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I. POLITICAL STRATEGIES IN THE 1980s

INTRODUCTION*

The 1980 federal Census revealed that Latinos constitute 19 percent of California's population and 28 percent of Los Angeles County's residents.¹ What do these statistics mean to Latinos' actual and potential political strength? What prospect is there that the Latino population will make itself felt in the American political arena? Will Latinos ever be fairly represented in the state and federal political processes?

The four panelists discuss these and other questions. Dr. Leobardo Estrada begins with a bare-bones view of the Latino demography. This population's most important characteristic is its tremendous rate of growth. As the total U.S. population between 1970 and 1980 grew by 26 million, Latinos made up 5 million of that increase. This growth represents a two-tiered phenomena: (1) the actual Latino population has grown rapidly, (2) while other ethnic groups have fallen behind in their growth rates. But these numbers do not necessarily translate into political power for Latinos. Dr. Estrada notes that though Latinos are a rapidly growing group, several factors currently prevent large-scale Latino political mobilization. For instance, this population is quite young when compared with its Anglo counterpart. Consequently, because of its youth, many Latinos are not yet legally eligible to vote. Moreover, non-citizen status, and the fact that the Latino population has retained the Spanish language compounds the participation problem. Though these factors present barriers to participating in the political process, with time these obstacles can be overcome. "You begin to realize," says Dr. Estrada, "that [Latino] population is there, but like a diamond in the rough, it simply sits there as a potential voting bloc."

Dr. Santillán presents the next step in the process. That is, once we know the basic demographic features of the Latino population, how does one study its political behavior? Dr. Santillán maintains that "this is the key" to understanding how to attract more Latinos into the political process. But a simple head count will not do. The complexity of the political issues at hand has prompted the leaders of *el movimiento* of the 1960s to rely on the

* By Daniel Olivas, UCLA Law Student.

1. See 1980 Census of Population, Suppl. Report—Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980, PC-80, 51-7 (Issued 1982).

technology of the 1980s. Thus, the role of computers in this process is not only important, it has proven to be essential. But in the end, research cannot be done in a vacuum; the goal is to lead to social change where Latinos will eventually have a say in shaping their future.

No ethnic group is homogenous; there will always be the old and the young, rich and poor, male and female. Esther Valadez, the third panelist, comments on the Latina's role in the political process. The demography of this sector of the Latino population offers much political potential, but it also presents a few problems. The average age for the 5.6 million Latinas in the U.S. is 10 years younger than that of Anglo women. Along with its youth, this population of Latinas suffers many economic and educational hardships. For example, Latinas' median educational level is 8.4 years and their unemployment rate is higher than any other sector of the U.S. female population. Any political strategy, asserts Ms. Valadez, must include the Latina. Without utilizing 50 percent of its population, Latinos will not be effective in forming a politically viable plan for the future.

Though the political progress of the Latino community has been slow, the progress has been steady. Edward Avila, the final panelist, addresses this fact with a vision towards the future. He asserts that Latinos must shed myths that perpetuate negative images. The "sleeping giant" myth, for instance, should be dispelled. Instead of being asleep, the giant may be viewed as young and developing. The time is now ripening for Latinos to show that they *do* vote, that they *can* work together and that they *will* contribute to society. Once this is done, the development of skilled Latino candidates and the creation of long-range plans will be possible to mobilize the Latino political machine.

Though maintenance of a substantial number of voters remains a vital element to the political formula, such statistics remain the mere starting point of a complicated and painstaking study into the "political science" of the Latino. But as a long journey begins with the first step, so too does the goal of fair representation begin with a statistical and sociological understanding of the Latino in America.

MODERATOR:²

We now bring you a synopsis of the evolving political process and the maturing of the Latino in this process. We first look to

2. Esther Valadez. Ms. Valadez received her J.D. from the UCLA School of Law in 1976. She has worked in Legal Services and practiced with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. She is the former President of the Mexican American Bar Association and currently is in private practice.

the demography and the social characteristics of the Latino community. We will see how these social characteristics are translated into representation through the use of technology. From this we will move to the role of the Latina in the political process. We will conclude with how all of these various factors will come together in the political arena in the future. Our first speaker is Dr. Leobardo Estrada.

A. *Demographic Characteristics of Latinos: Dr. Leobardo Estrada*³

The study of the Latino population in the United States is probably one of the most interesting areas in the field of demography today. The changes which have occurred in that population over such a short period of time have been very dramatic. I will talk briefly about some of those changes, then utilize some of that information as it relates to Los Angeles in a brief illustration of some of those features and characteristics.

If you sit down and look at the most important demographic characteristics of the Latino population, the first one that has to come to the forefront is that of growth. First of all, one has to take into consideration that since 1970 the United States population was approximately 190 million, almost 200 million.⁴ The population in 1980 was 226 million, a growth or a change of about 26 million people.⁵ The Hispanic population, using the measure that is comparable under both censuses,⁶ went from 9.7 to 14.6 million,⁷ so that the Hispanic growth represents 5 million of the 26 million growth in the United States. That is a very dramatic increase, keeping in mind that we represent only 7% of the total

3. Dr. Leobardo F. Estrada is a native of Texas. He is a graduate of Baylor University, Waco, Texas. He received his M.S. and Ph.D. in Sociology from Florida State University. He is currently an associate professor of the School of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of California, Los Angeles.

4. The final Census figure reported indicates that the population of the United States in 1970 was 203,211,926. 1970 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Part 1, Sec. 1, at 51 (Table I—Population of the U.S., Puerto Rico and Outlying Areas: 1950-1970).

5. The Census figures for the total number of persons in the United States in 1980 was 226,545,805, indicating an increase of approximately 23 million. *See supra* note 1, at 6.

6. The 1980 figures on Spanish origin are not directly comparable with 1970 Spanish origin totals because of a number of factors, namely, overall improvements in the 1980 Census, better coverage of the population, improved question design, and an effective public relations campaign by the Census Bureau with the assistance of national and community ethnic groups. These efforts undoubtedly resulted in the inclusion of a sizeable, but unknown number of persons of Hispanic origin who are in the country in other than legal status. *Id.* at 4.

7. The 1970 Census figure for the total number of persons of Spanish origin in the United States was 9,072,602. 1970 Census of Population: Subject Reports—Persons of Spanish Origin, PC(2)-1c, at IX (Issued June 1973) (Table 1—Persons of Spanish Origin by Race, for the United States: 1970). The comparable census figure for 1980 increased to 14,608,673. *See supra* note 5.

population. So even though the country continues to grow, it is not growing as rapidly as it once was, emphasizing the truly dramatic growth of the Hispanic population.

On the whole, there are two reasons for this growth, the first reason being fertility. The fertility rate of the Latino population continues to be one of the highest in the entire United States. There are only two other groups that have been studied with a fertility rate that is higher than the Hispanic population of the United States.⁸ One is the Mormons, which is a religious group. The other, the Mennonites, an Amish group, whose very small sects have fertility rates resulting in every woman averaging about 11 or 12 children.

By comparison, birth rates have been going down in the United States for a long time, to the point where the net reproductive rate (the level at which a population reproduces itself) is actually lower than the fertility rate for the Anglo population. Women usually have children between the ages of 14 to 44. For a population to reproduce itself, every woman has to have at least two children; statistically it is 2.1 to compensate for infant mortality. If, however, every woman on the average do not have two children, then the population group will not reproduce itself.

The net reproductive rate right now for Anglos is 1.9.⁹ What it means is that the Anglo population is not passed that high fertility interval. For Latinas, 50% of the women are just entering that interval. What that means, at least from a demographer's point of view, is that Latinos will probably double in the next 18 years. More importantly, the next 15 or so years are going to represent a Chicano baby boom. It is going to be a period of intensive high fertility rates because of our age structure.

In addition to the fact that the fertility rate is high, we have immigration. One has to divide immigration into two concepts, those of "flow" and "stock." There is a very high volume of what we refer to as flow; individuals who come into the United States on a temporary basis, exit, enter, exit, enter over a long period of time. If we counted this group today and came back a few weeks from now and recounted, we would find that those same individuals might not be there, or at least some of those same individuals

8. The fertility rate for the Hispanic population (99.2 per 1000 women) was considerably higher than that recorded for both the white and black populations, or for the nation as a whole. In all, about 9 percent of the births reported by women in the survey were born to women of Spanish origin who represent only 7 percent of all women. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Fertility of American Women: June 1981 (Advance Report 1982). See also *id.* at 3-4 (Table 1—Births to Date and Future and Lifetime Births Expected per 1,000 Women: June 1981).

9. Estrada, *Dynamic Growth and Dispersion of the Hispanic Population*, in *LATIN AMERICANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES* (Ladham & Mattoon eds., forthcoming by Latin American Studies Center, Univ. of Arizona).

would not be there. Other individuals like them would be in their place. What we have is a high, constant volume. We estimate the volume to be reproducing itself overall. The net reproductive rate for Latinos is 3.4.¹⁰ So, not only do we reproduce at least two people, the man and the woman, but an extra one as well. This is partly due to the fact that the Latino population is very young. Looking at the age distribution of the population, you realize that that portion of the population falling within the high fertility rates of 19 through 29 is very relevant to growth. Most women who have children will have most of their children during the ages of 19 to 29. There are exceptions, but even those with a much broader range of childbirth will still have the majority of their children in that 10 year period. The median age¹¹ for an Anglo woman in the United States right now is about 33 years old.¹² The median age of a Latina in the United States is about 23.¹³ For a *Mexicana*, it is 22.¹⁴ For a *Puertorriquena*, it is 21.¹⁵ What it means is that if you take 19 to 29 to be the high fertility age group, the average Anglo woman is past that already. Of course they are having children but more than half of the population has anywhere from 1 to 2½ million people who come in and out of the country on a continual flow basis but they are not part of the continuing growth population.¹⁶ They are part of the population, of course, but not necessarily part of the permanent population.

By contrast, we have the stock population, which is a permanent group that comes here with every intention of staying in the United States, with every intention of becoming part of the community. We know that they are here because they show up in our

10. *Id.*

11. The median age of any population group is that age where one-half of the individuals in the population group are younger than that age, and one-half of the individuals in the population group is older than that age.

12. The median age for white females in the United States in 1980 was 32.6 years of age. U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE UNITED STATES: 1981 at 26 (102nd edition 1981) (No. 29—Resident Population by Age, Sex, and Race: 1960-1980).

13. The median age for the total female population of Spanish origin as of March, 1979, was 22.9 years. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1979, P-20, No. 354, at 19 (1980).

14. The median age for the female population of Mexican origin, as of March, 1979, was 21.3 years of age. *Id.* at 19.

15. The median age for the female population of Puerto Rican origin, as of March, 1979, was 22.1. *Id.* at 19.

16. A recent study, drawing upon 7 studies of Latino immigration completed after 1974, estimates the flow of deportables into the United States to be approximately 1.6 million, within a range of 620,000 and 2,040,000. Garcia y Griego & Estrada, *Research on the Magnitude of Mexican Undocumented Immigration to the U.S.: A Summary*, in MEXICAN IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN THE U.S. (A. Rios-Bustamante ed. Monograph Series, Chicano Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1982).

statistics. Let us look, for example, at birth statistics. If we take all the births that we can attribute to women with Spanish surnames who say they are Chicana, subtract our deaths of Spanish surname individuals, and add the number of persons who come to the United States legally each year through INS,¹⁷ we would still come up with a number, when we look at this year by year, of somewhere between 90-130,000 people per year who keep showing up in our statistics who should not be there.¹⁸ We call them an excess population. What they represent is the fallout from that flow, who are becoming part of our permanent Latino population in the United States and part of the permanent foreign stock.

There are two other factors important to note, the first being that we are an exceptionally metropolitanized population. There is an image that Latinos are rural workers, migrant workers, and that we live in small towns and areas. In fact, at present, Latinos are the most metropolitanized population in the United States.¹⁹ We are more urbanized than blacks and more urbanized than Anglos. In other words, when you are talking about Latinos, you are talking about urban dwelling, urban residing Latinos. Within that, however, you have to take into consideration the fact that we are simultaneously decentralizing.²⁰ While Latinos have been moving into cities, one of the most important things that has occurred in the 1960s and 1970s is the suburbanization of Latinos. The idea of the central *barrio* continues to exist in most of our major Southwestern cities, but the suburbanization of the population is a very important and dramatic event because what seems to be going on now is that these *barrio* areas, the East L.A.s, the Boyle Heights, the Echo Parks, are serving as staging areas where

17. The major enforcement responsibilities under the immigration laws are assigned to the Attorney General, whose duties include guarding the frontiers, determining the admissibility of those who seek to enter, and expelling aliens not entitled to remain in the United States. The Attorney General discharges these responsibilities through the Immigration and Naturalization Service, a division of the Department of Justice, organized into a single department in 1933, and transferred to the Department of Justice effective June 14, 1940. I C. GORDON & H. ROSENFELD, IMMIGRATION LAW AND PROCEDURE 1-31-34 (revised ed. 1974).

18. Estimates of the net flow (i.e., fallout from the flow that remains) to the United States vary, the lower limits of the range being between 50,000 and 82,000 people per year and the upper limits being 158,000 to 357,000 per year. See Garcia y Griego & Estrada, *supra* note 16.

19. As of March, 1980, approximately 85.4 percent of Spanish origin individuals 5 years of age or older resided in urbanized areas, as compared to 79.4 percent of blacks, 68.9 percent of whites, and 71.4 percent for the population as a whole. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Geographical Mobility: March 1975-March 1980, P-20, No. 368, at 6 (1981) (Table 1—Detailed Mobility by Sex, Race, and Spanish Origin). See also *id.* at 131 (detailed discussion and definition of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas).

20. Figures indicate that 6.2% of the total Spanish-origin population shifted from the central cities to the suburbs, while only 2.9% of the total population moved from the suburbs into the central cities. *Id.* at 6.

people come into the United States, get acclimated, get accustomed to the system, and utilize them as places to start from. But once jobs get steady, once the family starts to get larger, then movement is, in most cases, out into the suburbs.

Finally, there is the fact that the concentration of Latinos is beginning to reverse. During the 1960s we saw a deconcentration of Latinos away from its historical southwest areas along the border, moving further north and, in some cases, hopping all the way out of the Midwest and Pacific Northwest.²¹ A few years ago, the number of Latinos leaving the traditional southwestern states to live in areas other than those states had been steadily increasing. In 1980, the trend began to reverse and we have now begun to see the first significant amount of return migration back to the southwest of those people who went to Michigan, to Illinois, to Wisconsin, and to Minnesota.²² The proportion of Latinos in the southwest which was steadily dropping has now stabilized and is beginning to increase.

There are two final things to mention. The first is that the Latino population remains the group with the most common use of a non-English language in the United States.²³ Spanish is the most common non-English language spoken. About 12 million people say they speak a language other than English,²⁴ 35% of the households say it is Spanish,²⁵ that is, 35% of 12 million. Approximately 44% of the individuals, because we have more people per household than do other groups,²⁶ speak Spanish. What we are talking about is a language that is maintained over a long period of time. It is important to keep in mind that when we break it down in to the types of domination, about 17% of the Latino pop-

21. For studies illustrating the trend of migration of Latinos from the southwest to the midwest and Pacific northwest, see Estrada, *A Demographic Comparison of the Mexican Origin Population in the Midwest and Southwest*, 7 *AZTLAN* 203 (Summer, 1976); Slatta, *Chicanos in the Northwest; An Historical Overview of Oregon's Chicanos*, 6 *AZTLAN* 327 (Fall, 1975); E. Gamboa, *Chicanos and the Northwest, an Historical Perspective* (Paper presented at the Chicano Studies Institute, University of Washington, Seattle 1971).

22. Using figures that should accurately identify major migratory patterns of the Latino population, it appears that even though the number of migrants going into the midwest area still outnumber those migrants leaving that area, the majority of those migrating into the midwest come from Texas. There is a definite pattern of migration from the midwest to California, Colorado, and Arizona. See Estrada, *supra* note 9, at 213-15.

23. Compare L.F. Estrada, *The Extent of Spanish/English Bilinguals in the United States* (1983) (unpublished paper) with U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Ancestry and Language in the United States: P-23, No. 116* (November, 1979) (study whose base figures differ, but does not deal with breakdowns with the Latino population to the degree as the Estrada study).

24. See L.F. Estrada, *supra* note 23.

25. *Id.*

26. *Id.*

ulation is Spanish monolingual.²⁷ These people are, for the most part, children under the age of 9 and individuals over the age of 55.²⁸ The next group is the Spanish-dominant/English-speaking individuals which makes up about 37% of the Latino population.²⁹ The English-dominant/Spanish bilingual group would be individuals like most of you in this room, and make up about 33% of the Latino population.³⁰ The remainder are English monolinguals.³¹ The group that is growing the fastest is not the English monolingual group as you might expect, but rather the English-dominant/Spanish bilingual. That group represents a combination of people dropping from the Spanish-dominant/English bilingual to the opposite, English/Spanish bilingual, as well as people who are brought up in the United States speaking only Spanish who are moving up in a sense, at least as I see it, into the bilingual categories.³²

Census maps indicate that there have been some very dramatic changes occurring in the Hispanic population of Los Angeles County.³³ The data from the 1970 Census illustrates that even then, the number of census areas with less than 5 percent Hispanics were few in number, were scattered, and tended to be on the northwest side of Los Angeles. Comparison with the 1980 Census data will show the extent to which the Latino population has grown, and the particular characteristics of this growth.³⁴

First, the Latino *barrio*, which used to be concentrated in East Los Angeles, is now a much more highly extended and heterogeneous area. It actually begins around Griffith Park and it goes all the way across Irwindale, and in a sense, down to the cities of Maywood and Vernon, and over to Santa Fe Springs. Using what we now call the *barrio*, defined in terms of population and characteristics and the things that comprise the *barrio* population-wise, you can see that we have a much more highly extended area.

Another aspect of this growth which is very interesting is that we have some areas that grew far beyond what we would have expected. One of them, and probably the most important one, is

27. *Id.*

28. *Id.*

29. *Id.*

30. *Id.*

31. *Id.*

32. *Id.*

33. *See supra* note 6.

34. *Compare* Persons of Spanish Language and Surname as a Percent of the Total Population in the Los Angeles Five County Area by Census Tracts—1970 Census (map, copyright 1972, Western Economic Research Co., Sherman Oaks, Ca. 91423), *with* Persons of Spanish Origin as a Percent of the Total Population in the Los Angeles Five County Area by Census Tracts—1980 Census, (map, copyright Western Economic Research Co., Sherman Oaks, Ca. 91423). *See generally supra* note 6 (for an explanation of the different measures used in the two Censuses).

in the San Fernando Valley. You can see the difference in the color for that particular part of Los Angeles, the extent of which it has grown in terms of size and number. Long Beach/San Pedro is also one of the areas where the Latino population has been growing dramatically. Though it dates back to the time when there were many cannery workers, that population has grown tremendously. While Latinos were not in Long Beach at all, they have begun to move across into this area. There is a group in the San Gabriel Valley which perhaps represents one of the most important areas of Latino growth on the whole because it is represented by young families with children, and additionally, with higher education. This particular group lives in the San Gabriel Valley. There are two other areas which will be interesting to keep an eye on. One is Santa Ana in Orange County, which had very few Latinos concentrated in one area and which now has a very large Latino *barrio*, with a very large concentration over all. The other one that is interesting to watch is the predominantly Black South Central Los Angeles area which is turning Chicano. This population of Latinos, which used to be pretty much cut off at Alameda Street and above, right about where Downey begins, has now moved straight down south and through the city and is moving westward. This movement is causing tension between Latinos and Blacks in the South Central area because it is squeezing Blacks into a much smaller area, which has several significant consequences.

Finally, the West Covina, Rolling Heights, Hacienda Heights area is also an area of interesting growth. What is interesting to note about this is that people refer to that section as the Chicano Beverly Hills. It represents a very highly educated, well-organized and important group of Latinos. I should also point out that the area around West Covina and Pomona has changed dramatically as has that of Ventura County.

Now having told you all this, I want you to discount about a third of its immediate impact because we are talking about political strategies. First of all, because Latinos are very young, the proportion of those eligible to vote is low among that population. I would estimate that about 47% of Latinos are under the age of 15,³⁵ and approximately 52% are under the age of 18.³⁶ So, re-

35. Dr. Estrada's estimates differ from those developed by the U.S. Census Bureau. According to the Bureau's estimates, approximately 32% of the Spanish origin population is under 15 years of age. 1980 Census of the Population, Suppl. Report—Age, Sex, Race, and Spanish Origin of the Population by Regions, Divisions, and States: 1980, PC 80, 51-1, at 3 (1981) (Table 1—Population of the United States by Age, Sex, Race, and Spanish Origin: 1980).

36. The latest population figures indicate that approximately 38.6% of the Spanish Origin population is under 18 years of age. *Id.*

ardless of how much Latinos have grown, they have grown mostly in terms of children and not in terms of voters. Secondly, they have dispersed tremendously since the 1980s. Thus, Latinos can no longer be easily targeted. It was a lot easier to reach Latinos by walking precincts in some areas in the 1970s where there were heavy concentrations of Latinos than it is to try and walk those precincts today with the dispersion that we have.

The political implications of this dispersion can be shown by example. One of the reasons why even though there is a much smaller proportion of Blacks they can elect four state legislators from Los Angeles County is because of the tremendous amount of residential segregation which concentrates them in that South Central area.³⁷ By comparison, Latinos are so spread out that it is very difficult to target any particular kind of political campaign towards them. Moreover, the immigrants that have come into the United States, whether they come from the stock population or the legal population, have been identified in most studies to be a very conservative group.³⁸ Finally, whether or not we have population growth occurring, let us say, in the San Gabriel Valley, it is of little interest in terms of political strategies because it will not be translated into any kind of political entity without a good organizational basis. One of the things that one has to ask is what political organization represents the San Gabriel Valley? If you do not have a nice, easy answer like you have, to let us say, who represents the people in another part of the city, then you begin to realize that that population is there, but like a diamond in the rough, it simply sits there as a potential voting bloc.

A lot of what we need to know about Latino voters has not been explored. Voting behavior among Latinos is probably one of the least known areas. This point leads us into the following presentations.

B. *Translating Population Numbers Into Political Power: Dr. Richard Santillán*³⁹

The point that Dr. Estrada left off with is an extremely im-

37. See Dembart, *Los Angeles County Most Ghettoized in Southern California*, L.A. Times, June 14, 1981, § II, at 1, col. 1. Cf. Southern California Association of Governments Tables—Minority Populations in the SCAG region as a % of Total: by City and County, 1970-1980 (Preliminary Census Tape 94-171 1980).

38. Cf. Arce, *Chicano Voting*, 53 LA RED/THE NET 2 (1982) (article which illustrates that even though the voting and voter registration rates for naturalized Hispanic immigrants are higher than that of United States born Hispanics, only 1 in 7 immigrants in the survey reported being naturalized; therefore 86% of those immigrants are eliminated from participating in the political process at the outset).

39. B.A. (Philosophy & Chicano Studies), California State College, Los Angeles, 1970 & 1972, Masters, California State College, Northridge, 1974, Ph.D., Claremont State College, 1978; Director, Chicano/Hispanic Reapportionment Project, Rose

portant one. We do have the numbers, but now how do we translate them into political power? And how do we understand the attitude and the voting behavior of the Latino community? It is interesting that the Latino community, in terms of its increasing numbers, and in terms of political science, is probably the community that we know least about in terms of voting behavior. There lies the key because once we know what the issues are and how they vote and what will bring them out to vote, we can then begin to see an increased number of Latinos participating in the political process.

While working with Californios for Fair Representation,⁴⁰ it was interesting to realize that many of us, including Dr. Estrada, were the products of the 1960s and the 1970s; many of us were involved in *el movimiento* during that time and in MECHA.⁴¹ It was interesting to see the fact that all that experience and all that knowledge many of us developed was brought back into the community. Further, it is significant that the research we do is not research in a vacuum or an abstract idea, but it is translated into social policy. I say this because many times we tend to be somewhat critical of ourselves, we say that the Chicano movement failed or the Chicano movement is no longer viable. I have to disagree. When we look at many of the people who were involved in Californios, it is obvious that the Chicano movement continues.

When we put together our reapportionment plan for the state legislature, we spent almost every night for over a year, using a computer between the hours of 10:00 and 6:00 in the morning at the Rose Institute. It was a very beautiful experience, having Dr. Estrada, provide the information that he shared with us but in much more detail. We had John Huerta, an attorney from MALDEF,⁴² giving us the legal advice as to how we could draw the lines, and Carlos Navarro, a political scientist, looking at the

Institute; Research Committee Member, Californios For Fair Representation; Assistant Professor & Chairperson, Ethnic and Womens Studies Department, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, 1979-present.

40. See *infra* Section II(A)(3) (Reapportionment). In June of 1981, Californios introduced its reapportionment plan for the California State Assembly. The plan created one new predominantly Latino seat in Los Angeles County while preserving the existing four seats. Districts consisting of 40 per cent Latino population were proposed in Fresno and Santa Clara counties and seats with a 20 to 30 per cent Latino population were created for San Diego, San Francisco, Ventura, Orange and San Bernardino/Riverside Counties.

41. MECHA is an acronym for "Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán," which translates to "Scholastic Chicano Movement of Aztlán" ("Aztlán" was the ancient homeland of the Aztecs before they migrated to Anahuac in the twelfth century, A.D.). Many colleges and universities have a MECHA where Latino students participate in social, political and educational activities that involve issues pertaining to the Latino community.

42. MALDEF is an acronym for "Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund." MALDEF offers educational grants for Latino students and legal rep-

political experience of the Latino community. By integrating our expertise, we were able to draw an excellent legislative plan.

What we have seen through Californios is that attorneys and law students did play a very important role. In terms of our leadership, Miguel Garcia, who was a statewide chairperson of Californios, John Huerta, who is a spokesperson for Californios, and Elaine Zamora, who is one of the panelists in today's panel on reapportionment, were all attorneys who played a very important role in the process. In fact, if we look at the last 10 or 20 years, most of the reforms we have achieved in the political process have come about because of the marriage between political scientists, Chicano political scientists and attorneys.

It is quite evident that the political world is changing very rapidly and we must consequently adapt to those changes. Thus, those Chicano organizations and community groups which do not change in response to this very rapidly changing world will find themselves very much like the dinosaurs. When we look at the political process, computers have come to play a very important role; in fact a very necessary part of the process, and if we are going to achieve any type of political power, we must begin to learn the new technology of computers. I often say that the reapportionment process of the 1980s, pitted Californios with our computer against the legislature with its computers. Having the best data available was the key.

But we, as Chicanos, in terms of our research and knowledge, have moved from the stone age to the space age in terms of our political use of this information. I can say that unlike 10 years ago, when we did work on the issue of reapportionment, that this time around we were much better prepared. With the data and research and maps we were able to make some reforms and some gains in the legislative process. Once we were able to identify where the Latino community was in terms of percentage of population by census tract, we could begin to draw the lines to develop some type of equation in terms of number of Latinos we needed in order to create a Latino district. Dr. Estrada was extremely important in pointing out that you could have a district containing 60, 70, or 80% Chicanos, but not knowing if they are mainly immigrants, undocumented workers, too young or whatever. Such factors could lead us to misinterpret the data.

Californios also helped design reapportionment plans for other counties. Last year, the Fresno County Board of Supervi-

resentation for those issues that have an impact on the Latino community. John Huerta is Associate Counsel for MALDEF's Los Angeles office.

sors' redistricting plan was overturned⁴³ through a plan designed by our project and by the California Rural Legal Assistance,⁴⁴ and by some private Chicano attorneys there. It was the first time that a federal judge had overturned a malapportionment plan, and that was a very major victory for the people in Fresno County. The Board of Supervisors had drawn five districts which diluted and fragmented the Chicano voting strength in that city. There is a major lawsuit⁴⁵ pending that will have far-reaching implications for the election of Latinos at the local level. Looking at the number of Latinos in local government, it is a very tragic situation that in Los Angeles area cities like Maywood, Huntington Park, Bell and Bell Gardens, where we have 80%, 67%, 90% Latinos, there are no Latinos on school boards or on city councils. The major reason for that is the fact that there exists a very discriminatory practice of using at-large districts.⁴⁶ In large districts candidates do not run in geographical districts, but they are elected by the entire city. Our studies have shown that in order for many of these communities to elect one Chicano to the city council of five members, you have to have at least 70% Chicano population in the entire city to offset the low Latino voter registration.⁴⁷

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) has filed a lawsuit in a very important case called *Carrillo v. Whittier Union High School*.⁴⁸ What we must prove to the judge next month is that at-large school districts do discriminate against the Latino community. The way in which we will prove this discrimination is to show that Chicano voters tend to vote for Chicano candidates. We can show that the Chicano community votes differently from the Anglo community. This phenomenon is apparent by looking at voting behavior in a particular community. Whittier, for example, can be characterized as having defined Anglo and Chicano communities. By comparing the voting behavior of the two communities, we are able to see the

43. *Lopez v. Fresno Co. Bd. of Supervisors*, No. 274607-1 (Fresno Sup. Ct. filed Nov. 1981).

44. CRLA stands for "California Rural Legal Assistance". Founded in 1968, CRLA offers legal representation for low income residents of California's rural areas. Its caseload involves landlord-tenant disputes, sales contracts, wage claims, unemployment insurance and other legal issues. By law, CRLA can lobby in Sacramento for legislation that affects its clients. It cannot handle criminal cases or represent labor unions.

45. *Carrillo v. Whittier Union High School Dist.*, No. C311912 (L.A. Sup. Ct. filed July 9, 1982), *appeal docketed*, No. 67858 (Cal. Ct. App. filed Feb. 18, 1983).

46. Almost 99% of all school boards run at-large and about 95% of all city councils run at-large.

47. Interview with Carlos Navarro, California State University, Northridge (Mar. 15, 1983).

48. See *supra* note 45.

differing voting behavior on certain issues, i.e., Proposition 9,⁴⁹ school bonds, Proposition 10,⁵⁰ taxing the oil companies, tax relief, rent control, low cost housing, and the farm-worker initiative.⁵¹ If we are successful in our challenge of the at-large school district election in Whittier, we will be able to challenge other similar discriminatory practices across the state.

I should add a couple of points. One is that there is an increasing number of Chicanos in political science who are using their skills in order to help their communities bring about social change. An example of this relationship is going to climax on September 1, 1982, in Denver. It stems from an earlier conference that was sponsored by the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO). We brought together political scientists, researchers, along with policy makers, in order to begin to utilize research for social change. On September 1, 1982, we will be meeting in Denver, bringing together Latinos from all over the country with political leadership, in order to cement that relationship so that Latinos in the colleges and universities will begin to lend their skills and resources to the Latino political leadership.

In conclusion, we have to understand that research should not be done in the abstract, but should lead to social change for the betterment of our people. I would agree that many of the reforms that we are involved with are very progressive reforms. They are not revolutionary in the general sense of the word. But they are revolutionary if we look at them in a historical process as being a springboard to something much larger, something much more important down the road, where we will have the ability to determine the policies and the direction of our own community. It is with this in mind that I encourage all law students and others to take up that challenge. We Latinos are a very young minority group, and the problems of unemployment, of inflation, and of race and sex discrimination are going to confront our children and those not yet born. We must understand that every privilege that

49. In June of 1980, California voters rejected Proposition 9 (61% against, 39% in favor) that would have decreased personal income tax by approximately 50 per cent. The proposition was sponsored by Howard Jarvis who, two years earlier, successfully lobbied for Proposition 13 that decreased property taxes. Thus, Proposition 9 has been referred to as "Jarvis II".

50. Proposition 10, which was defeated by California voters in June of 1980, would have required future local rent ordinances to have local voter approval, allowed landlords to increase rents to match the rate of inflation, and provided for the decontrol of certain rentals.

51. In 1974, California voters approved an initiative which gave farm laborers the right to collectively bargain with their employers. This provision was followed in 1975 by a legislative approval of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act. See CAL. LABOR CODE § 1140 *et seq.* (West's 1981). See also Comment, *Access to Farms as Mandated by the United States Constitution and by Action of the California Board of Agricultural Labor Relations*, 8 Sw. U.L. REV. 165, 181 (1976).

we have come about not because the system gave it to us, but because someone fought for it. I remember one thing that Dante once said: The worst place in Hell was usually reserved for those who during times of crises remained neutral.

C. *The Role of the Latina: Esther Valadez*⁵²

I am now going to bring you a slightly different perspective of the Latina. We have heard about her role and her importance in the future population of our community. I will, however, discuss the Latina in terms of a political strategy for the 1980s. When I first approached this topic, I felt that it was a topic which was suffering from serious under-exposure. Latinas and political strategies were considered to be mutually exclusive. Now, with the appearance of a series of articles in the *Herald Examiner*⁵³ and two very active political campaigns which are being waged in Los Angeles by Latinas,⁵⁴ this group has emerged as central to any discussion of political strategy for Latinos in the 1980s.

It is important as background for us to understand what it means to be a Latina in the 1980s. It means that you are one of more than 5.6 million Latinas in the United States.⁵⁵ It means that you are younger on the average than most women in this country.⁵⁶ It means that your median education level is only 8.4 years.⁵⁷ Your unemployment rate is 4% higher than that for any other woman,⁵⁸ and when you work, you earn less than any other person in the United States except for a Native American woman.⁵⁹

What does it mean to be a Latina who is interested in the

52. *See supra* note 2.

53. *See infra* note 70.

54. *Id.*

55. More recent provisional figures based on the 1980 Census data indicates that the number of females of Spanish Origin in the United States is 7,327,624. 1980 Census of the Population, Supplementary Reports, Age, Sex, Race, and Spanish Origin of the Population by Regions, Divisions, and States: 1980, PC-80-51-1, at 3 (May 1981) (Table 1—Population of the United States by Age, Sex, Race, and Spanish Origin: 1980).

56. As of March 1979, the median age for the entire female population of the United States was 30.9, for females of Spanish Origin, it was 22.9, *see supra* note 13. *See generally supra* notes 11-15.

57. *Cf. supra* note 12, at 142 (more recent statistics which indicate that the median education level of females of Spanish origin over 25 years in 1980 was 10.6 years).

58. *Compare supra* note 12, at 381 *with supra* note 12, at 384 (tables which show the low percentage participation of females of Spanish Origin in the civilian labor force as compared to blacks or whites and indicating a 22% unemployment rate among females of Spanish Origin in the civilian labor force).

59. Recent statistics indicate that the median income level of females of Spanish origin over 14 years of age as of 1978 was only \$3,788.00. *See supra* note 13, at 31, at 31 (Table 12—Income in 1978 of All Persons and Spanish Origin Persons 14 Years Old and Older, by Type of Spanish Origin and Sex: March, 1979).

political process? What does a Latina face who seeks to influence and make decisions which affect her community? In the electoral process, Latinas have not fared well. In California, our highest office holder is Blanca Alvarado, a City Councilwoman in San Jose. [Gloria Molina was elected to the California Assembly (56th District) on November 2, 1982.] We have elected a few Latinas to city councils of small towns and school boards, but we have no representation at the state level, either in the California Assembly or Senate. In other states, such as *Nuevo Mexico*, which has three women in the Assembly, and Colorado, where there are Latinas in both the State Assembly and Senate, Latinas have found greater electoral success than in this state, which is believed to be very progressive in terms of the Latino population. In comparison to other minority women, Latinas have had the least amount of political success. Other minority women have served as California's Secretary of State, they have been governors of states, mayors of major cities, cabinet level agency heads, and congresswomen. Comparatively, we have had little or no representation at the state or local levels, and we have had absolutely no representation at the federal level. There are no Latinas now nor has there ever been a Latina in the House of Representatives or in the United States Senate. In the judiciary, Latinas are conspicuously absent. There are only two Latinas serving as municipal court judges, no superior court judges, no court of appeal judges, and no federal district court judges.

Why does this dichotomy exist? Where are our Latinas? A fundamental reason for the lack of presence is that only recently have Latinas been provided with the educational opportunities necessary for success. It is only recently that the Latino community has come to accept the importance of educating its women. Many of us question whether this acceptance truly exists. Over the years as I have spoken to Latina professionals, educators, and businesspersons, and all have related personal horror stories. Stories of being confronted by men with the issue of their right to be educated, the issue of their right to be a professional, their right to compete with other men, or their right to be independent. In this system, a system which does not nurture Latinas with ambition but rather places obstacles in their path, it is no small wonder that Latinas have only recently begun to expand upon their potential. What then of the 1980s? Will they be the beginning of the Latina movement? What strategies are there for our community's future? It is through the implementation of strategies which strengthen the position of the Latina that we can strengthen the position of our community as a whole in the 1980s.

First and foremost, I believe our strategy should be education. I know it is a long-range goal and I know it is a fundamental

goal of our entire community. The Latinas that are currently active in our political structure and circle are on the average young. They are professionals, educators, or businesspersons who have had the benefit of a college education. There are not a great number of these women. That is because less than 6% of all Latinas have four or more years of college education.⁶⁰ This is a totally unacceptable situation. In order, however, to effect a fundamental change in the educational patterns of the Latina, it will be necessary to effect a change in the community's perception of the role of the Latina.

When we speak of the community's perception of the Latina's role it is both the community at large and that of the Latino community itself. For too long the Latino community, whose perceptions and actions are primarily influenced by its male members, has fostered the concept which has been adopted by the society at large, that a Latina's proper role is that of a supportive position—as a homemaker, a secretary, a precinct walker, or an administrative assistant. As a result of this perception, Latinas are not encouraged to compete, to excel, or to mature to their full potential. It is our very own community which suffers most from this. Latinas are an unutilized resource whose potential our community cannot afford to waste.

To remedy this, I have two solutions; initially, we need the support of Latinos and Latinas. We must increase our efforts to recognize the efforts of Latinas in our community and to call attention to the importance of supporting and increasing the number of Latinas as decision makers. Only through efforts to re-educate the community to the value of education and progress on the part of Latinas will there be an increase in the number of Latinas who enter the political process.

Latinas must also be made aware of the importance of self-help, of the potential strength which is available through working with each other and with women of other races. The mantle of power in the Latino and other communities is largely in the hands of men. Because of this, Latinas who seek power often choose to go to networks comprised primarily of men. There is no problem with this, for we have power in the hands of men. It is important to recognize this fact of power allocation and work with men. However, we have a test before us currently being conducted by Gloria Molina. Gloria Molina sought that avenue. She went forward and worked within a network, a political network, and is now asking that network to support her in her own political ambi-

60. Cf. *supra* note 12, at 142 (more recent statistics which indicate that the percentage of females of Spanish Origin over 25 years of age in 1980 with four or more years of college education was 6.2%).

tions. You are looking at a very qualified woman who has a tremendous amount of experience. This is the test which Latinas will look at and ask, is it true that if we come to you and we work in your system that we will be equal, that you will support us? [Gloria Molina was elected to the 56th Assembly District.] She has currently received only 50% of the support which she so richly deserves, so I say that both Latinos and Latinas should look around and take note of this in order to determine whether in fact that avenue, the avenue of working together, is available to Latinas.

There was a seminar conducted today (March 22, 1982) by *La Comision Feminil*,⁶¹ a seminar on how to conduct a political campaign. This seminar is a campaign primer designed to educate the Latina on the how-tos of a political campaign. This primer is being produced not only by Latinas, but by women of all races on behalf of Latinas. It is through the use of the surveys such as we have talked about here, through the use of these types of seminars, and through working together that we can push forward as Latinas. I feel that it is all a beginning.

In conclusion, I believe that it is clear that any political strategy for the 1980s must include the Latina in an increasingly important role. Reapportionment, political organizations, or increases in the Latino population will not be effective as political strategies for the 1980s without the inclusion of 50% of the Latino population as equal partners. I ask both men and women to recognize the importance of bringing Latinas into the system. They have a lot to contribute. They are a very important resource for us. They are a part of a strategy for the 1980s which we could take advantage of in order to move forward together much faster.

D. *Combining Political Strategies for Effective Representation:*
*Edward Avila*⁶²

I was sitting in the back of the room this morning watching a

61. Founded in 1970, *Comisión Feminil Mexicana Nacional* was established to bring Latinas into the social, political and economic institutions of American society as full participants. To achieve those goals, *Comisión* identifies issues confronting the Latina and her family and proposes solutions. In addition, *Comisión* provides a voice for presenting the Latina's needs. *Comisión* also provides leadership training programs as well as developing a network of Latinas interested in assuming leadership positions in the private and public sectors.

62. Mr. Edward Avila received his B.A. and M.A. in political science from the California State University at Los Angeles. He has attended both the University of Upsala in Sweden and the University of Stockholm in Sweden, where he studied problems pertinent to the Latino population of Sweden. He was formerly the National Director of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO). He is currently Vice-President of the VANIR network group for NALEO on the west coast.

person named Rosin⁶³ complaining to people about the process of reapportionment and how his group (the Senate) had been excluded from the Symposium. Ten years ago, that was us, screaming about being excluded. I think that signifies some very important points; some of which you have heard this morning, some things that are very significant. Not necessarily significant in outcome yet. Not necessarily those things that are obvious to us. But you have just heard one of the most distinguished demographers in the country in Dr. Estrada. You have just heard from one of the most distinguished political scientists in the country, not just ethnically, but *in the country*. You have just heard a very distinguished attorney from our community who achieved the position of President of the Mexican American Bar Association, which for a Latina is quite a significant step. You have just heard about a young woman who is running for office in East Los Angeles, who has without question the competence and the ability and without question is the most qualified person running for that office.

What does this all say to us? I have been involved in the political process for about 15 years. To me, it says something about movement, about progress. It means that we are in fact achieving. Maybe not to the degree that we want to achieve. We all want to achieve in a much greater fashion, in a faster fashion, and in some way make it a lot easier for us. It is not an easy trip. It began decades ago in this country with social movements and farmworkers rioting in the 1920s and 1930s in the country and rising and dying down. And every so often another movement rising and dying down, and another movement rising and dying down, all of which were establishing a foundation for where we are today. So our movement has been steady, it has been progressive, and it has been accomplishment-oriented.

When I first started in politics as a Deputy to Congressman Edward Roybal 15 years ago, there were no Latinos in the state legislature. We had some in and out, in and out. Now we have some seats we consider safe. In those days there was no one. Now we are talking about maybe doubling or tripling our congressional representation from this state. We are talking about capturing, for the first time, city council seats in the City of Los Angeles. One of the most embarrassing things throughout this country is that the Latino community in the City of Los Angeles does not have one single representative on the city council. I hear it everywhere; in

63. Mr. Alan Rosin is Staff Director for the Senate Committee on Elections and Reapportionment. The incident referred to by Mr. Avila took place during the morning panel workshop on Reapportionment, *infra*, when questions were being solicited from the audience. For a recital of Mr. Rosin's response, see *infra* Section II(A)(5).

Chicago, in New York, in Arizona, in Texas, in Colorado, and in New Mexico. I hear people ask, "what is the matter with you folks?" I say, "Just wait, it's coming."

What we have seen demonstrated by Drs. Estrada and Santillán, then, is an ability to count ourselves, to know who we are, where we are, what the patterns are of our development, and translating that into something that is useful to us.⁶⁴ These things are important, especially for many of you who are just entering the field of political involvement. We are seeing the recognition of an enormous wealth of leadership in the Latina movement. This is something we must capture and bring together and work with for the benefit of our entire community. We are seeing the development of middle class resources which we have never had before. Fundraising potential in Los Angeles is probably the greatest of any state or of any city in the country as far as our community is concerned. That has not yet translated into the political power we would like, but we are slowly becoming a very powerful force in this city and in this state. The mere fact that Governor Jerry Brown saw it politically necessary to appoint as many Hispanics to positions that he did in California,⁶⁵ more than any governor previous to him, was just an indication, or a recognition, that politically, Hispanics are now important to the politician. The Hispanic who is important or the person who is important to the politician is also important to the business community because all of it relates to numbers, and the numbers, as you have heard, are increasing at incredible rates.

Our job then is to take the initiative in building for the future. All of the elements for success are there and growing. What we must do now is channel those elements into some formula for success. We must get rid of certain old, traditional myths which we carry with us forever, such as, Latinos do not vote; Latinos do not contribute; and Latinos cannot work together. The minute you

64. Since the symposium was taped, there was a very small part of Mr. Avila's presentation that was lost while the tape was being changed. We the editors do not feel that the sentence or two lost materially affected the presentation of Mr. Avila in any significant way.

65. During his tenure, Governor Jerry Brown appointed a total of 6,856 individuals to various posts within the state of California. Of these appointments made as of September 1, 1982, 549 represented Hispanic appointments. As of September 1, 1982, out of 535 existing appointments, Governor Brown had appointed 70 Hispanics to the Judiciary (1 Supreme Court appointment; 1 Appellate Court appointment; 23 to Superior Courts; and 47 to Municipal Courts); 3 appointments as Superintendents of Corrections; 2 Agency Secretaries; and 11 appointments as salaried members of boards and commissions. Prior to Governor Brown, no statistics were maintained by the governor's office. As of February 23, 1983 recently elected Governor Dukemejian had appointed 2 Hispanics to government positions (Director of Veterans Affairs and Director of Department of Employment and Housing). Interview with Diana Phillips, Secretary for Appointments Unit of the Governor's Office, Sacramento, California (Feb. 25, 1983).

have accepted those myths, then they have become reality. It sounds simple, but the fact of the matter is, you simply reject those myths and do everything possible to work in the opposite direction.

This is proving time and time again to be successful. The conference which Dr. Santillán alluded to earlier, the national conference of NALEO⁶⁶ held in Virginia regarding civil involvement of the Hispanic community brought together leadership from throughout the country, from various levels, from the Republican and Democratic party, from the political arena, the academic arena, the business and economic arena, and they all came together to work on developing some common strategies. And it worked. We put people together in the same room and at the same table to work who traditionally have been at odds with each other. The mandate, however was clear: These are Hispanic, Latino, issues, not personal issues. We resolved to overcome the problem we have with cults of personality, a negative element in our community. We must be able to come together, recognizing our mutual achievements, recognizing the fact that we have differences, but that the common good is the individual good. It is very simple to do, provided you put the right people together.

That brings us to the next point. A point was made earlier regarding the reluctance about becoming candidates for so-called Chicano districts, or districts where Chicanos could run. The fact of the matter is, we have two tasks. First of all, we have to recognize that that statement was made in light of the fact that the reapportionment process had just concluded, and people in many cases did not have an opportunity to evaluate the chances that they might have in the new districts. Secondly, we need to develop leadership, to develop the skills necessary to win an election. It is a difficult task. It requires more than a simple statement saying "I am a candidate and the people want me." It requires work, organization, resources, creating alliances, and a great deal of sophisticated planning which has traditionally not been done, and now is the time to do it. And we are now doing it to a great degree.

The idea about long-range planning was introduced by Ms. Valadez. One thing we have done very poorly as a community is long-range planning. We are taking steps now to overcome that. One step was the conference we had in Virginia. The next step is the conference in September. We are looking at the Hispanic/

66. The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) is a nationwide network of the most influential Hispanic political, business, and community leaders in the United States. They attempt to mobilize resources on behalf of the Hispanic community, and other underrepresented groups.

Latino community, 10 years and 20 years in the future, because if we cannot see ourselves 10 or 20 years from now, we will never be able to plan to get there. If we see ourselves six months from now, then that is exactly where we are going to be. Unfortunately some of our strategies in the past have been very short-range strategies. I am not saying they are unnecessary.

When we set ourselves up for failure and then we fail, we fall into this vicious cycle of failure, and we lose the ability to see ourselves as achievement-oriented people, which we are. We need to adjust the methods for getting there, the development of long-range strategies. To win an election, you must prepare—sometimes for 8 or 10 years, all the time knowing where you are going and what you eventually want to do. You must develop the necessary resources. It is very simple. There is nothing new. There are no wheels being invented here.

It is simply the concept of unity which we all abuse so badly. We talk about unity, but you must believe in unity before you can accomplish it. Everything that has ever been accomplished in this country by any society has always been accomplished through the concept of unity, the coming together of people with some degree of influence and strength to accomplish a particular goal. You must identify a goal, however, and you must recruit the people to accomplish that goal. The important thing is to avoid the difficulties we have had with factionalization. This means getting together with someone that you may intensely dislike. You do not have to love people you work with, as long as you accomplish your goal. I think this is happening. It is something that can be overcome. We are now looking at developing alliances with groups outside of our community. That is something we have never been able to do in the past for various reasons, developing the strengths and alliances to accomplish our ends. We hold the upper hand if we exhibit the ability to control the process.

We are going to take over this county. Eventually, we are going to take over this state. Now, the only thing that will hold us back is ourselves, by not being prepared to take the leadership in that development. What we must do right now is prepare ourselves by developing leadership, by organizing, by long-range planning, by developing alliances, by preparing ourselves in order to control this process. We must start producing leadership that can take the positions that will open; in all sectors, in the economic, political, social, and educational areas. We simply must recognize our weaknesses and work around them, recognize our strengths and work fervently to make them increase in impact.

There is something else, basic to everything that we might do. We would not be here together under the auspices of UCLA Law

School and La Raza Law Students Association if we did not have some degree of pride and dignity in what we are. Once we understand who we are, all we need to do is harness the principles which have been in existence since the beginning of time to accomplish our goals; to be goal-oriented, to achieve, to be successful. Not very long ago it was impossible to look out in a room like this and have the participation we have today here by law students and others interested in the development of our community. So my message to you is to have the great pride that I have in a person like Assemblyman Art Torres, have the great pride that I have in people like Dr. Estrada, and Ms. Valadez and Dr. Santillán. The great pride I have in the people who have put this conference on. And the great, enormous faith that I have in our ability to accomplish and to achieve those things that we are all very interested in.

E. Audience Questions

1. Do you see any trends in immigration back into Mexico, Dr. Estrada?

Dr. Leobardo Estrada:

People who look at immigration in a very economically determined way—that is, people will go where there are jobs—look to the future in terms of what will happen in job development. Unfortunately, what Mexican demographers⁶⁷ forget when they write articles predicting such trends is that the United States is going through its period of “echoboom.”⁶⁸ In between the baby boom and echoboom, there is a period when the population drops off dramatically while that first group is growing old enough to get married and have their own children. That particular period is going to coincide very well with Latinos moving into the job market over the next 15-20 years.

The job market in the United States is going to be more in need of labor than the Mexican job market over the next 20 years. Past that point, it is just hard to predict, but presumably if Mexico uses its oil money in certain ways, it may retard the flow. But I

67. Garcia y Griego, *supra* note 16. *But see* R.A. FERNANDEZ, THE U.S.-MEXICO BORDER: A POLITICO-ECONOMIC PROFILE (University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Ind., 1977) (Arguing that immigration to the United States will continue because the U.S. labor market has become accustomed to the exploitation of cheap Mexican Labor, and that the existing Mexican economy is incapable of restructuring Mexican society in such a way as to provide productive jobs for its citizens).

68. A period in time during which an unusually high birth rate in a community is observed is generally referred to as a baby boom. When the individuals born during the baby boom enter the primary child bearing ages, the community will often experience an increased number of births because of the larger number of individuals within the child bearing ages. This increase in the number of births directly attributable to the “baby boom” generation, is commonly referred to as an echoboom.

have a feeling that the historical flow from Mexico to the United States is just too constant and it is too historical to be stopped simply by the fact that the economic situations change. If anything, in the last few years, economics have gone still further in the opposite direction. The devaluation of the peso is very important because one of the main factors used as a predictor of migration is wage differentials, and if anything, wage differentials are even more in favor now of *increasing* migration to the United States, regardless of the number of jobs that are there.

2. Mr. Avila, do you think that the meeting of Latino leaders, which has been called, the meeting of the Golden Palaminos,⁶⁹ undermined the confidence of the Latino community in our elected and political leadership?

Edward Avila:

One thing I did not address earlier is that we have to be very careful about the political assassination of our leadership that has traditionally occurred in all minority communities that are emerging. As soon as one minority community starts becoming powerful, and starts emerging socially, there is always a reaction by the group in power. For example, many articles that appeared in a recent newspaper series⁷⁰ were not based on fact. Unfortunately, I think that almost every political leader in the Hispanic community was assassinated at some point in time through that series. I even had a small piece of that, which I thought was very interesting. But the point is that you have to be very critical of that kind of reporting. When you suddenly see Hispanic leadership being attacked in that manner, ask yourself the question, "How legitimate is this criticism?"

3. What are the major obstacles facing Latinos as successful politicians?

Edward Avila:

The major one is the ability to do long-range planning, our ability to sit down today and figure out how many elected officials we should have in 10 years. Doing that gives us the capacity to understand what we need to put in place to get there. We know

69. There is no organization or group with the name the Golden Palaminos. The term Golden Palaminos is a derogatory leadership euphemism, which refers to a group of Hispanic political leaders who met February 6, 1982, at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in the City of Commerce to discuss the candidates they would support in the upcoming election.

70. See, e.g., Castro, *The Secrets of the Golden Palaminos*, L.A. Herald Examiner, Feb. 9, 1982, § A, at 3, col. 1. See generally, Castro, *Chicano Power: The Politics of Promise*, L.A. Herald Examiner (a seven part series, appearing Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, from January 24, 1982, through February 7, 1982).

we need money, and we know we need candidates. We must develop candidates through various vehicles. For instance, in Gloria Molina's case, she was an administrative aid to an elected person before moving on. So the long-range planning aspect is what we have not done well in the past. Unfortunately, we have ended up with candidates declaring three months before an election and not having prepared for it and suddenly they do not have the resources and they cannot win. That is what I would say is the major obstacle that Latinos are facing today as successful politicians.

4. Can you expand on the voter drive that is being proposed and is in the planning stages?

Dr. Richard Santillán:

At last count there are four Latino organizations in L.A. County who are all doing voter registration. To keep them all happy, you have to provide them all the information, and all the same information. This situation is good and bad. It is unfair to a lot of people who do provide technical and research data to groups, but the more groups you have, the more time consuming it is to provide the information, time that could be spent on other kinds of issues. It is tragic we have to have so many groups doing voter registration because they could be providing and integrating their resources together. On the other hand, it is very good because they tend to be working in different geographical areas.

5. Is it conceivable that in terms of local elections that it would be possible for permanent residents, and even undocumented workers, to be entitled to vote, that they are not under the constraints of federal law, is anyone aware of this?

Dr. Richard Santillán:

That is not true, and that would never change. There have been federal cases and state cases. In 1973, a *Mexicana* who was not a citizen of the United States unsuccessfully challenged the law that you had to be a citizen in order to vote.⁷¹ The courts have held in a number of cases that people who are residents, who are even here legally, but are not citizens, cannot vote. But I would say that it would be incomprehensible in terms of the sheer numbers that would enter the political system. The system is becoming very fearful of and intimidated by the growing political awareness of Latinos. We have approximately 4½ million Latinos in this state.⁷² One million are legal residents and cannot register

71. See *People v. Rodriguez*, 35 Cal. App. 3d 900, 902, 111 Cal. Rptr. 238, 239 (1973).

72. L.A. Times, Apr. 6, 1981, § I, at 1, col. 1.

to vote. Could you imagine the tremendous amount of political influence we would have if that one million could vote? I could not see the legislature doing anything that would undermine its political power, or the power elite in this country doing that.

6. I just want to state why I came to this symposium today. I was shocked by what I read in the *L.A. Times* yesterday about the decline of the UCLA student population of Latino origin from 4.7 to 4.1 in the last decade in spite of the tripling of the Latino population and in spite of the millions of dollars that have been poured into affirmative action.⁷³ I was involved somewhat in the affirmative action debates in 1978 prior to the *Bakke* decision of the Supreme Court.⁷⁴ To me this is incomprehensible. I just wanted to have some kind of a comment about whether this is true, whether it is possible that we could have this condition in spite of all the millions that have been poured into affirmative action.

Dr. Leobardo Estrada:

One of the things that all of us are aware of, of course, is that times have changed, and one of the ways in which we have seen it is by the growing resistance to the open flexibility that used to be there a few years ago. Obviously, part of the reason is because we put less pressure on those individuals now than we used to. But one thing that you can not overlook is the fact that this particular generation of Latino students at UCLA just does not push very hard. So part of the blame belongs to the students themselves. I have a unique situation at my school in that we are able to control enrollment in a particular way so that I have something like 30 Chicano students in a program of 160, which is very rare.⁷⁵ But with that exception, we do not have the representation, and I do not see the students pushing very hard. There is always a faction in the Law School and Social Work School, Education School, who do, but the total pressure that used to be there somehow has not been mounted or re-mounted as it used to be. But it is a different generation of students as well as a different generation of administrators who are not nearly as flexible and open as they have been in the past.

73. *UCLA Latino Students Allege Campus Bias*, L.A. Times, Mar. 19, 1982, § II, at 1, col. 1.

74. *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265 (1977). The Supreme Court in *Bakke* held that the Special Admission Program at the University of California, Davis, operated as a racial quota, and thus violated the Equal Protection Clause, but reversed the decision of the California Supreme Court prohibiting schools from taking race into account as a factor in its future admissions decisions).

75. UCLA Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning.

Edward Avila:

That question addresses an extremely serious issue; fundamental to the development of leadership, which is the essence of what I was talking about in terms of placing people at all levels of the decision-making process. We need to have educated people to assume that leadership. This is an organizational problem in terms of trying to do something about it. There is a lack of involvement compared to what we saw in the 1960s and 1970s in terms of the student population striving to achieve particular goals. We are trying to stimulate this kind of involvement.

It is extremely important that we increase the Latino community's pressure against the institutions of higher learning themselves. We are trying to develop a program right now that will attempt to increase the impact of the community on these institutions,⁷⁶ especially here in Los Angeles and other areas of the country where the percentage participation in those institutions of Hispanics does not match the percentage participation of Hispanics in the surrounding communities.⁷⁷

76. NALEO is attempting to establish a program whereby established leadership in the Latino community is taught to confront institutions of higher learning. Similar programs have been successfully established in other areas, such as the media, and in the business area. Interview with Mr. Edward Avila (March 12, 1983).

77. See *supra* notes 1 and 74 and accompanying text.