

6-719
a 351

m 159
p 144

~~MAR 29 1973~~ 069

0520093

z 270

MAGIC 2

FEB 09 1999

10-020
046

0520093

~~10-020~~
~~046~~

31 MAR 20 1973

118

11-020
E 235

d 311

LATIN LEADERSHIP BASES IN MICHIGAN
AND THE VARIABLES WHICH
AFFECT THEM

By
Carol W. ^{Wills} Berry

ABSTRACT

LATIN LEADERSHIP BASES IN MICHIGAN AND
THE VARIABLES WHICH AFFECT THEM

In this study of Latin leadership bases in Michigan, two leadership typologies are examined, those of John Burma and Laura Morlock. A new leadership typology is developed which incorporates into it those aspects of the two previous typologies found to be applicable as well as those new circumstances which have impacted upon the Michigan Latin community in recent years.

Burma's "internal" and "external" models are applied to Michigan Latins and the viability of social, economic, religious, political professional and informal social work, and majority-appointed subsidized bases for leadership are discussed.

Morlock's use of "social activist," "exemplars" and "representatives" to describe leadership styles, is tested as well as her methodology in determining which leaders are "visible," symbolic" and "concealed."

Those variables which affect Latin leadership, new ethnic awareness, familial, sex role and ideological constraints, clique structures and envidia are examined and the author's own insights applied.

In the author's new typology Michigan Latin leaders are categorized into four sub-groups, 1) credentialed upper echelon; 2) credentialed lower echelon; 3) peripheral; and 4) nascent. The nature of their roles and their impact on the ethnic community is probed and conclusions are drawn as to the direction Latin leadership is taking in Michigan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals contributed to the final determination of this study. I am only able to mention a specific few but my thanks is extended to all of them nonetheless, as well as to the countless others who gave freely of their time and energies.

Thanks goes also to Dr. James Swift of the Sociology Department at Washington University who is responsible for my initial interest in Spanish-speaking peoples, to Dr. David Hadas of Washington University whose moral support helped crystallize my direction and to Dr. Irving Louis Horowitz of Rutgers University who encouraged me to pursue this work.

I would like to acknowledge the invaluable help given me by Professor Grafton Trout and the Mexican-American Project at Michigan State University, and the field support provided by the Rural Manpower Center and Dr. Daniel Sturt. My gratitude goes also to Dr. John Dempsey of the University of Michigan and the Executive Office, State of Michigan, who gave me many valuable insights into leadership problems.

Lastly, thanks must go to: Joan Young, Ralph Kickert, Roy Fuentes, Richard Santos, Juan Maldonado, William Gomez, Jane Gonzales, Gilberto Martinez, Tomas Martinez, Vance Simms and Rebecca Rivera for their cooperation and interest.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | ii |
| Chapter | |
| I. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| The Problem | 1 |
| Significance of the Study | 7 |
| Research Objectives | 8 |
| Methodology | 8 |
| Defense of the Methodology | 10 |
| II. LATIN LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES | 13 |
| Burma's Typology of Leadership Bases | 13 |
| Social | 13 |
| Economic | 15 |
| Religious | 18 |
| Political | 19 |
| Professional | 20 |
| Informal Social Work | 21 |
| External Leaders | 28 |
| Morlock's Typology of Leadership | 33 |
| Methodology | 34 |
| Spokesmanship | 35 |
| Leadership Styles | 37 |
| Leadership Bases in Michigan | 41 |

| Chapter | Page |
|---|------|
| Community Action and Ethnic Organizations | 40 |
| Student Groups | 41 |
| Clique Structures | 42 |
| Ten Leadership Bases | 43 |
| III. VARIABLES AFFECTING LATIN LEADERSHIP | 45 |
| Cultural and Structural Variables Affecting Leadership in Michigan | 46 |
| Familial, Sex Role and Ideological Constraints | 50 |
| Familial | 56 |
| Ideological | 57 |
| Clique Structure Constraints and <u>Envidia</u> | 59 |
| IV. A NEW LEADERSHIP TYPOLOGY | 65 |
| BILIOGRAPHY | 71 |

I. INTRODUCTION

The Problem

It is the intention of this paper to examine several approaches to leadership definition in Spanish-speaking communities, specifically those of John Burma¹ and Laura Morlock,² and relate them to the Latin leadership structure in Michigan as it exists in 1971. Distinctions will be made between those aspects of the various leadership typologies which are applicable in the Midwest and those which are not, and the cultural and structural variables influencing Latin leadership in Michigan will be discussed.

The preponderance of literature on Latins in the United States is concerned with Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. While indicating a similarity in behavioral trends, it is not strictly applicable to other regions such as Michigan where many former migrants and other Latins now make their home.

Researchers hoping to find resource material on Latins in the Midwest will discover that little exists.

In addition to Morlock's thesis and one by John Nugent³ which will be discussed later, only a few significant works on Mexican-Americans

¹John Burma, Spanish Speaking Groups in the United States, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press. 1954).

²Laura Morlock, Mexican-American Civic Leadership in a Northern City, (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State University, 1968).

³John Nugent, Leadership in the Spanish-speaking Community of Lansing, Michigan, (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State University, 1964).

in the Midwest have been produced. Grafton Trout, Jr. and Harvey Choldin did an extensive study on migration patterns⁴ and Nancy Saldana prepared an annotated bibliography, "Mexican-Americans in the Midwest", as part of a research project for the Sociology Department at Michigan State University. In it she notes that there are several major sources.

These are listed here in chronological order:

Taylor, Paul S., Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region, (University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1932).

Humphrey, Norman D., a number of journal articles on Mexican-Americans in Detroit, published in the late 30s and early 40s.

Macklind, Barbara, Structural Stability and Cultural Change in a Mexican-American Community (Toledo, Ohio), (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1963).

Shannon, Lyle, The Economic Absorption of In-Migrant Laborers in a Northern Industrial Community (Racine, Wisconsin), The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 23:65-84, January 1964.

Samora, Julian, and Richard A. Lamanna, Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago, Mexican-American Study Project, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, 1967.

That Latin subcommunities in Michigan have experienced and are experiencing change in leadership is evidenced, however, by a comparison of current leadership status with that depicted in the two research studies mentioned previously, Nugent's and Morlocks's.

There have been significant changes effecting the Lansing Latin community which can be determined using this research as a guideline. Such changes have not occurred in the Lansing area alone although, because

⁴Grafton Trout, Jr. and Harvey Choldin, Mexican-Americans in Transition, Migration and Employment in Michigan Cities, (East Lansing, Department of Sociology Rural Manpower Center, Michigan State University, 1969).

of its proximity to both a major university and State Government offices, Latin activism in Michigan may be said to be most visible in the Lansing area.

John Burma, in his typology of Mexican-American leadership,⁵ suggests that all Mexican-American leaders may be classified in one of two categories, "internal" and "external." He further breaks down internal leadership into the specific categories: social, economic, religious, political, professional and informal. He divides external leadership as either Anglo or subsidized Mexican-American.

Southwesterner John Martinez,⁶ categorizes leaders as "radicals" or "diplomats" defining the former as those who seek specific action and the latter as those who are aware of existing problems but are uncertain as to the best course of action toward their alleviation. Though interesting his typology is not readily applicable to the Midwest.

Laura Morlock, however, suggests a typology for Lansing leaders in which they are classified as "social activists," "exemplars" and "representatives," based upon a sample of twenty-five self-selected influentials, of whom nine were designated "top leaders."⁷ The results of extensive interviews, carried on in the Latin community among both Latins and Anglos, were used in determining which leaders were "visible" (those having four or more votes from the two combined groups), "symbolic" (those having four or more votes from Anglo influentials) and "concealed"

⁵Burma, op. cit.

⁶John Martinez, "Leadership and Politics," La Raza/Forgotten Peoples, Ed. Julian Samora, (South Bend, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 1966).

⁷Morlock, op. cit.

(those having four or more votes from the Latin Community alone).

Nugent observed in his conclusion in 1964,

Great gains were achieved for the Spanish-speaking communities of several cities in the United States, but only when, through effective leadership, they experienced the beginnings of vertical mobility.

This writer foresees great gains for the Spanish-speaking community of the Lansing area when, possibly through the efforts of LAUPA (Latin Americans United for Political Action) and similar organizations, the people do become better off, demand more social recognition, more prestige, more control, more participation in community development.⁸

Although LAUPA is no longer active, La Raza Unida (The Race United) has sprung up to take its place and that state organization, an offshoot of the national La Raza Unida organization, born in the Southwest, has spearheaded the new Latin activist movement.

Morlock, four years later, notes Nugent's conclusions and postulates that,

we might predict among this newly emerging leadership an increase in the number and activity of those socio-political oriented leaders who adopt the militant protest style in preference to the moderate, access approach.⁹

There has been some evidence to support these conclusions. Although I do not necessarily support Nugent's observation that "patience and long-suffering is a distinct characteristic of Mexican-American people," the suggestion that activism increases with socio-economic mobility would seem to be borne out by an examination of the current Latin leadership structure. Whether or not there will be an increase in those leaders taking a decided

⁸ Morlock, op. cit.

⁹ Nugent, op. cit.

¹⁰ Morlock, op. cit.

militant stance remains to be seen.

Those conclusions drawn by Nugent and Morlock, while dealing with the Lansing area specifically, stand up well when tested in areas of heavy Spanish-speaking population throughout Michigan, though it must be noted that there is not uniformity in the degree of Latin civic involvement.

There are three broad areas of Latin activism, each at a different stage of development: 1) the Detroit area, 2) the Lansing region, including Saginaw, Flint, Mount Pleasant and other adjacent pockets of Spanish-speaking populations, and 3) the Southwestern region which includes Grand Rapids, Muskegon, Holland, Benton Harbor, Kalamazoo and several other areas where there is migrant activity. Though separated by miles, the Latins in these three areas tend to identify together rather than as one large group.

In the Detroit area one finds the greatest evidence of urban sophistication. There is greater opportunity there for upward mobility among the Latin peoples because of industrial and commercial development. In addition, the urban barrio is clearly defined and ethnic solidarity is strong.

In the Lansing region there are a number of sophisticates, but influence is fragmented in local areas. What solidarity there is is based largely on the clique structures which overlap the several communities involved.

The Southwestern region is faced with the greatest problem--that of drawing together a cohesive unit from widely dispersed small settlements and urban concentrations of Latin peoples. Distance is a barrier. This group of influentials has joined forces largely as a desperation measure.

Many drive long and far to attend meetings and progress is slow and painful.

Burma's model focuses primarily on the bases of leadership while Morloc focuses upon styles and networks of leadership. Little attention will be directed to individual leadership styles in this study, although some consideration will be given to the "Black Model" and its influences upon Latin social and political activism.

A Mexican-American influential states, in a recent preliminary proposal draft, developed to secure funding to augment local private sector Spanish-speaking agencies in Michigan,

The Spanish-speaking community in Michigan, as in other parts of the country can be described as a forgotten people. Not only has it been forgotten, it has been unjustly ignored. This is due to the inability of the traditional agencies to develop effective programs for the Spanish-speaking citizen in the basic areas of education, leadership training, and socio-economic development. Consequently, the need for service to the Spanish-speaking client have been largely unmet.¹¹

This individual and his group can all be characterized as influentials in the Latin community in terms of their employment status, civic activism, economic achievement and social mobility. All fit John Burma's description of subsidized leaders, being those employed by local, state or federal agencies, or, as has been recently observed, by the Roman Catholic Church in a lay capacity:

At a 1971 meeting in Grand Rapids of the so-called Latin Western Coalition, a statement of purpose was distributed by the coalition organizers which included a quotation from Ysidoro Macais, President of the national Mexican-American Student Federation.

¹¹Roy Fuentes, proposal in process (Lansing, 1971).

Chicanismo is . . . a philosophy that must include all persons of Latin descent who recognize and are proud of their heritage and who are self-committed to retain their identity against the falseness of assimilation into the Anglo-Saxon societal mainstream . . . We may even include those white persons, who, because of their involvement and commitment to the Chicano cause, can also be considered Chicanos . . . We should begin using Chicano to embrace all those persons who adhere to the philosophy of Chicanismo.

This typifies the current philosophy supported by many Latin activists in all parts of Michigan. The "Chicanismo ethic," growing in popularity, has great potential as a viable instrument for the promotion of Latin group solidarity and this is a trend which has developed rapidly in the few years since the Morlock study. There is ample evidence to indicate a need for a new, clearly defined leadership typology embracing recent developments in the Chicano Movement in Michigan.

Significance of the Study

With the exception of a recently completed three year study by Trout and Choldin, "Mexican-Americans in Transition, Migration and Employment in Michigan Cities," no significant research has been done on Michigan Latin communities since Morlock's thesis which deals only with Lansing.

The changes wrought by the Office of Economic Opportunity programming and by the coming of Cesar Chavez to national attention have had measurable impact upon Latins in the Midwest. This study intends to examine those changes and define not only the new leadership roles which have developed as a result but describe also the new stances taken by those who could already be characterized as leaders at the onset of the Chicano Movement.

Since the new bases of leadership have developed with increasing

job opportunities and ethnic awareness, attention will be focused upon these bases and a leadership typology will be suggested which encompasses recent change.

Research Objectives

This study has as its purposes, 1) the identification of Latin leadership bases in Michigan and the development of a new leadership typology from those bases, 2) a comparison of this typology with the leadership typologies of John Burma and Laura Morlock and 3) an analysis of the variables affecting Latin leadership in Michigan.

The following questions were used as guidelines, 1) how has the Latin leadership structure in Michigan been affected by new ethnic awareness? 2) what are the familial, sex role and ideological constraints on Latin leadership? 3) how much influence has the clique structure and the envidia syndrome upon leadership? 4) what are the Latin leadership bases in Michigan? 5) how do these bases compare with those suggested in the typologies of John Burma and Laura Morlock?

Methodology

As a self-defined "friend of the Latin community," I intend to apply my own insights in suggesting a leadership typology which describes as accurately as possible the current Latin leadership picture in Michigan.

I worked during 1970 and 1971 under Professor Grafton Trout, for the Mexican-American Project, under the auspices of the Sociology Department of Michigan State University with field support from the Rural Manpower Center, and for the Institute for Community Development's Mexican-American Project which developed and presented a Workshop for Contemporary Latin

Communities at four Michigan sites under a Title I grant. Community reconnaissance studies were made, in conjunction with this work, primarily in the Ottawa and Kent County areas with attention focused on Holland and Grand Rapids.¹²

The selection of persons to be interviewed was not a problem as I was already familiar with a substantial number of the Latin influentials in Michigan through my involvement with these university sponsored projects and with local groups in many parts of the state. The resource material for this study was gathered over a period of one year, using several methods: 1) by single and sequential interviews with recognized Latin leaders, and with Anglo influentials who are involved with Latin problems, 2) by observation of Latin leadership behavior at hearings, social events, public meeting held by non-Latin agencies, organizations and institutions and at open and closed meetings of various Spanish-speaking ethnic organizations.

Persons interviewed include Spanish-speaking and Anglo representatives from the Office of the Governor, the Department of Education, the Department of Social Services, the Michigan Employment Security Commission, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Grand Rapids and Lansing Model Cities Offices, the Center for Urban Affairs and other departments at Michigan State University, the Grand Rapids Diocesan Human Relations Commission, the Southwest Community Health and Social Services Office, Wayne State University, Western Michigan University, Central Michigan University, Hope College, Grand Valley State College and

¹²Carol Berry, A Survey of the Holland Michigan Spanish Speaking Community (East Lansing, Institute for Community Development, 1970).

various local human relations and action-oriented agencies in the private sector.

Spanish-speaking representatives were interviewed from such ethnic organizations as United Migrants for Opportunity, La Raza Unida (at both the state and local levels), La Sed (Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development) in Detroit, the Latin American Society in Holland, the Spanish-Speaking Information Center in Flint, Cristo Rey Community Center and Quinto Sol in Lansing and the Latin American Council in Grand Rapids.

A number of Black influentials were also interviewed from many sectors including local public school systems, Model Cities and CAP Programs, the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, the Center for Urban Affairs at Michigan State University, the Urban League and various other community outreach organizations.

A Defense of the Methodology

While the reputational technique was, until recently, the only viable method of determining a Latin leadership typology in Michigan, events of the past several years have opened new avenues of approach. Increased ethnic awareness and the concomitant expansion of job opportunities for the Spanish-speaking have made visible a new cadre of Latin influentials whose credentials are validated by the dominant society itself. Some of these were in "non-credentialed" leadership roles prior to this but had no place in the public eye and thus had to be sought out on a reputational basis from within their own communities. It is apparent that some of these were in "non-credentialed" leadership roles prior to this but had no place in the public eye and thus had to be

sought out on a reputational basis from within their own communities. This is not to deny the existence of "non-credentialed" or what Burma calls "informal" leadership today, and this paper will also explore that. However, even these individuals are likely to be marginal in terms of credentials, for while some do hold local board appointments which increase their visibility in the community, the number of what Morlock terms "concealed" leaders is decreasing by dint of enhanced "minority consciousness" on the part of establishment decision makers. Those individuals in the minority community who wish to assume leadership roles at some level find the dominant society accepting these roles with greater frequency, if not because it has taken on new human values, then because the general timbre of American life has responded to civil rights legislation in this manner.

The leadership typology developed for this study concerned itself primarily with those leaders and influentials who are already credentialed in some manner, either by job placement or recognition in the dominant society. It will explore the dynamics of their validation as leaders and compare them with leadership validation mechanisms in Burma's and Morlock's typologies.

One criticism of this methodology may stem from the fact that Burma's research was centered around leadership in the Southwest, Morlock's around a particular city, Lansing. This paper does not contend that the findings and conclusions of these researchers can be applied generally to the Midwest or to Michigan but rather that there are many pertinent similarities. These will be examined and discussed and the exceptions noted.

There are estimated to be at least 100,000 Latins in Michigan alone, the majority of whom are of Mexican-American descent. Although in the sixties there was an influx of Puerto Rican and Cuban immigration, for purposes of the study, we will use the term "Latin" to refer to all groups with the understanding that, 1) the bulk of reference information is weighted toward Mexican-Americans, and 2) there are ever increasing instances of Cubanos and Puerto Riquenos taking leadership roles within the structure of the "brown movement."

II. LATIN LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES

Burma's Typology of Leadership Bases

The leadership structure in Michigan, as one might suspect, is complicated and its dimensions not clearly delineated. Burma¹ has classified Mexican-American leaders in the Southwest as "internal" and "external," the internal being further broken down into social, economic, religious, political, professional and informal social work categories. External leaders may be, by his definition, Anglos or Mexican-Americans who are either not a bonafide part of the Chicano Community or who are subsidized in their activism by some government agency or institution on the outside.

Much of this typology can be applied to the leadership in Michigan. We will examine and discuss those parts which are applicable and those which are not.

SOCIAL. No strong statewide social or sociability organizations exist whose elected officers can opt for community status through that affiliation. Individual communities can boast local societies, clubs and organizations whose presidents and chairmen are recognized as "leaders" but no group, save La Raza Unida, which is not a sociability organization, has any strength at the state level. Burma² contends that the "economically secure" can also fill the role of social leader but economic security, in his sense of the term, exists for so few in Michigan that this is almost negligible. Undoubtedly, by dint of

¹Burma, op. cit.

²Burma, op. cit.

population size alone, there are many Latinos in the Southwest who can be numbered among the ranks of those who have "made it" economically but individuals fitting that description can almost be counted on the fingers of two hands in Michigan. In addition, in many instances, Mexican-Americans who have achieved economic success often experience serious role conflict perceiving that that very success is largely attributable to disassociation from their ethnic roots and cultural background. Some leave those roots behind forever, moving away from the Latin Community and assimilating completely, their ethnic leadership potential lost forever. "Some return," says Burma³ "to the community to touch base with the barrio en route to greater glory" or "to seek ethnic validation." This is a phenomena not unknown to Michigan Latinos. One leader said of another, his friend, "Well, you know, he just turned brown a couple of years ago."

Another, raised in Michigan and plagued in manhood by an amorphous loyalty to a culture he knew little of, majored in Spanish in college and embraced all things Mexican with a vengeance. When an outsider remarked to a group of Chicanos who knew him, that this man had not learned Spanish until he was grown, one answered, "That's obvious!" Language differences cannot be hidden. The typical Michigan Chicano, from a migrant background and probably from Texas, speaks the vernacular "Tex-Mex" which is easily distinguished from the Spanish spoken in Mexico or taught in formal instruction. This circumstance also contributes to internal stratification among Spanish-speaking groups.

³Burma, op. cit.

Ethnicity today is more saleable than it has ever been and many individuals have realized the value in seeing what the public is buying. These people are often convincing to the outsider but are sometimes highly suspect among their own people. As one leader, secure in his own commitment, remarked of another who, though working at a high status government job, had not yet gained the acceptance of the "brown establishment," "He wants 'in' but we won't let him in until he proves himself." To prove oneself among peer influentials, is to demonstrate one's loyalty to the whole movement.

ECONOMIC. Leadership based upon economics is also scarce. Burma describes economic leaders as, 1) those merchants and professionals whose economic security rests in the barrio, and 2) those who are involved in labor unions.⁴

There are few Latin professionals and fewer successful businessmen in Michigan. Cubans comprise a larger number of the professionals than any other Spanish-speaking group and this is largely because most Cubans who left Cuba in the early sixties had been professionals, managers and entrepreneurs during the Batista days. Mexican-Americans, lacking the educational opportunities, have had little chance to obtain professional status.

Those who are in business are, with few notable exceptions, operators of small groceries, confectionaries, restaurants and bars. Few individuals own substantial businesses which are patronized by local Latins. Those who do have automatic status in the Spanish-speaking

⁴Burma, op. cit.

community. In Grand Rapids, Francisco Vega, the owner and proprietor of a burial park, can be considered along with South Haven's Johnnie Sosa who owns and operates several successful beauty salons, as Southwestern Michigan's most successful Latin businessmen. An entrepreneur, Vega has many other business interests and travels extensively in Latin America. It is his hope to build a strong organization of Latin businessmen throughout Michigan, feeling that economic power can be more potent than any political strategy. At this time, however, business and professional status is not a viable leadership base in Michigan though the scant few who have attained it can certainly take leadership roles if they so desire.

Some have achieved status through the labor movements in Michigan, notably Gustave Gaynett of Detroit, considered to be one of the most influential Latins in the state, Israel Leyton, Joseph Gomez and Alberto Pulide also of Detroit and Bill Gomez of Muskegon. Gilbert Marrequin, Sr. of Holland is a union steward at the H. J. Heinz pickle factory, a large employer of Mexican-Americans, however, his real impact on the Spanish-speaking community must be seen as stemming primarily from his "village elder" role, a role which will be discussed under informal leadership in another section of this paper.

Of these men, and I have named just a few, Gaynett, Leyton and Bill Gomez have used their union affiliation as a springboard to other positions which allowed them more mobility. Gaynett went on to become Executive Director of the Latin American Secretariat, Archdiocese of Detroit. Leyton became the Director of La Sed there and Bill Gomez took an administrative position with U.M.O.I. (United Migrants for Opportunity).

Chavez and the Grape Boycott, the coming of local UFWO workers to Michigan--all have heightened Latin awareness of the value of organizing. One leader said of Chavez: "The unions made him. They could make a state leader, or a national one for that matter, but it is impossible to organize in Michigan right now."

Historically it has been the union hall, not the school which was the training ground for ethnic minorities. Unions, such as the UAW, encourage community involvement and urge their membership to be socially active. Yet the possibility of the unions spearheading, with any great vigor, the successful injection of Latins into the mainstream of Michigan life, is doubtful at this time. Aside from the Detroit area there is not strong union involvement on the part of Chicanos in other parts of the state. Should Chavez activate his UFWO in Michigan it would not include the majority of Latins who are permanent residents and have found work outside of agriculture. Some former migrants are employed year around by nurserymen but this number is small by comparison to those thousands working in shops and private industry. As Trout and Choldin reported in their study of migrant labor patterns,⁵ the majority of former migrants in Michigan are employed as operatives. The number working in so-called white collar positions or in commerce is negligible. There are the expected exceptions. In Detroit, one finds a number of teachers and office workers although there are only a miniscule few working in such jobs in all other parts of the state. School Boards in cities such as Grand Rapids have sent staff people to recruit Chicano teachers

⁵Trout and Choldin, op. cit.

from Texas Colleges and Universities.

RELIGIOUS. The churches play only a small role in the support of Latin leadership. Both Reuben Alfaro, with the Bishops' Committee, and Gustavo Gaynett, with the Archdiocese of Detroit, work for the Catholic Church. Martin Morales, of Grand Rapids, works also as Assistant for Community Organization for the Diocesan Human Relations Commission. Activist Tom Chavez, in Detroit, is a Protestant minister and Tomas Anaya in Holland has a Pentacostal Congregation which he serves in addition to his role as community organizer. Grand Rapids' St. Andrews Cathedral has on its staff Father Pedro Garcia, a former migrant, whose family, recent drop-outs from the stream live in nearby Ottawa County.

The church in Michigan works largely through outreach people rather than through the clergy as there are few Latin priests. Father Garcia is the exception rather than the rule. His role is largely a symbolic one. It is he who leads the parade at the September Sixteenth celebration, riding horseback up Division Street, carrying the banner of Our Lady of Guadalupe. He functions as a spiritual leader, being relatively inactive in community affairs. Many parishes have Spanish-speaking Anglo priests but few of these participate at any but the spiritual level either.

Michigan cannot be said to have a significant thrust of church-oriented activism specifically implemented in the name of religion. Most of the activities engaged in by those individuals discussed above are political in character and are not evangelistic in any way. However, Cubans brought to the Michigan area after fleeing the Castro regime, found themselves indebted to the Christian Reformed Churches which sponsored them and many were converted in name, if not in fact.

By and large the church's role has been supportive rather than active. The Migrant Ministry has operated numerous outreach programs in many camp areas but leadership building is not their goal. They concern themselves with expediting immediate solutions to critical migrant problems as well as with ministering to spiritual needs.

In many communities there are coalitions of church groups such as Holland's CUSA (Churches United for Social Action) which lend their support, both monetary and man-time, to projects involving Mexican-Americans and other minority and disadvantaged people. Deacon's Committees, Vestrymen, Elders and other bodies of church elected Anglo leaders also provide input into these areas although none are of sufficient dimension to warrant detailed discussion here.

In terms of real impact one cannot say that the Catholic Church or any other church in Michigan is the guiding force behind the Chicano movement. That force, if it does exist, cannot easily be identified but it is safe to say that the most potent institutional contribution to Michigan Latinos has been the "subsidization" of lay leaders.

POLITICAL. There is little politically-based leadership among Latinos in Michigan. One can find more Latinos in elective or appointive positions in the Southwest, particularly in California and New Mexico, but even these successes often come by dint of population demands alone and have little measureable impact in terms of positive change.

In the city of Norton Shores, a satellite of Muskegon, Jane Gonzalez, a U.M.O.I. director is an elected City Commissioner. Several Mexican-Americans ran for the school board in Lansing but were defeated by opposition from within their own ranks. Ciro Cadena, a bank employee

from Holland, ran for Council there and won in the Anglo districts but lost in the Mexican. Mike Navarro, owner of the popular Alma Latina bar in Grand Rapids, ran a close race for the County Commission but was defeated also. Gurmecindo Salas, of Detroit, was narrowly defeated in his race for a seat on the Board of Trustees at Wayne State. Political successes do not come easily.

There are a few conspicuous Latins who have been appointed to local boards and commissions in various Michigan Cities but their appointments came because they were already visible in the minority community. Leadership status was not the result of any political or quasi-political affiliation. It was the other way around. In addition, such appointments rarely bring with them any significant power. A well-liked and liberal mayor who has directed many of his efforts toward creating a more attractive place for Latins in his community, proudly confided to an Anglo social worker that he was about to appoint a certain Latin to the Library Board. While such gestures are sometimes good for the esprit de corps, they have little impact upon the real problem areas in the community.

PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORKERS. There are few professional social workers in Michigan who are Latins. During the migrant season a limited number of jobs with the Department of Social Services are made available to the Spanish-speaking. These jobs, with an average three month tenure, are geared toward meeting the specific needs of seasonal workers and are usually filled by young Mexican-American and Puerto Rican college students. Chicanos such as Desi Ortiz and Raul Lozano coordinated migrant programs in Saginaw and Holland respectively during the summer of

1971. Juan Maldonado, A Puerto Rican graduate of Michigan State University, worked out of Grand Rapids coordinating Day Care Center facilities in a five county area. In September such jobs are over, leaving no ethnic staffing to attend to the needs of the many Latinos who have become permanent residents in communities all over Michigan.

In a few isolated instances Latinos are employed in full-time positions which meet the social worker description. Mrs. Miriam Rivera works as Spanish-speaking Specialist for a community agency in Battle-creek. College-educated Olga Domingues works full-time for the Department of Social Services in Kent County overseeing state subsidized Day Care facilities. Gloria McKnight and Faustina Knoll, both Chicanas, are but several of the women in the Detroit area employed as social workers with various agencies. By and large, however, the role of professional social worker to Latinos is played by the non-Latin. This phenomena will be examined and discussed in another section of this paper when we deal with the role of Anglos as external leaders.

Observers see social work as a field which is ripe for participation by minorities, most especially the Spanish-speaking. Language difficulties, no matter how exaggerated this problem may be, do exist to some degree, enough to make the need for bi-lingual social workers a real one.

INFORMAL SOCIAL WORKERS. Burma⁶ speaks of what he calls "informal social workers" and includes in this category the old community influential, the patron, the village seer. This role can be played by a woman but it is most likely to be a man. He is the individual to whom many in the Latin community come for advice and council. Often migrants in transit

⁶Burma, op. cit.

stop at his house to rest, enjoy a little fellowship away from home and discuss the current season. He is known and respected by all in the barrio or Mexican-American community. He has dignity and authority though often this authority is not supported by formal credentials. He may even work in a menial job but he has status within his own group. This is the sort of man who, in Mexico, would be accorded the honorary title of Don. In the United States, the Donship tradition has not endured but the role survives and there are those who still live it.

One such individual, known to the author, receives his visitors in his back yard. They sit with him listening and talking. His daughter serves cold drinks. His other children and grandchildren are usually present. During the season, stationwagons and trucks with Texas license plates come and go in his drive. All year around local residents call on him to ask his advice. He has served on Boards and Committees, sat at the Governor's luncheon table during a community festival. He knows the local agency people and intercedes for needy Mexican-Americans who are new to the area or who find dealing with the establishment too formidable a task to handle alone. Yet he is a simple man. He sometimes still goes into the fields to pick. He has been a migrant. He can think like a migrant. He is one of them. He has not been co-opted.

The informal social worker role more likely to be played by a woman, is the role of the "translator" or interpreter. This role carries with it much broader implications than merely acting as a go-between for Anglo and Chicano. Barrio women who are familiar with the community often accompany migrant families to the Welfare Office, to the doctor, the hospital or the City Hall, to speak for them when

language skills are poor and to bolster their lagging confidence. They give support to newcomers and those in trouble. They intercede where there is feeling that "the system" is not giving one of their people a fair shake. There are many of these women in all places in Michigan where Latin are found.

Though there are few Chicano policemen, in areas where there are, the officer is often called upon by the city to play this role whether his intercession is welcomed by the Latins or not. In one town where there is no bi-lingual person working in the City Hall a Mexican-American policeman is frequently summoned by radio to come in off of his beat and act as interpreter for a Latin family seeking information or service from the City. Mexican policemen, as is the case with other ethnic law officers, are often subject to harsh criticism and hostility from their own people. There are several reasons for this.

1. If they are on duty they are almost always sent on calls involving Spanish-speaking people, so their exposure rate is quite high, or
2. they are sometimes over-zealous in disciplining themselves in an effort to insure against accusations of bias toward their own race, and as a result are quite rigorous in their dealings with other Mexicans, and
3. they face constant pressure from the few who would attempt to use ethnicity as a basis for gaining favors or to cajol them into "looking the other way."

The "para-professional" concept is gaining popularity rapidly. Latin leaders urge the hiring of para-professionals in a variety of

different roles. These in essence are informal social workers salaried and legitimized. Para-professionals work as teacher-aids in quite a few public school systems and their presence in classrooms, where there are Spanish-speaking children, is the most viable solution to a problem which cannot, because of the millage failures and lack of fiscal resources, be attacked through comprehensive bi-lingual programming.

It is not vastly overstated to say that informal social workers, while having powers of limited scope, are perhaps accomplished more in the realm of answering grass roots needs than any of the Michigan leaders with much higher visability.

Burma⁷ in referring to what he calls External leaders, includes non-Latins in this category as well as subsidized Latin leaders, who will be discussed in the next section of this paper.

It is the Anglo or "gringo" external leader which we turn our attention now. Although there is increased impetus of late toward the establishment of local community action type organizations designed for and directed by Latins. A great many non-Latin influentials still impact upon Latin groups.

In Detroit the La Sed organization concentrates its efforts upon social and economic development. An Anglo Catholic priest was instrumental in its founding. Grand Rapids' Latin American Council focuses upon broad needs which arise in the Latin Community. It is supported by the Dioscean Human Relations Commission headed by a Black. To date the majority of the participants there have been Mexican-Americans. Certain tensions exist between Chicanos and Puerto Ricans which, rather

⁷Ibid.

than resolving, have heightened since a young Puerto Rican college student recently attempted to organize the Puerto Rican community. Though the name Latin American Council itself implies a coalition of all Latin people, intra-Spanish-speaking conflicts have prevented this from becoming a reality. No one can identify the roots of this quarrel though cultural differences may be an explanation.

In Flint, Daniel Sosa, a Michigan State University graduate, became the director of the newly formed Spanish Speaking Information Center, in the Fall of 1970 only to lose the job in less than a year because the conservative Latin element there found him too radical. His brother, Mario, directs the Chicano Drug Center in Lansing which is an adjunct to the Sol De Atzlan and Quinto Sol projects developed by Gilberto Martinez and his group. Holland's Community Action House Director, Ralph Kickert, coordinates his activities with those of Tomas Anaya, who works there part-time as liaison to the Latin Community.

Other areas are developing programs in this direction but their initial efforts are always buttressed by the support of concerned Anglo activists, many of whom remain influential in the operation of the agencies.

Most broad scope community action type agencies are operated by concerned Anglos or groups of Anglos who have rapport with the minority community.

Vista workers have been influential in these communities as well, especially among the youth. Both Cindy Gilbertson and Jim Deere, returned to the Grand Rapids community at the expiration of their Vista assignments to continue working with local groups.

Marcia Dickman, a Spanish-Speaking Anglo welfare worker and Peter Meade, an ex-priest, both work in Detroit as caseworker and planning coordinator at the Southwest Community Health and Social Services, located in the Vernor Avenue "barrio" district.

The Anglo leader is characteristically one who has interacted with the Latin Community in one "helping" capacity or another. Some are case workers, some are action agency personnel, Headstart and Upward Bound workers, probation workers, probation officers, day care staffers and college and university people who have done or are doing research pertinent to Spanish-Speaking minority needs. Quite frequently these people become deeply involved with "la cause" and are ultimately taken into the Latin Community social structure.

Acceptance does not come easily. The Anglo influential must demonstrate that he or she is not "using" the Latin people to further some ends of his own and this can only be accomplished over time and by genuine displays of concern. Latins are quick to discern the "resident liberal" Galvacho and reject his efforts to participate in their affairs. The Anglo who is most successful in winning the trust of Latins is the one who first becomes their friend and is interested in sharing with them the same sorts of experiences they share among themselves.

As a student, doing research in several Latin Communities, I spent many hours at people's homes, drinking beer or Kool-Aid or coffee, and often talking about things which were unrelated to the current status of Latin problems. I went to dances, parties, meetings, festivals and church affairs. If I began as a researcher, I ended as a real participant who joined in these activities because I enjoyed myself. I, along with

several other Anglo friends, who had been active in the community, found myself a part of a real "group," mixed in terms of age, ethnicity and origin, but close in shared humor and friendly concern.

There are other Anglo leaders too, aside from those mentioned above who, to all intents and purposes, become a part of the Latin Community themselves. There are those also who are "friends in high places," city officials, business leaders, clergy and academicians who share a real concern for minority problems and use their influence in many ways to effect change. They are admired and respected but do not interact socially with minority groups in any significant ways.

Still, the "gringo" is always suspect. Once he is well established as a trusted influential within the Latin Community, those who know him will "run interference" for him against the onslaughts of those who do not, and those who react negatively to the threat of an outsider. Dan Roble, an Anglo raised in Detroit, is full partner in the efforts of Lansing's Sol de Atzlan group. He speaks fluent Spanish and is married to a South American girl whom he met while in the Peace Corps. He behaves as a Chicano and is seen as Chicano by the establishment forces he has challenged.

The question which pricks the consciousness from time to time of all who are active in the helping professions, and one which cannot easily be answered, is the question "Why do I become involved?" There has been a great deal of research to determine the basic motivation of such individuals, self-aggrandizement, high succorance level, desire for acceptance? A need for identification with tradition and culture, dramatically missing from the lives of many WASPs, may be a partial

explanation. Time and space do not allow for further conjecture as to the reasons the Anglo leader selects the role he does but motivation and commitment are an important link in any positive relationship.

EXTERNAL LEADERS. Burma's typology includes a group which he calls "subsidized" leaders, those who are employed by local, state or federal agencies or as is the case with some, by the church. These individuals, through their jobs, have the mobility necessary to implement programming which, if not directly designed to benefit their people, is at least germane to many of their needs. This typology is wholly applicable in Michigan as the most prominent and influential leader types in the state are employed by such agencies and institutions.

Rueben Alfaro works as Midwest Director for the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking and in his job travels a multi-state area looking into Latin affairs. His climb was not along traditional routes. A barber by trade, he worked at a shop across from the Capitol building in Lansing and through frequent interaction with legislators and politicians he became an unofficial Chicano lobbyist. Handsome and articulate he made many powerful friends and contacts and was, in time, recognized as a Latin leader in his part of the state. He has known the migrant experience and is well aware that the things he is able to give his children are advantages he never had.

His younger brother, Manuel, has had the benefit of the formal college education which Reuben was never able to enjoy. With a Master's Degree, he was able to secure a job with the state Department of Education in the Migrant Unit where he worked with fellow Mexican-Americans Jose Cardenas and Jessie Sorriano. In 1970 he was accepted for his Doctorate

at Michigan State University and went to the Center for Urban Affairs there as instructor and co-ordinator of Chicao Programs. Also employed by the Center for Urban Affairs are Gilberto Martinez and Daniel Roble, discussed previously.

Roy Fuentes, who has a Bachelor's Degree, worked in Washington for the FBI as an instructor in Spanish. He returned to Michigan to work for the Civil Rights Commission and after several years took a job as Executive Associate with the Michigan Economic Opportunity Office. He has been instrumental in compiling a La Raza History Book to be published sometime in 1971, dealing with Chicanos in Michigan.

Many others work for state government in administrative positions. Jessie Sorriano is Director of the State Department of Education Migrant Unit. His brother, Frank, works for the Flint Public Schools as Director of their Bi-Lingual Program. Segundo Garcez, formerly with the old Michigan Migrants for Opportunity, Inc. (MMOI), predecessor to UMOI, is employed at the Model Migrant Center in Berrier Springs as Home-School Liaison Coordinator. His brother, Joe Pena, works in the same capacity for the Migrant Education Program in Fennville. Manuel Chiunti, with fourteen years experience at the Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESC) took a job in the fall of 1970 as Co-ordinator for Migrant and Former Migrant Services with the State Department of Social Services. Joe Davila, Joe Ramos and Marcellino Espinoza work for MESC as Farm Labor Procurement Agents in Benton Harbor, Holland and Grand Rapids respectively. Richard Santos, a Doctoral Candidate at Michigan State University in the Manpower field, works for the Office of the Governor. John Castillo, who has a Master's Degree from W.M.U., works as District

Executive for the Michigan Civil Rights Commission with a supporting staff of Latins including Field Investigators Santiago Rios and Rose Rios.

Jane Gonzalez, Bill Gomez, Mike Uriegas, Ubaldo Patino, Ramon Gutierrez and others are influential through their positions with UMOI. Such jobs while providing some measure of mobility, also place constraints upon those who hold them which many outsiders fails to discern. These will be discussed in the following chapters, The onus of pressure from within their own ethnic group is often tremendous. The extent of this pressure depends upon the level of sophistication within the various rank and file groups who look to their leaders for action. As one Chicano government employee remarked in discussing this problem, "A sophisticated position is the product of education." Many have no real and clear understanding of the dimensions or dynamics of those jobs held by the leaders in question and therefore endow them with powers far above and beyond their actual scope. Understanding of agencies and institutional structure is also slim.

At a statewide meeting to announce the results of a civil rights study on migrant problems, complaints that the Commission "made lots of recommendations but didn't do anything about them" were voiced by quite a few ^Mexican-Americans. Such comments indicate a lack of understanding of the Civil Rights Commission. While it may operate as an Administrative Law Enforcement Agency, it is not empowered to write legislation and must operate within the framework of existing law. The Commission's primary functions are to process complaints of discriminatory practices and to encourage positive-action programs on behalf of minority peoples. Nevertheless, those "leaders" such as Castiallo, and Rios, who

work for the Civil Rights Commission find themselves the target for much underserved criticism.

The grass roots Mexican groups see themselves mainly as victims of cultural oppression. They often see subsidized leaders as "sell outs" to the system to which they themselves have no real access. They want the better wages and higher living standards available as a result of their move to the North and yet they are resentful of the price they have had to pay in relocating. "You don't understand, 'the valley' is a nice place to live if you got work," one woman told us. "The reason people stay here is because of the jobs." The Mexican-Americans see the dominant community as oppressive and the Anglo culture looms larger than it really is. The Mexican people speak constantly of that ubiquitous "they" which always seems to be so prominent in, and yet so mysteriously distant from, the lives of the deprived classes.

They, like the Negroes, have been conditioned to certain self-hatreds. There is a sad resignation among them, even those who are most marginal. "Poor dragging, dead wood." "Some people keep on needing help. They don't grow or learn. The more you help them, the more dependent they become." "Mexican men have a tendency to hang on to their mother's apron strings because they could do what they wanted when growing up." "Sometimes I don't even understand my own people. There's some barrier." "The Texans say 'Soyá Mejicana' proudly and yet when they do go down to Mexico, the Mejicanos reject them." "This is one of the downfalls of the Spanish-American society--too much emphasis on closeness of family." "Sure the (Mexican) people here might like something better--if they were handed it, but they won't hustle." We heard these comments from Mexican

people themselves, largely from those who are the most assimilated. Many of the older people are stoic and accepting, the middle group, suspicious and resentful, the young, frustrated and without drive.

The current leader must contend with ideologies such as these. He must understand that the impossible will be expected of him and he must be willing to accept unwarranted rebukes. Those who cannot, eventually flounder and fall. At a crucial confrontation between several dissenting Chicano factions in 1971, one well-known and much criticized leader lost his temper and blurted, "I don't give a damn what you want" to a cadre of adversaries demanding participation in his projects. His position was weakened irreparably.

In addition, some who can be classed as influentials handle their authority badly at certain levels. A Chicano state employee who got together with several Anglo action workers and another Mexican-American leader for coffee one morning, sat for an hour in a local restaurant discussing community problems and providing input for a project proposal which was being developed. When he got up to go, he motioned preemptorily to two migrant laborers who had been sitting silently in the corner of the room during the entire conversation, saying, "Well, I got to get these boys over to the Camp to see if they're hiring."

The subsidized leader must understand that there is real need in the area of communication. Communication is extremely poor not only between the typical Chicano and the Anglo community but between the Chicano and his own leaders. The rank and file Mexican-Americans do not understand their rights and thus do not assert themselves to secure them. They do not understand their leaders' scope of influence nor the limitations of his job and thus are not willing to cooperate in the ways that they are

able.

There exists what has been labeled "the proud people" syndrome. Time and time again, queries about failure to act against certain injustices and inequities, are answered with "We're a proud people. We don't want to cause trouble." It is likely that the "trouble" to which they refer is trouble for themselves rather than trouble in the community as they imply. This inaction again refers to that resignation which has lulled them into believing that the system will not respond positively to any efforts they might make on their own behalf, but instead is very likely to respond in such a negative way as to penalize severely the initiator of even the most moderate demand. Middle-class Chicanos fear for their hard-won jobs, others fear appearing ridiculous in the eyes of their peers for attempting to buck the establishment.

Educating the people is the main goal of Michigan leaders and this goal will be hard won. The Brown Movement is just out of its groping stage where activism is concerned. The sophistication is on the West coast and the strength in the Midwest has not found sufficient solidarity to mobilize for any real cohesive effort on behalf of Latin peoples. It is to these problems that subsidized leaders address themselves.

Morlock's Typology

Laura Morlock, in her thesis, classified Lansing leaders as Social Activists, Exemplars and Representatives.⁸ In applying Burma's typology to this model one can give Mrs. Morlock's profiles greater specificity. Social activists defined as goal oriented, are in the main subsidized

⁸Morlock, op. cit.

leaders in Michigan. Exemplars include informal social workers and what few Religious there are. Representatives, using Burma's model can be sub-categorized as social, political and economic leaders. There is, of course, overlap in all categories. So-called social leaders, i.e., those holding office in some type of ethnic sociability organization are often subsidized leaders as well, by virtue of their occupations. As was pointed out previously there are few sociability organizations which impact significantly upon Latin communities in terms of activism. La Raza Unida, is the only organization which is quasi-statewide and its focus is not upon sociability. It has taken an activist stance on some issues and those individuals within that organization who are considered to be the most powerful must all be considered subsidized. The same can be said of political and economic leaders although, with the exception of those affiliated with the unions, few exist who have attained significant status from either of these bases.

Methodology

Morlock, in arriving at her typology, determined also which leaders were "visible," which were "symbolic" and which were "concealed." "Visible" leaders were those who received four or more survey votes from those Latin and Anglo influentials whom she interviewed. "Symbolic leaders" were those who received four or more votes from the Anglo group alone and "concealed" leaders were those who received four or more votes from the Latins.

Some of this still holds true although, with the increase in government job opportunities, a number of those who were "concealed" leaders have now become "visible." There are fewer who are "symbolic"

also, these having risen to positions of greater stature through enhanced job opportunities, and are now known, whether accepted or not, to Latins as well as Anglos.

Only Burma's informal social workers remain "concealed" and in many instances these too are "visible" at some levels. It is the extent of their involvement, rather than their identity, which "concealed."

The notion of "symbolic" leadership, that which is primarily recognized by the Anglo community, gives rise to interesting conjecture in the area of "spokesmanship." Who speaks for the Latin community? Are those which are considered by the Anglo establishment to be spokesman for Latins actually the same individuals that Latins would chose to represent them if they had a choice?

"SPOKESMANSHIP." The recurring problem of "spokesmanship" deserves some attention although the current upswing in Chicano consciousness and brown identity awareness is reducing the level of imposed leadership.

In the very recent past, prior to the rise of Cesar Chavez to National notoriety, the Anglo establishment in many cities "selected" one or two Latins as "spokesmen" for the community, invited them to speak at meetings, and appointed them to boards, thus making them, ipso facto, the town's "token Latins." This was seldom a shrewd manipulative device on the part of any Anglo or group of Anglos, for no Latin community had been sufficiently well organized nor powerful enough to be perceived as a threat. Rather it was more likely the result of consciences pricked by increasing national awareness of minority groups and the perceived need for at least minimal representation. Federal compliance legislation and project funding guidelines also sparked new interest in minority input.

Nevertheless, imposition of leadership has been a problem for often the Latins chosen by the Anglo society, to "represent" the Spanish-speaking have not always been those which the Latins themselves support in leadership roles. Class is the variable here. Inevitably those individuals designated as "spokesman" by the dominant community were those who came closest to conforming to its middle class standards of behavior and attitude. The Anglos continued reinforcement of these existing "leaders" for expedient reasons, in effect, imposed leadership upon the Latin who tended ultimately to accept them, passively, believing, "If the Anglos feel that these people are our leaders, I suppose they are." If the Anglo community would begin to expand its support and recognition of additional individuals in the Spanish-speaking community, so in many cases would the Latins. This is not to say, of course, that Latins are incapable of creating new leaders from within their own ranks without the support of the dominant society.

Many Spanish-speaking influentials are opting for "leadership" training courses but the problems in implementing such programs are complex: (1) it's difficult to avoid reinforcing existing leadership, and (2) often those who demonstrate the capacity for the necessary vertical mobility are anxious not to identify with the group that needs a leader. It is suggested by Gordon⁹ that "the way in which one identifies and locates oneself, the 'who what, am I' is closely related to how one is identified and located in the larger community." Confusion over one's Mexican identity has led many a Chicano out of his community. Now with the great

⁹Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (Oxford Press, New York, 1964).

new flowering of Chicanismo some are attempting to return and find that it is a long road back. They are called, "Tio Taco," the Mexcian equivalent of "Uncle Tom," by their people, or Oreos and Cocoanuts (brown on the outside, white on the inside). They may have freed themselves from participational identification with their ethnic roots but few have been able to separate themselves from historical identification.

The spokesmanship concept is not a new one, nor is it embraced by Latins exclusively. The Alinsky method borrows heavily from the concept of imposed leadership but for Alinsky and his followers there is a carefully mapped out strategy involved. Everything is done by design and the design has a specific purpose. Not so, as we have said before, with the Michigan Anglo who merely wishes to see a brown face on his advisory boards so that he does not have to fear either the righteous wrath of the "Feds" or the indigantion of local liberals.

LEADERSHIP STYLES. Laura Morlockalso predicts the rise of socio-political oriented leaders as opposed to those who are religio-ethnic oriented. This theory has been usbstantiated but with broader dimensions. While religious considerations have lost their potency as a guiding force behind Latin Attitudes, ethnic considerations have taken on new significance and different character. Ethnicity has become a war cry rather than a defense;"I'm proud to be a Chicao" bumper stickers have burgeoned. Leaders have become ethno-political.

Again this phenomena has its roots in the Civil Rights Movement. Black agitators have cleared the way for better minority job placements and brown activists, observing their successes, have begun stepping into the breach and sharing in the victory.

Morlock suggests also that there will be an increase in those leaders using the militant-protest style rather than the moderates, access approach. This has come to pass on a somewhat limited basis in Lansing and Detroit, although in the more provincial parts of Michigan fear of "radicalism" still runs quite high among Latins. This will be discussed at greater length in the section on new ethnic awareness.

Migrant protests have become more virile. In the summer of 1971 several migrant groups, fortified by Chavez's example, descended on Lansing to demand jobs, housing and more realistic welfare benefits. One such congregation conducted a sit-in at the office of Dr. John Dempsey, Director of the Bureau of Programs and Budgets. Another picketed the Capitol demanding to see the Governor who spoke to them on the steps and then met in private with a representative group. Migrants, of course, have less to fear in adopting a militant stance than those "subsidized" leaders whose power, in reality, comes from the very system they are attempting to challenge.

Subsidized leaders are aware of the limits of their activism and they are aware of the constraints which must govern any militant position. Confrontation strategies are the most viable given the nature of their own status as government employees. Demands can be made, pressure can be exerted, proposals developed but a truly militant posture is too threatening for several reasons:

1. Even the most powerful subsidized leader cannot be sure of his people's support on issues of moderate character, to say nothing of those which could be viewed as radical.
2. Subsidized leaders do not have enough job security to allow

them the necessary latitude for true militancy.

3. There has been no money forthcoming to support any Spanish Speaking ethnic organization whose purpose is radical action.

Economically the Blacks have an advantage for in addition to such well established and financially secure moderate organization as the Urban League and the NAACP there are number of leftist groups such as SNCC, and the Black Panthers which are able to galvanize support both in terms of manpower and fiscal resources.

Morlock defines moderates as those having welfare goals and militants as those having status goals. In outstate Michigan where leadership is typically moderate, welfare goals are given first priority. In the Lansing area and in Detroit, leaders emphasize status goals but do not lose sight of the need for enhanced welfare programming. It is the Anglo external leader, for the most part who works for increased minority status in Michigan Communities.

The recent upturn in ethnic achievement among the Spanish-speaking is not solely attributable to either the moderate or the so-called militant, but rather to the general timbre of the Anglo-Latin community as a whole. Ethnic consciousness has increased and is increasing at every tier, Latin leaders must now address themselves to the task of building internal resources from external bases and increase their own creditibility.

Leadership Bases in Michigan

In discussing John Burma's leadership typology and comparing it with the typology of Laura Morlock, we have touched upon a number of the Latin leadership bases in Michigan. There are several additional sources, however, to which we would like to turn our attention.

COMMUNITY ACTION AND ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS. There are those who have gained recognition through affiliation with community action or ethnic organizations. These do not abound. Mention has already been made of several, La Sed (Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development) in Detroit, the Community Action House in Holland, the Latin American Council in Grand Rapids, the Spanish-Speaking Information Center in Flint and Quinto Sol in Lansing. In addition to these are the Latin American Affairs Department at Saginaw and Cristo Rey Community Center in Lansing. These organizations, with perhaps the exception of La Sed whose Director Israel Leyton was already prominent in Latin Circles before assuming the Directorship, have provided a number of Latins, oriented toward community involvement, with opportunities to assume a leadership role. Many, through these connections have taken on new stature in their communities. Their increased mobility has made it possible for them to spend considerable time among their people both in the migrant camps and locally.

Bartolo Rosales, President of the Latin American Council in Grand Rapids, has become deeply involved with the needs of that community as well as with the needs of the entire Southwestern Region since he took office. A radio and television engineer, he is able to budget his time to allow for maximum participation in council activities with voluntary staff support.

Daniel Sosa, though incurring the disfavor of the more conservative Flint Latins because of his bearded, longhaired "Radical Image," has nonetheless gained prominence among the youth in Michigan and will no doubt move on to some sort of position in community organizing which is more suited to his talents.

His brother Mario has become an influential along with Gilberto

Martinez through Quinto Sol and Sol de Atzlan in Lansing. Mario directs a Chicano Drug program through Quinto Sol which operates out of the same North Town building which houses Lansing's new Spanish-Speaking radio station.

In Calhoun County Latins, recently organized La Association Hispanoamericana, one of whose purposes is "--to stiumlate and organize all Spanish American people within the Calhoun County area, so that together we can work for better relations and better services for our people within our governmental agencies and the community in general."¹⁰ Mrs. Mariam Rivera, employed as Spanish speaking Specialist with the Battle Creek Community Action Agency was one of those instrumental in its founding.

Such ethnic action organizations provide the Latin Community with new opportunities for increased visability and are often the launching pads for individual leadership roles.

STUDENT GROUPS. Spanish-speaking student organizations, which are better defined as special purpose action groups, provide an additional new source of leadership, also.

Just as Blacks have formed student groups such as ABC (American Black Collegiates), so too have Chicanos. In Michigan it is MECHA (Movimiento Esfuerzo Y Chicano de Atzlan) which must be considered a leadership base. Mexican-American students from MSU have stepped into governmental and private sector action jobs as a direct result of their MECHA involvement. Richard Santos, a manpower specialist and Ph.D. candidate, works in the State Executive Office. Others whom we've

¹⁰ Constitution for La Association Hispanoamexicana of Calhoun County, 1970.

discussed, the Sosa brothers Dan and Mario, were active in MECHA. Jose Rios and Santiago Rios (not related) work with Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Rosa Morales who was a feature writer for the State News before graduating, now works for a television station in Saginaw.

MECHA has begun to play a vital role in the lives of Spanish-speaking students on the Michigan State University Campus. Similar organizations are operant at Delta College, University of Michigan and at Central Michigan University. Their efforts are concentrated toward recruiting young Latins for Michigan colleges and keeping them in school once enrolled, by providing the tutoring and counseling necessary to make their experiences successful. From the ranks of these students have come, and will not doubt continue to come, new Latin leadership potential.

CLIQUE STRUCTURES. The clique structure mechanism also impacts on the creation of leadership roles. Those who secure status jobs often use their influence to obtain other such positions for personal friends and members of their family. While this gives rise to cries of nepotism it is not an altogether objectionable basis for leadership development. In most instances these people are more familiar with the talents and goal orientation of those close to them, and are better able to assess their ability to perform in certain roles.

The real problem may come when such leaders meet with hostility on the part of their "constituents." While their new status may be received well initially they are likely to become the target for a great deal of antagonism as they fail to live up to the unrealistic demands placed upon them by "the people." In some instances their ardor toward "la causa" may cool. This occurred with greater frequency in the past than

it does today for the new breed of leaders have, of necessity, developed a harder shell and attempt to weather critical onslaughts for the good of the movement. At one time, Latin influentials who were under seige from those within their ranks began to experience negative feelings themselves toward brethren who, with less education and less operational sophistication, took stands which they considered untenable and annoying. Leaders became frustrated in their roles. They were seldom understood and their motive impugned. The same feelings are still generated but with less impact because leaders today have a clearer understanding of the nature of the constraints upon leadership.

TEN LEADERSHIP BASES. The following are viable Latin leadership bases in Michigan:

1. Social or sociability organizations, which, while having no substantial activist impact on the ethnic community, do serve to make visible individuals who may go on to assume more meaningful leadership roles in other capacities.
2. Economic, primarily those affiliated with unions as well as certain business influentials who have a high degree of public contact.
3. Religious, a small number of very influential individuals employed in a lay capacity by the Roman Catholic Church and those acting with very little influence as pastor to various pentacostal sects.
4. Political by and large appointees at the local level.
5. Professional, small scatterings of policemen, teachers, and social workers. These are found largely in the Detroit area

for with the exception of Holland which has three Mexican-American policemen, and Muskegon, which has four officers, there are few Latin policemen in any outstate area.

6. Informal social workers, uncredentialed individuals who serve the ethnic community in relative anonymity.
7. Ethnic and community action organizations, growing in number and potency, this base includes ethnic student organizations also.
8. Clique structures, networks of individuals bound together by blood, by friendship or by a common point of origin. It is not unusual to find close comraderie, amongst groups of Mexican-Americans in Michigan based entirely on the fact that they came originally from the same town in Texas.
9. Majority appointments, subsidized leaders who are assumed to be spokesmen for the ethnic community because of their job status.
10. Heroishi. though there are no real contemporary folk heroes in Michigan, Latins are very vocal in their admiration for such charismatic Latins from the Southwest as Cesar Chavez, Corkey Gonzalez, Ries Tejerina and the late Rueben Salazar. Hero roles will be examined in the next section.

III. VARIABLES AFFECTING LATIN LEADERSHIP

New Ethnic Awareness

There seems to be wide agreement, on the part of many authors, that World War II brought a significant change in the goal orientation of Mexican-Americans in the U.S. Young men who might have lived out their lives in the security of the rural or urban barrio were catapulted into the mainstream of American life by their service experience. Women and older men worked in defense industries and were influenced by intensified association with Anglos. Both groups acquired new marketable skills, new economic status and at least a partial awareness of the dynamics of the system in which they must struggle to survive.

John Martinez, writing on "Leadership and Politics" posits also that the Civil Rights movement had considerable impact upon the Latin who perceived Black assertiveness as threatening.¹ There is strong evidence to support this theory in some urban areas of Michigan, notably Grand Rapids where nearly all minority status positions are held by Negroes. Exceptions exist, however, for example significant rapport can be found between Blacks and Browns in Muskegon due to a loosely structured positive relationship between UMOI's Bill Gomez and several Negro influentials there. This situation developed from earlier labor union activities prior to the onset of the Chicano movement in the United States. When Cesar Chavez gained national attention, Gomez who had long been observing the success of Black efforts to overcome segregation barriers,

¹John Martinez, op. cit.

began to write articles for the local UAW newspaper aimed at organizing his own people. UMOI Director, Jane Gonzalez offered him a position with her office and he left his machine shop job to do field work among the migrants. His many years in the community and his background in organized labor provided him with the necessary resources to build and maintain workable relationships with the Black Community.

Cultural and Structural Variables Affecting Latin Leadership in Michigan

In other Michigan towns, such as Holland, Latins were faced with the unique situation of being the only minority groups, since Blacks had historically been unwelcome in the community. This resulted in two significant variables impeding their assimilation.

1. No previously established "ghetto" was present when Mexcian-Americans began settling out of the migrant stream and thus no narrowly circumscribed "barrio" developed which might foster group solidarity, and,
2. the townsfolk themselves, inexperienced in minority confrontations, continued to operate with a very low level of minority group awareness.

Martinez posited also that the Economic Opportunity Act, an outgrowth of the Civil Rights Movement but broader in its implications, had great bearing upon Chicano activism.² Mexican-Americans who were community involved saw that Blacks were making demands and some of those demands were being met. Furthermore, Civil Rights legislation had produced opportunities both educationally and in the job market. With the

²Ibid.

creation of new agencies specifically designed to serve the poor and disadvantaged came the expected competition for jobs and services. New awareness of "the system" burgeoned especially in urban areas and Chicanos began to think about vying with their Black neighbors for "a slice of the pie."

There is no doubt that the more sophisticated Chicano influentials in the State are keenly aware of Black power in all its implications. In the Lansing area, Mexican-Americans led by Rueben Alfaro, Roy Fuentes and others put pressure upon M.S. U's Center for Urban Affairs, regarded by Latins as a "Black" institution, and obtained staff placements for several Latins including Alfaro's brother Manuel, himself a Doctoral Candidate in Education.

The Michigan Civil Rights Commission, acting on a formal complaint filed by Hilda Perez of Grand Rapids, entered into an active conciliation with the Black run Grand Rapids CAP program, to obtain for her a position as Community Aide. Though an agreement was reached, to date, no opening has been available and she has not been given a job. The claimant, Mrs. Perez, contended that she had all the qualifications for a position which had opened in 1968 at the Franklin Hall complex, bordering on the Latin Barrio, and was denied equal employment opportunity because of her Mexican-American origin. The CAP administrator Ray Tardy stated she did not "fit the team concept" which the position required.

Latins do not wish to duplicate the "Black Model" only its successes. Their leaders are not necessarily drawn to the same stances which are taken by Black but because their human needs are similar, their goals are often same.

Mexican-Americans have not available to them the same sort of historical support for stratification within their own ranks which characterizes Southern Black Society. The Southern Black Middle Class typically grew out of the elite "House Slave" element in the anti-bellum plantation societies at the close of the war. It was this group which took the middle class role such as it was, field hands and other laborers remaining, by and large, at the lowest rung of the status ladder. Americans of Mexican descent in Southwestern United States have no such clearly defined guidelines upon which to base class distinctions. Certain kinship ties demanded respect but the basis for this was more often due to the achievements of an individual or several individuals within the kinship structure than to the survival of any carefully drawn class system. The most rigid stratification among those of Mexican descent in the United States exists, between those who were born in Mexico, and those who were born in the Southwestern United States and it stems largely from language usage. The Mejicanos look down upon their American counterparts who speak impure Spanish. In discussing language problems one often hears the native of Mexico speaking derogatorily of "Tex-Mex" referring to the vernacular language used by the Texan.

The Latin American Society in Holland, whose very name implies a certain universality, elected as its queen a young Cuban girl who was to appear in the town's annual Tulip Time Parade, only to bring the wrath of a segment of the Mexican-American community down upon its head. One Chicano organization refused to participate in the Coronation Festival because the queen was not Mexican-American. The society's President,

Celestino Reyes was personally criticized as was his wife. Their admirable attempt to include the Latin community in the Dutch festivities was crippled by discord within their own ranks. Pressure was such that the Cuban Queen withdrew and the first runner-up, a Chicana girl, was crowned.

There are few contemporary heroes in the Chicano world as we state earlier. Those who have captured the public eye, Reies Tijerina, Cesar Chavez and Corkey Gonzales, are products of the Southwest. Reuben Salazar, Los Angeles journalist killed in the 1970 riots there, may well become the Chicano Movement's first martyr to la causa. Young activists quote him with increasing frequency and he, as few others have been able to do, left him behind a legacy of his words. History may show that his most significant contribution to his people was to die at the hands of the police.

In Michigan Chavez is the Chicano's "hero." During a 1971 visit to Grand Rapids to speak before the State AFL-CIO Convention, he was given a standing ovation. There were shouts of "Heulga" and "Viva Mejicano." At the post meeting reception, Anglo and Chicano alike stood in line to shake his hand. Young men grasped it earnestly, girls clasped him impulsively and spoke emotionally in rapid Spanish. There were some tears. Witnesses were moved by expressions of loyalty and admiration. Chavez himself, dressed in the simple garb of the migrant, received all with a compelling gentle dignity. He appears as a man of the people and has maintained that image throughout his rise to national attention. In a very real sense of the word, he is a contemporary hero.

Old and young alike are devoted to him, a young Chicano, chosen as

Queen by her local Spanish-speaking community, told the judges with pride that the most thrilling moment of her life was "meeting our leader, Cesar Chavez, in Chicago." "Three years ago no settled out Mexican-American in Michigan would have anything to do with the migrants" said one Latin leader. "Then Chavez came along and now everybody's a migrant."

His charisma is not necessarily Latin nor could it be acquired easily by any who would seek to be his counterpart in the midwest. Rather, it is his unflagging devotion to one cause--the organizing of farm laborers--which is largely responsible for his personal success. Latin leaders in Michigan, though attempting (especially in the Lansing area) to focus upon Government hiring policies, have thus far been too global in their approach to problems affecting their communities. The oneness of purpose which has characterized Chavez' battle is, in all probability, a significant variable in explaining his success.

Familial, Sex Role and Ideological Constraints

There are the same familial constraints upon leadership among Latins, as with other groups. It may be somewhat different in direction because of the more rigid patriarchial character of the Latin family structure but generational and sex role restraints would seem to appear at some level within every nationality and ethnic group structure.

Sex Role. The role of the women has traditionally been a passive one. In Detroit the old line is somewhat more relaxed and the observer may find women of all ages who are quite well assimilated in the sense of playing a more aggressive role in the family and community. In the other parts of the state, more rural or small town oriented, one finds women who remain in the home, are doled out grocery money from their

husbands' weekly pay check and have little or nothing to say with regard to decisions affecting their own activities. A Chicano staff member at a Day Care Center remarked, "Volunteer help is supposed to come from the mothers but most are afraid to help because of 'rigid husbands'." A young Mexican man, pondering the role of women in his society remembered that, as a boy, he used to read the small Spanish cartoon books which were once quite popular and recalled that "every strip ended with the husband kicking the wife in the rear."

The typical Mexican wife is not seen often in public drinking places with her husband. The Grand Rapids' Mexican bar, Alma Latina, is usually crowded on Saturday afternoon with Chicano men from every nearby community. They come in groups or alone, but they do not bring their women.

Such practices, though challenged with recurring frequency by young Chicanas who have entered college, act to deter activism at the community level on the part of women. In the Anglo world, much of the positive action implemented in communities at the local level is instigated by groups in which women play a very large role. Since the substantial portion of Latin men have jobs which do not allow them much latitude for activism and Latin women are encumbered by unrealistic traditionalism, leadership does not develop readily.

Mexican tradition has long frowned upon women who show an inclination to break the shell of passivity and move into the community arena in any active capacity. The reluctance of many middle class Mexican-American families to send their daughters to college is an indication that this tradition will not easily be put aside. Parents are fearful that their daughters will become more worldly and sophisticated than they would like,

and their fears are not without grounds. Chicana who attend college, especially at schools where there is a Mexican-American student organization, are rapidly moving in the direction of activism. In May, 1971, a meeting for the Chicana Woman was held in Houston, Texas, sponsored by the WYCA, and forty young Michigan women, most of them from the Lansing area, chartered a bus and attended. This was a group effort supported by MECHA, the Mexican-American student group. They worked at many fundraising projects to pay the charter fee and each girl was given \$34.00 expense money. Though the meeting itself turned out to be a disappointing and poorly organized one, the value of working together for a common goal and the benefits of cohesive action were very real.

Rosa Morales, a June '71 journalism graduate of Michigan State University, was a regular by-lined feature writer for the University newspaper, "The State News." In a research paper on the Chicano Woman she traced the role of Mexican womanhood from the days of the Conquistadores to the present time, explaining the historic submissive stance of women. Her own parents, she stated, were opposed to her activist leanings and preferred that she marry and raise children rather than involve herself in the community.

A well known male leader in Southwestern Michigan, echoing these same sentiments, told us of his children, "Well, my son Juan³ wants to go into Physics, and Miguel is talking about being a doctor but Maria, well we'll just have to teach her to make tortillas and her her a husband."

³Names changed.

Older Mexican-American women have, in many instances, not been given the opportunity to drive cars or to handle money. One Chicano University student told us that, in the Texas Barrio where he grew up, women who could drive and had access to an automobile were held in high esteem. Another told of his mother who had only recently learned to read and write. His father, having grown somewhat affluent in his later years, had hired a tutor for her and she had, a few weeks before, sent her son the first letter she had ever written.

It is Miss Morales' feeling that an Anglo-influenced family life has changed the Mexican-American woman, especially in the Midwest where Chicanos are decidedly in the minority. The stress of split families has also caused the Mexican woman to assume a more active role, as in the case of the Black matriarchal society. While male dalliance among Latins is not frowned upon in the same way it is in Anglo society, the Chicano woman, especially the younger woman, is beginning to demand a more equitable role in the family structure. A Mexican-American divorcee formerly married to a well-salaried leader, recently demanded and was awarded sizeable support for their children.

A young woman named Ann Maria Venezuela works closely with Michigan State University's MECHA organization in a counselor capacity and she is felt by many to be the guiding force behind Chicana solidarity. Many such students find need of one-to-one tutoring to help them compensate for an inadequate education at the public school level. Maintenance of at least a 2.5 average is essential for them to remain in school and the more well-seasoned Chicano undergraduates and graduate students are dedicated to supporting new matriculants in every way possible.

There are several Michigan Chicano women who are active and outspoken in their communities. They are usually regarded as an enigma and a threat by less sophisticated males and sometimes admired, though often from a distance, by females. In Detroit Teddie Morales describes herself as "an agitator" and is active in Michigan Democratic politics. Flint's Marge Lopez is fiery and aggressive. Tiny and pretty she does not hesitate to speak her piece at La Raza Unida steering committee meetings and public hearings.

Hilda Perez, mentioned previously has evoked the ire of many a Black and Anglo leader in Grand Rapids by taking an unyielding position on many community issues. Her running battle with the CAP organization was described in an earlier section of this paper.

Irene Alba, works for the Model Neighborhood office in Grand Rapids and she's been very active in the Mexican-American community there for some years. She was the target of a great deal of criticism and hostility in 1969 when she accepted the job at a salary figure lower than Chicano organizer Martin Morales and his supporters felt was equitable in line with Black salaries. The Neighborhood office was picketed and Mrs. Alba herself subjected to jeers and insults from her own people as she crossed the picket line. Trouble with Grand Rapids Puerto Ricans developed also from this confrontation. At their refusal to support a boycott of Model Cities, they were called "scabs" by Morales and dissention rose to such heights that he was forced to make a public apology.

In Holland Lupita Reyes headed the Latin American Society for several years before stepping down in favor of her husband, Tino. She was used by the community during this period as "token Chicano" and was

asked to sit on more boards and participate in more community activities than it was possible for one person to do well. A moderate, believing in manipulation as opposed to confrontation, she strove for inter-group harmony through conciliation but experienced problems with lack of unity in the Latin community itself.

✓ Jane Gonzalez, in Muskegon is undoubtedly the most powerful Mexican-American woman in the State. She is, in fact, one of the most powerful Latin leaders in Michigan. Her split with the Lansing La Raza group, discussed in another section of this paper, served to strengthen rather than weaken her position as influential. She is known by Mexican-Americans all over the State as an UMOI administrator and elected city official. She is regarded with jaundiced eye by her antagonists in Lansing and the power struggle persists. An attempt at fence mending has been made for Latin leaders have begun to understand that if any movement of significant impact is to take place support must come from all sources. Mrs. Gonzalez is dynamic and clever. In her early fifties she has been an activist for thirty years and is as astute as any Latin in Michigan in the ways and workings of the political system. Among her personal friends and acquaintances can be numbered scores of high State government officials, powerful businessmen and academicians. In the Spring of 1971, G. G. Garcia representing the President's Cabinet Committee for Spanish Speaking, visited the Southwestern Michigan area and made a personal call to Mrs. Gonzalez' home where she was recovering from surgery. Though she is an exceptional woman and would be considered an exceptional woman if she were White or if she were Black she undoubtedly found it necessary to buck the current of Latin traditionalism in her climb to the top.

There are other active women too in various smaller cities. Mrs. Rebecca Rivera, teacher at the Holland Day Care Center, is active with many civic organizations. She is from one of the oldest Mexican-American families in the area.

Knowledgeable observers see change in the offing. There is feeling that the Mexican woman is being given more freedom but is freedom to participate in activities centered around the family rather than in activities which the male sees as encroaching upon his domain. This is a beginning but it will be some time, given cultural restraints, before the Chicana realizes her full potential.

Familial. The patriarchal nature of Spanish-Speaking families is one which must be explored for its bearing upon leadership development.

A young man, known to the researcher, married and the father of sons himself, sits silent and respectful in the presence of his father, as do his brothers. When the family is together, the father speaks for his sons. They nod in agreement and speak when spoken to but it is he with whom the visitor converses. It is he who speaks for the family.

Away from their father's home, these young men can be vocal and assertive. They defer to their father because he is their father and out of respect for his place in the community. He expects that deference. This situation is far from atypical. There is indication that low achievement orientation in the case of Latinos can be traced in part to a pervasive patriarchal influence upon the young. Feeling is among some, that to have ambition to surpass one's father in achievement is in some way demeaning to the father. Many of the young Mexican-Americans who are achievers at colleges and universities in Michigan come from families in

which the father, at some level, is himself an achiever or at least atypical in his attitudes. He has frequently acquired at least a minimal degree of financial success, is employed in a status job or is a respected "village elder" in his community. The young person is the exceptional son of the exceptional father. He is an achiever because he is exceptional rather than because of any significant positive upswing in achievement orientation on the part of his people as a whole. To insist this is the case in all instances would be a sweeping generality but it is certainly a distinct possibility. As we have mentioned before, generational differences as well as the patriarchal character of the Latin culture, still interfere with social activism and leadership development to a very significant extent.

Ideological. Latin politicians according to Martinez⁴ are seen by their people as belonging in one of two loosely defined categories, "radical" and "diplomats." The radicals, and their number is increasing in Michigan, are those who are seeking specific action as opposed to the diplomats who are aware of problems but are unsure as to what action should be taken. While ethnic awareness is definitely on the increase, in Michigan, and probably all over the entire midwest, many Latin influentials, especially outside of Lansing and Detroit, fall into the second category. The more conservative, fearful or anything which even suggests radicalism, continually insist on "working through the system," "co-operating," "pulling together," totally ignoring the fact that the very "system" they speak of working within is the system which has kept them in second class citizen roles for several hundred years.

In Holland, where the Latin population is influenced by the conservative

⁴Martinez, op. cit.

Dutch Reformed Anglo population, one of the two Mexican-American sociability organizations, the Latin-American Society, sent its float into the annual Tulip Time Parade, emblazoned with a banner reading "Living in Harmony."

The concept of "working from within," as seen by mid-Michigan upper echelon leaders, is vastly different from the concept of "working from within" as seen by those Latins who live in smaller, more rurally oriented communities. The Lansing influential sees "working from within" as obtaining a status position that carries with it some mobility in the area of man-hour demands, and using the job for the advancement of La Causa. The smaller town influential sees "working from within" as meeting with the Anglo around a conference table and "each telling his side of the story." One conservative out-state leader who is known by his steadfast refusal to commit himself positively on even the most minor issue, was asked by an Anglo why he did not write his congressman to express his views on pending legislation which was being discussed. He answered that he preferred "to work within the system" indicating that almost any stance but acceptance was defined as radical in his lexicon. And yet he is not atypical. His numbers are many in towns such as Grand Rapids, Holland, Benton Harbor, Battle Creek, Kalamazoo, Muskegon and Flint. There is growing awareness, however, even in these communities that there are many viable positions to be taken between violence and passivity.

The generation gap mentioned earlier, is present among Latins just as it is among other racial groups, can be held accountable for at least a part of this "radical fear" conservatism. It is the older segment of the Latin population (forty and over) which often takes a stand against confrontation strategies. This holds true in large urban areas although

in smaller towns, generally characterized by a more rural orientation in the barrio areas, one is more likely to find younger individuals within the conservative faction also. Those who take a "modern" position are an unending source of discomfort to their parents. An attractive young Mexican-American girl in one town complained that her father did not approve of her boyfriend because he had long hair. The father, in turn, shook his head when she was out of the room and said unhappily, "I work hard to make money to buy her pretty dresses because she's my only girl and what does she wear all the time--those blue jeans."

Clique Structure Constraints and Envidia

As was pointed out in the last section, men who have high status jobs often bend every effort to secure or influence the securing of good positions for other relatives. Familial ties are strong in the area of employment. A local Black leader, speaking of a Chicano colleague said laughingly, "Yes, he has a lot of influence all right. He gets jobs for people but the funny thing--every time anybody's hired it turns out to be one of his relatives." Sons, sons-in-law and cousins are not forgotten. Brothers-in-law, aunts and godparents are tuned in on the job grapevine and information travels fast. But this can be said of all groups and is not exclusively a Mexican-American characteristic.

Broader than the familial structure is the clique structure, quite common in Latin communities and one of the most important bases for leadership. One particular group of visible and vocal Latinos has been dubbed "the brown mafia" in one city. An Anglo on familiar terms with many of the Latinos in the state looked over a newly published *La Raza Unida*

"Directory," supposedly listing all the Mexican-American influentials in Michigan, and noting its many glaring omissions mused "How do you say 'Our Gang' in Spanish."

As an organization, La Raza has been accused of clique-ism more than once. It is, however, in all fairness a more accessible target than other less well organized groups which are guilty of the same sins. The Michigan La Raza Unida Organizations is controlled by a few individuals who do not hold any official office. They are, however, the decision makers, the individuals who mold the bullets which others sometimes fire. Quite often they fire those bullets themselves. As they find themselves more and more in the eye of the general public, they discover that the eye of the Latin community has become constant in its unrelenting surveillance of them. They are expected to "do something for the people." They become fair game for wide and varied criticism.

Much can be said for the theory that such difficulties characterize the role of an emerging leader in any nascent movement and are certainly not a Mexican-American phenomena and yet the notion of "envidia" creeps again and again into the Chicano ethnic when influentials are on the firing line. Not readily translatable, "envidia" means, loosely defined, "envy or jealousy." It is directed toward someone who has in some way risen out of the ranks to a position he did not previously enjoy. As one Chicano put it "when someone becomes active he is often viewed as an opportunist." Whether he is, in fact, has little bearing for perceptions emerge as more important than realities. An Anglo group dynamicist describes this phenomena as widely applicable to other groups as well. "The newly risen leader tells his people 'Come on, gang, follow me,' and the response is 'Oh, no, now you're part of the establishment'." It is

the subsidized leader who is the most vulnerable and the envidia concept is especially virile when directed this way. He is accused of "looking out for himself," "forgetting the people who are not in Lansing." Again and again his adversaries seek out those Anglos who dictate policy to tell them that they are listening to the wrong Mexicans.

John Martinez says, "Latin will not compromise easily, thus weakening their role in coalitions."⁵ This fact, while applied by Martinez to the Southwest, is true of the Midwest as well.

In Lansing two Chicanos Erensto Martinez and Tony Benvitus ran against each other for the school board and split the Latin vote between them, thus assuring an Anglo candidate of victory. Lansing influential Reuben Alfaro has been challenged again and again by other Mexican-Americans who dispute his right to speak for their people. "Envidia" invades the clique structures with insidious tenacity. The whole matter of credentials and spokespersonship discussed previously is critical. Who speaks for Latins in the State? Who speaks for Latins in Detroit, in Lansing, Grand Rapids, Saginaw, Muskegon? Martinez⁶ described the problem in terms of a cultural characteristic. "There is a tendency of the Spanish-speaking to run against their own. With each group who organizes for action comes a new group who takes a stand against it."

La Raza Unida, structured in by laws and intent to be a coalition rather than a single autonomous unit, is not functioning successfully as such. More powerful in Lansing than in any other location, it has failed

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

to build a strong organization at the bottom. Instead, it is top heavy with leadership and lacking in followers. The controlling group, Reuben Alfara, Roy Fuentes and Jessie Sorriano split, with Jane Gonzalez long time Muskegon leader, over issues concerning UMOI administration and tried to organize a second La Raza chapter there excluding her and her followers. The resulting turf squabble split the state, the Southwestern group forming a loose knit coalition of their own led by Mrs. Gonzalez, a UMOI area director and supported other UMOI people such as Bill Gomez, Mike Uriegas, as well as Mexican-Americans from Grand Rapids, Benton Harbor and Holland.

Not all Chicano influentials in Southwestern Michigan rallied immediately around the UMOI flag, however, for UMOI has itself had problems in certain areas. There are those who have kept their own council though in tacit agreement with anti-Lansing sentiment. There is no real solidarity. Even local groups are fractured, some divided along traditional right-left lines some concerned with small scale power struggles of their own. In some cities La Raza chapters exist in relative isolation from the state organization, bound to one another only by the common name. The state La Raza group, on paper, supposedly is answerable to a representative steering committee but feeling has run high that this is merely a rubber stamp body which those who control the organization uses to its own advantages. There have been instances of letters sent out under the signature of organization officers or steering committee members who cannot read and write.

The positive record of La Raza Unida is often obscured by such incidents and if one can be objective in assessing La Raza Unida accomplishments it must be admitted that, if nothing else, it has fostered Chicano

awareness among significant number of decision makers. Awareness, of course, is still many steps away from action. There has not been sufficient attention to Latin demands given by those in the Anglo political structure to satisfy any group of action-oriented Latins and La Raza has been the most vocal in protesting this inequity.

In truth they have succeeded in fostering new awareness. ✓
There are more Latins working in high status positions with the government than there have ever been before. Measuring the impact of these placements upon the Chicano community as a whole is another matter. There has been no real criteria established to determine just how potent these individuals are in their jobs nor conversely just how much real power the jobs afford them. Even the notion of "power" itself calls for definition. Must power be measured in supervisory terms? How many people are responsible to this individual? How many people does he hire or fire? Or must it be measured in terms of influence at the decision making level?'

Latins are quick to recognize tokenism, at the same time understanding the need for well-placed colleagues within "The System." The more politically astute, and the leaders in Lansing and Detroit are for the most part quite sophisticated politically, the more they are likely to define power as influence and to see that power as a vehicle which will ultimately transport them from a position of external leadership to a position as internal leader.

The notion of job potency gives rise also to interesting speculation as to the direction of job mobility. Does the job really impact upon the community as it ideally should? Or as the constituents perceive of it as impacting? Does it afford the individual who holds it with the

opportunity to "move up"? It has been observed that in most instances in Michigan, Chicano job mobility is horizontal. As new status positions become available through ethnic group or governmental compliance pressures, a Latin moves into it from another such job created at an earlier date, He may receive a boost in salary but often none in authority. Another, usually a member of his clique structure, moves into the old job and so it goes. A very recent example is that of Detroit's Gus Gaynett and Israel Leyton who, as this paper neared completion, moved into new jobs. Gaynett joined the United States Justice Department's Human Relations program and Leyton moved into his job with the Archdiocesan Secretariat. One Anglo described the phenomena, not uncommon among other groups, as "minority musical chairs." Periodic job changes occur with no significant strides in minority achievement. Migrants still find little work, live in sub-standard housing. Latin youths continue to leave school by the droves at the intermediate level, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are still denied jobs because of "the language barrier," the same old inequities persist. The only real change occurs within the highest echelons of Latin leadership who move, capitalizing on their ethnicity, from job to job hoping to find that real power so sadly lacking within their movement, looking for some avenue to resource control.

IV. A NEW LEADERSHIP TYPOLOGY

While the rationale behind both John Burma's and Laura Morlock's typologies of Latin leadership is solid, enough significant change has taken place to warrant the development of a newer and broader leadership typology which takes into consideration the ongoing upswing in ethnic awareness as well as the impact of enhanced job opportunities which have grown out of the Civil Rights Movement.

We will use the breakdown terms "credentialed upper echelon," "credentialed lower echelon," "nascent" and "peripheral" in structuring our typology.

Credentialed Upper Echelon (CUE) leaders are those, known widely to both Anglos and Latins, who have attained status through employment or appointment and who impact significantly on the Latin Community in terms of influence.

Credentialed Lower Echelon (CLE) leaders are those who have attained some measure of status through employment or appointment but who have thus far had relatively little impact on the ethnic community and are known only to small circles of those with whom they have frequent contact.

Peripheral leaders are those who impact on the Latin community as uncredentialed social workers, through affiliation with ethnic sociability or community action organizations through business and professional connections.

Nascent leaders are those who are quite young or who have only recently assumed some type of visible role within the ethnic community.

Although the majority of Latin influentials who would be included in the CUE category are subsidized in Burma's sense, there are those who have achieved status in other ways. Edward Barrera, an insurance executive in Saginaw was appointed by the Governor to the Civil Rights Commission. Known already at the local tier he achieved statewide status through his appointment as commissioner. In this same category is Rosa Torres, co-ordinator of the Migrant Education Center at Central Michigan University who was appointed by the Governor to the Michigan's Women's Commission. Others, Miriam Rivera, of Battle Creek, Ephraim Lopez of Saginaw, Joel Davila of Benton Harbor and Rebecca Rivera of Holland have also received Executive Office Appointments to State Councils and Commissions. Such appointments add new dimensions to the status of locally based leaders. These are, of course, majority appointed, in the sense that they were not placed in status positions by popular vote within the minority community, yet individuals such as these were no doubt selected for appointment because they had already achieved civic stature through some local mechanism. Thus, both subsidized leaders and majority appointed influentials may be included under the rubric "credentialed."

Since the primary focus of Morlock's study is upon styles and networks of leadership and the emphasis of this and John Burma's study is upon leadership bases, many of Morlock's observations have been translated into resource terms. Both visible and symbolic leaders can be credentialed, visible leaders being upper echelon, symbolic lower. Concealed leadership is most often peripheral or nascent.

Social activists are likely to be CUE, exemplors would fall into the peripheral category as do representatives.

The bulk of Latin social activism comes from a subsidized or majority appointed base and can be termed credentialed upper echelon. The only notable exception would be those who've attracted the public eye through student social activist movements, whose leadership must be categorized as nascent.

Exemplors and informal social workers because they are uncredentialed fall into the Peripheral sub-group, as do those whom Morlock calls representatives who influence the Latin community through business and professional sources. While those who are union affiliated are, in a sense, subsidized in that they receive middle-income salaries and are often charged with responsibilities relating strictly to the ethnic community, they are still perceived as being "outside the system" by comparison to those who have government jobs.

When applying such a typology one is able to assess the importance of the new leadership rolls which have grown out of the Civil Rights movement. The credentialed upper echelon group has found a new leadership base in poverty subsidized positions. Whether or not they are ultimately able to use these bases, developed externally for the development of an internally based leadership structure remains to be seen.

My purpose in dividing credentialed leaders into two categories, upper and lower echelon, is to make clear the true nature of those new job opportunities created by Civil Rights and O.E.O. legislation. Though more and more government agencies have responded to ethnic group

pressures and compliance laws by expanding opportunities for minority placements, those jobs created are often sinecures. If not, then those individuals from minority groups who obtain jobs find that the jobs themselves, though real enough, allow them little or no latitude to serve the particular needs of their ethnic communities. They soon come to realize that they, like their Anglo counterparts, are supernumeraries, professional bureaucrats who have no input into policy.

There is, of course, always the chance that credentialed lower echelon leaders may move up, through astute politicking, to the upper echelon. Some have done it with the help of the clique structure, some on their own. Few in the lower echelon see their jobs as "dead ends."

Nascent leaders, especially college and university students, often move into lower echelon roles when their school careers have ended. Some of the most fortunate pass directly from the university to the upper echelon and this will not doubt happen with greater frequency as more and more well-credentialed young Latins graduate.

It is in the peripheral category that we find leaders with the least latitude for mobility. Most of these are well established as influentials but within smaller circles and with little role change potential. Informal socialworkers, sociability organization leaders and business and professional people will continue to play the same roles unless they are also employed in a credentialed lower echelon capacity. If this is the case, the role as peripheral leader has eclipsed the work role and unless their job descriptions are upgraded or changed dramatically, the basis for their leadership will continue to be other than job status.

It must be noted, however, that the peripheral base is a logical springboard for mobility into the lower or upper echelon category. Informal social workers, if they become well-known enough, are appointed to local offices. They then may find themselves in the arena contending for state appointments. Individuals gaining stateside attention, with such enhanced credentials, oftentimes find that they can get jobs with greater ease. The same can be said of those who attain initial leadership status through social and sociability organizations.

The channels between the points in this typology, while seldom well marked are always navigable. The number making the trip will be determined by the following: 1) the extent of the development of political sophistication, 2) the success of educational programming at all levels, and 3) the degree to which CUE leaders are able to translate externally based leadership into externally based leadership.

In the four years since Laura Morlock studied Latin leadership roles in Lansing, the total picture there, as in Michigan as a whole, has changed. Leaders have learned that the only way to make the system work for them is to "get inside" and learn how it works for the majority. This infiltration technique has been thus far the most successful of all strategies used by Latin leaders. Credentials are vital, not necessarily because of their symbolic value but because of the access they may bring with them. Those in government jobs have little real authority but may still influence policy from within.

This typology takes into consideration a new class of leaders, those with credentials and those who understand what credentials are. Even given additional ethnic consciousness and the resultant militancy

it is likely that future emphasis in Mexican-American leadership will be upon access through education and the accumulation of credentials.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Berry, Carol W. A Survey of the Holland Michigan Spanish-Speaking Community, (East Lansing, Institute for Community Development, 1970)
- Burma, John. Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States, (Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1954)
- Choldin, Harvey and Graftan Trout, Jr., Mexican-Americans in Transition, Migration and Employment in Michigan Cities, (East Lansing, Department of Sociology Rural Manpower Center, Michigan State University, 1969)
- Gordon, Milton. Assimilation in American Life, (Oxford Press, New York, 1964)
- Martinez, John. "Leadership and Politics," La Raza/Forgotten Peoples, Ed. Julian Samara, (South Bend, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 1966)
- Moore, Joan, Leo Grebler and Frank Guzman. Mexican-Americans in the United States, (Westwood, California, University of Southern California Press, 1970)
- Morlock, Laura. Mexican-American Civic Leadership in a Northern City (unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State University, 1968)
- Nugent, John. Leadership in the Spanish-Speaking Community of Lansing, Michigan, (unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State University, 1964)

NOV 12 1971