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Bicultural and Bilingual Americans:

A Need for Understanding

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RECENTLY IT HAS BECOME APPARENT that a condition of neglect, within the context of library and information services, exists in regard to Mexican and Spanish-speaking Americans. (The use of the term Mexican American in this article will include La Raza groups such as Hispanos, Latinos, Spanish Americans, Spanish-speaking, Spanish surnamed, etc. The term Chicano will not be employed as it so often carries ideological connotations.) The Mexican American has formed a small percentage of the library clientele in public, school, academic and specialized settings, and a minuscule element within the staffs of these libraries.[1] Many observers assume that Mexican Americans, especially those from lower economic strata, are traditionally non-readers and harbor little or no interest in libraries, particularly if their native tongue is Spanish. These two assumptions, that Mexican Americans do not read and that they have little or no interest in libraries, are untrue and considerably shortsighted. The conditions that create Mexican-American passivity toward libraries and that pull them away from the American mainstream are powerful forces that result from the failure of the dominant society to understand and appreciate their unique culture.

While the library world is just becoming aware of the growing Mexican-American movement, there are subtle forces at work within the dominant society seeking to ignore or dismiss the efforts of another ethnic group seeking identity, questioning traditional values, or worse yet, seeking legitimacy concerning the superiority of its culture. To better understand the library attitudes of Mexican Americans, it is imperative to present the differences between Mexican Americans and Anglos. To

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sharpen the distinctions, the differences between the values and atti-
tudes of Juanito, a Mexican-American boy, and Johnny, an Anglo boy,
will be compared.

The following concepts should serve as keys to this discussion: How
is the Mexican American different, in a socio-cultural approach, from
the Anglo? What conditions contribute to the integration or disintegra-
tion of the Mexican-American's personality? Why is the Mexican Amer-
ican unable to effectively function and participate in the libraries of
the dominant society? What course(s) of action has (have) the domi-
nant society and the Mexican American followed to alleviate or change
these conditions? Not all of these questions will be answered in this
article, but the reader should understand the interrelated nature of the
concepts these questions seek to uncover.

A quick search through educational, sociological and psychological
literature will reveal much research that holds certain crucial factors as
constants in stereotyping the differences between Mexican Americans
and Anglos. Unfortunately, many of these papers are the result of indis-
criminate generalizations predicated upon limited research.[2] There are,
however, some factors that, when taken collectively, can provide a
proper frame of reference for discerning and understanding the basic
socio-cultural differences between Anglos and Mexican Americans.
Those which will be presented at this time are: aspiration, ascription,
time orientation, cooperation, religion-fatalism, and family orientation.
Because of their interactive nature, these factors may not lend them-
selves to separate discussion and will, therefore, necessarily require col-
lective use in carefully identifying the differences between Anglo and
Mexican-American behavior and attitudes.

Looking first at aspiration, there is a very real difference between
the Mexican American and the Anglo in this regard. The dominant so-
ciety tends to place a premium on high aspirations for the individual,
and both the home life and school environment motivate the child's be-
havior to a high level of achievement and a quest for superiority. The
Mexican-American culture, on the other hand, traditionally encourages
its members to keep the group norm, no matter how high or low it may
be, and always to adhere to the Mexican-American group's norm, even
if it is lower than the Anglo's.[3] Within this framework, the role of the
Mexican American is ascriptive in that the individual subordinates his
personal behavior to the levels and the dicta of the group.[4] His Anglo
counterpart, on the other hand, is quick to adopt a leadership role
based upon competition and achievement and may even bolt a particu-

lar age group or intelligence level and thereby receive encouragement, praise and recognition from his peers, parents and educators.

Admittedly, and slightly in caricature, little Juanito, our typical Mexican-American child, may have the same potential and intelligence as Johnny, his Anglo counterpart. However, whereas Johnny will be encouraged by his parents to demonstrate his abilities and talents and perhaps seek achievement within his school work for rewards or relocation to a high achievement group, Juanito, equally talented, may seek a level of performance consistent with the average expectation of his peer group. Juanito's talents should be channeled into the elevation of the group norm to a higher position, rather than his searching for individual rewards that might force him to abandon his own kind and deny his birthright. Consequently, at an early age Juanito adopts an ascriptive value orientation that requires a level of aspiration based upon the group norm, whereas his counterpart, Johnny, is conditioned toward achievement and high personal aspirations.

As the Mexican American conditions his aspirations to the level of his group, he also regiments his behavior in regard to time orientation. The research literature in the social and behavioral sciences is replete with the assertions that the Mexican American is present-time or past-time oriented. Basically, Juanito's life is cyclically dominated (whether he is a rural or an urban dweller) by a pattern that resulted from the Mexican-American's dependence on farming and agriculture for an economic base. The vast majority of the Mexican-American labor force functions as itinerants in urban labor pools or as migrants following the cultivation and harvesting of numerous crops during all seasons of the year, particularly in the Southwest. As such, both the urban and rural laborers work for a landowner or corporation and share very little in the rewards of their labor.[5] As neither the final crops nor product of his work are his, he cannot orient his time to the future.

Even though the seasons have deep cultural and symbolic meaning based upon both superstitious and religious interpretations, they mean little to him other than a work cycle around which his life revolves. In essence, Juanito becomes task oriented with subsistence his sole goal; his life is centered around a predetermined course of actions that he cannot hurry nor significantly modify. He then becomes more concerned with what is happening to him this very day and, secondarily, what happened to him yesterday. Conditioned to accept tomorrow as the inevitable and something that he cannot control, even if he were capable of predicting it, he becomes present-time oriented.

Johnny's orientation is the opposite. In spite of his economic level, Johnny's orientation is much wider than Juanito's and his outlook is toward a better future over which he may have some elements of control. Why? As part of the industrial revolution, a value system has been developed within our society that places a great premium on high achievement and aspiration, and the postponement of gratification for a future date. For Johnny, wide-time orientation is a key orientation when it is coupled to a self-concept of improvement for future rewards.

The next comparison of concepts considers the socio-economic structure and value system of both the Mexican American and the Anglo. Here the differences are quite distinct and involve not only the work environment, but also differing concepts of the family. Johnny's life is caught up in a socio-economic structure and value system that is best described as a technocracy.[6] Success within such a society demands some form of technical preparation. Roles in a technocratic society are almost exclusively allocated to those with specialized technical preparation. If Johnny wants to be an information scientist, he must secure not only training in this area, but one or several academic degrees. Juanito, on the other hand, follows a pattern where relatively no technical preparation is needed for role allocation, whether it is in an unskilled rural agrarian economy or in a low or semi-skilled urban labor market, especially one in which on-the-job training and time in grade apprenticeships are the rule. The world Johnny must prepare himself for is a highly impersonal and technocratic one. Juanito, on the contrary, lives in a highly personalized social context where the primary organizational unit, the family, represents the totality of the organizational structure that is reinforced by and thrives, even on an extended basis, on immediate interpersonal contacts and exists on a day-to-day basis with little or no regard for the future.[7]

To achieve success within the technocratic society, a plan for survival is imperative. Therefore, competition is the key word. From an early age Johnny will be conditioned to compete with people in order to "get ahead" in school, at play, and eventually at work. Juanito, however, is taught from an early age to cooperate with other people for the betterment of all. As materialistic rewards are few and hard to come by for Juanito, particularly within a lower economic stratum, what little is secured must be shared with others within the immediate family and community, especially those no longer capable of acquiring these rewards—the old and the sick. Furthermore, for Juanito to compete with his peer group for what little might be available would allow for the

possible disproportionate accumulation of the few available material goods to the detriment of an already impoverished group.

The concept that competition fosters inventiveness and resourcefulness and allows a high level of control, which Johnny must learn to abide by and become proficient in, is legitimized and even fostered by many Anglo religions. Basically, most Protestant religions value work for work's sake, reasonable profit making, frugality, competition, and achievement. With the rise of the cult of science for the interpretation of nature and life, religion within the Anglo society takes a secondary place, and concepts such as magic and adherence to a strict religious dogma virtually disappear.

As Johnny prepares himself to play a technical role in society, he develops a cult of self-sufficiency with an orientation that stresses that he is master of his own destiny. Most Protestant religions do not necessarily seek to attack nor undermine this point of view, but rather seek to parallel it, at times attempting to sublimate some of the more aggressive and competitive-oriented tendencies.

Juanito has a different approach to religion, especially if he is from a lower economic level, which is based upon highly superstitious and fatalistic notions that—when coupled with his other cultural factors—contribute to a limited self-concept, reliance on the immediate family, dependency upon a superior order and a feeling of helplessness when dealing with strange or unknown conditions and institutions. While there are many quantified studies and statistical reports on the formal participation of Mexican Americans in organized religious groups, particularly within the Catholic Church, few qualitative and psycho-social analyses and interpretations have appeared.[8] Religion for Juanito may frequently take the role of an interpretive device in which church dogma and magical beliefs overshadow a reliance on reason or scientific interpretation for not only spiritual/emotional conditions, but physical phenomena. Juanito may not be an active churchgoer, but the temptation to rely upon religious teachings and interpretations will be highly compelling, particularly when rational scientific explanations offered by schools and other Anglo institutions may appear to undermine not only his religious/superstitious beliefs, but the very nature of his relationship and reliance upon the veracity and efficacy of his family and parental teachings.

Closely involved with religion in the Mexican/American mind is the concept of fatalism. Juanito, as the result of present-time orientation, low aspiration, low economic class level, and religious/superstitious

beliefs, may genuinely feel that he cannot control his life or destiny. This concept restricts Juanito's choices and too often contributes to an inertial drift through a life which is controlled by outside, and to him foreign, institutions that will monitor most, if not all, important events in his life and may even dictate the time and place of his death.

Johnny has no such conceptions about fatalism and subordination to a higher authority or spiritual order that will regulate and dictate his behavior and choices. Aspiration to a higher social or economic group is always available to Johnny, and the media constantly bombards even its most humble viewer/reader with the inveigling concept that America is the land of opportunity where through ambition and hard work one may succeed; Johnny may become a high school or college class president, a company or corporation president, or even the President of the United States. For Juanito, however, a sense of fatalism always notifies him that his ceiling is limited and any ambitions he may have to achieve any high post, such as a presidency, will be frustrated.[9]

It is on this note of frustration for the Mexican American that the author chooses to change the discussion from the abstract world of psycho-social analyses to the world of library and information services, not ignoring the very real differences between the Johnnies and the Juanitos, but fully cognizant of the tremendous hurdles that librarians and information scientists must overcome in order to plan and implement appropriate service programs for the Mexican-American communities. The derivation of library programs as they apply to the rural setting will not be directly presented in this piece, principally for two reasons: (1) 80 percent of Mexican Americans are urban dwellers, and (2) the greatest concentration of expertise and resources for social services to this minority group is in the urban areas.[10] What is important, however, is that a library service program to the Mexican-American community that does not take into account its differences in culture and attitudes will be destined to failure, whether in a rural or an urban setting. A bilingual library collection without a complementary service program founded on bicultural and bilingual needs will mean only that the librarian will secure the presently available materials in good Spanish. If this is all that is accomplished, Mexican-American library clientele will be only slightly less disregarded than they presently are. If what librarians desire is a bilingual and bicultural approach to servicing these communities, then they must address themselves to the contents of their collections and to services that reflect both biculturalism and bilingualism.

In the urban areas with large Mexican-American barrios, small but significant adaptations of library service have begun to take place in libraries and other information service centers. But before discussing these programs and projects, it is important to consider the methods employed by libraries as institutions in seeking to serve the Mexican Americans.

How did libraries, as service agencies, begin to deal with a minority group like the Mexican Americans? Initially, a bureaucratic approach grew and a complex set of procedures was developed, including models and a systematized vocabulary. Library administrators in their zeal to develop library programs for the Mexican Americans only succeeded in creating levels of diminishing contact between the dispensers and the recipients of library services.

Many librarians were quick to act, but were too hasty in their interpretation and understanding of barrio communities and their respective library and information needs. For this reason many Mexican Americans find themselves in need of service, but in order to obtain that service they are forced to conform to a set of highly structured and ritualistic procedures, frequently in an institutional setting quite foreign to them and through administrators who seem equally foreign and remote.

What in fact is needed by many of the barrio communities is essentially library or information functions that act as switchboards through which will flow pertinent information, interpretations and services. These functions require a considerable investment in manpower and economic resources on the part of libraries, as well as interested and concerned volunteers and laymen from the barrios. Unfortunately, what has temporarily resulted in the library picture is basically a technocratic approach to libraries, another form of fostering dependence upon institutions. What should occur, however, is the development of library and information service programs that pose an alternative to dependency. To do this librarians need to focus on the way traditional library-community relations have helped to perpetuate institutional dependency so that these relations may be avoided in the future.

On contemplating better programs to Mexican Americans, libraries should have secured and conducted their own dependable profiles (socio-economic) of the sprawling barrios and colonias and the concentrated poverty pockets within them. As a second step, the reading habits, information-seeking behavior and library attitudes of these communities, and especially of the pressure groups, should be carefully identi-

fied and researched. Administrators should discover ways to penetrate these communities with channels of communication that could be kept reasonably free of misinformation and irrelevancies. Furthermore, libraries need direct contact with local leaders and, once they have been identified, guidance on how to avoid the frictions with and between them. Even now library administrators are seeking persons with bilingual skills for appointment to staff positions as opposed to professional or administrative posts. The cry, "We just cannot find qualified Mexican-American librarians," is all too often a convenient excuse for inaction.

The typical library approach to the Mexican-American community is quite standard: a need is recognized and a call to action is made, the identification of bibliographies is initiated, Spanish-language materials are ordered, new decor is added to attract the community, a search is made for bilingual library staff, and a search is made for outside funding. In large metropolitan areas where there may be two or more library systems, a form of competition invariably develops as the various systems compete for the same limited number of potential staff members and librarians. In these areas there often exist duplications of library collections and services, and all systems surprisingly concentrate on highly particular definitions of the community which usually exclude the Mexican American. To each system, the Mexican-American community in a county or metropolitan area continues to appear as an undifferentiated demographic group resistant to library services. The author suspects that librarians want people to be dependent on the libraries, not libraries to be dependent on people.

The library services usually offered to the disadvantaged, and most of all to the Mexican Americans, are a traditional fare. The programs and services devised and presented on their behalf are inevitably patterned on traditional library practice. They are for indirect and collective services and require an immediate extension of the library's bureaucracy. Decision-making power is seldom if ever extended to the community. The derivation of policy is pyramided and funds for procedural and administrative purposes have priority. Originality and innovation in planning new programs and services break down somewhere between the conceptual stage and what is viewed as the stirring resentment or passivity of the Mexican-American community. Librarians often act (better yet react) on the principal of pressure and fear of deficiencies, the coercion from political forces to balance library services to all segments of the community, and, to a lesser degree, a competition for available federal funds.

From what have been mostly unfortunate experiences and conditions have emerged a small but growing body of knowledge and a genuine understanding of the Mexican American's culture and, as a result, what libraries and librarians can do to serve better this minority group. In various geographical areas creative library service projects have been attempted, not as isolated and temporary models subject to termination by budgetary crises, but as genuine efforts to bring those who have succumbed to the culture of poverty and despair out of that state by providing them more than a welfare subsistence type of library services.

Three carefully designed library projects for the Mexican Americans that have been effective and useful will be presented: the Model Cities Library in Albuquerque, New Mexico; the efforts of the Tucson Public Library; and the community aides program of the Los Angeles Public Library. Each project or effort offers an intriguing new set of ideas to better reach and service the Mexican Americans through understanding their attitudes and values and appreciating their culture. The rise of the Mexican-American movement with corresponding talk about pride in its cultural heritage is a powerful factor that librarians have seen and, as a result of the aforementioned projects, should understand and perhaps utilize in planning library service programs, particularly in the urban areas with impacted conditions of poverty and racial segregation.

Looking first at the Model Cities Library in Albuquerque, it is interesting to note that it serves not only the Mexican Americans,* who comprise some 70 percent of the model cities community, but also American Indians, a developing black population, and a poor white segment. Relying upon the results of the extensive socio-economic survey and study of the model cities area, the city librarian set himself to the task of servicing what had been a library non-user group.[11] He first sought to understand the community by developing close and personal contacts with community leaders and workers, appropriate model cities staff and outside experts. Maintaining this close relationship, the city librarian began to devise the concepts of a storefront library that could easily be expanded and modified to suit community needs. The following quotation may have been what motivated the librarian to first employ the storefront concept:

The storefront is an amphitheater where the lives of children occur. The

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* Even though the localism Spanish Americans, and to a lesser degree the term Hispanos, is used more often in Albuquerque with regard to this minority group, the term Mexican American will still be used by this author to avoid confusion.

space must be moveable, simple, empty, filled with color, and easy to transform from one thing to another: walls will be repainted, scribbled on, hung with banners, and photographs. Ceilings are places to tack colored plates and to hang balloons and mobiles.[12]

Rented quarters in an old store were secured and the nucleus of a new "relevant collection of materials" purchased and made available. The library environment was kept simple to maintain a friendly and informal attitude conducive to highly impromptu and casual encounters.

To complement the informal library environment, the staff was carefully selected both to represent the community and to identify with them. The initial staff included only one Anglo librarian who was quite sensitive to the needs of the community and served mainly as an interim organizer and liaison between the Model Cities Library and the city library. The actual operations of the library, including all of its public contacts, were carried out by a bilingual staff. An intensive advertisement campaign was mounted, ranging from a sophisticated use of the media to the practical door-to-door visits in the model cities area. While the initial success of the Model Cities Library can be termed excellent, its continuing and expanding appeal to the community can only be described as stupendous.

What does the library do, and how does it appeal to its patrons? First, to attract children, games, toys and even pets were part of the library program. Children were encouraged to visit the library, first in groups and later individually. Noise was encouraged. The decor was bright, fresh and informal with numerous posters, play areas and eventually objects of the patrons' own liking—such as colorful rocks, plants, miscellaneous bits of scrap metal, etc. The library became a warm and inviting area with great freedom available to the children and a setting that they could control and even modify to suit their needs. The staff encouraged the use of records and films and even secured a color television set that was complemented by the purchase of a large overstuffed sofa and chair to replicate the casual home environment and draw upon the strong familial relationship germane to these children. Certain "gimmicks" also enticed children as well as adults, not the least of which was the procurement of several Polaroid cameras that could be circulated for home use. The rather off-beat attitude of the library staff, including its close relationship to other elements within the model cities program, could not have been possible without the sensitive and dedicated attitude of the city librarian.

Tucson approaches service to the Mexican Americans from a differ-

ent perspective, administratively and organizationally. As a first step in understanding the barrio community and winning their confidence, the city librarian of Tucson hired a Mexican American at an upper level administrative position (hereafter referred to as the administrative assistant). Although this individual does not possess a library degree, instead holding a masters in public administration, he is known and trusted by the community, is talented, service oriented, and interested in how libraries and Mexican Americans can be synergistically joined.[13] This individual's role was to serve as a window on the Mexican-American community whereby the city of Tucson could begin to better view, understand and plan appropriate services. The window soon became a two-way vista as the community learned how it could relate with the key decision-makers in the upper levels of the library's organizational structure.

Two representative examples of library service for the Mexican Americans in Tucson should suffice for this discussion. First, the administrative assistant determined the geographical area which contained the highest concentration of Mexican Americans and which would also contain as great or an even greater concentration within the next ten years.[14] It was in this geographical area that a new branch library, specifically tailored to the community's unique needs, was planned by the public library. In the planning formulation stages, the administrative assistant involved the traditional library administrators and consultants, but also insisted upon involving and relying on inputs from community leaders, and all concerned individuals and groups. Through effective advertisement and the encouragement to contribute, numerous barrio groups and individuals generously contributed their time, thoughts and talents in planning the Valencia Branch. Not only was the architecture of the building open to public review and control, but the composition of the collection and the service programs also were deliberated and established in this process. Based upon this community participation, involvement and group decision-making, the Valencia Branch of the Tucson Public Library has been identified as "its library" by the Mexican-American community. It is a family affair, a social and educational experience, and a source of great pleasure for the Mexican-American community in South Tucson, not to mention its serving as a great point of pride to these people.

The second form of library service the administrative assistant in Tucson dealt with involves the role of a library as an experimenter, creating a ready market for a business venture while servicing public

needs. Tucson, like many American cities, is involved in urban renewal and the rejuvenation of the city's downtown area. As a result of this process, several older buildings, including a movie theater, were demolished. The movie theater in question had been the only one responsible for showing Spanish-language films. After its destruction, none of the other theaters in the greater Tucson area would run Spanish-language films, claiming lack of interest in such films and other economic problems with the target community. Several spokesmen from the Mexican-American community discussed the problem with the library's administrative assistant. Believing that there was a ready market for these films, the Tucson Public Library secured Spanish-language feature length films and initiated a program to show them on a regular basis. To publicize this, the administrative assistant contacted the city's water department and made arrangements to have advertisement brochures (both in English and Spanish) automatically stuffed into the water bill notices that were mailed to parts of the city with the heaviest concentration of Mexican Americans. This, plus other forms of advertisement, soon resulted in overflow crowds attending the film presentations. After a few months of this program's successful operation, one and then a second commercial movie theater began showing Spanish-language films on a regular basis. Noteworthy in this situation is the library, particularly the liaison role of the administrative assistant, listening to the community and devising a service to meet its needs, as well as demonstrating to private enterprise the existence of an overlooked market.

While Albuquerque and Tucson have established new and interesting concepts of library service, the Los Angeles Public Library has mounted a campaign to communicate with and inform its Mexican-American community about libraries and their services.[15] Under a federally subsidized project, the public library has employed about twenty community aides to serve as liaison agents between the established branch libraries and their respective neighborhoods. Basically, these community aides are non-librarians recruited to function as library extension workers in the Mexican-American neighborhoods served by the Los Angeles Public Library. In this capacity they function as library staff members who must establish firm and continuing relations with individuals and groups located in the service area of a particular branch library, not by remaining in the building, but by venturing into the neighborhoods and dealing with them on a personal and direct basis.

To encourage acceptance and reliance upon the community aides, they have been recruited, where possible, from neighborhoods in which

they will work. Men and women, as well as college students, are encouraged to work in this capacity. Bilingual ability is considered a prime requisite for a community aide because so many of the public encounters, especially in the homes, will be carried on in Spanish. Once employed, the aides are trained by the library system in basic library procedures and practices and continue this with an on-the-job form of training administered jointly by the main library and in their respective branch libraries. Most of the training these people receive concerns how the library system functions and what it can do for people. The aides are responsible for reaching out into the community as a vital link between the library and the public.

The overall effect of the Community Aides Program of the Los Angeles Public Library is the development of a strong and continuing dialogue between the Mexican-American community and the library while constantly expanding and modifying library services in response to the unique needs of these people. The aides communicate what the library system is and can do and also receive valuable feedback from the community on what it wants and needs, including the identification of problem areas. This program serves as a softening device that addresses the problems of passivity and mistrust Mexican Americans harbor toward libraries as remote and foreign institutions. Even though the program is relatively new and in an experimental stage, and therefore not subject to precise measurement and evaluation, empirical methods and conversations with barrio people indicate it will be a success.

From these three library experiences and an undetermined number of similar conditions, have emerged a growing body of knowledge and an awareness of the Mexican American's culture and what libraries and librarians can do to better serve this minority. Both librarians and Mexican Americans are beginning to learn their lessons. The ingrained habit of libraries developing their own service programs without cooperation from the community has begun to erode and the library profession has moved closer to systematic and stable forms of community involvement and cooperation. Seriously considered for the first time are ideas that libraries are capable of democratic control that might reduce, or perhaps eliminate, dependency. The development of a continuing dialogue and open participation to all in the formative and review stages of library services has a dim connotation of community control. The right of representation and a voice in library matters can be vaguely but vitally connected with the allied concepts of educational

and economic opportunity. The threshold of practical library applications, based upon an understanding of Mexican-American attitudes and values, has been crossed, and the realization that the problems confronting this minority group in its quest for library and information services can be resolved promises a better tomorrow.

References

1. Few studies on surveys have appeared that document precisely library use by Mexican Americans. One such survey, even though limited, is this author's work: Haro, Robert P. "How Mexican Americans View Libraries: A One-Man Survey," *Wilson Library Bulletin*, 44:736-42, March 1970. Concerning the racial composition of library staff, all of the available studies rely upon the definition and term "Spanish surname" which is both misleading and limited.

2. Three works that fall into this category are: Madsen, William. *The Mexican Americans of South Texas* (Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology). New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964; Heller, Celia S. *Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads* (Studies in Sociology, SS205). New York, Random House, 1966; and González, Nancie L. *The Spanish Americans of New Mexico*. Rev. ed. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1969.

3. Recently there have been serious efforts on the part of Mexican-American college students and educators to initiate for schools bilingual and bicultural programs designed to raise the group norm and standards. One excellent article on this topic is: Ballestero, David. "Toward an Advantaged Society: Bilingual Education in the 70's," *National Elementary Principal*, 50:25-28, Nov. 1970.

4. Economic necessity, the culture of poverty, fatalism and religion also play a significant role in reinforcing this attitude. An interesting account of this condition is found in: Grebler, Leo, *et al. The Mexican-American People; The Nation's Second Largest Minority*. New York, Free Press, 1970, pp. 161-63.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27. An interesting and informative book that delves into this subject is: Galarza, Ernesto. *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field*. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1970.

6. Roszak, Theodore. *The Making of a Counter Culture; Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition*. Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1969, pp. 7-8.

7. Moore, Joan W. *Mexican Americans* (Ethnic Groups in American Life Series). Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 104.

8. Grebler, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-77.

9. Juanito's upward mobility may be prevented by a racially imposed standard with definite ceilings for him. While his ceiling is limited, he is still allowed some lateral mobility within employment, social and economic settings. Of a more serious nature is a psycho-social condition of fatalism that, when added to the above, definitely handicaps him in his quest for advancement and economic parity with Anglo counterparts. For a brief discussion of fatalism within the Mexican-American personality make up and wider ethic, the reader is referred to: Samora, Julian, and Lamana, Richard A. *Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago* (Mexican-American Study. Advance Report 8). Los Angeles, Uni-

versity of California, Mexican American Study Project, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, 1967, p. 135.

10. Galarza, Ernesto, *et al. Mexican Americans in the Southwest.* Santa Barbara, Calif., McNally & Loftin, 1969, p. 76.

11. Riechmann, Donald A. Personal interview, Oct. 7, 1970.

12. O'Gorman, Ned. *The Storefront; A Community of Children on 129th Street & Madison Avenue* (A Torchbook Library Edition). New York, Harper & Row, 1970, p. 48.

13. Valdez, Joel. Personal interview, Nov. 11, 1970.

14. This information was based upon data available to the Tucson Public Library from the U. S. Bureau of the Census and the Arizona State Census Statistical Profiles and Population Projections.

15. Bishop, Edith P. Personal interview, Dec. 14, 1970.