fashion and based upon manufactured stereotypes. The Anglo media also employed a disproportionately low number of Latinos.

The Latino media, on the other hand, strived to represent and fulfill the needs of its otherwise poorly and underrepresented community. It is defined as media produced "by, for, or about Latinos and their communities."[80] While not all Latino media outlets in the twentieth century were owned by Latinos, the employees who produced the publications and programming, including the highest level staff, were typically Latino. It is important to note that Latino media throughout the twentieth century was not limited to Spanish-language media; rather, it also included English-language media produced by and for Latinos, as well as bilingual media, and the content was always geared toward Latino audiences.

The Latino media served many roles in Latino life throughout the twentieth century, including information provider, social commentator, civil rights activist, and purveyor of culture. As an information provider, the media delivered both local news and news from abroad, creating a sense of community in the U.S., while maintaining connections with the homelands of immigrants. As a social commentator, the media acted as a critic of both Anglo media and society. It also acted as an institution of social control, especially in the early twentieth century, when it was common for newspapers to dictate rules on

appropriate behavior and morality. Later in the twentieth century, the media took on the role of activist. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, many publications and films were produced with the goal of advocating the causes of the Chicano movement. As a purveyor of culture, the media served as an outlet for cultural expression by offering in addition to news: poetry, prose, visual arts, music, and dance. In doing so, it helped to preserve Latino cultural identities that otherwise may have been lost or compromised through integration into Anglo society, as has been the case with various other immigrant populations in the U.S.

Due to its ability to fulfill the needs of the Latino community, the Latino media became a critical force in politics, commerce, entertainment, and everyday life in the twentieth century. California, with its large Latino population, became an important hub for Latino media outlets. Many of the country's earliest and most influential newspapers, magazines, journals, radio stations, television stations, and filmmakers were based in the state, and many continue to operate. Because the primary Latino populations in California in terms of numbers have historically been of Mexican and Central American descent, the following pages focus on the relationships between these populations and the various components of media.

Print Media

The history of Latinos in print media in California dates back to the mid-nineteenth century, just after statehood. During this time period, several elite Californio newspapers, like *El Clamor Público* (The Public Outcry, 1855-1859) and *La Crónica* (The Chronicle, 1861-1892), were published and distributed statewide, as well as populist immigrant newspapers, like *El Eco de Mexico* (The Mexican Echo, no dates available).[81] These papers sought to fill the demand for fair and complete coverage of Latinos, which was missing from mainstream Anglo media. They also set the stage for the development of new publications in twentieth century California when rapidly increasing numbers of Latinos would enter the state.

Published first in Mexico, and then in Los Angeles from 1910-1918, *Regeneración* was considered one of the most important Spanish-language labor and radical newspapers in the U.S. (*Photo courtesy Creative commons/wikimedia*)

Poor or inaccurate coverage of Latinos in Anglo newspapers emerged in the nineteenth century out of the Manifest Destiny policy.[82] As expressed by Federico A. Subervi-Velez and his co-authors, "Mainstream newspapers were probably the first major means of mass communication through which fragmented and distorted news, information, and images of Hispanics were conjured, created, or promulgated."[83] The most common stereotype reinforced in the Anglo press in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was that of the "Mexican bandit." In California this stereotype, along with other faulty generalizations that Latinos were lazy, unskilled, and uneducated, was used as an excuse to usurp land and political power from Mexican Americans after statehood. In the wake of Manifest Destiny in the early twentieth century, the Anglo press in California and in the southwest in general continued its policy of either depicting Latinos through manufactured stereotypes or ignoring them altogether, depending on which approach best served Anglo political and economic interests at the time.[84]

As emigration from Mexico increased in the 1910s during the Mexican Revolution, the demand for publications serving the large immigrant community in California increased. Consequently, several Spanish-language newspapers were founded during this decade. They typically fell into one of two categories: the generalist press and the activist press.[85] The generalist press included newspapers such as *La Prensa* (The Press, 1912) and *El Heraldo de Mexico* (The Mexican Herald, 1916-1920), both based in Los Angeles.[86] Generalist papers included news from Mexico, local news, and information on the status of immigrants in the U.S.[87]

The activist press, on the other hand, can be best understood as an exile press as its publications represented the interests and causes of political exiles living in the U.S. Rather than presenting news and information from a neutral perspective, the activist publications espoused particular points of view. A prime example of an activist publication is *Regeneración* (Regeneration, 1900-1918, discontinuous).[88] *Regeneración* was first published in Mexico City by Ricardo Flores Magón, a leader of the anti-President Díaz movement in Mexico at the turn of the century. In 1904, Magón was forced into exile and he moved the paper to San Antonio, Texas. After a brief stint in St. Louis, Missouri, Magón relocated the paper once more to Los Angeles in 1910, where it was published until 1918. *Regeneración* is regarded as "the most important Spanish-language labor and radical newspaper published in the United States," and it reached the pinnacle of its importance during the years in which it was published in Los Angeles.[89]

Present-day Los Angeles offices of *La Opinión*, one of the longest-running Latino papers in the U.S. (*Photo courtesy Minnaert in Creative Commons*)

In the 1920s, as more Mexicans began to make California their permanent home, some activist publications transitioned into generalist publications. For example, *La Opinión* (The Opinion), the longest running Latino paper in the U.S., traces its roots to an activist paper based in San Antonio, Texas called *La Prensa* (The Press, 1913-1963).[90] *La Prensa* was started by Ignacio Lozano as an exile paper that later shifted its focus to U.S. news and issues.[91] In 1926, Lozano extended his reach by starting *La Opinión* in Los Angeles, presumably due to the large and rapidly increasing Mexican population in the city. While *La Opinión* became a generalist press overall, it remained an important voice for civil rights and political and social activism in the Latino community, speaking out about repatriation in the 1930s, the Zoot Suit Riots in the 1940s, and the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

The 1930s witnessed a significant decline in the number of Latino newspapers nationwide and especially in California.[92] The faltering economy and Mexican repatriation during the Great Depression were the primary causes for the decline, but they did not stop the Latino press altogether.[93] Both generalist and activist publications continued operations during the period. An example of a generalist paper from the period is the *Belvedere Citizen* (1934-present), a local community bulletin serving East Los Angeles.[94] San Francisco's *Lucha Obrera* (Labor Struggle, 1934-1935) is a good example of an activist paper.[95]

Also in the 1930s, an important demographic shift took place among the Mexican population in the U.S. For the first time in the twentieth century, more people of Mexican origin were U.S.-born than foreign-born. In addition, primary sources of employment shifted from rural agricultural jobs to urban industrial and service sector jobs. The result was the rise of a Mexican middle class. The members of this middle class sought equality with other U.S. citizens and they believed this equality would come through integration.[96] Many papers of the time reflected this belief. An important example of a middle class publication that began in the 1930s was *El Espectador* (The Spectator, 1933-1960).[97] *El Espectador* was founded by Ignacio L. López and circulated in California's Pomona Valley. The paper took the form of an eight-page broadsheet published out of López's home. It covered everything from trivial local happenings to important news events and advocated for integration, equality, and justice.[98]

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, new publications developed directed at specific groups within the Latino community. The *Mexican Voice* (1938-1944), for example, was an important youth publication founded in the small city of Monrovia. It evolved out of a newsletter for the Mexican Youth Conference and YMCA programs in the area. It was first edited by Félix Gutiérrez, Sr., and it aimed to inspire young Mexican Americans to succeed. It reported on the accomplishments of Mexican American youth and the challenges they faced. The *Mexican Voice* became the newspaper for the Mexican-American Movement, Inc. in 1942 and later became the journal *Forward*.[99]

Another important example of a publication started to serve a specific audience was the G.I. *Forum News*. Mexican American veterans created the publication after World War II to discuss issues related to discrimination and segregation. The G.I. *Forum News* became known as the *Forumeer* in 1954 and was published out of San Jose until 1980.[100]

Changes in both the numbers and content of Latino publications in California and the U.S. occurred in the 1960s with the beginning of the Chicano movement. It is estimated that more than 200 newspapers emerged between the late 1960s and mid-1970s nationwide. Many of these rejected the integrationist strategies of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Together, the new publications created an alternative Latino press that advocated for civil rights and exposed the many injustices and corruption in Anglo society. There are numerous examples of important publications from this time period. Of these, one of the most recognized is *El Malcriado* (The Brat, 1969-1976), published out of Delano, near Bakersfield. It was the official publication of the United Farmworkers Union (UFW) and functioned as a tool for community organizing and a vehicle for cultural expression. Other examples of alternative publications in California from the period include: *La Raza* (The Race, 1967-1977) published In Los Angeles; *La Causa* (The Cause, 1969-1972) published in East Los Angeles by the Brown Berets; *Basta Ya* (Enough Is Enough, 1969-1971) published in the San Francisco Mission area, and *El Tecolote* (The Owl, 1970-present), also in San Francisco.[101]

Changes in both the numbers and content of Latino publications in California and the U.S. occurred in the 1960s with the beginning of the Chicano movement.

The late 1960s and early 1970s also witnessed the rise of Latino student publications. These papers were critical in spreading the causes and messages of Latino civil rights activists to the youth. Examples include: *Adelante* (Onward) at the University of California, Riverside; *El Popo* (short for the volcano Popocatepetl) at California State University, Northridge; La Cente (The People) at the University of California, Los Angeles; and *Voz Fronteriza* (Voice of the Border) at the University of California, San Diego. Of these, the oldest are believed to be *El Popo* and *La Cente*.[102]

In addition to the proliferation of Latino newspapers, magazines and journals began to multiply during and after the Chicano movement. One of the most radical was *Con Safos: Reflections of Life in the Barrio*. It was published in Los Angeles from 1968 to 1972. Other important California magazines included *La Raza Magazine*, an offshoot of the newspaper by the same name, and *Regeneración*, both published in Los Angeles; *El Pocho Che*, published in San Francisco; and *El Grito* (The Cry), published in Berkeley. *El Grito* became an important academic journal and a forum for many Chicano writers during the 1970s. Numerous other academic journals arose during this period, as well. Most were based at California's major universities in the San Francisco Bay area, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles.[103]

Latino publications began to decline in 1975.[104] The producers of student publications graduated and joined professional publications, and many of the alternative publications lacked the necessary funds to survive. Exceptions to the general decline included the addition of new academic journals and traditional magazines to the media spectrum. Examples of journals included *La Raza Law Review*, established in 1983 at the University of California, Berkeley, and *Atisbos*, published between 1975 and 1978 at Stanford University.[105] An example of an important new magazine was *Hispanic Business*, reportedly the first business magazine to serve the U.S. Latino market.[106] Editor Jesús Chavarría started the magazine in 1979 in Santa Barbara. It continues to publish from the city, though it has published exclusively online since 2012.[107]

Radio

The earliest radio broadcasts in the U.S. occurred in 1920. By the mid-1920s, Latino radio, which was characterized by Spanish-language programming, already existed in the U.S. In the early years, Latino brokers purchased time slots from English-language stations. The brokers paid a flat rate for the time. Then they programmed the broadcasts themselves and sold advertising spots to cover costs. The time slots made available to foreign-language brokers, not just Latino brokers, was always at the least profitable times of day for the station owners—early in the morning or on weekends.[108]

One of the first major Latino radio personalities in the brokerage system period was Pedro J. Gonzalez. Beginning in 1924, Gonzalez broadcast a show called Los Madrugadores from 4:00 to 6:00 a.m. on Los Angeles station KMPC.[109] The station had such a strong signal that his show could be heard as far as Texas.[110] The broadcast was a variety show featuring live music, guests, news, and politics.[111] Gonzalez's political views were progressive and therefore controversial to those in power. For example, he was a vocal opponent of repatriation during the Great Depression.[112] In 1934, he was framed for a crime he did not commit. He served six years of a prison sentence before his release and immediate deportation in 1940. Despite the scandal, Gonzalez started a new broadcast out of Tijuana, Mexico that continued into the 1970s.[113]

The brokerage system of the 1920s and 1930s continued in Latino radio until the 1940s largely due to the fact that radio licenses were routinely denied to Latinos by the federal government.[114] The first license was finally granted to a Latino, Raoul Cortez, in 1946 in San Antonio, Texas.[115] The eventual granting of licenses to Latinos set Spanish-language radio into a period of transition, from the brokerage system of buying time on English-language stations to independent, full-time, Spanish-language or bilingual stations. The transition was gradual, beginning in the 1950s and extending through the 1970s.[116]

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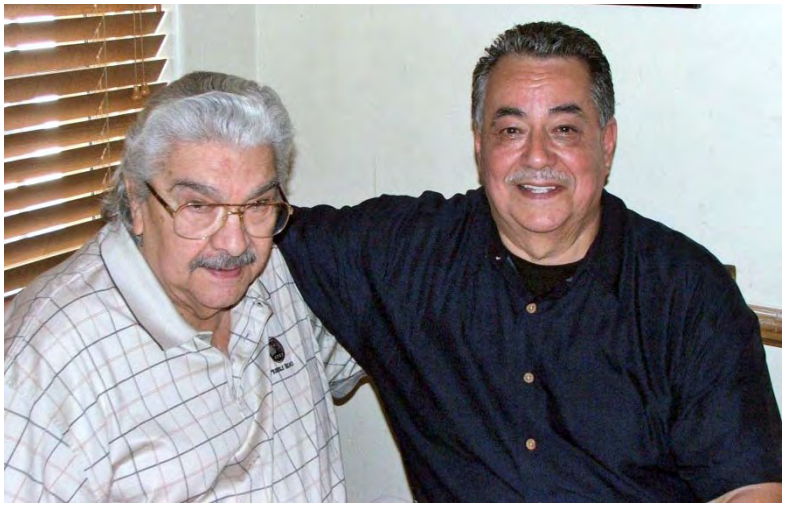
The transition from the brokerage system to independent stations was accompanied by a change in the standard programming model. In the brokerage years programming was typically live—music, poetry readings, and dramas. As recorded music became more common and less expensive, broadcasters began to prefer recordings for obvious reasons: they decreased costs and increased profits.[117] As a result, "personality radio," in which brokers or announcers controlled their own programming and achieved popularity for their personal styles and musical selections, became the norm.[118] The change in the standard programming model and the rise of personality radio occurred across the radio market as a whole, not just in Latino radio.



Pioneers of Latino radio: Lionel "Chico" Sesma (left) hosted the first all-Latin radio show in Los Angeles in 1949 and promoted Latin music into the 1970s; Joe Ortiz followed Chico Sesma into radio, becoming, in 1971, the first Mexican American in the U.S. to host an English-language talk show on commercial radio at KABC-AM in Los Angeles. (*Photo courtesy Joe Ortiz/Lionel Chico Sesma*)

By the 1960s, personality radio was on the way out, in favor of a new programming format. The new format took the control out of the announcer's or broker's hands and put station management in charge of program content. The content became tightly packaged and targeted to certain demographics. In other words, stations began to brand themselves. By the 1970s, this new format was prevalent at radio stations, both English language and foreign language, across the U.S.[119]

Another phenomenon of 1970s radio was the development of Latino news and program providers. While some stations produced 100 percent of their own content, many depended on content, especially news programs, produced and distributed by outside providers.[120] The first two major Spanish-language news providers were based in Dallas, Texas and Washington, DC. A third, Noticiero Latino, began distributing out of Fresno in 1985. Noticiero Latino was unique, because it was and still is "the first—and only—national Spanish news program in public broadcasting."[121] All of the provider's proprietors and coordinators are Latino Americans.

From the 1970s through the end of the twentieth century, Latino radio expanded significantly in accordance with rising population figures. It also became increasingly corporate, as did English-language radio. Most stations were created or purchased by media conglomerates with holdings in different cities and in different aspects of media. Due to the obvious financial appeal of Spanish-language stations at the end of the twentieth century, many were owned by larger, predominantly Anglo corporations. A significant number was held by companies with predominantly Latino ownership. For example, Spanish-language radio group Radio America was founded in 1986 by brothers Daniel and James Villanueva in San Francisco with the purchase of station KBRG-FM. In 1988, it acquired another Bay Area station KLOK-AM in San Jose. In 1991, the brothers acquired KPLS-AM in Los Angeles. KPLS was distinctive as the first "all talk" Spanish-language station in southern California.[122]

Film

One-sided unrealistic portrayals of Latinos in Anglo cinema date back to the silent era. As in the popular literature of the day, Latino characters, Mexicans in particular, were always based on and limited to a set of manufactured stereotypes. At least six major stereotypes developed in film's early years: the bandit/greaser, the half-breed harlot, the male buffoon or clown, the female clown, the Latin lover, and the dark lady.[123] The bandit/greaser was a particularly popular Hollywood character in the 1910s when films like *Tony and Greaser* (1911) and *Guns and Greasers* (1918) were produced.[124]

In the 1920s, treatment of Mexicans in film changed, largely for political reasons. First, the rising tensions in Europe produced a new selection of [on-screen] villians. Second, the governments of several Latin American countries were vocal in their opposition to the rampant stereotyping.

In the 1920s, treatment of Mexicans in film changed, largely for political reasons. First, the rising tensions in Europe at the time produced a new selection of villains. Second, the governments of several Latin American countries were vocal in their opposition to the rampant stereotyping of the previous decade. Movie studios, increasingly aware of the economic possibilities of exhibiting their films in Latin America, gave into the political pressures in some instances, though stereotypical portrayals continued in general. A prime example of the conflicting portrayals of Latinos during this period was the Cisco Kid series of films. These movies employed the bandit, Latin lover, and dark lady stereotypes, and the hero of the films was Mexican.[125]

Attempts to appease Latin American governments and ease criticisms of Hollywood stereotypes continued into the 1930s. For example, the Production Code Administration (PCA), a federal agency in charge of censoring films for objectionable moral and political messages, would ban scripts or parts of scripts that could be deemed offensive to Mexico.[126] In the late 1930s, the PCA merged with Franklin Roosevelt's Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, an agency charged with overseeing the president's "Good Neighbor Policy" in the region. The joined agencies created the Department of Cinematography, which was responsible for preventing negative portrayals of Latinos in film and for encouraging positive images of the unity between the U.S. and Latin America.[127] The efforts of the federal government resulted in the production of a few favorable films, such as *Juárez* (1939), *Saludos Amigos* (1943), and *The Three Caballeros* (1945).[128] The political backdrop for these "Good Neighbor" activities, of course, was the build-up of tensions in Europe and the eventual U.S. involvement in World War II. The U.S. wanted to stay in good favor with the governments of Latin America, so they might side with the Allies, rather than the Axis.[129]

After World War II, the functions of the Office of Cinematography were terminated, though the PCA remained active until 1968. As explained by author David R. Maciel:

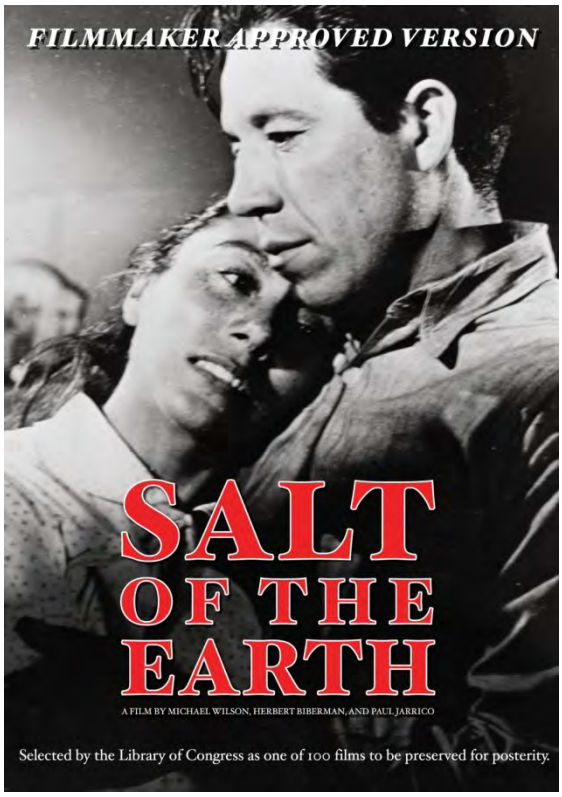
> Some variations in the stereotypes attributed to Mexicans can be observed as a legacy from [the post-World War II] period. In this era, Chicano characters who for a variety of reasons were beset with problems in North American society, were depicted on screen. Typical of all of these characters was their attainment of 'salvation' at the end of the film at the hands of a North American character or through equitable judicial process.[130]

Examples of the films Maciel described include *The Lawless* (1950) and *The Ring* (1952). It should be noted that while this new "redemption" theme was developing in Anglo cinema in the 1950s, the stereotypical portrayals of Mexicans from previous decades persisted

until the 1960s and 1970s, when there was a gradual decline in stereotypical Mexicans the Hollywood films. The use of stereotypes for Puerto Rican characters, on the other hand, was on the rise during this period, as was evident in the Oscar-winning film *West Side Story* (1961).[131]

Stereotypical portrayals of Latinos in general continued through the end of the twentieth century. While villains were typically portrayed as Soviets in the 1970s and 1980s, the end of the Cold War and a focus on inner city problems brought about the resurgence of a new iteration of the greaser stereotype: the drug dealer/gang member. Despite the emergence of the new Latino villain, a number of Latino directors and producers began making important films in the latter decades of the twentieth century, garnering the attention of Anglo-dominated studios and breaking down the stereotypes, both old and new.[132]

While Latino films may not have achieved mass appeal or received major studio support until the 1980s and later, the 1954 film *Salt of the Earth* is widely recognized as a critical early Latino film. Although its director and producer were not Latino, its subject matter—the true story of labor struggles in New Mexico silver mines—and its cast were Mexican American. The film's star was Juan Chacón, the actual union leader from the real-life strike; he played himself. In addition, many of the secondary roles were played by real miners. Unfortunately, the film was produced in the era of McCarthyism and it was banned from commercial exhibition throughout the 1950s. Nevertheless, over time, for its realistic portrayal of Mexican American miners and their circumstances, the film has come to be considered an important precursor to cinema as an expression of the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 1970s.[133]



The 1954 film, *Salt of the Earth*, is considered an important precursor to cinematic expressions of the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 1970s. (*Photo courtesy Amazon.com*)

The genre of cinema in which Latinos had the most success in the 1960s and early 1970s was documentary filmmaking. Many of the early documentaries were aired on television, rather than in movie theaters. Examples include *Yo Soy Chicano* (I Am Chicano, 1972) and *Cinco Vidas* (Five Lives, 1972), both of which first aired on KNBC in Los Angeles. Latino filmmakers chose to make documentaries, rather than scripted feature films, for a variety of reasons, including lower costs, the desire to express social and political realities truthfully, and greater options for distribution and exhibition. As evidence of the prevalence of Latino documentary filmmaking during this period, at least 42 Chicano documentaries were produced between 1967 and 1980.[134]

In addition to continuing their tradition of making exceptional documentaries, Latinos produced film projects of several other varieties, such as commercials, animated films, government films, video art, and both short- and full-length fiction films, from the 1970s through the end of the twentieth century.[135] Mexican Americans became increasingly involved in the production of full-length feature films. Examples of the films produced during this period include *Don't Bury Me Alive*

(1976) by Efrain Gutiérrez, *Raices de Sangre* (Roots of Blood, 1976) by Jesús Salvador Treviño, and *Once in a Lifetime* (1977) by Alejandro Grattan.[136] In 1981, the film *Zoot Suit* by Luis Valdez became the first Mexican American movie produced by a major Hollywood studio.[137] In the decade that followed, several important Latino feature films were made, including *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1982), *El Norte* (1983), *Born in East* L.A. (1985), *La Bamba* (1987), *Stand and Deliver* (1988), and *Break of Dawn* (1988).[138]

The emergence of Latino cinema in the 1970s and later did not come about by chance. Rather, it was the result of strategic organizing within the Latino community. Several organizations were established to promote the work of Latinos in film and the positive depictions of them onscreen. Examples of such organizations in California include the National Latino Media Coalition in Pasadena and NOSOTROS in Santa Fe Springs. These organizations continue to promote the interests of Latinos in film.

Television

The same negative stereotypes of Latinos that developed in the silent era of film were replicated in the early days of Anglo television. In fact, some would argue that television was more prone to stereotypical displays than cinema.[139] Television became popular and commonplace in American homes in the 1950s and immediately produced a major, albeit stereotypical, Latino character: Ricky Ricardo. Ricky Ricardo, played by Cuban American Desi Arnaz on the long-running *I Love Lucy* series (1951-1960), personified the male buffoon stereotype in many of the show's episodes.[140] In spite of the limitations of his onscreen character, Arnaz had a successful music career in real life and became a television pioneer. He, his wife, Lucille Ball, and their production company, Desilu, have been credited with the invention of reruns and residual fees.[141] Arnaz also produced many other sitcoms, in addition to *I Love Lucy*. Considering that major television networks were originally opposed to the idea of showing a white woman married to a Latino man on screen, Arnaz's substantial success behind the scenes in the early days of the medium was remarkable.

Cuban American Desi Arnaz co-founded Desilu Studios with his wife, Lucille Ball. Arnaz became a respected pioneer in television production even as his on-screen persona, Ricky Ricardo, was considered by some to reflect familiar stereotypes of Latinos. (*Photo courtesy Time magazine*)

Stereotyping on Anglo television was not limited to portrayals in programming, it also occurred in advertising. A prime example of this practice is the Frito Bandito. The Frito Bandito debuted in 1967 as a cartoon version of the Mexican bandit stereotype. It was so offensive to Latino viewers that they staged boycotts and protests against Frito Lay, the company responsible for the character, and also the television stations and networks that aired the commercials. In 1971, Frito Lay stopped using the Frito Bandito in its ad campaigns.[142]

As television continued through the end of the twentieth century, Latino characters presented on Anglo networks became more three-dimensional and positive. The work of actor Edward James Olmos on *Miami Vice* (1984-1989) is often cited as indicative of the advancements of Latinos in television. Olmos portrayed Lieutenant Martin Castillo as "a man of dignity and honor with quiet strength and great power." Roles like Martin Castillo

helped to counterbalance a less favorable trend in the television at the time—the return of the bandit stereotype under the new guise of the drug dealer.[143]

Public television played an important role in presenting a more balanced and fair image of Latinos than the major networks. Public television was first to air many of the Latino-produced documentaries and films discussed previously under the film heading. It also portrayed diverse, positive characters in its series, like *Sesame Street* (1969-present), which began incorporating women and minorities into its cast in the 1970s.[144]

A 1993 study indicated that Latinos made up nine percent of the U.S. population at that time, and received only three percent of television roles. This underrepresentation no doubt led to the creation and subsequent rise...of Spanish-language programming and Latino television networks.

Regardless of the advances made by Latinos in Anglo television during the 1970s and 1980s, they were still significantly underrepresented through the 1990s. A 1993 study indicated that Latinos made up nine percent of the U.S. population at the time, and received only three percent of television roles.[145] This underrepresentation no doubt led to the creation and subsequent rise in popularity of Spanish-language programming and Latino television networks.

Spanish-language television followed the same development pattern as Spanish-language radio. It began right after the establishment of Anglo television as a brokerage system in which Anglo stations would lease air time to Spanish-language programmers. In the 1950s, it began to expand into full-fledged Latino-oriented stations. The first Spanish-language station in the U.S. was KCOR-TV in San Antonio, Texas.[146] KCOR-TV began airing evening programming from 5:00 P.M. to midnight in 1955. Spanish-language stations proliferated across the country thereafter in cities with large Latino populations, such as Los Angeles and New York.

From the 1960s through the 1980s, media companies created Spanish-language networks through the purchase and consolidation of local stations. Univision, for example, the largest Spanish-language network in the U.S. in the twentieth century, began when Emilio Azcárraga Vidaurreta and his partners purchased KCOR-TV's successor station KUAL-TV in 1961.[147] The new owners, under the corporate entity Spanish International Communications Corporation (SICC), gave KUAL the new call letters KWEX. To provide programming, and advertising to his stations, Azcárraga Vidauretta started a sister company, the Spanish International Network (SIN) in 1961, as well. In 1962, SICC bought Los Angeles station KMEX, and it was the only SICC station to turn a profit for at least ten years. [148]

Over the next few decades SICC continued buying local stations, such as KFTV in the Fresno/Hanford area in 1972, and consolidated stations owned by SICC principals into its fold, like KDTV in San Francisco. SIN had some of its own affiliates and stations independent of SICC in other cities across the country, including Sacramento. By 1983, SIN and SICC television stations were reaching 3.3 million U.S. Latino households. Programming on these stations mostly came from Mexico. In particular, it came from Univision, another of Azcárraga Vidauretta's companies. The shows provided by Univision included novelas, variety shows, and news programs, as well as coverage of major sporting events. The small percentage of shows produced in the U.S. typically consisted of local newscasts and special programs. In 1987, after an FCC ruling and federal court case, SIN and SICC were purchased by Hallmark Cards, Inc. and First Capital Corporation of Chicago. The new owners merged the companies and renamed them Univision. Ultimately, Azcárraga Vidauretta regained control of Univision in 1993.[149]

While Univision was organizing and reorganizing in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Telemundo formed and developed into the second largest Spanish-language network, and Galavision, the third largest, transitioned from a premium movie channel to a regular cable station. None of the three major Spanish-language networks were originally located in California, though all owned stations or had affiliates in the state. In addition, some of the networks' parent companies and subsidiaries operated out of the state for select periods of time. For example, SIN's major news program "Noticero SIN" was headquartered in Laguna Niguel for a brief period during the Hallmark merger, and Univisa, the parent company of Galavision, was headquartered in Los Angeles during the same period.[150] In contrast with Anglo programming which was largely produced in southern California, most Spanish-language programming on the three major networks was produced in Florida, New York, or in Latin American countries.

Beginning in the 1960s and through the latter decades of the twentieth century, Latino media corporations created Spanish-language networks through the purchase and consolidation of local stations throughout California. (*Photo courtesy Univision 21, Fresno*)

As in Anglo television, several production companies formed in the 1980s and 1990s to develop programming to serve niche markets, rather than the broad markets served by the major networks. One of the first Latino companies to do so was International TeleMusica, Inc., founded in 1990 in Hollywood. International TeleMusica produced a show featuring music videos, entertainment news, and lifestyle segments, similar to those on MTV.[151]

Meanwhile, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Anglo stations began incorporating Spanish-language translation options into their broadcasts. Examples include HBO's *Selecciones en Español* option at the national level and Los Angeles station KTLA's translated newscasts.[152] By the end of the twentieth century, Latino and Spanish-speaking viewers in California and across the U.S. had a wide variety of network and programming options, and in comparison with the early days of television, the content available was more diverse. Options and content would continue to diversify and multiply into the twenty-first century.

Making a Life

Religion and Spirituality in Latino Culture

The Latino experience of religion and spirituality in California over the course of the twentieth century has been varied and nuanced. Though the majority of Latinos to this day are Catholic, it is not the only religion practiced by the different nationalities that make up the community. Mainline Protestantism, as well as more evangelical and charismatic denominations, has attracted Latinos. Latino religious practices often varied from Anglo traditions, thus Catholic and Protestant charitable organizations often included programs to Americanize Latinos. In the second half of the twentieth century, the Latino religious experience underwent a shift. More Latinos were second or third generation, and they sought to identify with American culture rather than the culture of their home country. By the 1960s the Chicano movement reversed that trend. Young Chicanos, though identifying as American, returned to old religious traditions as a point of pride and means of forging a unique identity. Religious principles were also extended to Latino civil rights struggles, including the fight for farm worker rights championed by César Chávez. In the 1980s, churches supported Central American political refugees by spearheading the Sanctuary movement. The Latino experience of religion in California continues to be multifaceted and is a product of immigrants' countries of origin as well as their experiences in the United States in the twentieth century.

Latinos in the Catholic Church

The Catholic missions established in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by the Spanish were primarily constructed to serve as strategic military posts as well as tools for converting the Native American population into Catholics and Spanish citizens.[153] Parishes and military chapels were instead established to minister to the religious needs of the civilian population. After the end of the Mexican American War in 1848, the Mexican population became outnumbered as Americans migrated to the new state of California. In the process, Mexican Americans became relegated to the status of second class citizens.

Our Lady of Lourdes, the oldest Catholic Church in East Los Angeles, originally served Basque settlers. By the 1920s, the congregation was predominantly Mexican American. (*Photo courtesy Michael J. Locke, photographer, Los Angeles*)

The Catholic Church in the late nineteenth century made little effort to minister to Mexican Americans, referred to at the time as Californios. Mexican Americans therefore maintained a separate religious identity. This changed in the twentieth century, as the size of the Latino population in California increased due to immigration. Unrest in Mexico in the 1910s and 1920s drove large numbers of immigrants across the border into the United States. The Church was slow to reach out to this new population, and faced many challenges when it did. These included a shortage of Spanish-speaking priests and a migrant population that was

difficult to reach. Although the threat of losing members of the Mexican Catholic population to Protestantism propelled greater attempts at outreach, this was not necessarily enough to ensure success.

During the unrest that followed the revolution in Mexico in the 1910s, many Mexican priests immigrated to the United States. This included archbishops and bishops. Some of these priests were assigned to minister to Mexican communities in California. Most returned to Mexico as soon as possible. Even when they stayed, they felt little connection to the Mexican immigrant population, often due to differences in socio-economic background.[154] After most of these priests returned to Mexico, the problem of the language barrier became even more urgent.[155]

When the Latino community requested Spanish-speaking priests, their requests were sometimes ignored. In 1939, several Spanish priests serving the Latino community were removed from two parishes in San Diego and San Bernardino. The community protested the removal of the priests. They wrote of their requests and those of their fellow parishioners:

> It is not as if they are requesting prerogatives that are beyond the boundaries of religion. What they request and deserve is that their priests be Spanish-speaking, that they not only speak and understand that language, but that they also have a spiritual connection that equips them with a deeper sense and understanding of the souls of the people they serve.[156]

Protests like this fell largely on deaf ears. In the early part of the century, as nativism became heightened in the face of increased Mexican immigration, the Church was hesitant to affiliate itself with Spanish-speaking priests out of fear that this would make it appear foreign and therefore undesirable to the Anglo population.[157]

The traditional ministry structure of the Catholic Church was also not suited to ministering to migrant workers. Many Latinos in California were mobile due to the seasonal nature of their work; many were agricultural laborers who moved back and forth across the border or around the state in search of employment.[158] In the eyes of the "Associated Catholic Charities Report" of 1923:

> They often have no address other than an indefinite district, living as they do in huts and shacks, barns, tents, or anything they can find in undeveloped districts. They also roam from place to place with variations of fruit picking [sic] season and industrial occupations.[159]

The Church often expected migrant workers to find a church to attend on their own, with the result that migrant workers often continued to practice the more personal, home-centered religion that was common among the Mexican community.[160] The introduction of the Bracero Program during World War II compounded these outreach problems. Although specific priests were eventually assigned to reach out to this subset of the population, they had to travel between different work camps, and long periods of time might pass between visits.[161]

At the core of the Church's outreach were local parishes, charitable organizations, and educational programs. As the number of immigrants increased rapidly in the 1920s, the Church created more parishes and could not keep up with need, especially in rural areas.[162] Charitable organizations and educational programs helped fill this gap. Settlement houses such as El Hogar Feliz (The Happy Home) and the Brownson House in Los Angeles were established at the turn of the twentieth century to reach out to the Mexican community. They provided educational programs such as lessons in Catholic teachings. The Brownson House also offered classes in home economics and sewing.[163] Additional settlement houses

opened under the umbrella of the Immigrant Welfare Division of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, established in Los Angeles in 1919.[164] By 1936, the Division helped sponsor community centers in Los Angeles and also in Watts, San Diego, and Santa Barbara.[165] These community centers provided educational classes, as well as recreational and social programs. Some also had medical clinics.[166]

One of the other challenges the Catholic Church faced in reaching out to Latinos was the manner in which Latinos, most specifically Mexicans, practiced religion. The Latino experience of Catholicism fundamentally differed from the Anglo experience of the same religion. Family traditions and a more personal experience of Catholicism were central to Mexican religious life. This was due in part to the segregation and racism Mexicans faced in the American Catholic Church, and also the established religious traditions brought with them from Mexico.

In Mexico, the Catholic Church served as both the literal and figurative center of town life. Churches were the locations of celebrations, religious observances, and social gatherings. Fiestas and processions were also an important part of Catholic religious observance in Mexico; these often took place in or near the church.[167] Some small towns did not possess a priest. This was especially true in the northern provinces of Mexico, where the Church could not keep up with the rapidly growing population in the early twentieth century.[168] Thus, traditions developed which were still religious in nature and did not rely on the presence of a priest to carry them out. Religion was often practiced in the home and amongst family as a form of "folk Catholicism" that reflected the rhythms of rural village life. Within this context, women played key roles as religious figures within the family. Often it was the mother or grandmother of a family who was responsible for the transmission of faith to her relatives. Many homes had an altar that was either used as a place for daily prayer or constructed for a special occasion such as the Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead).

The Mexican experience of religion paid homage to the importance of the supernatural, which was regarded not as a distinct, distant sphere of life but rather one that traversed the natural world and everyday life.

Spirituality was no less important in Mexico, and was often more personal, family-oriented, and home-centered than was traditional in the U.S. Mexicans often did not attend formal church services regularly, which was viewed as "essential in the American Church's definition of the good Catholic."[169] A study of Mexicans in Los Angeles in the 1950s found that East Los Angeles parishes were "characterized by irregular mass attendance and reception of the sacraments... Participation in parish organizations was reported small, and clubs and societies are 'attended by a few old faithfuls [sic].'"[170] Rather, Latinos sought out their own version of Catholicism, especially as they encountered a new life and culture in America.[171]

Further distancing Mexicans from American Catholicism was the intersection of folklore with religion that was common in Mexico. The Mexican experience of religion paid homage to the importance of the supernatural, which was regarded not as a distinct, distant sphere of life but rather one that traversed the natural world and everyday life.[172] Curanderismo, or faith healing, is an example of the way in which folklore was incorporated into Mexican Catholicism. Women played important roles as healers and as disseminators of religion in the home.

Mexican Catholicism also placed incredible importance on the veneration of saints, who were "reputed to have special powers," in addition to God and Jesus.[173] Perhaps the most central figure in Mexican religious tradition is La Virgen de Guadalupe. She is Mary, mother

of Jesus, and a distinctly Native American and Mexican iteration of Mary. Her first iteration was as an Aztec mother and fertility goddess in the sixteenth century, and she became central to Mexican Catholicism thereafter. From the beginning, she represented a mother figure and also a provider of refuge for the poor, the weak, and the oppressed. [174] One of her roles was also as a curandera.[175]

Central to Mexican Catholic tradition is *La Virgen de Guadalupe*, a distinctly Native American and Mexican iteration of Mary, mother of Jesus. (*Photo courtesy sancta.org*)

Devotion to Guadalupe continued in the United States, and processions devoted to her occurred in most areas with a Mexican population. The procession devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe in East Los Angeles, begun in 1928, was an annual event that attracted as many as 5,000 marchers and 30,000 viewers. The procession included floats, music, and a decorated statue of the Virgin Mary born among the procession. It ran from the Los Angeles County line and wound through the streets to the Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in Belvedere, a neighborhood in present-day East Los Angeles. Processions like this, though not all as elaborate, were held in many cities with sizable Latino populations, including Santa Ana and San Bernardino.[176]

The presence of Mexicans traditions and rituals concerned the American Catholic Church. In the Archdiocese of San Francisco, the Priests Conference for the Spanish Speaking reported in 1949 that, "Among the people there is widespread superstition, even the practice of witchcraft."[177] It was the view of the Church that this combination of religion with folklore was an improper expression of religious belief, and that Mexican traditions such as this ought to be replaced with a more American experience of religion. It was in this environment that both the Protestant and Catholic Churches began attempting to Americanize Latinos.

In Los Angeles, the city's public schools began teaching Americanization and citizenship classes in Mexican neighborhoods. They also offered English and adult classes. The materials for these classes originated from Protestant churches.[178] Americanization efforts were initially conducted by Protestant churches, often through the offering of social services, such as settlement houses, and schools, such as the Spanish American Institute, a Protestant boarding house and school for boys in Gardena.[179] At first, the Catholic Church resisted Americanization attempts because of this association with Protestantism. Paradoxically, it was because of Protestants' outreach on this front that the Catholic Church began making efforts in the 1920s to Americanize Latinos, often specifically Mexicans.

The Catholic Church's Americanization efforts included teaching English as well as the customs and manners of the American middle class.[180] Americanization was part of the mission of Catholic settlement houses that sought to educate Mexican children and also to teach American ways. For the most part, the Catholic Church, rather than compete with established Protestant social services, decided to focus on the dissemination of Catholic religious doctrine and what they viewed as proper Catholic traditions.[181] It was the viewpoint of the Church that making Mexicans and other Latinos "better" Catholics would by extension make them "better citizens."[182] This included trying to get Latinos to replace traditional customs with American Catholic ones. Bishop John J. Cantwell of the Monterey-

Los Angeles Diocese established the National Catholic War Council to assist in Americanization efforts, and the educational goals of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) were directly tied to efforts to Americanize Mexican children. The CCD was established in Los Angeles in 1923 as a means to provide religious education to Mexican Catholic children in public schools.[183] In many cases, parochial schools were established under the auspices of the CCD prior to the establishment of a parish, though outreach in rural areas proved difficult, due to the spread out and often migratory population.[184]

American Catholics opposed the Americanization efforts of the Church, and at times the Church hid the costs of Americanization and educational programs. Nor were these efforts accepted by the Latino community. Mexicans and Mexican Americans at times opposed these Americanization attempts, and instead established programs and schools to foster nationalism and community pride.[185] The schools established were never able to accommodate the rapidly growing numbers of Mexican children that needed to be educated. Furthermore, many immigrants displaced by the political unrest in Mexico believed they would be returning home to Mexico. Those who had decided to stay in California did not want to abandon their heritage and culture and resisted Americanization.[186]

Latinos and Protestant Denominations

Mainline Protestant Denominations and the Latino Community

Since the early twentieth century, Protestant churches tried to establish themselves as fundamentally different from the Catholic Church in their interaction with Latinos. For example, while Mexicans were often administered to by Irish Catholic priests, Protestant denominations encouraged Mexicans to create their own churches within their communities, and to hold their services in Spanish.[187] In Los Angeles, city directories indicate that by 1927, there were at least 17 churches with Mexican congregations; these included Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Methodist Episcopal. This increased from only three Mexican churches in 1915, a mere 12 years earlier. By 1939, the number of Latino Protestant churches had again increased dramatically.[188] Of note is the increasing frequency of pastors and ministers with Spanish surnames listed in the city directories. In Los Angeles none were listed in the 1915 city directory; they do appear in the 1927 directory and later.

For many Latinos, Protestantism offered an alternative to the more rigid structure of Catholicism.[189] Protestant churches founded ministries and churches in migrant communities beginning in the 1950s for the increasingly mobile Latino population. Many ministers in these migrant churches were itinerant preachers who were sometimes migrant workers themselves; they worked during

Established in 1936, the Mexican Methodist Episcopal Church served the Latino community of southeast Los Angeles. It is one of the oldest and largest churches remaining in Watts. (*Photo courtesy City of Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources, HistoricPlacesLA.org*)

the day alongside members of their congregation and held services in the evenings or on weekends.[190]

Despite their more creative outreach, Protestant churches maintained many of the same prejudices that the Catholic Church possessed and attempted to Americanize Latinos. They worried, in part, that "abysmal living and working conditions would lead the immigrants to opt for other political alternatives" and so provided social services and Americanization programs to help Latinos better themselves.[191] In Los Angeles, Protestant churches "began to investigate potential areas of social concern" and to create several interdenominational groups devised to turn their attention to Los Angeles' Mexican population."[192] The result was the creation of a number of charitable organizations that reached out to Mexican immigrants.

The social services established by the Catholic Church kept many Latinos under the umbrella of Catholicism, despite Protestant efforts at conversion.[193] This is also in part due to the fact that "Mexican immigrants are much more likely to be Roman Catholic when they come to the States and that they are most likely to remain Catholic once they are here."[194] Thus, the majority of Latino immigrants to the United States remained Catholic. On the other hand, Latinos who were second, third, or more generation Americans were more likely to be Protestants, or to not be affiliated with any religion at all, than those who were more recent immigrants.[195]

Since the middle of the twentieth century, Protestantism has gained more of a foothold among the Latino population. By 1950, all of the major Protestant denominations had Spanish-speaking congregations or at least were successful in ministering to Latinos. Between 1930 and 1960, "the number of Latino Protestant churches and members [...] grew at least 400 percent" in the U.S.[196] There was also increasing integration of Latinos into Anglo, English-speaking congregations, especially in the years following the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling. This did not mean that the paternalistic attitude of Anglo churches had been eliminated. Churches continued to focus "their ministry on helping Latino immigrants acculturate into American society, with the goal that they would eventually fit into English-language congregations, or with the assumption that at least their children would join English-language churches."[197] There was also an expectation that Latinos would adopt American ways. Some resisted this pressure to assimilate and consequently membership began to decline in some churches.[198]

The Iglesias Pentecostal church in Delano was the starting point for the 1966 farm workers' March to Sacramento, led by Cesar Chavez.

Evangelicalism, Pentecostalism, and the Latino Community

During the twentieth century, Latino Protestants were more likely to be evangelical or Pentecostal than they were to belong to a mainline Protestant church. Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity are related and distinct from each other. These branches of Christianity held appeal for the Latino community. While mainline Protestant churches, such as Presbyterians and Methodists, were more successful in their Latino outreach in the first half of the twentieth century, evangelical and Pentecostal churches grew more quickly in the second half of the century.[199] Their

churches provided a strong sense of community and a more personal experience of faith than the official Catholic Church.[200]

Evangelicalism is a branch of Protestantism centered around the belief that "the sole authority in religion is the Bible and the sole means of salvation is a life-transforming experience wrought by the Holy Spirit through faith in Jesus Christ."[201] Evangelical Christianity grew out of Calvinism and Puritanism, and is linked to features of American culture such as individual responsibility, egalitarianism, and civic pride.

The structure of evangelical religious instruction for ministers made it especially appealing to Latinos. Protestant churches often utilized traditional seminary schools for their ministers, which were more expensive, had higher educational costs, and often did not offer courses in Spanish. Evangelical churches, on the other hand, more frequently used Bible institutes, which did not have the same stringent educational requirements as seminaries, sometimes offered courses in Spanish, and were less expensive.[202] As a result, many Latinos wishing to become ministers attended Bible institutes for their religious education and went on to become ministers within the evangelical context. Through these institutes, evangelical churches were able to prepare pastors for ministry to Latinos often via a shared language.[203]

The general openness and acceptance Latinos encountered within the [Pentecostal] movement meant that they could maintain their own language and culture within their congregations and even within racially mixed congregations.

Evangelical churches were active in their outreach to the Latino community. One outreach organization, Victory Outreach, and its Spanish counterpart, Alcance Victoria, included more than 500 churches. The organization was founded in 1967 in East Los Angeles to reach out to Chicano gang members; its headquarters are in La Puente.[204] Each church is dedicated to assisting drug addicts, including having drug-rehabilitation homes. It was in this way, through social outreach programs and accessibility of religious education, that evangelical Protestantism succeeded where the mainline denominations failed.

Pentecostalism had its roots in evangelical Christianity and the Azusa Street Revival. The Azusa Street Revival was "the longest continuous revival in American religious history."[205] It began in Los Angeles in 1906, in a small church on Azusa Street, and continued at its height until 1909. It was led by an African American pastor, William Seymour, and arose from the Holiness movement. It soon spread through ministers and writings around the country and eventually the world. The most frequent Latino converts were those already Protestant. Converts also included Catholics.[206] Azusa Street's location adjacent to the Mexican and Mexican American neighborhood of Sonoratown, located north of downtown Los Angeles, ensured the participation of Latinos in the movement from the beginning.[207] It was the goal of those leading the movement to remove the racial barriers between people. From the outset, the movement was multi-racial, including Latinos, African Americans, and Anglos.

As the movement grew, Latinos began forming their own churches and reaching out to members of their own ethnicity. This independent growth of Pentecostalism among Latinos can be attributed to the emphasis the movement placed on racial equality. The general openness and acceptance Latinos generally encountered within the movement meant that they could maintain their own language and culture within their congregations and even within racially mixed congregations.[208] For example, Latino Pentecostals often maintained the figure of Guadalupe in their new faith, integrating her into a new belief system.[209]

Early Pentecostal ministers, including Juan Navarro, Francisco Llorente, and Marcial de la Cruz, traveled and converted those they encountered, who in turn spread the word. By

1919, Latino Pentecostal congregations had been established in Watts, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oxnard, San Diego, Colton, Riverside, El Rio, and San Bernardino with outreach into other Mexican communities. Over the course of the next six years, churches and preaching points were founded in 17 more locations in California.[210] The movement among the Latino population was heavily rural, and grew successfully among immigrant agricultural workers in areas such as the Central Valley.

The Latino Pentecostal movement held its own convention, the Iglesia de la Fe Apostólica Pentecostes, for the first time in 1925 in San Bernardino.[211] That same year one of the first Latino Protestant denominations in the U.S. was created, the Apostolic Assembly of the Faith in Christ Jesus. The Assembly formed churches in both the United States and Mexico, including a church in San Bernardino.

Women ministers were instrumental in the spread of Pentecostalism in a way they were not active in other branches of Christianity. Though it was not common for women to become pastors, they sometimes achieved this goal. While women were not able to become ministers or heads of church according to official practice it was not usually formally forbidden. They were active in outreach activities, especially among fellow women.[212] One woman significant in the early Pentecostal movement was Romana Carbajal de Valenzuela, a missionary who was instrumental in the spread of Pentecostalism to her home state of Chihuahua, Mexico.[213]

The Intersection of Religion and Activism

Latinos began to use religion as a political statement in the twentieth century. An early example of the intersection of religion and politics is found in the Our Lady of Guadalupe procession, begun in southern California in 1928 to celebrate the religious freedom enjoyed in the United States and lacking in Mexico. In 1934, the yearly procession served as a vehicle to protest the Mexican government's religious policies in the years following the Cristero Rebellion. The rebellion was a response to the increasing restriction placed on the Catholic Church by the Mexican government after the implementation of a new constitution in 1917.[214] These restrictions were compounded under President Plutarco Calles until a guerilla army was organized in central and western Mexico to defend the church. Civil war raged in this area between 1926 and 1929, when peace between the Church and government was established. After the election of a new president in 1934, conflict between the two entities resumed.[215]

The 1934 Our Lady of Guadalupe procession was openly broadcast as "a memorial service for those who had suffered persecution in Mexico."[216] Despite the efforts of a nervous Mexican consulate to quell the protest, approximately 40,000 people, both Mexican and non-Mexican, participated in the procession that December. Religious devotion and political protest mingled in the parade—"amidst floats depicting the apparition of Mary at Guadalupe were signs carried by protestors reading 'atheism reigns in Mexico and Moscow'."[217] The next week, another Our Lady of Guadalupe procession in San Bernardino also decried the policies of the Mexican government.[218]

By mid-century, the makeup of the Latino community was changing, which presented new challenges for the Catholic Church. The Latino population was increasingly made up of those born in the United States, and the religious expectations of these people, the majority of whom were young, changed. In the 1960s, a new kind of awareness was arising among Mexican Americans, who often took on the name Chicanos. The once derogatory term was reclaimed by Mexican American youth as a unique identifier. These young people were increasingly opposed to the integration into mainstream American society sometimes sought by earlier generations. Chicanos sought to create their own organizations out of a feeling of pride and deliberate separatism. They also advocated "for native Latino and

Latina leaders to replace the Euro-Americans in posts from the episcopate to local parish leadership."[219]

The Second Vatican Council, held at the Vatican in Rome between 1962 and 1965, sought to address cultural changes occurring in the wake of World War II and the way in which the Catholic Church reacted to those changes through Church practice. One of the decrees allowed the Church to perform the liturgy (the official Church services, or Mass) in languages besides Latin. Previously the use of native languages was more limited. In other countries, Latin was abandoned as the liturgical language and replaced with the official language of the country. In the United States, Mass was still conducted in Latin, no matter the congregation, while other parts of the service could be conducted in native languages. Thus the decree was especially important in the U.S. because it meant that services became multi-lingual; English, Spanish, and others became accepted languages for Catholic Mass.[220]

The timing of the Second Vatican, coupled with the Chicano civil rights movement, led to a drastic restructuring of religion for the Latino community. The use of religion by César Chávez and the United Farm Workers forged an important link between Chicano civil rights and religion. Chávez, a committed Catholic, utilized religion deliberately to promote nonviolence and unite farm workers. For example, the 1966 march from Delano to Sacramento was cast in terms of a pilgrimage and deliberately used religious symbolism. These included the timing of the march—during Lent and the completion of the march on Easter Sunday—and the use of "Pilgrimage, Penitence, Revolution" as the march's slogan.[221]

The National Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Sacramento, served as the terminus for the 1966 March to Sacramento, a protest march from Delano to Sacramento, organized by César Chávez and farms workers. The march was cast as a pilgrimage and used religious symbolism. (*Photo courtesy wikimapia.org*)

Official churches, whether Catholic or Protestant, did not step in on behalf of Chicano civil rights. Chávez lamented the lack of responsiveness of the Catholic Church. He said in a speech to the Second Annual Mexican American Congress in 1968:

> It was not until some of us moved to Delano and began working to build the National Farm Workers Association that we really saw how far removed from the people the parish church was. In fact, we could not get any help at all from the priests in Delano.[222]

Eventually the Catholic Church sent a priest to minister to the religious needs of the migrant farm workers in Delano. It was more often individuals and organizations that stepped in on behalf of Chicano civil rights during the 1960s. Chávez noted that it was the California Migrant Ministry that worked on behalf of farm workers during the strikes of the 1960s. The Ministry was created in the

1920s in New Jersey and expanded to California during the 1930s. Its goal was to reach out to disenfranchised, poor, usually rural members of the population, such as displaced farmers moving to California from the Great Plains during the Great Depression.[223] After some initial hesitation, since Chávez and the farm workers were largely Catholic and the Ministry was a Protestant organization, the two groups began to work together. Chávez also noted that the assistance of the Ministry "forced us to raise the question why our church [i.e. the Catholic Church] was not doing the same."[224] The support of the California Migrant Ministry, which often faced opposition from its members, became vital to the organization of farm workers in the Central Valley. Chávez later emphasized the importance of the California Migrant Ministry's support to the success of the United Farm Workers.[225]

As civil rights actions like this entered the national consciousness, Chicanos became increasingly vocal against the Catholic Church's insensitivity towards their community. In the late 1960s, they created the organization Católicos Por La Raza to demand change within the Church. The organization linked religion and Catholicism with the ethnic pride rising out of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. It described itself in a 1969 press release as "a coalition of Mexican American Catholics working within the framework of the Congress on Mexican American Unity" and committed to "the return of the Catholic church to the oppressed Chicano community."[226] The 1969 press release stated:

> …because we are Catholics, because we know that Christ was born in a manger, washed and kissed the feet of the poor, and ultimately gave his life for the needs of poor people, and because we are Chicanos, we are left with no choice but to publicly demand that the Catholic institution in Los Angeles practice what it preaches and channel its tremendous spiritual and economic power to meet the needs of its most faithful servants.[227]

The members of Católicos Por La Raza showed a willingness to push for change, no matter the consequences for themselves. The press release stressed, "that we shall enforce our demands with whatever spiritual and physical powers we possess even if it means we must be jailed."[228]

The Los Angeles archdiocese did little to change its behavior, even after several demonstrations were organized. Soon pressure from the Vatican itself forced the local Church to recognize the unique needs of the Mexican community. It was largely through the efforts of the Católicos Por La Raza that a Latino was appointed to the archdiocese in 1971.[229] This slow tide of change soon extended throughout California because of the efforts of the Católicos Por La Raza.

In the 1970s, the Catholic Church became more responsive to the needs of the Latino population and established programs specifically designed for a younger generation, such as the Cursillo movement, "which brought together small groups of Latino and other Catholics for prayer and reflection" and "encuentros, which were large-scale stadium meetings and often charismatic masses by and for Latino laity and clerics."[230]

The Sanctuary Movement

The sanctuary movement of the 1980s was put into motion by the civil wars in Central America and the United States government's response to the refugees from those wars. The civil wars in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua led to the flight of people from repressive governments and even 'death squads,' in the case of El Salvadorans.[231]

The Reagan administration, which saw these wars as repressing Marxism and Communism during the Cold War, supplied economic aid to the countries of El Salvador and Guatemala. It also characterized these countries' refugees as economic rather than political, which would have garnered them protection under the 1980 Refugee Act. The Act brought

American policy into line with international standards, namely those of the 1951 United Nations Convention and the 1968 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.[232] Rather than acknowledging Central Americans as refugees under the Act, the administration referred to them as "illegal aliens" simply seeking jobs and economic opportunity in the United States.[233]

In the mid-1980s, Saint Teresa Catholic Church was part of the Sanctuary Covenant of San Francisco, a group of churches that gave aid and sanctuary to refugees fleeing the civil wars in Central America. (*Photo courtesy Saint Teresa Catholic Church*)

The sanctuary movement began in 1982 when a Presbyterian church and Quaker meetinghouse in Tucson, Arizona began providing legal and humanitarian assistance to Central American refugees and also acted as a sanctuary for them, providing shelter, transportation, food, medical care, legal representation, and other assistance in defiance of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).[234] The movement "resurrected a centuries-old tradition based on the Old Testament, Roman law, medieval canon law, and English common law in synagogues and churches: that of giving protection or sanctuary to people being persecuted by civil authorities."[235]

The movement crossed religious borders and included Protestant and Catholic churches as well as Jewish synagogues. These congregations openly defied the United States government by providing sanctuary or sponsoring refugee families; still others supported the practice of their fellow churches. Individuals participating in the sanctuary movement were at times arrested and tried for harboring people who were classified by the INS as illegal aliens. Supporters and participants justified their actions by citing the principals of the abolition movement and Underground Railroad of the nineteenth century and the more recent "principals of personal accountability" developed during the Nuremberg trials in the years following World War II.[236]

In Los Angeles, approximately 40 churches participated in the movement. Our Lady Queen of Angels Church (known as La Placita) became the first church in the Los Angeles area to provide sanctuary for refugees and assistance to undocumented immigrants.[237] In the San Francisco Bay area, a group of five churches formed the East Bay Sanctuary Covenant to assist refugees. In the City of San Francisco itself, a number of churches opened their doors and advocated for Central American refugees, including the 7th Avenue Presbyterian Church, Saint Teresa's Catholic Church, Noe Valley Presbyterian Church, and a number of Jewish synagogues. These congregations formed the Sanctuary Covenant of San Francisco in the mid-1980s.[238]

The movement crossed religious borders and included Protestant and Catholic churches as well as Jewish synagogues. These congregations openly defied the U.S. government by providing sanctuary or sponsoring refugee families.

The sanctuary movement came to an end in 1990 when Congress passed legislation qualifying Salvadorans for Temporary Protected Status, which could be granted by the president. After 1991, Salvadorans and Guatemalans were finally able to remain in the

country under a settlement in the case *American Baptist Churches v. Thornburgh* that allowed the resumption of denied political asylum claims, allowed late applications for political asylum by refugees afraid to apply earlier, and provided protections from deportation.[239]

Latinos in Sports

Though the Latino presence in sports increased over the course of the twentieth century, as a group, they often faced racism and discrimination. Stereotypes and misconceptions about Latinos were reflected in the manner in which their abilities or shortcomings in sports were portrayed by the English-language media. Latinos in turn used sports as a way to counteract these negative portrayals and reach success not otherwise available to them. Sports, especially professional sports, became a medium for Latinos to prove their worth in the face of racism, to create or enforce ideas of Mexican masculinity, to obtain access to educational and financial improvement, and to reinforce community identity and neighborhood pride. Amateur sports allowed Latinos to challenge more localized discriminatory practices, such as those in school athletic programs.[240]

Sports became a medium for Latinos to prove their worth in the face of racism ... to obtain access to educational and financial improvement, and to reinforce community identity and neighborhood pride.

Athletes used sports to establish positive images and to challenge negative portrayals of Latinos. For example, boxing became identified as a Mexican sport, and Latinos appropriated this idea and turned it around. Rather than being non-American and therefore negative, they sought to reinforce the idea that its association with "Mexicanness" was positive, and that boxing was "identified with [...] Mexican guts, Mexican spirit, and with Mexican victories."[241] For Mexican men, who were stereotyped as inferior, often lazy, and lacking the strength possessed by their Anglo counterparts, boxing and its values centered around "the indomitable will of the individual, aggressive conquest, and contempt for humiliation and submission" were incredibly appealing.[242] Boxing was one of the few ways Mexicans could pursue a career in professional sports in the early part of the twentieth century. It was therefore viewed as a path towards fame and economic advancement.[243] This was especially true during the Great Depression, when Latino men sought a career in boxing in order to provide money for their families in the U.S. or Mexico.[244] Organizations like the Mexican Athletic Association of southern California (MAASC) (formed in 1932) were created in part to illustrate the athletic skill of Mexican youth so they could potentially earn a scholarship to college.[245] Baseball players also utilized their sport to earn respect from Anglos and to reinforce traditional values of manliness, physical ability, and dynamic activity.[246] Even amateur baseball, in which Latinos played against each other as well as teams of other nationalities, helped challenge stereotypes and assumptions of inferiority.

Sports often provided leadership, career, and educational opportunities not available otherwise. Latino men could serve as managers and coaches of amateur Mexican baseball teams, for example, and through these positions they had the chance to develop and build leadership skills that they could transfer to other aspects of their lives.[247] In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, sports served as a way for Latinos to forge a common identity and socialize. Amateur baseball teams often formed in Mexican communities "as a part of sports clubs, mutual-aid organizations, churches, and small businesses."[248] Club teams often played against each other, and families and communities often traveled with their teams; this created a method for socialization and community reinforcement.[249] Members of different social classes came together to play sports, and sports became a way for a

community to gather together for events and family entertainment.[250] Baseball especially was seen as a family-friendly sport. Even prior to the participation of Latino baseball players in the major leagues, amateur baseball was popular in Latino neighborhoods, and Sunday afternoon family gatherings often took place near baseball diamonds, where friends and relatives participated in municipal city contests.

Boxing and baseball were the most popular sports in which Latinos participated in the twentieth century. The rodeo that had its origins in the nineteenth century continued to be popular, and Latinos also participated in soccer, handball, tennis, and football, among others. Sports continued to be a means through which Latinos forged a separate identity in the U.S while at the same time cementing ties of commonality with other Latinos. By 1930, more than 25 sports and recreational clubs had been established for and by Latinos in California.[251] By mid-century, the Latino presence in sports was slowly increasing at both the amateur and professional levels; this included both players and coaches. The equality sought in the Chicano movement of the 1960s also extended to sports, as Latinos demanded more equality on the playing field. In the 1960s and later, they became increasingly recognized as professional players with real talent, and the first professional star players emerged.

Boxing

Boxing was one of the most popular sports among Latino athletes and fans in the twentieth century. It became associated with Mexican identity in a positive manner. The rise of boxing clubs in the first decades of the century was a testament to the sport's popularity. By the 1920s, boxing clubs and gyms were springing up in Mexican neighborhoods all over California. These informal spaces, such as "vacant lots, backyards, abandoned buildings, or small halls" gave amateur players a chance to showcase their skills and develop a following. After training in these clubs, boxers could later move up to boxing in small arenas, and the most successful went on to box in the larger arenas in cities like Los Angeles.[252] Popular arenas in Los Angeles included the Ocean Park Arena, Main Street Athletic Club, Hollywood Legion Stadium, and Grand Olympic Auditorium.[253] In this grassroots manner, southern California became home to some of the most popular Mexican American boxers, who "quickly became an important presence in the arenas of California."[254] Successful boxers such as Mexican Americans Bert Colima and Joe Salas, who became the first Latino Olympian on the U.S. team in 1924, became akin to heroes, often receiving acclaim in both the U.S. and Mexico. Paradoxically, it was most often through the efforts of Anglo promoters that they gained publicity and moved into the world of professional boxing.[255]

The Grand Olympic Auditorium, Los Angeles, was one of the premier sites for boxing competitions in southern California. Boxing was one of the most popular sports among Latinos throughout the twentieth century. (*Creative commons/en.wikipedia*)

Not only did boxing encourage the formation of new notions of Mexican masculine identity, it also provided young men with a path to success. The popularity of the sport and its reputation as an everyman sport, one

that anyone could aspire to and succeed at, made it all the more appealing and a primary means through "which men's ethnic consciousness was formed."[256] Famous Latino boxers such as Colima, Salas, and Art Aragon in the 1950s, became role models that young men looked up to.

Although boxing declined during the Great Depression as fights were canceled due to lack of available funds, it continued to be popular during the postwar period among Latinos.[257] In the postwar period, as more boxers identified as Mexican American, they faced something of an identity crisis. Linked to a sport that was traditionally identified as Mexican and praised by the Anglo press, they could become caught in the middle. Famous boxers such as Aragon, raised in East Los Angeles and nicknamed the "Golden Boy," were alternatively lauded and criticized in the press. These Mexican American boxers were not popular among Mexican audiences since they "sought inclusion in America's public institutions" and were often favorites of the Anglo press, who at times promoted rivalries between Mexican and Mexican American fighters in order to draw crowds.[258]

By the 1960s, Mexican and Mexican American boxers dominated the lightweight divisions of boxing.[259] Latino boxers became a rallying point, a source of pride for a generation of Mexican Americans who were increasingly aware of their identity as Chicanos and increasingly proud of that identity.[260] During this period, boxing could be divisive as well, as Mexicans and Mexican Americans rallied behind fighters from their homelands. This can be seen as a reflection of the divisions in the Latino community during this period, as Mexicans and younger Mexican Americans, who increasingly identified as Chicano, found themselves at odds with each other at times over issues of assimilation and identity.

Latino boxers became a rallying point, a source of pride for a generation of Mexican Americans who were increasingly aware of their identity as Chicanos and increasingly proud of that identity.

In the late twentieth century, "boxing contributed to a sense of ethnic and national belonging much like flags, anthems, religious icons, geographical boundaries, commonality of language, political structures, and the ideas of a shared culture."[261] The sport became even more popular with Latino audiences as Latino fighters moved into the role of promoters and utilized Spanish-language media to reach more Latino fans. This drove an upward swing in the number of Latino boxers in the last decades of the twentieth century. Boxers from Puerto Rico and Mexico, as well as Mexican Americans, increasingly became a potent force in the sport. With the advent of the use of television for sports promotion in the 1970s, and the increasing visibility that went along with that, boxers could reach a new level of fame and wealth. As a result of the globally televised Olympics, Latino boxers began to strive for local recognition and national and international recognition as well.[262] Mexican American Paul Gonzales from East Los Angeles became the first Latino boxer to win a gold medal in the 1984 Summer Olympics.[263]

One of the most famous boxers from this later period was Mexican American Oscar De La Hoya, also from East Los Angeles. A favorite in East Los Angeles even prior to participating in the Olympics, he won the gold medal in boxing at the Barcelona Olympics in 1992. After this, he became popular with Anglo audiences as well and was seen as "a symbol of multiculturalism," a marked difference from the stereotypical portrayals of Latino boxers in the past.[264] He was touted by the mainstream media as the quintessential good man, grounded in family values, and dedicated to his schoolwork as a child. As a result of the publicity, De La Hoya inherited Aragon's nickname of "Golden Boy." He was alternatively loved and disliked by the Latino community in East Los Angeles. Some saw his departure

from his home in Boyle Heights to a larger house in Montebello and his assimilation into Anglo culture as a betrayal.[265]

Baseball

One of the most popular sports among Latinos in the twentieth century was baseball. During the first few decades of the century, social reformers attempted to Americanize immigrants by turning them away from traditional Mexican activities such as bullfighting and towards "American" forms of recreation and sports. According to historian José Alamillo, these efforts were often directed towards school-age children in order "to mold them into a submissive working class with Anglo-Protestant and middle class values."[266] It was also directed at male adults, in order to inspire a sense of teamwork and to turn them away from the "barbaric" sports of bullfighting and cockfighting. Baseball, as the quintessential American sport, was viewed as one of the primary means to this end. Citrus companies such as the California Fruit Growers Exchange and the La Habra Citrus Association encouraged the formation of baseball teams and clubs among their Latino workers. They "subsidized sports teams to increase worker productivity and foster company loyalty [...as well as] improve workers' physical health and mental preparedness for the arduous backbreaking field work."[267]

As the sport became more popular, the Latino presence in baseball increased dramatically. This was the case at the amateur level and to a lesser extent at the professional level. There were not many Latino players in the major leagues before 1950 and the majority did not rise to the highest level of professional "star" players. One of the earliest Mexican players in the major leagues was Melo Almada, born in Mexico and raised in Los Angeles. He began playing for the Boston Red Sox in 1933. As a young man, he played on a local amateur team sponsored by the El Paso Shoe Store.[268]

The majority of players before World War II participated in amateur teams, such as the "Chorizeros" (Sausage Makers). Their home field was Belvedere Park in East Los Angeles.[269] Amateur baseball teams were often sponsored by local Mexican businesses; some of the most well-known local teams in Los Angeles were those of El Paso Shoe Store, El Porvenir Grocery, and Ortiz New Fords.[270] El Porvenir Grocery had a baseball field located next to it on 1st Street in East Los Angeles called the El Gran Parque Mexicano. The store sponsored games for the local population, promising "an afternoon of enthusiasm, healthy fun, and genuine emotions" and "an afternoon simply Mexican."[271]

The Carmelita Chorizeros of East Los Angeles were a Latino team who played in the southern California amateur leagues and won a number of championships from the 1940s through the 1960s. In 2009, the Latino History Project honored the team with a memorial plaque at Belvedere Park, their home field in East Los Angeles. (*Photo courtesy Francisco E. Balderrama, Ph.D., and Richard Santillan, Ph.D.*)

The game's popularity was assisted by the promotion of Mexican baseball leagues, such as the Liga Mexicana de Baseball del Sur de California (southern California Mexican Baseball

League) that "fielded more than fifteen amateur and semiprofessional teams."[272] The league was formed on the eve of the Los Angeles Olympics in 1932 as an offshoot of the La Asociación Atletica Mexicana del Sur de California (southern California Mexican Athletic Association). Participants in the league included the El Paso Shoe Store "Zapateros" and the Corona Athletics, an amateur team formed in 1931 by Mexican American youth who worked in Corona's citrus industry.[273] The Mexican Professional Baseball League, which eventually recruited players from the U.S., was formed in Mexico in 1925 with six teams. It was the most prominent of the leagues formed in Mexico in the 1920s after the Mexican Revolution and contributed greatly to the growth of the game in Mexico. At first the league played its games in Mexico City, and teams consisted of Mexican, Cuban, and African American players. By mid-century, the league was becoming more prominent, and was hiring players from the African American League and later Latino players from the major leagues in America to play in Mexico.[274]

Women's softball was also popular, less so than baseball at first.[275] Women often played before a men's baseball game and initially were seen as a novelty more than anything else. One of the most popular women's teams in the 1930s was Las Senoritas de Glendale.[276]

Amateur baseball remained important to Latino communities in the postwar period. Games continued to be community events, with food and entertainment before and during games. They remained important vehicles for gathering together and maintaining a strong community or neighborhood identity.[277] Some teams or baseball clubs, such as the Los Angeles Forty-Six Club, formed in the postwar period, were active in civic and neighborhood affairs as well. Soon after its formation, the baseball club's popularity had spread and there were Forty-Six Clubs in other cities in the Southwest and Mexico.[278]

The last half of the twentieth century saw Latino players making inroads into professional baseball. Juan Marichal (depicted above) was one of several Latino players recruited by the San Francisco Giants in the 1950s and 1960s. (*Photo courtesy Carol M. Highsmith Archive, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division*)

The mid-twentieth century was a period in which Latinos were able to make great inroads into professional baseball in California. Prior to the mid-twentieth century, race or the appearance of it played a significant role in Latinos' acceptance into the major leagues. It was easier for lighter skinned Latino players, whether they were from Cuba, Puerto Rico, or Mexico, to gain access into the major leagues. Ted Williams, who played for the Boston Red Sox and was famous for his talent at the plate, was from San Diego and of Latino background; his mother was Mexican American. Early in his career, he played for the San Diego Padres, then part of the minor leagues. He commented little on his ethnic background, fearing that racism would hinder his baseball career. It was not until just before his death in 2002 that it became widely known that Williams was of Latino descent.[279] Due to racism, Latinos often played on African American teams in the first half of the twentieth century. African American players also participated in Latino teams. For example, Roy Campanella of Italian

and African ancestry played for the Monterrey Sultans, a team in the Mexican League, between 1942 and 1945. He later went on to play for the Brooklyn Dodgers.[280]

It was not until the 1950s that Latino players were able to make inroads into the major leagues. African American player Jackie Robinson's entrance into professional baseball in 1947 helped to change the racial climate of baseball. The effect was not immediate, as his debut into the major leagues "also marked the beginning of a long siege of resistance on the part of segregationists" both off and off the baseball diamond. This resistance lasted well after 1947 in professional baseball, for "only a few owners, players, and writers had the courage to support the integration of the game."[281] The Los Angeles Dodgers, for example, did not actively scout among Latinos or in Latin America until the 1960s.[282] The San Francisco Giants increasingly recruited Latino players in the late 1950s and 1960s, including the Alou brothers (Felipe, Mateo, and Jesús) and Juan Marichal from the Dominican Republic.[283] It was not until the 1960s that Latino players became more readily accepted by fans, the mainstream American press, and others.[284] In the 1970s, major league teams stepped up their recruitment of Latino players, even going so far as to set up baseball schools for talented, burgeoning players, such as the Dodgers' school, Las Palmas, in the Dominican Republic.[285]

The last quarter of the twentieth century saw the increasing presence of Latinos in professional baseball. Mexican player Fernando Valenzuela of the Los Angeles Dodgers debuted in 1981 and became incredibly popular with baseball fans, both Latino and non-Latino. He held a particular significance for the Latino community around the country as one of the first star Latino players in the major leagues. Latinos from countries as diverse as Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and Panama turned out in support of the player. The Mexican community in Los Angeles was especially supportive, for they "were dying for a hero … and really took Fernando in as their son."[286] The rapid spread of popularity of Latino players like Valenzuela was due in part to the increasing presence of Spanish-language media and sports broadcasting. Latino players became popular with Latino audiences and with baseball fans in general.

Handball

Variations of handball were played in countries all over the world, including ancient Egypt and Rome.[287] Ball games were part of the religious and cultural life of the people of Mesoamerica from ancient times through the period of Spanish contact. Players wore gloves weighing up to 14 pounds, and they used a ball of rubber, which appears to have been unknown in the European variation of the game.[288] In Ireland, where the game dates back to at least the sixteenth century, balls were made of "cowhair or wool in its raw state and, later, of woollen [sic] thread and elastic rolled round a 'heart' or core of wood, preferably from the root of a briar."[289]

The Maravilla Handball Court, East Los Angeles, is one of the oldest surviving courts in the region. (*Photo courtesy* LA *Conservancy*)

The Irish brought the game to America in the nineteenth century.[290] Both the Irish and the Mesoamerican versions of the game emphasized the hand as the instrument to hit the ball, rather than a paddle, which was utilized in other variations. The Irish introduced the game to

northern California during the Gold Rush. One of the first handball courts in the state, Cullen's Saloon and Shamrock Ball and Racket Court, was documented in San Francisco in 1851.[291] Basques from France also played the game, bringing it to the Los Angeles area when they settled in the region; the earliest remaining example of a Basque handball court in the Los Angeles area is located in La Puente and was founded in 1939. The Young Men's Christian Organization (YMCA) had facilities containing handball courts that were constructed in the area in the late 1920s, no longer extant.[292]

One of the oldest surviving handball courts in the Los Angeles area, and potentially the only extant example, is the Maravilla Handball Court in East Los Angeles. The Maravilla court was constructed in 1928 by the Latino community there and has served the community ever since. Community members relate that members of the neighborhood constructed the court using bricks from a nearby brickyard.[293] Members of the local Latino community owned the court and attached grocery store, constructed in the mid-1940s and a replacement for an earlier store on the site, until the early 1970s when a Japanese American family purchased it.

Charrería

Charrería has its origins on the haciendas of nineteenth century Mexico and in the "informal contests the cowboys held among themselves to show off ranching skills like bronco riding and roping."[294] Charros, or horsemen, would compete against each other to show off their horsemanship skills. After the end of the Mexican Revolution, the haciendas began to be divided and developed. Charros began to form organizations that would ensure the survival of the activities that had developed on the haciendas, and the sport of charrería was born. President Rodríguez declared it the national sport of Mexico in 1933.

Charrería activities in Pico Rivera Sports Arena, Pico Rivera, CA. Declared the national sport of Mexico in 1933, Charrería was established in the U.S. by the 1970s, and provided Mexican Americans an opportunity to celebrate their culture and maintain links to Mexican traditions. (*Photo courtesy City of Pico Rivera*)

Charrería refers to the sport; charreada refers to the event that "incorporates equestrian competitions and demonstrations, specific costumes and horse trappings, music, and food."[295] Similar to rodeo, Charrería is a distinct sport in that rodeo highlights the individual while charrería emphasizes the team. It is also very ritualized in comparison to the more informal style of rodeo; the events of the charrería follow a particular sequence.[296] The sport consists of an opening ceremony and nine competitions that show off the skill of a charro. Both men and women participate in the competitions, with women participating in a tenth event called the escaramuza, in which teams of eight women perform "precise and daring exercises while riding sidesaddle with musical accompaniment."[297]

The sport is played in both Mexico and the U.S. It was established in the U.S. beginning in the 1970s, when "Mexican Americans seeking ways to express pride in their heritage requested that the Federación Mexicana de Charrería assist in establishing official charreadas north of the border." The establishment of the sport in the U.S. allowed Mexican Americans the opportunity to celebrate their culture and linked them to Mexican

traditions.[298] Pico Rivera Sports Arena, constructed in 1979 and located in Pico Rivera east of Los Angeles, is home to charreada and other sporting and musical events.

Soccer

Soccer was largely an amateur sport in the U.S. until the late twentieth century. European and Latin American immigrants formed soccer clubs after arriving in the U.S. Soccer clubs were also social in nature and helped immigrants adjust to life, culture, and society in America, though some argued that they prevented immigrants from assimilating and maintained soccer's identity as a foreign sport rather than an American one.[299]

The Hispano Americana F.C. (Football Club) was formed in Los Angeles in the 1920s as an outgrowth of the Asociación Deportiva Hispano Americana, the largest sport club in Los Angeles. It was financed by Spanish-language newspaper L*a Opinión* and Alianza Hispano Americana (AHA), "the largest and most prominent Mexican American mutual aid association in the Southwest." From the beginning, the club included players from diverse Latin American countries, including Chile and Argentina as well as Mexico. The club lasted until 1933, when a lack of sponsorship forced the club to disperse; until then it was successful against other soccer teams.[300]

Latinos often joined high school or community teams due to the high cost of joining professional teams.[301] They created a unique spin in the sport "by developing their own unique playing style with intricate short passes, twists and turns, and elaborate dribbling."[302] The youth club system was important to the spread of the sport's popularity, though it was never as popular among Latinos as baseball or boxing. The formation of the MAASC was instrumental in encouraging soccer's popularity.[303] Its popularity also increased when soccer matches began being held at White Sox Park near East Los Angeles, home to Mexican American and African American baseball teams. Soccer matches followed the baseball games and were free of charge.

In the 1960s, soccer gained in popularity in southern California. East Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley high schools offered some of the first organized leagues for Latino young men and women. The organization of Latin Soccer Week at Wrigley Field in 1966 and the inclusion of the Los Angeles Toros, which had Latino players on its roster, in the National Professional Soccer League from its beginnings in 1967 further increased the popularity of the sport. While it became increasingly popular among Latinos, only men could play amateur and professional soccer until the 1970s, when Title IX was implemented to promote gender equality in sports.[304] Only after that could Latinas play among the ranks of amateur and professional players.

Other Sports

Though boxing and baseball were the most popular sports among Latinos in the twentieth century, other sports made inroads in the population, both in terms of players and fans. These include football, basketball, and tennis.

Football has its origins in rugby games played by Ivy League colleges in the 1870s.[305] The number of Latino college-level and professional football athletes was limited before 1950, though some players did exist, such as Joe Aguirre, who played for Saint Mary's College and later the Los Angeles Dons, and Eddie Saenz, who played for the University of southern California and went on to the play for the National Football League (NFL).[306]

Latinos played football at the high school level beginning in the 1920s. High school football in East Los Angeles was incredibly popular by the 1960s. A rivalry developed between two teams in Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles, the Roosevelt High School Roughriders and Garfield High School Bulldogs. Though the annual game was significant and popular among

the Latino population of East Los Angeles, Anglo tended to regard it derisively, referring to it as the "Taco Bowl" or the "Chili Bowl." Through the efforts of students and teachers, the annual game between the two teams was renamed the East Los Angeles Classic in 1972, removing the negative connotations previously associated with it.[307]

As in other sports, the number of Latino college football players increased after World War II, and many of them played for teams in California. A noted player from the postwar period was Mexican American Danny Villanueva, born in New Mexico. He played for New Mexico State before moving on to play for the Los Angeles Rams and the Dallas Cowboys from 1960 to 1967.[308]

The last quarter of the century was seminal for Latinos in football, as both Latino players and coaches became more common ... Latino players were placed in more positions than ever before.

The last quarter of the century was seminal for Latinos in football, as both Latino players and coaches became more common. Previously relegated to the role of field goal kickers, Latino players were placed in more positions than ever before.[309] A well-known Latino player from the last quarter of the century was Mexican American Jim Plunkett, who was from San Jose and played for Stanford University. He went on to play quarterback for the Oakland Raiders and helped lead the team to win the Super Bowl in 1980 and 1983. He was named Most Valuable Player in 1980 and was the first Latino player to help guide a team to victory in the Super Bowl.[310] Players like Plunkett and Villanueva forever made their mark on the NFL as superior football players.

Basketball was invented by a Massachusetts YMCA physical education teacher in the 1890s. The sport became popular among working class children in East Coast cities, as it could be played indoors and did not require a lot of space. When the YMCA spread to Mexico, the sport became popular there too. The YMCA was also instrumental in disseminating the sport among Latinos in the U.S. as part of an Americanization program that included sports, classes, and English-language instruction.[311] The Catholic Church also played an important role in introducing basketball to Latino youth. In the 1930s, it formed the Catholic Youth Organization to introduce a comprehensive youth sports program for African Americans and immigrant youth in order to combat juvenile delinquency. Thus, young men from different parishes came together to form local basketball teams and leagues.[312] Though the goal of these organizations and teams was Americanization, they also helped foster a sense of community in Latino neighborhoods.[313]

The first Latino basketball team in Los Angeles was Bohemia, later called El Club Deportivo Los Angeles. José Arteaga and Lamberto Alvarez Gayou organized the team in 1921 to develop the amateur sport of basketball within a crowded field of sports like baseball, which is "organized under the spirit of commercialism."[314] Basketball could not compete with the popularity of baseball until the 1930s. Until then, it also remained a primarily a male sport. It was not until the 1930s that women formed their own basketball league, having been excluded from the sport until then.

In the 1950s, Latinas were playing basketball in increasing numbers, despite the efforts of physical education teachers to limit their participation. Changing gender norms during and directly after the war gave them the opportunity to play for industrial leagues, community recreation centers, church leagues, inner-city parks, settlement houses, and ethnic community leagues.[315] The presence of both men and women in the sport increased in the 1960s and later as the Chicano movement gained ground. Nonetheless, though Latinos played basketball throughout the twentieth century, they did not play for the National Basketball Association (NBA) until the 1970s.[316] By the 1980s, Latinos were an ever-

increasing presence in the sport, due in part to the increase in the number of community basketball leagues and also the increase in outreach to the community on the part of the NBA.[317]

Though tennis was organized in nineteenth century England and introduced to the U.S. in the 1870s, it was not introduced into Latino communities until the 1920s and 1930s. At first the sport was played primarily in country clubs, which remained off-limits to Latinos due to segregation. Therefore, the only venues through which they had access to the sport were public tennis courts or community tennis clubs. The MAASC organized amateur tournaments among Los Angeles Latinos beginning in the 1930s. The tournament was so popular that it had to move from Exposition Park to Griffith Park, where there were more courts and space for spectators.[318]

Rosie Casals, from San Francisco, was one of the top players in tennis in the 1960s and 1970s, winning numerous championships, including five Wimbledon titles. With teammate Billy Jean King, Casals spoke out for, and worked to gain gender equality in the sport of tennis. (*Photo courtesy Rosie Casals*)

Latinas were able to make inroads into tennis earlier than other sports because it was seen as more "graceful and ladylike" and befitting of a female's place in society. By the 1920s, Latinas were playing tennis and by the 1930s they joining tennis clubs. They competed in small tournaments during the same decade, and by 1940 were included for the first time in the popular MAASC tournament.[319]

While the number of Latinos playing tennis did not increase significantly during the 1950s and 1960s, two of the most famous tennis players during the period were Latino, Richard "Pancho" Gonzalez and Rosemary Casals. Gonzalez was from Los Angeles and won U.S. professional championships every year between 1953 and 1961. After his retirement from professional tennis, he held tennis clinics for Latino and African American youth to increase their exposure to the sport. Casals, who was from San Francisco and known for her aggressive style, teamed with Billie Jean King. The pair won numerous doubles titles and became strong advocates for women's tennis by organizing their own events and demanding equal prize money.[320]

Latinos in the Arts

The arts reflected the complexity of the Latino experience in California in the twentieth century. They served as an expression of that experience, both negative and positive. At times, the arts were used to express Latino culture from an outside perspective, taking the initiative and voice out of the hands of Latinos and placing it in the hands of others, usually Anglos. In the early part of the century, this resulted in a presentation of an idealized Latino culture. It was tied to a romanticized view of California history and negated the complexity of the Latino experience during the colonial period and afterward. Partially in response to this and partially in response to the treatment of Latinos in the U.S. over the

course of much of the twentieth century, Latinos used the arts to reclaim pride in their culture and express that pride in a concrete manner. Through the arts, Latinos were able to tell their history from their perspective and were able to make statements about their treatment in history that challenged mainstream social and political views. The arts reflected the way Latinos responded to their surroundings as well as to the events occurring around them, from resistance to Americanization programs during the 1910s and 1920s to struggles for civil rights during the 1960s and 1970s.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Anglos often romanticized the history and culture of Californios and Native Americans. They linked these histories and cultures to an idealized Spanish past. Aspects of Latino culture such as music and dance were also romanticized. Though negative in many respects, this idealistic view contributed to the preservation of early Mexican culture in California. For instance, Charles Lummis, who moved to southern California in the 1880s and became an advocate for the preservation of the culture of the Southwest, collected folksongs of Mexicans and Native Americans living in the area. He published these songs in the 1890s in various collections. By 1905, Lummis had collected and recorded over 500 Spanish and Native American songs.[321] The Spanish songs included those imported from Spain and Mexico. In 1923, Lummis published fourteen songs in the compilation "Spanish Songs of Old California".[322] Some were also published in Lummis' magazine, "The Land of Sunshine" (later titled Out *West*). The majority of the music he collected was never published.

The Mexican Players at the Padua Hills Theater, Claremont, c. 1950s. Performances by the Mexican Players presented often romanticized portrayals of Mexican life through traditional songs and plays performed in Spanish. (*Photo courtesy Alfaro collection, Los Californios, a project of San Diego Friends of Old Time Music*)

Though Lummis recorded and preserved a large amount of Spanish and Mexican music, he was creating an idealized view of California that never actually existed.[323] Many of the songs he recorded consisted of love songs and folk ballads. Only one corrido, a widely popular type of Mexican narrative song, was published because Lummis felt the corrido was too coarse and working class.[324] In addition, although the people Lummis recorded were usually Mexicans or Mexican Americans and of working class background, he portrayed the culture they represented as Spanish rather than Mexican. This reflects the trends of the day, in which an idealized Spanish past, rather than the realistic Mexican one, was tied to California history.

The work of the Mexican Players at the Padua Hills Theatre also preserved and passed down traditional Mexican music and dance, though again through an Anglo lens. The Mexican Players performed between 1931 and 1974 at the Padua Hills Theatre. The theater, located in Claremont, was founded in 1928 by Herman and Bess Garner and consisted of a troupe of Anglo actors. The economic hardship of the Great Depression prevented the success of the troupe, so the Garners turned elsewhere for programming. To boost attendance, the Garners hired Mexican residents from the area to work as waiters and waitresses, among other

positions. While they were serving meals, they were asked to sing traditional Mexican folk songs.[325] The purpose of this display was to expose the Anglo audience to Mexican culture and to create an atmosphere that accented the Mission Revival style of the theater complex.[326] These informal performances were popular with patrons, and the Mexican employees began performing small plays that became widely popular. The plays, performed in Spanish, presented a stereotypical view of Mexicans. Although these stereotypes were supposedly positive, they were stereotypes nonetheless and negated the complexity of Mexican culture and people.[327]

In contrast to the romanticized view of Latino culture presented by outside observers, Latinos themselves used the arts as a vehicle for reclaiming their culture. Historian Tomás Ybarra-Frausto notes that the arts "strengthened the emotional and cultural sense of being Mexican [and] served as a powerful counterweight and resistance to the Anglo cultural hegemony."[328] Murals, whether painted in the first decades of the century or during the Chicano movement, were intended to express and highlight community pride. Artists involved with the Chicano movement wanted murals to inspire cultural pride. They wanted their murals to resonate with the community and would sometimes interview area residents to find out what they wanted to see depicted, rather than imposing a subject that had no resonance within the community.[329] Graffiti, which became increasingly popular after mid-century and had its beginnings in the 1930s in Los Angeles, served as a protest against Anglo society and its treatment of Latinos as well as an expression of pride in Latino culture and its irrefutable presence in California. It boldly displayed pride in Mexican and Mexican American culture and overtly refused to be subject to the conformity demanded by the Anglo majority.[330]

After mid-century, when the Chicano movement inspired new heights of pride and resistance against Anglo culture, Latino artists of all types banded together to form talleres (workshops) and centro culturales (cultural centers) to foster their creativity.[331] These spaces were created, according to historian Margaret Nieto, by artists who were "aware of their marginal role in society and of the fact that gallery and museum doors were closed to them and to the art that they were beginning to conceptualize," and felt "the need to explore and identify Mexican and meso-American cultural history." These centers catered to all types of artists, including "artists with formal training as well as street artists [...and] formally training dancers, writers, actors, budding playwrights, musicians and visual artists as well as people who had longed to fulfill a creative urge."[332]

This context does not represent a complete picture of the Latino arts in California in the twentieth century, as this is a broad and far-reaching topic. Rather, it focuses on music, theater, literature, and visual arts.

Music

Latino music in twentieth century California was influenced by both traditional Mexican music as well as American musical genres. It was ultimately a music that was subject to cultural mixing and interchange, in opposition to a music industry that typically preferred to place music and musicians into distinct categories. This at times worked against the success of Latino music, which often reflected multiple genres and ethnicities.[333]

As in other locales around the world, the music of Mexico historically varied depending on the region in which it was produced. Musical styles intermixed even before arriving in the U.S, as the upheaval of the Mexican Revolution drove many rural residents into cities, where folk and urban music, which was influenced more by European music, intermingled. These varied musical styles evolved again when they arrived in California; intermixing with each other as well as with Anglo and other types of music as early as the 1910s and 1920s.[334]

One of the most popular styles of music among the Mexican population during the early twentieth century was the corrido, a form of ballad that told a story, often about a popular individual or event. It became increasingly popular during the 1920s, as the Mexican population of California grew. The corrido was so popular in part because it served as a connection to immigrants' rural Mexican roots. The narrative songs were constantly being created to tell new stories, and during the Mexican Revolution and afterwards, historian George Sánchez observed "corridos also appealed to a Mexican's nationalist fervor at a time when the pride of Mexican people, places, and events was flourishing."[335] It was used in a similar manner during the later Chicano movement, again a time of nationalist pride.

The popularity of Mexican music was aided by the burgeoning radio and recording industries during the 1920s, when the growing Mexican population prompted American record companies and local entrepreneurs to search for Mexican musical talent.[336] Major record companies of the day such as Capitol Records, Columbia Records, and Vocalion Records were also quick to market Spanish-language labels to capitalize on this growing population. They even recruited musicians from outside the U.S and recorded their music to sell back in America.[337] Success in the radio or recording industries often hinged on race or the appearance of it. Latinos who appeared white could find success in the mainstream music market, especially if they were willing to Americanize their names. An example of this is the duo Las Hermanas Padilla, popular in the 1930s and 1940s. Though their name was not changed, when they toured in New York City, they became known as the "Mexican Andrews Sisters."[338] A later example is Ritchie Valens, born Ricardo Valenzuela.[339]

In the 1930s and 1940s, the sister duo, Las Hermanas Padilla, was the first California duo to become widely popular in both Mexico and the U.S. (*Photo courtesy last.fm*)

Well-known musicians in the first half of the twentieth century included Las Hermanas Padilla and Adelina García. Las Hermanas Padilla consisted of a duo of Mexican American sisters from Los Angeles who became popular in the 1930s. They toured in Mexico, Venezuela, and New York City in the 1940s. They were the first California duo to become popular in Mexico and became widely popular in the U.S. as well.[340] Adelina García was one of the most famous singers of the *bolero* in the 1930s and 1940s. Originally from Phoenix, Arizona, García moved to Los Angeles when she was 15. She began to perform on the radio and attracted the attention of Columbia Records. She toured in Mexico, Brazil, and other Latin American countries, as well as California and the Southwest in the 1940s and early 1950s. Her career continued into the mid-1950s, when she married and retired from singing.[341]

Mariachi music became increasingly popular in the 1930s. It was a variation on Spanish orchestral music involving violins, guitars, and a harp. Later ensembles included the violin, vihuela, guitar, and guitarrón; still later the trumpet was added. Mariachi music varied from region to region, and the style later known in the U.S. originated in the Mexican state of Jalisco.[342] Mariachi groups acted as accompaniment for ranchera (a traditional Mexican musical style) singers and performed the son jalisciense, their traditional musical style. Two of the most popular mariachi bands in Los Angeles were the Mariachi Los Camperos

de Nati Cano (1990 National Heritage Fellowship recipient) and the Mariachi Los Calleros de Pedro Rey. The Mariachi Los Camperos de Nati Cano were popular beginning in the late 1950s. They initially performed at the Million Dollar Theater in Los Angeles and began performing nationwide in the 1960s. They founded and performed at La Fonda Restaurant in Los Angeles, where they attracted both locals and tourists. The Mariachi Los Calleros de Pedro Rey was founded in 1970 and became incredibly popular. The group also performed at a restaurant, the El Rey in Montebello. It was comprised of members of the Hernández family, which had been playing mariachi music since the early 1940s in Mexico and later in California.[343]

The onset of the Depression curtailed cultural activity in general and musical activity in particular, though it did not put an end to it. Musical styles began to change during this period, as they "became less dependent on corrido story-telling (which required the ability to understand Spanish lyrics) and more concentrated in dance clubs" like La Bamba nightclub at Macy and Spring Streets and La Casa Olvera, next to Olvera Street in Los Angeles. [344] These nightclubs appealed to the second generation of Mexican American youth in particular. Although the clubs were frequented by Mexican Americans, music included a variety of American and Latin American styles, such as Cuban and English-language music.[345]

One of the most notable figures from this period was Lalo Guerrero (1991 National Heritage Fellowship recipient), who arrived in Los Angeles from Tucson, Arizona in 1937 and began working at La Bamba nightclub. He became a highly successful composer, singer, and bandleader active in the Los Angeles Latino music scene between the 1930s and 1970s. His songs appeared on the radio and in successful records; he also owned a nightclub. His music often blended humor and satire about social problems of the day.[346] His orchestra, with Guerrero as lead vocalist, toured the Southwest and played popular Latino music styles such as the cumbia or mambo.[347] Guerrero scaled back his musical career in the 1970s. During World War II, mainstream record companies greatly decreased or sometimes ceased the recording of ethnic music in the U.S. Shortages of shellac, used for the manufacturing of records, occurred, and record companies downsized to market only mainstream music that was more lucrative. After World War II, some Mexican American entrepreneurs began recording Latino music and marketing it for an ever-growing Latino population. The majority of recording companies continued to be owned by non-Mexicans.[348]

Eduardo "Lalo" Guerrero was a highly successful composer, singer, and band leader in the Latino music scene from the 1930s to the 1970s, and remained active and popular right up to his death in 2005. He was a National Heritage Fellowship recipient in 1991. (*Photo courtesy Mark and Dan Guerrero*)

Latino music of the postwar period was influenced by a number of outside sources, including rock 'n' roll. Los Angeles, as a center for music and movie production, became a hub for Latino music production during this period. The working class in Mexico also listened to rock 'n' roll; therefore, a uniquely Latino rock genre was being created even before Mexicans immigrated to California. In California, one of "the most important influences on Mexican American rock 'n' roll musicians were their African American neighbors, with whom they shared the experience of racial and economic oppression and segregated urban spaces. African American groups routinely played in East Los Angeles venues, and they were familiar with Mexican American culture, which they incorporated into some of their music." Venues such as the El Monte American Legion Stadium and the Paramount Ballroom in East Los Angeles were popular among Latino rock 'n' roll bands.[349]

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During the 1950s and 1960s, California Latino rock 'n' roll bands like Cannibal and the Headhunters and The Midniters from Los Angeles and Rosie and the Originals from San Diego became both locally and nationally famous. This was in part due to the fact that their songs were sung in English and were similar to or the same as the music of other rock 'n' roll bands. On the other hand, the popularity of Latino rock 'n' roll as a genre occurred during the Chicano movement and the "rise of cultural nationalism." Many bands, while they played in a style typical of mainstream rock 'n' roll, asserted a Chicano identity via album cover art or band names.[350]

Another popular musical genre during the post-World War II period was cumbia, a type of folk music originally from Columbia. In the 1940s and 1950s, it became popular throughout Latin America and Mexico. It then traveled to the U.S. with Mexican immigrants (as well as much later, in the 1980s, with Columbian immigrants). Cumbia became regionalized in the different Latin American countries to which it traveled, including Mexico. The rise of cumbia's popularity in Mexico coincided with the rise of rock 'n' roll and the two musical styles became intertwined and sometimes influenced each other. Cumbia became more popular among the Mexican American community than in the Columbian community.[351]

The corrido remained popular among recent Mexican immigrants into the latter decades of the twentieth century. Both corridos and cumbia were often played on the norteño, an accordion-based instrument originating among the working class of northern Mexico; the instrument reminded them of home and "became increasingly linked to the migratory experiences of all Mexican immigrants."[352] Corridos continued to narrate stories significant in the lives of Latinos, such as migration and issues such as alienation and feelings of displacement, while cumbia served as the community's dance music.[353]

Music of the 1970s and 1980s combined a variety of styles, and it was often performed in a mixture of Spanish and English. Latino music during this period was based upon various influences. The music of Agustín Lira, one of the founders of El Teatro Campesino, typifies the music of this period. Lira (2007 National Heritage Fellowship recipient) was born in Mexico and moved to California with his family at the age of seven. His music combines traditional Mexican styles such as ranchera with Anglo pop music. Lira formed the musical group Alma in 1979.

East Los Angeles bands, such as the rock group Los Lobos, represent the cultural duality of music during the period. The group, formed in the early 1970s, initially drew inspiration from traditional Mexican music and was later inspired by blues and country music. The

The band Ozomatli burst onto the Los Angeles live music scene in 1998 with show-stopping gigs at venues such as the Dragonfly, Opium Den, and Viper Room. Since then, the band has won multiple Grammies, toured with Carlos Santana and collaborated with the Boston and New York Pops orchestras, and served as Cultural Ambassadors for the U.S. State Department. (*Photo courtesy Christian Lantry / Creative Commons*)

group sang both in Spanish and English, and blended a variety of musical styles into their work.[354] The San Diego band Los Alacranes, formed by Ramon "Chunky" Sanchez (2013 National Heritage Fellowship recipient) and Ricardo Sanchez, wrote songs about the community's social struggles and later incorporated Mexican folk music as well as Anglo music such as country into their work.[355]

The last decades of the twentieth century illustrated that Latino music remained a melding of cultures and styles. Groups such Ozomatli and Quetzal from Los Angeles blended Latino and indigenous cultural heritage taking the sounds of the previous generations a step further. The B-Side Players from San Diego blended cumbia, hip-hop, and Caribbean-infused jazz, representing Latino America, and incorporated Mexican jarrocho and Jamaican reggae. Rap and R&B became popular among the Latino community, though often as a fusion of styles and language. For example, rap groups like Akwid included both English and Spanish in their songs. Major record companies created Latino music divisions, reflecting the ever-increasing popularity of Latino music, driven by a growing Latino population.[356]

Theater and the Performing Arts

In contrast to the romanticized theater performances of the Mexican Players discussed earlier, Latinos in twentieth century California produced plays that reflected their experiences and their perspectives. The early twentieth century saw the popularity of Spanish-language theater grow as the Latino population of California, especially southern California, increased.

During the 1920s, a number of teatros (theaters) were constructed in Los Angeles to stage Spanish-language plays. One of the first was the Teatro Hidalgo, constructed in 1911, that featured plays, vaudeville shows, and revistas políticas, which offered a critique of contemporary politics through satire and humor. This was followed by the construction of the Teatro Principal in 1921. By the mid-1920s, there were five large theaters and numerous smaller theater venues in the city that staged Spanish-language plays. The height in popularity of Spanish-language theater in Los Angeles occurred between the 1910s and 1940s.[357] Many theaters initially hosted plays and later Spanish-language films. Other forms of live entertainment continued to supplement motion

Many theaters initially hosted plays and later Spanish-language films. Other forms of live entertainment continued to supplement motion pictures, including comedy acts, burlesques, and zarzuelas (Spanish musical comedies).

pictures including comedy acts, burlesques, and zarzuelas (Spanish musical comedies).[358] It was not only in larger cities that Spanish-language theaters sprang up. In Fresno in the Central Valley, which had a large Mexican population by the 1950s, the Teatro Azteca catered to the Latino population of the city as well as the surrounding rural areas.[359]

Fresno's Teatro Azteca, built in 1948, was one of a number of theaters in California towns and cities that provided Spanish-language films and live entertainment for local Latino populations. (*Photo courtesy Karana Hattersley-Drayton, City of Fresno*)

In contrast to the plays presented at the Padua Hills Theater for an Anglo audience, Latino theaters in the 1920s and afterward featured shows for a largely Latino audience. A number of the plays put on in Spanish-language theaters were written by Mexican playwrights, many of whom had immigrated to California during or after the Mexican Revolution. These plays, in contrast to the more idealized portrayals of the past, were written by Spanish speakers for Spanish speakers and featured a more realistic version of the Latino experience in the U.S. For example, works like "Los Efectos de la Crisis" (The Effects of the Crisis) by Don Catarino responded to the effects of the Great Depression and repatriation on the Latino community during the 1930s.

Like other art forms, theater reflected the increasing political awareness among Latinos during and after World War II. This awareness arose as Latino soldiers returning from World War II realized that the rights for which they had fought abroad were denied to them at home. This surge in political awareness culminated in the 1960s and 1970s with the Chicano movement. Out of the movement came an emphasis on traditional Latino culture as well as increasing vocalization about the racism and discrimination Latinos faced. The period saw the use of theater to highlight the issues of the movement, and numerous theaters and theater companies sprang up all over California.

One of the most influential theater companies from this period was El Teatro Campesino, a theater troupe formed in 1965 in Delano by Luís Valdez, Agustín Lira, and Felipe Cantu, all members of the United Farm Workers Union.[360] It presented *actos*, or improvised dramatic vignettes, about workers' lives and struggles. These were performed for other workers in the fields or union halls in Delano.[361] During the march from Delano to Sacramento in 1966, El Teatro traveled with the workers and performed along the way.

El Teatro Campesino became internationally known and inspired the creation of other Chicano theater companies around the country. College students around the state also formed Chicano theater companies, such as El Teatro de la Esperanza at University of California, Santa Barbara. Under the direction of Jorge Huerta, it was one of the longest-lived and most influential of the Chicano theater companies.[362] Like El Teatro Campesino, El Teatro de la Esperanza produced plays that depicted the injustices suffered by Mexicans and Mexican Americans.

El Teatro Campesino continued to be active in the Chicano movement throughout the latter half of the 1960s and into the 1970s. It produced a film dramatization of the defining

Chicano poem "I Am Joaquín" in 1967 and presented the influential "La Carpa de Los Raschuachis" that highlighted the Mexican immigrant experience in the U.S. and inspired other Chicano theater companies in the following years. El Teatro Campesino produced other plays broadcast via television, increasing the theater's audience. El Teatro Campesino continues to exist and Valdez went on to become an accomplished playwright, creating plays such as "Zoot Suit" in 1978. It was the first play written by a Latino to be performed on Broadway and was later made into a film.[363]

During the 1970s, Latino theater became accessible to a wider audience due to the construction of more theaters and the broadcasting of performances via television, including Los Angeles station KCET-TV. The 1970s and 1980s also saw the increasing presence of Latinas in theater as directors and performers. The all-woman troupe El Teatro Chicana was founded in San Diego in 1971. In 1978 the Royal Chicano Air Force Band, under the direction of Freddy Rodriguez, produce the first musical performance art drama entitled "Chicindo" featuring Los Angeles vocalist Gloria Rangel, which later aired on the local PBS station. In 1982, the production "Tongues of Fire" premiered in Oakland, featuring all women's poetry and drama.

El Teatro Campesino, San Juan Bautista. Created by members of the United Farm Workers Union in 1965 in Delano, California, El Teatro Campesino companies now exist throughout the state, focusing on performances depicting the Mexican immigrant experience in America. (*Photo courtesy Michael Patrick/Creative commons*)

In the years following the Chicano movement, Latino plays and playwrights became more common. The Latino Theater Company, founded in 1985 in Los Angeles, commissioned Latino playwrights for their work. It performed Valdez's play "Bandido" as well as work by Culture Clash.[364] The comedy group Culture Clash was formed in 1984 and became a leading Latino comedy group in the 1980s, 1990s, and beyond.

Literature

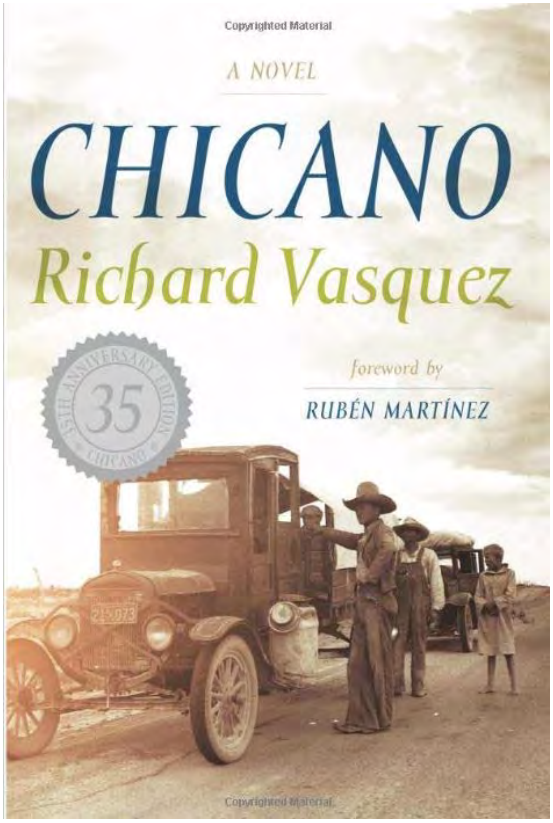
The publication of Latino literature from the beginning of the twentieth century promoted ethnic Latino pride in opposition to Anglo attempts at Americanization, a theme that reoccurred in Latino writings throughout the century. Another theme apparent in Latino literature over the twentieth century was the melding and sometimes clashing of Latino and Anglo cultures.[365]

From the nineteenth century, Spanish-language newspapers were the primary publishers of Latino literature, including local writers as well as those from around the world.[366] For much of the century, it was difficult for Latino writers to be published in the U.S., especially if they wrote in Spanish. Therefore many Mexican American writers were published almost exclusively in Spanish-language newspapers or magazines in America or Mexico.[367] Alternatively, Latino writers had to utilize English if they wanted to appeal to American publishing companies.[368]

Though they often had to publish in English, Latino writers frequently used themes and motifs found in Mexican literature such as folklore.[369] One of the most profound influences

on Latino literature in the U.S. during the first half of the twentieth century and later was the Mexican novel, namely those published during and directly after the revolution. The Mexican novel from this period became a template for the expression and critique of national issues through literature. Latino writers in the U.S. in the 1920s and 1930s used this model to highlight the problems faced by Mexicans and Mexican Americans.[370] Despite these outside influences, Latino writers were most directly influenced by their lives and experiences in America.[371] Their work also helped to create and then foster a sense of pride in being Latino in the face of the racism, discrimination, and Americanization efforts they often faced in their daily lives.

After mid-century, writers continued to use folkloric and supernatural elements to tie them to a common Latino literature, as these were themes understood by all Chicanos and used traditionally by the Mexican and Mexican American community.[372] By the late 1960s, Latino literature was beginning to reflect the revolutionary zeal of the Chicano movement.[373] The novel from the period of the Mexican Revolution continued to be influential as a means through which Latino writers could highlight issues they saw in their community.[374] Literature from this period recast the ideas of acculturation and assimilation as a negative and sometimes necessary relinquishment of Latino culture rather than a positive reaction to life in the U.S. The bestselling novel *Pocho*, written by Angelino José Antonio Villarreal and published in 1959, explored this idea. The central theme was that of navigating between two cultures—that of Mexican Americans and that of Anglo Americans. This theme was picked up by later Chicano writers in the 1960s and 1970s.[375]



Published in 1970, *Chicano* by Richard Vasquez was one of the first popular novels centered on the lives of Mexican Americans. The book became a bestseller and remains in print today. (*Photo courtesy amazon.com*)

Chicano literature from this period revealed a drive to document the Latino community as it existed; it also sought to create a sense of community and belonging.[376] One of the most prominent themes in Chicano literature was the idea of Aztlán as a place and idea around which Chicano community could solidify.[377] Aztlán was the legendary home of the Aztecs prior to their later home to the south at Tenochitlan in central Mexico; it was believed to have been located in the northwestern portion of Mexico. During the Chicano movement, Aztlán was redefined as the land taken over by the United States from Mexico after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848; some Chicanos wanted to reclaim this land for Mexico.

The poet Alurista (pen name for Alberto Baltazar Urista Heredia) was one of the first Latino poets to outline the concept of Aztlán. Born in Mexico, Alurista migrated to California as a teenager. He began publishing poetry during the Chicano movement. He was co-author of the "Plan de Santa Barbara" that established a format for Chicanos in higher education and MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán), a student group that promoted education and political awareness among Chicano youth. Alturista also helped establish the Centro Cultural de la Raza in San Diego and the

Department of Chicano Studies at San Diego State University where he taught.[378] His works include the collection *Floricanto en Aztlán*, a book of one hundred poems published in a mixture of English and Spanish as well as indigenous languages of Mexico. Published in 1971, the poems described life in the barrio and called on Chicanos to celebrate their heritage.

Another author who penned seminal works during the Chicano movement was Richard Vasquez, born in Los Angeles. His most well-known novel, *Chicano*, was published in 1970 and became a bestseller. It told the story of the Sandoval family, immigrants to the U.S., over the course of the twentieth century and was one of the first popular novels centered around the lives of Mexican Americans. The book was important for its portrayal of Mexican Americans and for highlighting the relationship between Latinos and Anglos in Los Angeles.

By the 1980s, an increasing emphasis on multiculturalism allowed Latino writers to reach a wider audience.[379] Latino writers in the last decades of the twentieth century were increasingly recognized for their work and accomplishments, as their work was taught more frequently in schools and colleges. In 2012, Governor Jerry Brown appointed Juan Felipe Herrera California Poet Laureate. Herrera is the author of numerous collections of poetry, prose, short stories, young adult novels, and picture books for children.

Painting and the Visual Arts

The artistic traditions of Latinos are as diverse and dynamic as the community itself. During the twentieth century the Latino presence in the visual arts increased as the number of immigrants, notably from Mexico, rose. Two of the most prominent Latino artists from the first part of the century were Manuel Valencia from San Francisco who became well-known for his landscape paintings of northern California, and Hernando Gonzallo Villa, from Los Angeles, who painted commercially for magazines as well as for the Southern Pacific Railroad and Santa Fe Railroad. Villa's work, "The Chief," became the emblem for the Santa Fe Railroad. He also created paintings that were exhibited in California, a mural that was exhibited at the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition in 1915, and the mural "The Pioneers" in the Citizens Trust and Savings Bank in Los Angeles in 1926.[380] Villa's artistic career extended to mid-century.

Again, the Spanish-language media played an important role in the promotion and dissemination of Latino art, as illustrators and caricaturists found employment with Spanish-language newspapers such as *La Opinión* in Los Angeles. During the 1920s and 1930s, Mexican immigrant artists used the walls of restaurants as their canvases, reflecting the tradition and motifs of murals painted on Mexican pulquerías, or pulque bars.[381] Early Latino murals in Los Angeles, eventually home to one of the largest concentrations of mural art in the country, were found on the interior and exterior walls of local businesses, and featured scenes that included depictions of daily life or Mexican film stars.[382]

Artists during the 1930s and 1940s attempted to express the Mexican American experience in the U.S. and engender pride in their Mexican heritage through their art. They were at times inspired by the mural art created in Mexico in the 1930s. The Latino art tradition of the period was influenced by well-known Mexican artists like Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros, who "saw the mural as a traditional Mexican art form and vehicle for the dissemination of a positive Mexican image."[383]

Siqueiros traveled to Los Angeles in 1932. During his stay, he was commissioned to paint two murals. Both of the murals he created were highly controversial, especially the second, entitled "América Tropical."[384] While the patron, who was the director of the Plaza Art Center on Olvera Street, envisioned the mural as an idealized history of the Americas and

its indigenous cultures, the mural Siqueiros painted was very different. It depicted a Native American crucified on a cross, above which sat an eagle as a symbol of both the United States' and Mexico's treatment of indigenous peoples, and two figures armed for resistance—an Andean Native American and a Mexican.[385] The mural was immediately controversial and was whitewashed soon after unveiling.[386] In the early 1990s, the Getty Conservation Institute and the City of Los Angeles conceived a project to conserve, protect, and make publicly accessible "América Tropical." The coordination, design, and implementation of the project lasted over twenty years, and in October 2012, on the eightieth anniversary of its original unveiling, the mural was opened to the public.

Another painter from this period in California history was Alfredo Ramos Martínez, a Mexican artist who moved to Los Angeles in 1929. Martínez was already an established artist by the time he moved to Los Angeles. His work included both paintings and murals, exhibited in Paris, London, and his native Mexico in the first decades of the twentieth century. In California, his work was widely popular. It was exhibited at the Assistance League Art Gallery in Los Angeles in 1930, the Fine Arts Gallery in San Diego in 1932, and the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco in 1933. His works became highly favored by Hollywood movie stars in the 1930s. Martínez also painted five public murals in the state, including at the Chapel of the Cemetery of Santa Barbara, the Chapman Park Hotel in Los Angeles (no longer extant), the La Avenida Café in Coronado, and the frescoes at the Margaret Fowler Garden at Scripps College in Claremont.[387]

Jose Moya del Pino was a contemporary of Martinez. Born in Spain in 1891, Moya del Pino studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid. In 1925, he and two other artists were appointed by the King of Spain to exhibit paintings at exhibitions around the U.S., including Moya del Pino's reproductions of paintings by seventeenth century Spanish painter Diego Velasquez. With the onset of the Great Depression, funding for the exhibition tour disappeared, and Moya del Pino turned to portraiture to support himself. In the mid-1930s, he was asked to paint a mural in San Francisco's Coit Tower entitled "San Francisco Bay, North." He went on to paint other WPA murals in buildings around the state, including the Lancaster and Redwood City post offices and the Stockton Federal Building.[388] Other works include a historical themed mural in the Aztec Brewery in San Diego. Before the building was demolished the murals were saved and are under the protection of the City of San Diego, which is storing them and hopes to install the murals in another space.[389] Moya del Pino founded the Marin Art and Garden Center in Ross, California and was an instructor at the California School of Fine Arts.

The World War II and postwar period saw a shift in the consciousness of Latinos as a community, and this was reflected in the visual arts, as it was in other types of art. It was during this period that artists attempted to blend their dual and sometimes competing experiences of being Mexican and living in the U.S. This generation of Latino artists was the first to be recognized by the mainstream arts community and included in mainstream galleries and art shows.[390] The artists of the World War II and postwar period inspired and mentored the later artists of the Chicano movement.

The World War II and post war periods saw a shift in the consciousness of Latinos as a community … It was during this period that artists attempted to blend their dual and sometimes competing experiences of being Mexican and living in the U.S.

Artists working during the postwar period included Alberto Valdés and Domingo Ulloa. Valdés was born in Texas and raised in East Los Angeles. He became a commercial artist and illustrator. His work was influenced by the work of the Modernists such as Paul Gauguin

and Pablo Picasso and also included a wide range of styles. Ulloa was active during the 1940s through the 1960s. His work emphasized realism and depicted the lives of Latinos in paintings that included "Painteres on Strike" (1948) and "Braceros" (1960). In the 1990s, Ulloa was honored as the "Father of Chicano Art" for his contributions to California art during the postwar period.[391]

Domingo Ulloa's "Braceros" reflects the shift toward realism in Latino art of the post war decades. Ulloa was honored in the 1990s as the "Father of Chicano Art" for his contributions to California art in the post war period. (*Photo courtesy the Autry National Center of the American West*)

By the late 1960s, the Chicano movement inspired art that sought to express new ideas. Art during this period aimed to make Latinos the creators of their own image rather than having an external image imposed upon them.[392] Art included political cartoons and satirical illustrations published in Chicano newspapers such as El Malcriado, published for and read by farm workers; posters, that "were seen as accessible and expedient sources of visual information and propaganda" and utilized political symbols from the Mexican Revolution; and murals.[393]

Many artists of the Chicano movement were inspired by the earlier work of Jose Guadalupe Posada, an important Mexican printmaker from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Posada's illustrations were often political and satirical in nature. His work frequently featured costumed skeletons, or *calacas*, that became iconic figures in both Chicano art and as representations of the Mexican holiday Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead).

Muralism was one of the most widely known visual art forms that arose out of the Chicano movement. It was partially a result of the desire to create "a true people's art" that was widely "public, monumental and accessible to the common people," and initially drew its inspiration from La Causa, or the farm workers' struggle.[394] Murals were a vehicle for reclaiming Latino history and for telling a side of the story of Chicano life and politics that the mainstream media did not cover.[395] They became a way for Chicanos to assert themselves politically; they "reflected a growing political consciousness and identity" and aimed to both convey information and elicit emotion.[396] Two of the most widely cited collections of murals from the period are located in the Estrada Courts apartment complex in the Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles and in Chicano Park in the Logan Heights district of San Diego.

California is widely recognized as the most active site of Chicano muralism during the height of the civil rights era. Los Angeles was one of the epicenters of muralism in California, and it was not the only city in which Chicanos utilized murals as a major art form. During the 1970s, Sacramento, the cities of the Bay Area (San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, and San Jose), and San Diego developed art movements of their own that often mirrored the movement in Los Angeles and also reacted "geographically, politically and intellectually to their respective communities."[397] Cultural centers such as Galería de la Raza in San Francisco and artists groups like Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF) in Sacramento formed to cultivate Chicano art and share it with a wider audience.

Royal Chicano Air Force mural in Southside Park, Sacramento. Founded in Sacramento in 1969, the Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF) art collective has represented and supported Chicano life and activism through mural and poster art, and community service. RCAF art was the first Chicano art show hosted by a major museum–the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, in 1974. (*Photo courtesy Catherine O'Brien, photographer, Southside Park: Forty-Six City Blocks of Surprise*)

The RCAF was founded by Jose Montoya and Esteban Villa and included Ricardo Favela, Armando Cid, Juanishi Orosco, Rudy Cuellar, Louie "the foot" Gonzalez, Max Garcia, Celia Rodriguez, Eva Garcia, and Loraine Garcia. Self Help Graphics, founded in East Los Angeles by Sister Karen Boccalero and others, provided art workshops and a mobile art studio for the neighborhood.[398] The Mechicano Art Center in East Los Angeles became a meeting place for local Chicano artists.[399] Los Four, one of the artist collectives to emerge during the mid-1970s, included artists who met and painted at the Mechicano Art Center. Los Four included muralists Carlos Almaraz, Gilbert Sánchez Luján, Roberto de la Rocha, and Frank Romero. Judithe Hernández and John Valadez joined the collective later. The group produced murals both as a collective and as individuals. In 1974, their work was exhibited at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the first Chicano art show hosted by a large, mainstream museum.[400]As in other aspects of the Chicano movement, students were active in the cultivation of the visual arts. Students at schools such as University of California, Berkeley; University of California, San Diego; and San Diego State University formed artist collectives of their own.[401]

As the Chicano movement progressed, women artists became more involved. Although initially a male-dominated art form, women were soon well represented in muralism. Groups such as Las Mujeres Muralistas in San Francisco and individuals like Judith Baca in Los Angeles and Ester Hernández in San Francisco gained visibility as accomplished artists.[402] Baca continues to be an influential artist. Her work includes the "Great Wall of Los Angeles," a half-mile long mural on the multi-cultural history of California. Her public works of art utilize community members, encouraging community participation and giving residents a say in the art that surrounds them. Hernández works primarily in pastels and printmaking. Her art highlighted the daily lives and issues faced by Latinos, including civil rights and women's issues.[403]

By the 1980s, far from being a divergent art form, Chicano art was receiving institutional support. Chicano artists began having their art exhibited in galleries, and the once-radical and anti-establishment muralist movement became more and more institutionalized. The coming of the Los Angeles bicentennial in 1981 and the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984 brought about increased

By the 1980s, far from being a divergent art form, Chicano art was receiving institutional support. Chicano artists began having their art exhibited in galleries, and the once-radical and anti-establishment muralist movement became more and more institutionalized.

recognition and support for the muralist movement.[404] The city commissioned artist Barbara Carrasco (among others) to commemorate the bicentennial via mural art. She created the work "L.A. History: A Mexican Perspective" that proved to be controversial. The portable mural was created with the assistance of young people from the community and depicted the city's history from the perspective of Latinos and other minority groups. It "highlighted the abuse and injustices that these various groups suffered in the course of the city's history."[405] The mural was rejected by the city and never shown during the city's bicentennial celebration, though it was shown in other venues.[406] In 1984, the city commissioned various artists to paint ten murals to commemorate the Summer Olympics. Artists, including Judith Baca, Frank Romero, and Willie Herrón, painted the murals along the 101 Freeway. The murals were covered by the California Department of Transportation in 2007. The Mural Conservancy of Los Angeles began restoration in 2013.

Cultural centers, such as the Galería de la Raza in San Francisco, were created to cultivate and support Chicano art and share it with a wider audience. (*Photo courtesy* SF *Heritage*)

Making a Living

Latinos in Labor History

Throughout California's history, Latinos have comprised the backbone of the state's workforce. They performed the hard labor that allowed critical sectors of the state's economy to grow - agriculture, industry by mid-century, and service and manufacturing work in the recent era of economic restructuring. Latinos worked disproportionately in lower-paid, low-skilled occupations due to a mix of forces, including discrimination, employer and union practices, immigration pressures, and government policy. Perhaps for more than any other ethnic or racial group, Latino labor patterns were shaped by government policy, which alternately worked to expand and contract their numbers to meet the needs of American employers. Latino workers had a mixed relationship with organized labor that evolved quite dramatically over the century. Early relations were antagonistic, as Anglo laborers and unions resented Mexicans for serving as strikebreakers and accepting low wages. Mexican workers thus found themselves confronting both exploitative employers and hostile co-workers. They battled both fronts, waging strikes of their own, fighting for union inclusion, and eventually working their way into the vanguard of the American labor movement by the late twentieth century. By the 1930s, Latino campaigns for labor justice became integrally entwined with civil rights demands, and this linkage remained strong for the rest of the century.

1900-1920s: Era of Labor Subjugation

By the opening of the twentieth century, California's economy was diverse and highly productive, encompassing urban and rural worlds. It was led by agriculture, mining, and manufacturing, all expanding with the development of water resources, railroads, and California's advantageous position on the Pacific Rim, which opened up new markets. In agriculture and mining, California pioneered the formation of large scale, mechanized operations dependent on armies of wage laborers, foreshadowing such practices nationally. The consolidation was especially dramatic in agriculture, where corporations like the Southern Pacific Railroad owned huge fruit and vegetable farms. The profits from these enterprises circled back to the cities, fueling industrial development especially in San Francisco and Los Angeles. This economic triad drove intense demands for laborers, helping expand the state's working class and economy more generally.[407]

Mexicans quickly become a critical source of this labor. By 1900, a complex web of forces—both internal and geopolitical—led to the emergence of Mexicans as a low-paid, working class population, marking a dramatic decline in their ethnic group status from the nineteenth century. After the U.S. gained control of California in 1848, many Mexicans lost land, status, and power.[408] Previous avenues of social and occupational mobility for Mexicans were closed off, as Anglos gained control of the land and political system. By the 1880s, Anglos owned larger and larger land holdings, and engaged in large-scale commercial agriculture, mining, and industry, which all required armies of low-paid workers. At this same moment, they faced a veritable labor crisis. While Asians and Native Americans worked the fields and mines in the nineteenth century, this labor source dried up with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, anti-Japanese policies, and the relentless demographic demise and marginalization of Native Americans.[409] To fill the void, employers turned to Mexicans who had begun migrating north in greater numbers, a result of both aggressive recruiting efforts by American employers as well as an intertwined set of push-pull factors. One critical push factor was worsening economic conditions in Mexico during the Porfirio Díaz regime, when five million Mexicans were dispossessed from the land that once produced their subsistence, forcing many into poverty. The number of Mexicans

moving to the U.S. tripled during the Díaz regime, two-thirds of them single men seeking work who intended to return to Mexico. This out-migration intensified after the 1910 Mexican Revolution.[410]

A number of historians emphasize the new ways that Anglos "racialized" Mexicans in this period, defining them as an inferior race as a means of justifying their social and economic subjugation. Historian Tomás Almaguer shows that while Mexicans occupied a middling position on the Anglo-defined racial hierarchy in the nineteenth century, the influx of "thousands of Mexican peasants to California after 1900 … led to a metaphorical 'darkening' of the Mexican image in the white mind."[411] This process, in turn, justified the creation of a dual labor market in which Mexican workers were paid less and relegated to inferior jobs because of their perceived ethnic inferiority.[412] This disadvantaged bottom sector suffered "low wages, harsh work conditions, supervision that was intense or arbitrary or both, little opportunity for advancement, and insecurity of employment."[413]

By 1900 Mexicans workers in the U.S. had become "structurally integrated at the bottom end of the emerging labor market."[414] Regardless of their occupational background in Mexico, most Mexican immigrants ended up as unskilled or semi-skilled manual labors in California. This was true for those who migrated from 1900 to 1915 (including both professionals and rural workers) and in the 1920s (primarily working class).[415] This general employment pattern applied to Mexicans Americans as well. Data from urban areas in this period bears this out (Table VII).[416]

TABLE VII: OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF ETHNIC MEXICANS IN MAJOR CITIES IN CALIFORNIA, 1900-1930 (shown as percentage)

	San Diego			San Bernardino			Santa Barbara			Los Angeles*	
Occupation	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920
High White-Collar											
professional	2	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
proprietorial	3	5	3	3	2	2	5	3	3	5	5
Low White-Collar											
sales, clerical, semi-prof	7	4	5	4	2	4	4	6	6	--	--
High Blue-Collar											
skilled	8	6	10	7	6	4	12	9	9	11	12
Low Blue-Collar											
semiskilled	22	10	14	11	10	4	16	17	13	7	6
unskilled	51	58	54	68	64	77	49	51	56	72	73
Not Listed	7	14	12	6	15	8	13	12	13	3	3
TOTAL	100	99	100	100	100	99	100	99	100	99	100
Number in Sample	301	380	1,045	268	261	570	419	545	973	1,826	5,232

* Data unavailable for 1930 Los Angeles.

Source: Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 218.

By the start of the twentieth century, large-scale agricultural production in California required an equally large corps of laborers. Mexicans became a critical source of this labor, setting in place a framework of wage and labor relations that would grow more complex as the century advanced. (*Photo courtesy United Farmworkers Collection, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University*)

Distinct employer practices also characterized the work experience for many Mexicans. As Carey McWilliams, writing in the late 1940s, described it: "With few exceptions, only a *particular class* of employers has employed Mexican labor in the Southwest: large-scale industrial enterprises; railroads; smelters; copper mines; sugar beet refineries; farm-factories; large fruit and vegetable exchanges. These concerns have employed *many* Mexicans, in gangs, crews, and by families as in the sugar beet industry. It is not the individual who has been employed but the group… The universality of this pattern was clearly established in a study made in California in 1930." The use of labor recruiters and the contract system reinforced this pattern.[417]

These practices were especially apparent in agriculture, a key job sector for Mexicans. By 1920, Mexicans were the largest ethnic group among farm workers in California, enabling the spectacular growth of agribusiness in the state.[418] One Imperial Valley grower summarized the attraction to Mexican labor: "Large-scale production would be impossible without the Mexican field labor. Without the Mexicans, costs would be increased fifty percent."[419] Large growers colluded by organizing regionally into private labor bureaus, which eliminated competition for workers and set wages at extremely low levels.[420] As such, farm work tended to draw in the most recent immigrants.[421] They worked a variety of crops, including citrus, walnut, sugar beet, melon, cotton, pea, peach, tomato, asparagus, and lima beans, often under harsh, quasi-industrial conditions, leading Carey McWilliams to dub the California system "factories in the field." Farm work was low paid, seasonal, migratory, based on the contract system, and often pulled in entire families—men, women, and children—to help them make ends meet.[422] In the walnut groves of Goleta, for example, children were taken out of school to help with the harvest; their labor was critical to a family's earning. This practice was supported by local school boards and the courts. Mexican farm workers—both permanent and seasonal—settled in rural towns like El Centro, Fresno, and Salinas.[423]

The migratory, seasonal nature of farm work led to an overlapping experience of rural and urban work for many Mexicans. They traveled back and forth from farm to city and back again, following the jobs. As one historian writes, this pattern "turned Los Angeles into the winter homes of the seasonally unemployed Mexican agricultural workers from all over the state." In Los Angeles in the 1910s and 1920s, that connection was even tighter, as many farm workers lived in the city and commuted by Red Car out to the fields. Los Angeles remained the most productive

The migratory, seasonal nature of farm work led to an overlapping experience of rural and urban work for many Mexicans. They traveled back and forth from farm to city, following the jobs.

agricultural county in the state well into the 1930s.[424] For many Mexicans, the goal was to move out of farm work and into more stable urban jobs.[425]

In and around the cities, Mexicans held jobs in manufacturing (food processing, textile, auto, steel, and utilities), construction, transportation (railroads), communication, and domestic and personal service. In the major cities of southern California, Mexicans were concentrated in blue-collar jobs, mostly unskilled (Table VII). In Los Angeles, the profile skewed upward among those Mexicans who filed naturalization papers (25 percent in white-collar jobs, and only 29 percent in unskilled jobs).[426] Mexicans worked as brick makers, construction day laborers, and in the factories, slaughter houses, the garment industry, and food processing plants.[427] On the railroads, Mexicans gradually replaced other immigrant workers to compose 70 to 90 percent of the labor force, relegated to low-status jobs. In San Bernardino, the railroads were a chief source of jobs for Mexicans, while in Los Angeles, Mexicans worked on the interurban railway systems.[428] In Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, San Jose, and San Diego, Mexicans often settled in barrios near their jobs in the canneries, small factories, or railroad freight yards.[429]

The Simons Brick Company offers a glimpse into the work life of Mexicans in this era. Simons had three brickyards in Los Angeles—downtown, Pasadena, and Montebello. The Montebello operation was built as a small company town in 1907, complete with cheap housing for workers and their families. The work was grueling and shifts long, typically 9 to 12 hours. Clay was dug, mixed with water, then molded into bricks and dried. The bricks were then fired in kilns, loaded, and transported. Carlos Almanzán recalled, "They paid me $4.00 for working eight hours, but what eight hours! I was left almost dead, especially the first day." He eventually returned to Mexico, claiming, "I don't believe that I will ever return to this country… it is here where I have worked the hardest and earned the least."[430]

The seasonal nature of farm labor meant that many Mexican workers moved between both rural and urban forms of employment. The Simons Brick Company had three brickyards in Southern California in the early part of the twentieth century, and employed hundreds of Mexican workers. (*Photo courtesy Dan Mosier, California Bricks*)

Mexican women also joined the workforce to help keep their families financially afloat. They labored in four main areas: (1) domestic service (as maids, hotel laundresses and cooks); (2) cannery and packinghouses (as fish canners, fruit packers, and in food processing plants); (3) textile industry (as factory operatives and seamstresses); (4) agriculture (as harvesters and pickers). A substantial proportion of women also found work as clerks and salespeople; the percentage of Mexican women in such positions rose from roughly 20 to 30 percent in San Diego and Santa Barbara, from 1910 to 1930.[431] While

comprehensive statistics are hard to come by, one data sample found that 40 percent of married Mexican immigrant women in Los Angeles worked for wages, much higher than married Anglos (6.3 percent), other immigrant groups (7.2 percent), and African Americans (32.5 percent). For second generation Mexican wives, the number dropped to approximately 20 percent, suggesting a reassertion of traditional gender roles among this group.[432]

Mexican American women also went to work to help support their families. Women most often worked in domestic service, agriculture, or factory work, such as these Latina workers at the Southern California Fish Corporation, 1947. (*Photo courtesy Shades of L.A., Los Angeles Public Library*)

Mexicans were severely underrepresented in white-collar positions compared to the general population, reflecting the lack of upward job mobility for Mexicans. A miniscule one to two percent of Mexicans held professional positions from 1910 to 1930 in the major cities of southern California (Table VII). Slightly more were business proprietors, working mostly within the expanding retail economy of the barrio. These doctors, dentists, attorneys, and businessmen tended to bring their skills and capital resources with them from Mexico; their success was not a product of upward mobility in America. Low-level, white-collar workers comprised from two to seven percent of the workforce over these years, a disproportionate number held by women working as secretaries and sales clerks, and in Los Angeles by musicians. While this elite class of white-collar employees enjoyed occupational success, they could not express it in their choice of residence. Most continued to live in working class communities shared with their ethnic compatriots.[433]

Mexican workers had few avenues for improving their job conditions, hampered by their precarious status as immigrants and ethnic minorities and by hostile American labor unions. Most workers avoided labor militancy for fear of being fired, arrested, abused by police or deported. The antagonism of the established labor movement didn't help. The most powerful union from 1900 to 1936 was the American Federation of Labor (AFL), an alliance of white, skilled craft unions generally hostile to non-whites and unskilled workers. Believing Mexican workers drove down wages and competed for white jobs, they lobbied to restrict Mexican immigration in this period. When they did admit non-whites, they relegated them to segregated secondary unions. By contrast, the more radical International Workers of the World (IWW) welcomed in immigrants, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. They were involved in several labor actions involving Mexicans in early twentieth century California, though the group collapsed by 1920.[434]

Despite the obstacles, some Mexican workers braved the risks and organized independently to improve their conditions. Some drew on their roots in progressive, pro-labor organizations in Mexico, especially the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM) and Socialist Party. They waged several significant strikes in this period. In the fields, Mexican farm workers joined other ethnic groups to strike at Fresno in 1901 and 1902, in the San Francisco area in 1902, and in Redlands in 1903. The most important early action was the 1903 strike in Oxnard of Mexican and Japanese sugar beet workers (the Japanese-Mexican Labor Union), who demanded an end to the monopoly contract system. Involving between

several hundred to 1,000 workers, the month-long strike ended in victory for the union. When the union applied to the AFL for a charter, AFL president Samuel Gompers demanded they exclude Asians—which the Mexican workers refused to do. While this action initiated a long-lived history of farm worker protest, it was one of very few union victories in this period. Another significant action was the 1913 strike at the Durst hop ranch, near Wheatland. Aided by IWW organizers, workers made modest demands—including fresh water, better sanitation, and $1.25 for 100 pounds picked—to improve their appalling working conditions. After a short, violent confrontation that left four dead, the strikers lost and the IWW suffered a severe crackdown by state authorities. Despite the defeat, the strike led to the formation of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing.[435] From 1917 to 1919, Mexican farm workers struck in Turlock, Riverside, the citrus belt towns in eastern Los Angeles County, and more followed in the 1920s, most significantly the 1928 cantaloupe strike by La Unión de Trabajadores del Valle Imperial. Most of these strikes were unsuccessful, as growers increasingly harnessed State power to defend their position and workers remained without mainstream union assistance.[436]

Japanese and Mexican sugar beet workers formed the Japanese Mexican Labor Association in Oxnard, California, and in 1903 waged a successful strike to end the monopoly contract system. The union and its strike were an important demonstration of unity among diverse farm workers and launched a history of worker activism. (*Photo accessed from ufcw324.org; original source unknown*)

Mexican workers in the cities also organized independent unions. In February 1903, about 500 Mexican track workers in Los Angeles struck against the Pacific Electric Railway, demanding a wage increase. The company fired 68 workers, ending the strike. Two months later they regrouped and 1,400 workers went on strike—again ultimately failing. In 1910, they struck again for higher wages, and lost again. That same year, Mexican gas workers walked out with the same demand, and won the wage increase and company promises to hire union workers. More strikes followed: cement workers in Colton (April 1917), railway workers in Los Angeles (August 1919), and dockworkers in San Pedro (1923-1925), among others. Although most of these strikes were unsuccessful, they displayed the determination of Mexican workers to improve their conditions, usually without the help of mainstream labor unions and often in tandem with other excluded ethno-racial groups and the IWW.[437] These actions grew riskier in the nativist climate of 1920s America, when anti-immigrant sentiments ran high.

This period also saw the formation of several community-based organizations focused on improving the lot of Mexican workers. In 1911, the Unión de Jornaleros Unidos No. 13097 was founded in Los Angeles, one of the earliest stable community-based unions. Juan Ramírez, an organizer with the California State Federation of Labor, is credited with its founding. They met Sunday mornings at the Temple del Trabajo, inviting in all working Mexicans.[438] While the organization was short-lived, it did provide a critical hub for labor organizers, and many continued their efforts into the 1920s and 1930s. In 1927, representatives from Mexican civic, mutualista, and cultural groups met in Los Angeles to discuss the needs of Mexican workers, many of whom were "deprived of food, cooperation, and mutual help." In December, they consolidated 20 workers' groups into El

Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (CUOM). This group was politically moderate, influenced by Los Angeles' Mexican consulate Alfonso Pesquieria, who sought to offer an alternative to radical unionism. It fought for equal pay, an end to racial job discrimination, and limiting immigration. CUOM also embraced total cultural autonomy for Mexicans, and set forth an ambitious civil rights agenda.[439] Despite their modest progress, these efforts set the stage for more assertive Mexican unionism in the 1930s.

1930s: Tempered Progress in an Era of Despair

California was hit hard by the Great Depression. Factories closed, unemployment plagued cities and farmlands, and poverty mounted. By 1932, joblessness reached about 30 percent in the state.[440] The agriculture sector declined quickly as growers reacted to falling prices by curtailing plantings. The downturn hit Mexicans particularly hard, given their weak position in the labor market. Some Mexicans sought jobs in other states to find only poverty wages. Others voluntarily returned to Mexico. Still others moved to the cities to seek public relief and were rebuffed by hostile officials and citizens jealously guarding already strained resources. Conditions worsened as more jobless people flooded the state.[441] This pressurized state of affairs had a dual effect on Mexican workers—it resulted in negative public policies and heightened their resolve to claim their rights as workers.

Although the Great Depression was a world-wide economic calamity, Mexicans soon became a scapegoat for local hardship. In 1930, President Herbert Hoover blamed Mexicans as a cause of the downturn, claiming they "took jobs away from American citizens." Desperate Anglo workers increasingly saw Mexicans as competition, and pressured employers to hire citizens for jobs normally taken by Mexicans.[442] These views soon shaped public policies that affected the lives of Mexican workers.

Public policy during the 1930s was overwhelmingly negative toward Mexicans, and also contained the seeds that empowered Mexican workers to launch a significant new drive in the struggle for worker justice. At the federal level, the New Deal powerfully embodied these ambiguities. The New Deal provided inspiration to workers in theory, and actual policies excluded many Mexicans from benefits accruing to other workers. For example, the key New Deal measures that strengthened organized labor—including the National Industrial Recovery Act (1933), the National Labor Relations Act (1935), and the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938)—excluded farm and domestic workers from their provisions. While these policies benefited many urban workers, these exclusions allowed the deplorable conditions in key job sectors for Mexicans, especially agriculture, to continue and even worsen. Historian Zaragosa Vargas concludes that on balance, the government in the 1930s "hindered more than helped the struggle of Mexicans for rights, dignity, and equality."[443]

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State level policy was more directly anti-Mexican. In 1931, California lawmakers passed the Alien Labor Act, which made it illegal for companies on government contracts to employ "aliens." The measure "displaced many Mexican workers from construction sites, highways, schools, government office buildings, and other public works projects."[444] This trend culminated in the repatriation programs of the 1930s, where local, state, federal, and Mexican officials worked cooperatively to deport Mexicans out of the U.S.[445] Occupationally, early repatriates tended to be single male white-collar workers (office and sales clerks); those leaving after 1931 tended to be low-paid, blue-collar workers. George Sanchez notes

that the early exodus of white-collar workers had the effect of homogenizing the "profile of Mexicans as a low blue-collar work force" among those who stayed.[446]

Work deteriorated for most Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the 1930s. In the fields, wages fell from $0.35/hour in 1928 to $0.14/hour in 1933, as farm prices dropped. Growers could no longer employ urban workers looking to supplement their incomes, forcing more Mexicans to stay in the cities, where job conditions were also worsening. In April 1930, 14 percent of Mexicans in Los Angeles were jobless, twice as high as other ethnic groups, and the rate rose to 20 percent by year's end as Mexicans were increasingly replaced by Anglos on what scarce jobs were available. In February 1931, La Opinión reported this trend in laundries, factories, retail stores, and construction. When men were laid off, women often picked up the slack, taking low-paid jobs in garment and food processing plants.[447]

Urban workers, like farm laborers, actively organized in the 1930s. Mexican women dressmakers initiated formation of a Los Angeles branch of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. (*Photo accessed from laeastside.com; original source unknown*)

Poor conditions in the fields were exacerbated as jobless Anglos, Mexicans, Filipinos, and Japanese competed for jobs in the depressed agriculture market. This growing labor surplus led to further wage cuts and worsening conditions. Journalist James Rorty described work in the Imperial Valley in 1935, where Mexicans comprised the vast majority of "stoop labor," picking lettuce, cantaloupe, and peas. In 1932 wages had dropped to $0.10/hour, and there was a 3-to-1 surplus of workers seeking jobs. He wrote, "during the peak of lettuce harvest men and in some cases women… are worked under the frantic speed-up of the split-bench system from four in the morning until ten at night."[448]

These pressured conditions set the stage for a historically significant turn in the history of Mexican labor activism. Historians recognize the 1930s as a crucial moment in the history of the American labor movement broadly and Mexican labor organizing specifically. Scholars have connected the two, underscoring the significance of Mexican labor activism to the national movement. Historian Zaragosa Vargas, for example, notes the catalytic role that Mexican farm workers in California played in setting off a huge wave of strikes nationally.[449] A confluence of forces triggered this upsurge in Mexican worker assertiveness—the New Deal's pro-labor policies, however limited, that inspired workers to act; the rise of the racially inclusive Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO); and the tilt toward second generation dominance in the Mexican community in 1930s and 1940s in the wake of repatriation. These trends worked to embolden their demands for full rights as workers. This activism was also notable for the large-scale participation of women, the involvement of communists in the fields and cities, the inclusion of Mexican workers in CIO unions, and the increasingly radical, if frustrated, organization of farm workers. Historian Juan Gómez-Quiñones reminds us that while an "overwhelming majority" of Mexicans refrained from participating in unions, the gains made by those who did affected the lives of many workers.[450]

There are numerous books about Mexican labor activism in the 1930s that document these events in great detail.[451] Every labor action cannot be covered here; instead, certain key

events are highlighted. What stands out boldly in this history is the tremendous surge of strikes during the decade, in the face of fearsome obstacles. Mexican farm workers led the way, initiating some of the most important early strikes over low wages, long hours, and deplorable working conditions. They mostly acted without the help of mainstream unions. Communists aided these efforts, particularly via the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) established in 1930. The first push occurred among lettuce workers in the Imperial Valley in 1930, led by the Asociación del Valle Imperial (a mutual aid society) and TUUL. In 1931, the TUUL formed the Cannery and Agricultural Worker's Industrial Union (CAWIU) that spearheaded a militant farm-union strategy for the next four years. They organized strikes by Santa Clara County cannery workers in 1931, pea pickers at Half Moon Bay in 1932, and orchard pruners in Solano County in 1932. A huge strike wave followed in 1933, involving pea pickers in the Santa Clara Valley, berry pickers in El Monte, and cotton workers in the San Joaquin Valley. In 1933 alone, there were at least 37 strikes involving 47,575 workers. In 21 of these strikes, workers won partial wage increases. More strikes followed in 1934 and 1935, in the Imperial Valley, Sacramento, and Contra Costa Counties.[452]

The San Joaquin Valley cotton strike of 1933 involved thousands of farm workers—Mexican, Anglo, and African American—and was a powerful demonstration of the workers' growing resolve to organize and fight for their rights. (*Photo courtesy The Bancroft Library*, UC *Berkeley*, BANC PIC 1945.007.6)

Two strikes in 1933 were particularly significant: the El Monte berry picker strike, and the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike. In El Monte, workers struck for higher wages against Japanese small growers in the area known as Hicks Camp. The strike eventually spread to other farms in Los Angeles and Orange counties, involving 7,000 workers. What began as a limited walkout, notes George Sanchez, "quickly became an international incident," involving the consulates of Mexico and Japan and talk of transnational boycotts. Despite its ambiguous outcome, the strike was remembered as an "epochal moment" among participants, and spurred the formation of El Confederación de Uniones de Campesinos Obreros Mexicanos (CUCOM), which grew out of this experience.[453] Meanwhile, the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike of October 1933 marked "a high point of California worker militancy and grower violence." It was led by an interracial group of Mexicans, Anglos, and African Americans, who organized over 15 unions in Kern, Kings, Tulare, Fresno, Madera, and Merced counties, their efforts supported by the AFL. By October 10, the strike drew in 12,000 to 18,000 workers who formed a picket line that stretched over 100 miles through three counties. In Pixley and Arvin, the growers fired into the crowds, killing three and wounding 35 strikers. In the face of police suppression and worker evictions, the strike largely ended in defeat.[454] The strike reflected both the mounting resolve of Mexican workers to demand their rights, and the intensified resistance of growers.

Farm workers faced persistent difficulties in organizing, including the perennial dispersal of migrant workers, which impeded efforts to establish lasting unions and the backlash by growers who redoubled their defenses after 1933. Growers formed the Associated Farmers to consolidate their power and increasingly harnessed police power and red baited to

quell strikes. By 1935, the CAWIU was forced to disband when its leaders were arrested on criminal syndicalism charges. CUCOM took over leadership, spearheading more strikes then establishing new groups like the Federation of Agricultural Workers Unions of America (FAWUA) organized in Los Angeles in 1936, which launched more actions. Strikers continued to face red-baiting, police hostility, the use of scabs, and violence.[455] Moreover, the exclusion of farm workers from NLRA protections enabled growers to use anti-union tactics banned in other industries.[456]

By 1937, the foundation laid by these worker actions began to intertwine with the mainstream labor movement, now splintering between the AFL and newly formed CIO. The AFL began more actively granting union charters to farm workers. In turn, the CIO welcomed Mexican workers as leaders and members, recognizing their indispensability to the unionization of the region.[457] Mexican workers were frequently caught in jurisdictional struggles between the AFL and CIO, and generally gravitated toward CIO unions because of their racial inclusivity and commitment to civil rights.[458] Women emerged as union leaders during this process, owing partly to their concentration in job sectors—especially the garment and food processing industry—protected by New Deal programs.[459]

An important CIO affiliate was the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA), active especially in southern California from 1937-1940. It focused mainly on cannery and food processing workers, after it encountered difficulties in organizing farm workers.[460] At the Cal Sans plant in Los Angeles in July 1939, the UCAPAWA formed Local 75, led by left-wing activist Dorothy Ray Healey, who emphasized a dual commitment to labor and civil rights. Mexican women cannery workers joined the union then went on strike demanding better wages, union recognition, and the dismissal of abusive supervisors. When Cal Sans management refused to negotiate, the workers organized a 24-hour picket by children in front of the homes of owners George and Joseph Shapiro. These actions, along with strong community support, helped bring a union victory. Luisa Moreno took charge of Local 75 in late 1940, and rose to become the nation's leading Latina labor organizer.[461]

Luisa Moreno was the nation's leading Latina labor organizer in the 1930s to 1950s, and an early leader in recognizing that the struggles for workers' rights and civil rights must go hand in hand. (*Photo courtesy* Mario T. Garcia, PhD)

Mexican and Mexican American labor activism intensified in urban job sectors as well. Mexican and Mexican American workers in the steel, drug, furniture, rubber, and garment industries both led and supported unionization efforts. In 1933, Mexican women dressmakers in Los Angeles initiated the formation of an International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) local.[462] In October 1933, about 2,000 of these dressmakers from 80 shops went on strike, an action which catalyzed industrial unionism among Mexicans in Los Angeles.[463] A key strike followed in May 1934 among male Mexican furniture workers in Los Angeles.[464] By 1937, the CIO was pulling more and more Mexican workers into industrial unionism, in steel, furniture, construction, and other industries, with some playing critical leadership roles, such as Manuel García Jiménez, Frank López, Tony Rios, and Bert Corona. Three CIO-affiliated locals in LA—all mostly Mexican in membership—were considered the most active CIO

locals in the city. CIO-based unionism, in fact, had come to occupy a central place in Mexican American activism in the 1930s.[465]

Mexicans firmly forged the link between labor rights and civil rights in this decade. CIO unions were articulating racial equality as a central goal, and Latino leaders were increasingly recognizing the need to fortify an organizational base that fused labor and civil rights activism. Luisa Moreno was an exemplary figure in this process. In 1938, the Guatemalan-born activist used $500 of her own money to travel the southwest to organize local committees of the Congress of Spanish Speaking Peoples (El Congreso). Rooted firmly in the labor movement, Moreno "recognized very early on that workers' rights for Mexican laborers could be gained only by also working for the civil rights of Mexican women and men." El Congreso is considered the first national civil rights conference for Latinos in the U.S. While Moreno was severely red-baited and left the U.S. in 1950, the formation of groups like El Congreso became a critical foundation of the postwar Latino civil rights movement. More broadly, labor activism in the 1930s had the effect of politicizing second generation Mexicans, heightening their demands for full integration into American society.[466]

1940-1960s: Fusing Labor and Civil Rights

World War II pulled the United States out of the Depression, and ushered in what one historian has called "the golden age" of capitalism—a time of economic vitality, job growth, and rising standards of living. California was a shining example. World War II transformed California's economy and set off a boom lasting well into the postwar era. Huge federal contracts expanded the defense industry, especially aircraft and shipbuilding, creating jobs and new opportunities for groups previously shut out. This defense expansion in turn stimulated the development of high-technology industries like electronics, aerospace, and communications, which became a critical foundation of the state's postwar economy. Wartime demands also expanded agricultural production and the farm labor force. For Latino workers, World War II prosperity enabled them to "achieve their greatest gains in job and wage advances."[467] It accelerated the urbanization of the Latino population in the state. By 1960, 85 percent of the Spanish surnamed population in California lived in cities, marking an important shift in their occupational profile—away from farm work and into city-based jobs in industry, offices, and retail.[468] While many Latinos benefited from this prosperity, others continued to feel the sting of job discrimination and carried on the struggle for equality at work.

Job gains were strongest in urban areas. For the first time, large numbers of Mexican and Mexican American men were hired in relatively well-paid industrial jobs. This trend continued into the 1950s and 1960s, with skilled and semi-skilled workers outpacing unskilled laborers (Table VIII). They took jobs as welders, plumbers, and riveters in defense plants, as cement finishers and machinists in military bases, and as mechanics and production-line workers in factories. In the 1950s and 1960s, then, Mexicans benefited from the state's strong industrial economy. There was also a small, gradual rise of professionals and white-collar workers, thanks in part to the G.I. Bill that

In the 1950s and 1960s, large numbers of Mexican and Mexican American men were hired in relatively well-paid industrial jobs... There also was a small, gradual rise of professionals and white-collar workers. Together, these trends ... marked the first time that Latinos in California experienced modest upward mobility.

opened up higher education to some Mexican Americans.[469] Noted civil rights attorney Manuel Ruiz, Jr., a graduate of the USC Law School, was an example.[470] Together, these trends reflected a nascent broadening of the Mexican American middle class, and marked the first time that Latinos in California experienced modest upward mobility in occupations. No doubt contributing to this progress was the high labor force participation rate among Latino men in California, consistently higher than all racial and ethnic groups (Asians, African Americans, and non-Hispanic whites) from 1940 to 2000.[471] Some of these gains were ultimately offset by the trend toward deindustrialization after 1970.[472]

TABLE VIII: OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF LATINOS IN CALIFORNIA, 1930-1970 (shown as percentage)

Occupation	1930		1950		1960		1970	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
High White-Collar								
professional, technical	1.0	3.0	2.6	4.7	4.5	5.2	6.5	7.2
managers, proprietors, officials	1.9	1.8	4.5	3.5	4.2	2.3	4.9	2.3
Low White-Collar								
clerical	3.2	13.6	6.4	23.7	4.8	24.2	6.7	29.2
sales					3.2	6.0	3.7	5.5
High Blue-Collar								
craftsmen, foremen (skilled)	7.0	1.4	13.9	1.8	16.6	1.5	20.4	2.3
Low Blue-Collar								
operatives (semi-skilled)	8.1	40.8	21.6	41.2	24.4	32.4	26.9	27.9
laborers (unskilled)	37.6	4.7	17.7	1.6	13.0	1.2	11.0	1.4
Service	4.2	27.5	5.5	16.9	6.5	16.8	10.8	20.3
Farm Laborers	35.7	7.1	23.4	5.1	15.9	3.1	8.4	3.9
Farmers and Farm Managers	1.3	0.1	2.7	0.2	1.9	0.1	0.4	0.1
Not Reported			0.0	1.3	6.3	7.1		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	98.3	100.0	101.3	99.9	99.7	100.1

Source: Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest*, 136, cited in Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 73.

Latinas also experienced gains during and after the war. Severe wartime labor shortages opened new opportunities for them in defense factories and offices. Bea Morales was a homemaker with four children when she was hired at Lockheed Aircraft in Los Angeles, her first paid job. Scared at first, she soon gained confidence and skills. "As time went on," she recalled, "I started getting a little bit better. I just made up my mind that I was going to do

it. I learned my job so well that then they put me to the next operation... Later, as I got going, I learned to rivet and buck. I got to the point where I was very good." Though Morales quit when her son got ill, she returned to Lockheed in 1951 and remained until her retirement in 1978.[473] For women like Morales, paid work gave them a new sense of confidence and independence. From another angle, her experience was unusual as many women were laid off from defense jobs at war's end. In the 1950s and 1960s, the general trend for Mexican and Mexican American women was movement out of semi-skilled factory jobs and into clerical and service positions (Table VIII).

Despite these gains, occupational inequality persisted. Many of the wartime job gains were temporary, as Mexican Americans were forced out of better jobs during the postwar reconversion. As a rule, Mexicans tended to hold inferior jobs with lower pay compared to Anglos. For example, Mexicans were underrepresented in white-collar positions; when they did attain them, they "were better represented among draftsmen than among architects, among technicians than among engineers, among social workers than among physicians or lawyers, and among teachers than among administrators."[474] Mexicans remained over-concentrated in manual labor, domestic, and service work, compared to Anglos. Wage disparities persisted—Mexicans workers earned 76 percent of the income of Anglo workers in California in the 1950s. Educational inequity fostered these imbalances, with segregated schooling and curricula that discouraged Mexican children from building confidence and skills. This led to higher drop-out rates among Mexican youth compared to national averages.[475] These patterns reinforced the dual labor market in California, even in this era of relative job progress.

Despite the turn toward mechanization and the postwar emergence of the "agricultural-industrial complex" ... agri-business continued to rely on cheap farm labor. Excluded from minimum wage laws, farm workers earned from 40 to 70 cents per hour, which ... placed them below the poverty line.

In agriculture, where Mexican workers continued to predominate, conditions remained abysmal. Despite the turn toward mechanization and the postwar emergence of the "agricultural-industrial complex" that partnered growers, public research institutions, and private makers of chemicals and farm machinery, agri-business continued to rely on cheap farm labor. Excluded from minimum wage laws, farm workers earned from 40 to 70 cents per hour which, given the seasonal fluctuations of work, placed them below the poverty line.[476] Work conditions remained harsh and largely unregulated. In the Imperial Valley, infant death rates from diarrhea and enteritis were over seven times the state average.[477] Packinghouse workers didn't fare much better. During the war, "rather than adjust their wages upward to compete with industrial employers in the Los Angeles Basin, managers held the line by hiring young Mexican women" and paying them substandard wages. Julia Salazar worked at the College Heights Lemon House in Claremont: "When I started there during the war," she recalled, "I made about 50 cents an hour... when I left that place—and I was there 27 years on and off—I was only making $1.25 an hour."[478]

Federal policy driven by geopolitical concerns exacerbated these conditions. The labor movement in general was hampered during the Cold War. Widespread anti-communist sentiment led to red-baiting of union and progressive activists, reflected in the Taft-Hartley Act (1947) that diminished the power of unions.[479] More specific to Mexicans, foreign policy concerns worked to obscure more than redress job discrimination against Mexicans. For example, as Zaragosa Vargas writes, "public hearings on job and wage discrimination against Mexican American workers were canceled because of the

government's fear that the finding of widespread discrimination would jeopardize its Good Neighbor Policy, the foundation of the wartime alliance between the United States with other nations of the Western Hemisphere."[480]

The Bracero Program (1942-1964) was central in this trend. Initiated at the urging of growers facing wartime shortages of farm workers, it was an agreement between the U.S. and Mexico that brought thousands of temporary workers to the U.S. The program enabled workers under contract to American growers to enter the country and receive housing, minimum wage, protections against discrimination, and free round-trip transportation.[481] Although both governments intended to halt the program at war's end, as Matt Garcia put it, "U.S. agribusiness acquired an addiction for the low-cost foreign laborers" and successfully lobbied to extend it to 1964.[482] Braceros ultimately comprised 30 percent of the Mexican farm labor force in California, which drew more braceros than any other state.[483]

The Bracero Program (1942-1964), while offering more jobs to more workers, actually worsened working conditions for Mexicans in California. (*Photo courtesy latinamericanstudies.org*)

In California, the Bracero Program worsened working conditions for Mexicans.[484] Despite the guarantee of minimum wage, poor government oversight enabled growers to pay braceros below prevailing rates, which pushed all wages down. In the Imperial Valley, for example, wages dropped 25 percent when braceros were brought in.[485] The program also undercut the power of labor unions by flooding the workforce, prohibiting braceros from striking, and allowing them to serve as strikebreakers. As a result, relations were aggravated between braceros and Mexican Americans, who resented them for worsening job conditions and inciting "violence and vice in their community." Local leaders such as Ignacio "Nacho" López of Cucamonga worked to quell local conflict by spurring grass-roots demands for better oversight by camp managers and law enforcement, and for better behavior by the braceros themselves.[486] The AFL and CIO opposed the Bracero Program and, along with civil rights activists and the Mexican government, began to lobby for its termination, which it finally achieved in 1964.[487] The Bracero Program also had the unintended effect of accelerating the influx of undocumented immigrants into California, who came to be known as "wetbacks." Although many growers preferred wetbacks to braceros, because "they worked twice as hard for half the pay," the INS launched Operation Wetback in the early 1950s, resulting in the deportation of nearly two million Mexicans from 1953 to 1955.[488]

The war and postwar years witnessed intermittent waves of progress in labor organizing by Mexicans, both reflecting and propelling the growing momentum of the civil rights movement. These efforts centered on the goals of fair and full employment.[489] In the 1940s, the greatest gains occurred in urban job sectors. By the 1960s farm workers finally broke past stubborn barriers to establish a powerful labor movement.

The years immediately after WWII witnessed a wave of union militancy in the U.S., sparked by falling income levels and rising inflation. This set off the largest strike wave in American history.[490] Latino workers were a critical part of this movement. In the 1940s, Latinos in the labor movement—both rising leaders and rank-and-file members—intensified the

campaign to improve conditions for workers, a push that continued to link labor and civil rights. CIO unions continued to take the lead early on. In 1939, for example, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 26 organized the Committee to Aid Mexican Workers (CAMW) in Los Angeles. This group raised money for citizenship classes, Spanish-language tracts on the need for unions, and lobbied to break the segmented labor system that excluded Latinos from better-paying jobs. Leaders like Bert Corona, president of ILWU Local 26, pressed the CIO to deepen its commitment to Mexican labor and civil rights. Luisa Moreno likewise spearheaded the growth of El Congreso, the leftist Latino civil and labor rights group closely aligned with organized labor. As Vargas writes, El Congreso "affirmed that that labor movement was an ally and the principal vehicle for the organization of Spanish-speaking people."[491] Moreover, El Congreso had its strongest base of support in California because of "strong backing from the state CIO office, Mexican American CIO unionists, and an active Popular Front movement."[492] Moreno also rose to become CIO vice president. Through such groups, Mexican American rank-and-file members pressed labor unions to demand that both Latinos and blacks were trained and hired in wartime defense jobs.[493] Mexican Americans also participated in strikes that broke out after the war, including the wave of industrial strikes in 1946 and the 1948 packinghouse strikes.[494]

By the 1950s, the labor movement moved from militant to moderate, subdued by Cold War anti-communism. This had a chilling effect on progressive Latino activists who had been the backbone of the movement to this point. In California, the CIO retreated from its commitment to racial equality, creating a vacuum of critical support. It purged communists from its ranks; leftist labor leaders such Luisa Moreno faced censure and deportation. The merger of the CIO and AFL in 1955 "further subdued the drive for interracial unionism."[495] These pressures, reinforced by the Taft-Hartley Act, quelled union activism and contributed to continued job discrimination against Mexicans. Meanwhile, some unions that achieved great gains in the 1930s retreated from the commitment to helping the plight of Mexican workers. For example, the cannery workers unions weakened dramatically after a takeover by AFL teamsters unions and persistent red-baiting, leaving them with only three viable locals in the state (Local 64 in San Diego, Local 78 in Salinas, and Local 50 in Modesto) by 1950.[496] The ILGWU in Los Angeles paid sporadic attention to Mexican workers, and experienced declines in membership during the 1950s and 1960s.[497]

By the 1950s, the labor movement moved from militant to moderate, subdued by Cold War anti-communism. This had a chilling effect on progressive Latino activists who had been the backbone of the movement to this point.

In the 1960s, some areas of union strength survived and gathered momentum, helped in part by leadership in Sacramento. Governor Pat Brown won election in 1958 on a pro-labor platform, and championed a liberal agenda that included labor and civil rights for much of his term (1959-1967).[498] In the workplace, Latinos continued to build the union movement, and entered full force into the ranks of mainstream AFL-CIO unions. Mexican American meat processing workers in southern California, for example, increased union membership through aggressive organizing, led by J.J. Rodriguez, a dynamic local leader who was elected president of his CIO local. In Los Angeles, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union had about 400 Mexican members among 2,100; it went on strike over wages repeatedly from the 1940s to 1960s. Mexican steelworkers were likewise active in unions by the 1950s and 1960s, comprising one-third of all 16,000 union members in Los Angeles. Manuel Sierras was a notable steelworkers' union leader in Los Angeles. Mexicans were also well represented in furniture, auto, rubber, electrical, aircraft, and longshoremen

unions in southern California, waging multiple strikes.[499] In the United Auto Workers (UAW), Latinos achieved leadership positions, including Henry Lacayo who was elected president of UAW Local 887 at North American Aviation in Inglewood, then rose to become national director of the UAW's political and legislative department in 1974. The UAW also aided the formation of the East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU) in 1968. Organized by UAW unionist Esteban Torres and 14 labor unions, TELACU aimed to use labor organizing strategies to redress housing and urban problems.[500]

Farm workers, meanwhile, made impressive union gains in the postwar years despite immense obstacles. Ernesto Galarza was a key leader in this effort.[501] He helped establish the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU) in 1947, formed initially in Bakersfield, then launched a series of strikes against the DiGiorgio Fruit Company lasting 30 months. The union lost in the face of pressure by strikebreakers (often braceros), local law enforcement, and U.S. Congress.[502] Other strikes followed in 1952, by melon pickers in Los Baños, and melon and lettuce pickers in the Imperial Valley. In the latter, growers responded by importing more braceros, which spurred the NFLU to redouble its efforts to repeal the Bracero Program and publicize the plight of farm workers. Two unions followed up on these efforts. The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) formed in 1959, with Galarza and Dolores Huerta serving as early leaders. They launched two key strikes: in 1961 against Imperial Valley lettuce growers, and in 1962 against the California Packing Corporation.[503]

These efforts overlapped in key ways with the Community Service Organization (CSO), a group formed in 1947 in Los Angeles to empower Mexican Americans to secure civil rights through neighborhood-based activism. Though moderate in its orientation, the CSO concerned itself with the plight of farm workers early on, thanks to the involvement of people like Dolores Huerta and César Chávez.[504] For both, the CSO was a training ground for farm labor activism. When the CSO refused to organize farm workers, Chávez and Huerta in 1962 formed the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA; later named the United Farm Workers, UFW), which mounted a nationally recognized effort to organize farm workers. Defining their work in moral terms, the NFWA pressed for the minimum wage, social security coverage, and housing, health and education benefits for farm workers. Leaders included Chávez, Huerta, Gilbert Padilla, Antonio Orendein, and Julio Hernandez.

The persistence of low wages, and poor working and living conditions for farm workers fueled a surge in labor and civil rights activism in the 1960s. (*Photo courtesy Jon Lewis, photographer / farmworkermovement.us*)

After consolidating its operation, the union launched several major strikes that built important momentum and national exposure for the first time. The 1965 Delano strike against grape growers, coming as the civil rights movement was cresting, drew sympathetic media coverage and wide popular support. By

1966, the UFW had won a contract for a union shop with DiGiorgio, the largest grower in Delano. The UFW continued organizing workers, especially in Salinas and Coachella, and mobilized a grape boycott into the late 1960s as part of the protracted Delano strike that finally ended in 1970 when 26 Delano growers signed union contracts. More strikes followed in the Imperial and Salinas Valleys. By 1972, the UFW had nearly doubled the wages of farm workers in California, and some workers had secured basic health benefits. At its peak in the 1970s, the UFW organized 10 percent of workers in California, Arizona, and Florida. Teamster unions stepped up efforts to organize farm workers at this point, at times clashing with the UFW. A major breakthrough occurred in 1975, when the UFW secured passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act in California, which gave new protections to farm labor unions.[505]

In 1966, César Chávez and leaders of the National Farm Workers Association (later to become United Farm Workers), led a march from Delano to Sacramento as part of an ongoing strike and boycott against anti-union grape growers. Thousands joined in the march, and people nationwide supported the boycott. The grape strike ended in 1970 with grape growers agreeing to sign union contracts. (*Photo courtesy Jon Lewis, photographer / farmworkermovement.us*)

1970s-2000: Economic restructuring and the Emergence of a Latino Labor Vanguard

Just as Latinos achieved advances in jobs and the labor movement, the next phase of economic development—known as economic restructuring—challenged many of these gains and ultimately helped recast the labor movement and Latinos' place within it. Economic restructuring refers to the intertwined trends of globalization, outsourcing of American industry, and a new stratification of the job market, all occurring since the 1970s. During economic restructuring, the most unionized sectors of the industrial economy experienced factory closures and layoffs, weakening established labor unions in the process. Jobs stratified into high-skilled, high-wage work on the one end, especially in the high-tech industry, and low-paid, low-skilled service and manufacturing jobs on the other, many of them non-union and part-time, flexibly organized to meet changing labor demands in the new global economy. The middle class, meanwhile, contracted. This marked a new phase of the dual labor economy. Scholars generally see a link between the basic forces behind restructuring and increases in immigration from Latin America and Asia. New immigrants selectively filled these expanding labor needs, with Latinos heavily concentrated in the lower-end jobs.

For Latinos, restructuring had mostly negative repercussions. Economic restructuring and globalization, for example, meant that the U.S. recession in the mid-1970s set off a fiscal crisis of "startling depth and duration" in Mexico, which had become tightly integrated with the American economy. This led to rising unemployment and poverty in Mexico; by 1977, one-third of Mexican families were poor, and by the 1980s, Mexico was experiencing its worst depression since the 1930s.[506] This spurred a new wave of outmigration to the U.S.

In the 1980s, California's Latino population also diversified for the first time, transitioning from mostly Mexican to an immigrant pool that included Central and South Americans. Immigrants came from El Salvador, Guatemala, and South America, many fleeing U.S.-supported regimes that sanctioned violence and repression. By the mid-1980s, Latinos were nearly 22 percent of the state's population, and by 2010, they were 38 percent of the state's total, marking "the rise of Latino California."[507] Policies such as the 1965 Immigration Act, the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), and the 1994 NAFTA agreement accelerated these trends.[508] This upsurge in Latino immigration occurred just as low-wage jobs were expanding.

In terms of labor patterns, Latinos have made gains and have "generally shown up at the lower end of the income profile."[509] As geographer Manuel Pastor writes, California indeed is "the center of the new economy, complete with its high-tech industries and highly trained population. But low-wage jobs in the local-serving sector have often been the flip side of high-tech growth: computer programmers and Web designers working sixteen-hour days wind up needing restaurant, laundry, and child-care services, and these are jobs filled by large numbers of Latino, immigrant, and other minority workers."[510]

This pattern is borne out by a related trend—high employment rates combined with low incomes, a result of Latinos' disproportionate concentration on the low end of the wage and job structure. So despite their strong work ethic and workforce participation, Latinos remain the poorest ethnic group in California. This pattern applies to new immigrants, as well as second and third generation Latinos. Pastor attributes the gap between high labor force participation rates and high poverty rates to "lower levels of job quality and educational attainment." Latinos work hard, he notes, and are still falling behind.[511] Occupational data supports these conclusions (Table IX).

The Silicon Valley vividly exemplified these trends, and the persistence of a racially defined dual labor market. In the 1960s and 1970s, the San Jose area emerged as an internationally renowned high-tech hub built around the creative synergies of private companies and research universities. The Santa Clara Valley was dubbed Silicon Valley in the 1970s, housing high-tech millionaires and 20 percent of the high-tech workforce.[512] Latinos comprised over 25 percent of the local population by 1990, and were mostly confined to low-wage service and assembly work, occupying the "bottom rungs of the regional economic ladder." Latinos had higher rates of poverty and lower incomes than whites. Mexican women took low-paid microelectronic assembly line and service jobs, while male Mexicans worked for subcontractors as janitors, landscapers, constructions workers, and dishwashers, "service occupations that boomed in the region, thanks to the demands of the region's middle and upper classes." The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded in 1982 that the San Jose workforce was "sharply divided along ethnic, sexual [sic], and educational lines. In general, white males hold the positions with the highest incomes and greatest power. Non-white men (including Hispanics) and white women fall in the middle of the high tech hierarchy. And minority women stand at the bottom of the occupational structure." Still, some Mexican Americans in the region made modest gains in education propelling them into the professions by the 1970s.[513]

Mostly concentrated in low-wage, low-skilled jobs, Latinos continued the fight for worker rights in this period.[514] Housing the largest Spanish-speaking population in the U.S., California emerged as the site of nationally significant labor activism. This push began in a national climate of anti-unionism in the 1980s, instigated by the Reagan administration. When Ronald Reagan fired striking air traffic controllers in 1981 and replaced them with other workers, he inspired other employers to take similar actions. These policies, combined with deindustrialization in job sectors where unions had been strongest, severely weakened the labor movement.[515] Latinos stepped into this vacuum and infused

new energy into union organizing, efforts that ultimately revitalized the national labor movement.[516]

TABLE IX: OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF LATINOS IN CALIFORNIA, 1970-2000 (shown as percentage)

Occupation	1970		1980		1990		2000*	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Employed Latinos	1,007,153		1,775,141		3,035,473		3,957,539	
High White-Collar								
professional, technical	88,375	8.8	90,436	5.1	174,088	5.7	384,502	9.7
managers, proprietors, officials	48,867	4.9	95,821	5.4	191,737	6.3	262,034	6.6
Low White-Collar								
clerical	157,363	15.6	258,791	14.6	415,960	13.7	558,255	14.1
sales	49,586	4.9	111,541	6.3	251,749	8.3	371,238	9.4
technical support			31,193	0.0	63,631	2.1	n/a	
High Blue-Collar								
craftsmen, foremen (skilled)	141,591	14.1	251,904	14.2	425,084	14.0	1,349,712	34.1
Low Blue-Collar								
operatives (semi-skilled)	249,742	24.8	386,554	21.8	548,856	18.1		
laborers (unskilled)	69,936	6.9	133,680	7.5	219,105	7.2		
Service, except private household	126,268	12.5	264,840	14.9	509,885	16.8	855,875	21.6
Service, private household	13,098	1.3	23,785	1.3	55,870	1.8	n/a	
Farm Laborers	57,226	5.7	126,550	7.1	168,628	5.6	165,586	4.2
Farmers and Farm Managers	5,101	0.5	5,393	0.3	8,899	0.3	10,337	0.3
TOTAL		100.0		100.3		99.9		100.0

Source: For 1970, 1980, and 1990: U.S. Census, Social and Economic Characteristics of the Population; for 2000, data is from Census 2000 Summary File 4.[517]

In the 1980s, Latinos workers in California launched several actions in the face of extreme challenges. In 1980, Latinos in the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) Local 2 in San Francisco mobilized to support a hotel strike that lasted 27 days and resulted in wage and benefit increases. Miguel Contreras helped coordinate the strike, and the union established Latinos Unidos (United Latinos) to support the strikers. In 1982, Latino autoworkers directly challenged corporate practices linked to economic restructuring. At the General Motors plant in Van Nuys, where Mexicans were half of the workforce, workers challenged a threatened plant closure with a grassroots boycott led by Pete Beltrán, Mike Velasquez, Peter Lopez, and Rich Garcia. Their efforts delayed the eventual closure.[518] In 1985, 1,500 Mexican and Mexican American women frozen-food workers in Watsonville waged a 19-month long strike over wage cuts that they essentially lost, although their effort attracted national attention.[519] In San Jose, Mary San Miguel and other Latina cannery workers established democratic committees within the Teamsters Union; San Miguel went on to become the first female business agent in her Teamster local.[520] In 1989, the AFL-CIO formed the California Immigrant Workers Association (CIWA) as a base for Latinos to press for labor and civil rights.[521]

The 1990s saw significant breakthroughs, with Mexican immigrants at the vanguard of union activism. The hub of these efforts was southern California, in the apparel, construction, and service fields that were highly dependent on immigrant labor. In June 1990, the Justice for Janitors campaign was launched by workers in Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 399. They successfully pressed employers to offer a union contract to 6,000 Latino/a janitors in Century City, an effort that was "the largest private sector immigrant-organizing success since the United Farm Workers' campaign of the 1970s."[522] In 1992, 2,400 Latino drywall workers successfully struck for higher wages. These efforts formed the core of union mobilization that continued to build in subsequent years.[523] Hotel workers organized, led by Local 11 of the International Restaurant, Hotel, and Bartenders' Workers' Union in Los Angeles. María Elena Durazo played a pivotal leadership role in revitalizing this local through greater Latino participation. The daughter of Mexican immigrant farm workers, Durazo was elected president of the local in 1989, and spearheaded successful efforts to win better wages and union recognition at a number of hotels during the 1990s. She became one of the most active union leaders in Los Angeles, leading to her 1996 election to HERE's executive board, the first Latina to achieve this position.[524] In 1999, in the largest organizing effort since the 1930s, SEIU Local 434B in Los Angeles won union recognition for 74,000 home healthcare workers, capping off a decade of intensive Latino labor activism.[525] These efforts were bolstered by the AFL-CIO's "New Voice" reform slate in 1995, committed to bringing in more minority leaders and rank-and-file members, and reflected in the election of Texan Linda Chavez-Thompson as executive vice president of the national AFL-CIO in 1995.[526]

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In agriculture, the United Farm Workers union declined precipitously in the 1980s, in the face of unfriendly policies by Governors George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson, who weakened the Agricultural Labor Relations Board and relaxed labor law enforcement. Many of the hard-won gains of previous years were lost, and working conditions deteriorated for many farm laborers. Growers of specialty crops, an increasingly important part of California agribusiness, turned to undocumented immigrants for their labor force. Over the 1980s, UFW membership dropped from 60,000 to less than 10,000.[527]

The fusing of labor and civil rights continued into this period, increasingly drawing mainstream unions into the effort. In 1994, the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor campaigned against Proposition 187 that would deny public services to undocumented immigrants, organizing a protest of 100,000 Latinos against the measure. Latino labor leaders, meanwhile, began securing political office, pledging support for worker rights. They included Gilbert Cedillo and Fabian Núñez, both elected to the California State Assembly. These connections were solidified in the formation of the Organization of Los Angeles Workers (OLAW), by Miguel Contreras, Maria Elena Durazo, and Eliseo Medina. This group trained union members to campaign on behalf of pro-labor candidates.[528] Showing how deeply Latinos had influenced the mainstream labor movement, in 1999 the AFL-CIO reversed its longtime position on immigration and supported blanket amnesty for undocumented immigrants.[529] These developments pointed to the significant, abiding influence that California Latino workers played in reshaping the American labor movement and advancing conditions for California workers.

Business and Commerce in Latino Communities

Throughout much of the twentieth century, trends in Latino business and commerce have followed trends in population growth and settlement patterns. As populations in particular geographic areas increased, the demand for goods and services also increased, and entrepreneurial Latinos established businesses to meet the rising demand. The first Latino population boom in twentieth century California occurred in the 1910s and 1920s when emigration from Mexico increased amidst political unrest and poor economic conditions. Many immigrants from this period worked in agriculture or on railroads. Because the work in the fields and along the tracks was temporary, seasonal, and low paid, it did not lead to the permanent residential settlement for workers in rural areas. As a result, it did not lead to the development of businesses to serve the Mexican community's needs. Instead, workers had to shop in company stores run by employers.

In search of steady work and better pay, many immigrants relocated to urban centers, such as Los Angeles and San Francisco in the 1920s, joining other Mexicans who had been living in California for generations and lost or sold their land in the late 1800s and early 1900s, often in unscrupulous deals with Anglo settlers.[530] The Latino populations in these areas grew, people began to establish permanent homes, and barrios formed. In the barrios, new Latino businesses emerged. The businesses served the needs of the community and often engaged in trade with the home country in order to offer goods not available in the general American market.[531]

Mitla Cafe, established in 1937 in San Bernardino, is the oldest Mexican restaurant in the Inland Empire. As more Latinos settled into urban centers throughout California, barrios formed in which businesses, often family run, served the cultural needs and tastes of the Latino citizenry. (*Photo courtesy* Noam Bleiweiss, *Los Angeles Eater*)

Early studies of 1920s barrios revealed that the businesses ranged from small to large, though most were small and family-owned.[532] Some served basic needs, while others provided entertainment. Typical businesses included bakeries, *tortillarias* (tortilla factories), barbershops, billiard halls, pharmacies, movie houses,

restaurants, dance halls, hotels, printing shops, funeral homes, money transfer agencies, and auto repair shops.[533]

In the 1920s, the North Main Street district of Los Angeles was a diverse immigrant community with Mexicans and Italians comprising the two largest ethnic groups.[534] A look at the businesses in the area at the time provides a good understanding of Latino commerce during the period. Music store Repertorio Musical Mexicana, founded by Mauricio Calderón around 1920, was the center of the Latino music trade in the city.[535] La Ciudad de Mexico, a department store, offered shoppers "everything from clothing to chile to milk to lunch boxes."[536] Further down the street, Farmacia Hidalgo offered medicine, traditional Mexican remedies, and other common drugstore sundries, like Mexican sodas and ice cream.[537]

In addition to commercial businesses, many Mexican professionals established offices in the 1920s. They offered legal, medical, and dental services, among others. Latino professionals were typically self-employed and arrived in California with the education and experience required to provide services.[538] As they were usually of substantial financial means, these professionals often left Mexico fleeing political unrest, rather than for purely economic reasons.[539] One example of a professional who immigrated to California in the 1920s was Guillermo Del Valle. A lawyer from Mexico, he came to Los Angeles in 1926 with his wife and several children.[540]

Whether they offered basic goods, entertainment, or professional services, Latino businesses in the 1920s rarely engaged in commerce outside of the barrio.[541] Rather, most were insular and reflected the segregated nature of American society at the time. Many businesses were established along major corridors or at intersections within barrio limits, forming commercial districts, such as the one that developed along East 1st Street in Los Angeles, immediately west of the Los Angeles River and east of the Plaza.[542] While several Latino businesses existed along North Main Street and in the Plaza area in the 1920s and 1930s, rents along the railroad tracks, which followed the path of the Los Angeles River, were cheaper which made it easier for entrepreneurs to start new businesses. The proprietors of the businesses often lived nearby, making the railroad barrio the area with the greatest proportion of white-collar Latino workers in the city.[543]

Outside of commercial districts, businesses developed within residential neighborhoods. Many of these were grocers and bakeries. The Wilmington section of Los Angeles, located at the city's southern edge, adjacent to the port, illustrated this trend with businesses such as the Estrada Bakery on Eubank Avenue, Watson Avenue Grocery, Fries Avenue Market, and La Jaliscience on East L Street, among several other neighborhood stores.[544]

Within the larger employment picture in California, Latino entrepreneurs and professionals remained a very small group between 1900 and 1930. The percentages of each group ranged from 0 to 5 percent in several cities, as evidenced in Table X.

TABLE X: OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF MEXICANS IN MAJOR CITIES IN CALIFORNIA, 1900-1930 (shown as a percentage of the total)

	San Diego			San Bernardino			Santa Barbara			Los Angeles*	
Occupation	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920	1930	1910	1920
High White-Collar											
Professional	2	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
Proprietorial	3	5	3	3	2	2	5	3	3	5	5

* Data unavailable for 1930 Los Angeles.

Source: Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 218.

Latino business stagnated during the Depression, along with the rest of the American economy. Some survived, many did not, and repatriation undoubtedly had a negative effect. The downturn lasted until World War II, which yielded new job opportunities, both in military and civilian service, and the passage of the G.I. Bill. New business ventures during the war do not appear to have been common. Some opportunities existed such as in the South Bay cities of Los Angeles County where many Mexican Americans started flower growing businesses to fill the void created when Japanese flower growers in the area were interned.[545]

The G.I. Bill helped to usher in a new era of Latino business in California. It offered veterans increased access to education, small business loans, and home ownership outside of barrios.[546] This increased access, along with steady population growth, resulted in a boom period for Latino businesses and professionals.[547] Returning veterans, along with second and third generation immigrants, created more businesses in the postwar period than any previous generation.[548] Ricardo Real, for instance, was an Army veteran who started restaurants in Manhattan Beach and Redondo Beach after his discharge in 1952, and Robert Trevino, also an Army vet, started Trevino Brothers Plumbing in Redondo Beach with his brother Richard.[549]

In addition to starting commercial businesses, many veterans went to college and beyond, earning graduate, professional, and doctoral degrees. The trajectory of J. Hector Moreno, Sr. demonstrates this trend. In 1950, he became the first Mexican American to graduate from Santa Clara University Law School and one of the first Spanish-speaking attorneys in San José and Santa Clara County.[550] He was also a member of San José's G.I. Forum and a founder of the Mexican American Political Association.[551] Army veteran Frank Herrera settled in Wilmington after World War II and used his G.I. benefits to go to college. He eventually became the first Mexican American department superintendent for General Motors in South Gate.[552]

Geographically, postwar businesses followed residential patterns, as in earlier decades. More businesses developed in existing Latino neighborhoods and new ones developed in new Latino neighborhoods. In San Francisco's Mission District, the population of Latino residents increased steadily in the postwar era. New residents were attracted by an existing Latino presence that dated back to the 1930s. They replaced working class white residents, primarily European immigrants, and businesses in the area adapted accordingly. The commercial corridor along 16th Street in the northern part of the district transitioned to a hub of Latino business in the 1940s and remained so after the war as the area continued to be a gateway for new immigrants. Meanwhile, more established Latinos migrated to the southern part of the district that had larger and more desirable housing options. New businesses quickly followed. They

24th Street–Calle 24–in San Francisco's Mission District, has been the center of Latino commerce, art, and community since the postwar era. (*Photo courtesy* SFH*eritage*)

were primarily located along 24th Street which became "the banner corridor for Latino culture" and home to many Latino-owned enterprises.[553]

As in the 1920s, Latino businesses in the postwar period were mostly small and family-owned. The Latino population in California continued to grow steadily, creating an increased customer base. Many new businesses continued the earlier trend of catering primarily to Latino customers. Pan American Bank, for example, was established in 1964 by Romana Acosta Bañuelos, who would later become the first Latina United States Treasurer in 1971.[554] The bank's primary mission was to serve the "under-represented and under-served consumers and small businesses of East Los Angeles."[555] Over time, the bank became a critical local business providing loans and financial services and promoting economic growth in the area.

Louis and Fred Ruiz founded Ruiz Foods in 1964 in the city of Dinuba. Like a number of Latino businesses in the later decades of the century, they were able to expand beyond the Latino market, in part due to a growing interest in Latino foods, music, and other goods. (*Photo courtesy California* MED *Week*)

While most postwar entrepreneurs established their businesses to cater to Latino customers, some were able to expand into broader markets due to two important mid-twentieth century phenomena. First, increasing numbers of Latinos were relocating from barrios to suburbs, and second, Latino goods, especially music and food, were becoming rapidly commoditized.[556] A prime example of a Latino business from the postwar period that broadened its market and achieved great success was Ruiz Foods. Ruiz Foods was founded by Louis Ruiz and his son Fred in 1964 in the City of Dinuba in the San Joaquin Valley. The company turned the recipes of Louis' wife Rosie into mass-produced frozen meals and snacks, eventually becoming the largest manufacturer of frozen Mexican food in the country. The 50-year-old company that began as a small, local business had 2,500 employees by 2014, along with facilities in Tulare, California and Denson, Texas, while maintaining its Dinuba headquarters. Despite its remarkable growth, the company remains a family-run enterprise through the stewardship of Louis' grandchildren.[557]

In addition to broadening markets, postwar Latino entrepreneurs diversified their ventures. Pasadena resident Danny Castro began his working life in the construction field.[558] In 1954, he opened Danny's Café, a popular local gathering spot. Throughout his career, he also owned the Pasadena Transfer and Trucking Company, Fair Deal Realty, and a supper club called Danzon, demonstrating business acumen in a variety of areas.[559]

Statistically, the percentage of Latino individuals in professional and technical roles in California increased by nearly 3.5 times between 1930 and 1970. The percentage of business owners, managers, and officials more than doubled by 1950, and dropped by 1.5 percent in 1960, before rising again to almost double the 1930 figure.[560] The percentages overall remained low relative to the size of the overall Latino population, as indicated in Table XI.

TABLE XI: OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF LATINOS IN CALIFORNIA, 1930-1970 (shown as a percentage of the total)				
Occupation	1930	1950	1960	1970
High White-Collar				
Professional, technical	4.0	7.3	9.7	13.7
Managers, proprietors, officials	3.7	8	6.5	7.2

Source: Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest*, 136, cited in Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 73.

Beginning in the 1970s, California's Latino population diversified significantly with an increase in immigration from Central America, particularly El Salvador and Guatemala. Latino businesses diversified accordingly. Central American businesses catered to Central American customers and provided sought-after goods from home countries. Stores, bakeries, and restaurants were some of the earliest businesses. Examples include El Salvador Café, reportedly the first El Salvadoran restaurant in Los Angeles, and Café Antigua Guatemala, a Guatemalan bakery.[561] Because the practice of sending remittances to relatives in home countries was an important aspect of Central American life, banks and wire transfer services became important community businesses. One such bank was Banco Agricola, a Salvadoran bank that established a Los Angeles branch on Vermont Avenue to facilitate transactions with El Salvador.[562]

Central Americans achieved success in professional fields, as well as in business. Some completed their educations prior to immigrating to California, while others earned their degrees locally. Felix Aguilar, for example, emigrated from Honduras as a child.[563] He received his medical degree from the University of California, Irvine School of Medicine, as well as graduate degrees from Harvard and Tulane.[564] He has had a distinguished career in community medicine and continues to practice in South Central Los Angeles.

Central American businesses and professional offices were located in predominantly Central American neighborhoods. Pico-Union in Los Angeles' Westlake district became an important hub of Central American commerce in the 1970s. As Central Americans dispersed to other parts of California toward the end of the twentieth century, including the Alameda Corridor in southeast Los Angeles, eastern Orange County, and the Mission District of San Francisco, new businesses emerged in these areas to meet the new demand.

Despite the accomplishments of many Central Americans, access to higher education and business financing was limited and entrepreneurial and professional successes were the exceptions to the norm. In 1990, only 7.3 percent and 6.9 percent of foreign-born Salvadorans and Guatemalans were employed in professional, technical, or managerial positions in southern California, respectively.[565] In many cases even those who came to California with the credentials and skills to start their own businesses or obtain professional employment were unable to do so due to language barriers and accreditation differences.[566]

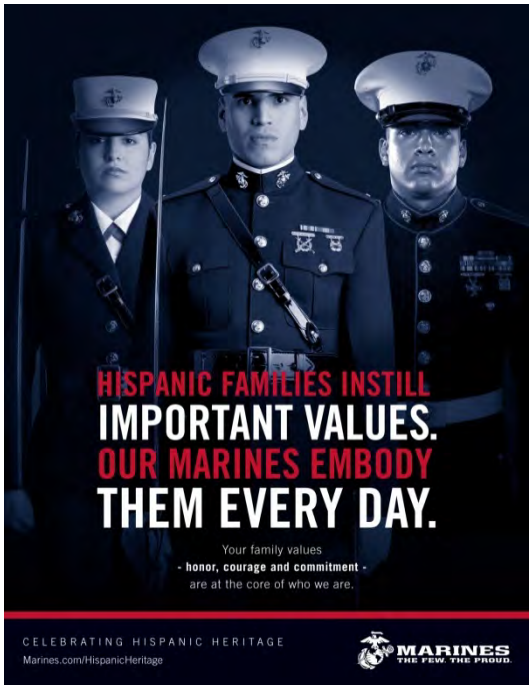
Toward the end of the twentieth century, California experienced a small, notable increase in its South American population, in addition to its steadily growing Central American and Mexican populations. The business and professional trajectories of these new residents were typically much different than other Latino groups. Unlike the low-wage, unskilled workers who emigrated from Mexico and Central America during the same time period, the

majority of South Americans were educated, skilled workers with college or professional degrees.[567] Originating from Argentina, Peru, Chile, Colombia, and Ecuador, they were attracted to the U.S. by better job prospects and settled predominantly in large urban areas, like Los Angeles, Orange County, San Francisco, and San Diego.[568] Statistics for South Americans in California for the year 2000 illustrate the population's higher levels of education and professional training: 36.1 percent of the total South American population was employed in management, professional, and related occupations, and an additional 25.5 percent in sales and office occupations.[569]

Due to globalization and economic restructuring, large corporations began to dominate the American marketplace like never before in the last decades of the twentieth century. While high-ranking opportunities for Latinos in corporate America remained limited due to both unequal access to education and persistent prejudice, some individuals were able to break through the glass ceiling. One such individual was Bill Davila. Born in 1931 in Los Angeles, Davila began his career as a janitor for the Vons supermarket chain in 1948 at the age of 17. After a stint in the Air Force from 1951 to 1955, he was promoted to produce manager of a local store. Although he never went to college, Davila earned a position in the company's advertising department in 1959 and eventually became its head. After several subsequent promotions, he became president of the company in 1984. His tenure lasted until 1990, when he retired as president and remained a member of the board.[570]

While Davila found exceptional success in what would be considered mainstream corporate America, Danny Villanueva, another self-made businessman, made his fortune in the emerging Latino corporate arena of the 1970s. Born in New Mexico to immigrant parents, Villanueva was a high school teacher before becoming one of the first Latino kickers in the National Football League.[571] He retired from football in 1967 and used his NFL career as a springboard for bigger opportunities in media. Villanueva was a founder and part owner of the Spanish International Network known as Univision. Under his direction, Los Angeles affiliate KMEX-TV became the most profitable Spanish language station in the U.S.[572] After the sale of the network in 1988, Villanueva served on the board of several companies and started his own investment firm, Rustic Canyon/Fontis Partners, headquartered in Pasadena.[573]

Major corporate success stories, like Davila's and Villanueva's, were unfortunately rare throughout the twentieth century. Despite some significant accomplishments, representation of Latinos in high-ranking corporate positions remained disproportionately low. Many individuals, non-profits, companies, and universities initiated scholarships and incentive programs to begin to address the imbalance. Both Davila and Villanueva endowed scholarships for young Latinos with leadership skills and business interests.



Latinos have played a long and distinguished role in U.S. military history since the American Revolution. (*Photo courtesy* U.S. *Marine Corps*)

Latinos in the Military

People of Latino ancestry have played a long and distinguished role in United States military history serving in the American Revolution and in every military operation since then. Latinos have used

their status as soldiers and veterans to advance their equal treatment and integration within U.S. society. Latino heroism was especially prominent during World War II. Out of 16 million Americans in the armed services during World War II, between 250,000 and 500,000 were Latinos. Latinos also participated in critical non-combatant and civilian roles. Heightened nationalism and conservatism on the home front resulted in violence and discrimination against Latinos. Latino veterans responded by forming community service organizations to fight discrimination and to improve the socio-economic status of the entire community. This activism, along with the educational opportunities they received as a result of the G.I. Bill, thrust them into leadership roles during the postwar era. Latinos went into action again during the Korean and Vietnam wars and fought bravely for their country. Disproportionate casualty rates during the Vietnam conflict changed the attitudes of many Latinos regarding military service. Nevertheless, there continued to be widespread support for military service in the Latino community at the end of the twentieth century.

World War I

World War I was a global war centered in Europe that began on July 28, 1914. U.S. foreign policy at the beginning of the twentieth century was to avoid involvement in military and political conflicts abroad. President Woodrow Wilson won re-election to a second term in 1916 with the campaign slogan, "He kept us out of war." In 1917, public opinion changed partly in response to the sinking of the Lusitania and partly in response to Wilson's new position that the U.S. had an interest in maintaining world peace.[574] That same year, after seven years of revolution and civil upheaval, Mexican President Venustiano Carranza signed the modern Mexican constitution, which promised land restoration to native peoples, separation of church and state, and dramatic economic and educational reforms.

World War I heightened American's anxieties toward the influx of immigrants during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1910, the total U.S. population was almost 92 million, and of these, 13.3 million were foreign-born. Latinos represented a small, growing percent of the population of California in 1910. The total California population was 2,377,549 and the Latino population has been estimated at 58,188.[575] The vast majority of these Latinos were Americans of Mexican descent or Mexican immigrants who had moved to California during the Mexican Revolution.

Despite their relatively small numbers, Mexicans living in California during the period were viewed with distrust. One of the reasons the U.S. entered the war was out of concern that Mexico would support Germany. In January 1917, the British deciphered a telegram from German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmerman to the German Minister in Mexico, offering U.S. territory to Mexico in return for joining the German cause. The so-called Zimmerman Telegram was published in the American press March 1. April 6 the U.S. declared war on Germany and its allies. Although the German proposal was flatly rejected by President Carranza, it fueled anti-Mexican sentiment in the U.S.

In January 1917, German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmerman [offered] U.S. territory to Mexico in return for joining the German cause ... Although the proposal was flatly rejected by President Carranza, it fueled anti-Mexican sentiment in the U.S.

The activities of Francisco "Pancho" Villa, the Mexican Revolutionary general, had already strained U.S.-Mexico relations. Although once aligned, Villa did not support Carranza as president because he believed that he was forming another dictatorship like Porfirio Díaz. President Wilson shared that belief and provided political and military support to Villa. Eventually Wilson withdrew that support because he felt that the best way to stabilize the Mexican government was by working with Carranza. Villa was

declared an outlaw by the U.S. after he and his men crossed the border and raided the town of Columbus, New Mexico. He was chased through Mexico for months by U.S. troops, and was never captured.

The activities of Villa were widely reported in the English-language press in California. The headline in the Los Angeles Times on April 1 optimistically announced "Villa Probably Already Captured" then the headline on July 8 expressed a loss of patience, "Villa Here, Villa There, There are Villas Everywhere but They are Not Pancho." It was around this time that conflicting and equally negative stereotypes of Mexicans were formed. Historian Douglas Monroy describes this dichotomy as "dupes or hell-raisers."[576] On the one hand, Mexicans were viewed as ignorant laborers and on the other hand they were viewed as devious outlaws.

When the U.S. entered the war, there were about 200,000 active personnel in the Army. The Selective Service Act activated the National Guard and Reserves and issued a draft for 1,000,000 men. Between 1917 and 1918, 98 percent of all men born between 1873 and 1900 received draft registration notices. Approximately 24,000,000 were registered, and only a small portion actually served. Resident aliens were required to register, and were not drafted.

According to draft registration cards, 4,900 Mexicans and Mexican Americans in California registered.[577] Nevertheless, the Los Angeles Times and other English-language newspapers in California created the impression that Mexicans were reluctant to register or were returning to Mexico to avoid the draft.

> …practically all of the American boys declared themselves in favor of volunteering. The foreign-born registrants hung back, in most instances, claiming exemption on various grounds. Next to the Americans, English, French, Belgians, and Italians, the Japanese and Chinese seem to be the most kindly disposed toward the selective draft. Few of the Mexicans or Russians seem willing to engage in the war, the exemption board clerks say.[578]

Most Californians served in the 40th, 42nd, or 91st Division of the Army and were trained at either Camp Kearny in San Diego or Camp Lewis in the state of Washington. They did not remain together when they were shipped overseas.[579] Latinos lacking sufficient English skills were sent to Camp Cody in New Mexico to improve their language proficiency so that they could be integrated into the mainstream Army.[580] At the time, all branches of the U.S. military were segregated by race. Although Latinos were classified as white, they were often assigned to menial positions.

With the war's end in November 1918, many soldiers did not travel overseas and into combat. Two Latinos from California who did die in battle were John E. Acouna and Frank R. Echeveria. Their personal stories are typical of many Latino soldiers in World War I. John Acouna was killed somewhere in France in 1918. He was the first man from the City of San Gabriel to die in the war. His father was in the vegetable business. His brothers José and Pedro were also drafted and served in the Army during World War I.[581] John was operating a pool and billiard hall before entering the Army. Frank Echeveria was also killed in France in 1918. He was born in Watsonville in 1896 to Robert and Silvina (Rodriquez) Echeveria who were also natural born citizens. His mother is listed in the 1870 Census and appears to have been part of a Californio family. His older brothers Robert and Alfred also registered in the draft, and were not called to serve. They all worked as farm laborers.[582]

World War II

The U.S. entered World War II on December 8, 1941, following the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii by Japanese Imperial Navy aviators. The U.S. declaration of war on Japan was extended to include Germany and Italy on December 10, 1941, after they declared war on this nation. Out of the 16 million Americans in the armed forces during World War II, between 250,000 and 500,000 were Latinos.[583] As was the case in World War I, most Latinos were classified as white and served in all branches of the military and in all theaters of the conflict. Their patriotism has been chronicled in several books including *Legacy Greater Than Words*, a summary of 425 interviews with Latinos from across the country; *Undaunted Courage: Mexican American Patriots of World War II*, which profiles over 500 soldiers; *Among the Valiant: Mexican Americans in WWII and Korea* that focuses on Medal of Honor recipients; and *Piloto: Migrant Worker to Jet Pilot*, a firsthand account of the war by a migrant farm worker who became an Air Force pilot. The personal stories contained in these books reveal the complexity of the Latino population living in California during the middle of the twentieth century.

President Franklin Roosevelt signed the Selective Training and Service Act (STSA) on September 16, 1940, the first peacetime draft in American history. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the STSA was amended. Ultimately, 50 million men from 18 to 45 were registered, 36 million were classified, and 10 million were inducted.[584] Even non-citizens living in the U.S. were drafted. Many non-citizens were later given the opportunity to become naturalized by taking an oath of citizenship while a member of the armed forces.[585] By this time U.S.-born Latinos outnumbered foreign-born Latinos by two to one, largely due to the repatriation program during the Great Depression.[586] Many men signed up before they were drafted in hopes of selecting which branch of the armed forces they would serve. Most Latinos served in the Army for the simple reason that the Army received the largest number of draftees.[587]

Peter Aguilar Despart became the first draftee of the Army on October 29, 1941.[588] Despart was born to an Italian father and Mexican American mother. In 1940, he was living on North Main Street in Los Angeles. His occupation in the City Directory was vaguely listed as manager. He may have managed his parents' liquor store, also located on North Main Street. Despart returned to California after the war and lived in Alhambra. He also served in the Army during the Korean War. He died in 1997 and is buried in the Riverside National Cemetery.[589]

Despart's brother Joseph also served in the Army during World War II. This was typical of Latino families, some of which had multiple members serving in the military. The Banuelo and Garcia families from Los Angeles each had six siblings, and the Nevarez family, also from Los Angeles, had eight siblings who served in the military during the war.[590]

Guy Gabaldon was one of the most celebrated Mexican Americans to serve in World War II. He single-handedly captured over 1,000 Japanese soldiers in the Battle of Saipan. A movie, "Hell to Eternity," was made about his war service, though he was portrayed as an Anglo-American. (*Photo courtesy Marines Mag*)

One of the most celebrated Mexican Americans to serve in the war was Guy Gabaldon, the Pied Piper of Saipan. Gabaldon grew up in Boyle Heights, a multi-cultural neighborhood in Los Angeles. Due to an unhappy home life, he spent most of his youth with a Japanese American family, so much so that he learned their language and customs. When his foster family was sent to an internment camp at the outbreak of the war, he enlisted in the Marine Corps.[591] During the Battle of Saipan he single-handedly captured over 1,000 Japanese civilians and soldiers by convincing them to surrender. The 1960 film *Hell to Eternity* starring Jeffrey Hunter depicted Gabaldon's heroism, and never acknowledged that the hero was Mexican American. Gabaldon was nominated for the Medal of Honor, and was awarded the Silver Star instead. His medal was later upgraded to the Navy Cross, the Marines' second highest decoration for heroism.[592]

Ysmael Villegas, of the Casa Blanca neighborhood in Riverside, was one of two California Latinos to receive the Medal of Honor for their bravery in World War II. Villegas died in action, protecting his squad from enemy fire. A memorial statue of Villegas stands in Riverside's Main Street Plaza. (*Photo courtesy City of Riverside*)

Twelve Latinos earned the Medal of Honor for their bravery during World War II. Two young men from California are included in that distinguished list: David Gonzalez of Pacoima and Ysmael Villegas of Casa Blanca. Gonzalez was killed in action at the age of 22 on the Luzon Island in the Philippines. In the face of enemy machine gun fire, he rescued fellow soldiers who had been buried in a bomb explosion. Villegas was also killed in action on Luzon Island. He was 20 years old when he single-handedly cleared five enemy foxholes that had his squad pinned down.[593]

During the war years, Latinos in California experienced shifting gender roles, improving socioeconomic conditions, evolving cultural identities, and persistent discrimination. As the U.S. entered World War II, one young man expressed the contradictory feelings Latinos had about their place in American society.

> The fellas down in our section—there's nothing bad about them, no more than anywhere else. But things are tough. There's nowhere to go—no place to play games—nothing. If the cops catch you on the street after 8 o'clock, usually they run you in—or rough you up, anyway. If you look like a Mexican you just better stay off the street, that's all. And where can you go? It's real bad. I'm going into the Army, and it's all right with me. I'm glad to be going. Things'll be better in the Army, and I'm glad of the chance to fight. It makes it hard, though, for a lot of our fellas to see things that way. They want to fight for their county, all right—but they want to feel like it's their country.[594]

The World War II generation of Latinos was far more influenced by mainstream American culture, far less interested in maintaining close ties to Mexico, and far more aggressive about taking their rightful place in American society than the World War I generation had been. Losing touch with their Mexican heritage, and feeling rejected as Americans, adolescents created their own unique subculture. They became known as *Pachucos* or

Pachucas and expressed themselves through fashion. They began wearing zoot suits and broad-brimmed hats, mixing with other races, listening to jazz, and dancing the jitterbug. This very public self-expression was equated with poor moral character. For one thing, zoot suits were baggy and fabric was being rationed for the war effort. This misperception of the *Pachuco* subculture was encouraged by wartime nationalism that called for homogeneity on the home front, and was aggravated by the English-language press that falsely reported crime sprees by gangs of Mexican youth.

Anti-Mexican attitudes in Los Angeles culminated in the Zoot Suit Riots of 1943. The police harassment that Mexican American adolescents experienced at the beginning of the decade escalated to physical violence by white servicemen. Bands of angry servicemen on leave from local military bases drove around the area terrorizing young zoot-suiters for a week in June, with no police interference. Young men were often targeted when they were by themselves, beaten, and stripped of their clothes. Similar altercations between servicemen and Pachucos occurred in San Jose, Oakland, San Diego, and Delano. The riots in Los Angeles were particularly violent. Eventually the Navy and Marine Corps declared Los Angeles off limits to military personnel, 150 people were injured, and more than 500 Mexican Americans were arrested. Those who had been stripped of their clothes were charged with disturbing the peace or vagrancy. [595]

Latinas also served in World War II. Eva Romero Jacques was one of the first Latinas to serve in the U.S. Army Air Forces Corps. She performed non-combat duties in the Pacific theater, New Guinea, and the Philippines, including teaching Spanish to the American troops. (*Photo courtesy Eva Romero Jacques*)

While young Latinos and Latinas were searching for their place in American society, Latinas of all ages were pushing the boundaries of traditional gender roles. Prior to World War II, Latinas joined the workforce to help support their families. They were mostly relegated to positions in domestic service, cannery and packinghouses, textile industry, and agriculture. During World War I, women were allowed to join the military and served as nurses and support staff such as secretaries. During World War II, they also served as ambulance drivers, mechanics, pilots, and other non-combat roles. Most women who served in the military belonged to the Army Nurses Corps, Women's Army Corps (WAC), Navy Nurses Corps, or Navy Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services (WAVES).[596]

Wartime labor shortages created an unprecedented opportunity for Latinas to obtain high-skilled jobs with good wages in the defense industries. California became a primary focus for the defense industries. New manufacturing plants, shipyards, aircraft factories, and military bases were constructed in Oakland, Richmond, Sausalito, Vallejo, San Pedro, and Alameda. In addition, military industries already established in San Francisco and San Diego were greatly expanded. Wartime employment gave Latinas a heightened sense of self-esteem and their first taste of economic independence. Most women returned to the home after the war, as returning veterans replaced them in the factories that were converted to civilian production. All women, including Latinas, made long-term gains in

white-collar jobs after the war. Historian Vickie Ruiz notes that the number of Mexican American women in clerical and sales positions increased from 10.1 percent in 1930 to 23.9 percent in 1950.[597]

Having experienced equal treatment in the military, Latino soldiers expected to have the same rights as other Americans when they returned. When the old obstacles appeared, new civil rights organizations were formed, such as the American G.I. Forum. Latino veterans reported that housing, medical, and educational benefits under the G.I. Bill of Rights were frequently denied or delayed. Unlike their white American counterparts, Latino veterans of this era did not typically seek assistance from the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars, as these organizations were all white. Thus, Latino veterans often felt isolated and dejected from the country for which they fought. Into this vacuum stepped Dr. Hector Garcia, who was himself a veteran of the Army Medical Corps. He organized the American G.I. Forum in 1948 to advocate for the equal distribution of veterans' benefits.[598] Based in Corpus Christi, Texas, the Forum differentiated itself from other veterans' organizations with its family orientation that was especially appealing to Latinos.[599] The Forum went on to defend the civil rights of Mexican American veterans across the country and improve their status.

Unlike their white American counterparts, Latino veterans of this era did not typically seek assistance from the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars, as these organizations were all white. Thus, Latino veterans often felt isolated and dejected from the country for which they fought.

While the California chapter of the Forum was not established until in 1958, there were local chapters in various cities including San Jose, Modesto, and Sacramento. Latino veterans in California primarily worked within the framework of the existing veterans' organization by establishing their own chapters. The Eugene A. Obregon American Legion Post 804 in East Los Angeles was formed in 1954, named in memory of the Medal of Honor recipient for his action in the Korean War. One of the founding members was Edward Roybal, a World War II veteran who went on to serve in the U.S. Congress. In addition to providing support for veterans, Post 804 organizes Memorial Day and Veterans Day services and sponsors a variety of community events. The Post 804 building also serves as home to the Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 4696, the Los Angeles Chapter of the Hispanic Airborne Association, the San Gabriel Valley Chapter of the 82nd Airborne Association, and the Rice Patties Jumpers Chapter of the 187th Regiment.

Although they had to struggle for their rights under the G.I. Bill, the bill provided Latinos with the opportunity to break out of the industries to which they had been traditionally bound. Many Latino soldiers learned new occupations during the war, and veterans were able to obtain government loans to start businesses or continue their educations. One veteran from Santa Paula who opened a shoe repair shop after the war recalled:

> When the G.I. veteran returned, he didn't want to work in the fields anymore. In the war they got exposed to different things, and they preferred to work in non-agricultural jobs…After the war we had the G.I. Bill of Rights. A lot of us went to school. It was the biggest stepping stone that came our way. A lot of my friends after WWII took advantage of it. That's when we got the first level of professionals such as my brother who became an attorney.[600]

As a result of the higher wages they received in blue-collar, and to a lesser extent in white-collar, jobs, a substantial number of Latinos experienced economic mobility during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

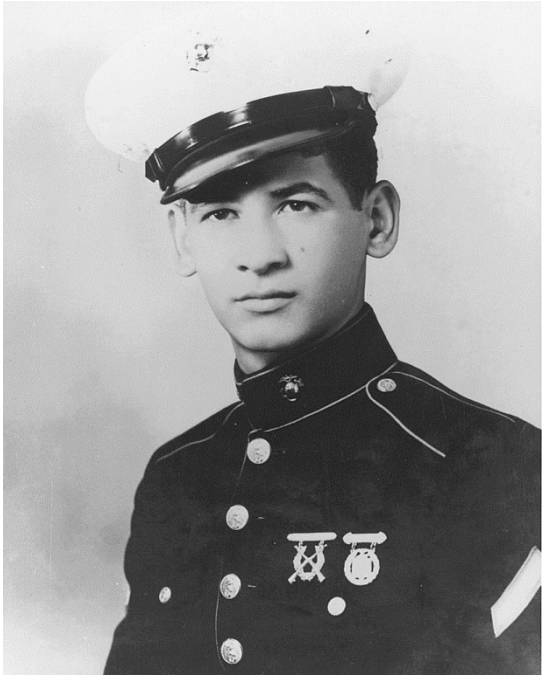
Korea, Vietnam, and the Anti-War Movement

Latinos continued to serve with distinction in the U.S. military during the Korean and Vietnam wars. Nine Latinos received the Medal of Honor during the Korean War and 13 during the Vietnam War. Of these veterans, five were Californians. Beginning in the 1950s, more Latinos viewed the military as a career option, as opposed to being drafted or volunteering to fight in a particular conflict. That trend quickly faded as the casualty rate amongst Latino soldiers soared during the Vietnam War. For this reason, the anti-war movement was a vital component of the larger struggles for equality during the 1960s and 1970s.

The Korean War was an escalation of a civil war between ideologically opposed regimes in the country's north and south. The conflict was expanded by the involvement of the United States and China as part of the Cold War. The main hostilities occurred from June 1950 through July 1953, with the conflict ending in a standoff at the 38th parallel.

After World War II, the U.S. ended the draft and reduced the size of the armed forces. When the Korean War broke out, many World War II veterans were recalled to active duty and the draft was reinstituted. Roughly 148,000 Latinos served in the armed forces during the Korean War.[601] According to a study conducted by American Patriots of Latino Heritage, "Of the 36,574 casualties, 2,721 were Latinos. Of the 2,611 Californians who were killed in action, 518 were Mexican Americans, that is, 20 percent, which was four times their numbers in our state."[602]

These statistics may be attributed to the fact that most Latinos who served in the Korean War served in the Army infantry or in the Marine Corps, which put them on the front lines.[603] Many battles in Korea were fought in some of the most mountainous terrain in the world and many of the bitterest engagements occurred during winter months when soldiers suffered from extremely cold temperatures. For their exceptional courage, three Latino soldiers from California were awarded the Medal of Honor: Eugene A. Obregon, Rodolfo P. Hernandez, and Joseph C. Rodriguez. Their lives and stories exemplify the variety of experiences of Latino patriots: some were drafted, others volunteered; some returned home, others did not; and some remained in the military, and others resumed their private lives the best way they could.



Eugene A. Obregon served with the 1st Marine Provisional Brigade in Korea. He died shielding a fellow wounded soldier from enemy fire, and was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor. American Legion Post No. 804 in East Los Angeles is named in his honor. (*Photo courtesy Creative Commons/en.Wikipedia*)

Obregon was born in Los Angeles and enlisted in the Marine Corps at the age of 17. Following his training in San Diego, he was assigned to the Marine Corps Supply Depot in Barstow, where he served as a fireman until the outbreak of the war. He was transferred to the 1st Marine Provisional Brigade and served as a machine gun ammunition carrier. During an assault on the city of Seoul, he shielded a fallen friend with his body until fatally wounded by enemy machine gun fire.[604]

Hernandez grew up in Fowler. He was one of eight children born to a farmworker. He joined the Army, also at the age of 17. After completing his basic training, Hernandez volunteered for paratrooper school. At the outbreak of the war he was stationed in Germany. He was awarded the Medal of Honor for his bravery during a battle near Wontong-ni. On the night of May 31, 1951, Hernandez protected his platoon from attacking Chinese troops by leaving his foxhole and engaging enemy soldiers with only his rifle and bayonet. Hernandez killed six of the enemy before falling unconscious from grenade, bayonet, and bullet wounds.[605] He remarkably survived his injuries and worked for the Veterans Administration after the war.

Born in San Bernardino, Rodriguez was drafted into the Army in October of 1950. He received his basic training at Camp Carson in Colorado and was assigned to the 17th Infantry Regiment. During an assault on several enemy positions near Munye-ri, Rodriguez killed 15 Chinese soldiers enabling his company to take control of a strategic hill. After the war, he decided to make the military his career. He became a commissioned officer in the Army Corps of Engineers and retired with the rank of Colonel.

Like the Korean War, the Vietnam War attempted to contain the spread of communism. U.S. involvement in Vietnam began in 1950 when President Harry Truman provided aid and advisors to the French military in Indochina, including, in part, the countries of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. President Dwight Eisenhower increased aid during his administration. When President John Kennedy took office in 1961, he increased the number of military advisors. U.S. involvement continued to escalate until 1965 when the U.S. sent ground troops to South Vietnam and began to bomb North Vietnam. The capture of Saigon by the North Vietnamese Army in April 1975 marked the end of the war, although U.S. military personal had been withdrawn in 1973.

Approximately 80,000 Latinos served in the armed forces during America's involvement in Vietnam,[606] receiving 13 of the 239 Medals of Honor awarded during the war. Two of these young men were from California, Alfred V. Racon from Oxnard and Maximo Yabes from Lodi. Many Latinos undoubtedly enlisted out of a sense of patriotism. Historian Ralph Guzman observed that Latinos also entered the military because they were still under pressure to prove their loyalty and because it was viewed as a way out of poverty.[607]

Many Latinos undoubtedly enlisted out of a sense of patriotism. Historian Ralph Guzman observed that Latinos also entered the military because they were still under pressure to prove their loyalty and because it was viewed as a way out of poverty.

The attitudes of Latinos reflected that of the country at large in that there were those who supported and those who opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam.[608] The first demonstrations by Mexican Americans during the era were organized by the American G.I. Forum in support for the war.[609] Those who opposed the war were generally the younger segment of the population who took part in the larger Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, historian George Mariscal explains that, "Mexican American activists developed a complex critique of the traditional assimilation and melting-pot discourses in order to transform themselves into Chicanas and Chicanos. Taking a previously pejorative term that had existed along the U.S.-Mexican border for decades, these brown-eyed children of the sun rejected the dominant version of U.S. history, and began the arduous journey toward self-determination and self-definition."[610]

Of the 5,572 Californians who were killed in action during the Vietnam War, 823 were Mexican Americans. That is 15 percent of casualties, which was four times their number in the state.[611] While this number is tragic, it is actually lower than the 20 percent of Californians of Mexican descent who died during the Korean War. The difference is that as the Vietnam War dragged on, the Latino community as a whole began to believe that the human and economic price was too high. "La batalla esta aqui" (the battle is here) became the rallying cry for Chicano anti-war activists. They argued that the real battle was in the United States, not in Vietnam. The money that was being spent on the war abroad would be better spent on improving health care, housing, and educational opportunities for Americans of color. When Latino veterans returning from the war experienced rejection instead of recognition, many of them became disillusioned with the war and themselves became Chicano activists in the anti-war movement.

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On November 15, 1969, anti-war demonstrations were held in cities across the country including New York, Washington D.C., San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Chicanos participated in these events, organized by the National Mobilization Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee among other groups. The attitudes of these mostly white groups convinced Chicano activists that they needed an all Chicano group to oppose the war. Thus, the National Chicano Moratorium Committee was born. The co-chairs of the committee were Rosalio Muñoz and Roberto Elisas.[612] The committee organized its first demonstration on December 20, 1969. Over 1,000 participants attended the demonstration in East Los Angeles. A second demonstration on February 28, 1970 attracted 3,000 people. In 1970, the two began to travel throughout the Southwest to recruit Chicano activists for a major anti-war march to be held in East Los Angeles on August 29th.[613] Smaller events were held in cities throughout the Southwest, including California, leading up to this national event.[614]

Latinos like other Americans, came to believe the human and economic costs of the Vietnam War were too high. Latinos in Los Angeles joined the National Chicano Moratorium anti-war movement, staging protest marches through East LA. The August 29, 1970 march drew almost 30, 000 protestors from across the country, and is considered one of the largest demonstrations by Mexican Americans in U.S. history. (*Photo courtesy Sal Castro, Security Pacific National Bank Collection, Los Angeles Public Library*)

Approximately 20,000 to 30,000 protestors from across the country gathered in Belvedere Park and marched down Atlantic and Whittier Boulevards to a rally in Laguna Park.[615] It was hailed as the largest demonstration of Mexican Americans in history. The importance of the demonstration was overshadowed by the events that followed. A disturbance at a liquor store sparked a massive response from the Los Angeles Police Department and Los

Angeles County Sheriff's Department. The peaceful rally quickly turned into a major conflict between protestors and police officers and sheriff's deputies. By the end of the day, 60 people were injured, 200 were arrested, and three were killed: Angel Díaz, Lyn Ward, and journalist Ruben Salazar.[616] Although the march ended in disarray, it was an early phase of the community organizing that would eventually lead to increased political representation in later decades.

The August 29, 1970 Chicano Moratorium demonstration ended on a tragic note when three people were killed, including renowned Latino journalist, Ruben Salazar, who was fatally struck by a tear gas canister fired by a sheriff's deputy. (*Photo courtesy CalHumanities*)

Latinos in the Military During the Late Twentieth Century

In 1973, the draft ended and the armed forces developed a recruitment campaign for volunteers. Around this same time, the various branches of the U.S. military began to allow women to serve in active duty positions, but not in combat roles. In the last few decades of the twentieth century there was a steady increase in the percentage of Latinos of both sexes in the armed forces. Female enlistments surpassed male, despite the traditionally masculine atmosphere of the military and Latino culture.[617] Among male volunteers, the Marine Corps has continued to be the preferred branch of the military for Latinos. At the end of the twentieth century, nearly 14 percent of Marines were Latino. That number was expected grow given the fact that Latinos have the highest reenlistment rates of any other group.[618] The Latino community continues to hold military service in high regard. There are now higher expectations of honoring those who have served and of ensuring equal opportunities for a community that has fought long and hard in wars to protect everyone's rights.

Making a Democracy

Latino Struggles for Inclusion

While Latinos made significant contributions to the growth and development of California and while they could lay claim to deep historical roots in the state, they nonetheless endured widespread discrimination and segregation in the twentieth century. This inequity drove a long, unyielding fight for full equality and inclusion in American society. The Latino struggle for inclusion in California gained critical momentum in the 1930s, reached fruition by the 1960s with the rise of the Chicano movement, and then expanded by the 1980s. These campaigns took multiple forms—with an array of agendas, political orientations, and historical actors—and were deeply shaped by generational patterns. Latino activists often worked in tandem with multiracial/ethnic coalitions sharing the same goals. In housing, Latinos struggled against segregation practices that confined them to limited areas. Only in the postwar period did they begin to break the residential color line, a process that accelerated after 1970. Mexican American activists were involved in a variety of open housing initiatives. In education, Mexican Americans led a fight to de-segregate the schools, which resulted in breakthroughs of national significance. Court victories in California set critical precedents for the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision. California's Mexican Americans also demanded ethnic integrity in education, spearheading the formation of Chicano Studies programs and the integration of Latino contributions into school curricula. In politics, Mexican Americans waged a steady campaign for full inclusion, including voting rights and electoral representation. Immigrant rights have been a long-lived, if uneven, part of these efforts, accelerating especially after 1970. By the 1950s, Latino activists had helped dismantle legalized segregation in California, and by the 1970s had achieved notable gains in voting and electoral politics.

History of Segregation and Discrimination

The Latino struggle for inclusion in California was a response to widespread discrimination and segregation that intensified after 1900. These practices began in the mid-nineteenth century during the process of Americanization, when the United States took control of California. As Anglos asserted power in social, political, and economic life, Mexicans experienced downward mobility and marginalization in all of these realms. Historians have documented the complex ways this process linked to race. At first, Mexicans occupied a middling position on the Anglo-defined racial hierarchy in the mid-nineteenth century. By 1900, the influx of "thousands of Mexican peasants to California… led to a metaphorical 'darkening' of the Mexican image in the white mind."[619] This Anglo perception of Mexican racial inferiority was used to justify their social, political, and economic subjugation. Despite this overall trend, Mexicans continued to occupy an ambiguous racial position in California. In some contexts, they were designated "white," a residue of their more favorable social and civic status in the nineteenth century. Yet in everyday life, Mexicans were increasingly the targets of segregation and discrimination after 1900. This ambiguous racial status complicated their legal claims to equal protection

From 1900 to 1960 … Mexicans were increasingly confined to low-level, manual labor jobs, and often settled near their workplace. These neighborhoods were gradually hemmed in as segregated barrios, cut off from Anglos socially, politically, and culturally through exclusionary devices such as race restrictive covenants.

under the law, an issue that was gradually worked out in the courts during the twentieth century.

From 1900 to 1960, segregation and discrimination showed up in many areas of life in California. Barrioization was a foundational element, resting on the twin pillars of housing and job discrimination. Mexicans were increasingly confined to low-level, manual labor jobs, and often settled near their workplace. These neighborhoods were gradually hemmed in as segregated barrios, cut off from Anglos socially, politically, and culturally through exclusionary devices like race restrictive covenants.[620] In these settlements, Mexicans commonly lived alongside other people of color who were similarly excluded from Anglo neighborhoods.

The formation of barrios reinforced more widespread segregation in public facilities, such as churches, schools, parks, public pools, and civic auditoriums. Private commercial venues followed suit, segregating Latinos in restaurants, movie theaters, roller skating rinks, and the like. For example, in the 1920s the five theaters in downtown Santa Ana were segregated by confining Mexicans to seats in the balcony. At the public pool in Orange, Monday was "Mexican Day," the only day when Mexicans were allowed to swim. City workers drained the pool on Monday evening then cleaned it the following day. These practices were widespread throughout the state.[621] Discrimination carried over into employment, politics, and even public health.[622] Together, these practices kept Latinos from experiencing the levels of upward mobility enjoyed by Anglos.

Building the Latino Civil Rights Movement

In the face of this discrimination, California's Latinos mobilized over the course of the twentieth century to demand full civic and political inclusion. Before 1960, these efforts took the form of community-based, civic and trade union organizing. After 1960, electoral politics and voter mobilization assumed greater importance, signifying the accumulating power of Latinos. In the process, activists formed key organizations to harness the collective power of the Latino community. This history was characterized by generational waves of organization building and leadership, each animated by the broad social context of their times. By the 1950s, these activists had succeeded in dismantling legalized segregation in the state; anti-discrimination laws persisted longer.[623] This section provides a broad overview of these efforts, emphasizing key breakthroughs and the activities of key organizations.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, as Louis DeSipio notes, the campaign for rights was undertaken more by individuals than groups, due to the politically and economically weakened state of the Mexican population after Americanization. Individuals used the state and federal courts to assert their citizenship rights in several key cases. In *In re Ricardo Rodríguez* (1897), a federal judge in Texas ruled a Mexican immigrant eligible for naturalization because he was deemed white. In *People v. de la Guerra* (1870), the California Supreme Court established the rights of Mexicans to hold public office.[624] Other early cases gave Mexicans the right to serve on juries and own property.[625] Although the *Rodriguez* case was notable for legally designating Mexicans as white, they continued to experience discrimination in everyday life.[626]

By 1900, Mexicans had begun forming organizations to foster community cohesion and mutual support. These groups became critical foundations for activism. An important early group was the mutualistas, or mutual aid societies, that appeared "virtually everywhere Mexicans settled."[627] While they could vary by class and agendas, they often combined social welfare functions (providing sick and death benefits, small emergency loans, and legal services), ethnic culture reinforcement (celebrating Mexican national holidays), and political activism. They were predominantly working class, and generally included both

immigrant and American-born Mexicans. Historian David Guetiérrez characterizes the actions of the mutualistas as "manifestations of the first efforts at concerted collective action."[628] They included opening schools to provide Mexican families an alternative to segregated schools, coordinating strikes, and working to defeat candidates with discriminatory records.

Members of the Merelas Mutualistas de Order Mexicans of Merced attend the funeral of a prominent community member, 1935. In the early twentieth century, mutualistas (mutual aid societies) provided support to Latino communities in the areas of social welfare, cultural reinforcement, and political activism. (*Photo courtesy Merced County Historical Society and Courthouse Museum*)

One of the largest mutualista alliances in the U.S. was the Alianza Hispano-Americana, founded in Tucson, Arizona, in 1894, with chapters in Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Bernardino after 1900. It waged legal challenges against discrimination and provided members with legal services. As a critical incubator of community leadership, the mutualistas were important springboards for civil and labor rights activism.[629]

By the late 1920s and 1930s, several significant Latino organizations were established which reflected the vital interlinking of labor rights and civil rights. Schisms occasionally divided these efforts—between progressives and conservatives, American born and immigrants, middle and working class. This period saw the rise of second generation Mexican Americans, who had accrued enough economic and political power to take the mantle of community leadership and spearhead new initiatives for Latino rights. They played a crucial role in civil rights activism during these decades, and newly arriving immigrants continued to be involved in these efforts as well.[630] Because most Latinos were confined to the bottom end of a dual labor market, where their race consigned them to low-level jobs and pay, they perceived job inequity as a foundational civil rights issue. In addition to launching strikes and workplace actions, they increasingly linked these economic demands to a growing awareness of their "exploited position as a despised racial minority."[631] New organizations were formed to articulate these connections. In 1928 Mexican American and Mexican immigrant workers in Los Angeles formed the Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (CUOM), with 3,000 members organized into 20 locals. Their goal was to "equalize Mexican Labor to American Labor, and to obtain for them what the law justly allows." They also supported a cessation of unjust deportations, a halt to further immigration as a way of improving the "desperate" conditions for Mexicans in the U.S., and cultural autonomy and separatism to foster Mexican ethnic solidarity.[632] In the Imperial Valley the following year, two mutualistas formed into La Unión de Trabajadores del Valle Imperial (later renamed the Mexican Mutual Aid Society of the Imperial Valley), to demand union recognition and better housing conditions for farmworkers.[633] As worker protests multiplied in the 1930s—there were over 160 strikes in California from 1933 to 1937—these scattered actions were "remarkable" for the similarity of their rhetoric, as David Gutiérrez points out: they combined demands on bread-and-butter issues (wages and conditions) with an "increasing insistence that they should have the same rights as any other American worker."[634]

Two important regional civil rights organizations formed in this period that reflected a growing divide between moderate middle class and progressive working class activists. In 1929, the League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC) formed in Texas, and spread across the Southwest and into California by 1940. Composed of middle class Mexican Americans who conceived of themselves as enlightened leaders, LULAC was conservative in its approach to civil rights and race relations—embracing assimilation, adopting English as its official language, and excluding immigrants from its ranks—strategies they believed would be most effective for achieving meaningful social change. LULAC brought lawsuits against school segregation, lobbied the U.S. Census Bureau to change the racial designation of Mexicans to white, and supported restrictive immigration laws, fearing that a flood of new immigrants would focus the Mexican community inward rather than outward, thus impeding the process of assimilation.[635]

While LULAC was important especially in the area of school desegregation, in southern California other groups played more crucial roles in defining the civil rights agenda. This resulted partly from demographic differences—in California, the second generation coming of age by the late 1930s was younger, more working class, and thus less inclined to embrace LULAC's conservative approach.[636] This was exemplified by El Congreso (Congress of Spanish Speaking People), deemed by one historian as the most significant civil rights group in this period.[637] Southern California-based unionists launched this organization. It was spearheaded by the Guatemalan-born labor leader Luisa Moreno, who believed that the only way to secure worker rights was through equally vigorous demands for civil rights. In 1939 in Los Angeles she convened the first national civil rights conference for Latinos drawing together 136 union locals and Latino organizations (such as the mutualistas). About 1,500 students, educators, mutualista officers, and workers attended the three-day meeting. Other leaders were Eduardo Quevedo, Sr., and Josephine Fierro de Bright. With a more leftist bent than LULAC, El Congreso called for improved housing and health care, a Spanish-language newspaper, the extension of the National Labor Relations Act to farm and domestic workers, an end to racial discrimination, civil rights protections, and a congressional investigation of Latino living conditions. It also advocated for bilingual education, Latino studies, and gender equality, and they urged Latinos to become American citizens, vote in elections, and join CIO unions. While El Congreso was short-lived—fading by the mid-1940s due to limited funds and red-baiting of the group's leaders—it spurred the formation of other civil rights groups in California.[638] While neither LULAC nor El Congreso was a mass organization, they laid the foundation for civil rights activism in the postwar era.[639]

In 1939, Josefina Fierro de Bright, along with Luisa Moreno and Eduardo Quevedo, established El Congreso (Congress of Spanish Speaking People) in southern Cailfornia. El Congreso was a powerful, early voice in the fight for Latino civil rights. Fierro de Bright organized protests against segregation in LA schools and public facilities, and provided support to Latino unionizing efforts. (*Photo courtesy Mario T. Garcia, PhD*)

In the 1940s and 1950s, the Latino struggle for equality expanded rapidly and took multiple forms—from grassroots organizing to litigation. These efforts produced major court victories, progress in Latino electoral influence, and new organizations. The World War II experience was pivotal in this surge of activity. It juxtaposed patriotic wartime military service against virulent racism at home, heightening Latino expectations and demands for civil rights. Two events in Los Angeles during the war—the Sleepy Lagoon trial and the Zoot Suit riots—epitomized the problem. They illustrated the depth of racial hostility toward ethnic Mexicans, expressed by the public, press, police, and judicial system. These events became symbols of racial repression and inspired Latinos to wage more vigorous claims for civil rights. Adopting a more confrontational style, they waged campaigns that increasingly targeted state-sanctioned discrimination, reflecting the tenor of broader civil rights activism in the United States.[640] By the 1950s, the Cold War brought an abrupt end to more progressive activism, and moderate groups emerged to fill the void and reorient the Latino civil rights movement.

In the 1940s and 1950s, the Latino struggle for equality expanded rapidly ... The World War II experience was pivotal in this surge of activity. It juxtaposed patriotic wartime military service against virulent racism at home, heightening Latino expectations and demands for civil rights.

In the postwar era, a new cohort of leaders guided these efforts, including returning veterans and college graduates on the G.I. Bill. Veterans especially bristled at the specter of racial discrimination in the wake of their military service. As veteran Raul Morín put it, "How could we have played such a prominent role as Americans over there and now have to go back living as outsiders again? How long had we been missing out of benefits derived as an American citizen? We never had any voice. Here now as veterans who had risked their lives for the U.S. was the opportunity to do something about it." Likewise, veteran Candelario Mendoza observed that "things changed" because of the war, which emboldened him to be "a little more assertive" in making demands for civil rights in the 1940s.[641]

In the 1940s, while no major national Latino civil rights organization emerged, activism sprang from many quarters. In 1942, El Congreso rallied to support the war effort, while also campaigning against police brutality and raising funds for the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, advocating for the 17 Mexican American youth wrongly convicted of murder.[642] In San Bernardino County, a grassroots group successfully challenged the segregation of the city-run Perris Hill Plunge, in *Lopez v. Seccombe* (1943), a suit brought on behalf of 8,000 Latinos living in that area.[643] Organized labor meanwhile continued to represent *the* critical base of Latino civil rights activism during the decade.[644] Mexican American CIO unionists successfully lobbied to open up defense jobs to Mexicans during the war. They soon broadened their agenda into community issues like access to public housing, improvements to existing housing, and an end to police brutality.

In 1944, Mexican American CIO members, led by Jaime González, campaigned to support passage of the Hawkins Bill, which would set up a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee in California.[645] By 1946 in Los Angeles, writes Zaragosa Vargas, "the CIO was a driving force behind the mobilization to combat the upsurge of racism in the city," with Mexican American CIO unionists taking a lead role.[646] At the CIO's interracial conference on racial and minority discrimination held in Los Angeles in 1946, heavily attended by Mexican American union leaders and members, participants called for reforms to the Los Angeles Police Department to end police harassment of minority youth, greater involvement in local school boards, and community protests of discrimination incidents.

They passed a resolution, for example, condemning the shooting of a Mexican American youth in the Rose Hill housing project.[647]

Two key, community-based, politically oriented groups further illustrated the diversity of these efforts. The Unity Leagues emerged as a significant organization in southern California, proliferating across the San Gabriel Valley and San Bernardino citrus belt. Predating the Community Service Organization, the first Unity League formed in 1946 in Pomona. While the Leagues spoke out on issues like police brutality and segregation, their main focus was voter registration and campaigning for minority candidates.[648] The Community Service Organization (CSO), established in Los Angeles in 1947, was a similar grassroots group that focused on mobilizing Mexican American voters at the neighborhood level. The CSO was fairly moderate in orientation, generally embracing assimilation while advocating on a broad array of civil rights issues.[649] Together, both groups achieved a series of electoral breakthroughs in which Mexicans Americans were elected to various offices for the first time.[650]

By the 1950s, union-based activists were muffled in the face of McCarthyism, leaving room for more moderate voices to emerge. The decade saw the rising influence of the CSO LULAC, and the American G.I. Forum. Significantly, these groups shifted toward advocacy of immigrant rights during the decade, largely in response to harsh immigration policies such as Operation Wetback. This stance fostered a broader sense of solidarity between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans.[651]

These multiple efforts began yielding results, evident in a series of landmark court cases in the 1940s and 1950s that gradually dismantled de jure segregation in housing, education, jury selection, and public facilities. Latino lawyers and civil rights groups, especially LULAC and the American G.I. Forum, were instrumental in some of these cases; others were pressed by civil rights groups like the NAACP, with results affecting ethnic Mexicans.[652] In *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954), the Supreme Court ruled that ethnic Mexicans had the right to serve on juries, on Fourteenth Amendment grounds.[653] The case *Perez v. Sharp* (1948) raised complex issues regarding the racial classification of ethnic Mexicans. In this Los Angeles case, Andrea Pérez, a Mexican female who identified as white, was prohibited from marrying Sylvester Davis, an African American, under the state's anti-miscegenation laws. The California Supreme Court struck down the law, making it the first state to declare a miscegenation law unconstitutional.[654] While these decisions broadened civil rights for Latinos, segregation and discrimination persisted in many realms of life.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the struggle accelerated, swept forward by the momentum of the national civil rights movement and the continued need to combat discrimination. While Mexican American groups shared an emphasis on civil rights, they increasingly diverged on tactics and broader worldviews.[655] Some continued the fight for full inclusion and acceptance into the American mainstream, at times working within interracial coalitions. Others embraced a more radical, separatist approach that emphasized the cultural integrity of Latinos and rejected outright assimilation. Post-1960 activism also saw new infusions of energy by Latino youth, while still drawing on the experience and resources of older activists. These years witnessed the formation of the first national Latino civil rights organizations.[656]

A broad array of social and political movements proliferated as Latinos mobilized "to change American politics, U.S. cities, educational institutions, workplaces and job sites, and more."[657] Several key national groups formed. The National Council of La Raza (NCLR) was founded in 1968 in Arizona, by Herman Gallegos, Julian Samora, and Ernesto Galarza.[658] Gallegos, an activist from San Francisco, served as the organization's first executive director. NCLR was a national alliance of community-based organizations with the twin

goals of supporting those groups and articulating a national Latino agenda. Seven organizations—including The East Los Angeles Community Union—were the first affiliates of NCLR.[659] It became one of the most visible lobbying groups in Washington D.C., targeting the executive and legislative branches.[660] Also significant was the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), founded in 1968 in San Antonio with the support of LULAC, the NAACP, and the Ford Foundation. This legal advocacy group focused on equity in employment, education, political access, and immigration. Over the years, it was headquartered in San Francisco and Los Angeles. In the 1970s, Vilma Martínez headed the organization in San Francisco. Both the NCLR and MALDEF also embraced a pan-Latino approach in later years.[661] In the 1960s and 1970s, other groups developed to press for Latino rights in a variety of contexts, such as the National Hispanic Chamber of Commerce representing business interests, and the United Farm Workers, formed by César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and others with roots in the CSO. In the 1960s, the UFW focused the national spotlight on the plight of Mexican farmworkers in California, which dramatically raised the profile of the Latino struggle for justice.[662]

The farm worker struggles were a critical catalyst for the Chicano movement with its emphasis on cultural recognition, social reform, and civil rights. (*Photo courtesy Center for Sacramento History, Sacramento Bee Photo Morgue*)

The farmworker struggle was a critical catalyst for the Chicano movement, a broad-based, urban-centered movement that grew out of the social protest climate of the 1960s. As Albert Camarillo writes, it contained many elements: "cultural renaissance, growing ethnic consciousness, proliferation of community and political organizations, social-reformist ideology and civil rights advocacy."[663] The diversity of participants, interests, and agendas make it hard to draw sweeping generalizations about the movement. In the realm of civil rights activism, it spurred the formation of community service organizations, such as health clinics like the Centro de Salud Mental in Oakland and the Chicano Community Health Center in San Diego, job-training centers like the Chicana Service Action Centers in Los Angeles, and community corporations like The East Los Angeles Community Union and the Mexican American Community Services Agency in Santa Clara County—many funded by the federal War on Poverty.

Youth activism was also a critical facet of the Chicano movement, and included groups like the Brown Berets, a quasi-military group of radicals, and student protestors at high schools and colleges demanding educational equity and cultural recognition. Another significant group was the National Chicano Moratorium (NCM), an alliance of groups opposed to the Vietnam War. The NCM held protests in Los Angeles in 1969 and 1970. The most significant was a large rally at Laguna Park in August 1970 that drew a broad cross-section of the community. Riot police turned on the crowd, killing reporter Rubén Salazar, a prominent figure in the community. This event outraged many, and galvanized more Latinos to join the civil rights struggle.[664]

Latina activism also flourished during these years. Following the precedents set by early leaders like Luisa Moreno, Josephine Fierro de Bright, Dolores Huerta, and Soledad Alatorre, Chicanas in the 1960s drew on the feminist movement to demand their rights as both women and Latinas, challenging the sexist aspects of Chicano cultural nationalism. To this end, in October 1970, Francisca Flores—a long-time activist—spearheaded the formation of the Comisión Feminil Mexicana Nacional. This Los Angeles-based group trained Latinas for leadership positions in both the Chicano movement and the community at large, and also formed programs to serve the needs of Latinas. For example, it established the Chicana Service Action Center in 1972 that provided job training to low-income women. In 1969, Los Angeles Chicanas were also instrumental in the founding of Católicos por La Raza, whose goal was to sensitize the Catholic Church to the Latino rights struggle.[665]

Dolores Huerta, co-founder of the National Farm Workers Association (later the United Farm Workers of America), life-long civil rights activist, and recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, was representative of the increasing activism of Latinas in the later decades of the twentieth century. (*Photo courtesy United Farm Workers Collection, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University*)

The collective results of these efforts were significant: federal commitments to enforce the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, the formation of permanent national organizations to advocate for Latinos, and progress in integrating Latinos into the political mainstream. New groups replaced the older accommodationist approach with stronger demands for Latino rights and cultural identity.[666]

After 1980, the diversifying of the Latino population and rising influx of immigrants created even more diverse rights agendas.[667] These efforts focused on shoring up previous gains for Mexican Americans and launching new initiatives for immigrant rights. In the post-1965 era of accelerated Latino immigration to California, immigrants themselves demanded their rights with increased vigor. They energized three areas of activism: mutual aid and cultural maintenance, transnational political engagement in both the U.S. and home country, and labor organizing.[668] In the early twenty-first century, young adult immigrants who arrived in the U.S. as children advocated for passage of the DREAM (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) Act that would grant them legal status if they attended college or joined the military. Both foreign-born and American born Latinos engaged in vigorous protests over the controversial immigration measures Propositions 187 and 209. As more and more Latinos have gained a civic and political voice, their power to achieve social change has risen, even as the struggle for equality continues.

Three specific areas of civil rights activism—housing, education, and politics—are especially important in the history of California Latinos, representing significant areas of demand making and breakthroughs.

Housing

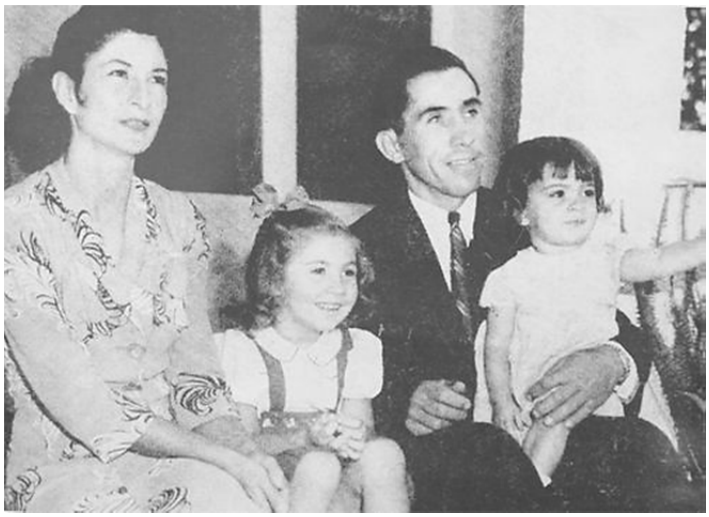
Housing represented a critical starting point of segregation and discrimination. As Mexicans were confined to separate neighborhoods, this created a powerful basis of inequality that touched multiple realms of life. Housing location dictated access to such "social resources and public accommodations as jobs, neighborhood schools, health care, grocery stores, public utilities, and religious and cultural institutions."[669] The discrimination was self-reinforcing: residential segregation denied Latinos access to good schools, which limited access to better jobs, which in turn hampered pathways toward home ownership and wealth accumulation. For the first half of the twentieth century, a powerful set of legally sanctioned tools created this segregation, including race restrictive covenants, homeowner associations, real estate practices, and ultimately federal policy that rewarded segregated neighborhoods.[670] These tools of exclusion essentially protected white neighborhoods from minority incursion, and helped create separate Mexican neighborhoods. If these forces kept Mexicans out, other forces pulled them into neighborhoods built expressly for them by landowners, developers, and citrus growers. In 1920, for example, citrus associations in Azusa, Claremont, Corona, Covina, Glendora, La Verne, San Dimas, Upland, and Whittier built housing for their laborers in segregated colonias. [671]

Housing location dictated access to social resources and public accommodations such as jobs, neighborhood schools, health care, grocery stores, public utilities, and religious and cultural institutions … Gaining open access to housing became a key civil rights goal beginning in the 1940s.

Historians acknowledge the twin forces that created the barrio—both Anglo exclusionary practices and the Mexican desire for cultural autonomy.[672] Major Mexican settlements grew out of these patterns, many of them multi-ethnic, including East Los Angeles, Logan Heights in San Diego, Santa Barbara's lower east side, and Sacramento's Lower Quarter below Fifth Street. Segregated Mexican enclaves also appeared in towns like Pasadena, Long Beach, and Santa Monica, while colonias arose in the Imperial Valley, San Joaquin Valleys, and farming areas of Los Angeles County like El Monte and the San Gabriel Valley citrus belt. For all the variations of these settlements, "the common denominators…were segregation and poverty."[673] In Sacramento, the crowded barrio was filled with alley shacks close to the canneries and warehouses; boarders rented rooms in "basements, alleys, shanties, rundown rooming houses and flop joints," as Ernesto Galarza recalled.[674] In Pasadena, a Mexican enclave developed in the south Raymond area, a quasi-industrial district. There, Mexicans lived adjacent to gas tanks, electric power plants, small factories, and laundries. Housing conditions were decrepit. Rentals prevailed in "old houses vacated by people moving" out, "hastily boarded up shacks, renovated barns, garages, tents and shacks made of old tin and scraps of lumber," as well as in house courts, Los Angeles' version of the tenement.[675] Conditions persisted into the 1940s, as housing shortages and segregation resulted in intensive overcrowding in many Mexican enclaves. Belvedere became known as "the worst slum on the Pacific Coast," with the highest levels of relief cases, delinquencies, and other social problems. Two surveys revealed the persistence of poor housing conditions among California's Mexicans. In 1928 the Los Angeles County Health Department rated dwellings occupied by Mexicans to be the worst in the county. A 1941 survey reached the same conclusion.[676] Health problems followed. Mexican neighborhoods suffered much higher rates of infant mortality and communicable disease than the general population. In 1927, one labor camp in Los Angeles County recorded the highest infant mortality rates in the U.S.[677]

Despite these poor conditions, Mexican settlements became the site of community building and cultural autonomy. One sign of this was high number of home-owning immigrants in the colonias of Azusa, Claremont, Covina, El Monte, La Verne, La Puente, Pasadena, Pomona, San Dimas, Upland, and the rural citrus-growing areas of Orange County. In these colonias, they built communities on their own terms and asserted cultural and social autonomy. In the colonia of Irwindale, for example, 2,000 Mexicans were served by two churches, a *mutualista*, and a locally owned store. In the Arbol Verde colonia of Claremont, segregated spatially and culturally from the white town, ethnic Mexicans built a vibrant community that included cooperative stores, churches, a Spanish-language school, and an array of social groups.[678]

Gaining open access housing became a key civil rights goal beginning in the 1940s. One strategy was to wage court challenges to legal mechanisms of segregation, especially race restrictive covenants. While some scholars suggest these covenants were used less frequently against ethnic Mexicans—because of their ambiguous racial status as whites[679]—others point to their use against Mexicans.[680] For example, a 1923 covenant in the Sunnyside Addition of Fullerton read, "no portion of the said property shall at any time be used, leased, owned, or occupied by any Mexicans or persons other than of the Caucasian race."[681] In 1943, the Bernal family moved into this community. Alex Bernal was the California-born son of Mexican immigrants, his wife Esther was born in Mexico. Their white neighbors soon sued them in Orange County Superior Court for violating the race restrictive covenant on their property, in the case *Doss et al. v. Bernal et al.* (1943). During the trial, the Bernals' attorney David Marcus argued that race restrictive covenants violated the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. The judge ruled in favor of the Bernals, marking the first successful use of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments in a housing restriction case. This ruling set an important legal precedent that helped pave the way for *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case that overturned race restrictive covenants.[682] In another 1943 case, A.T. *Collison and* R.L. *Wood v. Nellie Garcia et.al.*, a Los Angeles superior court judge dismissed a suit to enforce a race restrictive covenant against Nellie Garcia, a Mexican American women who had purchased property near El Monte. The judge claimed that since there was no such thing as a "Mexican race," the covenant itself was invalid.[683]



In 1943, the Bernal family won their case against the race restrictive covenants of the Sunnyside neighborhood in the City of Fullerton. The case marked the first time the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments were successfully used in a housing restriction case. (*Photo courtesy Time magazine*)

These court decisions, along with the FHA and G.I. Bill, enabled a small Mexican-American middle class to begin moving into formerly all-white suburbs by the 1950s. Along with Asian Americans, ethnic Mexicans were able to breach the residential color line more quickly than African Americans.[684] Many Latinos remained shut out through tactics like racial steering by real estate agents. Ralph Guzman, director of the civil rights department of the Alianza Hispano-Americana, Los Angeles, described the pressure put on realtors to abide

by these rules in towns like Lynwood, South Gate, and Compton, all white in the 1950s. In one case, a realtor was fined and expelled from the South Gate Realty Board for selling a home to a Mexican family in 1954.[685] Such professional pressures on realtors kept these practices alive through the 1950s and early 1960s. Through such actions and accelerated white flight to outlying suburbs, communities like Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles became more ethnically homogenous after 1950.[686]

The Intercultural Council Houses in the city of Claremont were built between 1947 and 1960 as a racially integrated housing development. Called "Neighbors, Inc.," this pioneering civil rights effort in desegregation created housing opportunities for the city's Latino population.

Another infringement of Latino housing rights manifested in the postwar policies of redevelopment and freeway construction, which often targeted poor neighborhoods that would not be able to effectively organize an opposition. Chavez Ravine was the most famous example. This well-established Mexican American neighborhood was first selected for demolition to make way for public housing projects that never materialized, then to make way for Dodger Stadium, over the objections of Los Angeles City Councilman Edward Roybal and others. In May 1959, Manuel and Avrana Arechiga, who had lived in the Ravine since the 1920s and raised four children there, were evicted from their homes, an event that caught national media attention and sparked public outrage. In subsequent years, the Arechiga eviction and other redevelopment projects that displaced ethnic Mexicans "inspired different strands of Chicana/o activism." For example, Judith Baca's "Great Wall of Los Angeles" mural includes a surreal depiction of the Dodger Stadium/Chavez Ravine incident.[687] Freeway construction, which accelerated in the 1950s and 1960s, likewise decimated many of Los Angeles' multicultural communities. One example was the Mateo and the Cabrini district, a settlement of Mexican and Italian immigrants near downtown Los Angeles that was razed during construction of the Santa Monica Freeway in the 1960s. Boyle Heights and Belvedere met a similar fate, arousing vigorous protests by residents, Edward Roybal, and Mexican American activists.[688]

In the face of these actions, Mexican Americans continued to press for housing rights. Edward Roybal, the CSO, and numerous activists in southern California campaigned against restrictive housing and neighborhood displacement policies. In the Pomona Valley, newspaper editor Ignacio López waged a protracted campaign for fair housing beginning in the early 1940s. In one case, he mobilized grassroots protest against the Carlton Corporation, which had built new residential tract in Upland with race restrictive covenants. Although Carlton refused to integrate existing tracts, it did agree to integrate an adjacent community under development.[689] Mexican Americans were also active in the fight against Proposition 14 (1964) that would overturn the recently passed Rumford Act, a fair housing law passed in California in 1963. Proposition 14 was vocally opposed by the Los Angeles chapter of the Mexican American Political Association, the Council of Mexican American Affairs, and CSO chapters. Together they formed a group called Mexican American Californians Against Proposition 14, supported by the CSO, the American G.I. Forum,

LULAC, MAPA, and the Mexican American Lawyers Club. Historians note that Mexican Americans were more divided on the measure than Los Angeles' African Americans. The Los Angeles Mexican Chamber of Commerce, for example, supported the measure, as did some ethnic Mexican realtors and homeowners.[690] Proposition 14 passed, and was struck down by the courts in 1966. A more significant turning point was the passage of federal fair housing laws in the late 1960s that helped Mexican Americans gain access to previously segregated neighborhoods.

Housing discrimination persisted in new ways. Colonias in metro areas and along the border continued to suffer from substandard conditions. Predatory lending practices by banks during the recent housing crisis disproportionately targeted Latino buyers, who ended up suffering higher rates of foreclosures than whites.[691] Housing rights remain an arena of Latino rights activism.

Education

Education represented another important focal point in the Latino struggle for justice, perceived as an important avenue of mobility. These efforts focused on two major goals: equal access to education and ethnic integrity in curricula. These initiatives were a response to the severe segregation of California's schools and early Americanization campaigns in the schools that required acculturation and left little room for acknowledging Latino contributions to California society and history.

Segregation in the schools had a long history in California, a system initially created through de facto practices. As towns gained ethnic Mexican inhabitants, Anglos typically called for separate public schools "on the theory that the Mexican is a menace to the health and morals of the rest of the community."[692] Large school districts, such as Los Angeles, achieved segregation by manipulating attendance zones to ensure Mexican and white children attended separate schools. The results were striking. By 1928, 64 schools in eight California counties had enrollments between 90 to 100 percent Mexican American.[693] One historian noted that ethnic Mexicans were "by far the most segregated group in California public education by the end of the 1920s." In 1935, the state legalized these practices when it classified Mexicans, identified as part Indian, as eligible for legal segregation in the state education code.[694] In addition to separating ethnic Mexican from Anglo children, the public schools devised curricula that negated Mexican culture and contributions. The public schools embraced Americanization, requiring students to learn English and American cultural values. Students who spoke Spanish at school were often punished. As Albert Camarillo writes, "these programs did not reckon with undesirable effects: cultural clashes between what was taught at school and what was learned at home, breeding of inferiority complexes, and beginning a legacy of school failure."[695] California contrasted with states like New Mexico and Colorado that embraced a more pluralistic educational approach.[696]

Casa Blanca School in Riverside was a segregated Mexican school until 1965. It exemplified the segregated educational system that was pervasive in California right up to the mid-twentieth century. Today, the former school building is used by the Catholic Church. (*Photo courtesy City of Riverside*)

The first attempts to challenge this system focused on desegregating the

public schools. These were largely local, grassroots efforts in various school districts around the state. In 1919 in Santa Ana, the Pro Patria Club, a local Mexican patriotic organization, lodged its opposition to school segregation, with no positive results. In 1927, Mexican American parents in the Imperial Valley voiced opposition to segregation, prompting state Attorney General Ulysses S. Webb to rule in 1929 that California law did not support the segregation of Mexican children.[697] In the early 1930s in the Claremont colonia, Mexican parents established the colonia school Leona Viscario as a way of counteracting the segregation and Americanization programs of the local public schools.[698] After attending public school during the day, local Mexican children attended Leona Viscario to practice reading and writing in Spanish, and to study Mexican history and culture.[699]

California was the site of key court victories that began chipping away at racially based school segregation. One early case was *Roberto Alvarez v. Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove School District* (1931). Set in the rural community of Lemon Grove, San Diego County, this case was "the first successful school desegregation court decision in the history of the United States." [700] In 1931, the public school trustees barred ethnic Mexican children from attending the local grammar school, directing them to a separate school designated explicitly for them, which was known locally as La Caballeriza (the barnyard). About 95 percent of the Mexican children were American born. This action occurred at a tense historic moment, when ethnic Mexicans were widely scapegoated for Depression era woes and repatriation policies were imposed. Local parents formed a group called the Comte de Vecinos de Lemon Grove (Lemon Grove Neighbors Committee) to combat the board's action. They secured help from the Mexican consul in San Diego, Enrique Ferreira, who retained two attorneys (Fred C. Noon and A.C. Brinkley) to file a lawsuit against the school board in San Diego superior court. Judge Claude Chambers ruled in favor of the parents, and ordered the school to admit the Mexican American children on an equal basis.[701] Despite the fact that this decision was not cited in subsequent cases in California and the southwest, it was a key example of grassroots activism and represented an early legal victory against school segregation.[702]

In the 1940s, the war experience inspired a new generation of Mexican Americans to claim their rights. They quickly accelerated the fight for educational equality. A nationally significant case was *Mendez, et al v. Westminster School District of Orange County* (1946), a class-action lawsuit filed by five parents—Gonzalo Mendez, William Guzman, Frank Palomino, Thomas Estrada, and Lorenzo Ramirez—against the Westminster, El Modena, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana school districts. Culminating at least two years of local grassroots activism, the suit demanded an end to the segregation of 5,000 ethnic Mexican students in Orange County. Mendez hired attorney David Marcus to take the case, and "practically became Marcus's assistant" for a year. His wife, Felicitas Mendez, helped organize the Asociacion de Padres de Ninos Mexico-Americanos, which lent moral support.[703] Judge Paul McCormick ruled in favor of the parents, claiming the students were entitled to equal schooling under the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. Segregated schools, he contended, were unconstitutional, they impeded the ability of ethnic Mexican children to learn English, and fostered "antagonisms in the children and suggests inferiority among them where none exists."[704] The schools appealed the ruling, and in 1947 the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco upheld

Nationally, *Mendez* was significant as a critical test case that successfully used the Fourteenth Amendment equal protection clause in a school desegregation case, setting an important precedent for *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which ended de jure segregation in American schools.

the decision. In California, the *Mendez* decision inspired other Latino parents to wage similar legal challenges to school segregation in towns across the state, including Ontario, Mendota, Bell Town (near Riverside), and San Bernardino. More importantly it led to the legislative end of school segregation in California in 1947, when the state assembly voted to repeal the segregation provisions in the state's education code.[705] Nationally, *Mendez* was significant as a critical test case that successfully used the Fourteenth Amendment equal protection clause in a school desegregation case, setting an important precedent for *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which ended de jure segregation in American schools.[706]

Segregation practices continued, driving ethnic Mexican parents to continue the fight. In 1950, the Alianza Hispano-Americana joined forces with the NAACP in a lawsuit charging the El Centro School District and the Imperial County Board of Supervisors with illegal racial segregation. In this court case, *Romero v. Weakley* (1950), parents of 44 Mexican American and 20 African American children charged school officials with segregating their children into two separate and unequal schools. The plaintiffs settled the case when school officials agreed to cease the segregation.[707]

These court decisions and legislative actions collectively ended de jure educational segregation by the 1950s. De facto school segregation persisted. With white resistance to busing, white flight, and the continued expansion of the barrio, ethnic Mexican children remained in ethnically isolated neighborhood schools. As Albert Camarillo notes, "By 1970, there were more Chicanos—nearly two-thirds of all school-age children—in segregated schools than in 1947 when the Méndez decision was rendered."[708]

In turn, Latino educational attainment lagged behind other groups. Up to the 1940s, the eighth grade was the highest level of attainment for most ethnic Mexicans, due to "segregation, racism, and a political economy based on the inexpensive agricultural labor of Mexicans."[709] By the 1980s, nearly one-third of all Latino adults in California had an eighth grade education, and Latinos lagged behind Anglos by measures such as high school graduation rates, reading and SAT scores, and dropout rates.[710]

College attendance has been a gradual process of progress for California's Latinos. From 1900 to the 1920s, college was largely limited to students from elite families, who typically attended private Catholic institutions such as Santa Clara College or Notre Dame College, both in San Jose, or junior colleges. Although ethnic Mexicans were not legally excluded from public colleges or universities, they were generally discouraged from attending. Starting in the 1930s, a small, pioneering generation of Mexican American students from middle- and working class families began entering mainstream colleges. In Los Angeles, the YMCA played a pivotal role in this process. It informed students about college admissions and scholarships, and sponsored a barrio club, which ultimately spawned the formation of a student group called the Mexican American Movement (MAM), the "first Chicano organization formed by and for students, functioning in this capacity from 1934 to 1950." [711]

Originally composed of high school students, the MAM became a college organization when the founding members brought the group with them to universities like University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). The MAM believed that education was key to Latino progress and to "overcoming the problems of prejudice, segregation, discrimination, social inequality, and inferiority complexes."[712] Many MAM members went on to careers in teaching, social work, and other professions. MAM member Félix Gutiérrez founded the first Latino student newspaper at UCLA called The Mexican Voice, and served as editor from 1938 to 1944.[713] In numerous articles, the Voice chronicled the success stories of Mexican American students.

One celebrated example was Stephen A. Reyes, a UCLA student who overcame significant personal hardship to complete his degree. Reyes, who had no left arm, had worked picking oranges during summer breaks in high school so he could attend junior college. Upon completing his AA degree, he entered UCLA in 1933 where he took out a small loan, worked part time, and commuted to school to save on expenses. He graduated in 1938 then went on to work as a playground director and taught at a junior college. Many members of this pioneering generation of college students emerged as leaders of the postwar civil rights movement.[714]

While the G.I. Bill helped some Mexican Americans pursue higher education, most remained shut out of the larger colleges and universities and instead attended two-year community colleges. As late as 1965, UCLA had fewer than 100 Latino students out of 25,000 total; that same year, only seven Latinos attended Cal State Northridge. This changed rapidly in the late 1960s, when federal and state grant programs and special minority admissions programs enabled thousands of Latinos to enter college throughout California. This upsurge set the stage for the next phase of educational rights activism.[715]

Latino students at Garfield High School, Los Angeles, participated in the 1968 student "blow-outs," in which students walked out of high schools throughout the city, demanding better educational opportunities, such as upgraded facilities, Latino teachers, parent advisory boards, and inclusion of Latino history in curricula. Over 15,000 students participated in the protests. (*Photo courtesy Herald Examiner Collection, Los Angeles Public Library*)

Beginning in the 1960s, Chicanos stepped up the fight for equality, in light of continued educational discrimination and motivated by the spirit of the Chicano movement. Students led many of these efforts, demanding access to good schools and recognition of Latinos in educational curricula. Important early actions were the "blow-outs" of spring 1968, the name given to a series of protests by high school students against the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). Over 15,000 students from several high schools walked out of class to protest poor conditions at their schools. They demanded smaller classrooms, Latino teachers, better college guidance counselors, Mexican American history classes, bilingual classes, upgraded facilities, and parent advisory boards.[716] Along with the students themselves, Sal Castro, a teacher at Lincoln High School, helped organize the walkouts. These protests gained wide media attention when police actions spurred violence at some of the demonstrations. When 13 protesters were arrested—including Castro—many of the protestors shifted their focus to defending them. These walkouts inspired Latino students to stage similar protests in Santa Clara and at Delano Joint Union High, as well as in Texas, Arizona, and Colorado. The Los Angeles School Board eventually met some of the demands, and Mexican American parents formed groups to monitor those changes.[717]

By the late 1960s, student groups proliferated across California, including the Mexican American Student Association (MASA) at East Los Angeles Community College, United Mexican American Students (UMAS) at Loyola University and UCLA, and the Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC), an alliance of several student groups in the San

Francisco area. In April 1969, over 100 Chicana/o leaders convened for a statewide conference at the University of California, Santa Barbara where they formed the Movimiento Esudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA). In their founding document, *El Plan de Santa Barbara*, they articulated a "unified common philosophy, strategy and curriculum for Chicano Studies programs and student organizations in California as a whole and ultimately nationally."[718] This movement stimulated the formation of Chicano Studies programs in colleges and universities across the state. In 1969, San Francisco State University was the first to establish such a program in the state, and nation.[719]

From the late 1960s through the 1990s, a series of policy breakthroughs and reactions shaped the struggle for Latino educational equity. In 1968, the U.S. Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act, the first federal law that addressed the needs of students with limited English skills. While participation was voluntary at first, the U.S. Supreme Court case *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) made bilingual services mandatory.[720] Groups like MALDEF acknowledged the inherent tensions between bilingualism and desegregation, and worked to reconcile them.[721]

By the 1980s and 1990s, a popular backlash spurred new education-related policies that curbed immigrant rights, which in turn incited new waves of Latino protest and activism. For example, the earlier bilingual initiatives provoked the 1980s English-Only movement and Proposition 227 (1998), banning bilingual education in California. Latinos students vigorously protested Proposition 227, including the 2,000 high school and college students who walked out of classes in the San Francisco Bay area in February 1998. Despite these campaigns, Proposition 227 passed in June 1998.[722] Activism around educational equity has persisted, and is often interlinked with immigrant rights issues. In 1994, Proposition 187 passed, which denied state-funded services, including education, to undocumented immigrants; that same year, the University of California Regents voted to discontinue affirmative action admissions programs. In 1996 that momentum carried forward with the passage of Proposition 209 that eliminated all state-mandated affirmative action programs. This measure incited protests by many Latinos, and inspired many to seek citizenship and engage politically to demand their rights.[723]

Education remained an area of concern and activism for many Latinos, especially as educational lags persisted. As one blue ribbon presidential commission noted in 1996, "educational attainment for most Hispanic Americans is in a state of crisis." A 1999 study found that Latino students remained severely segregated. The situation has been compounded by the rising proportion of Latino pupils in the public schools as public funding has declined.[724] Latino individuals and groups have continued to respond to these conditions through protests and demands for fair policies, reflecting their continued belief in the importance of education for their own communities and the healthy functioning of a democratic society.[725]

Politics

Another important strand of Latino activism in California was the struggle for full political and civic inclusion. It gathered the strongest momentum after World War II, reflecting a maturing of the broader Latino civil rights movement. As Latinos gained political rights, they built a formidable base of political power through institution building, voter mobilization, and the electoral successes of Latino candidates.

As Latinos gained political rights, they built a formidable base of political power through institution building, voter mobilization, and the electoral successes of Latino candidates.

The deeper context for this struggle reaches back to the mid-nineteenth century, when the transfer of power to the U.S. resulted in the political marginalization of Mexicans in

California. Although the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) granted citizenship—and thus voting rights—to the Mexicans who remained in the state, Anglos soon ascended to political power in a process that unfolded unevenly across the state. In Santa Barbara and San Salvador (San Bernardino County), for example, Mexicans successfully voted as a bloc against "anti-Mexican" candidates and maintained some political muscle through the 1870s. By contrast, in San Diego and Los Angeles, Anglos seized political power much faster through tactics like gerrymandering. By the 1880s, gerrymandering had similarly hit Santa Barbara, which essentially "dealt a death blow" to local Mexican political influence. Around the same time, ethnic Mexicans were systematically purged from the two political parties and were routinely excluded from jury service. By 1900, then, Mexicans were excluded from full and meaningful participation in the American political order.[726] Their situation contrasted with immigrants in eastern and Midwestern cities who had access to political systems—such as urban political machines—that gave them some political voice.[727]

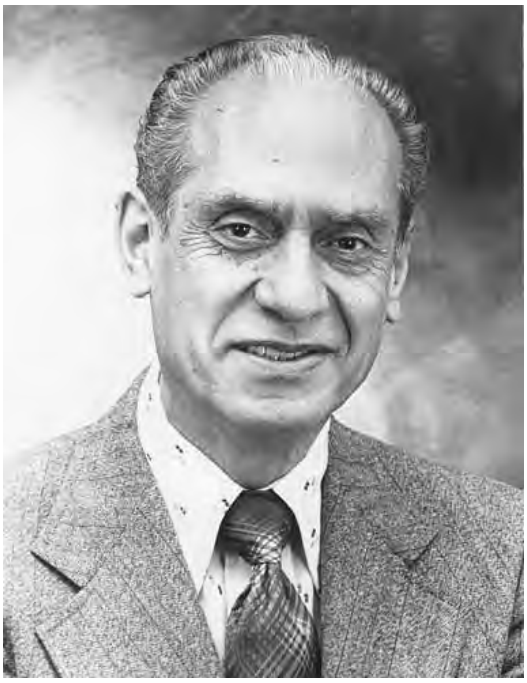
The first concerted campaigns for political and civic rights in California occurred in the 1930s. As historian George Sánchez notes, the second generation Mexicans who came of age during this decade "demonstrated a greater willingness to participate in American political institutions" than their immigrant forbearers, who risked harassment or deportation. Their activism reflected their working class identity as well as their status as well-rooted members of the ethnic Mexican community.[728] They began by participating in labor unions, especially the CIO. That experience was pivotal in fostering a new political orientation, as the CIO encouraged its members to vote in elections for candidates who supported organized labor—including Franklin Delano Roosevelt.[729] This labor activism spawned the formation of El Congreso, considered one of the most important early civil rights groups for Latinos.[730] At its founding conference held in Los Angeles in April 1939, El Congreso emphasized the importance of Latino electoral participation, urging "all Mexican and Spanish-Americans who are citizens to register [to vote], to participate in all democratic-progressive organizations, and to actively engage in the lawmaking of this country."[731] This agenda built on the momentum of the previous six months, when Latinos helped elect Governor Culbert Olson to office, working within the California Democratic Party. During that campaign, Dr. Rafael Vernaza organized a Spanish American division within the party, and the first political action committee was formed—the Federation of Spanish-American Voters of California (FSAVC). El Congreso members went on to lobby the state capitol to defeat anti-Mexican bills, such as SB 470 that denied relief aid to immigrants. The bill passed and was vetoed by Olson.[732]

In the 1940s and 1950s, a surge of activity began building Latino political strength. When El Congreso collapsed in 1939, several key groups carried forward the political momentum. One was the FSAVC that focused on electing Latinos to office. Headed by Eduardo Quevedo, the group helped achieve a number of political firsts. They began by lobbying Governor Olson to appoint Mexican Americans to state positions—such as Ernest Orfila who was appointed to the Veterans Welfare board, and Ataulfo "A.P." Molina, appointed to the San Diego Municipal Court, "making him the first Latino judge in modern times."[733] The FSAVC also supported Los Angeles Mexican Americans running for city council, the state assembly, and the U.S. Congress in the early 1940s, though most were unsuccessful. Quevedo himself forged close ties with U.S. Senator Dennis Chávez of Texas, and worked tirelessly on behalf of Latino rights; he also ran unsuccessfully for the Los Angeles City Council in 1945, then abruptly withdrew from politics when his wife died.[734]

Two new groups emerged at this time: the Unity Leagues and the Community Service Organization. Both were community-based organizations focused on getting Mexicans registered to vote and elected to office. The Unity Leagues emerged first in towns of the San Gabriel and San Bernardino Valley citrus belt. The first group was established in 1946

in Pomona, by newspaper editor Ignacio López and Candelario Mendoza. Community organizer Fred Ross, a field director for the American Council on Race Relations, lent early support to the organization. Together, López and Ross recruited 50 Mexican American young men and women to form Unity League chapters in Pomona, Chino, Ontario, San Bernardino, and Redlands. They brought together Mexican American business owners, college students, veterans, community leaders, and in some cases interracial allies including whites, African Americans, and Asian Americans. Historian Matt Garcia emphasizes the interracial, anti-racist nature of the Unity Leagues. "Rather than base their demands for equality on claims of being 'white,'" as LULAC did, "Unity Leaguers embraced a nonwhite identity and fought for the eradication of all forms of racial discrimination in southern California." In San Diego and Riverside, where ethnic Mexicans lived alongside African Americans, Unity League membership reflected the multiracial character of these communities.[735]

The presence of Unity Leagues in suburban communities with smaller populations enabled them to harness the electoral clout of ethnic Mexicans. In 1946, they supported two Mexican Americans running for city council in Chino and Ontario, raising funds for both campaigns. Andrés Morales won a council seat in Chino, the first Mexican American elected to such a position in California since the nineteenth century. The Unity Leagues continued to register voters and engage in civil rights activism, and soon lost momentum.[736]



Edward Roybal became a prominent voice for Latino rights in California and the nation. In 1947, Roybal co-founded the Community Service Organization, a leading Latino civil rights organization in the state. Two years later he was elected to the Los Angeles City Council. In 1962, Roybal became the first California Latino in the twentieth century, to be elected to the U.S. Congress. His daughter, Lucille Roybal Allard, later followed in his footsteps becoming the first Mexican American woman to serve in the U.S. Congress. (*Photo courtesy Library of Congress, Office of the Historian*)

The Unity Leagues did inspire the formation of the Community Service Organization (CSO) in 1947, a more long-lived organization that emerged as the leading civil rights advocacy group in Los Angeles and the state.[737] Founded by Antonio Ríos, Edward Roybal, and Fred Ross, the CSO's founding chapter in Los Angeles initially formed to undertake a massive voter registration campaign to help elect Roybal to the Los Angeles City Council. Roybal, who had grown up in Boyle Heights and served in WWII, was a pioneer of multiethnic politics, championing interracial cooperation in civil rights advocacy. Though Roybal lost his first bid in 1947, he ran again in 1949, supported by the grassroots efforts of CSO members. Women played a key role in the campaign, registering voters in door-to-door drives. María Durán and Hope Schecter Mendoza, both ILGWU members, also served in critical leadership positions in Roybal's campaign. When Roybal won election in 1949, it marked the first time a Mexican American was elected to the Los Angeles City Council since 1881.[738] The CSO continued its work, registering 32,000 Mexican American voters in East Los Angeles by 1950, and then moving toward broader civil rights activism. By 1950, the CSO had over 5,000 members with chapters in 35 cities.

Women continued to play pivotal roles, such as Lena Manríquez and Ramona González who held offices in the San Jose chapter. In Bakersfield, five of eight charter officers were women, and Alicia Hernández, who began in the San Jose chapter, won a position as treasurer of the national CSO in 1954.[739] Because many CSO leaders came from the labor movement, they steered the CSO to support worker issues like the minimum wage, unionization, and medical services for migrant workers. The CSO also campaigned against "restrictive housing practices, neighborhood displacement through urban redevelopment, school segregation, jury exclusion, and police brutality," and established 450 citizenship classes in California. It emerged as a powerful group during the Cold War, stepping into the vacuum left by a weakened labor movement. By the early 1960s, the CSO had 34 chapters with 10,000 members in California, in the Central Valley, the San Francisco Bay area, Los Angeles, and colonias from Monterey to San Diego.[740] It served as a critical training ground for future Latino leaders, including César Chávez and Dolores Huerta (founders of the United Farm Workers Union), Herman Gallegos (who helped establish the NCLR and MALDEF), and San Jose attorney Hector Moreno (who became a charter member of the Mexican American Political Association and served as John F. Kennedy's political liaison in northern California).[741]

The drive for full political rights reached a high point in the 1960s and 1970s, drawing energy from the civil rights and Chicano movements ... Latinos began scoring a series of significant electoral victories and establishing a permanent presence within the political parties.

The drive for full political rights reached a high point in the 1960s and 1970s, drawing energy from the civil rights and Chicano movements. Activists became more confrontational and assertive in demands for full inclusion into the American political system, and Latinos began scoring a series of significant electoral victories and establishing a permanent presence within the political parties.[742]

This was the period when the idea of a "Latino vote" was first articulated by the national parties and some elected leaders, who recognized its potential power. Latino efforts were pivotal in raising their political profile. In 1959, Edward Roybal, Bert Corona, and Eduardo Quevedo met in Fresno and along with 150 volunteer delegates formed the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA). Its goals were to influence the major political parties, especially the Democrats, and "to become the political voice" of the Mexican community in California.[743] They formed 90 local chapters throughout the state that endeavored to integrate ethnic Mexicans into the political system through voter registration, educating ethnic Mexicans on political issues, and pressuring the parties to run Mexican American candidates. Reaching its peak in influence from 1960-65, MAPA helped elect two Mexican Americans to the state assembly—Philip Soto and John Moreno—and secured the appointment of six others to state judgeships.[744]

The 1960 presidential election marked the first instance of decisive Latino electoral influence. During that campaign, Mexican Americans, many members of MAPA, formed Viva Kennedy! clubs across the southwest, grassroots groups that campaigned for John F. Kennedy (JFK) in ways that that linked his platform to local needs.[745] Though their largest impact was felt in Texas, where they tipped the balance to Kennedy, chapters in California were also quite active. The CSO also worked on JFK's behalf, hiring 20 organizers who "undertook the most extensive drive in its history," registering 140,000 Mexican American voters in the months leading up to the election. On a final two-day swing through California, JFK acknowledged the importance of the Latino vote by lunching at Olvera Street and delivering his main speech at East Los Angeles Junior College Stadium. Riding the momentum of the Viva Kennedy! campaign, Edward Roybal was elected to U.S.

Congress in 1962, making him the first California Latino elected to the House of Representatives in the twentieth century. He served in Congress from 1963 to 1993. In 1976, he co-founded the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, a legislative group focused on ensuring the needs of Latinos were being met. Roybal's election to Congress marked a significant milestone in the history of the struggle for Latino political inclusion in California.[746]

Despite these victories and the inroads made within the Democratic Party, many Mexican Americans in California were disappointed when the Democratic-controlled state legislature reapportioned political districts in ways that weakened the Latino vote in the 1960s. As Latinos continued to suffer from political manipulation and exclusion and as the United Farm Workers and Chicano movements built momentum in the late 1960s, many Mexican Americans—like progressive activists more broadly in this period—grew disillusioned with the mainstream political parties. La Raza Unida emerged out of this context. It began at a conference in El Paso in 1970, with support from California activists like Burt Corona, Herman Gallegos, and Ernesto Galarza then coalesced into a separate political party. Although La Raza Unida Party in California never achieved the level of success it gained in Texas, it did score modest victories in the San Bernardino area, where it helped elect two Latinos to the Cucamonga School Board and the first Latino to the Ontario City Council.[747]

Dedication in 2014, of Guadalupe Mission of San Jose (later renamed McDonnell Hall) as California Historical Landmark No. 1049. César Chávez helped to establish this worship hall in 1953, in the Latino neighborhood of eastern San Jose. It was here that he met Father McDonnell and community organizer Fred Ross, and under their tutelage began to shape the framework of non-violent activism that would define Chávez's life. McDonnell Hall is now part of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.

A critical turning point for Latino political rights in California was the extension of the federal Voting Rights Act to Latinos in 1975, which provided procedural guarantees to register and vote without intimidation, and required bilingual voting material. The 1982 amendment to this act ensured fairness in apportionment, allowing ethno-racial minorities a voice.[748] Both grassroots and organizational efforts by ethnic Mexicans helped achieve these and related gains. MALDEF, founded in 1968, litigated on voting rights and reapportionment cases. In 1981, MALDEF won a suit against Los Angeles County for gerrymandering, a ruling that resulted in redistricting which helped propel Gloria Molina to a seat on the Board of Supervisors. In 1992, it won a case against the Los Angeles Unified School District to establish more equitable school financing.[749] The National Council of La Raza, which began with a more local focus in the late 1960s, emerged as a national lobby group for Latinos. Its first two leaders, Henry Santiestevan and Herman Gallegos, were Californians with links to the CSO. The Mexican American National Organization (MANO) formed in the late 1970s in California, helped secure the appointment of Julian Nava as the first Mexican American ambassador to Mexico. Nava had been a CSO activist and served on the Los Angeles School Board.[750]

After 1980, the legislative victories that secured civil and voting rights for Latinos "created a new playing field for Latino demands for civic inclusion."[751] Two key trends have emerged: first, the rising political clout and representation of Latinos in California, related to their increasing population numbers and maturing political engagement; and second, the emergence of immigrant rights in struggles for political inclusion. Louis DiSipio notes that the 1982 amendment to the Voting Rights Act had profound significance for Latino and African American voters, by requiring the formation of majority-minority voting districts. This dramatically increased the number of Latinos elected to office. By 2001, over 20 percent of the state legislature was Latino, and three of six state assembly speakers were Latinos from 2001 to 2011. In 1998 Cruz Bustamente was elected lieutenant governor, the first Latino elected to statewide office since the 1870s. At the same time, other factors have dampened Latino electoral participation—including the relative youth, low levels of educational attainment, working class status, and non-citizen status among many Latinos.[752] Many Latinos, including immigrants, asserted their political will through a variety of actions, including protests against Propositions 187 and 209, support for the DREAM Act, localized grassroots protests against municipal anti-immigrant policies in towns like Maywood, a working class Latino suburbs of Los Angeles, and environmental justice campaigns in towns like South Gate (Los Angeles County) and Alviso (Santa Clara Valley).[753] Latinos have also branched out into other diverse political initiatives, such as the California Latino Water Coalition whose mission is to "constructively craft solutions to California's water crisis" and lobby the state legislature to ensure the future of the state's water supply.[754]

After 1980, the legislative victories that secured civil and voting rights for Latinos created a new playing field for Latino demands for civic inclusion ... By 2001, over 20 percent of the state legislature was Latino, and three of six state assembly speakers from 2001 to 2011 were Latino.

The Latino struggle for inclusion in California made great strides in the twentieth century, and the persistence of old and new challenges inspires many Latinos to continue to claim their place within the American democratic system and to shape it in the process.

Appendix A – Associated Property Types

This section assists with the identification and evaluation of properties that may be significant for their relationship with the history of Latinos in twentieth century California. The following discussion of associated property types corresponds with the contexts previously outlined. This section primarily addresses properties that are eligible under Criterion A and Criterion B. Properties eligible under Criterion A "are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history." Properties eligible under Criterion B "are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past." This section does not focus on the architectural qualities of any of the property types discussed, and recognizes that many possess architectural merit and may also be eligible under Criterion C. Registration requirements are not provided for properties that may be eligible under Criterion C, because the context for evaluating their architectural merit is not included in this context statement. The notable exception is for works of public art created by Latinos such as murals and sculptures, which may be significant for possessing high artistic value.

The National Register Criteria for Evaluation exclude properties that have achieved significance within the last 50 years unless they are of exceptional importance. This is referred to as Criteria Consideration G. This is particularly relevant for properties associated with the Latino civil rights movement, Latinos in the labor movement, and the Chicano movement, both its political activism and cultural expression, because the events associated with these movements reached their zenith during the mid-1960s. The contexts in this document. demonstrate that these events have been sufficiently studied by scholars to determine their exceptional importance in California history through 1975. A series of major breakthroughs during the late 1960s and early 1970s began to rectify the inequalities Latinos experienced in the past. These breakthroughs included the federal Bilingual Education Act in 1968, the federal Fair Housing Act in 1968, the extension of the federal Voting Rights Act to Latinos in 1975, and the Agricultural Labor Relations Act in California in 1975. Thus, the exceptional significance of properties associated with the aforementioned contexts prior to 1975 is not required on a detailed basis. Properties reflective of Latino history during the late twentieth century may require intensive research to demonstrate their exceptional importance. Those properties that are not of exceptional importance at this time may become eligible when more time has passed.

Property Types Associated with Immigration and Settlement

Headquarters and Offices of Prominent Organizations

Description: Buildings associated with this context were the headquarters or offices of organizations that supported Latino immigrants. Few organizations had the means to erect buildings during their formative years, and many organizations survived for only brief periods. Thus, they operated out of donated or rented spaces such as churches, theaters, and commercial buildings. In limited cases, organizations were able to raise funds to purchase existing buildings or to construct new ones. These buildings are typically small in scale and modest in design and include large meeting rooms, a few offices, and restrooms. Such buildings may be found throughout the state in large cities and small towns alike. The architectural qualities of office buildings are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Buildings that were used by organizations that supported Latino immigrants may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local or state level depending on their sphere of influence. An important early group was the *mutualista*, or

mutual aid society. At the beginning of the twentieth century, numerous *mutualista*s emerged throughout California. The swell of immigrants in the 1910s expanded the membership of existing *mutualistas* such as La Sociedad Progresista and La Sociedad Hispano Americano, and immigrants formed new groups such as La Sociedad Mutualista Benito Juarez in El Centro (1919) and La Sociedad Mutualista Miguel Hidalgo in Brawley (1922). Most *mutualista*s operated by charging dues and pooling resources to provide insurance, loans, and burial assistance. Many also supported the indigent in their communities with medical care, food, and clothing. These groups typically had a nationalistic orientation and sponsored patriotic events. Some also organized libraries and schools to supplement the education their children received in public schools. M*utualista*s are significant in this context because they fostered cultural bonds and social networks that were critical in the subsequent development of more political groups.

The Comite de Beneficencia Mexicana Inc. is an example of the important role the Mexican Consulate played in supporting Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles. In 1931, the consulate established the Comite de Beneficencia Mexicana Inc. to assist Mexicans during the Great Depression when many were forced to leave the country or were not eligible for public assistance programs. The building in which the group was located was originally constructed in 1904 as a church and later served as a synagogue.

During the latter half of the twentieth century, *mutualistas* became engaged in political activism, and new organizations were formed to assist immigrants in securing legal status in the U.S. El Rescate (1981) and the Central American Resource Center (1983) are important examples of groups that provided free legal and social services to the massive influx of refugees fleeing the war in El Salvador during the 1970s and 1980s.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, buildings must be strongly associated with a prominent organization that supported Latino immigrants. It is not necessary for the organization to have constructed the building, only to have occupied some part of it during the period in which it gained significance. Buildings should retain sufficient integrity to convey their character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Buildings may be modest in their workmanship and materials due to the limited financial resources of most organizations. Primary interior spaces such as large meeting rooms should remain evident when originally present. Limited materials replacement or alterations may have occurred.

Historic Districts

Description: If a significant concentration of buildings associated with Latino immigration and settlement exists in a defined geographic area, it may constitute a historic district. Historic districts associated with this context may be found in large cities as well as small towns. Immigrants tended to settle near their places of employment in neighborhoods frequently known as barrios and colonias. Common settlement locations during the 1920s were the Imperial Valley and the San Joaquin Valley, major agricultural regions where Mexicans found work. These neighborhoods were often located on the outskirts of towns, because racially restrictive covenants prevented people of Mexican descent from living in white communities. By the 1930s, settlement patterns began to shift to urban areas as Mexicans sought work in the transportation, construction, and industrial sectors. The primary urban area for Latino settlement was Los Angeles, especially East Los Angeles that had the largest population of Mexican Americans in California after World War II. Other cities that attracted Mexican immigrants included Santa Barbara, San Francisco, San Jose, San Bernardino, Sacramento, and San Diego. Mexican immigrants often settled in existing neighborhoods among other immigrants from Europe and Asia, not in isolated

communities. Mixed immigrant neighborhoods included the Plaza area of Los Angeles, Mission District of San Francisco, and Lower Quarter of Sacramento. In rural areas, there are towns that were historically and continue to be almost exclusively Mexican American. These include Calexico in the Imperial Valley and Parlier in the San Joaquin Valley.

Company towns and labor camps were more organized formers of settlement for Mexican immigrants. Company towns could include elementary schools, community halls, and recreational facilities in addition to small wood frame houses. They were particularly common in the citrus regions of southern California including Riverside, Fullerton, Whittier, and Ventura. There are no known surviving examples.

During the Great Depression, Mexican immigrants were hit especially hard. In addition to the job crisis, they had to face the additional threat of deportation. Some found temporary shelter in migrant labor camps created by the Farm Security Administration (FSA). The FSA camps provided housing, food, and medicine for migrant families. The Arvin Migratory Labor Camp near Bakersfield was established in 1937 and included 106 metal shelters, 98 tents, and 20 adobes. It was specifically designated for Mexicans ostensibly for their own safety, and reflects the housing policies of the period that favored segregation. By the end of 1941, the FSA was maintaining thirteen permanent and six mobile camps in California. The only surviving example is the Arvin Migratory Labor Camp.

Significance: Historic districts associated with Latino immigration and settlement may be eligible for listing in the National Register at the local or state level under Criterion A depending on their age and rarity. While the Latino population in California is diverse, it has historically been dominated by Mexican Americans. A complex set of push and pull factors drew Mexicans to California. These included labor demands and shortages, transportation improvements, and public policies on both sides of the border. Predominately Latino neighborhoods and towns may reflect the settlement patterns of Latinos at various points during the twentieth century. During the first half of the century, they may be significant for documenting the limited housing options that were available to Mexican Americans. Racially restrictive covenants and discrimination in education and employment segregated Mexican immigrants from Anglo communities. Segregationist policies resulted in barrios and colonias that were culturally self-sustaining, and residents observed a variety of patriotic and religious celebrations from their home country. During the second half of the century, Latinos had more, not necessarily unfettered, housing options. Existing barrios and colonias either disappeared or became more cohesive as a result of the growing numbers of Latinos as a percentage of the total California population. In addition, working class neighborhoods and suburbs emerged in formerly white areas.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, historic districts must be located in one of the primary areas of settlement by Latinos within a city or county. Primarily residential neighborhoods are significant in the context of early settlement if they contain important businesses and institutions such as churches or schools, thereby reflecting the complexity and nuances of the Latino community. The neighborhood must have been predominately Latino for a significant period of time to qualify, and not all predominately Latino neighborhoods are eligible. Historic districts should reflect the period of time they were settled and occupied by Latinos. The evaluation of integrity should focus on the totality and overall characteristics of the historic district, not the individual contributing buildings. Additions and alterations should respect the design, materials, and scale of the original portion of the contributing buildings.

Property Types Associated with Media

Print Media Offices

Description: Buildings associated with this context were the offices of Latino print media companies and organizations. They may include both commercial buildings and residences, as some publications began out of individuals' homes. They may also include churches, academic buildings, and social halls if Latino organizations published important newspapers, journals, magazines, or bulletins out of them. Print media offices may be found throughout the state in large cities and small towns alike. While some publications occupied entire buildings, others occupied a few offices or floors in larger buildings. Major publications may have had their own printing facilities, in addition to office space. Building size, massing, and form will vary greatly, depending on the type (commercial, residential, religious, educational, or institutional), architectural style, location, and date of construction. The architectural qualities of such buildings are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Buildings that were used by Latino print publications may be eligible for listing in the National Register at the local or state level under Criterion A depending on their circulation and sphere of influence. Print media served a variety of important roles in Latino life throughout the twentieth century. Early publications, such as *La Prensa* and *El Heraldo de México*, both located in Los Angeles, offered general news and information; others, such as *Regeneración*, pushed particular political platforms. Later in the century, as more Latinos made California their permanent home, publications like *La Opinión* became important voices of social activism. As the century progressed into the 1930s, local bulletins and newsletter-style publications emerged in predominantly Latino communities. Examples include The *Belvedere Citizen* in East Los Angeles, *Lucha Obrera* in San Francisco, and *El Espectador* in Pomona. In the 1940s, more new publications were created to target niche audiences. Many of these were youth oriented such as the *Mexican Voice*, which began in Monrovia.

Changes in both the numbers and content of Latino publications in California and the U.S. occurred in the 1960s with the beginning of the Chicano movement. It is estimated that more than 200 newspapers emerged between the late 1960s and mid-1970s nationwide, creating an alternative Latino press that advocated for civil rights and exposed injustice. Examples include *El Malcriado* published out of Delano, *La Raza* in Los Angeles, *La Causa* in East Los Angeles, *Basta Ya* in San Francisco, and *El Tecolote*, also in San Francisco. The late 1960s and early 1970s also witnessed the rise of Latino student publications and the proliferation of Latino magazines and journals. Located at numerous colleges and universities, the student publications were critical in spreading the causes and messages of Latino civil rights activists to the youth. The oldest student publications are believed to be *El Popo* at California State University, Northridge and *La Cente*. Some of the magazines and journals were associated with particular activist groups and existing newspapers; others were affiliated with academia.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, buildings must be strongly associated with an important Latino print publication. Important publications will likely be the earliest of their kind dedicated to a particular topic or group, or the earliest to serve a particular geographic area. If not the earliest, they may have served their audience for the longest period of time or had the greatest influence on their community. It is not necessary for the publication to have constructed the building, only to have occupied some part of it during the period in which it gained significance. Buildings should retain sufficient integrity to convey their character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Buildings

may be modest in terms of workmanship and materials depending on their architectural style and original level of design detail. Limited materials replacement or alteration may have occurred.

Important publications may have changed locations over time as they achieved greater success and may be associated with more than one property. In this case, only the property or properties associated with the publication during the period in which it achieved significance would be eligible. Previous or subsequent locations would not be eligible.

Radio Stations

Description: Buildings associated with the history of Latinos in radio include radio broadcast stations. They may be commercial or industrial buildings or a mix of both. While some buildings may have been owned and operated by Latino radio companies, others may have been owned by Anglo companies and rented to Latino radio hosts and programmers to produce specific programs, especially in the early years of the medium. They may be found throughout the state in large cities and small towns and most will likely be located in larger cities. Building size, massing, and form will vary greatly, depending on architectural style, location, and date of construction. The architectural qualities of radio stations are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Radio stations associated with Latinos may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A. Latino radio began in the U.S. in the mid-1920s. At the time it was primarily Spanish-language programming broadcast from Anglo stations in time slots purchased by Latino brokers. The widely popular variety show "Los Madrugadores," for example, broadcast from Anglo station KMPC in Los Angeles in the 1920s and 1930s. The brokerage system of Latino radio continued until the 1940s, largely due to the fact that the federal government routinely denied license applications from Latinos. In 1946, Raoul Cortez of San Antonio, Texas became the first Latino to be granted a license, and the transition from the brokerage system to full-time, independent, Latino stations began. The transition was gradual and accompanied by the rise of personality radio in the 1950s and its decline in the 1960s. During the 1970s, Latino radio stations began producing more of their own programming. Previously, most stations relied on outside providers from Mexico and Central America for their content, especially for news programs. The first major Spanish-language news provider in California was Fresno-based Noticero Latino. Later in the 1970s and throughout the rest of the twentieth century, Latino radio became increasingly corporate. Most stations were created or purchased by large conglomerates with holdings in numerous cities and different aspects of media. Radio stations used to broadcast Latino programming may be significant at the local or state level, depending on their sphere of influence.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, buildings must be strongly associated with important Latino radio stations and production companies. Important radio stations are likely to be the earliest to broadcast Latino content to a particular geographic area or the location of groundbreaking events in Latino broadcasting. It is not necessary for the radio station or production company to have constructed the building, only to have occupied some part of it during the period in which it gained significance. Buildings should retain sufficient integrity to convey their character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Broadcast towers and other exterior equipment may still be present, though they are not essential for eligibility. Buildings may be modest in terms of workmanship and materials depending on their architectural style and original level of design detail. Limited materials replacement or alterations may have occurred.

Important radio stations and production companies may have changed locations over time as they achieved greater success and may be associated with more than one property. In this case, only the property or properties associated with the station during the period in which it achieved significance would be eligible. Previous or subsequent locations would not be eligible.

Television Stations

Description: Buildings associated with the history of Latinos in television include television broadcast stations. They may be commercial or industrial buildings or a mix of both. While some buildings may have been owned and operated by Latino television companies, others may have been owned by Anglo companies and rented to Latino producers, especially in the early years of the medium. They will primarily be located in large cities and metropolitan areas. Building size, massing, and form will vary greatly, depending on architectural style, location, and date of construction. The architectural qualities of television stations are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Television stations and production facilities associated with Latinos may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A. Latino television began in the U.S. in the 1950s. Originally, it took the form of Spanish-language programming broadcast from Anglo stations in time slots purchased by Latino brokers, and it expanded quickly into full-time, Latino-oriented stations. The first Spanish-language station in the U.S. was KCOR-TV, which began broadcasting in 1955 from San Antonio, TX. Shortly after, stations developed in other cities with large Latino populations, such as Los Angeles and San Francisco. From the 1960s through the 1980s, media companies created Latino networks through the purchase and consolidation of local stations. This led to the rise of major conglomerates like Univision, Telemundo, and Galavision. While none of these media giants were originally located in California, all owned stations and affiliates in the state and some had large corporate offices here. Throughout the twentieth century most Latino stations relied on programming from Mexico, rather than producing their own content in the U.S. In the late 1980s and into the 1990s, several new Latino production companies emerged targeted at niche market segments. Television stations which broadcast Latino programming may be significant at the local or state level, depending on the scope of their market.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, buildings must be strongly associated with important Latino television stations. Important televisions stations are likely to be the earliest to broadcast Latino content to a particular geographic area or the location of groundbreaking events in Latino broadcasting. It is not necessary for the television station to have constructed the building, only to have occupied some part of it during the period in which it gained significance. Buildings should retain sufficient integrity to convey their character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Broadcast towers and other exterior equipment may still be present, though they are not essential for eligibility. Buildings may be modest in terms of workmanship and materials depending on their architectural style and original level of design detail. Limited materials replacement or alterations may have occurred.

Important television stations may have changed locations over time as the achieved greater success and may be associated with more than one property. In this case, only the property or properties associated with the station during the period in which it achieved significance would be eligible. Previous or subsequent locations would not be eligible.

Residences and Offices of Prominent Persons

The research conducted for this context statement did not reveal any properties directly associated with the history of Latinos in film, other than residences and offices of prominent persons. There are no known film studios or production offices specifically related to Latino film production during the twentieth century. The closest approximation would be Desilu Studios. This property was primarily used for Anglo television production, despite its partial Latino ownership. Its significance in this context is derived from its connection with prominent person Desi Arnaz, so it, too, falls within the offices of prominent persons category.

Description: Buildings associated with this context include the residences and places of business of significant Latinos in the media. Buildings associated with prominent persons in film will likely be located in the Los Angeles area. Those associated with prominent persons in print media, radio, and television may be found throughout the state. Their size, style, and architectural detail will be based upon the location and date of construction, and are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion B.

Significance: Throughout the twentieth century, Latinos working in various forms of media have served as important leaders within their industries and communities. The residences and offices of prominent Latinos in media in California may be eligible under Criterion B at the local and state level, depending on the person's sphere of influence. Latinos in print media provided vital services to their typically underrepresented communities. As populations and political climates changed throughout the century, journalists and publishers became critical voices for Latinos, exposing inequalities, fighting stereotypes, and advocating for civil rights, in addition to providing news and entertainment. Ruben Salazar is perhaps the most famous Latino journalist of the twentieth century. He became a prime example of a Latino who achieved success and esteem in both Anglo and Latino media, and also a voice for the Latino community in Los Angeles in the midst of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Latinos began producing, hosting, and broadcasting their own radio programming in the 1920s with programs like Pedro J. Gonzalez's "Los Madrugadores" that first aired in 1924. Like print journalists at the time, radio hosts and programmers delivered news and entertainment, and also acted as voices of opposition to negative stereotypes and other forms of oppression. In the 1940s and 1950s, Latinos began creating their own stations, rather than renting broadcast time from Anglo stations. As the century progressed, most stations were sold and reorganized into larger media conglomerates. Despite an increase in Anglo ownership of Latino stations, Latinos working within the new corporate systems were still able to serve their communities by creating and offering Spanish-language programming and news and entertainment targeted specifically to Latino audiences.

Latinos have been portrayed on film in the U.S. since the 1920s, the earliest days of the medium, and these portrayals have largely been stereotypical and unfavorable. Still, several Latino actors and actresses achieved great success in the film industry. They made the most of the roles that were available and received both critical acclaim and financial reward. Examples include Lupe Vélez, Delores Del Río, and Gilbert Roland. Through the 1950s, stereotypes onscreen remained pervasive, so Latino actors and actresses had few appealing options. Opportunities behind the camera were also limited. In the 1960s and 1970s, Latinos began to achieve significant success with documentary filmmaking. This led to increasing opportunities on other behind-the-scenes projects, ranging from commercials to full-length fiction films. Filmmakers who emerged in the 1970s and later include Jesus Salvador Treviño, Luis Valdez, and Efraín Gutiérrez.

Latinos working in mainstream television endured the same stereotyping as their film counterparts. Television became popular and commonplace in American homes in the 1950s and immediately produced a major Latino star: Desi Arnaz. While Arnaz's onscreen persona was that of the stereotypical male buffoon, he was a very successful musician and television producer off screen. Through his production company Desilu, Arnaz produced numerous sitcoms and pioneered the concepts of the rerun and residual pay. Despite the producing success and onscreen appeal of Arnaz, and some advances, especially in public television, in the 1970s and 1980s, stereotypical roles for Latinos in shows and commercials alike persisted through the end of the twentieth century.

Spanish-language television followed the same pattern as radio: it began as a brokerage system that evolved into full-time Latino television stations in the late 1950s. Before long, the stations were purchased and reorganized into large conglomerates. Content for Latino programming has typically been produced outside of California. Thus, individuals significant for contributions to Spanish-language television would likely have worked in the corporate arena, rather than the creative or technical arenas.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion B, buildings must be closely associated with a Latino significant for his or her contributions to print media, radio, film, or television. Many individuals may be significant for contributions to more than one field, such as a producer who worked in both film and television or a journalist who worked for both a newspaper and a radio station. Determining the property that best represents the person's productive life needs to be carefully evaluated. Actors and actresses, for example, often did not have a particular place of business; they worked in a variety of locations and at different studios throughout their careers. As a result, the place that would best represent their productive life might be their residence during the period in which they achieved significance. A newspaper publisher, on the other hand, would have worked out of an office, and the building in which his or her office is located would best represent their productive life. If that office building no longer exists, the publisher's residence may be the only property remaining that is able to represent his or her life's work, and therefore may be eligible. Properties associated with living persons may qualify, so long as they have retired or are no longer associated with the field in which they achieved significance. Properties should retain their integrity from the period of time in which the significant individual lived or worked there. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Limited materials replacement or alterations may have occurred. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of evaluation.

Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality

Religious Buildings

Description: Buildings associated with this context were used by religious institutions that ministered to the Latino community. They may include churches, parochial schools, settlement houses, and offices for charitable organizations affiliated with religious institutions. Church buildings were constructed throughout the state to serve Latino communities. In other cases, existing church buildings were adopted by Latinos as their numbers rose in the community. Their size, style, and architectural detail will be based upon the location and date of construction, and are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A. The Catholic Church tended to favor the Spanish Colonial Revival and Mission Revival styles, while Protestant churches tended to favor the Gothic Revival and Classical Revival styles. The earliest church buildings constructed specifically

for Latinos are typically small in scale and modest in design. They were often referred to on Sanborn Maps and City Directories as missions, implying that these were outposts designed to serve foreigners. Parochial schools are sometimes situated next to churches, and in other cases they are independent buildings. Settlement houses and the offices of charitable organizations will primarily be located in large cities and may or may not have been purpose built.

Significance: Religious buildings associated with the history of Latinos may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local or state level. During the early part of the twentieth century, Catholic and Protestant churches sought to minister to Latinos. While these ministries addressed the spiritual needs of the community, they were also focused on Americanizing Mexican immigrants who had their own religious traditions and practices. Charitable organizations, settlement houses, and parochial schools were also established with the purpose of turning immigrants into good American citizens. By mid-century, Latinos began to form their own churches, which allowed them to freely express their religious beliefs and traditions. The Catholic Church and Protestant denominations became more responsive to the needs of the Latino population in the 1970s and became active in supporting Central American immigrants in the 1980s.

Registration Requirements: To meet eligibility requirements for inclusion in the National Register, religious properties must satisfy Criteria Consideration A, and derive their primary significance from architectural distinction or historical importance to avoid any appearance by the government about the validity of a religion or belief. This context statement does not address the architectural merit of properties, only their historical importance. Religious properties may be eligible under Criterion A if they are significant in a context other than religion, such as ethnic or social history.

Religious buildings that meet Criteria Consideration A and Criterion A are those that played a larger role in the history of the Latino community in which they are located. For example, the Sacred Heart Mission in Anaheim was established in 1926, and was the spiritual, social, and cultural center of the Colonia Independencia. The original church building still stands and is used as the parish center. In some cases, religious buildings may be significant because they represent the Americanization programs of churches to acculturate Mexicans. A prime example of such a property is Forsythe Memorial School for Mexican Girls, established by the Presbyterian Church in 1914. Located in the Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles, the school operated until 1934. Churches that were founded by and for Latinos may be significant, as well as churches that played important roles in the Sanctuary movement. An example of such a church is Our Lady Queen of Angels, La Placita that was the first church in the Los Angeles area to provide sanctuary for refugees and assistance to undocumented immigrants from Central America.

Churches are not significant in this context merely because the congregation is or was predominately Latino. It is not necessary for the congregation to have constructed the building, only to have occupied it as their primary place of worship during the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Religious buildings may be modest in their workmanship and materials due to the limited financial resources of most congregations. The application of newer materials, such as stucco or stone, on top of original materials should not automatically exclude the building from eligibility, especially if the alteration occurred during the period of significance and if the essential form and other major design features are present. Additions and related buildings such as parsonages, Sunday school buildings, and social halls should also be evaluated and included in nominations if they were present during the period of significance and retain their integrity.

Property Types Associated with Sports

Recreational Facilities

Description: Buildings, structures, and sites associated with this context include a broad array of recreational facilities, including and not limited to baseball fields, boxing gyms and arenas, handball courts, and football stadiums. They may be found throughout the state in large cities and small towns. Recreational facilities such as boxing clubs are typically located in older buildings that were designed for other uses. Facilities associated with amateur athletics and community-based athletic teams are likely to be located in public parks or school campuses. Structures may be large in scale, as in the case of boxing arenas or football stadiums, or smaller in scale, as in the case of handball courts. Their style and architectural detail, if present, will be based upon the date of construction, and are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Recreational facilities associated with the history of Latinos in California may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A. Over the course of the twentieth century, Latinos utilized sports to reinforce community identity and neighborhood pride, to counteract negative stereotypes, to obtain access to higher education, and to develop leadership skills. They formed their own amateur sports teams, and their presence in professional sports increased as the century progressed. Most amateur sports teams were neighborhood-oriented and often were a source of pride for a community. Team sports such as baseball and soccer also served as social events and a means of gathering together the community's youth. Some sports teams remained based in the community in which they originated, while others went on to become significant to the state's Latino community at large. Facilities associated with a particular neighborhood or community would be significant at the local level, while those associated with teams that became more widely known may be significant at the local or state level. Prime examples of recreational facilities associated with this context include the baseball field at Grant Park in Sacramento, home of the Mexican American Octubre Club from 1931 to 1957; the Pico Rivera Sports arena, reportedly the largest charrería ring in the U.S.; and the Grand Olympic Auditorium in Los Angeles, the premier boxing arena in California and the place where Latino boxers such as Art Aragon competed.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, buildings, structures, or sites must be strongly associated with Latino sports. Neighborhood facilities must be strongly associated with the Latino community in which they are located. Not all facilities associated with Latino sports will qualify under Criterion A. Only those that were associated with Latino sports over an extended period of time will qualify. Recreational facilities associated with individual athletes or coaches significant within this context are unlikely to qualify for eligibility under Criterion B unless no other associated resources are extant. Recreational facilities should retain sufficient integrity to evoke their original use and character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Alterations that were required to accommodate changes in the related sport should be expected and should not automatically exclude the facility from eligibility.

Residences of Prominent Persons

Description: Buildings associated with this context include the residences of significant Latino athletes and coaches. They can be found throughout the state. They may include single-family or multi-family residential buildings. Their size, style, and architectural detail will be based upon the location and date of construction, and are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion B.

Significance: Latinos became increasingly prominent in sports over the course of the twentieth century. Persons significant in the context of Latino in Sports include men and women who were important sports figures, either within their community in the case of amateur sports, or in the world of professional sports. These can include players or coaches who achieved great success within their chosen sport. For an individual to be considered significant, their activities must be demonstrably important within the context of Latinos in Sports. They may have been the first Latino to ascend to a particular level or receive a particular accolade within his or her sport. They may also have used their success in sports to contribute to the good of their communities. As most athletes and coaches played at numerous recreational facilities throughout their careers and are not closely associated with any one facility, their residences will likely be the property that best represents their productive life. Residences associated with the productive lives of these individuals may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion B at the local or state level, depending on the person's sphere of influence. Professional athletes and coaches may be significant at the local or state level, while amateur sports figures, most frequently significant in the community in which they lived, may be significant at the local level.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion B, the residence must be closely associated with a significant Latino sports figure. Determining the residence that best represents the person's life needs to be carefully evaluated. Many professional sports figures moved from one city to another. If more than one residence is associated with a person, the residence in which they spent the productive period of their life would be the most representative. In addition, the length of the association should be an important factor when there is more than one property associated with an individual. Properties associated with living persons may qualify, so long as they have retired from playing sports. Residences should retain their integrity from the period of time in which the significant individual lived there. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of evaluation.

Property Types Associated with the Arts

Performing Arts Venues

Description: Buildings associated with this context include purpose built and non-purpose built performing arts venues. Purpose built spaces may include freestanding theaters and nightclubs as well as auditoriums in multi-purpose buildings such as schools and churches. They will primarily be located in large cities and metropolitan areas. It appears that the theaters that featured Latino plays in downtown Los Angeles from the first decades of the twentieth century no longer remain. Non-purpose built spaces may include restaurants and outdoor spaces where musicians performed informally, at least initially. Building size, massing, and form will vary greatly, depending on architectural style, location, and date of construction. The architectural qualities of such buildings are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Performing arts venues associated with Latinos may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local level. During the twentieth century, Latinos utilized these venues to perform plays and music that reflected their experiences in the U.S. and often blended Anglo and Mexican cultural traditions. During the 1920s, many plays were written and performed in Spanish to cater to the growing population of Mexican immigrants. During and after World War II, plays reflected the increasing political awareness and activism of Latinos. Perhaps the most influential theater company during

the Chicano movement was El Teatro Campesino that formed in 1965. In some cases theater companies toured throughout the state and in other cases they were based in particular theaters. During the 1970s, Latino theater became accessible to a wider audience due to the broadcasting of performances on public television stations and to the construction of more theater spaces. Latino musical groups sometimes performed at these theaters as well, and generally toured throughout the state. Latino music is as diverse as the population itself and the work of one musician may be significant for achievement in a particular genre, while the work of another musician might be significant for successfully melding styles. Some music venues are significant for their association with a particular musical group. For example, La Fonda Restaurant was the permanent home of Mariachi Los Camperos de Nati Cano and attracted locals as well as tourists. Other venues are significant for their association with a particular genre or period. For example, the Montebello Ballroom was where many Latino rock 'n' roll bands got their start during the 1960s.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, performing arts venues must be strongly associated with the Latino performing arts, including and not limited to theater and music. The significance of the theater or musical group must be established and illustrated in order for a venue associated with them to be considered significant. Venues should retain sufficient integrity to evoke their original use and character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Buildings may be modest in terms of workmanship and materials depending on their architectural style and original level of design detail. Limited materials replacement or alterations may have occurred. Primary interior spaces, especially performance spaces, should remain intact.

Cultural Centers

Description: Buildings associated with this context include cultural centers used by Latinos. In most cases, cultural centers are located in older buildings designed for other uses. In a few instances, organizations were able to raise funds for the construction of new buildings. They may be found in cities in California with large concentrations of Latinos including Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, and Sacramento. Building size, massing, and form vary greatly, depending on architectural style, location, and date of construction. The architectural qualities of such buildings are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Cultural centers may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local level. They arose primarily during the 1970s when Latinos began to reclaim their cultural history. Larger cultural centers could be multidisciplinary venues that offered educational programs for the community as well as exhibition and performance space for visual artists, musicians, dancers, poets, playwrights, etc. Small cultural centers could be limited to one form of art such as printmaking and were sometimes the homes of artist collectives. In either case, cultural centers played important roles in the communities in which there were located as cultivators of Latino art as well as meeting places and havens for local youth. Programming at cultural centers was often free to the community and featured artists and groups that were ignored by mainstream galleries and museums. The research conducted for this context statement indicated that the following cultural centers played significant roles in this context. This list is by no means exhaustive.

- Social Public Art Resource Center (SPARC), Los Angeles County
- Plaza de la Raza, Los Angeles County
- Bilingual Foundation for the Arts, Los Angeles County
- Galeria de la Raza, San Francisco County
- Mission Cultural Center for Latino Arts, San Francisco County

- Centro Cultural de la Raza, San Diego County
- Centro de Artistas Chicanos, Sacramento County

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, cultural centers must be associated with significant Latino artist collectives or prominent Latino arts organizations. They must have played an important role in the creation and/or dissemination of Latino art in the twentieth century. It is not necessary for the collective or organization to have constructed the building, only to have occupied it during the period in which they gained significance.

Cultural centers should retain sufficient integrity to evoke their original use and character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Buildings may be modest in terms of workmanship and materials depending on their architectural style and original level of design detail. Limited materials replacement or alterations may have occurred. Primary interior spaces, especially exhibition and performance spaces, should remain intact.

Murals

Description: Murals associated with the history of Latinos in California can be found throughout the state, with concentrations in large cities such as Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco. They are most frequently located on the exterior of buildings and can also be found on interior common spaces as well, such as dining rooms in restaurants or lobbies in commercial and institutional buildings. They are often found on buildings belonging to Latino businesses or institutions. Murals may be found in other public spaces, such as freeway retaining walls and bridge supports.

Significance: Murals by important Latino artists or art collectives may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C as the work of a master Latino artist or for their high artistic value. There are too many Latino artists to mention here individually, and many artists are still alive and working. Examples of important Latino art collectives include and are not limited to: the Mexican American Liberation Art Front in Oakland; Self-Help Graphics in Los Angeles; Toltecas en Aztlan and Congresso de Artistas Chicanos de Aztlan in San Diego; Broche del Valle in the Salinas Valley; Mujeres Muralistas in the San Francisco Bay Area; Royal Chicano Air Force in the Sacramento Valley; and the Royal Chicano Navy in the Fresno area. Murals may also be eligible under Criterion A if they illustrate the development of Latino or Chicano visual arts in the twentieth century, often most notably the art of the Chicano movement. For much of the twentieth century, murals provided Latinos with a means for public artistic expression, often in response to events or circumstances in the community. Latinos utilized murals to express opinions, political ideas, and emotion. Though occurring since the first decades of the twentieth century and pulling inspiration from the muralism movement in Mexico, murals as an art form became widespread during the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion C as the work of a master, the artist responsible for the mural must meet the definition of a master. A master is a figure of generally recognized greatness in the field. Furthermore, the mural must represent a particular aspect of the artist's work or phase in his or her career. Murals that possess high artistic value are those that are recognized as important achievements in Latino muralism. To be eligible under Criterion A, murals must be strongly associated with the Latino community in which they are located. Under either criteria, murals may be significant at the local or state level, depending upon the importance and scope of the artist(s) who painted them and the degree to which their influence was felt around the state. Murals should retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Residences and Studios of Prominent Persons

Description: Buildings associated with this context include the residences and studios of significant Latinos in the arts. They may be found throughout the state. They may include single-family or multi-family residential buildings. Their size, style, and architectural detail will be based upon the location and date of construction, and are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion B.

Significance: Latinos have played an important role in the arts throughout the twentieth century. They have contributed greatly to art created for both a general audience and a specifically Latino audience. Persons significant in the context of Latinos in the Arts may include musicians, composers, playwrights, and visual artists. There are too many people to mention here individually, and many people are still alive and creating art. For an individual to be considered significant, his or her activities must be demonstrably important within this context. The artist may have received a particular accolade such as a National Heritage Fellowship, a lifetime honor presented by the National Endowment for the Arts. For example, Eduardo "Lalo" Guerrero (1916-2005) received a National Heritage Fellowship in 1991. He was a highly acclaimed composer, singer, and bandleader who is considered the father of Chicano music. Artists may also have contributed to the good of their communities by founding arts organizations. For example, Carmen Zapata (1927-2014) began her acting career in the musical *Oklahoma*! in 1946 and worked steadily on Broadway. She moved to California in 1967 and appeared in many television shows and films. In 1972 she co-founded the Screen Actors Guild Ethnic Minority Committee. The following year she co-founded the Bilingual Foundation for the Arts. Properties that are closely associated with the productive lives of prominent persons may qualify for listing in the National Register at the local or state level, depending on their sphere of influence.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion B, buildings must be closely associated with a Latino who is significant for his or her contributions to the arts. Determining the property that best represents the person's productive life needs to be carefully evaluated. Visual artists and musicians often worked out of studio spaces that may or may not have been connected to their residences. Thus the building in which his or her studio is located would best represent their productive life. If that building no longer exists, the artist or musician's residence may be the only property remaining that is able to represent his or her life's work, and therefore may be eligible. Writers, on the other hand, often worked out of rooms in their homes. As a result, the place that would best represent their productive life would likely be their residence during the period in which they achieved significance.

Properties associated with living persons may qualify, so long as they are no longer creating art, in whatever form that may be. Properties should retain their integrity from the period of time in which the significant individual lived or worked there. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Limited materials replacement or alterations may have occurred. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of evaluation.

Property Types Associated with Labor

Headquarters and Offices of Prominent Organizations

Description: Buildings associated with this context were used by Latino labor organizations. Few organizations had the means to erect buildings during their formative years, and many organizations survived for only brief periods. Thus, they operated out of donated or rented

spaces such as churches, theaters, and commercial buildings. Meetings that required the presence of the membership would be held in churches and theaters that contained large assembly spaces. As organizations gained members and power after World War II, they were able to purchase buildings or construct union halls. Such buildings may be found in larger cities as well as rural areas in California with large concentrations of Latino workers. The architectural qualities of such buildings are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Buildings that were used by Latino labor organizations may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local or state level depending on their sphere of influence. During the twentieth century, Latinos provided the workforce that allowed the economy to grow. They represented the largest ethnic group working in several industries including agriculture, transportation, construction, and textile that were key components of the state's economy. Yet they often worked for low wages and under harsh conditions. Latino workers had a mixed relationship with organized labor that evolved quite dramatically over the century. During the early part of the century, they were resented by other workers for serving as strikebreakers and accepting low wages. Then they began waging strikes, fighting for inclusion in existing unions, organizing their own unions, and eventually working their way into the vanguard of the American labor movement by the late twentieth century. The earliest Latino labor groups included the Japanese Mexican Labor Union, La Unión de Trabajadores del Valle Imperial, Unión de Jornaleros Unidos No. 13097, and El Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas. While these organizations were short lived, their efforts set the stage for more assertive Mexican unionism in the 1930s. Falling wages, deteriorating work conditions, and negative public policies toward Mexican workers during the Great Depression heightened the resolve of Latinos to claim their rights as workers. They continued to organize their own unions, and by this time they were often supported by the mainstream American labor movement. Other important Latino groups included the Cannery and Agricultural Worker's Industrial Union, El Confederación de Uniones de Campesinos Obreros Mexicanos, and Federation of Agricultural Workers Union of America.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, buildings must be strongly associated with a prominent Latino labor organization. It is not necessary for the organization to have constructed the building, only to have occupied it during the period in which they gained significance. Buildings should retain sufficient integrity to convey their character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Buildings may be modest in their workmanship and materials due to the limited financial resources of most organizations. Primary interior spaces such as large meeting rooms should remain evident when originally present. Limited materials replacement or alteration may have occurred.

Residences and Offices of Prominent Persons

Description: Buildings associated with this context include the residences and offices of Latino labor leaders and can be found throughout the state. Their size, style, and architectural detail will be based upon the location and date of construction, and are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion B.

Significance: Latinos have played critical roles in the history of the American labor movement. At the beginning of the twentieth century, they organized Latino workers and established independent unions. By the end of the century, they served as important leaders in mainstream unions that represented a cross-section of the labor force. Persons significant in the context of Latinos in Labor History are men and women who played important roles in organizing workers, founding labor organizations, and leading labor

unions. They were also often engaged in broader civil rights issues. Properties that are closely associated with the productive lives of these individuals may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion B at the local or state level, depending on the person's sphere of influence.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion B, buildings must be closely associated with a person who played a prominent role in Latino labor history. Determining the property that best represents the person's life needs to be carefully evaluated. If the organization with which the person was affiliated did not have headquarters or offices, the best representation of their productive life may be their residence. Residences may also be eligible if the other properties associated with the individual no longer exist. Properties associated with living persons may qualify, so long as they have retired. Properties should retain their integrity from the period of time in which the significant individual lived or worked there. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of evaluation.

Sites of Historic Events

Description: Historic sites associated with this context include the locations of strikes. These events typically occurred at work places such as agricultural fields, railroad yards, and factories. Unless the factory came to symbolize the historic event, the site should be considered the documented boundaries of the protest space. The event may have lasted for a day or a week or as long as several months. They occurred throughout the state from approximately 1900 to 1965.

Significance: At the beginning of the twentieth century, Latinos began to use a variety of tactics to pressure companies for better wages and working conditions; the most significant of these tactics were strikes. In some cases, strikes were associated with laborers attempting to unionize and in other cases strikes were organized by unions to address specific grievances. The most important early action in California was the Oxnard Strike of 1903 in which Mexican and Japanese sugar beet workers joined forces to oppose a subcontracting system. Another significant action was the 1913 strike at the Durst Ranch, near Wheatland. Although the strike was defeated, it led to the formation of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing. Other significant actions include the Cantaloupe Strike in the Imperial Valley in 1928, the Cannery Strike in Santa Clara in 1931, the Berry Strike in El Monte in 1933, the Dressmakers Strike in Los Angeles in 1933, the Cal San Strike in Los Angeles in 1939, and Di Giorgio Ranch Strike in Bakersfield in 1947. More strikes followed in the 1950s and 1960s until state labor policies were reformed in the 1970s. Historic events significant in the context of Latinos in Labor History are actions that made important contributions to improving the lives of workers. Strikes that resulted in the formation of a new union, the achievement of major gains for workers, and the advancement of the labor movement are examples of significant events in this context. Properties that are closely associated with these events may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local or state level.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, the historic site must be the location of a key labor action that exemplifies the important role of Latinos in the labor movement. To be eligible, the historic site must retain its integrity of location, setting, and feeling from the period in which the event occurred.

Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce

Commercial Buildings

Description: Buildings associated with this context include a broad array of commercial building types such as offices, markets, banks, restaurants, funeral homes, bakeries, dance halls, record stores, and general retail shops. Some served basic needs, while others provided entertainment or professional services. They may be found throughout the state in large cities and small towns. Most often they are located on major corridors and within historically Latino neighborhoods. While some significant businesses were housed in stand-alone buildings, many were located in strip malls or as one storefront in a multi-storefront building. Therefore, building size, massing, and form will range from small, one-story, single storefront varieties to large, multi-story, multi-storefront examples. In addition to office and retail spaces, some buildings associated with this context may include light industrial spaces, used for manufacturing and/or storage. The architectural qualities of commercial buildings are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

If a significant concentration of buildings associated with Latino business and commerce exists in a defined geographic area, it may constitute a historic district. Historic districts associated with this context may be found in large cities as well as small towns. They will typically be located along corridors or at intersections. In some cases they may extend onto adjacent streets within a neighborhood. They may be small, consisting of a single block or intersection, or large, consisting of multiple contiguous blocks. Architectural styles in the district may vary from building to building based on date of construction. Size, form, and massing may also vary, though most will likely be low- to mid-rise in height. A complex of related buildings dedicated to one particular business, such as a plant or campus, may also constitute a district.

Significance: Commercial buildings and districts associated with the history of Latinos may be eligible for listing in the National Register at the local or state level under Criterion A. During the twentieth century, trends in Latino business and commerce followed trends in population growth and settlement patterns. As populations in particular geographic areas increased, the demand for goods and services also increased, and entrepreneurial Latinos established businesses to meet the rising demand. Most of these businesses were small, neighborhood, family-owned operations serving basic community needs. Often, they remained within the same family for multiple generations and became important community institutions. El Tepeyac Café and Candela's Guitar Shop, both in the Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles, are prime examples. While many Latino businesses remained small local shops, some grew into franchises or large corporations, especially toward the end of the twentieth century. Such was the case for Ruiz Foods which began as a small family business in 1964 and eventually became the largest manufacturer of frozen Mexican food in the country. Buildings associated with long-standing neighborhood businesses would be significant only at the local level; those associated with far-reaching franchises or corporations may be significant at the local or state level. Likewise, a grouping of buildings associated with neighborhood businesses would be significant as a historic district at the local level; a complex of buildings associated with a franchise or corporation may be significant as a historic district at the local or state level.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, individual commercial buildings must be strongly associated with an important long-standing Latino business. The business must have been or continue to be an important fixture within the community in which it is located. It may have achieved symbolic meaning as a gathering place for special occasions or for providing specific services or goods. It will often be the oldest or longest lasting

business of its particular type within a neighborhood or community. Commercial buildings must retain sufficient integrity to evoke their use and character from the period of significance. They must possess integrity of location, setting feeling, and association. They may be modest in terms of workmanship and materials depending on their architectural style and original level of design detail. Limited materials replacement or alteration may have occurred. An important business may have changed locations over time and may be associated with more than one property. In this case, only the property or properties associated with the business during the period in which the business achieved significance would be eligible. Previous or subsequent locations would not be eligible.

To be eligible under Criterion A, historic districts must be comprised of buildings which were, and possibly continue to be, strongly associated with Latino business and commerce. District must be important commercial centers within their communities or they must be complexes of buildings associated with a single important business. In addition to contributing buildings, districts will likely have other contributing features from the period significance, such as circulation patterns, street lights, decorative paving, and designed landscaping. Districts must retain sufficient integrity to evoke their significance as centers of commerce or corporate complexes, as well as their character from the period of significance. They must possess integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. They may be modest in terms of workmanship and materials depending on the architectural styles present. Limited materials replacement or storefront alterations may have occurred.

Residences and Offices of Prominent Persons

Description: Buildings associated with this context include the residences and places of business of significant Latino entrepreneurs and professionals. They can be found throughout the state. Their size, style, and architectural detail will be based upon the location and date of construction, and are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion B.

Significance: Throughout the twentieth century, Latino entrepreneurs and professionals served as important leaders within their communities. The residences and offices of prominent Latino entrepreneurs and professionals in California may be eligible under Criterion B at the local or state level, depending on the person's sphere of influence. In the first half of the century, many Latinos started small businesses or opened firms and practices which provided a wide variety of goods and services, ranging from basic necessities to entertainment to legal and medical counsel. They often facilitated trade with their home countries, sustaining important cultural and commercial connections. After World War II, with the passage of the G.I. Bill and the impact of the Chicano movement, Latinos' access to education and small-business funding improved, leading to an increase in entrepreneurship, as well as increases in employment with major corporations and in professional fields, such as law, medicine, and accounting. Persons significant in the context of Latinos in Business and Commerce are men and women who founded important business or achieved great success within their chosen field. They were often also engaged in a variety of civic organizations and trade associations. For a professional to be considered significant, they must have been the first Latino to ascend to a particular level or receive a particular accolade within his or her industry, or they must have used their professional skills for the greater good of their communities, rather than just for personal gains. Properties that are closely associated with the productive lives of these individuals may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion B at the local or state level, depending on the person's sphere of influence.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion B, buildings must be closely associated with a significant Latino entrepreneur or professional. Determining the property

that best represents the person's productive life needs to be carefully evaluated. Most often, the person's place of business during the period in which he or she achieved significance will be the property that best represents his or her work. Residences may also be eligible, if the other properties associated with the individual no longer exist. Properties associated with living persons may qualify, so long as they have retired. Properties should retain their integrity from the period of time in which the significant individual lived or worked there. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of evaluation.

Property Types Associated with Military History

Social Halls

Description: Buildings associated with this context include social halls that were used by veterans organizations. In their early years, veterans organizations did not have dedicated buildings. Rather, meetings were held in residences, churches, libraries, etc. until enough funds could be raised to purchase or construct a building. Social halls, often referred to as posts, may be found in cities in California with large concentrations of Latino veterans. These buildings are typically small in scale and modest in design and include large meeting rooms, a few offices, and restrooms. The architectural qualities of such buildings are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Social halls associated with the history of Latinos in California may qualify for listing in the National Register at the local level. In the aftermath of two American wars during the second half of the nineteenth century, several veterans organizations were formed. These organizations included the Veterans of Foreign Wars (1899) and The American Legion (1919) among others. Veterans organizations provided financial, social, and emotional support to members of the Armed Forces. Latino veterans in California did not typically seek assistance from these organizations because their members were predominately Anglo. Thus, Latinos sometimes formed their own chapters. For example, Latinos in East Los Angeles formed American Legion Post 804 in 1954. Established in Texas in 1948, the American G.I. Forum specifically addressed the concerns of Latino World War II veterans who felt rejected by other veterans groups. The California chapter was established in 1958 and local chapters were formed in various cities including San Jose, Modesto, and Sacramento shortly thereafter. Often these organizations played other roles in the community such as providing scholarships to Latino students, organizing Veterans Day and Memorial Day parades, and sponsoring Cinco de Mayo and Mexican Independence Day celebrations.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, social halls must be strongly associated with the Latino community in which they are located. Only the social halls connected with the oldest Latino veterans organizations in California established in the 1950s and 1960s will qualify at this time. Social halls should retain sufficient integrity to evoke their original use and character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Social halls may be modest in their workmanship and materials due to the limited financial resources of most organizations. Primary interior spaces such as large meeting rooms should remain evident.

Residences of Prominent Persons

Description: Buildings associated with this context include the residences of Latino war heroes and may be found throughout the state. They may include single-family or multi-family residential buildings. Their size, style, and architectural detail will be based upon the location and date of construction, and are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion B.

Significance: Latinos have served in all branches of the military since the American Revolution. Military service has been used by Latinos to express their patriotism for the U.S. as well as advance their equal treatment and integration within U.S. society. Persons significant in the context of Latinos in the Military are men and women who served in the Armed Forces and were highly decorated for their bravery. These distinguished veterans symbolize the contribution that Latinos have made to American military history. These would include and not necessarily be limited to the following Medal of Honor recipients from California:

- David M. Gonzales, Army, World War II, Pacoima
- Ysmael R. Villegas, Army, World War II, Casa Blanca
- Rodolfo Perez Hernandez, Army, Korea, Colton
- Eugene Arnold Obregon, USMC, Korea, Los Angeles
- Joseph Charles Rodriguez, Army, Korea, San Bernardino
- Maximo Yabes, Army, Vietnam, Lodi
- Alfred Rascon, Army, Vietman, Oxnard

As the accomplishments of such individuals occurred overseas in battle, there are no properties in California that reflect their contributions to military history. Because these individuals are held in such high esteem by the Latino community for their wartime sacrifices, their residences may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion B at the local level.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion B, the residence must be closely associated with a Latino person who made important contributions to U.S. military history. Determining the residence that best represents the person's life needs to be carefully evaluated. As many war heroes die in battle, the best representative may be their childhood home. In other cases, the best representative may be their residence after returning from overseas. The length of the association should be an important factor when there is more than one property associated with an individual. Properties associated with living persons may qualify, so long as they have completed their military service. Residences should retain their integrity from the period of time in which the significant individual lived there. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of evaluation.

Sites of Historic Events

Description: Historic sites associated with this context include the locations of anti-war demonstrations and marches. These events typically occurred in streets and public parks or in front of public buildings. Unless the public building came to symbolize the historical event, the site should be considered the documented boundaries of the assembly space.

Significance: Latinos played a significant role in the anti-war movement in the U.S., and eventually decided that they needed to form an all-Chicano group to oppose the war. Rosalio Muñoz and Roberto Elias formed the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, focused on the disproportionately high death rate of Mexican American soldiers in

Vietnam. Muñoz and Elias organized anti-war demonstrations and marches throughout the Southwest, including California. The largest of these marches was held in East Los Angeles on August 29, 1970. As such, the march route may qualify for listing in the National Register at the state level. This march, as well as demonstrations held in other cities, helped to bring about an end to the war and shed light on social injustices Latinos faced at home. Other historic sites may qualify for listing in the National Register at the local level.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, a historic site must be the location of a key demonstration or march in the anti-war movement in California. These events must have occurred during the height of the anti-war movement, November 1969 to August 1971. To be eligible, the historic site must retain its integrity of location, setting, and feeling from the period in which the event occurred.

Property Types Associated with Struggles for Inclusion

Headquarters and Offices of Prominent Organizations

Description: Buildings associated with this context were used by Latino civil rights organizations. Few organizations had the means to erect buildings during their formative years, and many organizations survived for only brief periods. Thus, they operated out of donated or rented spaces such as churches, theaters, and commercial buildings. Even as organizations grew and their influence expanded during the 1970s, few appear to have constructed their own buildings, preferring instead to rent space in traditional office buildings. In some cases organizations occupied entire buildings; others occupied a few offices or floors in larger buildings. Buildings may be found in larger cities in California such as Los Angeles, Fresno, San Diego, and Sacramento. The architectural qualities of such buildings are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A.

Significance: Buildings that were used by Latino civil rights organizations in California may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local or state level, depending on their sphere of influence. By 1900, Mexicans began forming organizations to foster community cohesion and mutual support. These groups became critical foundations for activism in later decades. An important early group was the mutualista, or mutual aid society. The Latino civil rights movement in California gained critical momentum in the 1930s as it intersected with the labor movement. Job inequality continued to be considered a civil rights issue for Latinos in subsequent decades. Several organizations were formed that reflect this vital link between labor rights and civil rights. These include El Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas and La Unión de Trabajadores del Valle Imperial (later renamed the Mexican Mutual Aid Society of the Imperial Valley). Organizations reflected a range of political orientations from conservative to progressive. The League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was founded in Texas and spread to California by 1940. LULAC was conservative in its approach to civil rights and race relations. They brought about important lawsuits against school segregation and supported restrictive immigration laws. The Congress of Spanish Speaking People (El Congreso) was one of the most important Latino civil rights groups in California. Active from 1939 to approximately 1945, they worked on a variety of issues including housing, voting rights, immigration, police brutality, and education. Latino World War II veterans were instrumental in forming several community-based organizations including the Unity League and the Community Service Organization. Both organizations advocated on a broad array of civil rights issues, and focused on voting rights and electoral politics. In the 1960s and 1970s, the struggle accelerated with the rise of the Chicano movement. Several key national groups were formed in 1968 including the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund and the National Council for La Raza, a national alliance of community-based organizations. In

California, affiliates included The East Los Angeles Community Union. Buildings associated with the local chapters of organizations would be significant only at the local level; those associated with statewide organizations may be significant at the local or state level.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, buildings must be strongly associated with a prominent Latino civil rights organization. It is not necessary for the organization to have constructed the building, only to have occupied it during the period in which the organization gained significance. Buildings should retain sufficient integrity to convey their character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Buildings may be modest in their workmanship and materials due to the limited financial resources of most organizations. Limited materials replacement or alteration may have occurred.

Residences and Offices of Prominent Persons

Description: Buildings associated with this context include the residences and offices of Latino civil rights leaders and can be found throughout the state. Their size, style, and architectural detail will be based upon the location and date of construction, and are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion B.

Significance: Latinos endured widespread discrimination and segregation, despite their significant contributions to California history. This inequity drove a long, unyielding fight for full equality and inclusion in American society. The Latino struggle for inclusion in California was led by a variety of individuals from various walks of life, generations, and political orientations. Persons significant in the context of Latino Struggles for Inclusion may include politicians, attorneys, educators, union organizers, and housing advocates working on local as well as statewide issues. There are too many people to mention here individually, and many people are still alive and working on Latino civil rights issues. Edward Roybal (1916-2005) is a prime example of an early Latino civil rights activist who would be significant in this context. Many of his accomplishments occurred more than 50 years ago. Roybal was a co-founder of the Community Service Organization in 1949, served on the Los Angeles City Council from 1949 to 1962, helped organize the Mexican American Political Association in 1960, and served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1963 to 1993. Properties that are closely associated with the productive lives of prominent persons may qualify for listing in the National Register at the local or state level, depending on their sphere of influence.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion B, the building must be closely associated with a person who played a prominent role in Latino civil rights history. Determining the property that best represents the person's life needs to be carefully evaluated. If the organization with which the person was affiliated did not have headquarters or offices, the best representation of his or her productive life may be their residence. Residences may also be eligible if the other properties associated with the individual no longer exist. Properties associated with living persons may qualify, so long as they have retired. Properties should retain their integrity from the period of time in which the significant individual lived or worked there. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of evaluation.

Mexican Schools

Description: Buildings associated with this context include schools that were designated for Mexicans. So-called “Mexican schools” were created by public school districts throughout the state with large Mexican populations. As Mexican children were not encouraged or

expected to attend school past the eighth grade, Mexican schools were typically designed for elementary school children and located within walking distance to barrios and colonias. Mexican schools were often stand-alone classroom buildings and were modest in size and amenities, especially compared with their Anglo counterparts. The architectural qualities of such buildings are less important factors in the evaluation of eligibility under Criterion A. There are at least three known examples remaining: Cypress Street School and Westminster School in Orange County, and Casa Blanca School in Riverside County. Buildings associated with this context also include schools associated with efforts to end segregation.

Significance: Schools designated for Mexicans may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local or state level depending on their age and rarity. During the first half of the twentieth century, the vast majority of school districts in California with large Mexican populations practiced segregation. Mexican children were not just physically separated from their Anglo peers, they were usually taught in more crowded classrooms, with less experienced teachers, and with outdated books and materials. The greatest difference between schools was the curricula. Mexican schools focused on teaching boys industrial skills and girls domestic skills, as opposed to writing, math, or science. By the end of the 1920s, Mexican children were by far the most segregated ethnic group in the public school system in California. There were numerous grassroots efforts around the state focused on challenging these policies. Early legal victories included *Roberto Alvarez v. Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove School District* (1931), *Mendez, et al v. Westminster School District of Orange County* (1946), and *Romero v. Weakley* (1950). These court decisions collectively ended de jure educational segregation by the 1950s, and de facto school segregation persisted. Mexican schools are significant in this context because they symbolize the way Mexicans were shut out of mainstream American society and denied equal access to education.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, a school must have been designated for Mexicans by the school district in which it is located, or actively associated with desegregation efforts. Schools with predominately Latino student bodies by virtue of exclusionary housing policies are not eligible in this context. Schools should retain sufficient integrity to convey their use and character from the period of significance. The historic location, setting, feeling, and association must be strongly present in the evaluation of integrity. Schools may be modest in their workmanship and materials given the limited funds that were spent on their construction. Limited materials replacement or alterations may have occurred, especially if the buildings have been adaptively re-used.

Sites of Historic Events

Description: Historic sites associated with this context include places that symbolize injustices and struggles for inclusion as well as the locations of demonstrations and marches related to the Latino civil rights and Chicano movements. These events typically occurred in streets and public parks or in front of public buildings. Unless the public building came to symbolize the historical event, the site should be considered the documented boundaries of the assembly space. These events may be associated with private buildings as well, and the location of the event has more value than any extant buildings.

Significance: The Latino struggle for inclusion in California was in response to widespread discrimination and segregation that intensified after 1900. Latinos were hemmed into particular neighborhoods and confined to low-wage jobs. The formation of barrios and colonias reinforced segregation in other forums such as churches, recreational facilities, and schools. Latinos used a variety of tactics to reverse discriminatory policies from demonstrations to lawsuits. Early important actions against educational discrimination

were the "blow-outs" in the spring of 1968, a series of protests by high school students in East Los Angeles. Garfield High School was the first of five Los Angeles Unified School District high schools involved in the event. The school still stands, and its campus also represents the historic event, especially since the students walked out to protest the poor quality of the education. The case D*oss et al. v.* B*ernal et al.* (1943) is an example of a significant legal victory for Latinos in this context. The case revolved around the Bernal family who were sued by their white neighbors for violating the race restrictive covenant on their property. The Bernals hired their own attorney who successfully argued that race restrictive covenants violated the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. The Bernals' house still stands, and its parcel symbolizes the place and time Latinos broke the color barrier. Properties that are closely associated with these and other events may qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local or state level, depending on the impact of the event.

Registration Requirements: To be eligible under Criterion A, the historic event must be demonstrably important within the context of Latino Struggles for Inclusion. These will likely be pivotal events that changed the course of the Latino civil rights and Chicano movements. These events must have occurred prior to 1975. To be eligible, the historic site must retain its integrity of location, setting, and feeling from the period in which the event occurred.

Appendix B – Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* context statement was developed to analyze properties associated with this diverse and growing population. Two foundational documents were used in its preparation: *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California* and *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*. Published by the California Office of Historic Preservation in 1988, *Five Views* was a statewide survey of properties associated with the largest ethnic groups in California including American Indians, African Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Mexican Americans. The chapter on Mexican Americans highlighted 99 associated properties including buildings and sites. The Latino Theme Study was published in 2013 by the National Park Service (NPS) to better recognize the contributions Latinos have made to American history. The study consists of a core essay and additional essays highlighting four broad themes: Making a Nation, Making a Life, Making a Living, and Making a Democracy.

The intent of the *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* context statement was to update and expand the information in *Five Views* and to complement the NPS study. As such, the historic contexts in this document were largely derived from the themes and sub-themes identified in the NPS study. While the NPS study includes eighteenth and nineteenth, as well as twentieth century history, this document is focused solely on the history of Latinos in twentieth century California. The twentieth century was selected because the vast majority of properties associated with Latino history before 1900 have already been identified and documented. These include numerous buildings, sites, and districts involving Spanish exploration and Mexican settlement. A study conducted for this context statement identified approximately 100 properties associated with Latinos in California listed in the National Register of Historic Places and/or the California Register of Historical Resources.

In addition to the Latino Theme Study, the NPS conducted a study on the labor leader and human rights activist, César Chávez. Chávez led farm workers and supporters in the establishment of the country's first permanent agricultural union. As a result of the study, the César Chávez National Monument was designated in 2012. The monument is located on the historic property known as Nuestra Señora Reina de la Paz in Keene. It was the national headquarters of the United Farm Workers of America and home of César Chávez from 1971 to 1993. The monument is the first site in the National Park System devoted to twentieth century Latino history. The study also identified three other nationally significant sites in California: The 1966 march route from Delano to Sacramento; the former United Farm Workers headquarters in Delano know as 40 Acres; and the meeting hall in San Jose where Chávez first learned community organizing. As the accomplishments of Chávez have been so thoroughly addressed by that study, this context statement only touches upon his life and instead highlights other aspects of Latinos in labor history.

Like the aforementioned NPS initiatives, the *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* context statement was intended as a study, not a survey, of potential historic resources. The focus of the study was on the synthesis of secondary source materials. Until the 1970s, the Latino population of California had rarely been the subject of scholarly research. With the notable exception of Carey McWilliams, few other California writers took an interest in describing or defining the role of Latinos in California history. This trend began to change in the 1960s as more Mexican Americans attended institutions of higher learning in California and began to demand greater educational equality as well as challenge the Eurocentric perspective held by most academics. This movement stimulated the formation of Chicano Studies programs in colleges and universities across the state, beginning with San Francisco State University

and the University of California at Berkeley in 1969. One of the by-products of these programs was an outpouring of scholarship on this understudied group of people.

The initial scholarship in the field sought to define Chicano culture and to illuminate the inequalities that prompted the Chicano movement in the first place. Subsequent scholarship has approached Mexican Americans as a multidimensional group and focused on the generational, historical, and regional differences in Mexican American subgroups living in the United States. In addition, Chicano Studies programs have been broadened to include the histories and experiences of other Latino groups in California.

Two of the earliest and most comprehensive books dealing with the experiences of Mexican Americans in California are by Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios* (1979) and *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans* (1984). Camarillo endeavored to relate the ways in which Mexican Americans shaped the history of the state and the ways in which the dominant society, in turn, influenced the lives of Mexican Americans.

As people of Mexican origin were historically and continue to be concentrated in southern California, numerous books are focused on Mexican Americans in Los Angeles. These include early works by Ricardo Romos, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio* (1981) and Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History* (1982) as well as more recent works by George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles* 1900-1945 (1993) and Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (1999).

Labor has also been an important line of inquiry for historians. *Mexican American Labor, 1790-1990* (1994) by Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Labor Rights are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America* (2005) by Zaragosa Vargas, and *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970* (2001) by Matt García were particularly helpful in the preparation of this document.

Topics that have not received sufficient attention from historians are women and commerce. Most of the above named books include women in their examination of immigration and employment patterns, and few explore the role of women in the formation of Latino communities. Antonia Castañada, Vicki Ruiz, and Patricia Zavella have contributed to the understanding of gender roles in Latino history, and more research is required. Entrepreneurs are another understudied group in the Latino community. Very little information exists on the roles Latinos have played in the history of American business and economics.

Primary research was conducted to fill information gaps in the secondary sources. This included Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, U.S. Census records, City Directories, and newspapers. Many of these sources are available online for cities and counties throughout the state.

One of the greatest challenges of researching Latinos in California is the lack of reliable statistical data. In numerical terms, it is difficult to follow the history of Mexican Americans in the United States because the U.S. Census Bureau has been inconsistent in its reporting. Before 1930, the only statistical data available came from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which documented Mexican immigration. This data is not really an accurate reflection of immigration, because of the porous nature of the border during the early part of the twentieth century. Furthermore, this data conveys nothing about the people of Mexican ancestry who were already living in the United States. The book *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles* 1900-1945 (1993) by George Sánchez relies heavily on naturalization records.

In 1930, the Census Bureau attempted to enumerate this population under the heading of Mexican. Census takers were instructed to record all persons born in Mexico or having parents born in Mexico, if these persons were not White, Negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese, the terms used at the time. This definition, of course, excluded all persons who were not born in Mexico or parents who were not born there. This definition also conflated ethnicity and race. Mexicans, like Americans, are the product of a melting pot of various cultures including indigenous peoples and Europeans. Mexican Americans are likewise a diverse group of people, and not a distinct race.

Further complicating the issue, the standards changed each time the census was taken. In 1940, the Census Bureau dropped the Mexican racial classification and attempted to enumerate this and other foreign populations by using the criterion of the language spoken in the home. Once again, this approach was inadequate because for many persons of Mexican descent in 1940, English was their principal language. Ten years later, the Census Bureau changed the criterion for enumerating the Mexican population to Spanish surname. Many Mexican Americans do not have Spanish surnames. Furthermore, the Census Bureau only used this approach in the five southwestern states, so Mexican Americans living outside of those states were not recorded. Thus, it is impossible to compare the numbers of Mexican Americans before 1930 with the numbers in 1930, 1940, or 1950. In 1960, the Census Bureau used the same criterion as 1950, at last making an accurate comparison in California possible.

Aware that the criterion used to enumerate this population was inadequate; the Census Bureau established a self-identification approach in 1970. The Census form asked people if they were of Mexican descent. The same was true for Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Central Americans, and South Americans living throughout the U.S. The question only appeared on the long form sent to a five percent sample of all households. Thus, demographers believe that the population was grossly underestimated. In 1980, the question was moved to the short form and specified that it pertained to Hispanics: “Is this person of Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent?” The possible responses were: “No (not Spanish/Hispanic); Yes, Mexican, Mexican-Amer., Chicano; Yes, Puerto Rican; Yes, Cuban; Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic.” The previously problematic “Central or South American” category did not appear. The 1990 form was nearly identical to the 1980 form. The 2000 Census, which counted more than 35 million Hispanics, saw some significant changes in the Hispanic origin item. The term “Latino” was added, so the question read, “Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?”

The associated property types were based upon function and organized by context. A limited field survey was completed during the course of this study, and was concentrated in the Los Angeles area. A descriptive list of properties was developed for the study using the 99 properties highlighted in *Five Views* as a starting point. This list was shared with and added to by historic preservation groups and community organizations throughout the state. Properties that were mentioned in the primary and secondary research were also added to the list. Follow up research was conducted using City Directories and newspapers to determine the location of properties associated with historic persons, organizations, and institutions. These properties were then viewed using Google Earth to determine if they were still extant. This virtual fieldwork revealed a wide variety of property types, with few remaining in each category with the possible exception of murals. Integrity requirements were based upon knowledge of the existing properties.

Appendix C – Guide to Using the Multiple Property Document Form

Completing National Register of Historic Places forms can be technically challenging and the writing requirements are stringent. This brief guide is intended to facilitate the preparation of nominations for any person who is interested.

Buildings are the most popular type of historic resource nominated. Nominations can also be submitted for sites, structures, objects, and districts. The National Register requires that a nominated property be discussed within a historic context. The applicant, or writer, must discuss the broader history associated with the property as well as the history of the nominated property itself.

For example, if an applicant wishes to nominate the home of a significant labor leader, a brief history of labor in the region, state, and perhaps the nation must be discussed, to provide the context for the history of the house and the life story of the labor leader. Historic context facilitates a greater understanding of how the individual property fits in the big picture. In this way, the individual property nominated is connected with broader historic events that have influenced our locality, our state, and nation. These connections lend historical significance to the nominated property.

About Multiple Property Submissions

The research and documentation necessary to describe history, context, and significance can be challenging and time consuming. To make it easier for applicants to complete nominations, the National Register created the Multiple Property Submission (MPS). The MPS contains much of the background and contextual history for the broad trends and themes associated with a specific subject in history. By associating a new nomination with an existing MPS, it is no longer necessary for the applicant to research and write about broader context.

In the example you are holding, the subject of the MPS is Latinos in Twentieth Century California. The subject is further divided into four associated historic contexts, each with one or more sub-contexts: Making a Nation: Latino Immigration and Settlement, Latinos in the Media; Making a Life: Religion and Spirituality in Latino Culture, Latinos in Sports, Latinos in the Arts; Making a Living: Latinos in Labor History, Business and Commerce in Latino Communities, Latinos in the Military; and Making a Democracy: Latino Struggles for Inclusion.

Beginning the Process

If you know of a property that you believe is associated with one of these historic contexts and you would like to nominate the property to the National Register, please contact the Office of Historic Preservation's (OHP) Registration Unit. This will give you the opportunity to tell us about the property you are nominating. We will be able to tell you if the property has already been nominated or listed, and whether the property appears to be eligible for the National Register.

The property must retain enough of its historic appearance and original material to convey its historic character and significance. This is defined as integrity, and is different from condition. Evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgment. It must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. Historic properties either retain integrity or they do not. These seven aspects, or qualities, in various combinations, express integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

To retain historic integrity a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. The retention of specific aspects of integrity is vital for a property to convey its significance. Determining which of these aspects are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant.

Significance + Integrity = Eligibility for the National Register

Note that nominations must be completed according to two bulletins published by the National Park Service. "National Register Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation" (Bulletin 15) explains the criteria for listing properties and provides more information about integrity. "National Register Bulletin 16A, How to Complete the National Register Form" (Bulletin 16A) provides detailed instructions section by section. The bulletins are available online at

http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/

http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16A/

You may also access them via the OHP website at http://www.ohp.parks.ca.gov/nationalregister.

Completing the National Register Nomination Form

Follow the instructions and guidelines provided in the Bulletins, including Bulletin 16A, Section IV. Documenting Properties Within Multiple Property Submissions. You may also find it helpful to review other nominations considered by the State Historical Resources Commission, as posted on either the Actions or Pending Nominations pages of the OHP website (http://www.ohp.parks.ca.gov/shrc).

Download a copy of the National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form 10-900 from http://www.ohp.parks.ca.gov/nationalregister. This is the form used to nominate individual properties which will be associated with the *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* MPS. In Section 1 of the nomination form, enter "Latinos in Twentieth Century California" under "Name of related multiple property listing." Do not submit a copy of the MPS document.

Clearly distinguish between the physical description of the property requested in the Section 7 Description, and the property's history and importance in the Section 8 Statement of Significance. Section 8 is also where you will indicate the area of significance, the period of significance, and how the property is associated with the MPS, including how it meets the registration requirements identified in the MPS. For example:

> The Lydia D. Killefer School is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places at the local level of significance under Criterion A in the area of Social History for its association with school desegregation in Southern California. The period of significance is 1942 to 1944, reflecting the school's process of voluntary desegregation. The desegregation is particularly significant as it took place prior to the 1947 Méndez v. Westminster ruling that legally required schools in Southern California to desegregate. For its association with the historic context Making a Democracy: Latino Struggles for Inclusion, the property meets the registration requirements of the Latinos In Twentieth Century California Multiple Property Submission.

After an applicant submits a nomination to this office, we carefully review it. The nomination process is a collaborative effort between the applicant and the OHP Registration Unit staff. We often make requests for additional information or clarification, in order to work with nomination preparers to make a nomination as strong as possible.

When the nomination is ready for public review, the State Historic Preservation Officer will schedule it for hearing by the State Historical Resources Commission at one of its quarterly meetings. After the Commission approves the nomination, the State Historic Preservation Officer will send it to the Keeper of the National Register in Washington, D.C. for final approval.

Note that Commission agendas are set approximately three months in advance of meetings, so six to nine months is the usual timeframe to get a property listed in the National Register. Although the consent of property owner(s) is not required, properties cannot be listed over the objection of private owner(s). In such cases, a property may be determined eligible for the National Register. Property owner contact information must be submitted with a National Register nomination as part of the cover letter.

Contact the OHP Registration Unit if you have questions. Thank you for your interest in historic designation and the National Register of Historic Places.

Appendix D – Latinos in Twentieth Century California Advisory Committee

In preparing this context statement, GPA Consulting and the Office of Historic Preservation worked with a distinguished panel of historic preservation professionals and academic historians. The project's advisory committee included:

Antonia Castañeda, Associate Professor of History, St. Mary's University

David Diaz, Professor, Department of Urban Studies, CSU Los Angeles

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Janet Hansen, Deputy Manager, City of Los Angeles, Office of Historic Resources

Luis G. Hoyos, AIA, Associate Professor, CSU Pomona

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Joseph A. Pitti, Professor Emeritus, History and Ethnic Studies, CSU Sacramento

Julianne Polanco, Chair, State Historical Resources Commission

James Rojas, Co-Chair, Latino Urban Forum

Desiree Smith, Preservation Project Manager, San Francisco Architectural Heritage

Josephine Talamantez, Public Historian and Independent Consultant

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Endnotes

[1] David G. Gutiérrez, "An Historic Overview of Latino Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of the United States," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 57.

[2] Jeffrey M. Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," in *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*, 1900-1965, ed. Jay P. Dolan and Gilberto M. Hinojosa (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 142.

[3] George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles*, 1900-1945 (New York, NY: Oxford Press, 1993), 19.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Himilce Novas, *Everything You Need to Know About Latino History* (New York, NY: Plume Division of Penguin Group, 2008), 49. *Tejano* or *Texano* is the term used to describe Texans of Mexican origin.

[6] Gutierrez, "Historic Overview," 57.

[7] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 70.

[8] Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 142.

[9] L.H. Gann and Peter J. Duignan, *The Hispanics in the United States* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986), 37.

[10] Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 137.

[11] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 41.

[12] The law was also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, although much of it applied to people from all countries, it also had specific provisions targeting people from Asia and the Pacific Islands.

[13] Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 140.

[14] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 59.

[15] Ibid., 51.

[16] Ibid., 50.

[17] Ibid., 66.

[18] Ibid., 39.

[19] Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 139.

[20] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 67.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Gann and Duignan, *The Hispanics in the United States*, 40-41.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 67.

[27] Ibid., 67-68.

[28] Ibid., 69.

[29] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 72-74.

[30] Brian J. Godfrey, "Barrio Under Siege: Latino Sense of Place in San Francisco, California" in *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places: Community and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary America*, ed. David D. Arreola (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004), 84; and Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans* (San Francisco, CA: Boyd & Fraser, 1984), 36.

[31] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 75.

[32] Gann and Duignan, Hispanics in the U.S., 40.

[33] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from David Olson, "Casa Blanca: Legacy of Citrus and Community Activism," *Press-Enterprise*, August 1, 2001, accessed December 4, 2013, http://www.pe.com/local-news/riverside-county/riverside/riverside-headlines-index/20110801-casa-blanca-legacy-of-citrus-and-community-activism.ece.

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[35] Ibid.

[36] David E. Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004) 17-19.

[37] The program was named after the colloquial term "bracero," which means manual laborer in Spanish.

[38] "Braceros: History Compensation," *Rural Migration News*, accessed November 20, 2013, http://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=1112_0_4_0.

[39] "The Bracero Program," *Calisphere*, accessed November 20, 2013, http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/themed_collections/subtopic5c.html.

[40] Gutiérrez, "Historic Overview," 58-59.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., 59.

[43] Ibid., 60.

[44] Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 141.

[45] Postwar census numbers specifically for Mexicans do not exist because emigration from other parts of Latin America was not a major factor in California until the 1970s and later, it is likely that the vast majority of the numbers listed in Table III were of Mexican origin.

[46] Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 142.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Gutiérrez, "Historic Overview," 63.

[50] Ibid., 64.

[51] Postwar census numbers specifically for Mexicans do not exist because emigration from other parts of Latin America was not a major factor in California until the 1970s and later, it is likely that the vast majority of the numbers listed in this column for 1980 were of Mexican origin.

[52] Gutiérrez, "Historic Overview," 65.

[53] Nora Hamilton and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla, *Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001), 45.

[54] Ibid.

[55] U.S. Census statistics from the Minnesota Population Center, National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2011).

[56] Hamilton and Chinchilla, *Seeking Community*, 44-45.

[57] Ibid., 44.

[58] Ibid., 45.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., 46.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., 40.

[64] Ibid., 53.

[65] Ibid.

[66] U.S. Census statistics from the National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0.

[67] U.S. Census, 2010.

[68] Larry M. Eig, "The Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act: Hardship Relief and Long-Term Illegal Aliens," *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress*, Updated July 15, 1998.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Hamilton and Chinchilla, *Seeking Community*, 24.

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[72] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from "The Mission: A Barrio of Many Cultures," KQED: *Public Media for Northern California*, accessed December 5, 2013, http://www.kqed.org/w/hood/mission/barrio.html.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Hamilton and Chinchilla, *Seeking Community*, 49.

[75] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Hamilton and Chinchilla, *Seeking Community*, 42.

[76] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Hamilton and Chinchilla, *Seeking Community*, 59-61.

[77] Hamilton and Chinchilla, *Seeking Community*, 61.

[78] Gutiérrez, "Historic Overview," 64.

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[83] Ibid., 305.

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[85] Chabran and Chabran, "The Spanish-Language and Latino Press," 368.

[86] Ibid.

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[89] Ibid.

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[91] Ibid.

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[102] Ibid., 375.

[103] Ibid., 376-377.

[104] Ibid., 378.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Subervi-Velez et al, "Mass Communications," 324.

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[123] Ryan and Kanellos, "Hispanic Americans," 186.

[124] David R. Maciel, "Latino Cinema," in *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*, ed. Fransisco Lomeli (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 1994), 313.

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[126] Ibid.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ryan and Kanellos, "Hispanic Americans," 187.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Maciel, "Latino Cinema," 313.

[131] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Maciel, "Latino Cinema," 313.

[132] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Maciel, "Latino Cinema," 314.

[133] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Maciel, "Latino Cinema," 315.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Maciel, "Latino Cinema," 318.

[136] Ibid., 319.

[137] Ibid., 321. The film *Zoot Suit* was based on Valdez's play by the same name.

[138] Ibid., 322-325.

[139] Ryan and Kanellos, "Hispanic Americans," 190.

[140] Ibid.

[141] "Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball: The Geniuses Who Shaped the Future of Television," *Entrepreneur Magazine*, October 8, 2008, accessed December 26, 2013, http://www.entrepreneur.com/article/197550.

[142] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Ryan and Kanellos, "Hispanic Americans," 190.

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[147] The original KCOR-TV was bought out shortly after it was established. The station's creator Raul Cortez created a new station on the same channel with the call letters KUAL.

[148] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Subervi-Velez et al, "Mass Communications," 335-336.

[149] Ibid., 336-339.

[150] Subervi-Velez et al, "Mass Communications," 339 and 346.

[151] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from Subervi-Velez et al, "Mass Communications," 346.

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[154] Sánchez, Becoming Mexican American, 162.

[155] Burns, "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," 188.

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[162] Ibid., 162-163.

[163] Ibid., 156.

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[207] Ramirez, "Borderlands Praxis: The Immigrant Experience in Latino Pentecostal Churches," 574.

[208] Stevens-Arroyo, "The Latino Religious Resurgence," 173.

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[210] Ramirez, "Borderlands Praxis: The Immigrant Experience in Latino Pentecostal Churches," 575-576.

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[386] Benavídez and Vozoff, "The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s," 46.

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[388] "Who Is Jose Moya del Pino?," *Jose Moya del Pino Library, Ross Historical Society*, accessed June 24, 2014, http://www.moya-rhs.org/moya-del-pino.html; "Artist: Jose Moya del Pino," *The Living New Deal*, accessed June 24, 2014, https://livingnewdeal.berkeley.edu/artists/jose-moya-del-pino/.

[389] Kelly Bennett, "A Brewery's Vivid Artwork, Mothballed for Years," *Voices of San Diego*, April 16, 2012, accessed June 24, 2014, http://voiceofsandiego.org/2012/04/16/a-brewerys-vivid-artwork-mothballed-for-years/.

[390] Ybarra-Frausto, "A Panorama of Latino Arts," 146.

[391] "Art Along the Hyphen: The Mexican-American Generation."

[392] Ybarra-Frausto, "The Chicano Movement," 165.

[393] Ibid., 173, 175-176.

[394] Ibid., 172, 177.

[395] Benavídez and Vozoff, "The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s," 49; Ybarra-Frausto, "The Chicano Movement," 177.

[396] González, 152; Benavídez and Vozoff, "The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s," 49.

[397] Nieto, "Le Démon des Anges: A Brief History of the Chicano-Latino Artists of Los Angeles," 221.

[398] Self Help Graphics & Art, "History," accessed February 24, 2014, http://www.selfhelpgraphics.com/about/history.

[399] Ybarra-Frausto, "The Chicano Movement," 175; Benavídez and Vozoff, 50; Ybarra-Frausto, "A Panorama of Latino Arts," 149.

[400] Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sánchez, introduction to *Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals*, Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sánchez, eds (1990; reprint, Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 12; Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California*, 121.

[401] Nieto, "Le Démon des Anges: A Brief History of the Chicano-Latino Artists of Los Angeles," 221.

[402] Benavídez and Vozoff, "The Wall: Image and Boundary, Chicano Art in the 1970s," 50.

[403] "Artist Information – Ester Hernandez," *Galería de la Raza*, accessed February 28, 2014, http://www.galeriadelaraza.org/eng/exhibits2/archive/artists.php?op=view&id=19&media=info.

[404] Nieto, "Le Démon des Anges: A Brief History of the Chicano-Latino Artists of Los Angeles," 220, 222.

[405] Latorre, *Walls of Empowerment: Chicana/o Indigenist Murals of California*, 56.

[406] Ibid., 57.

[407] Robert W. Cherny, Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, and Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Competing Visions: A History of California*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, 2014), 167-76, 214; Thomas Osborne, *Pacific El Dorado: A History of Greater California* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 162-165, 206-208.

[408] Juan Gomez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 1790-1990 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 45.

[409] Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 244-45. Camille Guerin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1994), 19-21. Monroy notes that white laborers were "utterly worthless" because they demanded too much money and good working conditions, 249-250.

[410] Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, Ch. 5.

[411] Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 72.

[412] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 4.

[413] Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression*, 119.

[414] Almaguer, Racial Fault Lines, 71.

[415] Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 34.

[416] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 73-75; Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios* (Cambridge, CA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 163.

[417] Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1968), 215. Emphasis in original.

[418] George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 67-68. By the late 1920s, Mexicans were 80% of farm workers in Southern California.

[419] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 35.

[420] Zaragosa Vargas, *Labor Rights are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 35.

[421] Douglas Monroy, "An Essay on Understanding the Work Experience of Mexicans in Southern California, 1900-1939," *Aztlán* 12, 1 (Spring 1981): 65-66.

[422] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 75.

[423] Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 166-67; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 39.

[424] Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression*, 118; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 68-69.

[425] Monroy, "An Essay," 65-66.

[426] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 192-193.

[427] Ibid., 193-194.

[428] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 74.

[429] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 39. McWilliams, *North from Mexico*, 217-220, has a great description of these barrios.

[430] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 39; William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 147. Deverell's chapter 4 is devoted to the Simon Brick Company.

[431] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 39; Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 211, 221-222.

[432] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 142, 202.

[433] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 175, 189, 192-195; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 41; Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 222.

[434] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 42; Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 67-69. In 1915, the IWW established the Agricultural Workers Organization, to aid farm worker organizing.

[435] Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles*, 1900-1970 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 49.

[436] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 69, 76-77; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 41-42.

[437] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 75-84, 119.

[438] Address was 538 Maple Avenue in Downtown Los Angeles; building is no longer extant.

[439] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 110-113; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican America*, 231-33; David Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 103-105. These authors differ somewhat in their characterization of CUOM as radical v. moderate.

[440] Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, 254; Osborne, *Pacific El Dorado*, 257.

[441] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 42-43; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 210-213.

[442] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 211, 213, 214.

[443] Vargas, Labor Rights, 8. Also see Devra Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Cotton, Farmworkers and the New Deal*, 1919-1939 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994).

[444] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 211.

[445] Early on, the Mexican Consul in Los Angeles Rafael del la Colina supported the campaign, concerned both by deteriorated conditions among Mexicans and the labor drain in Mexico due to mass out-migration. By 1932, the Mexican consulate in Los Angeles changed its position, when news spread of poor conditions among repatriates in Mexico. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 221.

[446] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 212, 216, 225.

[447] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 211, 232; Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 53.

[448] Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin, eds., *Major Problems in California History* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 273.

[449] See especially Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 4.

[450] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 97-98; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 228; Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 3-7.

[451] For example, see Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*; Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1935), ch. 13; Vargas, *Labor Rights*; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, ch. 11; Vicki Ruiz,

Cannery Women, Cannery Lives (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, 1987); Garcia, A *World*; Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold*.

[452] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 131-34, 137-38.

[453] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 134-35; Ronald W. López, "The El Monte Berry Strike of 1933," *Aztlán* 1 (Spring 1970), 104; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 235-37. This strike put radicals and moderates at odds with each other; communists blamed he consulates for emphasizing nationalism over worker solidarity.

[454] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 136.

[455] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 53-55; Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 138.

[456] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 151.

[457] Mexican labor organizers participated in the formation of the CIO, sending delegates to the founding convention in 1937 (Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 140.)

[458] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 114, 150-51; Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 140-41.

[459] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 232; Ruiz, *Cannery Women*. Cannery workers—who occupied a middle ground between farm and industrial labor—were classified as "industrial" labor, so could benefit from New Deal labor legislation. In 1937, the AFL won two landmark cases that confirmed this status—one against the Sierra Madre-Lamanda Citrus Association and another against the North Whittier Heights Citrus Association (Garcia, A *World*, 171).

[460] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 114, 150-51; Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 140-41.

[461] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 153.

[462] On September 27, 1933, they held an organizational meeting at Walker's Theater, involving "1,500 spirited dressmakers." Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 85.

[463] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 84; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 232-35.

[464] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 89-90.

[465] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 154-55; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 240-42.

[466] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 239, 244-45, 249-52.

[467] Zaragosa Vargas, "Latino Workers," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 202-203.

[468] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty!*, 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011), 991-92; Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, 276; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 88.

[469] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 11.

[470] Genevieve Carpio, "Unexpected Allies: David C. Marcus and His Impact on the Advancement of Civil Rights in the Mexican-American Legal Landscape of Southern California," *Annual Review of the Casden Institute for the Study of the Jewish Role in American Life*, 9 (2012): 3.

[471] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 72-74.; David Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 74-75.

[472] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 285.

[473] Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1987), 210-211. Mexican Americans comprised about 12 percent of all Lockheed aircraft employees, and women were 80 percent of these workers in detailed assembly, general assembly, and riveting (Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 233).

[474] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 171.

[475] Ibid.

[476] Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, 315, 337.

[477] Zaragosa Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 277.

[478] Garcia, A *World*, 165. Also see Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 242-243, for conditions among farm workers in this period.

[479] The Taft-Hartley Act banned secondary boycotts, sympathy strikes, and the closed shop, authorized the president to suspend strikes by ordering an 80-day "cooling off" period, allowed states to pass "right to work" laws, and required union leaders an anti-communism pledge. Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty!*, 3rd ed. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2011), 969.

[480] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 157.

[481] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 75.

[482] Garcia, A *World*, 174.

[483] Osborne, *Pacific El Dorado*, 287.

[484] Garcia notes that for many braceros, the program was an improvement over working conditions in Mexico. Garcia, A *World*, 175-76.

[485] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 242.

[486] Garcia, A *World*, 174-185, quote at 183.

[487] Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, 279; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 75.

[488] Garcia, *A World*, 186; Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, 336.

[489] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 276.

[490] Foner, *Give Me Liberty!*, 967.

[491] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 157.

[492] Ibid., 182.

[493] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 199, 232-233. Another example of such groups was the Asociación Nacional México-Americana, a more radical group of Mexican American trade unionists concentrated in California and the Rocky Mountain. Founded in 1948, it reached its peak in 1950 with 4,000 members (Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 281).

[494] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 277.

[495] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 285.

[496] Ruiz, *Cannery Women*, 113.

[497] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 171.

[498] Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, 331.

[499] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 179, 186, 188, 195, 270.

[500] Vargas, "Latino Workers," NPS theme study, p. 205.

[501] As Vargas writes, he "waged an almost single-handed fight against California agribusiness and its supportive government regulatory agencies." (Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 272)

[502] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 235-237; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 278.

[503] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 242.

[504] César Chávez and the United Farm Workers Union are discussed in detail in the National Park Service César Chávez Special Resources Study, and historic sites have been designated. See: http://parkplanning.nps.gov/document.cfm?documentID=55866.

[505] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 246-50.

[506] Gregory DeFreitas, *Inequality at Work: Hispanics in the* U.S. *Labor Force* (New York, NY: Oxford, 1991), 20-21.

[507] Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, 395, 428.

[508] IRCA gave amnesty to undocumented workers, and required employers obtain documentation from workers of their eligibility to work legally in the US. Vargas, "Latino Workers," p.206.

[509] Manuel Pastor, Jr., "Poverty, Work, and Public Policy: Latino Futures in California's New Economy," in *Mexicans in California: Transformations and Challenges*, eds., Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Patricia Zavella (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 16.

[510] Pastor, "Poverty, Work, and Public Policy," 29.

[511] Pastor, "Poverty, Work, and Public Policy," 16-17. Vargas contends that NAFTA accelerated these trends, hitting Latino workers the hardest by "perpetuating the influx of Mexican workers into the low-wage manufacturing and service sector." (Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 367)

[512] Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, 406.

[513] Stephen J. Pitti, *The Devil in Silicon Valley: Northern California, Race, and Mexican Americans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 176-78.

[514] This followed the call of people like activist-scholar Manuel Pastor, who writes that a Latino economic agenda must "accept that the very nature of the 'new economy'—despite the glitter and glitz of high tech and bioengineering—is such that improvements in basic labor standards may be an essential part of Latino economic advancement." (Pastor, "Poverty, Work, and Public Policy," 17).

[515] Foner, *Give Me Liberty!*, 1111.

[516] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 346, 363.

[517] For 2000, the census changed occupational categories from previous years so certain adjustments were made to keep the data consistent over time: (1) in 2000, the census did not designate blue-collar workers by skill level, so all blue-collar workers (listed by the 2000 census as "construction" and "production" workers) were aggregated and appear here under the heading "high blue-collar." (2) farm laborers: in the 2000 Census, this category was titled "farming, fishing, and forestry."

[518] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 267-269.

[519] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle* , 364; Vargas, "Latino Workers," 207.

[520] Pitti, *Devil in the Silicon Valley*, 193.

[521] Vargas, "Latino Workers," 207.

[522] Vargas, "Latino Workers," 207.

[523] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 368.

[524] Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 322; Vargas, "Latino Workers," 207-208. Durazo continued to rise within the leadership of organized labor. In 2004, she became Executive Vice President of UNITE-HERE International, and in 2006 was elected Executive Secretary Treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO. (Vargas, "Latino Workers," 209)

[525] Vargas, "Latino Workers," 208.

[526] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 368.

[527] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 264-65; Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor*, 252-254. Also see Matt Garcia, *From the Jaws of Victor: The Triumph and Tragedy of César Chávez and the Farm Worker Movement* (2012)

[528] Vargas, "Latino Workers," 209.

[529] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 368.

[530] Geraldo L. Cadava, "Entrepreneurs from the Beginning: Latino Business and Commerce since the 16th Century," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*, (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 219.

[531] Ibid.

[532] Ibid., 220-221.

[533] Ibid.

[534] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 75.

[535] Ibid., 182.

[536] Douglas Monroy, "Making Mexico in Los Angeles," in *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s*, eds. Tom Sitton and William Deverell (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 165.

[537] Ibid.

[538] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 193.

[539] Ibid.

[540] U.S. Census, 1930.

[541] Cadava, 221.

[542] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Los Angeles 1906-Jan. 1951 vol. 14, 1921-Nov. 1949, Sheet 1417; and Los Angeles City Directories.

[543] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 196.

[544] Olivia Cueva-Fernández, *Images of America: Mexican Americans in Wilmington* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 92.

[545] Alex Moreno Areyan, *Images of America: Mexican Americans in Redondo Beach and Hermosa Beach* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 77.

[546] Cadava, 222.

[547] Ibid., 223.

[548] Ibid.

[549] Areyan, 124-125.

[550] Nanette Regua and Arturo Villarreal, *Images of America: Mexicans in San José* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 91.

[551] Ibid.

[552] Cueva-Fernández, 94.

[553] All facts in this paragraph excerpted from City and County of San Francisco Planning Department, *City within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco's Mission District* (November 2007), 86-87; quote on 87.

[554] "About Pan American Bank," *Pan American Bank*, accessed April 22, 2014, http://www.panamericanbank.us/about/.

[555] Ibid.

[556] Ibid.

[557] All facts about Ruiz Foods excerpted from "About Us," *Ruiz Foods*, accessed April 11, 2014, http://www.ruizfoodservice.com/about-us/.

[558] The Danny Castro discussed in this paragraph is the father of Danny Castro, the radio host known as "Sánchez" on local National Public Radio station KPCC.

[559] Roberta H. Martínez, *Images of America: Latinos in Pasadena* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009) 92.

[560] Figures for employment classifications vary greatly among different sources. Discrepancies likely exist due to differences in how workers were classified by study authors and whether or not studies counted both documented and undocumented persons.

[561] Rosamaría Segura, *Images of America: Central Americans in Los Angeles* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 71.

[562] Ibid, 76.

[563] Ibid, 73.

[564] "Felix Aguilar Professional Bio," *Center for Health Professionals*, accessed April 2014, http://futurehealth.ucsf.edu/Public/Leadership-Programs/MiniProfile.aspx?asuid=5468.

[565] Nora Hamilton and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla, *Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001), 75.

[566] Ibid.

[567] David G. Gutierrez, "An Historic Overview of Latino Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of the United States," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study*, (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 64.

[568] Minnesota Population Center, National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2011)

[569] U.S. Census, 2000.

[570] Information about Bill Davila excerpted from David Colker, "Bill Davila dies at 82; rose from sweeping floors to president of Vons," *Los Angeles Times*, February 15, 2014, accessed April 23, 2014, http://articles.latimes.com/2014/feb/15/local/la-me-bill-davila-20140216.

[571] Elizabeth Merrill, "Villanueva saw NFL as a path to greater opportunity," ESPN, October 13, 2008, accessed April 24, 2014, http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/hispanicheritage2008/news/story?id=3640336.

[572] "Daniel D. Villanueva (Advisory Partner)," *Rustic Canyon/Fontis Partners*, accessed April 24, 2014, http://www.rcfontis.com/daniel-d-villanueva.html.

[573] Ibid.

[574] Russell Freedman, *The War to End All Wars: World War I* (New York, NY: Clarion Books, 2010), 1-20.

[575] David E. Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 17.

[576] Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression*, 108.

[577] This estimate was derived by searching the U.S. World War I Draft Registration Cards at Ancestry.com. The cards were sorted by state and race. Thus, there were approximately 4,900 men who registered in California who declared their race as Mexican.

[578] No Author, "Patriotism Cuts Down Draft Registration," *Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 1918, II1.

[579] Deborah Hollingsworth, "Californians Over There: California's Role in World War One," unpublished paper, California State University, Sacramento, Spring 2012, 12.

[580] Refugio I. Rochin and Lionel Fernandez, "U.S. Latino Patriots: From the American Revolution to Afghanistan, An Overview," (Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, 1990), 9.

[581] No Author, "First San Gabrielian To Fall for Liberty," *Los Angeles Times*, September 29, 1918, 14.

[582] 1870 and 1910 U.S. Census, U.S. World War I draft registration cards, 1917-1918.

[583] Military service records for World War II are incomplete. Therefore it has not been possible for historians to precisely document the number of Latinos who served. There were approximately 500,000 persons with Spanish surnames in the armed forces. This does not account for Latinos without Spanish surnames. The number of Puerto Ricans who served has been documented at 53,000, and is more precise because they were not classified as whites, as were Mexican Americans.

[584] "Taking a Closer Look at the Draft," *National World War II Museum*, accessed December 11, 2013, http://www.nationalww2museum.org/learn/education/for-students/ww2-history/take-a-closer-look/draft-registration-documents.html.

[585] Raul Morin, *Among the Valiant: Mexican Americans in WWII and Korea* (Los Angeles, CA: Valiant Press, reprinted 2002), 25.

[586] David E. Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 17-19.

[587] Morin, *Among the Valiant*, 27.

[588] Ibid., 26.

[589] Despart's first name is listed as Pedro in the 1930 Census, and in every other source his first name is listed as Peter.

[590] Frederick P. Aguirre et al, *Undaunted Courage – Mexican American Patriots of World War II* (Latino Advocates for Education, 2005).

[591] Gabaldon explained in his autobiography that the two brothers in the family enlisted in the Army and were sent to Europe, and his foster parents and sister were sent to an internment camp.

[592] Richard Goldstein, "Guy Gabaldon, 80, Hero of Battle of Saipan, Dies," *New York Times*, September 4, 2006, accessed December 11, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/04/us/04gabaldon.html?_r=0.

[593] "List of Hispanic Medal of Honor Recipients," accessed December 11, 2013. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Hispanic_Medal_of_Honor_recipients.

[594] The Sleepy Lagoon Case (Los Angeles, CA: Citizen's Committee for the Defense of Mexican American Youth, 1942), 1.

[595] There are numerous books, articles, essays, and documentaries on the Pacucho/a subculture and the Zoot Suit Riots. The two used for this project were: Luis Alvarez, "Zoot Violence on the Home Front," in *Mexican Americans & World War II*, ed. Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005), 141-175 and Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during World War II* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008).

[596] There are very few published works on Latina servicewomen in World War II, and those that do exist are focused on Mexican American women from Texas and Puerto Rican women.

[597] Vicki Ruiz, *Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth Century America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 75.

[598] Henry Ramos, *The American GI Forum: In Pursuit of a Dream*, 1948-1983 (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 1998), 3-4.

[599] Ibid., 6-7.

[600] Martha Menchaca, *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination in California* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1995), 102.

[601] "Hispanic Americans in the Korean War," *Korean War 60th Anniversary*, accessed January 13, 2014, http://koreanwar60.com/hispanic-americans-korean-war-0.American Patriots of Latino Heritage use a slightly different figure of 180,000. Most sources state that 60,000 of the Latinos who served in the Korean War were of Puerto Rican ancestry.

[602] "About Us," *American Patriots of Latino Heritage*, accessed January 13, 2014, http://aplh.webs.com/about-us.

[603] This was the case in virtually all U.S. military engagements during the twentieth century, and has been linked to the concept of manhood and the emphasis on masculinity in Latino culture.

[604] "Private First Class Eugene Arnold Obregon, USMC (Deceased)," *United States Marine Corps History Division*, accessed January 13, 2014, https://www.mcu.usmc.mil/historydivision/Pages/Who's%20Who/M-O/obergon_ea.aspx.

[605] "Hispanic Americans in the Korean War," US *Army Center of Military History*, accessed January 13, 2014, http://www.history.army.mil/html/topics/hispam/hisp-kor.html.

[606] The period of "involvement" used in this case was 1962 to 1972. Over 7,000 women served in all branches of the military, mostly as nurses; there are no statistics on how many of these women were Latinas or Californians.

[607] Ralph Guzman, "Mexican Americans Casualties in Vietnam," in *La Raza* (1971), 12-13.

[608] Several months before his death Ruben Salazar wrote about the division in the community, "Chicanos vs. Traditionalists," in *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 1970, B7.

[609] Lorena Oropeza, ¡Raza Si, Guerra No!: Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam War Era (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 62.

[610] George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement*, 1965-1975 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 3.

[611] "About Us," *American Patriots of Latino Heritage*. Another statistic that is often cited is that Mexican Americans accounted for approximately 20 percent of the U.S. casualties in Vietnam, although they made up only 10 percent of the U.S. population at the time.

[612] Muñoz was the first Chicano student body president at the University of California at Los Angeles, elected on November 4, 1968.

[613] "Event Profile – 1970 National Chicano Moratorium." *Latinopia.com*. Accessed January 15, 2014. http://latinopia.com/latino-history/1970-national-chicano-moratorium.

[614] Marches took place in San Francisco, Fresno, San Diego, Oakland, Oxnard, San Fernando, and San Pedro.

[615] Articles from the period tend to place the number of demonstrators at 25,000 or 30,000, while articles on the twentieth anniversary of the march place the number at 20,000. For a map of the route see George Ramos, "20 Years Later, Latinos Will March Again: Demonstration: Chicano Empowerment was the Message in 1970," *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1990, B3.

[616] Ruben Salazar was covering the march for the Los Angeles Times and the Spanish-language television station KMEX. He and his crew from KMEX retreated from the violence on the street in the Silver Dollar Bar. He was killed when a sheriff's deputy shot a tear gas projectile into the bar, which struck his head. Although an inquest into Salazar's death was conducted by the Los Angeles District Attorney, it was ruled an accident. Many members of the community continue to doubt the voracity of the investigation. For more information on the Ruben Salazar, please see the sub-theme on the Media as well as the Ruben Salazar Project at http://rubensalazarproject.com/

[617] Five years after the Gulf War, Latinas comprised approximately six percent of the enlisted women in the military and three percent of the female officers. [617] "The Contributions of Hispanic Servicewomen." *Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation*. Accessed January 16, 2014. http://www.womensmemorial.org/Education/HisHistory.html.

[618] This article summarizes military population data released annually by the Department of Defense, "Hispanics in the Military," *Pew Hispanic Center*, March 27, 2003. Accessed January 16, 2014, http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/17.pdf.

[619] Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*, 72.

[620] Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 37. Also see "Immigration and Settlement" Context.

[621] Margaret Montoya, "Latinos and the Law," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 299-300; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 79-80. Also see Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 201.

[622] On employment, see "Labor" Context. See David Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 23-25 for descriptions of these trends. On public health, see Natalia Molina, *Fit to be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006); Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005).

[623] Louis DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice… and Accepting Nothing less: The Quest for Latino Political Inclusion," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 273; Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978* (New York, NY: Oxford, 2010), 91.

[624] "The Public Land Commission." *Digital History*. Accessed March 13, 2014. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=572; DeSipio, "Demanding," 274.

[625] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 274-75.

[626] Montoya, "Latinos and the Law," 293.

[627] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 37. Mutual aid societies were common among many immigrant groups.

[628] Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 99.

[629] Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 95-100; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 201.

[630] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 225, 254-55. Sánchez shows how the repatriation campaigns of the 1930s allowed the second generation to rise to leadership.

[631] Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 100.

[632] Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 103-105; F. Arturo Rosales, *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History* (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 2006), 109. In 1933, CUOM was revived as the Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (CUCOM), which launched a series of strikes in California in the 1930s.

[633] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 202.

[634] Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 106; Vargas, *Labor Rights are Civil Rights*, 6. Also see "Labor" Context.

[635] Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 79-88; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 204-205.

[636] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 254-55. By contrast, in Texas the second generation was an older, more middle class oriented group.

[637] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 58.

[638] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 59-64; Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 245-49; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 249-250.

[639] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 276.

[640] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 277; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 65-68; also see "Military" Context.

[641] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 79; Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 227; also see "Military" chapter.

[642] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 250.

[643] Genevieve Carpio, "Unexpected Allies: David C. Marcus and His Impact on the Advancement of Civil Rights in the Mexican-American Legal Landscape of Southern California," *Annual Review of the Casden Institute for the Study of the Jewish Role in American Life*, 9 (2012): 17.

[644] This is a key argument of Vargas, *Labor Rights are Civil Rights*, especially chapters 4-6.

[645] Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 234, 249.

[646] Ibid., 263.

[647] Ibid., 264.

[648] Garcia, *A World of its Own*, 234-237.

[649] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 273.

[650] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 277. The Unity Leagues and CSO are discussed in greater detail on pp. 17-18.

[651] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 272-73; Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 270-273; Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, chapter 5.

[652] Stephen J. Pitti, "The American Latino Heritage," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2013). 23; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 288.

[653] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 290.

[654] Dara Orenstein, "Void for Vagueness: Mexicans and the Collapse of Miscegenation Law in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, 74, 3 (August 2005): 367-371.

[655] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 295.

[656] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 277; Pitti, "The American Latino Heritage," 24.

[657] Pitti, "The American Latino Heritage," 28.

[658] It was initially called the Southwest Council of La Raza then changed its name to the National Council of La Raza in 1972.

[659] "About Us: Southwest Council of La Raza," *National Council of La Raza*, accessed March 19, 2014, http://www.nclr.org/index.php/about_us/history/formation_of_the_southwest_council_of_la_raza/.

[660] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 279; Christine Marie Sierra, "Hispanics and the Political Process," in *Hispanics in the United States*, eds. Pastora San Juan Cafferty and David W. Engstrom (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2000),

335.

[661] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 279-80; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 95; Leonard Pitt and Dale Pitt, *Los Angeles A to Z* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 325.

[662] On the UFW, see "Labor" Context; DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 280.

[663] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 92.

[664] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 93-97; Rosales, *Dictionary of Latino Civil Rights History*, 286.

[665] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 101-102; Vicki Ruiz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, eds., *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Indiana University Press, 2006), 264-265; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 324-325. Also see "Religion and Spirituality" Context.

[666] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 280; Louis DeSipio, "The Pressures of Perpetual Promise: Latinos and Politics, 1960-2003," in *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States Since* 1960, ed. David Gutiérrez, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 443.

[667] See "Immigration and Settlement" Context.

[668] DeSipio, "The Pressures of Perpetual Promise," 443-444.

[669] Montoya, "Latinos and the Law," 299.

[670] Becky Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, eds, *The Suburb Reader* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), chapters 1 and 15, summarizes these exclusionary practices.

[671] Robert Chao Romero and Luis Fernando Fernandez, "*Doss v. Bernal*: Ending Mexican Apartheid in Orange County," *Chicano Studies Research Center Report* no. 14 (February 2012): 2; Garcia, *A World of its Own*, 64-65.

[672] For example, see Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 24-26, 35-37; Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 21-22; Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio*, 1850-1890 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), 150; Garcia, *A World of its Own*, chapter 2.

[673] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 37. Also see "Immigration and Settlement" Context.

[674] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 36.

[675] Christine Lofstedt, "The Mexican Population of Pasadena, California," *Journal of Applied Sociology* 7 (May-June 1923): 263.

[676] Zaragosa Vargas, Labor Rights are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 2005), 224-225.

[677] Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 91-92.

678 Garcia, *A World of its Own*, 69-73.

679 Brilliant, *The Color of America*, 93-95 found that covenants were used less often against ethnic Mexicans, and even cites evidence of ethnic Mexicans signing covenants to exclude other non-whites.

680 Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 38; Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 227.

681 Carpio, "Unexpected Allies," 11.

[682] Carpio, "Unexpected Allies," 11; also see Romero and Fernandez, "*Doss v. Bernal*," and Vargas, *Labor Rights*, 227.

[683] "No 'Mexican Race,'" *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1945; Brilliant, *The Color of America*, 303-28.

[684] Charlotte Brooks, *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 227; Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006); Max Felker-Kantor, "Fighting the Segregation Amendment," in *Black and Brown in Los Angeles*, eds., Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 146.

[685] Ralph Guzman, "The Hand of Esau: Words Change, Practices Remain in Racial Covenants," *Frontier* 7 (June 1956): 13, 16.

[686] Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight* (Berkeley: U.C. Press, 2004), 51-52; George Sánchez, "What's Good for Boyle Heights Is Good for the Jews: Creating Multiculturalism on the Eastside during the 1950s," *American Quarterly*, 56, 3 (September 2004): 633-661.

[687] Avila, *Popular Culture*, 166-170.

[688] Ibid., 297-212.

[689] Garcia, *A World of Its Own*, 238-241.

[690] Felker-Kantor, "Fighting the Segregation Amendment," 156-164.

[691] Montoya, "Latinos and the Law," 300-301.

[692] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 44; also see Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico ((New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 281; Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1990), chapter 7.

[693] Robert R. Alvarez, Jr., "The Lemon Grove Incident: The Nation's First Successful Desegregation Court Case," *Journal of San Diego History* 32, 2 (Spring 1986), accessed at: http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/86spring/lemongrove.htm.

[694] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 258-59.

[695] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 44.

[696] Victoria-María MacDonald,"Demanding their Rights: The Latino Struggle for Educational Access and Equity," in *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2013), 313-314.

[697] Gonzalez, Chicano Education, 141; Charles Wollenberg, All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 123.

[698] It was constructed by Iñez Campos, Daniel Martínez, Sr., and Juan Matute.

[699] Garcia, *A World of its Own*, 72-73.

[700] Alvarez, "The Lemon Grove Incident."

[701] Alvarez, "The Lemon Grove Incident." The judge claimed that the school board had no legal basis for segregating the children and that true Americanization would be best accomplished in integrated schools.

[702] Alvarez, "The Lemon Grove Incident"; Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*, 123-124.

[703] Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, 153-54.

[704] MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 317.

[705] Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*, 125-134; McWilliams, *North From Mexico*, 282-283; Brilliant, *The Color of America*, 90.

[706] MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 317.

[707] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 289.

[708] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 83; also see Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*, 134.

[709] MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 315.

[710] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 109.

[711] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 255.

[712] Camarillo, Chicanos in California, 64.

[713] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 255-57; MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 315.

[714] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 258; MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 315.

[715] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 98.

[716] The blow-outs were focused at Wilson, Garfield, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Belmont High Schools.

[717] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 99; Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 336-337; MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 318-319; F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano!* (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 1996), 184-195.

[718] Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican Students por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement in Southern California*, 1967-1977 (Santa Barbara, CA: Editorial La Causa, 1978), 32; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 99-100; "About Us," *Mobímiento Estudíantíl Chicano de Aztlán*, accessed March 27, 2014, http://www.nationalmecha.org/about.html.

[719] MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 320.

[720] This case involved Chinese students in San Francisco.

[721] Brilliant, *The Color of America*, 252-256.

[722] Daniel Martínez HoSang, *Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 238-239.

[723] Robert W. Cherny, Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, and Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Competing Visions: A History of California*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, 2014), 451.

[724] Kevin R. Johnson, "The Continuing Latino Quest for Full Membership and Equal Citizenship," in *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States Since* 1960, ed. David Gutiérrez (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004), 407, 408.

[725] MacDonald, "Demanding Their Rights," 321-22.

[726] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 21-22; Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 72-76.

[727] Kenneth C. Burt, *The Search for a Civic Voice: California Latino Politics* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2007), 16. Burt notes that this lack of strong urban party machines in California was partly due to the overall weakness of the political parties in the state and the non-partisan system in most municipalities, although San Francisco was an exception.

[728] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 229.

[729] Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 250.

[730] Burt characterizes the opening meeting of El Congreso as "the birth of California Latino politics," 7.

[731] Burt, *Search for a Civic Voice*, 15.

[732] Ibid., 15-16, 20-21.

[733] Burt, *Search for a Civic Voice*, 33. Molina was a Mexican-born graduate of UC Berkeley Law School.

[734] Burt, *Search for a Civic Voice*, 51-52.

[735] Garcia, *A World of its Own*, 234-237, quotes at 234 and 236.

[736] Ibid., 234-237.

[737] Steven Pitti, *The Devil in Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 149; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 283.

[738] Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 81; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 282-283.

[739] Pitti, *Devil in Silicon Valley*, 158.

[740] Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 282-283, 302-37; Pitti, *Devil in Silicon Valley*, 148-172; Stephen Pitti, "The American Latino Heritage," 26.

[741] Pitti, *Devil in Silicon Valley*, 170.

[742] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 278.

[743] Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise*, 1940-1990 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 67.

[744] This group declined by the 1980s. Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 87; Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle*, 292-93; Rosales, *Dictionary*, 290-91; Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics*, 67-68.

[745] Richard Nixon countered by forming several "Arriba Nixon" clubs in East Los Angeles (Burt, 189).

[746] Burt, *Search for a Civic Voice*, 188-91; Gómez-Quiñones, Chicano Politics, 69.

[747] Burt, *Search for a Civic Voice*, 253-254, 292-293; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 96. La Raza Unida did not gain the support of iconic figures like César Chávez; at the same time, the Republican Party supported La Raza Unida in a strategy to divide the opposition.

[748] Rosales, *Dictionary*, 111; DeSipio, "The Pressures of Perpetual Promise," 428-429.

[749] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 279-80; Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, 95; Leonard Pitt and Dale Pitt, *Los Angeles A to Z* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 325.

[750] Burt, Search for a Civic Voice, 302-303.

[751] DeSipio, "Demanding Equal Political Voice," 280.

[752] DeSipio, "The Pressures of Perpetual Promise," 430; Cherny, et.al., *Competing Visions*, 429.

[753] Genevieve Carpio, Clara Irazábal, and Laura Pulido, "Right to the Suburb? Rethinking Lefebvre and Immigrant Activism," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 33, 2 (2011): 185-208; Aaron Calvin, "Fringe Politics: Suburban Expansion and the Mexican American Struggle for Alviso, California," in *Social Justice in Diverse Suburbs*, ed. Christopher Niedt (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2013); Karen Brodkin, *Power Politics: Environmental Activism in South Los Angeles* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 2009); Laura Pulido, "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90, 1 (2000): 12-40.

[754] Montoya, "Latinos and the Law," 298; "Fight for Water 2," *California Latino Water Coalition*, accessed March 19, 2014, http://www.latinowater.com/index.htm.