

## ABSTRACT

Here We Remain:  
The Legacy of *El Movimiento* in Crystal City, Texas

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Few examples of *El Movimiento*, remain as visible as the Mexican American experience in the South Texas town of Crystal City. “Here We Remain” traces the evolution of Mexican American history, offering context through which to examine the Mexican American narrative and providing background for *El Movimiento*. Secondly, this thesis examines the unique characteristics of Crystal City, Texas, a community intrinsically tied to the genesis and proliferation of Chicanismo, cementing itself permanently within the historical study of *El Movimiento*. Next, this thesis details the development of individual identity and community within the town. This thesis explores the paradox between citizens’ positive individual responses and negative community reactions towards *El Movimiento*. Finally, this thesis presents the legacy of *El Movimiento* within the Crystal City community, calling to attention some unexplored dimensions of Mexican American social history that have Crystal City residents still whispering, “Here we remain.”

Here We Remain: The Legacy of *El Movimiento* in Crystal City, Texas

by

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A Thesis

Approved by the Department of American Studies

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## ABBREVIATIONS

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| CA    | Constructora Aztlán   |
| CASAA | Citizens Alliance Serving All Americans                     |
| CCBG  | Concerned Citizens for Better Government                    |
| CCISD | Crystal City Independent School District                    |
| CRS   | Community Relations Service                                 |
| CSA   | Community Service Administration                            |
| CU    | Cuidadanos Unidos   |
| HEW   | Department of Health, Education, and Welfare                |
| IBT   | International Brotherhood of Teamsters                      |
| IM    | Industrias Mexicanas  |
| LRLP  | La Raza Libre Party   |
| LRUP  | La Raza Unida Party   |
| MAYO  | Mexican American Youth Organization                         |
| PASSO | Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations     |
| TEA   | Texas Educational Agency                                    |
| TEAM  | Texans for the Educational Advancement of Mexican Americans |
| TGH   | Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo                                 |
| ZCEDC | Zavala County Economic Development Corporation              |

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## GLOSSARY

**Anglo.** Short for Anglo-American. In the Southwest, it is often used to designating all non-Mexican descent Americans.

*Aztlán.* Mythical homeland of the Aztecs or Mexica Indians. During the 1960s and 1970s, *Aztlán* was also used to describe territories and lands ceded by the Mexican government after the Mexican-American War, 1846-1848. These borderland territories include the present-day states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah.

*Cero barrero.* In Spanish, literally “zero pit,” however, within the Crystal City, the term means “zero grade.” *Cero barrero* was a discriminatory tool used to pigeonhole Mexican American students within the Crystal City community. All Mexican American students in Crystal City were required to take and pass an English language proficiency test. Those students who did not pass were placed in *cero barrero* until he or she could pass the test.

**Chicanismo.** A term for a form of cultural nationalism developed by Mexican Americans during the mid 1960s through the 1970s, through which Mexican American heritage embraced rather than subdued and attempts at assimilation in Anglo American society should not be pursued. This term is sometimes referred to as Bronze Power.

**Chicano.** Most likely a truncated form of *Mexicano* and was originally a pejorative term. In the mid 1960s through 1970s, Chicano presupposed a belief in cultural nationalism and support for political activism.

**Chicano Movement.** A term given to a smaller subset of the Mexican American civil rights movement, which took place roughly from 1965-1980. This movement encompassed groups and activist whom adhered to and pursued the tenets of Mexican American cultural nationalism.

*Cuidadanos Unidos.* Spanish for “United Citizens,” The name given to a grassroots political organization established in Crystal City in 1969. This organization was a public forum through which La Raza Unida Party members could voice their concerns to party leadership.

*El Movimiento.* Spanish for “the movement.” This was a cultural term given to the Mexican American civil rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Within Crystal City, *El Movimiento* is narrowed to encompass the 1963 city council election, the

1969 student walkout, and the local reign of La Raza Unida political party within the town from 1970-1980.

**Hispanic.** An all-inclusive term literally meaning, “Spanish.” Commonly used to denote all Spanish-speaking people in the North America.

*La causa.* Spanish for “the cause”. This is a cultural term used in the Mexican American civil rights movement to refer to common experiences of discrimination at the hands of Anglo American political, economic, and social structures. Within the Crystal City community, *la causa* was limited to ending Anglo oppression and achieving Mexican American self-determination in the form of political power.

*La Raza Unida Party.* Spanish for “The United Race”; the name of a Mexican American lead political party founded in Crystal City, Texas, in 1970.

**Latino.** An all-inclusive term referring to immigrants or descendants of immigrants to the United States from Mexico, Central America, and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean.

**Mexican.** A citizen of the United Mexican States. Mexican Americans are often referred to and stereotyped as illegal Mexican as a form of discrimination

**Mexican American.** United States citizens of Mexican decent.

**Mexican American civil rights movement.** The term used to describe the multifaceted political, legal, and social direct action campaigns intended to end de jure and de facto discrimination directed towards Mexican American citizens throughout the United States. This movement takes place roughly between 1955-1980 and encompasses smaller movements such as the Chicano movement, which took place from roughly 1965-1980, which had more militant overtones.

**Mexicano.** Spanish for “Mexican.” Many Mexican Americans with strong cultural ties to their Mexican heritage and or feel more in common with Mexican culture rather than United States society often self-identify as Mexicanos.

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To my grandparents,  
Armando, Andrea, Rodolfo y Josefina

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

Yesterday's shame burns in their hearts and minds. Today's discrimination and bigotry is a lump in their collective throats they absolutely refuse to swallow. American ignores their indignation and turns her back on their outrage at her peril. . . . Let our society open its eyes as to what is going on in the minds and hearts of these millions of good people. We shall have no excuse of ignorance to plead this time.<sup>1</sup>

—Joseph M. Montoya

Signed in 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo marked the beginning of the Mexican American experience in the United States. Since the 1840s the Mexican American people have wrestled with issue of minority standing, socioeconomic mobility, cultural resonance, and ethnic identity within the American framework. During the years between the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the first stage of the Mexican American direct action campaigns in the 1960s, Mexican Americans sought entrance into American society through assimilation, accommodation, and activism in search of both recognition and change with little success. After over a hundred years of struggle, the spark of protest ignited into a full on social revolution by the late 1960s.

As a partial ideology, Chicanismo, as it was dubbed by Mexican Americans, took the form of cultural nationalism compelling Chicanos to celebrate their Mexican heritage while refusing to conform to traditional Anglo American mores. Chicanos claimed that their Mexican heritage predated United States society and maintained that their true

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph M. Montoya, "Woe Unto Those Who Have Ears But Do Not Hear," in *La Causa Politica: A Chicano Politics Reader*, ed. F. Chris García (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974), 12.

ethnic motherland of *Aztlán* encompassed the present-day Southwest. The cultural imagery surrounding *Aztlán* not only alluded to the Aztecs' mythical homeland but also territory and property ceded by Mexico during the Mexican-American War which included modern Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah.<sup>2</sup> The pursuit of *Aztlán* would be a significant part and source of conflict in the Mexican American civil rights movement. National public and media attention during the United States' period of protest, which roughly took place between 1955 to 1975, focused primarily on eradicating the systematic discrimination directed towards African Americans. However, the African American civil rights movement provided an impetus for other minority groups, to seize their own destinies and champion for their own rights. Despite years of struggle, other minority groups like Mexican Americans seemed to be cast by the wayside of American politics and national attention. Yet, in the winter of 1969, in the small, rural town of Crystal City, Texas, the spark of protest in the form of a student demonstration fanned to a flame inspiring a Chicano led civil insurrection.

Often eclipsed by the African American freedom struggle, *El Movimiento*, Spanish for the movement, the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s, enveloped several states including California, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas.<sup>3</sup> The Mexican American experience, past and present, remains intrinsically tied to views of ethnicity

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<sup>2</sup> Armando Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment: A Chicano Struggle for Community Control* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 382.

<sup>3</sup> The Chicano movement also occurred in areas outside of the southwest region of the United States including but not limited to Midwestern urban centers such as Chicago with large Mexican American populations. However, the major spheres of influence occurred in the Southwest namely California, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas. For the purposes of this thesis, the scope of *El Movimiento* has been limited to its role in Mexican American Texans.

and identity. For Mexican Americans, the search for home and place seeped through Mexican Americans' social and political development. These issues bubbled to the surface during the Chicano Movement. Each region of the Southwest advocated for different localized reforms from disputing land grants in New Mexico and Arizona, to challenging socioeconomic statuses in California and Colorado, to campaigning political reform in Texas. Each section adhered to the common theme of self-determination, or *La Causa*, for Mexican Americans by way of social and political reform. Each region boasted its own representative leaders and spokespersons eliciting differing responses from Mexican Americans across the Southwest, yet each jointly sought to erect a collective and clear Chicano ethnicity. For two decades, the spirit of Chicanismo permeated countless Mexican American communities across the United States. The Chicano movement provided an avenue for Mexican Americans to emerge from the American backdrop to the national and international spotlights. However, by the close of the 1970s, it became apparent that *El Movimiento* delivered results more than expected, but less than promised. Although Chicanos embraced both their history and ethnicity, Mexican Americans continued to suffer from racial antagonism, relatively stagnant socioeconomic status, and various other problems left unresolved when the spotlights faded.

Yet, few examples of *El Movimiento*, remain as visible as the Mexican American experience in the South Texas town of Crystal City. Located about forty miles from the United States-Mexico border, the small yet culturally rich town of Crystal City remains a well-known birthplace of the Chicano Movement. In 1963, the community observed the unprecedented election of five Mexican Americans unseating a formerly unanimous

Anglo city council. Crystal City witnessed one of the largest Mexican American student walkouts organized in the Southwest that set the stage for the emergence of a strong minority-lead third political party, *La Raza Unida Party* (LRUP). Although significant research has been conducted on the growth and wilting of LRUP, the start and end of the Chicano Movement, and the efforts of Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) in South Texas, only a few scholars have focused their attention on the Crystal City community. Yet Crystal City remains central to any discussion or study concerning In the aftermath of *El Movimiento*, Mexican Americans continue to grapple with unresolved issues of political status and cultural identity even in the Crystal City community.

By focusing on the historical roots of *El Movimiento* and growth of Crystal City's views of Chicano ethnicity, "Here We Remain" sheds light on what appears an intriguing paradox. When reflecting on *El Movimiento*, the populace distinguishes between the individual and the community concerning short-term and long-term effects of civic action. When viewing *El Movimiento* and its affect on the individual, the community believes the movement was immensely successful allowing for the cultivation of Chicano ethnicity and individual identity. In addition through *El Movimiento*, LRUP policies cemented an avenue for educational advancement for first and subsequent generations initiated and sustained with long-term results. Yet, when viewed in the aggregate, the community concedes that the movement, within the context of Crystal City, delivered desired results such as political and social independence. However, the community of Crystal City maintains that the movement also delivered results less than promised regarding the economic stability of the town. In exploring existing residents' past experiences with and present views of Crystal City—the legacy of *El Movimiento* that so

clearly defines the community—this thesis traces the construction of Chicano ethnicity within the town, sifts through residents’ response to both individual and community identity, and calls attention to some unexplored dimensions of Mexican American social history that have Crystal City residents still whispering, “Here we remain.”

This thesis will first briefly trace the evolution of Mexican American history. The development and insights of Mexican American scholarship offers context through which to examine the Mexican American narrative, provides background for the Chicano movement, and raises questions about the short-term and long-term effects of *El Movimiento* on the Mexican American status quo and the cultivation of Chicano ethnicity. Secondly, this thesis examines the unique characteristics of Crystal City, Texas, which enabled the tenets of *El Movimiento* to flourish within the community. Cementing itself permanently within the historical study of *El Movimiento*, Crystal City remains a community intrinsically tied to the genesis and proliferation of the tenets of Chicanismo on local, national, and international levels. Thirdly, this thesis distinguishes itself from other scholarship by focusing development of individual identity cultivated within Crystal City years after the spotlight of *El Movimiento* and LRUP has faded. Then, this thesis will explore the paradox between the positive individual response and the negative community reaction towards *El Movimiento* and LRUP generated by the citizens of Crystal City. Finally, this thesis presents the legacy of *El Movimiento* and LRUP within the Crystal City community, but also, provides historical perspective on the significance of the Crystal City’s Mexican American struggle.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Mexican American History

The Southwest was remade in profound ways after the Mexican War's end. The war had disrupted old ways of life and replaced them with new social relationships. One thing was certain. The Mexican Americans of the Southwest found themselves strangers in a strange land, a minority struggling for social acceptance in a sea of Americans.

—Zaragoza Vargas

Despite the continued presence of Mexican Americans throughout the panorama of United States history, the systematic study of the population did not begin until the mid-sixties with the beginning of the Mexican American civil rights movement. Throughout the course of Mexican American history, historians have sought to portray the role Mexican Americans have played and continue to play in the American framework. In the mid 1960s, Mexican American historians attempted to introduce Mexican Americans to the academic community. These historians portrayed the current state of Mexican American affairs. Historians of the late sixties and early seventies turned their attention towards Mexican American history. They cast Mexican Americans as the main characters in the American narrative rather than mere bystanders. By the mid seventies when *El Movimiento* and Chicanismo were at their zenith in the Southwest, historians searched for the sources of conflict as well as projected the potential outcomes of a successful revolt. Most historians and scholars during this time period were often participants, activist, and or had a vested interest in the outcome of the Chicano Movement. From the late 1970s through the 1980s, a paradigm shift occurred in Mexican American history as scholars re-examined the methodologies and direction *El Movimiento* took in the waning years of the

Chicano Movement. Scholars of the late 1980s to through the 1990s, applied new forms of social history narrowing their analysis of Mexican American life with an emphasis on political development, urban life, and United States-Mexico immigration. Books and articles published during this period began departing from the descriptive and started to focus on more deeper, theoretical issues inherent in Mexican American history. Historical analysis in the 2000s and 2010s maintained focus on new waves of United States-Mexico immigration and immigration policy, labor studies, political development, and historical explorations of previously marginalized groups within Mexican American history and their theoretical stimuli.

The development of Mexican American historiography not only parallels the Mexican American narrative, but also brings into question unresolved promises of the Mexican American civil rights movement. Just as Mexican American scholars discovered and scrutinized Mexican American life, so did the Mexican American people begin a process of social and political awakening that came to a head in the mid 1960s. In addition, as present-day scholars reflect on the successes and failures of the Mexican American civil rights movement and the current state of Mexican American life, it becomes apparent that goals set during the movement remain unfulfilled.

Greatly influenced by the tenets of both *El Movimiento* and Chicanismo, Chicano Studies, the academic analysis of the Mexican American people, span a variety of disciplines ranging from psychology to political science to history. Inspired by the rhetoric of *El Movimiento*, academics of the mid sixties and early seventies commenced systematically examining the Mexican American people, a minority group that up until the turn of the century had been categorically overlook or discounted. Guided by themes

of discovery and rediscovery, historians, political scientists, and sociologists published various books, articles, and anthologies dedicated to introducing the minority group to the academic community. The first wave of academics churned out interdisciplinary analyses of Mexican American ranging from socioeconomic status to historical representation. Academics of all fields in the mid to late sixties sought to contextualize the Mexican American in the United States. As a result, early interdisciplinary anthologies and works were descriptive rather than in-depth.<sup>1</sup> Early historical treatment of Mexican Americans differed from their counterparts in other disciplines. This first historical approach emphasized regional characteristics of the Southwest such as cultural history, blend of population, economic expansion, and features of political systems as primary factors in

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<sup>1</sup> Interdisciplinary works such as Leo Grebler, Joan Moore, and Ralph Guzman's *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Largest Minority* publicized comprehensive studies of the socioeconomic position of Mexican Americans across the Southwest. In 1970s, the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), published a five-year comprehensive study yielded commentary on patterns of work and settlement, jobs and earnings, housing conditions, social class and mobility, religion, contact with governmental agencies, and political effectiveness of Mexican Americans. The UCLA study revealed that Mexican Americans in the United States represent the largest concentration of people of Latin-American descent in the world outside of Latin American as well as the number of Spanish-surnamed individuals increase by fifty-one percent in the decade between 1950 and 1960. Grebler, Moore, and Guzman focused on disseminating statistics and exposing the plight of Mexican Americans prior to 1970. These political scientist and economists scrutinized various aspects of Mexican American life by emphasizing regional characteristics that brought about the status quo. Various other anthologies and articles published and republished throughout the 1970s yielded similar studies and analysis.

There are several notable interdisciplinary works have surfaced throughout the decades such as Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Frank D. Bean, Charles M. Bonjean, Ricardo Romo, Rodolfo Alvarez's extensive anthology, *The Mexican American Experience: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*. This collection of essays provides synoptic historical overviews, labor market analysis, political evaluations, and social, cultural contexts concerning Mexican Americans. For a thorough analysis of the early political development and socialization of Mexican Americans, consult Ralph C. Guzman's seminal monograph, *The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People*. However, for the purposes of "Here We Remain," this thesis will only concern itself with the historical treatment of Mexican Americans.

Mexican American history and development. Dedicated to presenting Mexican Americans as significant but ignored subjects of historical study, historians began placing the Mexican American at the forefront of the historical narrative.

Among the few books published before 1970, Carey McWilliams' notable monograph, *North from Mexico: The Spanish-speaking People of the United States* surveys the lineage, culture, and contributions of people of Mexican descent throughout United States history. McWilliams' book traces Mexican American heritage from Spanish lineage to the role of Mexican Americans in the 1970s. Originally published in 1949 then republished in 1975 after the peaking of *El Movimiento*, McWilliams' *North of Mexico* remains the starting point for Chicano scholars. McWilliams not only emphasizes the Mexican American historical journey for full citizenship rights, but also stresses the growing importance of a people categorically ignored by scholars and politicians alike. In an updated edition published in 1990, historian Matt S. Meier underlines the importance of McWilliams' analysis,

When Carey McWilliams gave his history of Mexicans in the United States the title *North from Mexico*, not only was he paying tribute to the most salient aspect of their experience, he was also, aptly, using a phrase that implied long-term, on-going process. . . . Because of their long-term cultural, economic, and social influence on Mexican-Americans, the history of their migration demands a detailed look.<sup>2</sup>

*North from Mexico* provides a comprehensive account of Mexican American history that includes a brief colonial history, United States and Mexico relations, land development, labor patterns, and regional cultural characteristics. *North from Mexico* documents the Mexican journey northward, cultural congruity, and population growth. McWilliams also

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<sup>2</sup> Matt S. Meiers, "North from Mexico," in *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States*, by Carey McWilliams (1948; repr., New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990), 309.

points out the remarkable contributions Mexican Americans bestow on the American Southwest mostly in the form of a steady labor base and resultant labor reforms. McWilliams' cogent monograph prevails as a guidepost for all Mexican American scholars, yet his analysis stops in the 1940s when *North from Mexico* was initially published. Few historical works from the time *North from Mexico* was published to the early seventies deviated from McWilliams' introductory analysis.

Through works such as *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans*, historians like Matt Meier and Feliciano Rivera cast Mexican Americans in the role of primary determinants in Mexican American history rather than ignorable bystanders, "The first task of a history of the Mexican American is the identification of the leading character—the Mexican American. This is no easy assignment."<sup>3</sup> Having introduced Mexican Americans to both political and intellectual communities, historians of the early 1970s deviated from the academic body and focused primarily on Mexican American's own history. The authors, Matt Meier and Feliciano Rivera, built on McWilliams' broader claims and divided Mexican American history into five broad historical periods: the Indo-Hispano period, the Mexican period, cultural conflict in the late nineteenth century, ethnic and political reawakening prior to World War II, and rebirth in the post-World War II era.<sup>4</sup> Like other academics, Meiers and Rivera retraced Mexican American historical roots to Spanish colonial times and scrutinized the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the document that granted citizenship to countless formerly Mexican citizens as well as created nominal Mexican Americans. Historian Carlos S. Soltero claims that at

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<sup>3</sup> Matt S. Meiers and Feliciano Rivera, *The Chicano: A History of Mexican Americans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), xiii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv.

the time treaty came into effect, it impacted more than 100,000 formerly Mexican citizens whom found themselves on the precipice of change as a conquered people and in a conflict of cultures.<sup>5</sup>

Mexican American perceptions of the United States government and culture stemmed from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the subsequent *Botiller v.*

*Dominguez* Supreme Court case in 1887.<sup>6</sup> Most historians like McWilliams, Meiers, and Rivera, cite the resultant land loss of early Mexican Americans. However, early scholars

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<sup>5</sup> Carlos R. Soltero, *Latinos and American Law: Landmark Supreme Court Cases* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 10.

<sup>6</sup> In Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (TGH), Mexican citizens in formerly Mexican-owned lands were presented with the decision of both renouncing Mexican citizenship and remaining in the United States as full citizens or returning to the Mexican homeland within a year of the ratification of the TGH. Many Mexican citizens had historical, communal, and familial roots to the lands upon which they resided, had now passed to the United States. In addition, Mexicans choosing to remain in the United States were to be granted full citizenship and protection under the Constitution of the United States. Under the terms of the treaty, the property claims of newly initiated Mexican American citizens should be “inviolably respected”. In addition, Article VIII guarantees “The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it, guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.” Congress struck down Article X of the treaty, which dealt with property claims in Texas, before ratification. Despite the guarantees provided by Article VIII, Mexican Americans across all territories fell under scrutiny by Anglo landowners especially in the wake of the California Gold Rush, which took place from 1848 to 1855. Thousand of East Asian immigrants as well as migrants from the central and eastern United States flooded into the California territory to pilfer the land’s riches, while Mexican Americans began to lose land at alarming rates.

In an effort to help regulate and discern land claims, Congress passed the California Land Settlement Act of 1851 (CLSA) that requires all private lands to be registered within the local government and the claims were subject to review. The legislation called for a formation of a board of commissioners to investigate and validate landownership of Mexican expatriates. This, in effect, invalidated Article VIII of the TGH, which compelled the United States government to honor the property rights of both living and subsequent generations of Mexican American land owners. In accordance with the CLSA, once the board affirmed land grants, grantees would retain full property ownership rights thereafter. However, if rejected, the land and property of the former owners was either ceded to the state or made available to new settlers to the region (Soltero, 2006, 9-16).

like McWilliams, Meiers, and Rivera do not expressly mentioned the Botiller case in early academic analysis despite the fact that the Botiller case brought the tenets of the treaty under review as well as defined the status of the United States newly acquired Mexican American populous.<sup>7</sup>

Initially, the terms negotiated under the treaty were not maintained in good faith. Two years after the ratification of the treaty, the United States government violated Article VIII, which preserved the justly acquired land rights of Mexican citizens. In a broader sense, the case reduced Mexican American citizens to that of a conquered people whose minority rights were no longer protected by the majority. Mexican Americans, in turn, would be given no standing to voice their grievances under the treaty. In later years, the Mexican government would file claims under the TGH on behalf of her former citizens, however, the United States rejected every claim. In addition, the Botiller decision served as precedent for the systematic dispossession of Mexican American landowners in subsequent cases.<sup>8</sup> Before 1889, discriminatory practices remained largely isolated within

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<sup>7</sup> According to an 1844 land grant, the Mexican government granted Apolion Dominguez a tract of land, Ranch *Las Virgenes*. Upon his death, Apolion's land grant passed to his daughter, Dominga Dominguez, henceforth referred to as Dominguez. Dominguez originally filed suit against Brigido Botillers, a land squatter, to remove him from her premises in *Dominguez v. Botiller* in 1887. The California Supreme Court held that Dominguez's father acquired a perfect title in accordance with Mexican law and remained protected under the stipulations of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Despite lack of confirmation from the board of commissioners established by the Act of 1851, the court declared that the Dominguez claim to the land perfectly valid. However, Botieller appealed to the United States Supreme Court in *Botiller v. Dominguez* declaring that Dominguez's right to Ranch Las Virgenes was invalid because its authenticity rested within 1834 land grant from the Mexican government, while Botiller's claim to ownership derived from homestead claims. The United States Supreme Court overturned the lower court's ruling (Soltero, 2006, 9-16).

<sup>8</sup> In a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court overturned the lower court's ruling. The court stated that even though the California Land Settlement Act (CLSA) conflicted with the Treaty of the Guadalupe-Hidalgo, this did not fall under the jurisdiction of the

the Southwest. However, the Botiller marked the official beginning of systematic discrimination of Mexican Americans in the national arena akin to *Scott v. Sandford* effect on peoples of African decent.<sup>9</sup> The TGH and the Botiller cemented themselves in the collective memory and became the basis of much strife and bitterness within the Mexican American community during *El Movimiento*. Historians Meiers and Rivera maintained that “Within the framework of this ancient conflict it is possible to discover the roots of the conflict that permeates the relationships between Anglo and Mexican American in the Southwest.”<sup>10</sup>

By the late 1970s, historians focusing on Chicano Studies had identified their main character—the Mexican American. Scholars of the late 1970s and early 1980s re-evaluated their historical methodology and began once again re-examining the Mexican American experience with regards to *El Movimiento*. While historians of the early 1970s concentrated on Mexican Americans as a minority group with a common experiences, historians of the late 1970, like Rodolfo Acuña, now attuned to the basics of Mexican

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Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court’s sole duty rests in discerning and interpreting the laws and statutes of the United States government. Upholding international agreements does not fall under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The court also held that Dominica Dominguez, as a United States citizen, did not have legal standing to sue on behalf of the Mexican government, whom negotiated the treaty. Any grievances of treaty violations between two sovereign nations needed to be voiced by the respective nation, in this instance--Mexico. Further still, the court maintained the terminology of the CLSA alluded to universal application--all landowners in California regardless of previous claims to perfected titles should have resubmitted their property claims--perfected titles included. With a note of finality, the Supreme Court decision stated that all prior Mexican land grants not subjected to a board of commissioners should be deemed invalid (Soltero, 2006, 9-16).

<sup>9</sup> In the 1857, watershed Supreme Court case *Dred Scott v. John F. A. Sanford*, the court maintained that peoples of African descent were not considered United States citizens under the constitution and thus had no standing to file suit in any court of law.

<sup>10</sup> Matt S. Meiers and Feliciano Rivera, *The Chicanos*, 72.

American life, utilized en vogue methods of the new social history. In this paradigm shift, these scholars turned their attentions towards relationships between Mexican American history, experiences, and, at the time, present state of the Chicano Movement. Many historians like Acuña again traced the origins of the Mexican American status quo by re-scrutinizing the Southwest's Spanish Colonial history, the Mexican-American War, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. However, in this decade of Mexican American historiography paid more attention to the impact to World War I and II on Mexican American political organizations, resultant Anglo-Mexican antipathy, increased Mexican immigration, and Mexican American labor trends. In addition, historians of Mexican American decent sought to write Mexican American history from the perspective of a Mexican American scholar. These scholars like Acuña wrote about the Chicano Movement as not only academic, but also as activists. During this period in Chicano Studies, the boundary between unbiased scholarship and activism became increasingly blurred. As a result, scholars of the late seventies like Acuña and Jose Angel Gutierrez scrutinized the waning civil rights movement and the shortcomings of the movement with personal frustration and disappointment.

First published in 1972, Rodolfo Acuña's exhaustive monograph *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* embodied the spirit of re-interpretation that seized Mexican American historians from the mid-seventies through nineties.<sup>11</sup> Over the course of forty

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<sup>11</sup> The first edition title of Acuña's book was *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation* published in 1972. Beginning with Acuña's second edition, the official title of Acuña's book was changed to *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*. The most recent seventh edition of *Occupied America* was released in 2010. This review is based on the third edition, which corrects the overt biases of the first edition and the grouping ambiguity in the second edition. Subsequent editions reflect the

years, Acuña's seminal work *Occupied America* has been re-edited and re-clarified yielding seven editions. Unlike previous historical works, Acuña's book testified to a new breed of distinctly Chicano scholars eager to write their own history from their own Mexican American perspective.<sup>12</sup> Acuña, like other scholars, saw McWilliams, Meier, and Rivera's works as too conservative, "[Acuña] emphasized conflict and racial strife in his narrative, a point of view which appealed to young militants much more than the middle-of-the-road perspective of older Mexican-American and Anglo writers."<sup>13</sup> In his first edition of *Occupied America*, Acuña confessed that his first edition of *Occupied America* was "filled with mortal outrage" and influenced heavily by the protest era and the tenets of Chicanismo casting Mexican Americans as victims and Anglos as their oppressors.<sup>14</sup> Acuña's analysis, however, reflects the frustration and outrage that radiated through emerging Chicano militants at the time of *Occupied America*'s initial publication. The charged language Acuña uses in *Occupied America* earned his work a plethora of heavy-handed criticism at the hands of other historians like Manuel Gonzales, whose chief criticism was the unbalanced presentation of history in the book.<sup>15</sup>

The genius of Acuña's work resides within the updated information he presents of the post-World War II period adding considerably to Meiers and Rivera's work in *The*

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publisher's attempt to reconstruct Acuña's monograph into more of a textbook layout. For this reason, *Here We Remain* utilizes the third edition of *Occupied America*.

<sup>12</sup> Manuel G. Gonzales, *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (1972, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1988), ix.

<sup>15</sup> Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, 3.

*Chicanos*. While the TGH and the Botiller case cemented itself in the collective memory of Mexican Americans, it is from World War I and World War II eras that Mexican Americans began to coalesce into viable political coalitions and began to ponder issues of Mexican American identity. Historians Meier and Rivera pronounce World War I as a critical turning point in Mexican American development,

Perhaps the most important development resulting from World War I for Mexican Americans was that for the first time thousands left their familiar Southwest environment . . . . This important wartime and postwar experience broadened Mexican Americans' cultural horizons and raised their levels of expectations, thereby breaking traditional and long-standing patterns of isolation.<sup>16</sup>

In the wake of World War I, Mexican American loyalty came under suspicion, new internal migration patterns emerged, Anglo-Mexican American tensions mounted, and Mexican Americans began to embrace their own cultural identity. It is from this period that Mexican Americans truly began to coalesce and cultivate a collective Mexican American identity.

Cultural-centric organizations such as the *Alianza Hispano Americana*, *La Liga Protectora Mexicana*, and *Las Sociedades Mutualistas*, initially created to ease Mexican-Anglo tensions after the Mexican-American War, existed in many Southwestern communities. These ethnic, middle-class based organizations sought to marshal ritualistic gatherings, sustain the Spanish language, promote Mexican family and community goals, and the overall preservation of Mexican American identity with little to no political goals.<sup>17</sup> All the while relishing their Mexican heritage, these social organizations advocated assimilation into greater American values and remained conservative in nature.

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<sup>16</sup> Matt S. Meiers and Feliciano Rivera, *The Chicanos*, 132-33.

<sup>17</sup> Ralph C. Guzman, *The Political Socialization of the Mexican American People*, 2nd ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 112.

The common mindset among Mexican Americans during this time was one of self-reliance and economic potential. Although racial discrimination towards Mexican Americans during this time remained widespread in the South, cultural leaders displayed submissive roles. However, in the years following World War II, Mexican Americans' organizational focus shifted from Mexico centric ideals and activities toward the plight of Mexican Americans in the United States.

Industrial, urban manufacturing centers established during and after World War I, significantly impacted Mexican Americans culturally and economically. Like other ethnic and minority groups, the promise of non-agriculturally based labor proved appealing to vocationally limited minority groups like and Mexican Americans. Organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) formed primarily from a pool of middle class Mexican Americans seeking to improve economic and political conditions. Middle class Mexican organizations, like LULAC, viewed the growing capitalist market as an avenue to subtly initiate social change, and displayed a fierce patriotism with a Mexican American face.<sup>18</sup> No longer did Mexican Americans wish to abandon the United

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<sup>18</sup> Mexican American organizations of the 1920s necessitated high proclamations of loyalty to the United States and required members to be born or naturalized American citizens and almost exclusively male. Economic success allowed for leaders of these middle class organizations to side step mounting political and social problems within poorer, Mexican oriented barrio neighborhoods emerging in urban areas. Lighter skinned Mexican Americans achieved greater economic and social mobility.

Mexican American progress came to a head, in the latter years of the 1920s leading up to the stock market crash of 1929. Beginning in the mid 1920s, the United States government began to scrutinize the countries immigration and naturalization practices. The United States' long-standing guest worker program, commonly referred to as the Bracero Program, became a controversial topic among post-war politicians. Since the 1870s with the fall of slavery, American farmers began to look towards Mexican immigrants and relied more heavily on Mexican Americans as the future American agricultural workforce. Southern farmers and the United States government established

States or relive their Mexican past, but they saw the free enterprise system and traditional work ethic reapplied as keys to a promising future. In choosing to embrace and redefine their Mexican American identity, Mexican Americans started on a path towards constructing their own distinctly Chicano identity that laid the foundation for *El Movimiento* across the nation and especially in Crystal City, Texas. However, like previous surveys before, *Occupied America*'s analysis, albeit detailed, skims over internal concern regarding group and individual identity among Mexicanos, Chicanos, Mexican Americans, Hispanics, and Latinos, which contrary to popular perceptions represent different attitudes within the Mexican American community.<sup>19</sup> Yet, in spite of the criticism, *Occupied America* endures as a cohesive blueprint of the Mexican American narrative specifies major events and underlines points of contention with the larger American society.

At the turn of the twenty-first century historians specializing in Mexican American history sought to reorganize the presentation of Mexican American history. Not only did Historians like Manuel G. Gonzales and Zaragosa Vargas sought to edit out bias from former works like *Occupied America*, but also incorporate other marginalized groups within Mexican American history such as women and political moderates, whom had been labeled traitors during the turbulent years of *El Movimiento*. In *Mexicanos: A History of Mexican in the United States*, Gonzales organizes and edits previous works

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guest worker programs that cater towards lower class Mexicans seeking American citizenship.

<sup>19</sup> Acuña does define terms like Hispanic and Mexican American. However, rather than explain the origins of their self-identification. As of his 1988 edition, Acuña paints those who use these terms of self-identification as individuals who do not want to be associated with the Chicano Movement.

into one cohesive narrative. Published in 1999, the *Mexicanos* attempts to provide a more balanced, unbiased historical view of the Mexican American saga. Throughout *Mexicanos*, Gonzales also weaves in new methods of social history in his retelling such as the role of Catholicism in the Spanish colonial era all the way to the importance of the Latin pop star Selena in the formation of Mexican American identity.

On the other hand, Zaragosa Vargas' *The Crucible of Struggle: A History of Mexican Americans from Colonial Times to the Present Era* stands as a testament to the evolution and perfection of the historical research method from both inside and outside of Mexican American history. Vargas' chronicles Mexican American history while paying particular attention to social, economic and political history while skimming over cultural history in an attempt, as he puts it, ". . . to balance detail with discussion of the themes that give an overall perspective and an integrated view of the whole Mexican American experience."<sup>20</sup> *The Crucible of Struggle* brings to the forefront differing perspective on the following: borderland life in ninetieth century; Mexican American participation in the Civil War; Mexican immigration, urbanization and efforts at assimilation in the early twentieth century; Mexican American struggle for labor rights during the Great Depression; formation of Mexican American political coalitions in the post-World War II era; Mexican Americans during the epoch of protest; and economic and political development during the 1980s and 1990. Vargas also comments on Mexican Americans role in the emerging twenty-first century in the face of labor agreements such as the North American Fair Trade Agreement and increased scrutiny of the United States-Mexico border. The clear cut historical analysis employed by Vargas cements *The*

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<sup>20</sup> Zaragosa Vargas, *The Crucible of Struggle*, xv.

*Crucible of Struggle* as the new starting point for exploring Mexican American history in the new millennium.

Current Mexican American scholarship concerns itself with macro analysis by considering the whole of the Mexican American experience in the United States. Falling within the current trend of Mexican American scholarship, establishes causal relationships between larger tenets of Mexican American history and the Crystal City experience by examining not only method but also motivation. However, “Here We Remain” restricts itself to a microanalysis of the Crystal City community and its individual citizens more so than its role in the greater Mexican American narrative. Although significant research has been conducted on the rise and fall of La Raza Unida Party, the beginning and end of the Chicano Movement, and the efforts of Mexican American Youth Organizations in South Texas, only a few scholars have focused their attention on the Crystal City community. The guidepost for the study of Crystal City remains John Shockley’s 1974 monograph, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*. The author provides a detailed history of Crystal City beginning in the late nineteenth century in the post-Civil War period highlighting the town’s agricultural dependence on Mexican migrant labor.<sup>21</sup> Shockley asserts that three unique characteristics defined the Crystal City community making it prime for revolution. First, as migrant farming hub, Crystal City found itself at the crux of an agriculturally rich region mere miles from the United States-Mexico border that yielded an overwhelmingly high ratio of Mexican Americans to

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<sup>21</sup> The term “Mexican migrant labor” is all-inclusive, representing both Mexican and Mexican American migrant workers, whether for brevity or as a form of racial stereotype. Within the Crystal City community, Mexican migrants post 1930 were overwhelmingly Mexican American citizens who had decided to settle in the area permanently. However, Anglos and Mexican Americans alike continued to refer to migrant farmers as “Mexican migrants.”

Anglos even for South Texas. Second, compounded with neither prominent Mexican families to provide capital nor established spears of influence concerning Anglos and non-Anglos stability that would have been inherent from Spanish colonialism, Crystal City became a poster child for a form of internal colonialism inherent in South Texas, through which Anglo politicians and businessmen managed Mexican American populations through social, political, and or more effectively economic intimidation. Lastly and as a result of the aforementioned characteristics, Mexican Americans, who eventually settled in the area, performed only menial forms of manual labor. Anglos in the area owned the land and profited from Mexican and Mexican American labor, with the mentality that if any one voiced dissatisfaction he or she could be easily replaced. With no source of income besides Anglo owned businesses, the Mexican American community of Crystal City remained subservient and silent. This all changed in the 1930s when a California canning company moved into Crystal City, which provided a small group of Mexican Americans with a small respite from an Anglo controlled economy. All of these characteristics worked in tandem to slowly build pressure in a power keg that would erupt in both 1963 and 1970. Shockley's work focuses specifically on the Crystal City community's initial encounters with *El Movimiento* and the political and social development of the Mexican American community within the township thereafter. The two revolts, as Shockley dubs them, occurred in 1963 and 1970. Shockley's work concentrates on the various issues leading up to each revolt as well as details the political impact *El Movimiento* had on local elections and the school systems up until 1974 when his book was published.

Unfortunately, Shockley's work only covers the first year in office for LRUP in Crystal City, which limits his analysis of the community to immediate changes made in the community. Perhaps prematurely, Shockley pronounces the second revolt an unparalleled success for Mexican Americans in Crystal City that at the time may have been true. However, his concluding remarks, Shockley does caution the LRUP leadership to be aware of the failures of the first revolt. Nevertheless, decades after the movement, Shockley's claims can be challenged with the economic stagnation of the community in recent years. In spite of Shockley's detailed analysis of the two electoral revolts, his treatment of the events in Crystal City remains on the superficial level. While Shockley cites community responses to discrimination and intimidation initiated by Anglos, he does not engage Crystal City's Mexican American community on a deeper level. In revisiting the community decades after the movement and delving inward into the Crystal City community, this thesis both builds on and distinguishes itself from Shockley's distinguished historical analysis.

Another work, Ignacio García's excellent monograph, *United We Win: The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party*, cites Crystal City's role in the overall efforts of Chicano Movement. García's analysis centers on Jose Angel Gutiérrez and his role in the founding and leadership of LRUP at the local, state, and national levels while being based in Crystal City. Published in 1989 with over a decade of hindsight between the publication of his book and the fall of LRUP, García re-evaluated the successes and inevitable failures of *El Movimiento* within both in Crystal City and, more importantly for García, at the state and national level. Among the most overt criticism, García claims that LRUP failed to establish and maintain significant political change in the areas in which the party

operated. Secondly, whereas the African American civil rights movement succeeded secure the empathy of the greater American society with peaceful mass demonstrations, Gutiérrez's increasingly militant leadership of LRUP failed garner any form of empathy from non-Mexican Americans in both South Texas and across the United States. In addition, Gutiérrez black and white views of race, power, and Anglo-Mexican American relations further prevented any successful political coalitions. By the mid 1970s most moderate and conservative Mexican American political groups distanced themselves from the increasingly radical politics of Gutiérrez and LRUP. As a result of this, LRUP as both a political party and a movement imploded from internal strife and bickering as secondary party leaders fought to dethrone Gutiérrez's hold on LRUP. Lastly, the incarceration of 1976 gubernatorial LRUP candidate Ramsey Muniz, signaled to many including García the end of LRUP and *El Movimiento*. According to Garcia, Crystal City like the last vestiges of hope in *El Movimiento* were dust in the wind by 1981 as LRUP collapsed and Gutiérrez fled Crystal City for a professorship in the North.<sup>22</sup>

While García pays homage to Crystal City as the birthplace of La Raza Unida Party (LRUP), his analysis relegates Crystal City to more of a backdrop for larger issues regarding the Chicano Movement rather than a main subject in and of itself. *United We Win* analysis begins in Crystal City then quickly migrates towards the development, practices, and internal structure of LRUP. García's main character then becomes Gutiérrez and his plans for a state and national LRUP campaign. García pays tribute to Crystal City's role as the hometown and headquarters for the party's charismatic founder and champion, José Angel Gutiérrez. In addition, García does cite changes made in

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<sup>22</sup> Ignacio M. García, *United We Win: The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

Crystal City, but he concerns himself more with the cultivation of LRUP's political prowess at the state and national levels. García adds on to Shockley's work by providing a retrospective analysis of LRUP's activities within the Crystal City community after the movement ran its course. Yet, like Shockley, when García does discuss Crystal City, he limits his treatment of the community to the political spectrum rather than the social one. While "Here We Remain" addresses the political development of the Crystal City community, this thesis separates itself from both Shockley and García's works by focusing Crystal City's social development and the cultivation of Chicano ethnicity throughout the first and second electoral revolts.

Lastly, accomplished Mexican American scholar, Armando Navarro revisited both Crystal City and LRUP in 1998. In Armando Navarro's extensive book, *The Cristal Experiment: A Chicano Struggle for Community Control*, he takes a closer look at the community's experiences during and after what he terms the two electoral revolts of 1963-1965 and 1970-1975. Navarro's analysis centers on the political inner workings of Crystal City from 1963 to the departure of Gutiérrez in 1981. Navarro's main analytical concern rests with the theoretical political underpinnings of community control at work in Crystal City during *El Movimiento*. As a social theory, Navarro defines community control as ". . . the absolute and direct transfer of power to the people. . . . It is a process in which everyone shares information, conducts meaningful discussion, and partakes in the decision making."<sup>23</sup> *The Cristal Experiment* once again retraces the electoral revolts of 1963 and 1970, relying heavily on Shockley's initial analysis. Yet, Navarro's main concern rests with the political inner-workings of the Crystal City community. Although

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<sup>23</sup> Armando Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment: A Chicano Struggle for Community Control* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 11.

LRUP plays a major role in his analysis of the sixties and seventies, Navarro's concern lies with the progression of events in Crystal City after the fall of LRUP. The analytical work within *The Cristal Experiment* crescendos into twelve lessons Navarro stipulates in the final chapter of his book based on his work concerning Crystal City, which illuminate the complexities of Crystal City life and the eventual failure of *El Movimiento* as a peaceful revolution.<sup>24</sup> Navarro claims that Crystal City's Mexican American population remains under a perpetual shadow of minimal socioeconomic mobility as well as a canopy of Anglo led internal colonialism, "Consequently, Mexicanos have been relegated to a status of powerlessness that has been political, economic, and social. . . . Moreover, under internal colonialism Mexicano culture has been incessantly under attack. Gringos have depreciated Mexicano culture and considered it inferior to white culture." Navarro also asserts that every movement requires a cohesive set of goals, a competent leader, and capable technicians that were not present in Crystal City's first revolt. In addition, local governments remain limited in scope as to the amount of change or the impact it can affect on the life of an average citizen. On top of this, minority led movements must be able to financially support their own efforts rather than relying on, in the case of Crystal City, the tax bases of the Anglos, who inevitably fled the town with the increased militancy of the LRUP policies. One point that Navarro continuously reiterates is that fact that social movements by their very design are meant to evolve until the point of splintering. In the case of Crystal City, LRUP began to splinter after their second successful election. The new generation of educated, fresh-faced activists wanted to pursue their own ideals and reform the established order, which by 1974 was the Old

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 351.

Guard of LRUP, through political savvy rather than militant force. Yet, once again, Navarro, like Shockley and Garcia before him, fails to address the Crystal City community further than the superficial, political level of analysis. Navarro restricts his analysis to the political development of the community as it pertains to community control rather than taking into account the social implications of the revolt. Building on Navarro's excellent work, "Here We Remain" once again revisits the Crystal City community, albeit with a different set of questions regarding the construction and development of individual identity and community ethnicity. While this thesis performs its due diligence in providing a synopsis of Crystal City before and during *El Movimiento*, its main concern rests in how the town's history has affected cultivation of identity and the construction of community within the township. In this vein, "Here We Remain" falls in step with current trends in historical scholarship that focus on more in-depth theoretical issues.

The Mexican American civil rights movement and the Chicano Movement in particular continue to affect and often dictate the historical treatment of Mexican Americans within the United States. While the systematic study of the population did not begin until the mid-sixties with the Chicano Movement, historians made great strides to recover and disclose Mexican American history. Historians of the late sixties and early seventies cast Mexican Americans as the main characters in the American narrative rather than mere bystanders. In addition, historians continuously state the significance of the minority group in the panorama of United States political, social, and economic life. By the mid seventies, historians searched for the sources of conflict as the Chicano Movement ran its course trying to alter the status quo of Mexican Americans across the

United States, particularly throughout the Southwest. While most Chicano Studies scholars during the 1960s and 1970s often participated in or considered themselves Chicano activists, the attention and dedication afforded to Mexican American history during the period lead to a national spotlight on Mexican American political efforts. By the early 1980s, a paradigm shift occurred in Mexican American history when the Chicano Movement fizzled out. Mexican American historians re-examined and scrutinized the methodologies and direction *El Movimiento* took in the waning years of the Mexican American civil rights movement. While former activists and Mexican American historians like Acuña still remained profoundly impacted by the Chicano Movement, they were able to look at the successes and failures of the movement with a greater objectivity. Moreover, the scholars of the late 1980s and 1990s, applied new forms of social history narrowing their analysis of Mexican American life with an emphasis on political development, urban life, and United States-Mexico immigration. Monographs and articles published during this phase gradually advanced from the descriptive and focused on deeper, theoretical issues inherent in Mexican American history. At the turn of the twenty-first century, historical analysis emphasized United States-Mexico immigration and immigration policy, labor studies, political development, and historical explorations of previously marginalized groups within Mexican American history and their theoretical stimuli.

The growth of Chicano Studies not only parallels the Mexican American narrative, but also brings into question unresolved promises of the Mexican American civil rights movement. Just as Mexican American historians in the 1960s exposed and dissected Mexican American life, the Mexican American people also began a process of social and

political awakening. Throughout *El Movimiento*, Chicano scholars wrote passionately of the struggle for Mexican American civil rights and expressed hope for the outcome of the movement. Yet, after the movement fizzled, contemporary scholars reflected on the successes and failures of the Mexican American civil rights movement as well as the current state of Mexican American life. Most scholars, like Garcia and Navarro, regarded the Chicano Movement in both positive and negative terms, but generally agree that many goals set during the movement remain unfulfilled or incomplete. In addition scholars, like Gonzales and Vargas, reassessed Mexican American history in its entirety to restore objectivity to Chicano Studies. In re-examining *El Movimiento*'s influence on the Crystal City community years after the spotlight faded, "Here We Remain" falls in step with current trends in historiography. In addition, this thesis focuses on the social aspects of Crystal City life regarding *El Movimiento* rather than merely detailing the political development of LRUP within the town. Moreover, "Here We Remain" delves deeper into the town's experiences with *El Movimiento* on not only a community level, but also on an individual one dealing with issues of identity and collective memory.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Crystal City and *El Movimiento*

The legacy of La Raza Unida is likely to live on as long as Chicanos remember how things were before they came together and challenged the institutions and laws that had oppressed their community for many generations. Only time will tell if that legacy will prove useful as Chicanos enter the twenty-first century.<sup>1</sup>

—Ignacio M. García

As Chicano political activity increased on both a state and national scale throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Crystal City's local revolution did not come about until the 1963 with the election of *Los Cinco*, a group of five Mexican Americans elected to city government since the founding of the township. The 1963 election of Los Cinco, Spanish for The Five, brought to the forefront the racial issues and apparent socioeconomic divisions that bisected the community. These class and racial issues in turn permeated into the Anglo management of city government and the school system since the town's founding. In retaliation for the Mexican American revolt, Anglos leaders tightened their purse strings as well as undermined the newly elected Mexican American city council at every opportunity during their time in office. Economic intimidation of Mexican American community leaders was a favored tactic of the Anglo elite. Additionally, Anglos often flooded the Mexican American council with erroneous paperwork as well as organized a mass exodus of Anglo employees in protest to the election of Los Cinco. Compounded with the lack of education background and the internal strife within Los

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<sup>1</sup> Ignacio M. García, *United We Win: The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 232.

Cinco, the Mexican American community's landslide victory over the incumbent Anglo government would be short lived as Los Cinco unsuccessfully sought re-election in 1965 due to their relationships with the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organization (PASSO) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). However, the efforts of Los Cinco initiated the political stirring of the Chicano community of Crystal City and set the stage for the student walkouts of 1969. The 1963 election would serve as a failed dress rehearsal for Mexican American self-determination, which the subsequent leaders of La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) would study and perfect in 1970. Yet, before one can delve into Crystal City's social movement, the town's unique historical development as both a city and a community remains significant to contextualize the rise of Chicano activism in the 1960s and the advent of LRUP in the 1970s.

### *Setting the Stage: Crystal City Prior to 1963*

At the center of the agriculturally rich Winter Garden area of Texas lies Crystal City, the "Spinach Capitol of the World" as dubbed by locals. Figure 1.1, shows a map of South Texas with Crystal City marked. As the statue of Popeye the sailor man stands sentinel on Main Street over a population of about 7,200, the city remains marked by a unique and rich cultural history. Due to the vast amount of open land convenient for cattle grazing as well as rich soil suited for large operations of irrigated farming, Crystal City persists as a nexus of agribusiness within the state of Texas since the 1905. Historian John Shockley asserts three distinct characteristics set the framework for the Crystal City's unique role in the Chicano Movement. Founded in the early twentieth century, the first Anglo settlers established Crystal City as a bi-racial community dedicated solely to ranching and eventually farming. Secondly, the ratio of Mexican American to non-

Mexican American remains significantly disproportional due the evolution of the community. Lastly, due to the historic social and economic substructure of Crystal City society, racial differences expanded further into harsh class distinctions between Mexican American and Anglo.<sup>2</sup> In turn, the three aforementioned characteristics facilitated an ideal social and political environment through which Crystal City’s Mexican American community coalesce through common experiences in an effort to cultivate and construct for themselves their own form of Mexican American identity.

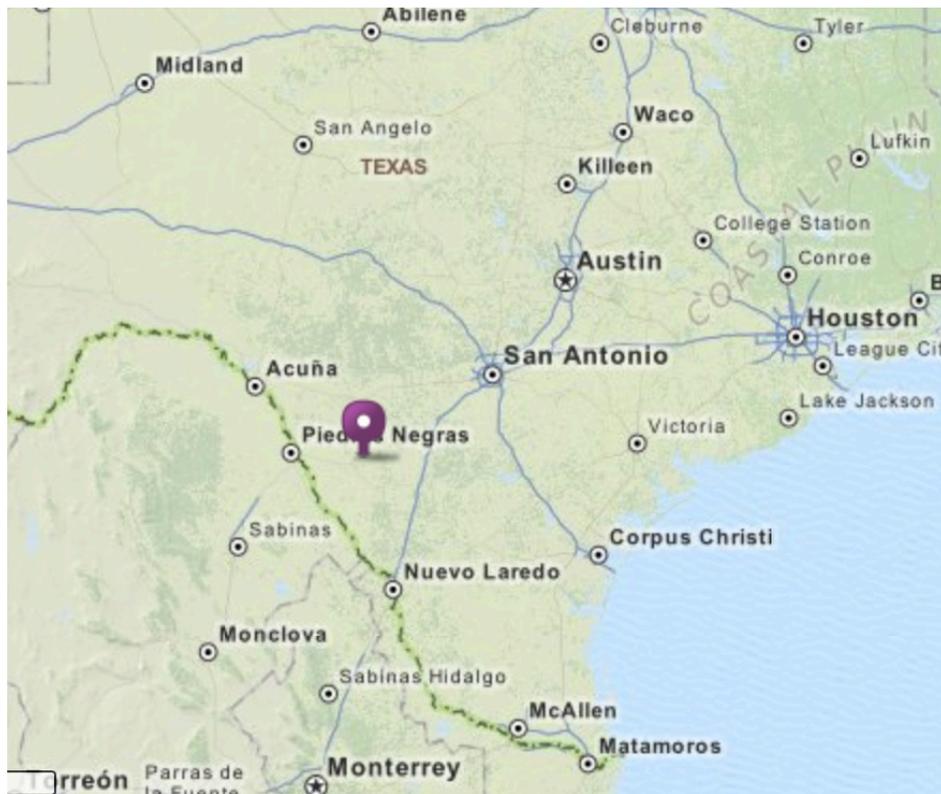


Figure 1.1, Map of South Texas with Crystal City plotted. Source: Map Quest, <http://www.mapquest.com/maps?city=Crystal%20City&state=TX>.

<sup>2</sup> John Staples Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974), 14-16.

The first Anglos settlers arrived in the northern region of the Winter Garden area around the 1860s only to discover an arid, low-lying valley.<sup>3</sup> However, settling farmers saw viable potential in irrigated farming in the region and diverted the local Nueces River to irrigate the farming community. Named for the crystal clear waters found in the area, Crystal City was founded in 1905 by Carl F. Groos and E. J. Buckingham. Despite the considerable environmental pressures placed on native water resources, Crystal City quickly became a thriving agricultural outpost by 1908 when it was connected to the Missouri Pacific Railroad. By 1914, the community boasted of a school, three general stores, a bank, and a local newspaper, and had been formally incorporated as a city.<sup>4</sup> The winter of 1917 yielded the first successful spinach crop. Other winter vegetables as well as spinach grew exponentially as the fertile soil generated thriving crops. From 1923 to 1925, outgoing railroad carts of spinach rose drastically from 913 per annum to 2,555 and expanded every year.<sup>5</sup> The spinach industry advanced in most part due to the abundance of Mexican<sup>6</sup> labor due to Crystal City's proximity to the Mexican border. As a major

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<sup>3</sup> Selden Menefee, "Mexican Migratory Workers of South Texas: Crystal City, 1938," in *Introduction to Chicano Studies*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., edited by Livie Isauro Duran and H. Russell Bernard (New York: Macmillian Publishing, 1982) 279.

<sup>4</sup> Mark Odintz, "CRYSTAL CITY, TX," Handbook of Texas Online (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hfc17>), accessed January 30, 2013. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

<sup>5</sup> Menefee, "Mexican Migratory Workers of South Texas," 279.

<sup>6</sup> In this section, the term "Mexican" includes peoples of Mexican and Mexican American origins. The 1930 US Census, the first census where Crystal City was reported individually, only made distinctions between White (native and foreign born), Negro, and Other Races. In this study, Other Races is synonymous with Mexican. Often in early writings and data analysis, researchers failed to make distinctions between the two. Many nominal Mexican Americans self-identified as Mexican or *Mexicano* due to a combination of cultural resonance and socially imposed racial restrictions.

distribution point for winter vegetables and a thriving community, Crystal City rose to be the county seat of Zavala County at the close of the 1920s.

As cattle and farming operations increased in South Texas and in the Crystal City Winter Garden area in the 1910s and 1920s, so did the demand for low-end labor particularly from Mexico, a country marked with perpetual political and economic instability. As wealthy landowners of the 1920s beckoned and embraced Mexican and Mexican American labor, the Mexican American population within Crystal City increased exponentially. Texas farmers fervently supported minimal regulations on Mexican immigration and constructed a seasonal-contract labor system. By 1926 Mexican immigration to the Crystal City community reached its peak when the overall Mexican population within the state could accommodate the labor demands of Texas' growing agribusiness.<sup>7</sup>

The 1930s in Crystal City proved an important transitional period for Mexicans residing in the area as many families chose to settle down during this time period. By the establishment of the first annual Spinach Festival in 1936, the population of Crystal City ballooned from less than a thousand to well over than six thousand within fifteen years.<sup>8</sup> Crystal City quickly became a concentration point for migrant farmers. Crystal City's proximity to the well-traveled twin border cities of Eagle Pass, Texas, and Piedras Negras, Coahilla, the Winter Garden area maintained a steady stream of a Mexican seasonal work force. In a 1938, the federal Works Progress Administration conducted a study of Mexicans and United States labor, about eighty-five percent of families claimed

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<sup>7</sup> Menefee, "Mexican Migratory Workers of South Texas," 280.

<sup>8</sup> Odintz, "CRYSTAL CITY, TX," Handbook of Texas Online.

that they or their ancestors originated from the northern Mexican states.<sup>9</sup> In addition, sixty percent of Mexican Americans in Crystal City in 1938 claimed that they or their ancestors hailed from the northern state of Coahilla, however most of these families boasted of at least one member who was a United States citizen.<sup>10</sup> In addition, most children born to these families were by birth United States citizens. The physical, familial, and cultural borders for the Mexican American citizens of Crystal persisted in a constant state crossover. The median income of an average sized Mexican family, usually five persons, was around \$500 cash income per annum.<sup>11</sup> As a result, by the end of the 1930s a palpable social, economic, and political divide between the Mexican American and Anglo citizens of Crystal City literally carved the community into racial enclaves.

In order to ensure an even more stable workforce, ranchers, farmers, and landowners in the area strongly encouraged their Mexican workers to purchase homes during the spinach booms of the early 1930s.<sup>12</sup> At the close of the decade, over half of the Mexican population owned their own home, albeit restricted to two neighborhoods. The Mexican population of Crystal City resided in the south and eastern part of Crystal City proper. The two neighborhoods, Mexico Grande and Mexico Chico, spanned about one square mile. In addition to the two Mexican neighborhoods within the city, another Mexican

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<sup>9</sup> Menefee, "Mexican Migratory Workers of South Texas," 281. This study was based on 300 Mexican families evaluated by the WPA. The original purpose of this research was to evaluate the migratory patterns and livelihoods of Crystal City families.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 289. The results of the 1938 study concluded that an average worker earned about \$100 per annum.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 293.

district, River Spur, could be found about a mile outside of the city limits.<sup>13</sup> Dirt roads separated the neat rows of single or double room homes that were little more than shacks or adobe style huts. Despite the fact that more than seventy-five percent of the population was of Mexican origin, most of these homes sported little to no modern improvements such as streetlights, electricity, or sewage systems. Even as late as the 1960s, many of the homes in the Mexican sector still utilized outhouses and packed dirt floors established in the 1930s. The dilapidated conditions of Mexican housing in Crystal City mirrored other social shortcomings such as public health and education, which by the 1960s compounded into major problems.

Like other minority groups, the post-World War II period proved a crucial turning point for Crystal City's Mexican American community. The high demand for vegetables and produce catapulted the Winter Garden region into another decade of rapid growth and maximized production. After the war, the California Packing Corporation, later renamed Del Monte, concurrently opened a canning factory and bought up about 3,200 acres of prime farming land on the outskirts of the city.<sup>14</sup> As a California based company, the Del Monte farms and cannery executives were unaccustomed to the internal colonialism that developed between Anglos and Mexican Americans in South Texas. As a result, when Del Monte set down roots in the Crystal City community, the new local leadership made no objections to workers unionize much to chagrin of the Anglo establishment. In 1956, Del Monte workers formed a local chapter of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 292. "Mexico Grande" means "Big Mexico", while "Mexico Chico" means "Little Mexico."

<sup>14</sup> John Staples Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974), 7.

(IBT). However, permitting their workers to unionize did not mean Del Monte leaders concerned themselves with Mexican American rights in the least.



Figure 1.2. Statue of Popeye, the Sailor Man, outside of city hall building in Crystal City, Texas.

Regardless, Del Monte quickly became the primary producer in the Winter Garden area bringing stability to the Crystal City community as a whole and the Mexican American population in particular. As a primarily migrant farm working community, the availability of year round positions at the canning factory for a select few Mexican Americans allowed for the emergence of a small middle class. With semi-permanent positions now available, a small group of Mexican Americans began opening up small shops, gas stations, and taverns among other small businesses within the town.<sup>15</sup> Yet in allowing some Mexican Americans to coalesce and form of some sense of economic independence, the Del Monte plant's presence contributed a number of households to the emerging middle class among other local developments that contributed to the first electoral revolt in the community.

Consequently, in response to the growing Mexican American middle class, Mexican American children entered the Crystal City's educational system on a more permanent basis, while the children of migrant farmers journeyed North for the harvesting season from early spring to late fall.<sup>16</sup> As a result of this influx, "Mexican" schools popped up around the community under the premise of "separate but equal," which left much to be desired when compared to their Anglo counterparts. With the mandatory desegregation of schools in the mid-fifties, Anglo schools in Crystal City reluctantly admitted a handful of Mexican Americans after a stringent English language exam. Despite the apparent discrepancies, high school graduation rates among Mexican Americans grew exponentially from the 1930s to the late 1950s. In *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*,

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

Shockley highlighted the importance of a growing educated Mexican American population, “Whereas in 1931, the first year of the new high school, there were no Mexican graduates, by 1940 there were nine Mexican-American graduates, and by the late 1950’s, a majority of those graduating from high school were Mexican Americans.”<sup>17</sup> Albeit minimal, incremental progress was being made through education in the Mexican American middle class community of Crystal City that in turn granted more financial independence for the Mexican American community as a whole, yet the Anglo’s discriminatory methods in running the educational system proved an inescapable glass ceiling for the Mexican American community. By the late sixties, the Mexican American community realized that its true hope for progress for subsequent generations lay within reforming the educational system. However, the community did not come this conclusion until after the 1963 election and the failed 1965 campaign. As a result of this awareness, Crystal City schools became both the platform and battleground for *El Movimiento* protests and LRUP politics in the late sixties and early seventies.

Prior to 1960, Mexican Americans in Crystal City dared not question their marginalized status. Historian Armando Navarro highlights the dire circumstances in which Mexican Americans in Crystal City lived, “[Mexican Americans] seemed almost resigned to their oppression. For them life was characterized by debilitating poverty, few educational opportunities, limited economic opportunity, and no political choice.”<sup>18</sup> The Anglo leadership in Crystal City did not disenfranchise Mexican Americans through violence like in other deeply prejudiced communities in South Texas, quite the contrary.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>18</sup> Armando Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment: A Chicano Struggle for Community Control* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 21.

Anglos “voted their Mexicans” for political clout both within the city and in county elections. In 1926 when in the running for the county seat of Zavala County, Crystal City Anglo leaders and businessmen highly encouraged their Mexican American population, whom composed the majority of the population, to vote by throwing a celebration in their honor for that particular election.<sup>19</sup> In the end, the Mexican vote was not enough to carry the election. It was not until 1928 that Crystal City became the official county seat of Zavala County, and the mayor-council form of government was replaced by the city manager form.<sup>20</sup>

Political activity among Mexican Americans in Crystal City existed in a truncated form in the form of jefes, or political leaders who emerged from within the Mexican American community.<sup>21</sup> Anglo politicians courted these political leaders instead of courting the community as a whole, yet no Mexican Americans ran for office until 1960 when E.C. Muñoz ran for a position within the local school board. The veterans’ land scandal and the misappropriation of urban renewal funds also became sources of growing animosity between Crystal City’s Anglos and Mexican populations that predated Muñoz’s campaign.<sup>22</sup> However, instead of signaling Anglo leadership that Crystal City

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<sup>19</sup> R. C. Tate, “History of Zavala County Texas,” (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Southwest Texas State College, San Marcus, Texas, 1942), 25, as quoted in *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 12.

<sup>20</sup> Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment*, 18.

<sup>21</sup> Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 12.

<sup>22</sup> In the mid fifties, high-ranking state officials as well as local Crystal City officials participated in real estate fraud. These officials would profess to be buying on behalf of and selling land to Crystal City’s Mexican American veterans under the guise of the Veterans Land Board (VLB) The VLB was created to buy land on behalf of veterans while selling the same land back to veterans over a forty-year period at low interest rates to promote land ownership among returning GIs. However, as part of the scandal, ranking

stood on the edge of political change, political incumbents initiated a fierce campaign to ensure their Anglo constituents voted on election day. With a record number of votes, Muñoz was summarily defeated, yet he was the first Mexican American to run for an official position opposing previously unopposed Anglo leadership.<sup>23</sup>

Prior to 1963, all elected officials within Zavala County, Crystal City, and the local school board remained Anglo. The favored methods of Anglo control resided in economics and education. Calvin Trillin, a *The New Yorker* reporter, summarized Anglo-Mexican political relationships,

Although Crystal City has always had a certain number of open, straight-forward bigots, it has not been the kind of place in which Anglo control is maintained by violence or even by denying Mexican-Americans the right to vote. The Anglos own everything. They like to tell visitors about the decent, hard-working Mexicans they grew up with—Mexicans who would have been appalled at people who wanted something for nothing or at people who tried to create friction between the races. [They have] taken political as well as economic control more or less for granted.<sup>24</sup>

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officials would buy large tracts of land presumably on behalf of veterans, but then subdivide these large tracts of land and sell them to various, mostly Mexican American veterans, at extremely inflated prices. Most veterans would eventually default on their loan due in part to their high prices but mainly because procedure dictated that the VLB approve each loan. However, being that part of the fraud was that corrupt state officials bypassed board approval and pocketed the excess proceeds of each land sale, the state was left with countless plots of land when these veterans defaulted on their loans. (Navarro, 1998, 20).

In addition, during the same time as the veterans' land scandal in the late 1950s, Crystal City's local government applied for and was granted federal funding in the form of urban renewal grants. However, instead of filtering federal monies into general improvements for all of Crystal City's citizens, Anglo leadership revered funding for the Anglo owned business district and neighborhoods (Navarro, 1998, 23).

<sup>23</sup> García, *United We Win*, 23.

<sup>24</sup> Calvin Trillin, "U.S. Journal: Crystal City, Texas," *The New Yorker*, April 17, 1971, 102, as quoted in *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 13.

All of these issues concerning Crystal City's Mexican Americans came to a head in under the influence of the growing tides of minority restlessness across the United States by the early 1960s.

According to historian John Shockley, three of Crystal City's unique characteristics contributed to the Mexican American communities eventual uprisings. First, as a twentieth century agriculturally-based town built by Anglo businessmen, Crystal City proved a magnet for Mexicans and Mexican American alike who were pursuing jobs. By 1920, Crystal City transformed itself into a crucial starting point for migrant workers as it was close to the United States-Mexico border. Unfortunately, this did not bode well for Mexican American families setting down roots in the community. Whereas older communities like Laredo and neighboring Eagle Pass were home to prominent Mexican American families with some political clout, Crystal City's Mexican American could boast of no such independence. They were completely dependent on an Anglo controlled economy. Yet, the availability of steady work, attracted an unusually high number of Mexican Americans not only for a South Texas but also within agriculturally rich Zavala County nonetheless. According to the 1960 census, Mexican Americans constituted about eighty percent of the population, and by 1970, Mexican American made up nearly ninety percent of the population.<sup>25</sup> Finally with neither economic clout nor prominent families to bargain on their behalf, Anglo leaders relegated Crystal City's Mexican American population and second class citizens to performing menial labor. According to Shockley, the subordinate status Anglos assigned Mexican Americans permeated all aspects of life, "Indeed they were not supposed to be real citizens of the community. They were

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<sup>25</sup> Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 254.

recruited to perform the tasks the Anglos told them to do, and if they didn't like it, they could always 'go back to Mexico.'"<sup>26</sup>

In spite of several hurdles, some Mexican Americans in Crystal City found themselves in a better place socioeconomically if not politically. With each generation, Mexican Americans were afforded a higher quality of education that yielded higher graduation rates. The presence of Del Monte farms and cannery and the local IBT union provided several degrees of separation and relief from the legacy internal colonialism, although not entirely. In the face of overt discriminatory practices directed towards them by their local government, the Mexican American community grew less willing to overlook their second-class treatment.<sup>27</sup>

#### *Los Cinco and the First Electoral Revolt*

By 1962, it became clear that a change in that status quo needed to take place in the lives of Crystal City's Mexican American population. Although short lived, the 1963 revolt cemented itself in the collective memory of the Crystal City community. Despite the massive favorable publicity the 1963 revolt generated, *Los Cinco* (The Five), the popular name given to the five city council nominees, accomplished very little in terms of changing the socioeconomic status of Crystal City's Mexican American population. Most of the two years spent in office were spent battling Anglo intimidation tactics and internal strife among the new city council and the local city administration. At the end of the term, the Mexican American political community seemed irrevocably fractured, while the

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>27</sup> Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment*, 25. In this quote, *Mexicano* refers to Mexican American citizens residing within the Crystal City area. The term "Chicano" would replace the use of *Mexicano* during the years when LRUP was in power.

lower class Mexican American community grew increasingly apathetic by 1965. However, the extent to which the 1963 campaign inspired the Mexican American community towards an electoral revolt cannot be overlooked. In many respects, the foundation of the Crystal City Mexican American community occurred during the 1963 campaign based in a collective memory of discriminatory practices and shared socioeconomic status. These issues would form the foundation for the more successful 1969 walkout and subsequent establishment of LRUP in 1970. Moreover, the 1963 election afforded the Mexican American community a taste of self-determination, which protesters of the 1969 hungered for. Lastly, the failures of the 1963 city council term and subsequent failed attempt at re-election in 1965, allowed political strategist like Jose Angel Gutiérrez to perfect his own blueprint in initiating substantial change and attempt a more effective form of community control.

The first step towards change for Crystal City's Mexican Americans came in 1963, when Andrew Dickens, an Anglo and local businessman, tried to lease some land from the city to open a new business. In pursuit of the paperwork, Dixon found his requests continuously blocked by the Anglo leadership of what he called the Crystal City "political machine".<sup>28</sup> Dickens brought this to the attention of Juan Cornejo, the president of the local chapter of the Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations (PASSO) and the two men formed the foundation for political coalition of sorts to secure control of the local government. Together with financial and organizational support from the San Antonio branch of IBT, under the leadership of Ray Shafer, Cornejo and Dickens organized a poll-tax drive beginning in January of 1963 to get Crystal City's Mexican

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<sup>28</sup> Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 24.

American population registered to vote. Del Monte officials, wanting to maintain collaborative relationships with Anglo elites, discouraged their workers from taking part in these registration drives.<sup>29</sup> However, Cornejo reeled in PASSO support on a state level to curb economic intimidation by Del Monte executives towards their politically active employees. Looking for a way to spur political action from Mexican Americans in South Texas, PASSO saw Cornejo and his local election as a stepping stone to larger political mobilization in larger, future elections, “The rather unholy alliance between PASSO and the Teamsters was grounded on mutual interest, expedience, and anticipated gains.”<sup>30</sup>

Charged with the bureaucratic aspects of the election, the local teamsters union organized the poll-tax drive as well as managed the group’s finances. Shafer, president of the San Antonio teamsters union, sent Carl Moore, a labor union director, and Henry Muñoz, an election strategist, to help with the upcoming April election, “The well-dressed speakers from San Antonio in their suits and shiny shoes thrilled us most. They spoke of gringo injustice and implored us as Chicanos to do something about it.”<sup>31</sup> While IBT was cast in the administrative role, PASSO worked on the grassroots level trying to mobilize the community. Yet, in actuality, PASSO leaders delegated registering voters to the community,

It was the young Chicanos (such as my friends and I) and the older women who did the actual walking and knocking on doors, looking for persons eligible to register.... It was also mostly the women who baked the cakes, sold tickets, cleaned up the

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<sup>29</sup> Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment*, 26.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>31</sup> José Angel Gutiérrez, *The Making of a Chicano Militant: Lessons from Cristal* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 35.

meeting areas, made the coffee, served the *pan dulce* (Mexican sweet bread) and generally did all the work associated with the campaign.<sup>32</sup>

In developing this grassroots community network, Mexican Americans in the community may have started to mobilize at the behest of “men in suits”, but by the end of the campaign, the community developed a political awareness unique unto themselves. This same network would resurface in support of the 1969 walkout and as a campaign network for LRUP. In the form of *Ciudadanos Unidos*, a political forum for LRUP members, gave voice to these silent workers during and after the 1970 LRUP campaign. At the close of the January poll drive, the PASSO, IBT, and community members registered 1,139 Mexican Americans totaling upwards of sixty-seven percent of registered voters within Crystal City.<sup>33</sup>

With an unprecedented number of Mexican American voters registered, in February, IBT and PASSO focused their efforts on the second stage of mobilization—forming a political action group. In an effort to dilute the appearance of direct involvement of PASSO and IBT, Dixon, Cornejo, and twenty-two other Mexican Americans formed Citizens Committee for Better Government (CCBG), a political action group developed to run a slate of Mexican American candidates in the upcoming election. However, the establishment of CCBG was for all intents and purposes a smoke screen to mask the extensive role both IBT and PASSO and the Mexican American community was well aware of the coalition’s attempt at misdirection.<sup>34</sup> Most middle class Mexican Americans believed that only the low-income and migrant community would benefit from this

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>33</sup> Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment*, 27.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 28.

proposed ticket. These sentiments bubbled to the surface when the CCBG attempted to recruit potential candidates.

The CCBG board of directors discovered this when they began scouring the community for five suitable and, more difficultly, willing to run on an all Mexican America slate. The CCBG hoped for middle class candidates not only for their leadership role in the community but also because middle class individuals would be more likely to meet candidate eligibility requirements. In addition, CCBG wanted to secure candidates with as much education as possible to inspire confidence from the greater community. Under no illusions as to the overt influences of PASSO, and more notably IBT, the newly formed Mexican American middle class refused to take part in Cornejo's proposed revolt. In the end, CCBG selected five ordinary men—Renaldo Mendoza, photo lab technician; Mario Hernandez, real estate agent; Antonio Cárdenas, truck driver; Manuel Maldonado, store clerk; and Juan Cornejo, IBT business agent—based on their owning land, having paid their poll tax, and owing no debt to the local city government. In selecting their candidates, CCBG essentially declared political warfare on the Anglo incumbents in an effort to gain control of the city council, “Its strategy was to polarize the city’s Mexicano and white committees . . . .The enemy was the gringo elite that controlled the politics, economics, and education of the region.”<sup>35</sup> The CCBG campaign constantly reminded citizens of the inequalities in their community from unpaved roads to access to sewage to discrimination in school policies. In doing so, the CCBG campaign elicited a community response and began constructing a collective memory within the community, which would eventually secure victory in the election of Los Cinco.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 30.

In response to allegations of discrimination and in the fear of actually losing the impending election, the Anglo community utilized various intimidation techniques including harassment, obstruction, and economic pressure.<sup>36</sup> The extent of racial animosity rose exponentially within the Crystal City community. In the weeks preceding the election various instances took place that fueled the flames of outrage within the Mexican American community. In Gutiérrez's autobiography, he recounts a physical confrontation with the Texas Rangers following a CCBG political rally. In the weeks preceding the election PASSO state chairperson, Albert A. Peña, released a public letter to the Mexican American population of Crystal City informing them of the cultural impact the election of Los Cinco would guarantee,

Our people are definitely in the majority in Cristal, yet we have never had adequate representation. We have many problems of discrimination. . . . The opposition brags that our people will never be united because they can be bought off. . . . I am happy to see that you and these five brave men are making a noble effort to prove to the people of Texas and the World that out people are capable of assuming responsibility of their government.<sup>37</sup>

In pitting Mexican Americans against Anglos in the community, racial tensions rose as the possibilities for biracial coalitions plummeted, which would become important in the years to come. In the 1969 revolt, racial tensions erupted within the community stemmed in large part from incidents of discrimination during the 1963 election. The Anglo community grew more and more concerned as the CCBG campaign gained momentum within the Mexican American community. Already concerned with the high number of Mexican American voter, the Anglo community sought to split the Mexican

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>37</sup> Albert Peña, public letter to voters of Crystal City, 25 March 1963, as quoted in *The Cristal Experiment*, 33.

American vote by encouraging Reverend Arnold López, a Mexican American, to run as an independent. López openly criticized the five candidates for their lack of education and inexperience. These would be a constant criticism leveled against the CCBG candidates before and after the election. In the same manner the Anglo strategy of “splitting the Mexican vote” would be utilized in the interim years of 1965-1969 between the two electoral revolts. After the 1963 election, the Anglo community acknowledged that they could no longer exclude Mexican Americans altogether from the inner-workings of Crystal City’s local government. However, the Anglo leaders would not allow another complete transfer of power as they did with 1963 city council election. Thus, because of the 1963 election, in subsequent elections, the Anglo community began hand picking conservative Mexican American leaders to run for office and or serve on the local school boards. By 1969, Mexican American representation became common in the public forum, however, the power still rested with Anglo majority.

With campaign for city council well underway, two Mexican Americans not associated with CCBG, Jesús Maldonado and Lorenzo Olivares, announced their candidacy for the two open seats in the upcoming school board election. In fact, Maldonado and Olivares actively tried to distance themselves from the CCBG campaign claiming by claiming to only act as translators of sorts for the Mexican American community. Unlike CCBG, J. Maldonado and Olivares did not plan on “taking control” of the school, disrupt proceedings, nor were they accusing the Anglo board of discrimination.<sup>38</sup> As with other aspects of Crystal City life, these men felt that Mexican

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<sup>38</sup> Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 36.

Americans should at least have some form or representation, even if that only meant being silent observers at the Anglo table.

Come election day, Cornejo, Maldonado, Hernandez, Cardenas, and Mendoza would be immortalized as *Los Cinco*, the five Mexican American men who overthrew an all Anglo city council in Texas since 1848.<sup>39</sup> Table 1.1 provides the results of the city council and school board elections. The ramification of the Crystal City elections radiated throughout the Southwest, however, the battle for Los Cinco had just begun.

Unfortunately, J. Maldonado and Olivares lost the school board election; the school board remained in all Anglo. It quickly became apparent that the vulnerability of the Mexican American community, the inexperience of the candidates, and heavily reliance on outside help lead to a tumultuous two years.

In retaliation, many non-elected Anglo officials within city hall resigned in protest. Although M. Maldonado received the most votes, the new council appointed Cornejo mayor due to his leadership in the campaign. In the end, Cornejo proved the least vulnerable to Anglo intimidation through his relative security in being local spokesperson for the IBT union in Crystal City. Shortly after the election, M. Maldonado lost his job, and Cardenas' suffered financial repercussions. Similarly, Hernández, confronted with charges of distributing bad checks before the election by Anglo businessmen, quickly turned on his fellow running mates and became a mouthpiece for Anglos.<sup>40</sup> In addition, confrontations between the Texas Rangers and Cornejo also further heightened racial

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<sup>39</sup> Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment*, 35.

<sup>40</sup> Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 46.

tensions telegrams of these confrontations were sent to U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy and U.S. Senator Ralph Yarborough.<sup>41</sup>

Table 1.1. Election results in Crystal City, 1963

| City Council                    | Votes | School Board                   | Votes |
|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|
| Manuel Maldonado* (CCBG)        | 864   | Dr. S. S. Peters (Incumbent)   | 888   |
| Juan Cornejo* (CCBG)            | 818   | R. E. Boyer (Incumbent)        | 873   |
| Mario Hernandez* (CCBG)         | 799   |                                |       |
| Antonio Cardenas* (CCBG)        | 799   | Jesus Maldonado (Independent)  | 789   |
| Reynaldo Mendoza* (CCBG)        | 796   | Lorenzo Olivares (Independent) | 782   |
| Ed Ritchie (Incumbent)          | 754   |                                |       |
| W. P. Brennan (Incumbent)       | 717   |                                |       |
| Bruce Holsomback (Incumbent)    | 716   |                                |       |
| J. C. Bookout (Incumbent)       | 694   |                                |       |
| S. G. Galvan (Incumbent)        | 664   |                                |       |
| Dr. Henry Daly (Independent)    | 164   |                                |       |
| Rev. Arnold Lopez (Independent) | 146   |                                |       |

*Note:* \* indicates winner

*Source:* Data adapted from John S. Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974) 39-41.

During the course of the takeover, George Ozuna, the newly appointed city manager and first Mexican American in Texas to hold the post, spent his first year in office

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 39.

exposing apparent discriminatory practices initiated by the Anglo local government.<sup>42</sup> While managing utilities and taxes, Ozuna noticed that the previous government had kept two separate books for payments, one for Mexican Americans and one for Anglos. Furthermore, while it would come as no surprise that the local country club and golf course barred Mexican Americans from membership, however, it was significant when Ozuna discovered that these same facilities were built on city property and not private lands. Moreover, the golf course and country club were leased to the Anglo business owner for one dollar annually.<sup>43</sup> While these findings would come as no real shock to the Mexican Americans living in Crystal City, the way in the Anglo government had so blatantly discriminated against the Mexican American community cemented itself in the minds of Mexican Americans for decades to come. For not only had the local government categorically denied Mexican Americans access to frivolous social clubs, but the local government actually actively excised Mexican American neighborhoods from access to the fundamental utilities. Crisscrossed by dirt-packed streets and littered by one-room houses with outdoor privies, El Campo Santo and El Chico, like other Mexican American areas, had access to neither electricity nor running water. Another example of unashamed bigotry arose when Ozuna reviewed the town's cemetery management. While all Crystal City taxpayers paid a fee for cemetery maintenance, only the Anglo cemetery received maintenance, regular landscaping, running water, and even security. The city manager filtered all cemetery fees, Anglo and Mexican American alike, to maintain the Anglo cemetery. Thus, it was revealed that the Mexican American cemetery did not even have

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>43</sup> Gutiérrez, *The Making of a Chicano Militant*, 67.

sewer connections to access running water let alone receive any semblance of regular maintenance. Similarly, while the Del Monte plant and the Anglo cemetery had access to running water, the adjacent Mexican American cemetery and El Campo Santo neighborhood did not.<sup>44</sup>

While outward tensions mounted in the community, affability between the candidates fell quickly. Decades earlier, Crystal City opted for a city manager-council type of government rather than a mayor-council structure. Unfortunately for Cornejo, becoming mayor in Crystal City was more of an honorary title than one that wielded any power. When Cornejo ran for city council, he had did not realize that managerial power over the day-to-day affairs of the city rested with the city manager, Ozuna, rather than the mayor. Cornejo and Ozuna engaged in constant power fracas, which often ended with Cornejo firing Ozuna. Due to the fact that as a manager-city counsel form of government, Cornejo would have to take a vote within the city council to hire or fire high ranking employee, local judges would then re-instate Ozuna due to Cornejo's illegal firing. With each attempt to fire Ozuna, Cornejo's chances of re-election waned considerably. Despite the constant internal struggles between Cornejo and Ozuna, the new city councilman and city manager, respectively, discovered various discriminatory practices employed by the Anglo administration. However, due to financial and managerial constraints, the new administration failed in bringing about any significant change in the day-to-day life of their Mexican American constituents. Bringing water and paving roads in neighborhoods like El Campo Santo and El Chico, would become an important election platform for LRUP's 1970 city council campaign.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

Come the 1964 county elections, PASSO and Cornejo tried to run candidates, but were thwarted by Citizens Alliance Serving All Americans (CASAA), a Mexican American and Anglo political coalition. The 1964 election failed for a variety of reasons. First, not wanting a repeat of the 1963 city council elections, Anglo leadership insured the equal number of Mexican Americans and Anglos on the board of directors of CASAA. Second, while Cornejo's candidates ran under the PASSO banner, both PASSO and IBT provided very little financial and structural support. Not only did PASSO and IBT want to negate allegations of a puppeteer relationship with Los Cinco, the two organizations also wanted to place control in the hands of local Mexican American leadership. Third, whilst CCBG got out the vote in an April election when most of the migrant working population still resided in the area, the county elections took place in May after the mass exodus of migrants occurred. Thus, CASAA focused its efforts on middle class Mexican Americans, who were thoroughly disillusioned with PASSO and Cornejo for the turmoil they caused in the community. In addition, as a biracial coalition, CASAA deflected allegations of discrimination that had so polarized the community the previous year. Finally, CASAA, ironically, utilized the same campaign tactics such as rallies and bake sales that Los Cinco used the previous year.<sup>45</sup> The result was catastrophic. The CASAA slate soundly defeated PASSO candidates.

The failed county election proved indicative of the state of Crystal City's local government. By the end of 1964, three of Los Cinco—Mendoza, Hernandez, and Cardenas—owe money to the city in the form of unpaid utility bills and were removed from office. Two of the three, were eventually replaced while the third spot remained

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<sup>45</sup> Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment*, 43-44. This footnote applies to the entire paragraph.

vacant. Moreover, with the 1965 election fast approaching, PASSO and IBT informed Cornejo and his running mates that their influence and support would be minimal. The political landscape in 1965 deviated markedly from 1963. Whereas in the first revolt, Mexican Americans directed their anger and resentment towards the Anglo community, in 1965, the Mexican American community remained internally divided, “Mexicanos were divided and once again becoming increasingly alienated politically. The political bickering, in fighting, and power struggles had rekindled the people’s distrust in politics.”<sup>46</sup> The 1965 election came and went, and like the previous year, Cornejo and his PASSO slate were utterly defeated, and a renewed effort at accommodation politics took place. Table I.2 provides the results of the 1965 city council election.

Table I.2. Election Results for City Council in Crystal City, 1965

| CASSA Slate        | Votes | PASSO Slate       | Votes | Independents     | Votes |
|--------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------|
| Carlos Avila*      | 1,248 | Juan Cornejo      | 975   | Manuel Maldonado | 280   |
| Bill Leonard*      | 1,231 | José de la Fuente | 957   | Ramón Garza      | 142   |
| Ed Stocking*       | 1,187 | Hilario Lozano    | 924   | Joseph Varner    | 62    |
| Humberto Castillo* | 1,127 | Antonio Yanas     | 914   |                  |       |
| Ed Salinas*        | 1,126 | Virginia Musquiz  | 854   |                  |       |

*Note:* \* signifies elections winners

*Source:* Data adapted from Armando Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 46.

From 1965-1969, Mexican Americans composed the nominal majority in city government, but the actual political power remained in Anglo hands, whom had learned

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 45.

from the 1963 revolt with no intention of relinquishing that control again. Despite the many failures of the 1963 revolt, the revolt did give Crystal City's Mexican Americans a taste of self-determination. While the elected city council quickly fell apart, the PASSO and IBT lead campaign did bring the community together for a short time as well as openly addressed the plight of the Mexican American in an Anglo controlled community.

*Becoming Chicano: 1969 Walkout and La Raza Unida Party*

The overall sense of social revolution that swept across the country in the 1960s and 1970s contributed greatly to both the 1969 walkout and the rise of LRUP. Political systems across the United States fell under scrutiny by political activists, who deemed them invalid. Within various communities, a new generation of leaders consisting of young, educated activists became the driving force for social change. In a deeper sense, these individuals inspired their respective communities to develop for themselves their own sense of community and individual identity. Groups such as LRUP fought valiantly for the right to self-determination and access to the full benefits of American society. Come 1969 a change in the overall power structure of Crystal City seemed inevitable, the only uncertainty lay in what event would spark the next electoral revolution.

In the years between 1965 and 1969, Crystal City community regressed into old customs with new methods of implementation. In addition to tightening economic control, the Anglo community once again wielded the political power within the community. However, Anglos learned from their mistakes and intentionally ran Mexican American conservatives. While Anglos conceded the numeric majority to Mexican Americans, the Anglo minority functioned as shadow kings dictating policies with absolutism. Furthermore, while racial lines had been drawn prior to 1963, the

overwhelming negative publicity the revolt generated for the Anglo community cemented racial divisions and stripped the veneer of civility that had once been in place. The Anglo community resented the Mexican Americans who had revolted and this sentiment reflected in various aspects of Crystal City life. In a mere four years, Mexican American's own resentment once again bubbled to the surface. However, unlike 1963, the initial cry for change came from within Crystal City's Mexican American community instead of political strategist trying to score political points.

The spark of descent occurred in the spring of 1968 during the high school cheerleading tryouts. As an unwritten rule within the Crystal City Independent School District (CCISD), Anglo faculty and staff only afforded Mexican Americans minimal representation within the school system despite their majority. Student leadership such as student council members and class representatives remained limited to Anglo students. In addition, assignments within honors, advance placement, and college preparatory courses remained reserved for Anglo students. College counselors advocated strongly for their Anglo students, while these same councilors relegated their Mexican American students to home economics courses and vocational schools.<sup>47</sup> After court-mandated integration, CCISD permitted one or two select Mexican American students to benefit from these services to meet legal requirements. In the same manner, outward positions of community leadership within the athletic sphere such as cheerleaders or twirlers for sports teams mandated only minimal representation for Mexican Americans. Of the cheerleading team

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<sup>47</sup> Severita Lara, interviewed by author, July 24, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX; Diana Palacios Gámez, interviewed by author, July 19, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX; Ricardo Espinoza, interviewed by author, July 19, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

of four girls, only one was permitted to be Mexican American and the rest of the slots were reserved for Anglos. From this context, somewhat compliant Mexican American students transformed themselves into Chicano activists in pursuit of equal treatment.

In May of 1968, two girls bearing the same initials D.P., Diana Perez and Diana Palacios, among others decided to try out for the single Mexican American slot on the cheerleading team. According to Crystal City High School's policy, the selection of cheerleaders rested with high school faculty. After the tryouts had taken place, the high school principal announced the names of the next year's cheerleaders via intercom. Believing that D. P. stood for Diana Perez, the principal announced her as the winner of the Mexican American slot. In actuality, according to the faculty evaluations, Diana Palacios should be the cheerleader elect. However, Instead of allowing two Mexican American cheerleaders on the team, the administration informed Diana Palacios that she would just have to try out the following year as the winners had already been announced.

Inspired by the protest atmosphere of the late 1960s, Mexican American high school students threatened to walkout if Palacios was not allowed to be on the team. The administration informed these students that if they walked out, the seniors among their midst would not be allowed to graduate. Success in education remained such an accomplishment within the Mexican American community, so the Mexican American students decided to stay the walkout until the following year for the sake of their senior members. However, a group of students lead by Libby Lara and Diana Palacios met with the superintendent of the Crystal City school system, John Billings, with petition containing seven demands and three hundred and fifty signatures.<sup>48</sup> During this meeting,

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<sup>48</sup> García, *United We Win*, 41.

these Mexican American students voiced what they knew to be discriminatory practices. They asked that the administration increase the cheerleading squad to six—three Anglos and three Mexican Americans. In addition, Mexican American students asked that Anglo teachers restrain from sprouting their own political rhetoric to the students. Furthermore, the petitioners asked that the school implement bicultural and bilingual courses and programs, respectively.<sup>49</sup> Among the concessions, the administration agreed to allow an equal number of both Anglo and Mexican American cheerleaders. The administration refused to vote on the other demands, however, the board promised to consider them. Nevertheless, Mexican American students relished in their small triumph, “...we took it as a victory. We didn’t really fully understand it because, in actuality, he was really segregating us.”<sup>50</sup>

Yet, the following year, CCISD hired new administrative personnel. The new administration in turn negated the concessions agreed upon by Billings with the exception of the cheerleaders. Crystal City High School reverted to the unwritten policy of minimal representation. A clash of cultures ensued. Thoroughly disillusioned, a group of Mexican American students met outside of school and organized a multistage protest. In immediate response to the reversal of concessions, these students started distributing flyers noting several discriminatory practices. The Anglo administration suspended Severita Lara, one of the student leaders whom the faculty singled out for distributing leaflets. The next day upwards of between four hundred and five hundred students wore black armbands in support of Lara and in protest to the administration’s decision. In

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Espinoza interview.

addition, the Mexican American Legal Defense Education Fund (MALDEF) ran proceedings on Lara's behalf to reverse the school's decision. Threatened with legal action and bad press, the administration recanted Lara's suspension, and she returned to school the next day. In the throes of battle, Mexican American students began to discover the power of protest and grew increasingly emboldened as the year progressed.

The next incident occurred a few months later in October 1969 when the Crystal City High School Ex-student Association formed a homecoming committee to choose a royal court for the year's celebrations. As this committee sketched out the criteria for selection, this group decided that in order to apply, the homecoming queen needed to be not only a senior but also have parents who graduated from Crystal City High School. This stipulation proved discriminatory towards the Mexican American population for Mexican Americans rarely graduated from middle school let alone high school.

Mexican American parents and students alike requested an audience with the school board. Crystal City born lawyer, Jesse Gámez, volunteered to represent the Mexican American community in voicing their grievances to the school board. Former activist Severita Lara expressed the students' sentiments, "In all of the school representatives—most beautiful, football sweetheart—it was always them. Why just them? We were beautiful too. We were smart too. We could jump, and we could do all those things. Why couldn't they just be fair? Just be fair."<sup>51</sup> In protest to the inequitable election, Mexican Americans demanded that whomever the alumni committee selected as the royal court not be presented before the homecoming football game to the board informed that

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<sup>51</sup> Lara interview.

complainants that the school board would take their argument into consideration and let the community know of their decision in November.

In the interim, a shadow student council comprised of Mexican American students (henceforth shadow council) began planning contingency plans in case the school board refused to take action, in the process creating bond of solidarity and collective memory both within and outside of the Crystal City community. Among the proposed contingency plans was to have the band put down their instruments and sit on the field and refuse to place for the crowning ceremony. The parents and community would then join the band on the field and sit in protest. In addition, most of the football players and cheerleaders from the visiting team, San Felipe High School, from a Mexican American neighborhood in Del Rio, signed a letter of a support and agreed to join the Crystal City's Mexican American students in solidarity.

Eager to make a stand, Mexican American students and women from the community attempted to rally support from the community to join them in protest of Anglo discrimination within the school system. With the help of Gutiérrez and other key community members, the shadow council of students put together a list of demands to present to the school board such as asking for more Mexican American teachers and counselors to serve as role models for the students among other similar changes “We weren't asking for a complete makeover, you know. We're just asking for simple things.”<sup>52</sup> In addition, students wanted bicultural culture highlighting Mexican American history.

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<sup>52</sup> Espinoza interview.

On the night the school board held a meeting to vote on the presentation of the royal court, José Angel Gutiérrez, the local leader of the Winter Garden project initiated by the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), gathered a large group of Mexican Americans and herded them towards the site of the meeting. After a three-hour deliberation in the presence of an intimidating crowd, the school board denied the alumni's association's request to have the presentation of the royal court at the homecoming game.<sup>53</sup> Inspired by the small victory, the Mexican American community and students added more demands to their previous petition the school board concerning other invidious policies directed towards Mexican American students to be decided on in December.

Due to the school board's compromise, acrimony within the Anglo community boiled over. The non-Mexican American community bombarded the school board with accusations of cowardice and weakness as well as removal from office. The school board found itself between an awakening Mexican American community and a contracting Anglo community. Come the first week of December 1969, the school board held a short meeting and contented that the Mexican American's claims of discrimination remained unfounded, thus the board had no choice but to reject all stipulations in the petition.<sup>54</sup> The board's decision once again polarized the Crystal City community even more so than the 1963 election had not only between Anglos and Mexican Americans but also between socioeconomic divisions within the Mexican American community. However, the new administration's callous disregard towards the petition submitted by students stunned the

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<sup>53</sup> García, *United We Win*, 46.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

Mexican American middle class, whom anticipated some form of concessions from the Anglo administration. As compensation for denouncing Los Cinco in the 1965 election and the resultant animosity from lower-class Mexican Americans, the Mexican American middle class felt like some concessions in education would be part of the political boon owed them by the Anglo administration.<sup>55</sup> The Anglo community felt no such obligation, which would cost them greatly in the 1970 election, for unlike the 1963 and 1965 elections, the Mexican American middle class slowly spurred into action unable to ignore unabashed prejudicial action. The children of middle class citizens like Severita Lara, whose father owned his own business, became leaders within the youth movement.

Immediately after the decision, the shadow council, with guidance by Gutiérrez, initiated one of the largest Mexican American walkouts in Texas beginning December 8, 1969. By the third day of the walkout, sixty-two percent of the high school student body failed to attend classes. With each day the walkout dragged on, the Mexican American community closed ranks and projected a united front,

So, in the morning around mid-morning, our moms would come with hot chocolate. They were there to support us and help us. And, the way you know the involvement of the parents and the support of the parents is because of the fact that even the kids in *cero barrero* (zero grade) or first grade all the way up to the twelfth grade walked out. . . . it was done as a family. Whole families walked out.<sup>56</sup>

With the Mexican American community's support gradually increasing, local newspapers and media outlets once again turned their attentions towards the rural farming community of Crystal City. After several days, the Texas Education Agency (TEA) sent mediators to mediate between the boycotting students and CCISD administration to no avail. Spurning

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Gámez interview

TEA's advice to close early for the winter holidays, the school administration attempted to sate the protesters by conceding to constructing a bicultural history course. However, the students would settle for no less a majority of their demands met.<sup>57</sup> The following week, three student leaders met with Texas Senator Ralph Yardborough, whom had supported the first revolt, in Washington D.C. In addition, the students with officials from the Department of Justice and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and were introduced to Senator Edward Kennedy and Senator George McGovern.<sup>58</sup> Increased national and international publicity once again vilified the Anglo community and portrayed the Chicano youth as inspired revolutionaries. Buried memories of remembered discriminations, resurfaced within the older residents and contributed to the forming of collective memory within the Mexican American community.

As both the students and the administration buckled down, TEA as well as multi-faith based councils attempted to mediate the terms of the boycott to no avail. With the winter holidays fast approaching, Texans for the Educational Advancement of Mexican Americans (TEAM), a special interest group, sent a group of teachers to Crystal City in an attempt to keep the protesting student up to date on their studies. Along side Mexican American community members, TEAM established "liberation" classrooms in open areas and taught Mexican American history together with the standard curriculum.<sup>59</sup> Fearful that the extent of the walkout would wear on the Mexican American community more so

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<sup>57</sup> García, *United We Win*, 47. For more information on the day-to-day proceedings of the 1969 walkout consult José Angel Gutiérrez's autobiographical work, *The Making of a Chicano Militant: Lessons from Cristal*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>59</sup> Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 137.

than CCISD officials, Gutiérrez requested the presence of the Community Relations Service (CRS), a subdivision of the United States Department of Justice, as well as another set of mediators from TEA be present during the final rounds of arbitration between the administration and students.<sup>60</sup> After several arbitrations in the presence of TEA, CRS, and HEW, the school board had no choice but to cave to a majority of the students' demands. Thus, on January 6, 1970, the Mexican American student walkout ended and the students returned to classes the next week still basking in their victory. For better or worse, Crystal City's school system had been set towards a new direction to the chagrin of school faculty and the Anglo community alike,

The Anglo community was shocked and stunned. A deep sense of bitterness and frustration, compounded by the fear of what their defeat would mean for the future, made them uneasy. . . . All the tactics that had worked for them before—and everything they thought they had learned from the 1963 revolt—now suddenly no longer sustained them. Frightened by the loss of power and unsure of what retribution would mean, they found their right to rule and their invincibility had been shattered simultaneously. Their legitimacy and their authority had crumbled.<sup>61</sup>

The future the Anglo community fear came within days of the announcement of the end of the walkout.

While Crystal City Mexican Americans organized years earlier in 1963, the 1969 movement resounds more within the Mexican American community because of the way it came about. It was organic in nature. Mexican American students within the high school decided to organize and challenge the status quo pulling in their community. In this way, the students' accomplishment became the community's triumph. In many aspects, the walkout stimulated and inspired the community in ways the 1963 simply

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<sup>60</sup> García, *United We Win*, 48.

<sup>61</sup> Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 138-139.

could not evoke, “During this time the Mexicanos of Crystal City were one in thought, action and goal—they were La Raza Unida. No longer did the slogans for unity need shouting; nor did the songs of solidarity need heading—la Raza had gotten it all together.”<sup>62</sup> Although both the walkouts and LRUP remain intrinsically tied, the community considers the 1969 walkouts and formation of LRUP mutually exclusive. In the same manner, citizens concede that the walkouts and the youth-led political activity proved a vetting ground for the influence and determination of a decidedly Chicano community in Crystal City. However, this time, the Mexican American community addressed some of the failures of the first revolt. First, Crystal City’s high school students initiated the 1969 revolt. Although Gutiérrez and MAYO would storm the community in 1970 when forming La Raza Unida political party, the community itself coalesced prior to the LRUP’s organization. In addition, instead of alienating the Mexican American middle class, Gutiérrez and MAYO succeeded in recruiting influential members of the middle class to join in the revolt. Furthermore, unlike Los Cinco, Gutiérrez understood the intricacies of the political process as well as legal smoke screens often employed by Anglo opposition. Moreover, while Cornejo’s administration functioned without community oversight leaving the Mexican American disillusioned after the first year, Gutiérrez, on the other hand, established *Ciudadanos Unidos* (United Citizens), a grassroots political organization developed as a public forum for Crystal City’s Mexican American community. Within a few months, LRUP leadership limited *Ciudadanos Unidos*’ (CU) membership rosters to LRUP members whom had been screened by a review board.

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<sup>62</sup> José Angel Gutiérrez, “Aztlan: Chicano Revolt in the Winter Garden,” *La Raza Magazine* 1, 4 (1973): 39-40, as quoted in *United We Win*, 49.

Table 1.3. Election Results in Crystal City, 1970

| City Council             | Votes | School Board                 | Votes |
|--------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|
| Ventura Gonzales* (LRUP) | 1,341 | José Angel Gutiérrez* (LRUP) | 1,344 |
| Pablo Puente* (LRUP)     | 1,306 | Mike Perez* (LRUP)           | 1,397 |
|                          |       | Arturo Gonzales* (LRUP)      | 1,344 |
| Emmett Sevilla (CASAA)   | 835   |                              |       |
| Charlie Crawford (CASSA) | 820   | E. W. Ritchie (CASAA)        | 1,119 |
|                          |       | Rafael Tovar (CASAA)         | 1,090 |
|                          |       | Luz Arcos (CASAA)            | 1,081 |

*Note:* \* Indicate winners

*Source:* Data adapted from John Shockley, *Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town*, 148.

After the victory of the walkout and the proven effectiveness of CU's mobilization efforts, Gutiérrez then set towards his main goal—political empowerment for the Mexican American people in the Winter Garden area. With the support of MAYO, Gutiérrez expounded on the need for a third-party within in South Texas where Mexican Americans held numerical majorities yet held little to no political representation. In 1970, Gutiérrez, with the help of MAYO and CU, formed the first successful Mexican American political in Crystal City. Table 1.3 provides city council and school board election results for city council and school board elections. The idea of Mexican American political empowerment steeped in the rhetoric of Chicanismo and militancy rippled throughout South Texas and the Southwest. Though an uphill battle, Chicanos in Crystal City and in adjacent counties seized for themselves their own political destiny.

By 1974, LRUP held all electable positions of power within Crystal City. Additionally, LRUP hired through the school system hired as many Mexican American as it could, as administration, faculty, and staff. In doing so, LRUP contributed to the ever growing Mexican American middle class as well as granting lower-class families access to non-agriculturally based jobs. As college students and college graduates, MAYO members dedicated themselves to grant writing for state and federal funds. Via federal monies, Gutierrez and LRUP established various educational programs within CCISD as well as established continuing education programs for more recent high school graduates. While the number of Anglo teachers and staff decreased, the sheer volume of Chicano teachers, teacher's aides, cafeteria workers, and janitors rose steadily. Additionally, LRUP, through CU, responded to the Mexican American community's concerns concerning utilities, local roads, healthcare, and education. While LRUP entertained grand notions of community improvement, the reality remained that the Anglo sector of the community still maintained a significant hold on the community. Local businesses and, more importantly, the town's tax base rested within the Anglo community. Yet, fact did not become apparent for several years due to the success of MAYO and LRUP's grant writers in conjunction with the plethora of federal funds available in the early 1970s. As Anglos steadily fled Crystal City to nearby towns, LRUP inability to build a Mexican American based economic infrastructure grew more apparent as years of LRUP rule progressed. By 1975, the federal government stopped providing grant money to Crystal City almost most altogether. As a result, educational and continuing education programs ceased to exist.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, federal public assistance

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<sup>63</sup> Escamilla interview, Espinoza interview.

programs cultivated during LRUP's tenure became a way of life for a majority of Crystal City's Mexican American population.

Additionally, Gutiérrez's trip to Cuba in 1976 earned Crystal City the nickname of "Little Cuba," which further distanced federal and state agencies and local business investors.<sup>64</sup> The federal government also used Gutiérrez's increased militant jargon as well as his visit to Cuba to visit with Fidel Castro as a pretext to stymie funding directed toward the Crystal City community, which gave further credit to claims of LRUP being a subversive communist organization. Further still, by 1976, irreparable fissures within LRUP leadership took place within the Crystal City political landscape between Gutierrezistas, individuals loyal to Gutiérrez's leadership, and La Raza Libre Party (LRLP), initially a subdivision of LRUP comprised of new intellectuals cultivated within Crystal City post-1970. Moreover by 1976, the community group CU evolved from a public forum to a political vetting ground. Inspired by the communist bureaucratic structure, Gutiérrez formed the *Comite de Nueve* (Committee of Nine) that further consolidated the power of CU's already established twenty-eight member ruling committee. These nine members, lead by Gutiérrez, sidestepped community oversight by dictating policy and hiring and firing of city and school officials. Disgruntled members of CU viewed this as both an unwise political decision and a threat to the transparency LRUP strove so far to maintain. Soon after, CU ruptured into two opposing parties, the CU and the Barrio club, and as a result the city and the school system transformed almost instantly into a political battlefield. While Gutierrezistas maintained control of the city and county, while, Barrio Club members, also referred to as La Raza Libre Party (LRLP), retained control of the

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<sup>64</sup> Jesus "Jesse" Mata Martinez, interviewed by author, July 23, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

schools.<sup>65</sup> In protest to LRLP's control of the schools, Gutierrista teachers resigned from CCISD en masse causing the school system to be put on probation by TEA.<sup>66</sup> In retaliation, LRLP members resigned from city jobs. By 1977, LRUP's internal structure neared implosion that threatened to leave Crystal City in shambles with no direction forward.

The national LRUP mirrored the turmoil in Crystal City, the failed 1976 gubernatorial campaign of LRUP candidate Ramsey Muniz effectively tarnished LRUP's image beyond redemption.<sup>67</sup> Internal struggles within LRUP leadership took place within national and local settings alike. Even stronger, rural chapters in places like Crystal City to implode almost immediately. Yet, in places like Crystal City, the political and cultural landscape of the township remained irrevocably altered. Political power did not slip from the hands of Mexican Americans back to Anglo control for there was fewer Anglos left in the community. Unwilling to be labeled as villains, many of the Crystal City's Anglo community fled to nearby towns where either Mexican American political activism had failed in places like Uvalde or communities where Mexican American-Anglo tensions were not so volatile like nearby Carrizo Springs. As of the 2010 census, Mexican Americans comprise over ninety-seven percent of Crystal City's population.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> García, *United We Win*, 205.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Charged then subsequently found guilty of trafficking and selling drugs from Mexico to the United States. LRUP gubernatorial candidate, Ramsey Muniz served a number of years in prison.

<sup>68</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, United States Census Bureau, "State and County Quick Facts: Crystal City, Texas" <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/48/4818020.html>, accessed January 30, 2013.

Unfortunately, in addition to comprising a significant portion of the town's tax base, Crystal City's Anglos also owned many of the local businesses that fueled the local economy. Both electoral revolts, 1963 and 1969, greatly affected the Mexican American community in Crystal City, not only on a political level, but also, and even more substantially, on an internal level. With each gathering of the community, Mexican Americans discovered for themselves a way to relate with not only themselves but also the world around them.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### The Legacy of *El Movimiento* in Crystal City

The movement did more good to the individual than to the community as a whole. . . . the individual felt a little more privileged and as a person that more worthy than before the movement came about. But, as a community, in terms of bringing it up as a whole, in terms of economic development or business-wise, I don't think it had that impact. It had a negative impact on that aspect.<sup>1</sup>

—Jesús “Jesse” Mata Martinez

By 1979, LRUP's already weakened foundations crumbled completely at both a state and a national level. Within Crystal City, Gutiérrez established LRUP on a weak foundation. Gutiérrez and MAYO sought to construct a third-party political system in South Texas in areas with large Mexican American populations. Yet, as a result of targeting this specific subset, LRUP became limited to those areas. More urban centers within Texas viewed LRUP as more of a liability than an asset. While it remains true that LRUP championed political self-determination for the Mexican American, the party leadership failed to formulate a cohesive ideology, which left the direction of the LRUP in the hands of Gutiérrez. In the beginning, Gutiérrez's natural charisma, intellect, and political savvy helped him form political coalitions with groups of people with differing ideologies. Within Crystal City, Gutiérrez tentatively bridged the gap between the Mexican American middle class and the lower class, despite the fact that both groups ultimately sought differing ends. Once LRUP wrested power from the Anglo elites, a spoils system of sorts developed that in the beginning created jobs for a majority of

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<sup>1</sup> Jesús “Jesse” Mata Martinez, interviewed by author, 23 July 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

LRUPs constituents but quickly evolved into a ferocious power struggle. In addition, the increased radicalism of LRUP's message once again distanced the more conservative Mexican American middle class. Although the lower class remained faithful to LRUP until 1978, they perceived the internal instability of the party and understood that LRUP leadership no longer concerned itself with the lower class. In turn, the successful educational systems LRUP established a new class of Mexican Americans, an educated elite that wielded political influence and utilized intimidation tactics, not unlike the Anglos in 1963. The quality of the school system and the effectiveness of local government fell by the wayside of LRUP policies. LRUP cabals within the town regarded both the school system and local government as personal fiefdoms where factions hired and fired at will, overturned curriculum, employed intimidation tactics, and consolidated power. Crystal City's LRUP emphasized political clout and action more so than ideology and establishing a greater Aztlán. For this reason, Crystal City remained and still remains an isolated community both within Texas and outside Chicano ideology, which contributed a unique legacy of *El Movimiento* within the town as a whole.

### *Defining Terminology*

Due to Crystal City's unique circumstances and development, "Here We Remain" necessitates a redefinition, usually a narrowing, of common terms used within the common Mexican American civil rights vernacular. While, *El Movimiento*, the cultural term given to the Mexican American civil rights movement, encompassed the overall political and social mobilization of Mexican Americans across the United States in pursuit of *la causa*, or the cause, within the Crystal City community *El Movimiento* represented the three stages of Mexican American empowerment within the town itself.

Within Crystal City, Mexican Americans relegate the first electoral revolt for 1963-1965 as the prelude or first stage of liberation. For it remains with context that Crystal City's Mexican American population draws from to define success, failure, and *la causa*.

Throughout the Southwest, various Mexican American groups adopted the term *la causa*, although its definition changed state to state and even from county to county. At its most basic level, *la causa* signified ending discrimination while effecting and promoting Mexican American self-determination. However, for Crystal City's residents *la causa* meant an end to Anglo oppression and achieving Mexican American self-determination in the form of political power. The student walkout of 1969 constituted the second stage of development for Crystal City residents. Within the town's collective memory, the walkout represented the ultimate and purest form of the Mexican American struggle and the single greatest triumph for the Mexican American community at large. The third and final stage encompassed the entirety of the rise and fall of LRUP. Just as the first revolt developed as a means to quantify success and failure, the Mexican American community relegates LRUP as a meter to gauge *El Movimiento*'s legacy within the community.

Further still, within a national context the notion of Chicanismo, or Bronze Power, concerned itself with issues of group ethnicity rather than individual identity. Chicanos, United States citizens of Mexican descent, sought to construct for themselves their own distinct ethnicity steeped in Mexican American mores. While many Chicanos traced their ancestral roots to former Mexican land holdings preceding the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (TGH), Chicanos search for a historical context differed considerably from *Mexicanos*, Mexican citizens from Mexico. With no wish to return to their cultural homeland, Chicanos sought to reclaim their own sense of place within their recognized

home of the United States—to be a citizen of the United States all the while being proud of one’s own Mexican heritage. Historians and other scholars alike remain undecided on a single definition of ethnicity. For the purposes of “Here We Remain,” this thesis relies on E. K. Francis’ definition of ethnicity based on a socially constructed, primordial sense of peoplehood,

But there are certain elements that must be present or must be deliberately created in the early stages of its genesis, such as a distinctive territory, some sort of distinctive political organization, a common language, a common scale of values. Yet once an ethnic group has a certain maturity the elements, which have conditioned it in the beginning, may disappear, change or be supplanted by others, without affecting its coherence and the *communauté de conscience* among its members.<sup>2</sup>

For most Mexican American communities throughout the rural Southwest, Francis’ definition holds true in the form of ill-gotten lands based on the essential nullification of the TGH with the Botiller decision.

However, for more urban centers and, again uniquely, Crystal City accusation of ill-gotten lands simply did not apply. As a twentieth century town established by Anglo businessmen, Crystal City’s Mexican American citizens retained no claims to land within the area. Anglos recruited Mexicans and Mexican Americans for low-wage farm labor. Thus, Crystal City’s own construction of ethnicity adheres more to Stuart Hall’s definition of ethnicity as a forum by which to compartmentalize peoplehood as common denominator in construction political movements,

Rather than viewing it as a primitive holdover, the optionalists [stet] conceive ethnicity primarily as a strategic possibility peculiarly suited to the requirements of political and social mobilization in the modern large-scale state. Ethnic identity becomes in this view not the manifestation of conscious impulse but rather a rational adaptive response to external forces. Ethnicity serves not to hinder adaptation but to

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<sup>2</sup> E. K. Francis, “The Nature of the Ethnic Group,” *American Journal of Sociology* 52, no. 5 (March 1947): 400, accessed January 2, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2770820>.

let it form and meaning. Ethnicity maybe shed, resurrected or adopted as the situation warrants.<sup>3</sup>

By utilizing this form of ethnicity, Gutiérrez and LRUP utilized popular Chicano jargon without necessarily adhering to ideology behind the terms. Each stage of *El Movimiento* within Crystal City led the Mexican American to construct for themselves a unique form of ethnicity founded on both a collective memory of Anglo discrimination and against a common enemy—the Anglo. The town’s Mexican American citizens concerned themselves with their own struggles rather than attempting to reclaim a mythical homeland they had no personal connection to.

In addition, while the term *Chicano*, on a national scale, defined a United States citizen of Mexican descent with tendencies towards cultural nationalism, Crystal City’s definition of Chicano added to but also narrowed the scope of cultural nationalism. In a broader sense, cultural nationalism for a Chicano entailed adhering to and paying homage to the Mexican homeland, its language, and its customs. A Crystal City Chicano paid homage to Mexico, but more importantly, pledged loyalty to LRUP. One could not both be Chicano and vote against LRUP. Secondly, while LRUP’s leftist ideology of narrowed the scope of a Chicano, the term also carried with it a personal, individualistic aspect quite contradictory to the group mentality associated with cultural nationalism.

Within this distinction lies an intriguing paradox in the way Crystal City’s Mexican American citizens regard the success and legacy of *El Movimiento*. Crystal City’s

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<sup>3</sup> Peter K. Elsinger, “Ethnicity as a Strategic Option: An Emerging View,” Elsinger, Review of *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* by Nathan Glazer, Daniel P. Moynihan; *Interethnic Relations* by E. K. Francis; *Pursuing the American Dream: White Ethnics and the New Populism* by Richard Krickus; *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations* by Charles H. Mindel; Robert W. Habenstein. *Public Administration Review* 38 (January-February 1978); 90, accessed January 2, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/975418>.

community distinguishes between the individual and the community at large resulting in a two-pronged measure of success for *El Movimiento* as a whole. While the *individual* signifies a solitary progression of a single person or family, Crystal City residents contend that *community* signifies the collective progression, or rather regression, of the town as a whole. For the Mexican American community, individual identity denotes the metaphysical benefits achieved throughout the course of *El Movimiento* evolving from self-determination to self-actualization-to individual accomplishment. Issues of empowerment and self-worth remain linked to individual identity. While on the other hand, Crystal City's definition of *community* concerns itself with actual, material benefits secured by *El Movimiento* among which include: physical representation in local government, distribution of wealth, jobs generated, and regional economics.

#### *Cultivating Chicano Identity in the Individual*

When reflecting on the overall success of *El Movimiento* in Crystal City, residents contend that the movement succeeded in the short term with regards to community, but failed to establish any long-term changes in the community at large. In spite of this, *El Movimiento* did succeed in helping its participants construct for themselves an empowered, individual identity. No longer did Crystal City's Mexican American residents carry themselves as second-class citizens. *El Movimiento* allowed the Mexican American population to express pride in being a Chicano, to revel in ethnic differences, to shake off Anglo stereotypes, and, most importantly, to seize their own destiny. The manner in which the first and second revolts exposed the plight of Mexican Americans in an Anglo controlled social, economic, and political systems gave rise to various the social changes within the community.

The first stage of *El Movimiento* acquainted Crystal City's Mexican Americans with the concept of self-determination. The 1963 revolt proved to Mexican Americans that change in the town's social structure could be achieved, however some preconditions needed to be present to yield successful results. First, Mexican Americans needed to take it upon themselves to fight for their own rights. In the first revolt, Cornejo, PASSO, and IBT, spent a majority of their campaign convincing the Mexican American population that they needed to register and vote to combat the Anglo political machine. In addition, CCBG failed in securing the Mexican American middle class, which effectively split and further discourage lower class members from initiating a revolution. Fortunately for Cornejo, the Anglo community's racial hatred pushed a majority of the Mexican American underclass to take a stand. However, as Los Cinco discovered, seeking change accounts for only part of the equation, self-determination also requires the means to both secure and hold on to power. Although Los Cinco ignored the school systems during the first revolt, by the end of their solitary term in office the Mexican American sector conceded that in order to effect significant change it needed secure a higher level of education. While the first revolt introduced Mexican Americans to the concept of self-determination, it failed to secure any significant difference in the every day lives of individuals. Equal access to education still eluded the Mexican American community.

The student walkout of 1969 and the advent of LRUP addressed both these preconditions. Due to the failure of Los Cinco to address the crisis in Mexican American education, after 1965, the Mexican American community started scrutinizing discriminatory practices in schools. The self-actualization of the Chicano youth within the Crystal City, initiated a cultural experience that engaged citizens and created a

collective cultural memory that a majority of older present-day citizens still identify with. Although Anglo administrators utilized various discriminatory practices the practices directed towards students became the meter through which individuals measure success. One particular practice, *cero barrero*, epitomized the discontent and eventual sense of individual triumph evoked by *El Movimiento*. As an unwritten rule after the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that all schools needed to integrate, Crystal City schools started administering English proficiency test to Mexican American students. Upon exiting kindergarten, before any Mexican American students could continue the school required them to pass this test. If a student did not pass the test, he or she would be sent to *cero barrero*, a remedial grade, until the student could continue to first grade. Civil rights activist Diana Palacios Gámez reflects on the harmful nature of *cero barrero* to Mexican American children, “So, you can imagine what that does to a young child, to their self-esteem knowing that here you’re all excited to go to school and according to the school system you’re too dumb to go to first grade. So you have to go to a grade that they invented for you called zero.”<sup>4</sup> As migrant farmers, the majority of the Mexican American community averaged about two to three years of formal education before they dropped out of school to become full-time migrant workers. Culturally, Crystal City’s Mexican Americans primarily spoke Spanish and understood little English. As a result, it proved often the case that a migrant child’s only exposure to English took place within the educational setting. English proficiency resulted from years of education. While middle class families could afford language tutors for their children, a majority of Mexican Americans could not. As a result, most Mexican American students failed their

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<sup>4</sup> Diana Palacios Gámez, interviewed by author, July 19, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

language proficiency tests and, thus, assigned to *cero barrero*. In addition, students within *cero barrero* often took years to test out of resulting in significantly older first grade Mexican American student. Additionally, once students entered integrated schools, CCISD once again segregated Mexican American students under the guise of performance grouping. For a group of first graders, CCISD automatically assigned migrant children to grouping 1-5, the lowest possible grouping. While on the other hand, an Anglo child, no matter how low the grade, could only be sent to grouping 1-3. The highest grouping, 1-1, usually only allowed for one or at most two Mexican American students. CCISD also restricted college preparatory and advance placement slots to largely Anglo students. In addition, high school counselors seldom wrote letters of recommendation for the small group of graduating Mexican American, and often only discussed options for vocational schools rather than offering advice on how to secure scholarships for higher education. Due to these kind of practices, the Crystal City school system represented the ultimate symbol of Crystal City's discriminatory past as well as the site of Mexican American's civil rights battleground. For a majority of Crystal City individuals and families, overcoming these particular obstacles solidified in their minds a great feat of personal success and individual accomplishment.

The third and final aspect of *El Movimiento*, generated the most observable results for individuals. When LRUP took office in 1970, the party simply guaranteed Mexican Americans with equal access to education. This one promise fulfilled generated the single greatest impact and opened an avenue for hundreds of graduating Mexican Americans to pursue a college education. In addition, this act effectively broke the cycle of racial discrimination within the township. In doing so, LRUP allowed several families to break

free from the cycle of agriculturally based employment. Both the walkout and LRUP contributed greatly to the rise of a more stable Mexican American middle class. After being denied aspirations of higher education in the past, a generation of young people pursued degrees in education spurring a generation of teachers with the help of dual education programs initiated by LRUP:

A lot of the people that had the opportunity to receive an education became educators and administrators because of those programs. And their whole life has been a success because they were able during that time get their education. You can't tell them that it didn't have a long-term effect and a long-term success.<sup>5</sup>

Activist and recent graduates from Crystal City High School returned to the community as teachers' aids and teachers. LRUP party members secured employment as school administrators through dual credit programs sponsored by LRUP allowing for members to both work for the school system while earning their masters or doctorates from nearby institutions. In turn, these school administrators hired countless Mexican American individuals as cafeteria workers and janitors providing additional relief from migrant life. LRUP not only provided educational programs for fellow educators, but also established dual credit programs and scholarships for other graduating students giving them access to nearby junior colleges and four-year institutions, "You know, it's brought us awareness. It made us owners of our destiny."<sup>6</sup> Figure 2.1 shows a segment of the mural painted on the city hall building. This section of the mural details the journey and accomplishments of *El Movimiento* in Crystal City regarding Mexican American education.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ricardo Espinoza, interviewed by author, 19 July 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.



Figure 2.1. Portion of mural painted on city hall building in Crystal City, TX.

### *The Paradox of Community*

While *El Movimiento* generated a long-term impact on individuals and individual families within the community, the movement generated little lasting change within the community as a whole. *El Movimiento* not only sought end de facto and de jure discrimination of the Mexican American within Crystal City, but the movement also promised a change in the status quo of Mexican Americans within the township. In the minds of Crystal City's Mexican American citizens, *El Movimiento*'s success regarding community hinged on a two-pronged criterion—economics and the state of the educational system. The first movement ultimately failed on both accounts concerning the community at large. While the first stage introduced vestiges of self-determination to a handful of individuals, it actually heightened racial tensions within the community. In addition, Los Cinco accomplished little more than exposing Anglo's discriminatory practices, and failed to initiate and changes community at large. By 1965, CCBG realized that the majority of Anglo power derived from economic power, not solely political office. While Los Cinco gained full control of the Anglos political power, CCBG understood that true power rested with economic independence not just local government. Furthermore, the only way for Mexican Americans to achieve both economic independence and political power lay in securing higher levels of education. Unfortunately, CCBG did not run field any candidates for school board, and could not influence educational policy, ultimately failing on both accounts.

The second stage of *El Movimiento* delivered desired results concerning cultural shifts within the Crystal City community as well as secured a plethora of federal funds to funnel into the community for a short time. LRUP's rebuttal to both of the failures of the

first movement lay within the third-party political system. Crystal City residents contend that the movement succeeded in the short term in securing federal grants for special educational programs and economic development, but *El Movimiento* failed to facilitate a significant socioeconomic shift for Mexican Americans.

While *El Movimiento* did in fact end discriminatory practices within the city, the militancy through which LRUP accomplished this was not achieved by forcing the majority of the Anglo community to acknowledge the merits of “the other”, but by creating an essentially homogenized society comprised of mainly Mexican Americans. According the United States 2010 Census, the ratio of Hispanic to non-Hispanic is 34 to 1. In retrospect, community members view this as partial failure of the movement because it limited cultural diversity within the community and the schools. However, the fact remained that for at least eight years, *El Movimiento* in the eyes of the community succeeded in securing control the town. Crystal City educator Flor Estela Ramirez-Contreras summarizes the successes and failures of *El Movimiento* within the community:

The cons of that was that the businesses of Crystal City, the economy, became poor. But the Hispanic people got what they wanted, to have control of Crystal City, and they got it. But in the long-term—I guess it didn’t work out like they wanted it to work out. The movement was I guess successful, but not in terms of economics. Maybe successful in terms of freedom—but not in terms of economics.<sup>7</sup>

Most residents contend that LRUP enacted notable changes in the community in the early years of the party, however the party faltered in establishing significant economic change. Due to a low tax base and the failure of the city council to annex the Del Monte cannery,

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<sup>7</sup> Flor Estela Ramirez-Contreras, interviewed by author, July 13, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

the LRUP politicians attempted to construct the town's infrastructure through state and federal grants. As the federal funds flowed in, the party instituted notable changes in housing, healthcare, and education in the community from 1970-1975.

In 1970, LRUP established the Industrias Mexicanas (IM), a non-profit organization, dedicated to propagating economic independence in Crystal City and the surrounding areas.<sup>8</sup> The capital for the corporation came from pledges from the community. In addition, this LRUP headed organization sought to provide economic relief for the underclass and the underprivileged. Furthermore, the IM board conducted research on potential new business ventures for Mexican Americans. The organization also contained a social aspect to it by offering vocational training courses as well as IM's dedication to curbing discrimination and juvenile delinquency.<sup>9</sup> In addition to IM, Gutiérrez and LRUP formed another non-profit organization, Constructora Aztlán (CA), also dedicated to economic empowerment. Specializing in the construction of houses, CA banded a pool of Mexican American subcontractors together to equip these workers with the means to build large scale housing projects that LRUP intended to fund.<sup>10</sup> Both IM and CA represent LRUP's commitment to economic empowerment as well as political power. As LRUP's tenure in office waned, it became apparent that IM and CA, while functional, both failed in achieving the desired results through their direct involvement. Riddled with management and legal problems, CA defaulted on a majority of their contracted work including the construction of a city health center. In the earlier years of the takeover,

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<sup>8</sup> Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment*, 254.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

LRUP successfully lead multiple economic boycotts of Anglo businessmen and conservative Mexican American business owners. The results of which proved bittersweet. As Mexican American small businesses sprang up across the city as white flight progressed, established Anglo businesses and the capital they generated fled the city, which proved significant in ensuing years.

During LRUP's time in office it reformed Urban Renewal procedures building over 166 homes and allowing a large group of lower class individuals the opportunity to own their own homes, "The RUP Urban Renewal Agency created a housing renaissance that liberated many poor families from substandard living conditions that had been created as a direct result of internal colonialism."<sup>11</sup> As Urban Renewal came to a close in 1971, the Housing Authority Administration became LRUP's major agency addressing public housing. LRUP brought several federal government funded housing projects comprising of over three hundred housing units to the community totaling over three million dollars within a few years.<sup>12</sup> With the help of the recently formed renter's union, Renteros Unidos, communication between LRUP administrators and tenants addressed and negotiated on terms ranging from rent payment options to lawn care for the elderly. Moreover, the local government ensured utility access to all of its citizens especially in neighborhoods such as El Campo Santo and El Chico, which had been categorically ignored. Unfortunately after several years, internal leadership within the housing

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 292.

<sup>12</sup> Gonzales interview.

authority mirrored LRUP leadership and the board appointments and management evolved into a spoil system for CU and LRUP.

In 1971, LRUP established the Zavala County Mental Health Outreach Program utilizing grant money from the Concentrated Employment Program of the United States Department of Justice.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, one of the most beneficial contributions LRUP brought to the Crystal City community was building a health clinic in the community. LRUP successfully secured federal funds in 1973, and built a city health center, El Centro de Salud (Health Center). However, due to construction problems caused by awarding CA the building contract El Centro de Salud did not open its doors until 1975, after the internal crumbling of LRUP. The clinic benefitted the community immensely, by it also consolidated political power in the way LRUP members handled initial funding and building contracts. When CA defaulted on its contract, the group still ran through all the initial funds set aside for the clinic. As a result, LRUP grant writers needed to secure several other government grants to resume construction. LRUP also opened a legal aid center for Crystal City's Mexican American population, La Oficina de la Gente (Office of the People), again through several grants from legal foundation. LRUP also established the Crystal City Credit Union administrated by a CU board. The credit union opened in 1971 but was forced to close in 1974 due to lack of staff, errors in record keeping, and protocol in the administering of loans.<sup>14</sup>

Before internal struggles of 1975, Gutiérrez established the Zavala County Economic Development Corporation (ZCEDC). Gutiérrez's ZCEDC boasted the economic and

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<sup>13</sup> Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment*, 295.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 303.

managerial planning other LRUP organizations overtly lacked.<sup>15</sup> The primary focus of the organization geared towards agricultural development, providing technical skills, providing capital assistance, and, above all, “creating a self sufficient community development corporation that would benefit the people it served.”<sup>16</sup> Gutiérrez wrote grant proposals to establish a communal farm utilizing federal funds to grant Mexican American migrant workers some form of economic independence. The federal government awarded the ZCEDC a preplanning grant to brainstorm logistics. In an interview to the *Wall Street Journal*, Gutiérrez described his idea as a “collective farm” and “a people’s commune,” which generated a slue of bad press for the ZCEDC and LRUP retrospectively.<sup>17</sup> Despite Gutiérrez’s ill-chosen words, the federal government still awarded \$1.5 million to the ZCEDC to establish Del Norte farms in Crystal City. The farming venture flourished, and provided some farm workers with higher wages. ZCEDC also established trade agreements with Mexico in the import and export of goods. As the farm flourished, the United States Community Service Administration (CSA), the government agency facilitating ZCEDC’s grant, informed Gutiérrez that political ties between LRUP and ZCEDC needed to be dissolved to ensure the integrity of the operation. Gutiérrez refused, but still maintained the support of the federal government. However, LRUP critics like Texas governor, Dolph Briscoe soon after began a campaign to derail ZCEDC’s federal funding. Briscoe claimed that Gutiérrez

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 269.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 270.

established a “little Cuba” in Zavala County.<sup>18</sup> Despite Briscoe’s claims, the federal government and most influential agricultural corporations in Texas believed in the authenticity of the ZCEDC’s efforts. Despite ZCEDC’s success, political pressures directed towards the Carter administration concerning the farm, lead the CSA to discontinue funding to the ZCEDC, with over \$900,000 of unreleased funds. Gutiérrez engaged in a long legal battle with the Carter administration that ended in disappointment for ZCEDC. In spite of this CSA did continue to send several thousand dollars a month to ZCEDC, but after receiving bad publicity from several news outlets by 1979, CSA funding ceased altogether, and LRUP’s one hope of true economic empowerment ceased as well.<sup>19</sup>

The internal strife that occurred in the latter years of LRUP’s tenure carried with it an equally as negative affects on the community’s economic development. Solidarity within the party began to fracture around 1975. With the more political dominance Gutiérrez and CU exerted on the community, opposing factions within LRUP began to splinter from LRUP to formulate their own groups, ”So people started to feel like this is kind of like becoming a Little Cuba, you know. Because no matter what happens, if Jose Angel Gutiérrez says, ‘We are going to do this.’ Then it’s going to be done.”<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, for most community members, the legacy of internal strife within the Mexican American community remains the most remembers and the most alluded to. While LRUP’s policies and organizations founded, with El Centro de Salud and the Housing Authority, have

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 273.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 278.

<sup>20</sup> Espinoza interview.

long since faded from the community's collective memory, the political affiliations associated with particular individuals remain vivid. While the former LRUP melted back into a two party system, current candidates remain haunted by decisions, support, and, most of all, opposition to formerly LRUP policies. As a result, Crystal City politics perpetuated in a competitive and semi-personal state, an instability that has infringed on the town's business prospects. Former activist and city manager Diana Palacios G3mez laments the political and economic instability left in the community after the fall of LRUP:

So consequently you are always changing city manager, you could never really get stability in the city. Because by the time one manager is gets everything kind of where it needs to be, and kind of—let's move, let's improve now. He's out and somebody else comes in. Like in Carrizo [Springs] you have the same city manager for twenty or something years. So you see the difference in the growth of Crystal City and the growth in Carrizo. There has to be stability to be able to—you have this continuity so outside businesses see that stability and are willing to come into your community and do business with you. But when you have all this turmoil, one after another after another---it really doesn't really produce feelings of security, you know, come invest in us.<sup>21</sup>

While political participation in Crystal City persists at a high rate, public confidence in effectiveness remains relatively low. Yet a legacy of *El Movimiento* compels the older generations exercise their power to vote.

Having sought funding for the community, LRUP turned its attention towards the schools "With four votes they started making changes in the curriculum, better meals. They started thinking about better schools, air conditioned . . . . They brought in the bilingual program, new teachers."<sup>22</sup> As the site of the first battle, the school system and

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<sup>21</sup> G3mez interview.

<sup>22</sup> Gonzales interview.

specifically the school board quickly became and continues to be a symbol of power and prominence within the township. Thus, by extension, the condition of area schools double as a barometer of the successes, or rather, failures of *El Movimiento*. In addition to a stunted economic growth, CCISD persists as one of the most important issues in current local elections and an area of concern the community. Figure 2.2 shows satisfaction rates within the community concerning education. In recent years, the community's overall satisfaction with education continues remains low, which the community associates with the shortcomings of *El Movimiento*. According to a survey distributed to Crystal City households in 2013, over 55 percent of respondents are dissatisfied to some degree with the overall quality of education facilitated by Crystal City's local government. See appendix for more details about the survey conducted as well as the individualized results. According to the survey, fifty percent of households are dissatisfied with local educational services and local libraries. Moreover, 51 percent of respondents are dissatisfied to some degree with the performance of school board regarding CCISD, while the approval rating for the local superintendent remains slightly higher with only a 47 percent disapproval rating. As a chief employer, the management and status of CCISD remains deeply tied to the community. Consequently, school board elections endure as some of the most important and contended positions in city politics. Due to years of persistent community dissatisfaction with the performance of the local school board, a constant turnover rate and shuffling of board members has become the norm in recent decades.<sup>23</sup> As LRUP began to implode from internal strife in and around 1975, the CCISD caught the negative attention from TEA and was granted a probationary period to

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<sup>23</sup> Espinoza interview.

raise educational standards. Most Crystal City citizens reference the current plights the schools as a means of measuring the overall state of the city. Since 1975, Crystal City remains in a perpetual state of academic probation. Various residents attribute this to the lack of internal structure developed during the years of LRUP as well as the legacy of the de facto spoils system that developed within the political community at the height of LRUP.

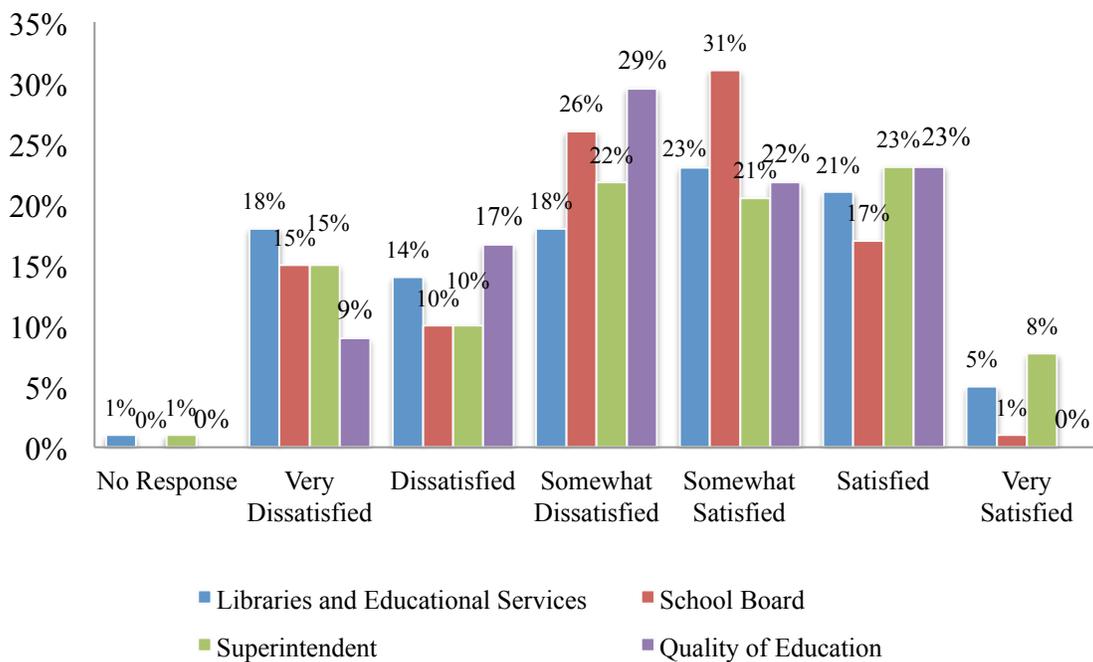


Figure 2.2. Overall Community Satisfaction with Education Facilitated by Local Government, 2012. Chart is based on 78 respondents out of 500 households surveyed. See Appendix C for individual results of the survey concerning education.

Hector Escamilla, one of the few Mexican American teachers employed during the 1969 walkout, reflects on the effects of LRUP policies on the school system:

I think the school went through such a transition that—I don't think that we have recuperated completely from that political thing that took place way back. And the reason I say that is because, I think it was under the expense of students. A lot of

good teachers left the system because they were, you know harassed. They were pushed out or because they no longer saw it beneficial.<sup>24</sup>

The constant turnover rate of novice administrators and faculty put in place by LRUP created an unstable educational system that waxed and waned just like the political party. Even Mexican American teachers like Escamilla fled the CCISD school system as a result of constant political pressures by LRUP administrators.<sup>25</sup> While educational programs flourished from 1970-1975, as with the economic structure, the educational system began to collapse by 1976. In addition, the spoils system established in part by LRUP organizations like CU remains deeply embedded in the current system according to former activist and educator Ricardo Espinoza, “At the schools, basically, it’s who you know that tells you how much of a chance you have getting a job there. It’s . . . who you support for the elected positions.”<sup>26</sup> The quality of education within Crystal City remains at all time lows and as of 2012, TEA has once again placed CCISD on academic probation and may potentially shut down current area schools.<sup>27</sup> For older members of the community, the school system, the symbolic field of battle for young activist, functions as a measure of success in cultivating the legacy of *El Movimiento*, Because LRUP failed to improve the quality of education in Crystal City, the community considers *El Movimeinto* a failure as a whole despite some personal gains in individual identity,

Upon reflection, a majority of the community agrees that *El Movimiento* succeeded in securing a semblance of equality for Mexican Americans in Texas and the United States,

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<sup>24</sup> Escamilla interview.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Espinoza interview.

<sup>27</sup> Espinoza interview; Ramirez-Contreras interview.

but the economic promises of *El Movimiento* remain unfulfilled. While the first revolt gave Mexican Americans a sense of ethnic pride and political empowerment, the realities of the internal colonization of South Texas were insurmountable. The second revolt, on the other hand, held so much promise for the Mexican Americans of Crystal City. Not only did the community develop for themselves their own sense of Chicano identity, but also, for a time, reveled in the economic benefits of community projects funded by federal government grants. Unfortunately for the community, despite all the financial and intellectual power LRUP accumulated, the party could not build an viable economic structure within the Crystal City community. By 1975, LRUP peaked in terms of the amount of federal and state funding it could secure for its community. Crystal City government officials dedicated the 1980s and 1990s to preserving and managing the housing projects in the community. The ZCEDC experience proved to LRUP that local government contains inherent limitations in the amount of change it can effect on a community. LRUP failed in overturning the inherit internal colonialism that functioned so well in South Texas and over half of Crystal City's community remained dependent on agricultural labor. As of the 2010 census, forty percent of individuals live below the national poverty line. The community approval ratings of local government remain extremely low, and community satisfaction regarding services provided by the local government remains equally as low. Figure 2.3 shows overall satisfaction rates for local government. According to the 2013 survey, over 57 percent of respondents claimed to be overall dissatisfied with their local government. Surprisingly, the area of greatest area of dissatisfaction for Crystal City residents concerns the local government's maintenance of local roads and transportation. Over 87 percent of respondents asserted to some form of

dissatisfaction, and over 43 percent of respondents declared to be Very Dissatisfied. See appendix for survey results.

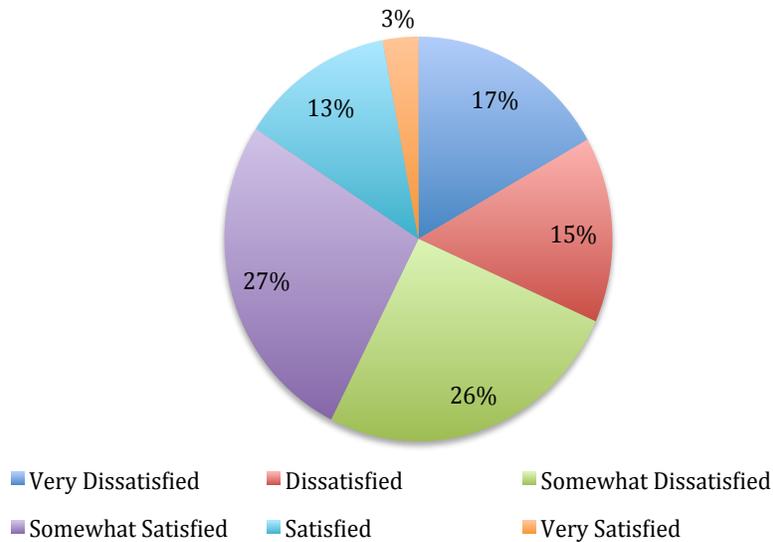


Figure 2.3 Overall Community Satisfaction with Local Government II, January 2013. Chart based on 78 respondents out of 500 households surveyed. See Appendix for individual responses to local government services and overall satisfaction with local government I.

While many of Crystal City’s residents quickly blame LRUP for a majority of current city problems, despite community attitudes *El Movimiento* irrevocably altered the Crystal City community for the better. Yet, in dealing with a community’s collective memory, it is often the case that individuals reconstruct the past to reflect the needs of the present. Oral historian David Blight maintains that in matters of collective memory, groups and individuals alike, “. . . construct versions of the past and employ them for self-understanding and to win power in an ever-changing present.”<sup>28</sup> In the case of Crystal City, Blight’s premise holds true. Despite the economic stagnation of the community in

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<sup>28</sup> David W. Blight, “Historians and ‘Memory,’” *Common-Place* 2, no. 3 (April 2002), <http://www.common-place.org/vol-02/no-03/author/>, accessed July 9, 2013.

the post LRUP years, to social and political strides made by the several stages of *El Movimiento* within the township did positively affect the community in ways current generations tend to overlook. *El Movimiento* occurred during a period of both civil unrest and the height of Anglo control over Mexican Americans in South Texas. While the first electoral revolt of 1963 did not elevate the status of Mexican Americans within the Crystal City community, the election of Los Cinco did encourage and inspire a younger generation of activists like José Angel Gutiérrez that Mexican American self determination could be achieved. With the help of IBT and PASSO, Los Cinco overcame economic hurdles, educational barriers, and Anglo intimidation, which was unprecedented for Mexican Americans in rigidly Anglo-controlled South Texas. Although the temporary success of Los Cinco's election was quickly eclipsed by the Anglo backlash in 1965, the mere fact that Mexican Americans wrested control from Anglo elites remains monumental. With the help of Ozuna and the city council, the first revolt exposed blatant practices of discrimination directed towards the Mexican American community for the whole world to see. Former CCBG 1965 candidate, José de la Fuente recalls the realities of the first revolt:

Our struggle was to make a point, and the people could hear us that we were here. That was our shout...and that's been accomplished... We couldn't go back to nothing. We start, and we were there standing alone... We didn't have the money to do anything big economically, but we had our decision in our hearts. And that was the main thing that was one proof years and years later that this struggle was not in vain...<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> José de la Fuente, interviewed by author, August 31, 2012, Transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

While the Los Cinco's time in office became riddled with internal strife, the overt political and economic shortcomings of the first revolt contributed greatly to the blueprint for success during the second revolt.

In turn, the second revolt generated more desired results in both social and political areas of Mexican American life in Crystal City. The student walkout in December 1969, captured the heart of the Mexican American community, spurring previously apathetic older generations to fight for their civil rights. Former activist, Diana Palacios Gámez reflects on the resolve and support of parents during the weeks of protest, "Our parents had gone through so much discrimination and had felt it and knew it, that they were ready to react when they were doing it to their kids. And they weren't going to allow their kids to go through what they had gone through."<sup>30</sup> When the school board finally buckled to a majority of student demands in January 1970, the community experienced a great victory in self-determination that compelled Mexican Americans to seek greater change in all aspects of Crystal City life. On the heels of the walkout, the second stage of the second electoral revolt began in the organization of LRUP as a political third party within Crystal City. Learning from the mistakes of the first revolt, LRUP leadership unified the Mexican American community and showed a political dexterity in the face of staunch Anglo opposition not seen before in South Texas. While candidates ran under the LRUP banner as late as 1980 in Crystal City, the unified leadership of LRUP only lasted from 1970-1976. For six years, LRUP enacted change after change to the Crystal City community focusing efforts on improving three major aspects of Mexican American life—education, health, and housing.

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<sup>30</sup> Gámez interview.

While the current Crystal City community expresses high rates of dissatisfaction with past LRUP policies, the collective memory of the community should be tempered with the realities of substantive change made by *El Movimiento* to Crystal City. According to oral historian Monica Perales, “The act of remembering and the process of creating a collective memory are inherently political...”<sup>31</sup> Due to this reality, the collective memory of Crystal City residents who participated in or witnessed *El Movimiento* tend to be over critical of the movement because they are reorganize the past to address the needs of the present. The fact remains that *El Movimiento* did in fact better the lives of its citizens on several basic levels. The fundamental change made in the community was an end to Anglo discriminatory practices towards Mexican Americans within the Crystal City community. In seizing political control of the local government, LRUP successfully guaranteed that all subsequent governing entities would be comprised of mainly Mexican Americans. In the same manner, LRUP’s control of the school board also ensured that discriminatory practices ceased in their entirety within CCISD. These both endure significant and irrevocable changes to the Crystal City community that eluded other Mexican American communities in the surrounding area.

Local governments persist as forums to promote community good, the resources and thus overall impact of city governments remain limited in communities with low economic tax bases. While Crystal City citizens quickly assign blame to *El Movimiento* and LRUP for the entirety of the current economic stagnation of the town, as a town built on Mexican American migrant labor with a very small Anglo ruling class, local government control did not have the capacity to overturn the internal colonialism that

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<sup>31</sup> Monica Perales, *Smelertown: Making and Remembering a Southwest Border Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 276.

was already engrained in the community. Historian Armando Navarro maintains that Crystal City's attempt at revolution both failed and remains unfinished, "At the crux of its failure was the inability to overcome the insurmountable omnipresence of internal colonialism in south Texas and the workings of the liberal capitalist system."<sup>32</sup> Despite LRUP's attempts at stimulating economic development in the community with programs like ZCEDC and organizations like CA, the local government did not have the capability to significantly alter the economic composition of an agriculturally dependent society. Limitations notwithstanding, LRUP secured federal funding to construct schools, build public housing communities, and establish a health center within the town. These accomplishments in turn permitted a group of Mexican Americans to abandon low wage field labor for non-agriculturally based employment. While the community remains a hub of migrant labor, *El Movimiento* did succeed in establishing a stable, albeit stagnant, Mexican American community free from Anglo economic intimidation. In spite of current criticism, this constancy has remained in place since the early 1970s.

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<sup>32</sup> Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment*, 344.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Here We Remain

V. Gonzalez: Well, the only thing is for people to remember that every movement starts and there's an ending. But, if you help a few people with that movement, it's a gain for our people, not to forget that—never.

M. Gonzalez: *Es como si tu estas muy apegada al iglesia y quieres que tu amiga venga porque tu sabes la salvación, verdad. Tú sabes lo que es. Si tú salvas uno, es una ganancia. So we did a lot en el movimiento.*<sup>1</sup>

— Ventura Gonzales and Margarita Palacios Gonzales

In the case of Crystal City, *El Movimiento* effected both long-term and short-term changes in the minds of the community. Individual and community responses to *El Movimiento* within Crystal City remain complex and multifaceted. The long-term changes dealt with discriminatory practices, demographics of local leadership, the community's racial composition, and issues of ethnic identity. Short-term changes dealt with overturn of local Anglo leadership and programs generated by various federal grants that flowed into the city and county from 1970-1975. In the minds of Crystal City's Mexican American community, *El Movimiento*'s success hinged on a two-pronged criterion. On one side, it was a movement to end de facto and de jure discrimination of Mexican Americans within not only Crystal City but also South Texas. On the other hand, movement leaders promised to elevate the socioeconomic status of Mexican Americans within the city through political empowerment. The movement succeeded in

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<sup>1</sup> Ventura and Margarita "Mague" Palacios Gonzales, interviewed by author, July 24, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX. Translation: "It's like if you are very involved with the church, and you want your friend to come to church because you know the salvation, right. You know what salvation is. If you save one, it's a gain. So we did a lot in the movement."

eliminating discrimination at the price of a multiracial society. Instead of creating harmony and understanding between Anglo and Mexican American, the radical language and actions of LRUP essentially drove Anglos out the city. In doing so, for better or worse, the Mexican American community was left with the reigns to its own destiny. As a result, a pride in self and the belief in potential inspired a generation of Mexican Americans to wrest for their children a better future through education and educational programs supplied by LRUP. While this helped a group of individuals and families, for all of LRUP's efforts, it could not elevate the economic status of the Mexican American community as a whole. Historian Armando Navarro claims that Crystal City persists as a victim of regressive change. The limitations inherent in Crystal City's history as well as the legacy of internal colonialism in South Texas could not be overcome. Figure 3.1, depicts a portion of Main Street in Crystal City, Texas. It is also important to consider the larger trends in economics affecting South Texas communities. The increased mechanization of agriculture poses an every increasing threat to migrant farming. Similarly, small towns across the United States are struggling to survive economically in the face of current trends in globalization. Yet, in spite of this promise left unfulfilled, *El Movimiento* did succeed in irrevocably altering the future of the community for the better contrary to current community memory. However, collective memory regarding *El Movimiento* is quickly dissipating with recent generations. Former activist José de la Fuente remarks on the community's fading memory of the movement, "[*El Movimiento*] was kind of forgotten, not collapsed, but forgotten in a way . . . But, if this hadn't happened, our descendants wouldn't have this liberty and all these accomplishments that

they have. . . . La Raza was the cause.”<sup>2</sup> Although the Crystal City movement endures within Mexican American academic circles as a foundation for Mexican American empowerment, the sad truth remains that the descendants and beneficiaries of the movement within the towns itself know little to nothing about Los Cinco or the walkout that shook the Southwest for over a decade. Many older citizens like Ricardo Espinoza express concern over the loss of community memory, “And then the saddest part is even though Crystal City is considered the founder of the Chicano movement, but your current generations knows nothing about it.”<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, the legacy of *El Movimiento* seems to fade more and more with each generation. In fact, many within the LRUP generation concede that Crystal City’s historical significance of *El Movimiento* serves as an inspiration to Mexican Americans outside of the town. Community attitudes within younger generations make it abundantly clear that Crystal City’s influence lies outside of the community itself. Nevertheless, Crystal City serves as a beacon of hope for the success of a third party system and Mexican American empowerment. Former activist Diana Palacios Gámez summarizes significance of the Crystal City experience:

Crystal City is the place that people look to for inspiration of, ‘Yes, it can be done.’ It was done there, we can do it too. I’ve been to a lot of places. I’ve been to a lot of places. . . .And I do think it was a huge success in that respect. In the fact that it opened our eyes. It opened doors. Not only for us here, but Crystal City is looked at in that manner--throughout the nation. And I know because I have been there. People have told me, I’ve traveled the places.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> José de la Fuente, interviewed by author, August 31, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

<sup>3</sup> Ricardo Espinoza, interviewed by author, July 19, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

<sup>4</sup> Diana Palacios Gámez, interviewed by author, July 19, 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

For the generation too young to fully grasp the ramifications and meaning behind Los Cinco, the 1969 walkout, and LRUP at the time the events occurred, the children of the 1960s and 1970s benefited greatly from the movement nonetheless. The programs and benefits established by LRUP from 1970-1975 would elude subsequent generations, yet the resultant political tensions seemed ingrained in the older generation.



Figure 3.1. Section of Main Street in Crystal City, Texas.

However, one cannot judge *El Movimiento* too harshly. No matter the scope or the impact, social movements remain finite in length. Either, the movement completely reorganizes or rebuilds the system it is opposing, or a form of regression takes place. In either case, an impression of the struggle lingers in both the heart of the participants and in history. Oral historian Monica Perales re-emphasizes the importance of studying and preserving community memory in places such as Crystal City:

If instead we examine the history of memories, we gain a greater understanding of how such stories are created and why they matter for a people largely erased from history. . . . The stories they share tell us what was lost, and they tell us about the strength of community bonds in a place that seems, by history's standards, to have little worth remembering.<sup>5</sup>

In the same manner, political parties are most assuredly destined to fracture and splinter. Small towns and closed communities persist as breeding grounds for heated political competitions, and like all elected posts continue to be subject to constant turnover of leadership, for better or worse. In the words of former Crystal City mayor, Ventura Gonzales, "The only thing for people to remember that every movement starts and there's an ending, but if you help a few people with the movement, it's a gain for our people, not to forget that—never."<sup>6</sup>

The future of Crystal City may, for the present, remain uncertain and semi-stagnate, but the discovery of natural resources in South Texas, could solidify the towns economical status for decades to come. While the town's agricultural heritage with Del Monte holds firm, the jobs created leave small margins for upward mobility and still rely heavily on migrant labor but this too is also changing with advances in technology. For the time being, Crystal City's chief employer remains the school system, which is currently under pressure from TEA, and the oil boom in South Texas. However, both employers' futures remain unstable at best. While the future of Crystal City may be uncertain, the past remains ever present in hearts and minds of the older generations. The burden of historical memory rests on subsequent generations' shoulders to continue

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<sup>5</sup> Monica Perales, *Smelertown: Making and Remembering a Southwest Border Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 275-277.

<sup>6</sup> Ventura and Margarita "Mague" Palacios Gonzales, interviewed by author, 24 July 2012, transcript, Institute for Oral History, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

preserving Crystal City's collective memory of the movement that brought solidarity to a community at least for a time. Social movements continue to be wonderfully complex and equally as subjective. It is important to remember that such movements like *El Movimiento* dealt with a variety of issues both tangible and intangible. Although every major movement pursues a list of achievable benchmarks, one should not let these goals overshadow the feelings and emotions that sparked such crusades for no dollar amount can be placed on an individual's sense of worth. In the end, it is not enough for academics to restrict the study of social movements like *El Movimiento* as subjects in and of themselves. Social movements persist as more than anomalies in the timeline of history; they are also symbols of need for change within societies. If a movement like *El Movimiento* in Crystal City was deemed as success in ending wide spread discrimination, but upon closer inspection failed to alter the lives of participants in every other aspect, then what does this about other social movements? Thus, it is imperative that scholars pursue the past with present outcomes in mind. For it is within a historian's power to hear the soft, fleeting voice of those who whisper, "Here we remain," long after the spotlight of the present has faded.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDICES

### Introduction

The following appendices are the methods, documentation, and results of a political survey distributed to Crystal City residents in January 2013. This survey was formulated under the guidance of Dr. Patrick Flavin, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Baylor University in Waco, Texas. The purpose of this mail-in survey was to gauge Crystal City's citizens' overall satisfaction and confidence in their local government. In addition, this survey also gathered demographic information regarding self-identification among Crystal City's Mexican American citizens. The survey was distributed at random to five hundred of Crystal City's residential households. The master address list was obtained via an Open Records Request from the city clerk of Crystal City in July 2012. Participants were assigned computer generated random numbers. All headers, address information, any other personal identifiers were removed from the final survey to protect respondents identity. The survey was scrutinized and subsequently approved by Baylor University's Institutional Review Board. The survey was then sent to the Crystal City community during the first week of January 2013. Enclosed in the survey packet were a cover letter, a survey, and prepaid return postage with no personal identifiers. Appendix A contains a sample of a duplex cover letter in both English and Spanish. Appendix B contains a sample survey also in English and Spanish. Lastly, Appendix C disseminates select results of the survey based on seventy-eight respondents totaling a response rate 15.6 percent for this survey.

## APPENDIX A

Sample cover letter attached to political survey printed in both English and Spanish

January 2013

Dear Sir or Madam,

I would like to take this opportunity to introduce myself. My name is Priscilla Martinez, and I am a current graduate student at Baylor University in Waco, Texas. My area of specialization is in Mexican American studies, and I am interested in making Crystal City the main focus of my research. I am in the process of conducting historical research for my master's thesis titled, *Here We Remain: The Legacy of El Movimiento in Crystal City, Texas*.

My research is focused on the social and political development after the governmental restructuring of the 1970s. *Here We Remain* is designed to uncover the story of Crystal City citizens from the mid twentieth century until the present. Significant research has been done on Crystal City with regards to the World War II internment camps, the 1963 city council elections, the 1969 student walkouts, and the formation of La Raza Unida Party. However, research on the community ceases with the collapse of La Raza Unida Party in the late 1970s. Sparse government records and Census reports remain the only tools researchers have to document the present day Crystal City community. I am interested in uncovering the experiences of individuals after the spotlight faded. How have conditions changed, and how have they remained the same?

What is needed is a project to gather feedback from Crystal City citizens concerning present political, economic, and social conditions. This is exactly what my research intends to do. To achieve this, I have constructed a quick, easy survey to ask current residents whether or not they are satisfied with their local government and the overall condition of their town. This public opinion survey has been distributed at random to 500 of the roughly 7,200 citizens within the township. The more participants, the more accurate this survey will be in projecting current conditions in Crystal. **This is an anonymous survey, and no personal information is required.** This research is not only important for historical purposes, but also for community development and will provide the local government with much needed feedback. **Enclosed with this letter is a copy of the survey and a pre-addressed, pre-paid return envelope. Please submit and post-mark your surveys by January 18, 2013.**

Results from this survey will be evaluated in my thesis. In addition, these results will be a primary source for historians writing histories of the South, minority studies, Mexican Americans, Texas history, and dozens of connected topics within other disciplines. This is an urgent and necessary study, and I hope that you will help me by taking part in this critical survey. **And to thank you for your participation in this survey,** I would like to offer you a **\$5.00 coupon** on your next visit to **Maricela's Styling Salon** located at 216 E. Dimmit Street across from the courthouse. Please present this letter at the time of service.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant or have other questions regarding this research, please contact the Baylor University Committee for Protection of Human Subjects in Research, Dr. David W. Schlueter, Ph.D. Chair Baylor IRB, Baylor University, One Bear Place #97368, Waco, TX 76798-7368. Dr. Schlueter may also be reached at (254) 710-6920 or (254) 710-3708.

The survey and pre-paid, pre-address envelope are enclosed in this packet. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Priscilla Martinez  
Master's Candidate in American Studies  
Baylor University  
(210) 219-5790  
[Priscilla\\_Martinez1@baylor.edu](mailto:Priscilla_Martinez1@baylor.edu)

Enclosures

**\$5.00 Off Any Service**

***Maricela's Styling Salon***

216 E. Dimmit, Crystal City, TX 78839

Offer Expires **January 18, 2013**

*Present this entire letter at time of service. Limit one coupon per customer. One time use only. Non-transferrable. Not valid if detached from letter.*

Enero 2013

Estimado señor o señora,

Me gustaría aprovechar esta oportunidad para presentarme. Mi nombre es Priscilla Martínez, y estoy estudiando para obtener mi maestría en la Universidad de Baylor en Waco, Texas. Mi área de especialización es en el estudio de Mexicanos en EE.UU., y me interesa utilizar la historia de la Ciudad de Cristal como el punto principal de mi investigación. Estoy investigando su Ciudad para mi tesis de maestría titulada, *Aquí seguimos: El legado de El Movimiento en la Ciudad de Cristal, Texas*.

Mi investigación se enfoca en el desarrollo social y político después de la reestructuración gubernamental de la década de 1970. *Aquí seguimos* apunta a descubrir la historia de Cristal de mediados del siglo XX hasta la presente. Ya se han hecho investigaciones significativas en la Ciudad de Cristal en lo que respecta a los campos de internamiento de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, las elecciones del consejo de la ciudad de 1963, huelgas estudiantiles de 1969, y la formación de el partido de La Raza Unida (PLRU). Sin embargo, la investigación sobre la comunidad termina con el colapso de PLRU a finales de 1970. Todo lo que investigadores tienen como documentación de la vida en la Ciudad de Cristal son escasos documentos gubernamentales e informes de censo. Yo estoy interesada en descubrir las experiencias de diferentes personas depuse que el centro de atención se desvaneció. ¿Cómo han cambiado las condiciones, y cómo se han mantenido de la misma manera?

Lo que se necesita es un proyecto para recaudar opiniones de los ciudadanos sobre las condiciones políticas, económicas y sociales actuales. Esto es exactamente lo que mi investigación se propone hacer. Para lograr esto, he construido una encuesta rápida y fácil de contestar en la cual le pregunto a ustedes, los residentes si están satisfechos con su gobierno local y con el estado general de su ciudad. Esta encuesta de opinión pública se ha distribuido de forma aleatoria a 500 de los cerca de 7.200 ciudadanos en el municipio. Cuantos más participantes, más precisa esta encuesta estará en la proyección de las condiciones actuales en Cristal. **Esta es una encuesta anónima y ninguna información personal es necesaria.** Esta investigación no sólo es importante por razones históricas, sino también para el desarrollo comunitario y proporcionará la gobierno local con retroalimentación ciudadana. **Adjunto esta una copia de la encuesta y un sobre pre-pagado y pre-tratado que he incluido para su conveniencia. Por favor, presentar y publicar sus estudios de marcado y el 18 de enero de 2013.**

Los resultados de este estudio serán evaluados en mi tesis, y será una fuente primaria para los historiadores que escriben historias del sur, los estudios de las minorías, los Mexicano-Americanos, la historia de Texas, y docenas de temas relacionados dentro de otras disciplinas. Se trata de un estudio urgente y necesario, y espero que usted me ayude a tomar parte en este estudio crítico. **Como agradecimiento por su participación**, me gustaría ofrecerle un **cupón de \$ 5.00** en su próxima visita a **Maricela's Styling Salon** situado en el 216 E. de la calle Dimmit frente al palacio de justicia. Por favor presente esta carta en el momento del servicio.

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante o tiene otras preguntas con respecto a esta investigación, por favor póngase en contacto con el Comité para la Protección de Sujetos Humanos e Investigación de la Universidad de Baylor, el Dr. David W. Schlueter, Ph.D. Presidente del IRB Baylor, la Universidad de Baylor, One Bear Place # 97368, Waco, TX 76798-7368. Dr. Schlueter también puede ser localizado en (254) 710-6920 o (254) 710-3708.

La encuesta y un sobre pre-pagado han sido incluidos. Gracias por su ayuda.

Atentamente,

Priscilla Martinez  
Baylor University  
Candidato para Maestría  
en Estudios Americanos  
[Priscilla\\_Martinez1@baylor.edu](mailto:Priscilla_Martinez1@baylor.edu)

**\$ 5.00 de descuento  
en cualquier servicio**

*Maricela's Styling Salon*

216 E. Dimmit, Crystal City, TX 78839

La oferta termina **18 de enero 2013**

Presente esta carta completa en el momento del servicio.  
Límite de un cupón por cliente. Una vez solo uso. No es posible entregar. No es válido si se desprende de la carta

## APPENDIX B

Sample political survey printed in both English and Spanish.

**Disclaimer & Privacy Statement:** The following survey does not ask any personal questions that would lead to individual identification. None of the information requested is of a personal nature. Participants were chosen completely at random. Participation is voluntary, and refusal to participate will not result in consequences or follow up action. The master address list was obtained via an Open Records Request from the city clerk of Crystal City. All headers, address information, any other personal identifiers have been removed from the final survey. When returned, no identification will be possible. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant or have other questions regarding this research, please contact the Baylor University Committee for Protection of Human Subjects in Research, Dr. David W. Schlueter, Ph.D. Chair Baylor IRB, Baylor University, One Bear Place #97368, Waco, TX 76798-7368. Dr. Schlueter may also be reached at (254) 710-6920 or (254) 710-3708.

**Demographic Questions:** Please answer the following questions

A. Number of people in your household?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                              |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 | <input type="checkbox"/> 8 + |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

B. Gender?

|                               |                                 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Male | <input type="checkbox"/> Female |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|

C. Age?

|                                |                                |                                |                                |                                |                                |                                |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 18-20 | <input type="checkbox"/> 21-30 | <input type="checkbox"/> 31-40 | <input type="checkbox"/> 41-50 | <input type="checkbox"/> 51-60 | <input type="checkbox"/> 61-70 | <input type="checkbox"/> 71-80 | <input type="checkbox"/> 81-90 | <input type="checkbox"/> 90 + |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|

D. Are you Mexican American?

|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

E. If yes, when you refer to your ethnicity, what do you describe yourself as?

|   |  |  |  |                                   |
|---|--|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mexican American | <input type="checkbox"/> Chicano/Chicana | <input type="checkbox"/> Latino/Latina | <input type="checkbox"/> Mexicano/Mexicana | <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic |
|---|--|--|--|-----------------------------------|

F. What is your preferred language?

|                                  |                                  |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Spanish |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|

G. What is your highest level of education?

|  |  |   |  |
|--|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than high school | <input type="checkbox"/> High School or Equivalent | <input type="checkbox"/> Technical/Vocational school degree | <input type="checkbox"/> Less than 2 yrs. of college   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Associate's degree    | <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor's degree         | <input type="checkbox"/> Master's degree                    | <input type="checkbox"/> Doctorate/Professional degree |

H. Type of employment?

|   |  |   |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed             | <input type="checkbox"/> Retail, trade & service | <input type="checkbox"/> Administrative & support       | <input type="checkbox"/> Public administration                    | <input type="checkbox"/> Professional/Skilled labor (carpentry, construction, plumbing, etc.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Oil-related industries | <input type="checkbox"/> Educational services    | <input type="checkbox"/> Healthcare & social assistance | <input type="checkbox"/> Agriculture, forestry, fishing & hunting |   |

I. How did you come to reside in Crystal City?

|  |   |   |                                      |
|--|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Born in the community | <input type="checkbox"/> Moved to the community | <input type="checkbox"/> Work-related opportunities | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
|--|---|---|--------------------------------------|

**Survey Questions I:** Please answer the follow question on a scale of 1 to 6, with “1” representing “Very Dissatisfied” and “6” represent “Very Satisfied”.

1. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local government overall?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

2. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with local parks and recreation service?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

3. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with local roads and transportation services?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

4. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local public works services?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

5. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with local law enforcement?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

6. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are with your local library and educational services?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

7. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local school board?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

8. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your current superintendent?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

9. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with the overall quality of education facilitated by your local government?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

10. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with the job being done by your local mayor?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

11. On a scale of 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local justice system (city attorney, courts, etc.)?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

12. On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local government overall?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Dissatisfied          | Dissatisfied               | Somewhat Dissatisfied      | Somewhat Satisfied         | Satisfied                  | Very Satisfied             |

13. Are you a registered voter?

|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

14. Did you vote in your last local election?

|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

15. Did you vote in the last state election?

|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

16. Did you vote in the last national election?

|                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

**Survey Questions II:** Please answer the following questions on a scale from **1 to 6**, with “1” representing “**Very Doubtful**” and “6” representing “**Very Confident**”.

17. On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you in the legitimacy of the local city election process?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Doubtful              | Doubtful                   | Somewhat Doubtful          | Somewhat Confident         | Confident                  | Very Confident             |

18. On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you in the sincerity of your elected city official when it comes to pursuing the public good?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Doubtful              | Doubtful                   | Somewhat Doubtful          | Somewhat Confident         | Confident                  | Very Confident             |

19. On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you that your elected city officials respond positively to their constituents’ concerns?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Doubtful              | Doubtful                   | Somewhat Doubtful          | Somewhat Confident         | Confident                  | Very Confident             |

20. On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you in local police protection?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Doubtful              | Doubtful                   | Somewhat Doubtful          | Somewhat Confident         | Confident                  | Very Confident             |

21. On a scale from 1-6, rate how effective you believe your vote is in relating your concerns to your locally elected officials, such as city attorney, sheriff, county judges, and/or city council members?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Doubtful              | Doubtful                   | Somewhat Doubtful          | Somewhat Confident         | Confident                  | Very Confident             |

22. On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you in the level of effectiveness your vote conveys between your ballot and the final official decision?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Very Doubtful              | Doubtful                   | Somewhat Doubtful          | Somewhat Confident         | Confident                  | Very Confident             |

**(End of Survey)**

**Thank you for your participation!**

To redeem your **\$5 coupon** to **Maricela’s Styling Salon**, present cover letter at time of service.

**Please complete and postmark this survey by Friday, January 18, 2013.**

**Declaración de Responsabilidad y Privacidad:** La siguiente encuesta no hace preguntas personales que conduzcan a la identificación individual. Ninguna de la información solicitada es de carácter personal. Esta es un encuesta anónima y ninguna información personal es necesaria. Los participantes fueron escogidos completamente al azar. La participación es voluntaria. La lista de direcciones se obtuvo a través de una solicitud de registro abierta del secretario de la ciudad de Cristal. Todos los encabezados, información de la dirección, los identificadores personales de otros se han retirado de la encuesta final. Cuando se devuelve, no será posible la identificación. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante o tiene otras preguntas con respecto a esta investigación, por favor póngase en contacto con el Comité para la Protección de Sujetos Humanos e Investigación de la Universidad de Baylor, el Dr. David W. Schlueter, Ph.D. Presidente del IRB Baylor, la Universidad de Baylor, One Bear Place # 97368, Waco, TX 76798-7368. Dr. Schlueter también puede ser localizado en (254) 710-6920 o (254) 710-3708.

**Cuestiones demográficas:** Por favor, conteste las siguientes preguntas

A. Número de personas en su hogar?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                              |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 | <input type="checkbox"/> 8 + |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

B. Sexo?

|                                 |                                |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hombre | <input type="checkbox"/> Mujer |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|

C. Edad?

|                                |                                |                                |                                |                                |                                |                                |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 18-20 | <input type="checkbox"/> 21-30 | <input type="checkbox"/> 31-40 | <input type="checkbox"/> 41-50 | <input type="checkbox"/> 51-60 | <input type="checkbox"/> 61-70 | <input type="checkbox"/> 71-80 | <input type="checkbox"/> 81-90 | <input type="checkbox"/> 90 + |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|

D. ¿Es usted mexicano-americano?

|                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sí | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|

E. En caso afirmativo, cuando se refiere a su origen étnico, ¿qué se describe como?

|   |  |  |  |                                  |
|---|--|--|--|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mexicano-americano | <input type="checkbox"/> Chicano/Chicana | <input type="checkbox"/> Latino/Latina | <input type="checkbox"/> Mexicano/Mexicana | <input type="checkbox"/> Hispano |
|---|--|--|--|----------------------------------|

F. ¿Cuál es su idioma preferido?

|                                 |                                  |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Inglés | <input type="checkbox"/> Español |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|

G. ¿Cuál es su nivel de educación?

|  |   |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Menos de escuela secundaria | <input type="checkbox"/> Escuela secundaria o equivalente | <input type="checkbox"/> Grado de la escuela técnica/profesional | <input type="checkbox"/> Menos de 2 años de la universidad           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grado de asociado           | <input type="checkbox"/> Bachillerato                     | <input type="checkbox"/> Grado de maestría                       | <input type="checkbox"/> Doctorado o grado de la escuela profesional |

H. Tipo de empleo?

|  |   |   |  |   |
|--|---|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Desempleado                             | <input type="checkbox"/> Comercio al por menor, y el servicio | <input type="checkbox"/> administrativo y de asistencia | <input type="checkbox"/> Administración pública                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Mano de obra calificada (Construcción, carpintería, fontanería.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> industrias relacionadas con el petróleo | <input type="checkbox"/> Servicios Educativos                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Salud y asistencia social      | <input type="checkbox"/> Agricultura, silvicultura, pesca y caza |   |

I. ¿Cómo llegaron a residir en la ciudad de Cristal?

|   |  |  |                                     |
|---|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nacido en la comunidad | <input type="checkbox"/> Trasladado a la comunidad | <input type="checkbox"/> Oportunidades relacionadas con el trabajo | <input type="checkbox"/> Otro _____ |
|---|--|--|-------------------------------------|

**Preguntas de la Encuesta I: Responde** a la pregunta siguiente en una escala de 1 a 6, donde "1" representa "muy insatisfecho" y "6" representa "muy satisfecho".

1. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con su gobierno local en general?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

2. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con los parques locales y el servicio de recreación?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

3. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con las carreteras locales y los servicios de transporte?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

4. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con sus servicios de obras públicas locales?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

5. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con la policía local?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

6. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está con su biblioteca local y los servicios educativos?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

7. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con su consejo directivo del colegio local?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

8. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con su director del escuela?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

9. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con la calidad general de la educación facilitada por su gobierno local?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

10. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con el trabajo realizado por el alcalde de la localidad?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

11. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con su sistema de justicia local (abogado de la ciudad, los tribunales, etc.)?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

12. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan satisfecho está usted con su gobierno local en general?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy insatisfecho           | Insatisfecho               | Algo Insatisfecho          | Algo satisfecho            | Satisfecho                 | Muy satisfecho             |

13. ¿Está registrado como votante?

|                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sí | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|

14. ¿Votó usted en su últimas elecciones locales?

|                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sí | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|

15. ¿Votó usted en las elecciones del estado anterior?

|                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sí | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|

16. ¿Votó usted en las últimas elecciones nacionales?

|                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sí | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|

**Preguntas de la Encuesta II:** Por favor, conteste las siguientes preguntas en una escala de **1 a 6**, con "1" representa "Muy Dudoso" y "6" representa "Muy Segura".

17. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan seguro estás en la legitimidad del proceso electoral local de la ciudad?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy Dudoso                 | Dudoso                     | Algo Dudoso                | Algo de confianza          | Seguro                     | Muy seguro                 |

18. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan seguro se encuentra en la sinceridad de su funcionario electo de la ciudad cuando se trata de perseguir el bien público?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy Dudoso                 | Dudoso                     | Algo Dudoso                | Algo de confianza          | Seguro                     | Muy seguro                 |

19. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan seguro está de que sus oficiales electos de la ciudad responden positivamente a las preocupaciones de sus electores?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy Dudoso                 | Dudoso                     | Algo Dudoso                | Algo de confianza          | Seguro                     | Muy seguro                 |

20. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan seguro estás en la protección de la policía local ?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy Dudoso                 | Dudoso                     | Algo Dudoso                | Algo de confianza          | Seguro                     | Muy seguro                 |

21. En una escala de 1-6, calificar qué tan efectivo cree que su voto es en relacionar sus inquietudes a sus funcionarios elegidos a nivel local, como abogado de la ciudad, sheriff, jueces de condado, y / o los miembros del consejo municipal?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy Dudoso                 | Dudoso                     | Algo Dudoso                | Algo de confianza          | Seguro                     | Muy seguro                 |

22. En una escala de 1-6, ¿qué tan seguro se encuentra en el nivel de efectividad de su voto transmite entre su votación y la decisión final oficial?

|                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Muy Dudoso                 | Dudoso                     | Algo Dudoso                | Algo de confianza          | Seguro                     | Muy seguro                 |

**(Fin de la encuesta)**

**Gracias por su participación!**

Para canjear su **cupón de \$ 5 a Styling Salon Maricela**, la carta de presentación presente en el momento del servicio.

**Por favor complete esta encuesta y matasellos de Viernes, 18 de enero 2013.**

## APPENDIX C

Survey results for Demographic Questions D-F,

Demographic-D, Are you Mexican-American?

| Demographic-D   | Frequency | Percent |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|
| 0 (No Response) | 6         | 7.69    |
| 1 (Yes)         | 71        | 91.03   |
| 2 (No)          | 1         | 1.28    |
| Totals          | 78        | 100.00  |

Demographic-E, If yes, when you refer to your ethnicity, what do you describe yourself as?

| Demographic-E         | Frequency | Percent |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------|
| 0 (No Response)       | 7         | 9.09    |
| 1 (Mexican American)  | 22        | 28.571  |
| 2 (Chicano/Chicana)   | 6         | 7.792   |
| 3 (Latino/Latina)     | 1         | 1.299   |
| 4 (Mexicano/Mexicana) | 4         | 5.195   |
| 5 (Hispanic)          | 37        | 48.052  |
| Totals                | 77        | 100.00  |

Demographic-F, What is your preferred language?

| Demographic-F   | Frequency | Percent |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|
| 0 (No Response) | 4         | 5.13    |
| 1 (Spanish)     | 35        | 44.87   |
| 2 (English)     | 25        | 32.05   |
| 3 (Both)        | 14        | 17.95   |
| Totals          | 78        | 100.00  |

## APPENDIX D

Survey results for Questions 1-12, Satisfaction with Local Government

Question 1, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local government overall?

| Question 1                | Frequency | Percent | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 0         | 0.00    | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 21        | 26.92   |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 13        | 16.67   | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 19        | 24.36   | 67.95                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 17        | 21.79   |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 5         | 6.41    | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 3         | 3.85    | 32.05                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00  |                        |

Question 2, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with local parks and recreation service?

| Question 2                | Frequency | Percent | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 0         | 0.00    | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 15        | 19.23   |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 21        | 26.92   | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 17        | 21.79   | 67.95                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 19        | 24.37   |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 4         | 5.13    | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 2         | 2.56    | 32.05                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00  |                        |

Question 3, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with local roads and transportation services?

| Question 3                | Frequency | Percent | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 0         | 0.0     | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 33        | 42.3    |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 24        | 30.8    | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 11        | 14.1    | 87.18                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 6         | 7.7     |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 4         | 5.1     | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 0         | 0.0     | 12.82                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00  |                        |

Question 4, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local public works services?

| Question 4                | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 0         | 0.00      | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 16        | 20.5128   |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 19        | 24.3589   | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 16        | 20.5128   | 65.38                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 18        | 23.076923 |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 8         | 10.25641  | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 1         | 1.282051  | 34.62                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

Question 5, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with local law enforcement?

| Question 5                | Frequency | Percent | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 0         | 0.00    | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 20        | 25.641  |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 10        | 12.82   | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 14        | 17.948  | 56.41                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 16        | 20.512  |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 14        | 17.948  | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 4         | 5.128   | 43.59                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00  |                        |

Question 6, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are with your local library and educational services?

| Question 6                | Frequency | Percent | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 1         | 1.2821  | 1.28                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 14        | 17.9487 |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 11        | 14.1026 | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 14        | 17.9487 | 50.00                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 18        | 23.0769 |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 16        | 20.5128 | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 4         | 5.1282  | 48.72                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00  |                        |

Question 7, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local school board?

| Question 7                | Frequency | Percent | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 0         | 0.00    | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 12        | 15.3846 |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 8         | 10.2564 | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 20        | 25.641  | 51.28                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 24        | 30.7692 |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 13        | 16.6667 | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 1         | 1.2821  | 48.71                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00  |                        |

Question 8, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your current superintendent?

| Question 8                | Frequency | Percent | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 1         | 1.282   | 1.28                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 12        | 15.384  |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 8         | 10.256  | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 17        | 21.794  | 47.44                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 16        | 20.512  |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 18        | 23.076  | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 6         | 7.692   | 51.28                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00  |                        |

Question 9, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with the overall quality of education facilitated by your local government?

| Question 9                | Frequency | Percent | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 0         | 0.00    | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 7         | 8.9744  |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 13        | 16.6667 | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 23        | 29.4872 | 55.13                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 17        | 21.7949 |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 18        | 23.0769 | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 0         | 0.00    | 44.87                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00  |                        |

Question 10, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with the job being done by your local mayor?

| Question 10               | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 1         | 1.282051  | 1.28                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 22        | 28.205128 |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 8         | 10.25641  | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 14        | 17.948718 | 56.41                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 23        | 29.487179 |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 8         | 10.25641  | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 2         | 2.564103  | 42.31                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

Question 11, On a scale of 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local justice system (city attorney, courts, etc.)?

| Question 11               | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 3         | 3.846154  | 3.85                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 12        | 15.384615 |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 7         | 8.974359  | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 20        | 25.641026 | 50.00                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 16        | 20.512821 |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 17        | 21.794872 | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 3         | 3.8446154 | 46.15                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

Question 12, On a scale from 1-6, how satisfied are you with your local government overall?

| Question 12               | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)           | 0         | 0.00      | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Dissatisfied)     | 13        | 16.666667 |                        |
| 2 (Dissatisfied)          | 12        | 15.384615 | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Dissatisfied) | 20        | 25.641026 | 57.69                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Satisfied)    | 21        | 26.923077 |                        |
| 5 (Satisfied)             | 10        | 12.820513 | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Satisfied)        | 2         | 2.564103  | 42.31                  |
| Total                     | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

APPENDIX E

Survey Results for Questions 17-22, Confidence in Local Government

Question 17, On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you in the legitimacy of the local city election process?

| Question 17            | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)        | 1         | 1.282051  | 1.28                   |
| 1 (Very Doubtful)      | 8         | 10.25641  |                        |
| 2 (Doubtful)           | 16        | 20.512821 | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Doubtful)  | 16        | 20.512821 | 51.28                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Confident) | 15        | 19.230769 |                        |
| 5 (Confident)          | 14        | 17.948718 | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Confident)     | 8         | 10.25641  | 47.44                  |
| Total                  | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

Question 18, On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you in the sincerity of your elected city official when it comes to pursuing the public good?

| Question 18            | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)        | 2         | 2.564103  | 2.56                   |
| 1 (Very Doubtful)      | 18        | 23.076923 |                        |
| 2 (Doubtful)           | 19        | 24.358974 | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Doubtful)  | 14        | 17.948718 | 65.38                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Confident) | 17        | 21.794872 |                        |
| 5 (Confident)          | 8         | 10.25641  | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Confident)     | 0         | 0.00      | 32.06                  |
| Total                  | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

Question 19, On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you that your elected city officials respond positively to their constituents' concerns?

| Question 19            | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)        | 0         | 0.00      | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Doubtful)      | 19        | 24.358974 |                        |
| 2 (Doubtful)           | 18        | 23.076923 | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Doubtful)  | 17        | 21.794872 | 69.23                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Confident) | 18        | 23.076923 |                        |
| 5 (Confident)          | 6         | 7.692308  | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Confident)     | 0         | 0.00      | 30.77                  |
| Total                  | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

Question 20, On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you in local police protection?

| Question 20            | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)        | 3         | 3.846154  | 3.85                   |
| 1 (Very Doubtful)      | 13        | 16.666667 |                        |
| 2 (Doubtful)           | 13        | 16.666667 | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Doubtful)  | 7         | 8.974359  | 42.31                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Confident) | 26        | 33.333333 |                        |
| 5 (Confident)          | 13        | 16.666667 | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Confident)     | 3         | 3.846154  | 53.84                  |
| Total                  | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

Question 21, On a scale from 1-6, rate how effective you believe your vote is in relating your concerns to your locally elected officials, such as city attorney, sheriff, county judges, and/or city council members?

| Question 21            | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)        | 2         | 2.564103  | 2.56                   |
| 1 (Very Doubtful)      | 15        | 19.230769 |                        |
| 2 (Doubtful)           | 7         | 8.974359  | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Doubtful)  | 12        | 15.384615 | 43.59                  |
| 4 (Somewhat Confident) | 32        | 41.025641 |                        |
| 5 (Confident)          | 9         | 11.538462 | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Confident)     | 1         | 1.282051  | 53.85                  |
| Total                  | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

Question 22, On a scale from 1-6, how confident are you in the level of effectiveness your vote conveys between your ballot and the final official decision?

| Question 22            | Frequency | Percent   | Percent Non-Responsive |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 0 (No Response)        | 0         | 0.00      | 0.00                   |
| 1 (Very Doubtful)      | 9         | 11.538462 |                        |
| 2 (Doubtful)           | 10        | 12.820513 | Percent Dissatisfied   |
| 3 (Somewhat Doubtful)  | 9         | 11.538462 | 35.9                   |
| 4 (Somewhat Confident) | 32        | 41.025641 |                        |
| 5 (Confident)          | 16        | 20.512821 | Percent Satisfied      |
| 6 (Very Confident)     | 2         | 2.564103  | 64.1                   |
| Total                  | 78        | 100.00    |                        |

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