The United States Commission on Civil Rights conducted a 4-year study of Chicano education in the Southwest and compiled information on conditions in the schools attended by Chicanos, educational practices in these schools, and educational achievement of Mexican American students in these districts. Data were compiled in 3 phases: a stratified random sample of all school districts in the United States, a mail survey of 538 districts and 1,166 schools throughout the Southwest, and a field study of 52 schools in California, New Mexico, and Texas. Findings include that the Mexican American public school pupils are severely isolated by district and schools within districts, Chicanos are underrepresented on school professional staffs and on boards of education, and the majority of Mexican American staff and school board members are found in predominantly Mexican American schools or districts. It was also found that the proportion of minority students who remain in school through the 12th grade is lower than that of Anglo students, that a disproportionately large number of Chicanos lack reading skills commensurate with age and grade level, that the reading achievement drop is severe for minority children as they advance in age and grade, that grade repetition rates for Mexican Americans are higher than for Anglos, that Mexican Americans are as much as 7 times as likely to be overage as Anglos, and that Chicanos are underrepresented in extracurricular activities. (PS)
The Study of Mexican American Education in the Southwest:

Implications of Research by the Civil Rights Commission

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The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been involved in the study of Chicano education in the Southwest \textsuperscript{1} for the past 4 years. The study undertaken by the Commission was one of the first comprehensive examinations of the Chicano student in the public elementary and secondary schools of the Southwest. \textsuperscript{2} It compiled information on 1) conditions in the schools attended by Chicanos, 2) educational practices in these schools, and 3) educational achievement of Mexican American students in these districts.

**Methodology**

Data on districts and schools were compiled in three phases. The first phase involved analysis of data from the fall 1968 HEW Survey of Elementary and Secondary Schools. HEW took a stratified random sample of all school districts in the United States. The sample was stratified on the basis of size and included all districts.

\textsuperscript{1} For purposes of this study, the Southwest includes the following States: Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

\textsuperscript{2} Previous research has been confined to single issues such as reading achievement, or to limited geographic areas of such as studies on a single city or State.

James S. Coleman in *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 1966 examined the effect of the school and its condition and practices on the performance of children. This study, though it provides some very useful data on Mexican Americans, does not provide information by State, ethnic density of school or district, or on programs and policies of special interest to bilingual children.
with a student population of 3,000 or more. Districts with less than 300 pupils were not included, and those with between 300 and 3,000 pupils were selected randomly. Data were collected on the ethnic background of all pupils and teachers within the surveyed districts. The HEW survey encompassed 93 percent of Chicano pupils and 94 percent of pupils all in the Southwest.

The second phase of the data collection involved the Commission's own mail survey of 538 districts and 1,166 schools throughout the Southwest. Two questionnaires, one for principals and one for superintendents, were mailed to districts and schools in the spring of 1969. The questionnaires were developed to elicit information such as the types of programs and policies within districts and schools, staffing patterns, and achievement levels. The sample for the mail survey was drawn from those districts included in HEW's survey in which 10 percent or more of the pupils were Mexican American. The 538 districts include about 52 percent of all pupils and 83 of Chicano pupils in the Southwest. The response rate was 99 percent for district questionnaires, and 95 percent for school questionnaires.

Finally, a field study was conducted in which Commission staff interviewed principals and counselors to collect information which could not be collected by mail. The field study, because of the time

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3/ Those districts which did not respond to the Commission's survey are Kingsburg and Lucia Mar in California, Norte Conejor in California, Silver City in New Mexico, and Houston and Edcouch-Elsa in Texas.
and cost, was limited to 52 schools in California, New Mexico, and Texas. 4/ A geographic area encompassing rural, urban, and suburban schools in each State was selected, and all schools within those areas which had participated in HEW's 1968 survey, and which were in districts with 10 percent or more Chicano enrollment were surveyed. In Texas, San Antonio and Corpus Christi and the area between these two cities were selected. In New Mexico, Albuquerque and areas in the southern part of the State were surveyed. Finally, in California the Santa Clara County, including the city of San Jose, was selected.

A total of 494 classrooms were observed by Commission staff for physical, administrative instructional, social, and emotional aspects of the school environment. These components were systematically observed through use of six instruments — an interview schedule for principals; an interview schedule for counselors; a school protocol form; a classroom protocol form; and two forms for recording verbal and non-verbal pupil-teacher interaction in the classroom. 5/

Publications

To date, the Mexican American Education Study has published three reports. The first, Ethnic Isolation of Mexican Americans in

4/ 90 percent of all Chicano students in the Southwest attend public school in California, New Mexico, and Texas.

5/ The interview schedules and school and classroom protocol forms were developed by Dr. Monroe K. Rowland. The two forms used to record classroom interaction are the Flanders Interaction Analysis, developed by Dr. Ned Flanders, and the Observation Schedule and Record devised by Dr. Donald M. Medley and Dr. Harry E. Mitzel.
the Public Schools of the Southwest, is based primarily on the Commission's analysis of data from the fall 1968 HEW Title VI Survey. The focus of the report was to identify demographic characteristics and the degree to which Chicano students and teachers are segregated in Southwestern schools.

Three basic findings stem from Report I: (1) Mexican American public school pupils are severely isolated by district and schools within individual districts; (2) for the most part, Chicanos are underrepresented on school and district professional staffs and on boards of education, and (3) the majority of Mexican American staff and school board members are found in predominantly Mexican American schools or districts.

Mexican American students comprise approximately 20 percent of the total number of pupils in the Southwest. In 1968, when figures for this study were compiled, there were 1.4 million Chicano students in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. The vast majority of these are in California and Texas, where 82 percent of all Chicano students in the Southwest are found. However, Mexican Americans constitute the highest proportion of enrollment (38 percent) in New Mexico. Over 50 percent of all Chicano students in the Southwest attend school in large urban districts with enrollments of 10,000 or more.
While Mexican American pupils are unevenly distributed among the States and concentrated in specific geographic areas within each State, they are also concentrated or isolated in districts and schools of the Southwest. About 404,000 Mexican American pupils, or 30 percent of this ethnic group's enrollment in the Southwest, attend schools in approximately 200 predominantly Mexican American districts. 6/

The largest number of predominantly Mexican American districts (50 percent or more) is in Texas. Ninety-four Mexican American districts, almost all of which are located in southern Texas, contain nearly 60 percent of the State's total Mexican American enrollment. About 20 percent of Texas' Mexican American students attend school in districts which are nearly all Mexican American.

Most of the other predominantly Mexican American districts are in California and New Mexico. Together, these States contain as many Mexican American districts as Texas (about 907); however, the total Mexican American school population of these districts is much smaller. They include only about 94,000 Mexican American pupils, while the 94 Texas districts include 291,000 pupils.

6/ Predominantly Mexican American districts indicate those districts in which 50 percent or more of the student population is Mexican American.
A major aspect of the Commission investigation was aimed at ascertaining the extent to which the Mexican American composition of schools does not resemble that of the districts in which they are located. Schools with a Mexican American enrollment varying significantly with the district's school population were considered to be ethnically imbalanced. In applying the concept of ethnic imbalance in the schools, a 15 percent standard of deviation is permitted.

The Commission found that 30 percent of Chicano students in the Southwest attend these imbalanced schools. The extent of ethnic imbalance does differ sharply among the five States. However, four large urban schools districts - Los Angeles, Denver, Albuquerque and Tucson - account for a significant percentage of Mexican American students who are in schools with a disproportionately high Chicano enrollment.

The Commission's report also examines the representation and school assignment of Mexican Americans holding staff and service positions in the schools. Except for those persons employed as custodian or teacher's aide, Mexican Americans comprise substantially less of school staff than they do of enrollment. Also, with the exception of counselors and custodians, Mexican Americans are more likely to be found in predominantly Mexican American schools than are students.

7/ Two-thirds of Chicano pupils in Texas and New Mexico attend predominantly Mexican American schools which are not considered ethnically imbalanced because of the large number of predominantly Chicano districts.

* These staff include: classroom teachers, school principals, assistant or vice principals, counselors, librarians, other professional nonteaching school staff, secretaries, custodians, and teacher's aides.
Mexican Americans are grossly underrepresented among teachers. Of approximately 325,000 teachers in the Southwest, only about 12,000, or 4 percent, are Mexican American, while about 17 percent of the enrollment is Mexican American. Black teachers, although they are also underrepresented, outnumber Mexican American teachers by almost two to one. Texas and California employ three-fourths of all Mexican American teachers. Most of the other Mexican American teachers /15 percent/ are found in New Mexico.

Mexican American teachers are, to a greater extent than pupils, found in predominantly Mexican American schools. One-third of the teachers are in schools whose enrollments are 80 percent or more Mexican American. Although the larger number of Mexican American teachers is assigned to predominantly Mexican American schools, they still constitute a very low percentage of teachers in these schools, mainly because so few members of this ethnic group are employed as teachers.

Mexican Americans are also underrepresented on local boards of education. Of approximately 4,600 school board members in the Commission's survey area, only about 10 percent are Mexican American.

Report II of the series, The Unfinished Education, examines five measures of school controlled educational outcomes: school holding power, reading achievement, grade repetition, overageness, and participation in extracurricular activities.
School holding power is measured by the percentage of students entering first grade who continue in school. The proportion of minority students who remain in school through the 12th grade is significantly lower than that of Anglo students. Mexican Americans demonstrate the most severe rate of attrition. The Commission estimates that out of every 100 Mexican American youngsters who enter first grade in the survey area, only 60 graduate from high school; only 67 of every 100 black first graders graduate from high school. In contrast, 86 of every 100 Anglos receive high school diplomas.

For Mexican Americans, there are sharp differences in school holding power among the five States. Of the two States with the largest Mexican American school enrollment -- California and Texas -- holding power is significantly greater in California where an estimated 64 percent of the Mexican American youngsters graduate. Texas demonstrates the poorest record of any of the States. By the end of the eighth grade, Chicanos in the survey area have already lost 14 percent of their peers--almost as many as Anglos will lose by the 12th grade. Before the end of the 12th grade, 47 percent of the Mexican American pupils will have left school.

Throughout the survey area, a disproportionately large number of Chicanos and other minority youngsters lack reading skills commensurate with age and grade level. At the fourth, eighth, and 12th grades the proportion of Mexican American and black students reading below grade level is generally twice that of Anglos reading below grade level.
For the total Southwest survey area the percentage of minority students deficient in reading reaches as high as 53 percent for Chicanos and 70 percent for blacks in the 12th grade. In the eighth grade the Chicano youngster is 2.3 times as likely as the Anglo to be reading below level while the black student is 2.1 times as likely.

Reading achievement drops greatly for children of all ethnic groups as they advance in age and grade. For minority children, however, the drop is more severe. At the fourth grade, 51 percent of the Mexican Americans and 56 percent of the blacks, compared with 25 percent of the Anglos, are reading below level. By the eighth grade, corresponding figures are 64 percent for Mexican Americans and 58 percent for blacks. Further deterioration occurs by the 12th grade despite the fact that many of the poorest achievers have already left school. At this stage, 63 percent of the Mexican Americans are reading below level as are 70 percent of the blacks and 34 percent of the Anglos.

In the survey area, the Commission found that grade repetition rates for Mexican Americans are significantly higher than for Anglos. Some 16 percent of Mexican American students repeat the first grade compared to 6 percent of the Anglos. Although the disparity between Mexican Americans and Anglos at the fourth grade is not as wide as in the first grade, Mexican American pupils are still twice as likely as Anglos to repeat this grade. Texas and California reveal significant differences in repetition rates. In the Texas schools surveyed, 22
percent of Chicano pupils repeat the first grade, compared to 10 percent in California.

Overageness is another measure of achievement related to grade repetition. The Commission found that Mexican Americans are as much as seven times as likely to be overage as Anglos. In the eighth grade, more than 9 percent of the Mexican American pupils are overage, compared to a little more than 1 percent of the Anglo students.

Again comparing the two largest States, the difference is impressive. More than 16 percent of Chicano eighth graders are overage in Texas. In California only about 2 percent are.

Extracurricular activities make the school experience more meaningful and enhance school holding power. The Commission found, however, that Mexican American students are underrepresented in extracurricular activities, regardless of whether they are a majority or a minority in a school.

The Commission concludes that under these five measures of school achievement, the public schools of the Southwest are failing to educate Chicano children. Part of this failure is explained in Report III, The Excluded Student, which examines the exclusion of the language, culture, and community of the Chicano from the public schools of the Southwest.

The suppression of the Spanish language is the most overt area of cultural exclusion. Schools have repressed languages other than English, regarding them as an educational handicap and a deterrent to Americanization. Nearly 50 percent of the Mexican American first
graders do not speak English as well as the average Anglo first grader. These children are often compelled, however, to not only learn a new language, but to also learn course material in this language. One-third of the schools surveyed by the Commission admitted discouraging Spanish in the classroom. Methods of enforcing the "No Spanish Rule" vary from simple discouragement to strict discipline.

There are various programs which schools may use to meet these language difficulties. The three most important programs are Bilingual Education, English as a Second Language, and Remedial Reading.

Bilingual Education is the only program which modifies the traditional school curriculum. It also utilizes both the bilingual and bicultural aspects of the children involved. Although Bilingual Education holds great promise for both Mexican American and Anglo students, it is seldom used. Only 6.5 percent of the Southwest's schools have bilingual programs, and these are reaching only 2.7 percent of the Mexican American school population--only one student out of nearly 40.

English as a Second Language (ESL) Programs are much more limited than Bilingual Education and thus less effective. The sole objective of ESL is to make non-English speakers more competent in English. No effort is made to present related cultural material.

Unlike Bilingual Education, ESL requires no modification of the school curriculum. An estimated 5.5 percent of the Mexican American
students in the Southwest receive some kind of instruction in English as a Second Language.

Of the three programs discussed, Remedial Reading is the most limited. It requires no change in the school curriculum and little teacher training. Using a strictly monolingual approach, Remedial Reading has been much more accepted than either Bilingual Education or ESL. However, this program deals with only a symptom of the broader problem of language exclusion in the schools. More than half of the Southwest's schools offer Remedial Reading courses, yet only 10.7 percent of Chicano students are enrolled in these classes.

A second exclusionary practice is the omission of Mexican American history, heritage, and folklore from the classrooms. The heritage of the Mexican American is excluded in textbooks, and by the lack of relevant courses and activities. The Commission found that the curricula in most schools fail to inform either Anglos or Mexican Americans of the substantial contributions of the Indo-Hispanic culture to the historical development of the Southwest. Only 4.3 percent of the elementary and 7.3 percent of the secondary schools surveyed have a course in Mexican American history.

In addition to course content, heritage is also excluded in the cultural selectivity of schools. School and classroom activities, whenever they deal with Mexican American culture, tend to stress only the superficial and exotic elements—the "fantasy heritage" of the Southwest.
This reinforces existing stereotypes and denies the Mexican American student a full awareness and pride in his culture.

The exclusion of the Mexican American community is the third area examined in the Commission’s Study. To determine the extent of community involvement, four specific areas were examined: contacts with parents, community advisory boards, community relations specialists, and consultants on Mexican American education.

Teachers and administrators utilize notices sent home and PTA meetings most frequently as methods of communicating with parents. While an estimated 4,000,000 persons in the Southwest identify Spanish as their mother tongue, only 25 percent of the elementary and 11 percent of the secondary schools send notices in Spanish to Spanish speaking parents. The study also revealed that 91.7 percent of the Southwest’s elementary schools and 98.5 percent of its secondary schools do not use Spanish as well as English in conducting their PTA meetings.

The untapped community advisory boards could activate community needs and opinions. Only one district in four actually has a community advisory board on Mexican American educational affairs.

Contacts with parents and community advisory boards are methods by which the schools can communicate directly with the Mexican American parents and community. When these methods prove unsuccessful in the establishment of free communication, a community relations specialist may be called in to serve as a link between the people and the power structure. Schools often rely heavily on this individual to bridge the communication gap with the linguistically and culturally different community.
The study demonstrated that 84 percent of the surveyed districts did not use community relations specialists at all. Thus, in spite of the need, most school systems have not established this type of liaison with the barrio.

The data concerning the use of Mexican American educational consultants are very similar; school districts are not availing themselves of experts who can help them determine and resolve their serious failures in educating Mexican Americans.
Subsequent Reports

Report IV examines the effects of the Texas school financing system on Chicano education in this State. Specifically, it looks at disparities in:

1. State aid to local school districts, in particular the Minimum Foundation Program, which provides more than 90 percent of State education funds,

2. Property valuations within districts,

3. Property tax effort, or the rate at which property is taxed in each school district, and

4. The economic burden of property taxes on Mexican American and Anglo citizens.

A companion report which discusses the state of the law relative to school finance has also been prepared.

Suggestions for remedies of the Texas school finance system are now being considered by the Texas State Committee of the Commission. The State Committee is an advisory body to the Commission and is composed of about 25 prominent citizens in Texas. The Committee's recommendations along with the Commission's report on Texas school finance and the role of law in school finance will be released this fall.

The Commission's fifth report on Mexican American education will examine differences in teacher-pupil interaction between classes of varying Mexican American and Anglo composition as well as differences in verbal behavioral interaction for Chicano and Anglo students within individual classrooms. This report is scheduled for publication and release in the early part of calendar year 1973.
Data for this report were derived from field studies conducted in 52 schools in California, New Mexico, and Texas in the fall and winter of the 1970-71 school year.

Commission staff utilized two instruments in recording classroom behavior: the Observation Schedule and Record, commonly known as the OSCAR, developed by Dr. Donald M. Medley and Dr. Harold E. Mitzel in 1955 and The Flanders Interaction Analysis devised by Dr. Ned Flanders in 1960. The OSCAR, which is designed to record verbal and nonverbal behavior of teachers and pupils, was modified to permit coding of student ethnic background on various categories of behavior. From the Commission's experience in the field study it was found that the OSCAR is relatively insensitive to differences in interaction between classrooms because it does not permit recording of the frequency with which behaviors occur and because many behaviors never transpired while others were commonly found in the classrooms. As a consequence, these data were not analyzed for the report.

Rather, the report is based solely on findings from analysis of data collected on the Flanders. Three modifications of the Flanders were made for the purposes of the Commission's study. While preserving the seven categories of teacher behavior and the three of student behavior, an additional category of teacher behavior, that of speaking

A detailed discussion of the sampling procedures employed in selecting these 52 schools is contained in our report on methodology which has recently been made available to the public.
Spanish, was added. However, data on the speaking of Spanish were not included in our analysis because the language was used so infrequently. Provision was also made for coding whether each communication event involved an individual Mexican American, Anglo, black, a student of other ethnic background, or part or all of the class. In the process of making this change, the Flanders instrument was revised to delete coding of the sequence of behavior. It was felt that simultaneous coding of behavior sequences and student ethnic background would be too difficult for observers and reduce the reliability of observations to an unacceptable level. However, after field work was completed, staff members experimented with coding sequentially while coding student ethnic background and reported no major problems. Future researchers should consider such coding.

The sixth report of the Mexican American Education Study will examine the effect that school practices and conditions have on the educational outcomes of Chicano students and will also outline the Commission's recommendations for remedies. Most of the data for analysis will be taken from the principals' questionnaire used in the spring 1969 mail survey. The analysis will determine how school factors such as staffing characteristics, language programs, facilities, grouping and tracking, Mexican American composition of school enrollment, and the socioeconomic status of pupils relate to student outcomes. The most important outcome to be studied will be the reading levels of Chicano students. However, four other outcomes - dropout rates, overageness, college-going rates, and participation in extracurricular activities - will also be analyzed.
The study is presently in the first phase of data analysis, that is, determining the stratification factors. Once this phase is completed, 20 to 30 variables of school characteristics thought on the basis of previous research and "expert intuition" to be most likely to have a significant relationship to student outcomes will be tested for such a relationship.

This paper has presented a summary of the Commission's findings on Mexican American education in the Southwest. During 4 years of research, we have attempted to find and document those policies and practices which tend to impinge upon the educational opportunities of Mexican American children. The Commission is aware of, and has examined, other areas of research and program development not included in this Series. There still exist, however, crucial areas that have not yet been examined, some of which are outlined here.

Federal elementary and secondary educational programs, authorized primarily through the Office of Education (HEW), have been funded in excess of $2 billion for Fiscal 1973 programs. These programs range from massive expenditures through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, to the Education Professions Development Act and Dropout Prevention. Although few major programs are directed exclusively to Mexican Americans, all can and should encompass areas of inquiry into the special concerns of this group. Little is known,
however, of the actual number of projects in any specific area directed to and by Chicanos, or of the number of Chicano students benefitting from these. An overall analysis of these programs is vital in determining whether or not Chicanos are being reached.

It is also particularly critical to evaluate the effectiveness of programs that do reach the Mexican American child. Though the funding continues, and interest in the recipients of the allocations magnifies yearly, there is little indication that the "so-called" compensatory education programs are developing successful methods of teaching. Although there are a myriad of programs designed to upgrade the level of the minority child's achievement, the programs themselves have not been evaluated in terms of effectiveness. This is not an indictment of these programs, but a question of direction. The major emphasis is placed on the input of funds and the numbers of children served, rather than on the outcome or effectiveness of these innovative efforts.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is the primary national education program for economically disadvantaged children and represents the single largest allocation of grant funds to elementary and secondary education. Of the $1.5 billion appropriated through Title I in fiscal '72, $260,000,000 were granted to Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, where a large percentage of those children in schools receiving Title I funds are Chicano. Criteria, regulations, and guidelines for approval of
applications for Title I grants include meeting the special educational and supportive needs of economically and educationally deprived children in areas of high concentration of low-income families. Evaluation on a project by project basis is also required; however, no provision is made for standardized evaluation of all projects so as to permit comparison of projects or the sharing of information in specified areas. Of greatest concern to many observers is the fact that there is little evidence nationwide that programs funded under Title I have made a significant impact, educationally or otherwise, on children being served. A recently published study of Title I indicates that though some isolated State and local projects have been successful, most have failed to provide participating children those educational and, to a lesser degree, supportive services, which were outlined in the structure of Title I. Further, the study found that State and local education agencies have failed to comply with Office of Education guidelines and regulations in implementing their programs. Of special importance to Chicano communities is that these guidelines specify that the needs of non-English speaking and bilingual children can and should be met through Title I funds.

The Bilingual Education Program, funded since 1969, now covers 125 projects and 60,000 children in the Southwest. Though this bilingual-bicultural education is widely thought to be the most promising

for Chicano children, no systematic evaluation of the projects has been done. Research of this concept as a teaching method and isolated evaluations of each of the projects funded under Title VII have been done. However, no standard criteria have been established to judge the efficacy of all such programs in the Southwest. Further, there has been no systematic study of the effectiveness of the bilingual-bicultural programs in raising either the achievement levels or self-concept of the Chicano children. Also, no major study of the various types of bilingual education has been done to establish the grouping of components most likely to produce a successful project. If bilingual education is to continue to meet the needs of Chicano children in the Southwest, an analysis of programs now in effect is essential.

Professional teacher training is clearly of great importance in the educational process. In addition to shaping what and how children learn, the teachers' attitudes and perceptions of a student's ability can affect the child's total achievement in school. For the minority child, the teacher assumes the vital role of a link toward a meaningful self image and the ability to perform in the first non-familial environment. It is unfortunate that despite the research on teacher training in the Southwest few training methods have been developed which have enabled teachers to deal with the Chicano child's "differentness" or sensitivity in accepting him as he comes to school. In making meaningful changes in teacher training in the Southwest, large-scale standardized evaluation and experimentation in schools and teachers
must be made so as to point out major weaknesses in the teaching of Chicano children and those new techniques most successful in modifying these weaknesses.

Research on the financing of elementary and secondary schools is of major importance in determining the actual educational expenditure for minority children. Though much research on differences in expenditures between districts has been done, information on spending levels between schools within districts is sparse.

As indicated above, it is strongly suggested that extreme variations in per pupil expenditures exist between Chicano and Anglo pupils in schools within districts in the Southwest. However, no survey has been done which shows that such a pattern exists. Because of the massive cost and time involved in such a study of inter-district disparities, an examination of a few selected districts rather than a random sample of all districts of the Southwest might indicate a pattern that exists throughout the five-State area.

What we have presented here must not be seen as solely a castigation of Southwestern public schools, but rather as an indication of the vital need for change. The series that the Commission is presenting is only a first step toward breaking the wall between what is known about the Chicano child in the public school system, and what remains unknown. Our concern toward a positive and viable reorientation of our educational systems must be linked with research that points toward a new and better form of education for Chicano children in the Southwest.