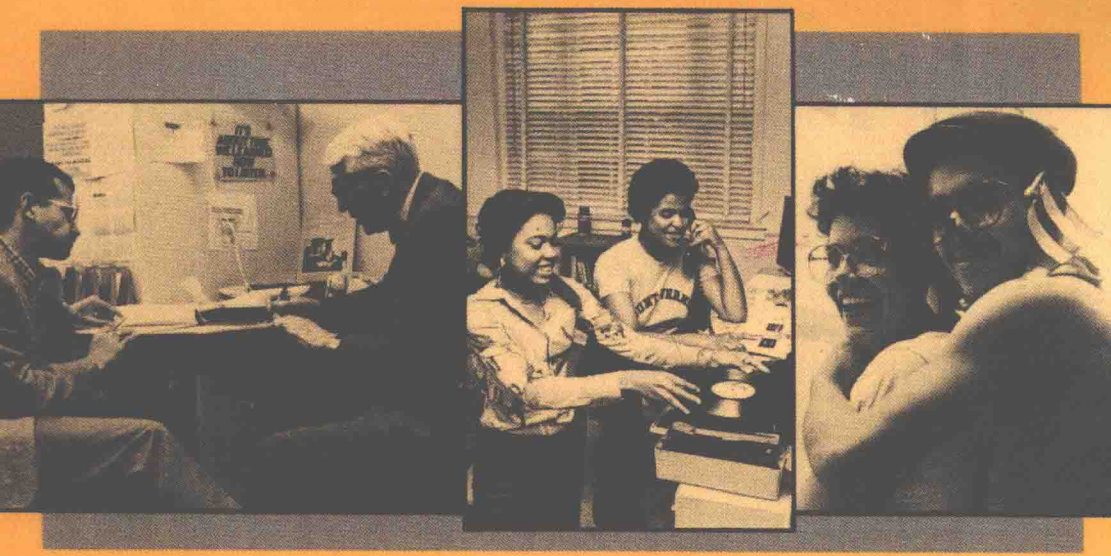

HISPANICS IN THE UNITED STATES

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PREFACE

It is the purpose of this book to offer a meaningful description and analysis of a large and growing segment of American society—the Hispanics. Both the high rates of immigration and a high birth rate mean that it is only a matter of time before Hispanics assume a dominant position among American minorities. Meanwhile, a traditional concentration in the Southwest and New York City is dispersing—a process that is abruptly bringing the Hispanics into new areas of the nation and into national consciousness.

Because it is impossible to give more than the barest sketch of this highly diverse group of people, we concentrate on three important factors. The first of these is the history of these populations. Not only is this history unfamiliar to most Americans, but it is critical in understanding the life conditions of Hispanics. The range of the environments is almost inconceivable, ranging as it does from the poorest slums of Manhattan to the ancient cultures of northern New Mexico which antedate the Anglo settlement of North America.

Second, we include comprehensive surveys of the best and latest socioeconomic information. Included are sketches of immigration and settlement patterns, employment and income, educational status, family and community patterns, and language and culture. There is special attention to recent developments and research in Hispanic education.

Third, we examine with care the impact of modern American institutions on Hispanics. Certain of these are critical, including the American systems of education, health and mental health care, welfare services, criminal justice, and immigration control. Even the church, an institution normally thought of as belonging to the community, has operated with the Hispanics as an institution of the larger society. In addition, a full chapter surveys for the first time the history, main trends, and current status of Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban political life—an area that is assuming great new importance.

The book builds on the work of many Hispanic researchers, particularly Mexican-American. Several generations of agitation for equality have produced a growing number of young scholars able to research their own people: much of this material is included. Because of their work it is possible to view the Mexican-Americans in this country with a depth and certainty not possible in earlier years. We hope that in the near future the more recently arrived Hispanics will develop a similar volume of literature.

Finally, our best insights and most fruitful approaches came through many years of interaction with Mexican, Puerto Rican, and other Hispanic scholars, students, and community people from all over the nation. Mutual interaction and mutual research is an important road to increased understanding. We owe particular gratitude to Leo Grebler for his extraordinary qualities as director of the UCLA Mexican-American Study Project, one of the first large-scale studies of Chicano Life in this country. Further thanks are due to Robert S. Garcia, for his years of dedication to the principle of community-based research on Hispanics, and to Congressman Edward Roybal, an individual who has championed and who embodies Hispanic unity.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE
HISPANICS IN AMERICAN LIFE

This book is about more than 15 million persons of Hispanic ancestry who live in the United States. These are the people who describe themselves in the U.S. Census as "Mexican American, Chicano, Mexican, Mexicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish origin."

Slightly more than half of this very diverse group is of Mexican descent and is concentrated in the American Southwest. About a sixth of the Hispanics are Puerto Rican in origin and now tend to live in or near New York City. The third largest group of Hispanics is Cuban. Although Cubans make up only about a twelfth of the total, they are heavily concentrated in the one city of Miami, Florida. Small as it is, the Cuban population greatly outnumbers Hispanics from any other single nation except Mexico. But added up together, these "others" are quite a large group—a fifth of all Hispanics.

Some of the differences between these subpopulations are very great. The Hispanics of northern New Mexico and Cuban refugees in Miami both speak varieties of Spanish, yet they seem to share little else. Moreover, each group became part of the larger American population in a different manner. Each faced different experiences in the larger American society. Each lived through different economic, political, and environmental situations. Each group has a different sense of its own identity. And even within some of the larger groups, there are sharp divisions. The *Hispanos* of New Mexico are descendants of sixteenth-century Spanish Conquistadors and often see themselves as quite different from other "Mexican origin" immi-

grants. The *Mariel* wave of Cuban refugees in 1980 is quite different from the anti-Castro professionals and middle-class people who left Cuba in the 1950s.

Why then should these groups be treated in one book as one group? There are several reasons, all of them centered on the growth and acceptance of the idea that Hispanics have become a *national* minority.

First, regardless of distinctive histories and separate identities, the life situations of all Hispanic minorities in the United States are converging. In fact, they are converging with other racial minorities as well. All segments of the Hispanic community are predominantly urban; many are locked into poverty and face prejudice and discrimination.

Second, the Hispanic populations are increasingly being treated by the larger society as a group with common characteristics and common problems. In some respects, they are beginning to think of themselves as sharing many problems. This is happening mostly in political life, as when separate Hispanic populations find themselves negotiating together for a special program that will benefit all kinds of Hispanics. The shared interest in bilingual education is a good example. Congressman Robert Garcia is a New York–born Puerto Rican who said recently, "When I first came to Washington I saw myself as a Puerto Rican. I quickly realized that the majority society saw me as a member of a larger group called Hispanic."[1]

Third, the subpopulations are beginning to disperse outside of their traditional areas. People of Mexican origin are found increasingly in such northern industrial cities as Chicago and Detroit as well as in the Southwest. Puerto Ricans live in industrial cities in the Northeast and Middle West outside of New York. Cubans are now found in large colonies in New York, New Jersey, and Los Angeles as well as in Florida.

Fourth, accompanying the dispersal of the Hispanics is a very large increase in their total number. In fact, Hispanics are one of the fastest-growing segments of the American population. There is every reason to believe that this growth from immigration and from natural increase will continue to be high.

So it is reasonable to think of all segments of the American Spanish-speaking population as "Hispanics." The facts of their life in modern America are rapidly creating such a polyglot minority.

Each of these topics of diversity and commonality will be discussed at length in the following chapters. In general, we will focus on the three dominant Hispanic groups—Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. Smaller groups tend to be quite recent immigrants, and most of them are appearing in milieus in which the meaning of their ethnicity is established by other Hispanics who are already in place. Thus, most of several hundred thousand Dominican and Colombian arrivals go to New York City where to most Anglos they are indistinguishable from Puerto Ricans.[2] In Los Angeles the Cubans, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans live in their own distinctive communities but all of them take part in programs designed for and by the overwhelmingly large Mexican-American population of Los Angeles.

[1] Personal communication.

[2] Many Dominicans are in the United States as undocumented aliens, and estimates run as high as 300,000. See Antonio Ugalde et al., "International Migration from the Dominican Republic: Findings from a National Survey," *International Migration Review,* Vol. 13 (1979), pp. 235–254. G. Hendricks, *The Dominican Diaspora* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1974), presents an excellent portrait of village Dominicans at home and in their New York "diaspora."

HISPANICS: THE CONFUSION OF RACE AND ETHNICITY

In this chapter we will focus on the ways in which Hispanics are viewed by other Americans and on the ways in which they see themselves and each other. These are stereotypes and issues related to ethnic identity.

Stereotypes are assumptions that allow a society to classify individuals into groups. These "beliefs" then "support, justify, and determine the character of interracial relationships."[3] So once they are established, stereotypes then can lead to or justify discriminatory treatment of a minority. (Sociologists agree that discrimination can also take place even in the absence of stereotypes. In some cases, discriminatory behavior is built into an institution. As an example, height requirements for police officers have the unintended consequence of discriminating against short people: historically, many Hispanics have not been tall. More subtly, discrimination results from de facto exclusion, as when Hispanics do not serve on a Grand Jury because none of the people who nominate members for the Grand Jury happen to know any Hispanics.)

Stereotypes about Hispanics developed within Anglo-American culture from the very earliest contacts. Yet there has also been persistent confusion about whether Hispanics should be considered a racial minority or simply another predominantly Catholic ethnic group like the Italians, for example. For most Americans, "race" means black and white, as does the word "minority." This idea is helped along by the persistent use of the word "minority" to refer only to blacks. An important illustration of this narrow biracial assumption is enshrined in the U.S. Census.[4]

Because it used "White" and "Nonwhite" for categories, the census has had great difficulty in its task of classifying Hispanics. (Blacks were the largest nonwhite group.) Mexicans so baffled these categories that they were moved back and forth from a racial ("other nonwhite") category in 1930 to a kind of ethnic group ("persons of Spanish mother tongue") in 1940. An even more ambiguous classification ("white persons of Spanish surname") was used in 1950 and 1960, but only in five states of the "Mexican" Southwest. In 1970, the classification was changed to "persons of both Spanish surname and Spanish mother tongue." Then, in 1980, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other Hispanics became a kind of "super" ethnic group: they are listed along with other national descent groups, and they are *also* in a separate category, sometimes as a "race," along with white, black, and other nonwhite. This confusion is a consequence of the biracialist assumption and a grudging and inconsistent acknowledgment that Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other Hispanics are something other than a simple ethnic group.

Hispanics share some of the features of American blacks. Both groups are racially distinctive. And even though color differences do not appear to hurt Hispanics as much as they do blacks, darker Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other Hispanics experience serious discrimination.[5] Hispanics also share many of the features

[3] Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, *Social Psychology* (Hinsdale, IL: The Dryden Press, 1950), p. 396.

[4] Clara Rodriguez, *The Ethnic Queue in the U.S.: The Case of the Puerto Ricans* (San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, 1974).

[5] Joe Hakken, *Discrimination Against Chicanos in the Dallas Rental Housing Market: An Experimental Extension of the Housing Market Practices Survey* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, August 1979).

of white ethnic groups because, like them, most Hispanics speak a language other than English and trace their origins to another modern nation with its own culture and traditions. But even here there is an exception. The Hispanos of New Mexico are all Americans with no tradition outside the United States–an exception that emphasizes the need to be careful about generalizations. Hispanics are thus a category unto themselves. Hispanics are an important minority that needs understanding quite apart from old ideas about other immigrant groups.

HISPANICS AS ANGLOS SEE THEM

The three major Hispanic groups have had very different kinds of contact with Anglo-American society, in different regions of this nation, and at different eras of American history. Accordingly, the images of each group vary. Yet there are many common themes. These themes show that Hispanics *are* seen as having some common features.

The historical images. American views of Hispanics are influenced by roots that go as far back as England's conflict with Spain in the sixteenth century. As one scholar noted, English colonists "believed the Roman Church to be corrupt and ostentatious. . . . As for the Spaniards, they were the perfect adherents of the Papacy–cruel, treacherous, avaricious and tyrannical." Perceptions were also molded by the widespread distribution of Bartolomé de las Casas's attack on Spanish rule in Latin America, *The Spanish Colonie.*[6] The first encounters between Mexicans and Americans occurred when the Southwest was still firmly occupied by Mexicans. Because of this long contact from the early years of the nineteenth century, the images that Anglos hold of Mexican Americans are far more complex and varied than they are for other Hispanics. Yet these first encounters with Mexicans tended to fix some basic outlines and to become the prototypes of later Anglo-Saxon images of all Hispanics.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Americans came to Texas as colonists with Stephen Austin. Traders made the long journey to New Mexico on the Santa Fe Trail. They came to California with the clipper ships from New England and to wilderness areas as explorers. As soldiers and irregular militia, Anglo Americans reached many parts of the northern provinces of Mexico. Whatever their role, Anglo visitors did not hesitate to record their scorn for what they felt to be a backward people in a backward land. "To the early writers, the Mexican was just plain lazy and deserved to lose out, as he surely would, to the energetic, productive Northerner."[7] It was during these years of the 1840s that the observed contrast between Anglo-Saxon vigor and Mexican sloth seemed to justify the violent over-

[6]Ray Paredes, "The Origins of Anti-Mexican Sentiment in the United States," in R. Romo and R. Paredes, eds., *New Directions in Chicano Scholarship* (La Jolla: University of California at San Diego, 1978).

[7]Cecil Robinson, *With the Ears of Strangers: The Mexican in American Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963), p. 33. This book is an exhaustive analysis of the portrayal of Mexican Americans in literature from the earliest contacts. Arnoldo De León, *They Called Them Greasers* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), deals with Anglos' attitudes toward Mexicans in Texas from 1821 to 1900.

throw of the Mexican government in Texas. The famous Sam Houston, leader of the Texas Americans, "consistently thought of the struggle in his region as one between a glorious Anglo Saxon race and an inferior Mexican rabble."[8] It was easy enough to extend the same racist image far enough to justify the idea that it was the "manifest destiny" of the United States "to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."[9] One of the first consequences of this "Providential" plan was the war with Mexico from 1846 to 1848 (Chapter 2).

During this war, simple hatred crept into the American image of Mexicans. Americans began to call the Mexicans "yellow-bellied greasers" and to develop the notion that Mexicans by race were naturally cowards. The belief in the cowardice of Mexicans is commemorated most strikingly in the simplified popular Anglo mythology about the defense of the Alamo. Legend built a story about how a small, brave band of Anglo Texas rebels defied overwhelming numbers of cowardly Mexican troops. A spate of popular novels followed the Mexican-American war and with them a set of clear stereotypes. In the fiction, we read about the three types of male Mexicans: the "pureblood" but effete Spanish aristocrats who "melted and crumbled 'like sugar'" before the virile Anglo-Saxons. Then there were the cowardly "half-breed greasers" who flee before any sign of danger. Third, from the guerilla warfare of this period and later years, the dangerous and cruel "'mestizo bandido,' . . . whose combination of Spanish intelligence and 'Indian' savagery makes tougher and more courageous than the decadent hidalgos. . . . [They] have no moral scruples . . . [or] sense of fair play."[10]

Another set of stereotypes is developed about Mexican women, but these are not so negative. Some of the early explorers expressed the usual contempt for upper-class Mexican men but found the Mexican women to be "'joyous, sociable, kind-hearted creatures." The stereotype of exotic, receptive Mexican women and lazy, inept Mexican men was to sink deep into American racial mythology."[11] In later years the popular novels distinguished between the "proud pureblood Castilian" beauties of the upper class and the available, even sexually aggressive, "half-breed temptresses," who are attractive but of "loose morals." Later, a parallel stereotype was to emerge about Puerto Rican women.

Thus, important negative and positive stereotypes of Hispanics were established very early. On the positive side, Anglo Americans met an intact society offering a full range of social classes from aristocrat to peon. This exposure to upper-class and lower-class life-styles meant that the image could acquire some social depth. But in the process, the Anglo-American racism of the period was strongly reinforced by Mexican upper-class ideas of race. As in most of Latin America, the upper classes in Mexico believed themselves to be of "pure blood," untainted by any mixture of Indian intermarriage or "*sangre india.*" It was easy for the new

[8] Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 213.

[9] Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny,* p. 219.

[10] A. Pettit, *Images of the Mexican American in Fiction and Film* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1980), pp. 28, 96. See also Diego Vigil, *Early Chicano Guerrilla Fighters* (La Mirada, Calif.: Advanced Graphics, 1974).

[11] Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny,* p. 234.

Anglos in the Southwest to assume that the aristocratic people and the elaborate fiestas of rancho life were "Spanish" whereas the lower classes and rural people were "Mexican." On the negative side, American settlers fought Mexicans not only in open warfare between sovereign states, but also later in guerilla-style encounters so similar to that waged against Southwestern Indians. These latter encounters brought with them the same deep legacy of hatred as they had toward the Indians.

But in time the memories of warfare and border killings faded, and the benevolent stereotypes grew more elaborate. A highly romanticized popular literature appeared, which repeated early themes about aristocratic life. Perhaps the best example is Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona.* In her novel of 1884, rancho owners were painted as cultivated, gentle, exploited people. Throughout the twentieth century, American writers continued to build the benevolent stereotypes when they wrote about the Mexican Americans of Texas (as did Tom Lea and J. Frank Dobie) and the *Hispanos* of New Mexico (as did Paul Horgan and John Nichols). Something of the same romanticism continued with the poor wage earners of Monterey, California, as seen by John Steinbeck. The strongly folkloric themes of these writers appealed to thousands of readers. Implicit in these works of fact and fiction is a very real admiration for the Mexicans of Tortilla Flat in Monterey or the loyal Kineños of the King Ranch. The appeal is romantic and nostalgic: it follows a theme also found in writings about the American Indians of a life that is unspoiled, close to nature, strong and unchanging, and lived simply by peasants without neurotic complications.[12] But inevitably and tragically, the peasant must fall prey to a more sophisticated and exploiting society.

Cultural stereotypes have certain important social functions. Historically, they tended to permit Anglo Americans to stifle any guilt feelings about the rapid conquest of Mexican and other Hispanic territories. Anglo Americans were bombarded with a political rhetoric of racial inferiority and by a century of fiction with images identical to the political message: Anglo Americans are superior beings. Hispanics (even the upper classes, but especially the lower classes) are inferior.

It was a myth of racial inferiority that very conveniently justified the low status of Mexicans in the developing Southwest. The new Anglo settlers established ranches and towns and brought in a network of services to an area seen by the newcomers as a wilderness. Most of the Mexicans already living there did not participate in this work and did not share its rewards. For Anglo Americans, the moral equation was easily completed–Mexicans were poor *because* they were unwilling to suffer hard work and boredom. Moreover (so runs the argument), they are quite content with their status; they even prefer the life of the casual laborer and do not really mind poverty. Indeed, a general movement out of poverty might spoil them and make them unhappy. Thus the comfortable Anglo-Protestant moral equation of

[12] Leslie Fiedler is fascinated by the ambivalence in American literature about portrayals of Indians and blacks. Alternately, these people represent a lost Eden of strength and innocence and yet a hell of uncontrolled lustfulness and cruelty. Much the same is true of literary images of Mexicans and other Hispanics. Fiedler follows general theories of prejudice in suggesting that such ambivalence, deeply embedded in American culture, permits Anglo Americans to project their own unwanted impulses on the members of minorities. This is a cultural-psychological function of racial stereotypes, and it helps to explain why it is the *mestizo* (mixed-blood Hispanics) about whom the literary stereotyping was most glaring. The "pureblood Castilians," men and women alike, were seen in a relatively favorable light. See *Waiting for the End* (New York: Stein and Day, 1964).

vice and punishment, hard work, and material reward can remain intact. Poverty becomes a just return for laziness or a necessary condition for maintaining virtue rather than a reminder to Anglos of social injustice.

These new images were available and easily extended when another war forced close contact between Americans and a new group of Hispanics. The war against Spain began as a lightly considered effort to "free Cuba." A quick naval victory in 1898 brought the United States control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Although many American notables felt that it was part of America's manifest destiny to annex all the Caribbean Islands, it soon became evident that most American policymakers did not feel that Puerto Rico and the other islands could be self-governing states in the ordinary process of statehood. Not only were their inhabitants tropical people and, therefore, decadent, but they were culturally alien and racially "mongrelized." As one author of the time commented, "A country in which the mass of the population has been kept in either slavery or in a condition of social and economic inferiority is certain to retain the sexual relations of a primitive period for a long time after the causes giving rise to these relations have disappeared."[13] White Americans should be encouraged to settle in these new colonial possessions, but "there was absolute hostility to the possibility that the new subjects might emigrate to the United States."[14] Even political liberals like Carl Schurz called the Cubans "'a sorry lot' of Spanish creoles and Negroes," while the powerful speaker of the House of Representatives, Joseph Cannon of Illinois, "felt that Puerto Ricans did not 'understand, as we understand it, government of the people, and by the people . . . because . . . 75 or 80 percent of these people are mixed blood in part and are not equal to the full-blooded Spaniard and not equal, in my judgment, to the unmixed African.'"[15]

These themes surfaced again in 1928 when (for the first time in U.S. history) a congressional committee on immigration began to consider limits on immigration from the Western hemisphere, notably Mexico. Congressman John Box argued for the restriction of immigration from Mexico because "the Mexican peon is a mixture of Mediterranean-blooded Spanish peasants with low-grade Indians who did not fight to extinction but submitted and multiplied as serfs. Into this was fused much negro slave blood. . . . The prevention of such mongrelization and the degradation it causes is one of the purposes of our laws."[16] It was argued that race mixture and the Indian-Spanish mixture were bars to participation in American democracy. In the case of Puerto Ricans, the mixture of blackness and Spanishness was feared. These racial themes were repeated in the 1940s when large numbers of Puerto Ricans began to appear in New York City. One journalist commented about this wave of immigration: "they are mostly crude farmers, subject to congenital tropical diseases . . . almost impossible to assimilate and condition . . . they turn to guile

[13] Leo Stanton Rowe, *The United States and Puerto Rico* (New York: Longman, Green, 1904), p. 98.

[14] Cited in David Healy, *U.S. Expansionism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), p. 244.

[15] Rubin F. Weston, *Racism in U.S. Imperialism* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1965).

[16] *Congressional Record,* 2817–18, cited in Gilberto Cárdenas, "United States Immigration Policy Toward Mexico: An Historical Perspective," *Chicano Law Review,* Vol. 2 (1975), pp. 66–99.

and wile and the steel blade, the traditional weapon of the sugar cane cutter, mark of their blood and heritage."[17] Not surprisingly, the first Cuban exodus of the early 1960s did not evoke racist sentiments because the refugees were "fleeing communism" and were largely white. The most recent wave of Cuban emigrés, by contrast, were, to Anglo-American eyes, largely black and evoked racist concerns.

RECENT IMAGES

For more than 50 years, a series of American public opinion surveys have reflected distasteful images of persons of Mexican descent (and, more recently, Puerto Ricans and Cubans). In 1926, 1946, 1956, and 1966, Emory Bogardus measured the "social distance" that American college students felt about 30 different ethnic groups. In every one of the surveys, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans ranked in the bottom third, along with other non-European stock such as Koreans, Indians, Turks, Japanese, and Negroes.[18] In 1978, 500 men and women with annual incomes above $25,000 were interviewed about their perceptions of various ethnic groups. Only 23 percent had positive feelings about Mexican Americans (compared with 44 percent with positive feelings about blacks and 66 percent about Chinese Americans). When asked for the first three words that they would associate with Mexican Americans, 21 percent offered positive stereotypes (such as "they're hard working," "good-humored"), 15 percent negative stereotypes ("they're lazy," "dirty," "ignorant"), while 43 percent responded with some descriptive phrase ("they're poor," "migrant workers," "discriminated against"). Puerto Ricans elicit more negative associations. Only 10 percent of the persons interviewed responded with positive images ("they're hard-working," "friendly"), while 25 percent offered negative images ("always want welfare handouts," "lazy," "dirty," "criminal") and 47 percent agreed on more neutral descriptive statements ("poverty," "slums," "under educated"). Well over half the respondents (59 percent) felt that Puerto Ricans living on the mainland are a drain on the economy, compared with 42 percent who felt that way about the Mexican Americans, 47 percent about blacks, and 15 percent about Chinese Americans. (By contrast, almost half the respondents felt that Chinese Americans were an asset, 18 percent for blacks, 17 percent for Chicanos, and 9 percent for Puerto Ricans.)[19] As recently as 1982, a Roper public opinion poll found that only 25 percent of a national sample felt that Mexicans were "good for the country" while 17 percent felt that Puerto Ricans were good and 9 percent that Cubans were good for the country. Stated negatively, 34 percent felt that Mexicans were bad for the country, 43 percent that Puerto Ricans were bad, and 59 percent that Cubans were bad.[20]

[17] Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, *New York Confidential* (Chicago: Ziff Davis, 1948), pp. 126–132, cited in C. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior, and Rose Kohn Goldsen, *The Puerto Rican Journey* (New York: Harper, 1950), p. 80.

[18] Emory S. Bogardus, "Comparing Racial Distance in Ethiopia, South Africa, and the United States," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 52 (1968), pp. 149–156. Bogardus's surveys were among college students, a group of reasonably well-educated Americans.

[19] Cambridge Research Associates, "The Island's Tarnished Image: The Mainland Survey on Puerto Rico and Its People," *The San Juan Star,* July 30, 1978.

[20] Diálogo: Quarterly Newsletter of the National Puerto Rican Policy Network, Vol. 1 (1982), p. 3.

A particularly persistent factor in the image of Hispanics is the idea of innate stupidity (euphemistically called "lower intelligence"). In 1982, to cite a damaging example, the U.S. Department of Defense released a study in which the authors argue that the lower test scores for Hispanics and blacks (as compared with whites) showed genetic differences in addition to cultural differences.[21] In the same year, the National Educational Testing Service (which administers the Scholastic Aptitude Tests to high school students) was apparently so surprised by the high scores of 18 Mexican-American students in Los Angeles that they required the students to retake the examination. (The students maintained their high scores the second time around.)[22]

Harmful stereotypes persist and are used against Hispanics. One of the most glaring occurred in 1969 when a juvenile court judge in California drew on stereotypes of Hispanic sexual looseness to say to a youthful offender, "Mexican people, after 13 years of age, think it's perfectly all right to go out and act like an animal. . . . Your parents won't teach you what is right or wrong and won't watch out. . . . We ought to send you out of the country—send you back to Mexico."[23]

Pervasive stereotypes of Mexican Americans and other Hispanics are still disseminated through advertising. In the late 1960s, to cite only one example, Arrid underarm deodorant was advertised by showing a Mexican *bandido.* The bandit sprays himself with deodorant, and we are told that "if it works for him, it will work for you." Particularly irritating for many years was the "Frito Bandido"—a fat, supposedly funny caricature of the *bandido* character.[24] During the early 1970s, Chicano activists mounted national and local campaigns to sensitize advertisers to harmful advertising, and some of the more damaging caricatures disappeared. Advertising people are much more sensitive to Hispanics now, primarily because of the rapid growth of the Hispanic market for goods and services. But in time advertising agencies specializing in the perceived foibles and whims of a generalized Hispanic audience may create yet more stereotypes. Late in 1983, between 20 and 25 New York agencies were specialists in Hispanic marketing, and all of the 5 largest agencies were equipped with bilingual specialty divisions.[25]

Early portrayals of Hispanics in American literature were as stereotypically negative as the images in American politics. The Mexicans were the chief targets, caught up as they were in the environment of the dime novels and, later, the "Western" novels. Yet during the last few years, particularly since World War II,

[21] D. Bock and E. Moore, *Profile of American Youth: Demographic Influences on ASVAB Test Performance,* cited in National Council of La Raza news release, February 25, 1982. Bock and Moore state that these "differences in the average vocational test performance reflect the present social separation of these groups both reproductively and culturally" and that this isolation "raises the possibility that the differences in test performance arise from differences in the respective gene pools." Stephen Jay Gould's history of mental measurement shows the strong racial biases built into this kind of endeavor from its origins; see his *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982).

[22] *LaRed: The Net,* Newsletter of the National Chicano Council on Higher Education, no. 63 (January 1983), p. 1.

[23] Judge Gerald Chargin, on September 2, 1969, reprinted in Carrol A. Hernandez et al., *Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1976), pp. 61–62.

[24] Tomás M. Martínez, "Advertising and Racism: The Case of the Mexican American," Octavio L. Romano-V., ed., *Voices* (Berkeley, Calif.: Quinto Sol, 1971), pp. 48–58.

[25] *The New York Times,* December 13, 1983.