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ABSTRACT

This document contains the seven issues of "The Arizona Report" published in 1999-2002. A newsletter of the Mexican American Studies & Research Center (MASRC) at the University of Arizona, this publication reports on social, educational, health, and economic research on Mexican Americans and opportunities in higher education and professional development relevant to Mexican Americans and others interested in Mexican American studies. Articles are: "Minority Education & Workforce Success in Arizona: Hispanic and Native American Education and Earnings Lagging"; "Master of Science in Mexican American Studies" (requirements and some course descriptions); "MASRC & College of Medicine Win $1.2 million, 3-Year Grant: Hispanic Center of Excellence Will Be Unique Research, Curricular Unit"; "Boxing and the Formation of Ethnic Mexican Identities in 20th-Century Southern California" (Gregory S. Rodriguez); "Health, Economic Development Examined at Border Academy"; excerpts from "Mexican Americans in the U.S. Economy" (Arturo Gonzalez); "The History of the Tucson International Mariachi Conference: Southern Arizona Festival Is Showcase for Classic Mexican Artform" (Gregory S. Rodriguez); "The Segregation of Mexican Americans in Tucson Public Schools: Chicanos in Arizona, Southwest Have Long History of Fighting Discrimination" (Maritza De La Trinidad); "Mexican Tucson: Remembering Barrio Libre" (Lydia Otero); "Mental Health and Mexican American Adolescents" (Andrea J. Romero); excerpt from "Mexican Baseball Teams in the Midwest, 1916-1965" (Richard Santillan); "Border Academy Travels to Lower Rio Grande Valley: Medical Professionals and Students Attend Diabetes Seminar in South Texas"; "Women and Environmental Protest in a Northern Mexico City" (Anna Ochoa O'Leary); "The Chicano Battle against Pollution and Power in Tucson" (Daniel E. Reyes III); and excerpt from "Chicano Popular Culture: Que Hable el Pueblo" (Charles M. Tatum). Also included are announcements of new publications and news about the binational Border Academy and MASRC faculty and graduates. (SV)
Less than five percent of Hispanics and Native Americans in Arizona have a college degree, and 48 percent did not graduate from high school, according to a research report from the MASRC.

The study also found that those with only "some" college experience, but without a degree, earn over $2,500 more per year than high school graduates. Community college graduates earn $4,000 more, and those with bachelor's degrees earn about $14,000 more than high school graduates.

Minority Student Achievement and Workforce Success in Arizona was written by Arturo González and Adela de la Torre of the MASRC, and John A. García of the UA Political Science Dept.

The study was commissioned by the Arizona Minority Education Policy Analysis Center (AMEPAC), which is part of the Arizona Commission for Postsecondary Education. The findings were presented in November at AMEPAC conferences in Phoenix and Tucson.

The cost of having a less educated workforce results in a loss of millions of dollars in tax revenues for the state. "For every 12,000 (of these individuals) who complete high school, the state increases its tax revenue by over $1 million per year," the authors write.

Other findings are that:

- Only 14 percent of African-Americans, five percent of Hispanics and five percent of Native Americans completed four years of college. The figures are lower for Hispanics of Mexican origin and among certain Native American tribes.

- The likelihood that students of all races will continue on to

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New publication examines role of women in the creation of L.A.'s Community Service Organization in 1940s


Apodaca presents the early history of the Community Service Organization and the women who took part in its creation. They were key to its first victories, such as the election of Edward R. Roybal to Congress in 1949. In 1991 and 1992, she interviewed CSO women of the “Mexican American Generation” of the 1940s and 50s. They told the author of their personal backgrounds and the experiences that led to their eventual involvement in politics and community organizing.

“Of the thirty founding members, eleven were Mexican American women,” Apodaca writes, noting that CSO women were counted as full members with full voting rights, unlike similar organizations during that period, such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Mexican American Women and Social Change offers interesting information on how 30 people, connected through family, friendship and community, developed this organization that helped Chicanos for more than 40 years.

“In most areas, the CSO became an umbrella service group dealing with housing, labor, neighborhood improvement, police-community relations, and health. Local, state, and federal agencies came to trust the CSO as the group to contact in East Los Angeles. The CSO went on to have chapters in California and Arizona. In San Jose, Cesar Chávez joined the CSO and became a state director; in Stockton, Dolores Huerta joined. It was in the CSO that both Chávez and Huerta honed the organizing and advocacy skills that would serve them later as internationally recognized leaders of the United Farm Workers.”


Minority Education from page 1

achieve higher levels of education are nearly identical among those who finish high school or earn an associate’s degree.

The report suggests several policy measures to increase minority educational success and wages, including targeting dropout prevention programs in K-12 to “at risk” minority populations, and providing more support for programs that help community college students continue on to bachelor’s degrees.
Master of Science in Mexican American Studies

The MAS Master of Science curriculum, which was approved by the Arizona Board of Regents last summer, is a dynamic course of study that has been developed to advance the understanding of the large Mexican American and Latino populations in the United States. Three strands of coursework are available: Latino Health; Historical and Cultural Studies; and Public Policy.

Once applicants are accepted into this unique post-graduate program, they choose the strand best suited to their educational and professional goals, such as going on to a doctoral program, studying law, medicine, public health, or working in public- or private-sector organizations that serve the growing Latino population.

The concentration in Latino Health prepares students to conduct culturally competent health research, and to develop health programs targeting Latinos. The Historical and Applied Cultural Studies strand offers a concentration dealing with contemporary scholarship, competency on Mexican Americans. In addition, it will provide applied skills for working professionals and graduate students interested in better serving the Mexican American population of the Southwest.

A minimum of 19 core units, 9 elective units, and 6 thesis units are required for successful completion of this degree. Students are required to select one option from the three strands available in the MS program. After consulting with a faculty adviser, graduate students must select 9 elective units from one of the three strand options.

Tuition fee waivers and Graduate Assistant and Teaching Assistant stipends are available for qualified full-time students.

For application or more information on the graduate program in Mexican American Studies contact the MASRC:
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Master of Science in Mexican American Studies
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**LATINO HEALTH STRAND**

ANTH 536A Medical Anthropology (3)
ANTH 532B Ethnomedicine (3)
ANTH 570A Human Adaptability (3)
ANTH 570B Human Adaptability (3)
ANTH 571A Applied Medical Anthro. in Western Contexts (3)
ANTH 571B Applied Medical Anthro. in Western Contexts (3)
ANTH 675A Anthropology and International Health (3)
ANTH 675B Anthropology and International Health (3)
ED PSY 500 Life Span Development (3)
HLTH 530 Theory Based Health Educ. and Promotion (3)
HLTH 535 Multicultural Health Beliefs (3)
MAS 597ax The Border Academy (6)
MAS 680 Grantsmanship (3)
NURS 587 Poverty and Health (3)
NURS 588 Healing Systems in the Southwest (3)
PHL 581 Introduction to Community Health (3)
PSYC 584 Advanced Health Psychology (3)
PSYC 556 Psychology of Death and Loss (3)
PSYC 564 Methods in Psychosocial Research (3)
WS 606 Women’s Health in the U.S. (3)

**HISTORICAL AND APPLIED CULTURAL STUDIES STRAND**

ANTH 577 Discourse and Text (3)
ANTH 600 Survey of Cultural Anthropology (3)
ANTH 605 Professional Ethics and Skills (3)
ANTH 608 History Anthropological Theory (3)
ANTH 696 Cultural Anthropology (3)
HIST 546 History of Arizona and the Southwest (3)
HIST 552 American Ethnic History (3)
HIST 557 The Mexican Revolution (3)
HIST 567 Contemporary Latin America (3)
HIST 569 History of Women in Latin American History (3)
HIST 695a Advanced Studies in U.S. History (3)
HIST 695b Advanced Studies in Latin American History (3)
HIST 696c Twentieth Century U.S. History (3)
HIST 696j Latin America: Modern Period (3)
HIST 696l Colonial Latin America (3)
MAS 585 Mexicana/Chicana Women’s History (3)
MAS 596c Chicano Historiography (3)
MAS 597ax The Border Academy (6)
MAS 596a Advanced Topics in Chicano Studies (3)
Master of Science in Mexican American Studies
Mexican American Studies & Research Center • The University of Arizona

Public Policy Strand

ANTH 613 Policy Making and Organizational Culture (3)
LAW 620* Immigration Law (3)
LAW 670* Public International Law (3)
MAS 510 Mexican American Labor (3)
MAS 597ax The Border Academy (6)
PA 501 Public Organization Theory (3)
PA 502 Public Organization Behavior (3)
PA 503 Politics and the Policy Process (3)
PA 504** Public and Policy Economics (3)
PA 513 Government and Non-Public Sector (3)
PA 521 Social Policy (3)
PA 522 Analysis of Health Systems (3)
PA 523 Health and Public Policy (3)
PA 524 Management of Long-term Care Facilities and Programs (3)
PA 525 Comparative Management in Health Care (3)
PA 527 Aging and Public Policy (3)
PA 530 Aging and Social Sciences (3)
PA 540 Theories of Crime and Public Policy (3)
SOC 514 The State and Social Policy (3)
SOC 556 Gender Issues in Organizational Behavior (3)
SOC 560 Race and Ethnicity (3)
POL 595g Public Policy Seminar (3)

* Open to law students and to graduate students with special permission from the Law and Graduate Colleges.

** Requires ECON 500 or intermediate Economics course.

A total of 34 units are required for the MAS Master's degree.

MAS Core Courses

MAS 508 The Mexican American: Cultural Perspectives (3)
MAS 509 Mexican Immigration (3)
MAS 525 Topics in Latino Health (3)
MAS 560 Historical Perspectives on Chicano Thought (3)
MAS 580 Advanced Research Methods on Latinos (4)
MAS 587 Chicana Gender Perspectives (3)

Desert Lynx, the online University of Arizona catalog can be found at <<http://catalog.arizona.edu>>.

The University of Arizona, a public, Land-Grant, research institution, is dedicated to preparing students for an increasingly diverse and technological world and to improving the quality of life for the people of Arizona and the nation. The University provides distinguished undergraduate, graduate and professional education; excels in basic and applied research, and creative achievement; and integrates these activities and achievements of regional, national and international significance into everyday life.
MA S 508  The Mexican American: Cultural Perspectives (3)
A critical examination of Mexican American culture as portrayed in the social sciences. An assessment of the social, political, and economic factors influencing representations of Mexican Americans. *Cross-listed with Anthropology & Latin American Studies*

MA S 509  Mexican Immigration (3)
Examines immigration from Mexico to the U.S. The course focuses on current immigration issues such as the economic assimilation of immigrants, as well as other immigration-related topics.

MA S 510  Mexican American Labor (3)
Examines Mexican Americans in the labor force. Issues covered include earnings, unionism, and labor force participation.

MA S 525  Topics in Hispanic Health (3)
Covers topics in health and mental health as they relate to Hispanics residing in the United States with particular emphasis on Mexican Americans in the Southwest. *Cross-listed with Public Health*

MA S 580  Advanced Research Methods on Latinos (4)
This course is designed to provide students with an understanding of qualitative and quantitative decision-making methods focusing on the Mexican American population.

MA S 585  Mexicana/Chicana Women’s History (3)
Historical survey and sociological analysis of past and present experiences of Mexicanas and Chicanas in the United States. *Writing emphasis course; Cross-listed with Women’s Studies*

MA S 588  Chicana Gender Perspectives (3)
A cross-disciplinary review of theoretical, empirical, and cultural perspectives of Chicana and Latina women in the U.S.

MA S 596a  Advanced Topics in Chicano Studies (3)
This course serves two purposes: 1) to review and bring integrative closure to the student’s education in the MAS major and minor; and 2) to serve as a springboard to graduate and professional education or to particular careers. *Writing emphasis course*

MA S 596c  Chicano/a Historiography (3)
A research seminar examining the development of Chicano/a historiography from a comparative perspective. The course will provide a critical introduction to the development of Mexican American history, and examine influences upon its development from other fields of history and other disciplines.

MA S 597ax  Border Academy (6)
An intensive two-week residential program that explores the political, economic, and social issues shaping present-day life on the U.S.-Mexico border.

MA S 680  Grantsmanship (3)
This course prepares students to be competitive in the art of writing fundable research proposals.

**Mexican American Studies & Research Center Mission Statement**

The MASRC is committed to contemporary applied public policy research on Mexican Americans. As the leading public policy research center addressing issues of concern to this minority group in Arizona, the MASRC works collaboratively with key community agencies in promoting leadership and economic empowerment of Mexican Americans within the state and the nation. The Center achieves these goals through its applied research agenda, through its publications, and through the comprehensive curriculum it offers students at the University of Arizona. As an intellectual center, it disseminates information to a broad audience, which includes elected officials, educators, students, policy makers and other researchers.

Phone: (520) 621-7551  •  E-mail: masrc@u.arizona.edu  •  Web-site: http://w3.arizona.edu:180/masrc
The data presented in this research study highlights a perplexing dichotomy: Arizona's potential for economic growth forecasts a promising future, and yet certain members of the State's culturally diverse population are not being prepared to participate in that future. Education is the key to full participation and there is clear evidence that the educational attainment of Arizona's Hispanic, African American, and Native American workers falls far short of the level needed to reap the benefits of Arizona's growing economy. The negative consequences of this shortfall will be uniquely personal for the individuals and families involved and broadly pervasive for Arizona as a whole.

From the preface by Alfredo G. de los Santos Jr., AMEPAC Chair and Vice Chancellor of the Maricopa County Community College District

Economic trends in Arizona have been broadly positive for most of this decade—the state has enjoyed the nation's second highest job growth rate, has one of the lowest unemployment rates, ranks high nationally in growth in foreign-owned firms, and its foreign exports rose to $13.5 billion in 1997.

Unfortunately, such encouraging trends have not benefited large numbers of minority individuals in the state, and lack of educational attainment appears to be a major factor. The present study, Minority Student Achievement and Workforce Success in Arizona, provides a wealth of evidence that increasing educational attainment will be crucial to reducing the significant earning disparities between minority workers and those in the majority population.

Within Arizona's two largest minority groups, Hispanics and Native Americans, educational attainment is particularly precarious... Failure to increase high school and college graduation rates for minorities costs the state millions of dollars per year in tax revenues. But the state also loses other benefits, since workers with higher levels of education are less susceptible to layoffs, earn more, and are less likely to be on welfare or use social services...
Director from page 2

During the public presentations, several public school educators suggested that the underlying problem may occur at an even earlier age in Arizona for these "at risk" students. Thus, having a clearer grasp of why our students are not "dropping in" to our public schools may be a first step to addressing the serious attrition rates we are seeing at the high school level, and in the low transfer rate from community colleges to four-year institutions. A critical goal for the Center this year will be to garner funding to examine the earlier grade experience of Hispanic students before they enter high school to determine what factors put them in danger of abandoning their education. We hope this will aid both elected officials and those in the education profession in developing targeted policies and programs that will provide economic benefits to the state and region.

Adela de la Torre, Director
Mexican American Studies & Research Center

Border Academy scheduled for July

The 1999 Border Academy will be offered in July in three separate sessions, each of which has its own subject and focus. The sessions are:

- **Border Health (July 2-4)**
  The first session will be held at the Río Rico Resort near the international border. Cost: $425

- **The Road to Tubutama: Urban Geographies of the Southwest Borderlands (July 5-8)**
  Includes a 2-day tour through northwestern Mexico. Cost: $425

- **Economic Development (July 9-11)**
  To be offered at the Río Rico Resort. Key themes are the border regional economy with special focus on transportation, tourism, agribusiness, and the maquila industry. Cost: $425

The Academy's international faculty is made up of scholars and professionals from both Mexico and the United States. Extended field trips are an integral part of the seminars. The session on Urban Geographies of the Southwest Borderlands, for example, involves a two-day trip into northern Mexico. The Center hosted its first Border Academy in June 1998 at Columbia University's Biosphere II Center in Oracle, Arizona. An international group of participants including graduate students, journalists, and professionals from the public and private sectors took part in the two-week seminar. Speakers included Congressman Jim Kolbe, and Arizona Attorney General Janet Napolitano.

Given the limited space available (only 20 participants for each workshop) interested individuals should contact the Center at their earliest convenience.

For more information contact the MASRC:
Phone: (520) 621-7551  E-mail: masrc@u.arizona.edu

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ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED
MASRC & College of Medicine win $1.2 million, 3-year grant
Hispanic Center of Excellence will be unique research, curricular unit

In August the U.S. Health Resources and Services Administration awarded the UA College of Medicine and the Mexican American Studies & Research Center a three-year, $1.2 million grant to create an Arizona Hispanic Center of Excellence (AHCOE).

The joint project is aimed at improving research on Hispanic health, and enhancing the Medical College's ability to recruit and retain Hispanic students and faculty.

"I feel it is a great honor for Arizona to be recognized as an Hispanic Center of Excellence," said Dr. James E. Dalen, dean of the UA College of Medicine.

The AHCOE will include outreach activities beginning in the fifth grade and continuing beyond the high school level, with a special emphasis on community college outreach. Previous research done by the MASRC makes it clear that preparation for medical education must begin at the elementary level, where academic progress for Hispanic students begins to falter. That research has also found that community colleges are frequently the starting point for Hispanics and other minorities in higher education.

The grant will help the College of Medicine to augment and continue the efforts it has made to increase Hispanic faculty and student recruitment and retention. The college was ranked fourth among public institutions for its percentage of under-represented minority students in the 1994/95 entering class, and eighth among all institutions. The Association of American Medical Colleges recently reported that the undergraduate campus of the UA is one of the top 10 producers of Hispanic medical students nationally.

Other objectives of the AHCOE include:
- Cultivating research opportunities for Hispanic medical students
- Providing institutional support for Hispanic health services research

Historian is newest MASRC faculty member

Gregory S. Rodriguez has joined the MASRC faculty, increasing its number to six.

He received his Ph.D. in United States History from the University of California, San Diego, earlier this year, and was a University of California Presidents Dissertation Fellow in 1998 and 1999.

His dissertation is entitled, "'Palaces of Pain' — Arenas of Mexican-American Dreams: Boxing and the Formation of Ethnic Mexican Identities in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles." (See excerpts on page 2.)

His research interests include the historical uses of popular culture for the mobilization of ethnic, national, and gender identities within Mexican national and Mexican American communities. He is also interested in advancing the fields and techniques of oral history and public history in the Tucson area.

Rodriguez was born in Los Angeles and attended high school in Sacramento, California. He earned a B.A. in history at Cal State, Sacramento, and an M.A. in history at UCSD, where he eventually earned his doctorate.

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San Diego will be site of Summer 2000 Border Academy
MASRC Working Paper #28: Cultural Values and HIV Risk Reduction
BOXING AND THE FORMATION OF ETHNIC MEXICAN IDENTITIES IN 20TH-CENTURY SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

by Gregory S. Rodríguez

During the twentieth century, professional boxing in southern California provided people of Mexican descent with a means of negotiating grievances within and beyond their own group boundaries. The sport has served as a mechanism of solidarity, promoting a sense of identity, unity, status, and esteem; as an instrument of confrontation between national and ethnic groups, stimulating aggression, stereotyping, and images of inferiority and superiority; and as a cultural bond linking ethnic and national groups across boundaries, providing common enthusiasm, opportunities for association, and goodwill.

This study made use of the techniques and insights garnered from recent advances in sports history and Chicano studies to analyze the history of Mexican American boxing in southern California.

Sources for this study include original material from boxing clubs and organizations, newspapers, census records, government documents, court records, interviews, personal papers, academic investigations, filmic representations, and boxing ephemera. I seek to explain how a complex conjuncture of structural forces sparked ethnic Mexican boxing, and how boxing contributed to the restructuring or reproduction of ethnic, gender, and national identities over the course of the twentieth century. Boxing arenas became metaphors for the struggles over the meaning of race, gender, and citizenship that has preoccupied United States society in the twentieth century.

An examination of Mexican American participation in boxing illustrates another way in which ethnicity emerges as a means of building a network of mutual reciprocity and obligation to mobilize political and material resources. Like scholarly explanations of Mexican American contributions in fashion, music, film, and dance, an examination of Mexican American boxing industries highlights the ways ethnic, familial, linguistic, and class dynamics influenced Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants in negotiating new urban identities through popular culture.

This study offers a glimpse of the tensions evident in boxing rivalries between social homogeneity and heterogeneity, ethnic unity and diversity, and national integration and fragmentation. From the perspective of boxing history, Mexican American identity formation in the evolution of United States culture is less recognizable in terms of a single causal explanation—such as capitalism, racism, or Americanization—but emerges as a multi-causal, interconnected set of processes.

Aurelio Herrera, Southern California’s First “Mexican” Boxing Legend

by Gregory S. Rodríguez

In March of 1927, 51-year-old Aurelio Herrera was arrested for vagrancy and sentenced to three months in the San Francisco County Jail. As Herrera stood before the judge, a sports writer rose in the courtroom and asked to be heard. “This man is the amazing Mexican pugilist, Aurelio Herrera, whose name is inscribed in the annals of boxing history,” he exclaimed. After a closer inspection the judge also recognized Herrera and decided to reverse his sentence. “An individual such as you,” the judge admonished, “who reached the maximum heights of your career, is punished enough just living with the knowledge that you alone are to blame for your destitute condition. Go with God and reform yourself, for you have already created your own prison.” Less than three weeks after his release from jail, Herrera died with sports reporters by his side but “neither family nor friend.”

“His end was very sad,” noted a correspondent for La Opinión on the scene. Herrera, who had “thousands of friends and admirers who once sang his praises,” the newspaper reported, “today died alone.” His obituary commemorated him as a “famous Mexican boxer and premier lightweight who inflicted true terror in the boxers of his division.” A United States citizen by nationality, Herrera was nevertheless deemed “Mexican” by the English- and Spanish-language press. As the San Francisco Chronicle pointed out, “Herrera, a Mexican, was born in San Jose [California], June 17, 1876.”

Herrera’s boxing career, from 1898 to 1909, coincided with both the rise of modern prizefighting in southern California and the rise of the “Mexican” hero in the sport. His career marked the first of a long list of Mexican American boxing legends.
can-descent prizefighters who gained fame in southern California in the twentieth century and whose careers are explored in this study. Herrera, and the succession of raza fighters who followed him, were turned into commodities that often masked the conditions of their own production... As the first great “Mexican” boxer in California history, Aurelio Herrera provides the point of departure for an exploration of the evolution of the key relationships that have made ethnic Mexican boxing history meaningful. By “key relationships,” I mean the relationships of individual boxers to their community audiences, of business interests to individual boxers, and of culturally and linguistically distinct communities to each other. I argue that encounters in boxing history offer us a window into the memory and historical consciousness of ethnic Mexicans. Boxing was much more than merely a form of “sport” — it was a complex set of relationships that were themselves part of a larger process of social self-definition for individuals and communities.

As with many of the boxers I examine in this work, Aurelio Herrera was a transitional figure in Mexican American history. Herrera lived at a time when changes in the regional and local economy, political institutions, and the social matrix of southern California were transforming Mexican American life. As tens of thousands of white migrants fueled the growth of metropolitan southern California between 1900 and 1920, they brought with them a wide variety of leisure activities and sporting traditions — including amateur and professional boxing — that soon became attractive to Mexican American youth. Mexican Americans, whose own leisure and sporting practice were being displaced as part of the larger processes of social dislocation caused by massive white American immigration, tried to preserve many of their former practices, but over time they began to adopt many of the habits imported by their Anglo neighbors. Thus, although prizefighting as a spectator sport in California was dominated by working-class whites from the 1870s until 1914, after that time the sport gradually drew more interest in the ethnic Mexican and Filipino communities. By the early 1920s, prizefighting had been transformed to the extent that the majority of participants and fans came from these ethnic communities.

Beginning with Herrera we can also read boxing as a sport that promoted a strong class identification. Herrera countered much of the racist labeling prominent in his boxing world by spreading a legend that his boxing success was due to a lifetime of shearing sheep. Indeed, as his career progressed, he would announce that he had sheared sheep for several days in preparation for a fight. Prominent boxers in the future — like 1930s champion Ceferino Garcia, who developed his bolo punch by cutting sugar cane, or 1950s champ Art Aragon, who attributed his left hook to chopping wood — pursued a “worker” image similar to Herrera’s that more contemporary fighters, like Sugar Ray Leonard (ca. 1970s-1980s) and Oscar De La Hoya (ca. 1990s) would not.

Following Herrera, every ethnic Mexican boxer that achieved fame in Los Angeles did so in a complex racial order that proscribed or prescribed modes of ethnic Mexican social integration. In Herrera’s case, the racial order was registered in the changing attitudes of his fans, who were primarily white ethnics. Every one of Herrera’s fights generated stories, myths, and stereotypes that focused on his racial identity, ranging in description from “Iberian” to “Indian.” Journalists and promoters built up and reacted to his fights with stories that bespoke their own sense of white racial superiority. As in most of his fights, in his bout with Kid

Herrera from previous page

Herman in February of 1906, the Los Angeles Times represented Herrera as the “Mexican villain” in order to appeal to predominantly white fans. Herrera’s career provides a glimpse into the ways whites read “Mexican” boxers according to the dominant racial referents of the day. By the time of his death in 1927, a new generation of Mexican immigrants made Herrera into a boxing legend. Although by 1910 Herrera had disappeared from southern California boxing, his reputation was kept alive in the Spanish-language press and among the swelling ranks of ethnic Mexican contenders. Ethnic Mexicans invoked the memory of “The Great Aurelio Herrera” every time one of their boxers displayed the “overhand right” attack that Herrera had reputedly made famous. Memories of Herrera for many ethnic Mexicans in the 1920s — boxers and fans alike — evoked memories of conquest and a much longer and larger struggle between Anglos and Mexicans for national sovereignty in the region. As tens of thousands of ethnic Mexican boxing fans made Los Angeles into a mecca of international boxing in the 1920s, their domination in the sport must have served as a metaphor of a symbolic “Mexican reconquest” of United States territory. In the years following Herrera’s retirement from the ring in 1909 much changed in the lives of ethnic Mexicans in Los Angeles. Los Angeles became the largest Spanish-speaking community in the United States, and the massive influx of Mexican immigrants who fueled this demographic transformation turned to boxing, and drew on the memories of

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Health, Economic Development Examined at Border Academy

Federal government and state officials, scholars, professionals, and policy makers offered a wealth of insight and opinion to those attending the Center’s Border Academy in July.

The Academy, now in its second year, was organized around two major themes — Health and Economic Development — on consecutive weekends. During the first weekend, participants learned about health status issues, health systems, and community-based projects in the borderlands. In the following week regional development, cross-border development, trade with Mexico and Canada, as well as legal, law enforcement, and cultural issues were covered.

The sessions took place at the Rio Rico Resort, north of the border town of Nogales.

**Herrera from page 3**

Previous heroes like Herrera as a way of performing and imagining their own ethnic and gender identities. Memories in boxing were visualized, embodied, and practiced — as in Herrera’s overhand blow — in a manner that valorized Mexican courage resourcefulness, skill, masculinity, and generally reinforced pride in being “Mexican.” Expressions of Mexican ethnicity and masculinity in boxing exemplified the way these identities themselves had to be assembled from often non-Mexican elements in a region comprised of diverse social groups engaged in complex cultural interactions. As part of this process, the ancestral claim to “Mexican” greatness in prizefighting established attachments to place and constituted a counternarrative that subverted dominant stereotypes ethnic Mexicans confronted in their everyday lives.

Famous ethnic Mexican boxing careers such as Aurelio Herrera’s did not simply grow out of relationships in which stark group boundaries were clearly drawn between Anglos and Mexicans or among subjects that were either “assimilated,” “assimilable,” and “unassimilable.” The careers of ethnic Mexican boxers stretching in a long line from Herrera to Oscar De La Hoya at the end of the twentieth century, reflected in part the complex social and cultural negotiations that diverse racial and ethnic groups undertook as they learned to work together, even if at times they met in symbolic and actual opposition. Ethnic Mexicans cultivated a culture of boxing as part of a much larger counter-hegemonic strategy that involved the constant testing of new identities, senses of community, and political contestation as they struggled to control their “assimilation” into United States society.

Before World War II, people of Mexican descent made boxing into a performative expression of ethnic and masculine identity in the context of a constrained public sphere that offered delimited opportunities for expressions of “Mexicanness” and cultural nationalism. After 1945, however, boxing became an important arena where the wider social struggles that emerged between Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants came to be enacted. Boxers now cleverly based lucrative careers on the emergent divisions among ethnic Mexicans over issues of nationality, ethnicity, and class. The biggest-drawing fighter of his day — Art Aragon, “The Golden Boy of Hollywood” — proved this point. He was a transitional figure who was both hated and loved because of his apparent “assimilation.” Aragon’s career foreshadowed the problem of ethnic Mexican community stratification that would partly undermine the solidarities of 1960s and 1970s social movements.

Continued on page 7
Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the U.S. Economy
by Arturo González

Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants suffer higher levels of poverty than most other ethnic groups. While the poverty rate of Mexican-origin families has hovered just below 30% for most of the 1990s, the average poverty rate in the U.S. is 10%. This means that the Mexican population is about three times more likely to live in poverty than the average American. For many social scientists, this is ample evidence that Mexicans are an "underclass" with reduced prospects for economic mobility. However, the varied nature of the Mexican population makes such generalizations questionable.

Income levels, poverty rates, and assets are all indicators of the present economic status, as well as the future economic mobility, of families and individuals. The Mexican American population is often perceived as being poor, in government transfer programs, and with few prospects for economic mobility. This perception is rarely challenged even though many non-economic structural explanations exist. One of the most important of these is generational status. Because the share of U.S.-born Mexican Americans has declined from 85% in the early 1960s to 61% in 1998, immigrants put more weight on Mexican American statistics than ever before.

Here, we explore the income distribution and the extent of poverty, along with wealth and asset accumulation, across generations using information from the March 1998 U.S. Current Population Survey. As the table and graph indicate, the number of Mexican Americans with low levels of current and permanent income is undeniable. The question we seek an answer to is: Are large segments of the Mexican American population in danger of becoming a permanent underclass, or in the process of joining the ranks of the middle class?

**Income Distribution**
The source of a family's income is varied, and includes salaries; dividends (payoffs) from assets such as stocks, bonds, and real estate; inheritance; and public assistance and welfare programs. The amount of family income is a result of many factors. Not surprisingly, employment accounts for a large portion of family income. As a consequence, families with more members that work in high paying jobs will have greater incomes than other families. Since one-third of the Mexican American population is foreign-born, it is important to consider the possibility that immigrant families have workers who earn less than U.S.-born workers. In addition, immigrants who have acculturated will have had greater experience in the U.S. labor force, and should consequently earn more than recently arrived immigrants. Other factors, such as youth, English proficiency, education, and region of residence, will further affect family income. Time in the U.S., to a greater extent, will capture many of the differences that impact total family income among Mexican-origin families.

For these reasons, the percent of Mexican-origin families with total income presented in the graph is broken down by generations, where the first generation is defined for the family-reference person who is foreign-born and whose parents are also foreign-born, the second generation is a person who is born in the U.S., but who has at least one foreign-born parent, and the third generation is a person who is born in the U.S. (or abroad) and whose parents

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Continued on page 6
Mexicans in the U.S. Economy from page 5

are also born in the U.S. For reference, the poverty thresholds for a family of four, the median income for all Mexican-origin families, and that of all U.S. families are also marked.

The graph shows that the three Mexican-origin populations have incomes that are less than the rest of the U.S. population. For all three groups, the income distribution is skewed towards the left, meaning that the median income is less than the average income. Since the median divides the population in half, this means that the majority of families are concentrated in the lower end of the distribution. The table complements the graph, as it lists the median and average income of the families, along with the median and mean family size. Income distributions that are “flatter” have a more equal distribution of income, and second-generation families have a lower kurtosis value (a measure of flatness) than third- and first-generation families. First-generation families, in particular, have very a peaked and left-skewed distribution, implying both inequality and a high number of families in the bottom of the income distribution. Comparing the incomes across generations shows that the second-generation has the lowest percentage of families with low incomes and below the poverty line, while the third generation has quite a few families in poverty, but also many with large incomes.

About 40% of first-generation families have less than $20,000 in total income, compared to about 30% of second- and third-generation families. The median family income of first-generation families is $23,000 compared to $32,000 for second- and third-generation families. In addition to having less income, first-generation families are larger. U.S.-born Mexican Americans are at least twice as likely to have incomes over $60,000 than those born in Mexico. In total, nearly 110,000 second- and third-generation families (or 5% of all families in both categories) have more than $100,000 in 1997, while only 2% of first-generation Mexican families have over $100,000.

A disappointing finding is that more third-generation Mexican families have lower income levels than the second generation. In total number and percentage, as the graph and table show, more third-generation families have less than $10,000 than second-generation families. A higher percentage of second-generation families have incomes in the $10,000 to $45,000 range, but this is due to the fact that third-generation families are more likely than second-generation families to have incomes greater than $65,000. Therefore, while the income distribution of second-generation families is more flat and less skewed to the left, third-generation families are more diverse in their incomes. There are a significant number of high-income families, just as there are a significant number of low-income families. Therefore, while the table shows a decline in the third generation in median incomes after increasing from the first to the second, there is a progressive increase in average incomes from the first to the third generation.

In fact, Mexican Americans are not unique in the decrease in incomes from the second to the third generation. All second-generation families in the U.S. average $58,569, but third-generation families average $57,966. Although the difference is not statistically significant, the fact that progress stalls from the second to the third generation requires further discussion, particularly in light of the implications regarding poverty status.

This article is an excerpt from Arturo González’s forthcoming book, Dreams of ‘Buenos Dias’: Mexicans & Mexican Americans in the U.S. Economy. González is an assistant professor at the MASRC.

His e-mail address is: agon@u.arizona.edu

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<table>
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<tr>
<td>Median and Mean Family Income and Size by Generation,* 1997</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Income</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>Mean</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexican-origin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
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<td>All U.S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
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<td>Mexican American</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>All U.S.</td>
<td>$43,430</td>
<td>$58,569</td>
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<tr>
<td>Third Generation Mexican American</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>$32,008</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>All U.S.</td>
<td>$46,000</td>
<td>$57,966</td>
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Notes: Only primary families are counted. Sample weights are used. Excludes those born in Puerto Rico or outlying regions of the U.S.
*First Generation: person and both parents are foreign-born; Second Generation: person is U.S.-born and at least one parent is foreign-born; Third Generation: person and both parents are U.S.-born. The third generation also includes persons born abroad of U.S.-born parents.
Border Academy from page 4

in Nogales, Mexico, and met with members of META (Mujeres en Trabajo Medio-Ambiental), a group of women in Nogales, Mexico, who are working to improve environmental conditions in the large, impoverished squatter communities in which they live. The tour was conducted by BorderLinks, a Tucson-based ecumenical program that seeks to raise consciousness about border issues through experiential education. Since 1987, it has offered travel seminars along the U.S.-Mexico border for groups from all over the U.S. and Canada.

Border Economic Development

Dorothy Bigg, Deputy Director of the Arizona Department of Commerce, delivered the keynote speech in the Economic Development session, and on the following day Consul Jerry Kramer, of the Canadian Consulate General in Los Angeles, spoke on the topic, "How Canada Views NAFTA After Five Years.”

Other presentations were given by Bruce Wright, Assoc. Vice President for Economic Development at the Univ. of Arizona, and Vera Pavlakovich, Director of Borderlands Economic Development at the UA, both of whom were instrumental in organizing the session.

Lee Frankel, President of the Fresh Produce Association of the Americas, and Stephen Joseph, an Urban Planner based in Hermosillo, Mexico, covered issues pertaining to transportation, housing and trade.


Prof. Oscar Martinez of the UA Dept. of History; Christian Pluschke, Executive Director of the World Trade Center in Frankfurt (Oder), Germany; and Wieslaw Czyzowicz, Commercial Consul of Poland’s Consulate General in Los Angeles, presented issues of borderlands development in global perspective.

Bill Bourland, Economic Development Specialist for the City of Tucson; and Pablo Wong-González of the Center for Research on Food and Development (CIAD) in Hermosillo, Mexico, spoke about tourism, trade and maquiladora industry issues.

BorderLinks again led participants on a tour, this time through several maquiladora parks in Nogales, Sonora. Later in the day, academy participants met with community women who are working to create a micro-enterprise community banking project, which will help the poor and people of limited means obtain credit in order to improve their homes and neighborhoods. The growing squatter communities, such as the one visited in Nogales, Mexico, are a relatively recent phenomenon, a result of people moving to the border from further south to find jobs in the maquilas or in the U.S.

Scholarship funding for Border Academy participants was provided by the University of Arizona Graduate College, Bank One of Arizona, and the Salt River Project. The Border Health Foundation sponsored a reception for Dr. Autry on the opening night of the health session.

Next Border Academy scheduled for July 2000 in San Diego

The 2000 Border Academy will be offered in San Diego, California, on consecutive long weekends in July. The academy is now jointly sponsored by the MASRC and the University of Arizona Office of Economic Development.

The sessions will again focus on health and economic issues in the U.S.-Mexico border region. The Economic Development session starts on July 13 and ends on the 16th. The Border Health session begins July 20 and ends on the 23rd.

Registration brochures with more specific details will be available later in the fall. If you would like to receive one, please contact the Mexican American Studies & Research Center by e-mail or by phone at: masrc@u.arizona.edu / (520) 621-7551.

AZR
The Influence of Cultural Values On Self-Efficacy in Reducing HIV Risk Behaviors Among a Sample of Male Mexican-Origin Injection Drug Users is the 28th title in the MASRC Working Paper Series. The authors, Antonio L. Estrada, Barbara D. Estrada, and Gilbert Quintero, examine the influence of key cultural values like machismo, familism, traditionalism, and religiosity as a means of helping reduce HIV risk among Mexican-origin IDUs.

The findings suggest that culturally innovative approaches can facilitate HIV/AIDS risk reduction among male Mexican-origin drug injectors. The importance of key cultural values like machismo is underscored by its association with HIV risk reduction for both sexual and injection related risks. The authors note that culturally innovative approaches hold the promise of substantially reducing HIV risk behaviors among Hispanic drug injectors, and may hold promise for other populations affected by HIV/AIDS as well.

The research was funded by a grant from the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), and is available from the Center for $3.00.

Center of Excellence from page 1

- Providing stipend support for three medical students annually to participate in existing rural health programs.
- Providing educational workshops.
- Adding a tutoring program for basic science courses and clinical workshops to help students perform better on the U.S. Medical Licensing Exam.
- Improving Hispanic health library resources.

"The Center of Excellence provides the vital infrastructure to our state to increase the number of culturally and linguistically sensitive physicians meeting the day-to-day health needs of the state's Hispanic community," said MASRC Director Adela de la Torre. "This program will not only support the growing medical care needs of this population, but also serve as a model for medical schools across the country."

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The History of the Tucson International Mariachi Conference
Southern Arizona festival is showcase for classic Mexican artform
by Gregory S. Rodríguez

Regionalism in the United States is thought to have declined since the 1950s with the spread of interstate highways, chains of fast-food restaurants, and television. But just as ethnicity never seems to dissolve into the so-called melting pot, so regional differences have never disappeared in American life. Local identities and affiliations find powerful expression in musical styles, like southern gospel, the Chicago blues, the Detroit "Motown" sound, or in ethnic styles such as Appalachian bluegrass and Louisiana xydco.

In April 2000, Tucson will pay tribute to the music of the U.S.-Mexico border region by hosting the 18th Annual Tucson International Mariachi Conference (TIMC). This event provides a telling example of the ways in which music transforms, but does not erase, attachments to place. Although mariachi music has its origins in Mexico, today this musical tradition is symbolic of Tucson culture, and increasingly, the western United States. "What's more American than mariachi music?" ask many who live in the West. Tucsonans deserve much credit for its sudden rise in popularity, and although the country is too large

Continued on page 2

The Segregation of Mexican Americans in Tucson Public Schools
Chicanos in Arizona, Southwest have long history of fighting discrimination
by Maritza De La Trinidad

Although segregation in U.S. public schools is most often thought of as a problem historically affecting the African American community, Mexican Americans also experienced segregation in public schools in Texas, California, New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona. The practice of segregating them began in the early 1900s and continued through the mid-1970s. Historian Gilbert González has noted that legally sanctioned segregation of Mexican American children was extensive between 1900 and 1950, a period he calls "the era of de jure segregation of Mexican Americans in Southwest school systems."

In most cases the practice was based on language and cultural "deficiencies," and was supported by administrative policies that justified segregating pupils who were linguistically and culturally different from the mainstream Anglo population in order to meet the "special needs" of the Mexican American students. However, some school districts in Texas simply barred Mexican American children from attending the regular public schools solely because of their ethnicity. These districts established separate schools, commonly referred to as "Mexican schools," which were inferior in construction, resources, teaching materials, and equipment. Other schools justified placing Mexican-origin students into separate classes for "Americanization" purposes.

This policy was evident in Tucson's notorious 1-C class, a one-year immersion program aimed at teaching children with limited English-language skills, most of whom were of Mexican descent. From 1920 to 1965, many Mexican American students began their formal education in this program. "Everyone went to 1-C, then to first grade . . . We thought the whole world was like that," said Gene Benton, who is now an

Continued on page 6
and diverse to turn all music into national pastimes, Tucson's premier local legacy—its cross-cultural and educational celebration of mariachi music—has fixed this musical tradition in the wider American consciousness.

In order to learn something about the popularity of mariachi music in Tucson, it is necessary to turn to its origins in the mestizo folklore of Mexico. Almost two centuries old, mariachi music is world famous, and its production has been continuous and prolific, particularly in the Mexican state of Jalisco. It was there that the mariachis originated and began to spread out to other regions. Traditionally, mariachis have been strolling folk orchstras. Originally, they were composed of stringed instruments only—guitarra (guitar), guitarrón (or large guitar), violin, and the tiny four-stringed vihuela. By the 1920s, innovative mariachis introduced cornets and trumpets that have now become a standard part of the ensemble.

In Guadalajara, Jalisco's largest city, mariachis are to be found around the old, well-known markets where people go to hear the music or to hire groups to play for fiestas, serenatas (serenades), casamientos (weddings), and other special occasions. In smaller towns, they stroll around the main plazas and stop to play for anyone who will pay. In the early 1930s, a few mariachis went to Mexico City. They did well, so others followed, establishing mariachis as the ubiquitous and quintessential songsters of Mexico. Their rallying-ground in the capital city remains to this day the Plaza Garibaldi. By the mid-20th century the spread of radio programs, recordings, and movies made the itinerant mariachi, in full charro regalia, one of the most enduring symbols of Mexican culture.

The roots of the Tucson International Mariachi Conference are solidly embedded in the multicultural communities of southern Arizona, particularly those of Tucson's Mexican Americans. According to John Huerta, one of the founders of the TIMC, it was in the early 1960s when a priest with a vast collection of mariachi music, Father Arsenio Carrillo, played a few songs for his colleague, Father Charles Rourke. An accomplished jazz pianist in another life, Rourke was immediately struck by the mariachis' unique tempo.

Rourke began working with Carrillo's two nephews, Randy and Stevie Carrillo, who were already learning mariachi songs. According to Huerta, Father Rourke "began working with these really simple songs, and he called [the performers together with their rudimentary repertoire] 'The Ugly Little Monkeys,' and that's the way this group started."

The group—known by their Spanish moniker, Los Changuitos Feos—would become by 1964 one of the most influential mariachi ensembles to emerge in Tucson.

Before the emergence of Los Changuitos Feos, Tucson's mariachi culture was confined to those places where mariachis had traditionally performed in Mexican American communities across the Southwest—in restaurants, at parties, at weddings, and on other special occasions. One previous group, Mariachi Los Tucsonenses, achieved acclaim beyond Tucson in 1954. But it was Los Changuitos Feos that would put the city on the international mariachi map.

Rourke's intention was to provide interested Mexican American youth with a rewarding experience that would also help build pride in their culture. Although originally intended as a neighborhood project for Mexican Americans, Los Changuitos Feos almost immediately attracted the interest of local Anglo Americans. As part of their experimentation with Mexican culture, local Anglos hired Los Changuitos Feos (or the Changos, as they became known) for parties and other special occasions. Eventually, Anglo patronage helped establish the Changos college scholarship fund.

For some of the Changos, the musical abilities developed through their participation in the group helped pay for college educations, and led to success later in life. Members Macario Ruiz and Bobby Martinez graduated college and became teachers at local high schools. Another member, Randy Carrillo, along with other local musicians, formed what would become Tucson's premier mariachi troupe, El Mariachi Cobre.

The TIMC has developed a larger audience and wider reputation since the first conference in the early 1980s, and a street fair, music workshops, and Mexican folklorico dancing and instruction, are part of the mix of things that make it so appealing. The idea for the street fair was to re-create Plaza Garibaldi, home of Mexico City's strolling mariachis.

Finally, all was in place for a program that would bristle with electricity and artistic flourishes. John Huerta outlined the daily events:

Continued on next page
The conference opened at the Tucson Convention Center on Wednesday [April 10, 1983] with the Mariachi Vargas [de Tecalitlán] conducting the workshops for students from all over the West. Traveling with Mariachi Vargas was the founder of the group, Silvestre Vargas, and Ruben Fuentes, one of Mexico’s leading composer/arrangers and manager of Mariachi Vargas... On Friday evening the concert was held in the arena of the convention center; on Saturday morning the mariachi competition (the Student Showcase) was held in the music hall; and at noon on Saturday a street fair called “Garibaldi” started.

Another important development in the history of the conference was securing the contribution of Tucson’s distinguished, home-grown artist, Linda Ronstadt. Along with Huerta, María Urquides played an influential role in bringing Ronstadt to the conference. Urquides was one of the founders of bilingual education in the United States, and also Ronstadt’s high school teacher.

Besides her great popularity and name recognition, Ronstadt contributed to the conference program in other profound ways. She was instrumental in introducing Mexican folklorico dancing into the conference program. Folklorico dance is now an integral part of the TIMC, and is both performed and taught during the conference.

Over the years, the mariachi tradition became a vehicle for instilling pride in Mexican cultural heritage. It is notable that when an all-female group, Mariachi Las Adelitas, emerged on the scene, the TIMC was its first major showcase.

One important effect of the TIMC has been the introduction of mariachi music into the curricula of Arizona elementary and secondary schools. A number of Arizona schools, especially in Tucson, now offer mariachi music instruction as a choice, along with classical and jazz music. “Tucson Unified School District has a formal mariachi curriculum that works with us,” explained Delfina Álvarez, a long-time TIMC volunteer, “as do a number of schools that have mariachi groups... And that’s a direct result of the mariachi conference.”

“Initially we drew most of the mariachis from out of state,” said Celestino Fernández, a University of Arizona professor of Sociology who is the current president of the TIMC board of directors.

Richard Carranza began attending the conference while still in grade school. Today, he teaches mariachi music at Pueblo High School where he leads a highly successful touring mariachi orchestra. Indeed, many former conference students have returned to the conference and their communities as successful mariachis in their own right and as certified instructors.

A key aspect of the conference is that all the money earned goes to the non-profit La Frontera Center, and to scholarships for young people. Tucson’s La Frontera Center is the only free mental health clinic in Arizona.

Nevertheless, the organizers in Tucson continue to stay on the cutting edge of innovation. Fernández explained some of the changes for the 2000 conference:

We’re providing a revolving stage in the center of the arena. This is the first time ever that a mariachi concert will be held on a revolving stage. This change brings everybody closer to the stage. Instead of being at one end of the arena, we are bringing the stage out to the middle and this allows everybody to be a little closer. This change permits us to create a more intimate program.

The effects of the Tucson International Mariachi Conference have indeed been profound and widespread. Yet nowhere are they more deeply-felt than in Tucson’s up-and-coming generations. For example, at the age of nine, Nicole Martinez was “awestruck” by a performance of Mariachi Cobre.

“Singing is what I want to do,” announced Martinez, now a fourteen-year-old freshman at Tucson High Magnet School.

“Mariachi is what I’m reaching for.” She knew immediately that she would pursue mariachi music the first time she heard its unique sound. “It just grabs you,” she claims.

At age thirteen she was one of three chosen to be a featured soloist at the 1998 mariachi conference in Las Cruces, New Mexico. Mariachi music motivated her to succeed in her fourth-grade guitar group and in her violin-playing and singing in her school mariachi orchestra.

“I didn’t have many problems getting her motivated to sing,” explained Alfredo Valenzuela, the director of the Davis Bilingual Learning Center’s mariachi troupe, Las Aguilitas de Davis. Davis, an elementary school, has had a mariachi group for about five years. Up to 40 second- through fifth-graders perform at various

Continued on page 8
Mexican Tucson: Remembering Barrio Libre

by Lydia Otero

In the war with the United States, Mexico lost a vast expanse of land that contains the present-day states of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, most of Colorado, and parts of several others. Five years later, in 1853, the U.S. bought from Mexico 30,000 square miles of land in what is now southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. That transaction, known as the Gadsden Purchase, and the eventual arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Tucson in 1880 ushered in monumental changes.1

Tucsonenses faced a decline in their economic, social, and cultural status due to the imposition of a new racial and ethnic hierarchy. After the completion of the railroad connecting Arizona to California and the commercial centers of the East, this former Mexican town found itself inundated with new arrivals. Segregation occurred soon after. As Anglos arrived, they acquired the most commercially desirable and established sections in Tucson. Most Mexicans moved south, near the Plaza de la Mesilla—a large open square to the west of the original San Augustin cathedral, which was razed in 1936. It was this settlement pattern that gave rise to what became Barrio Libre, but people that lived there simply called it “el barrio.” The plaza was the focal point of the displaced Mexicans, and the neighborhood became more than a place of residence, and served to nourish a sense of community and identity among Tucsonenses.2 The plaza site is now partially taken up by a grass-covered median between Congress Street and Broadway just west of Church Street. The destruction of Tucson’s oldest barrio in 1969 was the culmination of extended efforts of tourist and business interests since the 1930s, and the federally sponsored Urban Renewal legislation of the 1960s provided them with a windfall opportunity to legitimately eliminate it. Tucson’s Pueblo Center Project was Arizona’s first attempt at so-called urban renewal, which was sometimes referred to as “Negro removal” by African Americans in other cities where such projects were undertaken. Tangible reminders of Mexican accomplishments in the founding and building of Tucson were relinquished to those empowered to dictate policy and frame definitions of poverty, “blight,” and “urban decay.” Alternative locations for a civic center were not considered, and the land within city limits remained vacant until 1980.3 Federal guidelines required citizen participation in “revitalization” efforts, but this was initially interpreted by the city simply as people outside government, and top business leaders were selected to serve as advisers on urban renewal issues, effectively denying barrio residents any voice or participation in the program. There were no loud public protests. Policies of exclusion, as well as cultural and language barriers, discouraged barrio residents from fighting back. Inexperience fighting city hall, and fear of law enforcement—a result of past encounters—also were deterrents to action. Many former residents, in particular the elderly, did not take relocation lightly. One, whose husband died shortly after leaving the barrio said, “If the city wants to kill old people, they should shoot them and not take their homes and families and friends away from them.”4 Unfortunately, by the time the community rallied and effectively mobilized to save some historic sites, most of the barrio was gone.

Continued on next page
The strongest foes to the project were Alva Torres and the La Plaza de la Mesilla Committee, otherwise known as the La Placita Committee.5

One day in 1967, Alva Torres happened to run into an elderly Roberto Soto, who said to her, "Ay Alvita, I am saddened regarding what they are doing downtown. They are going to forget everything. They are tearing down Barrio Libre and La Placita. Nobody's going to remember the barrio and they are going to forget about us."6 This simple conversation sparked Torres' activism and she organized friends to save La Placita, the site of many traditional Mexican celebrations. The La Placita Committee garnered more than 10,000 signatures in its petition drive, but was unable to defeat city hall.

The once bustling barrio was soon an open wound in the center of the city. The changes were dramatic and hard to ignore, forcing people finally to face reality and reconsider the cost of "progress." Yet, there is more to lament. Important historic sites that could presently serve to celebrate and honor the contributions of the Mexican-descent population were destroyed. A prime example is the building that housed La Alianza Hispano-Americana, the nation's first Mexican American mutual-aid society, founded in 1894. Former Barrio Libre resident Henry García said the barrio "would have made a fantastic place. Tourists would have flocked there... because they knew it wasn't phony, you know."

It was the real thing.7

There is a sense of pride that only a knowledge of the past can bestow. This knowledge, of place and people, is an important part of both our individual and community identity. An appreciation of the contributions of those who came before gives us a sense of belonging and ownership. For more than a century in Tucson, Mexican Americans have been characterized as recent arrivals or outsiders when in fact many are the descendants of the original settlers of the Santa Cruz Valley. Unfortunately, both for them and the rest of the city's residents, we must continue to suffer the consequences of the un-sound, culturally biased decisions made thirty years ago. Those decisions obliterated a vibrant neighborhood and replaced it with a colorless, often vacant civic center and commercial "village."*

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* The reference is to "La Placita Village" and its adjacent five-story "La Placita Parking Garage" There is no actual dwelling of any sort in this village.

5 La Placita was what was left of the church plaza or Plaza de la Mesilla in the 1960s. It was a combination of park and town square, and had a kiosk for special events.
7 Henry García, interview, Arizona Historical Society (AHS).
Segregation from page 1

area superintendent for the Tucson Unified School District. Although a large number of Mexican American students had sufficient knowledge of English, they were almost always placed in 1-C classes. Some were held there for two or three years, by which time they were eight or nine years old when they entered first grade. Ultimately, the 1-C program resulted in psychological trauma and educational retardation for many, and contributed to high dropout rates among Mexican Americans. Moreover, because there were no clear methods of assessing language skills and no set class structure or curriculum, the program failed to promote English proficiency among the students, which was its intended purpose. The program ended in 1965 after the passage of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provided additional funding to schools, especially those in low-income areas, for the development of programs to improve educational quality for impoverished children.2

Although it is not commonly known, Chicanos fought discriminatory policies long before the historic 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that ended legal segregation (Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka), and the civil rights era. As early as 1918, Mexican American parents in California challenged school districts that segregated their children from Anglos. In 1930, the nation’s first successful desegregation lawsuit was filed by Mexican American parents in Lemon Grove, California, after a separate school was built for the “Mexican” children. That same year, the first class-action suit supported by a civil rights organization was filed against a school in Del Rio, Texas, by the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in Salatierra v. Independent School District.

After World War II, the number of lawsuits filed by Mexican Americans in the Southwest, especially in California and Texas, rose significantly and continued into the mid-1970s. Most were filed with the assistance and financial support of organizations such as LULAC, the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), and the Alianza Hispano-Americana, a mutual-aid society founded in Tucson in 1894. The most notable of these was the 1946 case of Mendez v. Westminster School District, which abolished longstanding segregation and other discriminatory practices in California after LULAC successfully challenged illegal educational policies in Orange County that were tolerated by the state board of education. This case was later used to challenge and overturn the Supreme Court’s 1896 “separate but equal” doctrine (Plessy v. Ferguson) in the Brown v. Board of Education case.3

Mexican American parents in Arizona also challenged segregation. For example, in 1952 a group of Mexican American parents in the town of Tolleson contested the segregationist policies of the local school district, claiming that their children were receiving substandard educations and being forced to attend inferior schools. With the aid of Alianza Hispano-Americana lawyers, the parents filed a lawsuit against Tolleson School District. After finding that the district had deprived Mexican Americans of their equal protection rights under the Fourteenth Amendment, the judge ordered that Mexican children be integrated into the regular schools and abolished segregation in that district (Gonzales v. Sheeley).4

In 1974, a group of African American parents alleged that racial segregation and discrimination persisted in Tucson School District No. 1 and filed a lawsuit through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). That same year, Mexican American parents followed with a similar, more expanded, lawsuit in Mendez, et al. v. Tucson School District Number 1, et al. with the help of MALDEF and the Pima County Legal Aid Society. The latter suit claimed that the district maintained a “triethnic” segregated school system, tracked students in a discriminatory manner, provided an inferior curriculum and facilities to minorities, failed to offer hot lunch and special education programs to minorities on an equal basis, failed to recognize linguistic differences and provide bilingual notices, and did not employ or promote Chicanos in a fair and equitable manner. This lawsuit was a culmination of events that took place during the late 1960s and early 1970s, a period marked by increased activism by both Chicanos and African Americans, especially in the area of education.

By 1968, the Chicano Movement was in full swing as the high school “blowouts” took place in Los Angeles and other cities. Like other Chicano youths in the Southwest, those in Tucson also began to challenge the racism and discrimination prevalent in the public school system, including the practice of segregation. Under the leadership of Salomón Baldenegro, the Mexican American Liberation Committee (MALC) mobilized youth around educational issues by organizing walkouts and boycotts to protest discriminatory school practices and policies. Policies in regard to corporal punishment, suspensions, and tracking were grossly unfair to minority students, who were disciplined more severely, and routinely placed in less challenging classes regardless of individual ability. The MALC was a Chicano activist group initially headquartered at the Westside Neighborhood Center in Barrio Hollywood. By 1973, the MALC had obtained the support of the Pima County Legal Aid Society and MALDEF and filed lawsuits that would succeed in ending corporal punishment of students, and changing the school board’s election process to make it conform to the Voting Rights Act. A year later these organizations filed a lawsuit against

Continued on next page
Tucson School District No. 1 on behalf of Mary Mendoza and Terry Trujillo, whose children attended neighborhood schools on the west side of town.5

MALC leaders were already planning to take legal action against the district when Mendoza and Trujillo told them of the poor quality schooling their children were getting. Among the problems they cited were that their children were having trouble reading, that the practice of tracking was relegating their children to substandard classes, and that there was a lack of college preparation courses. These complaints helped propel the MALC lawsuit since the concerns of Trujillo and Mendoza mirrored those of many Mexican American parents. In essence, the women served as symbolic catalysts. Their children’s experiences with school discrimination aided the lawsuit by showing specifically how district policies were working against Chicano students.6

This timely lawsuit also coincided with a U.S. Health, Education and Welfare Department report, issued in January 1974, which accused Tucson School District No. 1 of maintaining segregated schools in the cases of Spring Junior High and Holladay and Richey elementary schools, and promoting de jure segregation via its administrative policies. The report further alleged that the district failed to meet the educational needs of Mexican American students, which resulted in low test scores and an over-representation in lower academic tracks.7

The U.S. District Court issued a ruling in June 1978. Although it did not find evidence of de jure segregation, it concluded that:’”defendants have failed, to a limited extent, to dismantle the dual system and have instead, created ‘minority’ schools.” The court found that the school district promoted de facto segregation in the way it set district boundaries, and in how it placed new schools. It also found the district at fault for assigning large numbers of African American and Mexican American students to certain schools, thus creating “minority” schools, mostly on the city’s west side. Among other things, the court ordered the district to remedy the ill effects of past policies for several schools, but it did not address the issues of equal educational opportunity or the quality of education that Mexican Americans had received over the years—issues that Mexican American parents were most concerned with in this case.8

Despite the decrease in lawsuits challenging segregation since the late 1970s, Mexican-origin students continue to experience high levels of segregation, particularly in the western parts of the United States.9 Moreover, equal education opportunity, tracking, high dropout rates, and low levels of college attendance continue to be serious issues. Although scholars such as Gilbert González, Guadalupe San Miguel, and George I. Sánchez have documented the history of segregation and other inequalities experienced by Mexican Americans in Texas, California, and New Mexico, relatively little research on the educational experiences of Mexican Americans in Arizona has been done. This study, which utilized government documents, newspaper articles, interviews with local educators, and various secondary sources, was conducted to provide a foundation for future investigations into that history.

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5 Salomón Baldenegro, Office of Multicultural Programs, The University of Arizona, interview by author, 10 December 1998, Tucson; Other MALC members were Guadalupe Castillo, Raul Grijalva, Santiago Martinez, Yolanda Rodriguez, and Herminio Rios.

6 Ibid.


Mariachi from page 3

public events. Another 100 pupils are working their way up to performance level. As for Martinez, she is now in demand—as a musician and singer—at professional boxing matches in Las Vegas, Dodger baseball games in Los Angeles, and other gigs. “We don’t have to go looking for them. All the kids want to perform mariachi,” Valenzuela observed. “They say this is the mariachi center of the world.”

AZR

From: The History of the Tucson International Mariachi Conference. This oral history is part of the Library of Congress’ Bicentennial Local Legacies Project. Copies are available from the MASRC for a nominal charge.

Gregory Rodríguez is an assistant professor at the MASRC. His e-mail address is: grodrigu@u.arizona.edu
Mental Health and Mexican American Adolescents
by Andrea J. Romero

There is a critical need to address the mental health issues of adolescents in the Mexican American community. Recent national health surveys indicate that Latino adolescents have the highest rates of depressive symptoms and suicide attempts.* In fact, Latina teens have the highest rates of depressive symptoms compared to other ethnic and gender groups.* These high rates are reflective of the Mexican American adolescent community, since Mexican Americans comprise more than 60 percent of the pan-ethnic Latino group in the United States.

Depression in teenagers is particularly important to understand because it is associated with many risky health behaviors, such as smoking, drug use, and alcohol use. The first questions I asked when I saw these statistics were “Why are the rates so high, and what can we do about it?”

There is very little research that has explored the cultural context of stress, depression, and self-esteem for Mexican American teens. In order to fill this gap in the research, I have conducted several studies, and I am preparing a series of publications that further investigate the relation between culture and mental health in Mexican-descent adolescents. Two recent articles from these studies are based on questionnaires completed by 881 rural middle school Mexican-descent adolescents. The questionnaire was provided in English and Spanish and included measures of demographics, economic status, self-esteem, coping, loneliness, and depression. Several cultural measures also were included such as perception of discrimination, language preference, ethnic identity, and sociocultural stress.

My first question about mental health and culture was “Are there any unique stressors that Mexican American adolescents experience that may be contributing to the higher depressive rates?” Understanding the stressors unique to Mexican American adolescents is the first step to providing better mental health services. In order to respond to this question, my article, entitled “Sociocultural Stress and Depression in Adolescents of Mexican Descent,” investigates the relation between stress and depressive symptoms. Previous studies have not addressed the bilingual and bicultural experience of Latino adolescents as this new sociocultural stress measure does. For example, it includes questions concerning discrimination by teachers and

Continued on page 2

Tucson Is Site of 2001 NACCS Conference
MASRC will host 28th annual gathering in April

The Mexican American Studies & Research Center is hosting the 28th annual National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies Conference that will take place in Tucson in April 2001.

The conference title is:

I-uan g ceksan, Tuchá Aria Wa Frontierapo, Borrandó Fronteras, Erasing Borders: La Educación, Salud, Inmigración, e Historia del Pueblo

As noted by the 2001 NACCS Conference Site Committee:
The title reflects the continuing presence of the Tohono O’odham, Yoemi (Yaqui), and Mexicanas/os on the Arizona-Mexico border. It is the very strength of these communities that opens the door to a discussion of borders as real, as metaphors, as imagined, as imposed, as delineations of choice or coerced divisions.

As we prepare for the upcoming conference, we are reminded of the issues affecting our diverse communities, particularly those along the U.S.-Mexican

Continued on page 3
Andrea Romero is newest member of MASRC faculty

Andrea J. Romero joined the MASRC in the fall as an assistant professor. She completed her doctorate in Social Psychology at the University of Houston in 1997, where she also received an M.A. in Psychology in 1995.

From 1998 until joining the UA faculty, Romero was the project director of a large school-based cancer prevention program at the Center for Research in Disease Prevention at the Stanford University School of Medicine. Her research interests include Latino adolescent health, and health promotion programs for under-served communities. Her research has focused on social, psychological, and cultural factors influencing the mental and physical health of adolescents.

She is currently working on developing culturally based health promotion programs for Mexican American youth and their families. This research will focus on developing innovative strategies for recruitment and creating positive health behavior change.

Adolescents from page 1

peers, cultural differences within families, and monolingual stress—both for those who speak only English, and for those who speak only Spanish. Teens reported that family obligations and derogatory ethnic jokes from friends were the most stressful. Additionally, youth with more sociocultural stress reported more depressive symptoms.

The second question I asked about culture and mental health was "What can we do to change these high rates of depression and suicide?" To answer this question, the second article, "Ethnic Identity & Self-Esteem: A Test of the Social Creativity Hypothesis," explores the positive aspects of culture associated with mental health in Mexican American teens. Teens with high levels of ethnic pride had higher self-esteem, even when they reported intense sociocultural stress. Teens with less ethnic pride were more likely to have lower self-esteem when they experienced sociocultural stress. However, the cause-and-effect relationship between ethnic pride, self-esteem and depression is not clear because the data was only collected at one time point. A longitudinal study is necessary to understand the cause-and-effect relation between cultural factors and mental health outcomes. My future research plans include a longitudinal study of mental health and culture, with measures taken at multiple time points from the same group of teens.

The findings from these articles suggest that high levels of ethnic pride may prevent low self-esteem and depressive symptoms, even in the face of sociocultural stress. The implications for counseling Mexican American youth are that unique stressors, such as discrimination, should be taken into account. The implications for prevention programs are that elements of ethnic pride should be included in programs for Mexican American youth.

Culturally based prevention programs may not only increase self-esteem, they may also foster positive interactions between ethnic groups. In a previous publication, "Perception of Discrimination and Ethnocultural Variables in a Diverse Group of Adolescents," I found that ethnic pride was associated with more positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups. Thus, culturally based prevention programs may have multiple benefits for Mexican American adolescents.

My research program combines elements of unique stress and coping techniques of Mexican American youth to address mental health issues within the community. My research program at the University of Arizona will continue efforts to develop scientifically proven, culturally based prevention programs to address the issue of the high rate of depressive symptoms and suicide among Mexican American youth.

* Centers for Disease Control, 1999.

Andrea J. Romero is an assistant professor at the MASRC. Her e-mail address is: romeroa@u.arizona.edu
The July 2000 Border Academy focused on public health issues in the U.S.-Mexico border region, and medical doctors from both countries presented case studies on tuberculosis and cervical cancer. The intensive four-day seminar also featured a tour of health care facilities in Tijuana, Mexico, including Pro Salud, which provides health care and sexual and reproductive education to families in the impoverished rural and urban areas of Baja California.

The Academy, which was attended by medical students, nurse practitioners, and other health care professionals, took place in historic Old Town San Diego at the Ramada Limited Hotel. Speakers included Dr. James E. Dalen, vice president for Health Sciences at the University of Arizona's Health Sciences Center and dean of the UA College of Medicine; Dr. Francisco García, assistant professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology at University Medical Center in Tucson; Dr. Doug Campos-Outcalt, medical director of Preventive Services at the Maricopa County (Arizona) Department of Public Health; Dr. Ciro Sumaya, dean of the School of Rural Public Health at Texas A & M University; Dr. Marion Moses, president of the Pesticide Education Center in San Francisco; Dr. Eduardo Pérez-Cruz, head of Programa de Solidaridad for the Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social (IMSS) in Mexico City; and Dr. Manuel Cano Rangel, head of the Infectious Disease section at the Hospital Infantil del Estado de Sonora in Hermosillo, Mexico.

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego, provided assistance in setting up the conference. The tour was conducted by Lori Senini of the San Diego County Department of Health Services Office of Border Health.

Photographs on this page are from a children's clinic in Tijuana, Mexico, one of several facilities visited on the tour.

Photos by Juanita Francis

NACCS from page 1

The Marriott University Park Hotel, one block west of the UA campus, is the conference site. NACCS 2001 will begin on Wednesday, April 4, and continue through Sunday, April 8, 2001. For hotel reservations, and to receive the hotel's conference discount, contact the Marriott University Park Hotel directly by March 2.

Please do not make your hotel reservations on the Internet or at an 800 Marriott number! If you register via those methods, NACCS will not be credited with your stay, and you will not receive the discounted NACCS room rate. The registration form is currently available on the conference web site, (www.naccs.org), and interested individuals are encouraged to register as soon as possible.

The Marriott University Park Hotel (520) 792-4100

For more information contact the NACCS 2001 Committee at lotero@u.arizona.edu or visit the NACCS web site: www.naccs.org

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Psychosocial factors and Latino adolescent behavior

Two recent studies by Scott Carvajal examined, respectively, acculturation and drug use in Latino adolescents, and psychosocial factors related to the delay of sexual intercourse.

In the first study, titled "Relating a Social Influence Model to the Role of Acculturation in Substance Use Among Latino Adolescents," Carvajal and colleagues at the University of Houston examined the way acculturation affected substance use in Latino (predominantly Mexican-American) middle school students. Acculturation was measured in two ways: language use (frequency of using Spanish and English), and interactions with peers (Latinos and non-Latinos).

Though acculturation was not found to be directly related to use of alcohol, tobacco, or marijuana among these adolescents, the researchers did find that for more acculturated youth peer pressure appeared to be an important factor in decisions whether or not to use drugs. For less acculturated youth, what their peers wanted them to do wasn’t particularly important, but their own attitudes about using drugs were.

These results have implications for the development of future drug prevention programs. For programs with more acculturated Latino youth (e.g., those who use more English), a focus on activities helping to boost peer pressure resistance would be an effective strategy for preventing drug use. For programs with less acculturated Latino youth, creating educational materials in Spanish that address the consequences of drug use would be an effective strategy.

In the second study, "Psychosocial Predictors of Delay of First Sexual Intercourse by Adolescents," Carvajal and colleagues at the University of Texas School of Public Health examined factors related to sexual activity in a diverse sample of high-school students. The predictors examined included demographic variables such as age, ethnicity, and gender, in addition to factors consistent with a psychological theory called the Theory of Planned Behavior.

The factors included the youths' and their peers' attitudes about sex, and refusal self-efficacy—or the degree to which these adolescents were confident they could refrain from having sex in a pressured situation. The results showed that psychological factors were better predictors of delay of intercourse than demographic variables, and in fact were rather consistent predictors for all groups of adolescents regardless of gender or race. These findings are significant in that youth programs that include a goal of delaying sexual intercourse should foster positive attitudes toward abstinence, address peer views about sexual activity, and engage youth in practice scenarios where they learn to resist pressures to have sex before they are ready.

Scott C. Carvajal is an associate research professor at the MASRC. His e-mail address is: carvaja@u.arizona.edu

2 Published in Health Psychology (Carvajal, Parcel, Basen-Engquist, Banspach, Coyle, Kirby & Chan, 1999).

Scott C. Carvajal

Scott C. Carvajal
The newest volume of Perspectives in Mexican American Studies features articles by several new voices, and by others who have a long list of published works to their credit. They provide us with information of interest, and offer fresh observations of the Mexican American experience. The authors include veterans of el movimiento, experienced scholars, and some who are newer on the scene.

"The topics covered in this volume, from sports in the Midwest to small town life in Central Mexico, seem to have little in common except for their focus on Mexican-descent people, but on closer inspection, one can see that the idea of labor runs like an arroyo through this book. Sometimes it is on the surface. At other times it is a subterranean channel, unseen, but still the reason for the shape and placement of the dry wash above . . . ."

from the Introduction

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Digging the "Richest Hole on Earth": The Hispanic Miners of Utah, 1912-1945 by Armando Solorzano and Jorge Iber

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Sports have been a major presence in the lives of Mexican Americans since the early 20th century. This has been particularly true of Mexican Americans in the Midwest, where sports such as baseball took on a special significance. More than merely games for boys and girls, the teams and contests involved nearly the entire community, and often had political and cultural objectives . . .

Sometimes, a thousand people, representing dozens of small Mexican communities, would gather to watch baseball games in the years prior to World War II. People socialized and discussed community issues at the games, and strengthened their sense of racial and ethnic solidarity. In the post-war period sports continued to play a major part in the overall cultural and political agenda of the Mexican American population.

In addition to community unity, two other key benefits of athletics have been the leadership skills and survival tactics that young people developed by participating in team sports—skills that have been useful in the political arena and in the fight for social justice. Many parents, in fact, encouraged their children to join teams to develop such skills. Thus, besides the sheer fun of playing and competing, sports served as a means of establishing community solidarity, developing leaders, and imparting a sense of fair play . . .

In the early part of the 20th century, a handful of Midwestern Anglo charitable organizations and churches offered recreational activities for Mexican youth. In addition, a few of the YMCA clubs Continued on page 6
Baseball from page 5

permitted Mexicans to join and use their facilities as members. Nevertheless, Mexican American communities chose to build their own sports networks according to several individuals who came of age in the 1920s, '30s and '40s. They noted that the Mexican community established an elaborate web of athletic associations during the 1920s and 1930s. These included the Aztec Social Club, Los Gallos Athletic Association, El Club Azteca, and El Club Deportivo Internacional. The sports clubs of East Chicago and Gary, Indiana, El Club Deportivo Internacional and the Gary Athletic Club, sponsored a host of sporting events including tournaments in soccer, basketball, and baseball.

In Kansas City, the Mexican Athletic Club was established in 1922 and organized numerous boxing events, bowling tournaments, and track-and-field competitions. In the larger urban Mexican communities, parents pooled their meager finances and purchased buildings and converted the structures into recreational centers. The smaller Mexican communities generally rented buildings for sports activities. These centers and the land around them were the locations of weight rooms, boxing rings, basketball courts, and baseball diamonds.

A handful of Mexican athletic clubs even had swimming pools according to Lando Velandez of Des Moines, Iowa. Lando’s father was active with sports activities and tried unsuccessfully to build a gym for the Mexican community in Des Moines. The Anglo power structure prevented the Mexican community from developing a sports center in the early 1920s. His father, nevertheless, did establish the Mexican Athletic Club in Des Moines in 1925. Lando continued his father’s work, and in 1962, almost 40 years after his father’s efforts, spearheaded the creation of the Mexican American Recreation Club.

World War II disrupted the sports movement in the Midwest as young men and women defended the nation both on the battlefield and in defense plants. Nevertheless, the post-war period witnessed a movement to recapture the athletic spirit and superb talent of the community. Both the second generation of Mexican Americans and recent arrivals from Texas and Mexico enjoyed sports immensely in the Midwest. In retrospect, the pre-war sports activities among Mexicans was only a prelude to far more significant sports participation between 1945 and 1965.

There was an incredible growth in organized sports in the Midwest Mexican community after 1945. Before the war, major sports were limited primarily to baseball, boxing, and basketball. Afterwards, however, more Mexican Americans began taking part in bowling, tennis, golf, soccer, football, and wrestling. Women’s sports came of age during this period as well. Whereas women were mainly involved with softball prior to the war, they later became active in baseball and basketball leagues, and bowling tournaments. Women’s teams in all sports sprung up all over the Midwest.

The Mexican American community followed its rich sports tradition by resurrecting several sports clubs and recreational centers after World War II, including El Club Deportivo Azteca, the Mexican American Youth Association, El Club de Deportivos de Joliet, the Azteca Club, the Wichita Mexican American Athletic Club, the Pan American Club, the Mexican American Athletic Club of North Platte, the Argentine Center, El Club Colonia Mexicana, and La Sociedad Deportivo. The Quad-Cities area of Iowa and Illinois formed several sports clubs, including the Quad-Cities Martial Arts Center, Pena’s Boys Club, and the Silvis Youth Organization. In addition to developing their own clubs, Mexican Americans became active in various city sports and leagues, said Elmer Vega of Newton, Kansas:

Prior to the war, the Mexican community established its own sports network of clubs, centers, teams, and tournaments. The second and third generations have continued this rich tradition into the 1980s. There is, however, a significant difference. Unlike before, the second and third generations have become directly involved with Little League, Pop Warner, summer sports programs, high school sports, and other mainstream sports activities. We felt that, as taxpayers and citizens, our community and children were entitled to these recreational benefits.

Thus, intergenerational cooperation was a powerful social adhesive that brought together people of all age groups playing sports. Alex Cruz of Parsons, Kansas, noted that:

I was the manager of the Parsons baseball team from 1952 to 1954. Our team was sponsored by several companies, including “Big Heated Red” and Coca-Cola. We played Chanute, Kansas City, Topeka, Coffeyville, and Fredonia... My father played baseball for the MKT railroad company during the 1930s. It was not uncommon to have three generations of ballplayers from the same family in the Midwest.

The most popular sport among Mexicans in the U.S. has been baseball. The rise of baseball as a spectator sport in the Mexican community simply reflected the rise of mass spectator sports in the nation. Nearly every Midwest Mexican community, small or large, had baseball teams to represent it. The sport became

Continued on next page
Aguilas. The choice of these names was a way of respecting and reaffirming the Mexican culture.

There were Mexican teams in the Topeka area as early as 1916, and by 1919 several Mexican baseball teams in the Kansas City and East Chicago areas were already playing. Additional clubs were organized and various leagues formed during the 1920s. Some of the early Mexican teams included Los Obreros De San Jose of East Chicago; the Osage Indians of Kansas City; the Mexican All-Stars of Silvis; the Moline Estrellas; Los Mayans of Lorain, Ohio; Las Aguilas Mexicanas and Los Cometas of Topeka; and Los Nacionales of Wichita, Kansas.

In fact, there were several popular types of baseball leagues in the Mexican Middle West: industrial, Catholic, community, migrant, and women's leagues. It was not unusual for a remarkable player to participate in two or more of these different leagues. Moreover, being an outstanding player was oftentimes a ticket to employment for Mexicans, because businesses wanted to have winning baseball teams. Companies went out of their way to find outstanding Mexican players. Furthermore, many Catholic schools had baseball teams composed largely of Mexican players and called themselves the Guadalupanos. Likewise, most Mexican communities had their own teams that represented them in statewide competitions.

Migrants had their own baseball teams during the summer months. These migrant teams and leagues were found in Western Nebraska, for example, in Scottsbluff, Bayard, Bridgeport, Morrell, Lyman, and Minatare. Other migrant teams could be found in Kansas, Minnesota, South and North Dakota, and Colorado. There were women's teams that played prior to and after World War II as well. There was also an informal network of Mexicans who played pickup games between regular games and tournaments.

Unfortunately, for those trying to organize baseball games, it was often true that Mexican teams were not allowed to play on city diamonds or in parks owned by local businesses or cities...

Because they were barred from some public parks before the war, Mexicans made their own ball fields, frequently in vacant lots or in pastures near the railroad tracks, roundhouses, or steel factories...

The Mexican communities constructed baseball fields with colorful names such as La Yardita, El Huache, and Devil's Field. Another was known as Rabbit Field because players continuously had to chase rabbits off during games. Sometimes, cars were used in the outfield as bleachers, with people sitting on the hoods, trunks, and roofs, said Perfecto Torrez of Topeka. Eva Hernandez of Hutchinson recalled, "Our baseball team . . . played near the National Armory. Both the Morton Salt and the Carey Salt Company had baseball teams with Mexican players. We played in the cow fields, which we affectionately called Las Vegas." Hernandez's husband, Matt, was an outstanding baseball player and she often watched him play before and after World War II.

El Parque Anahuac, for example, had a seating capacity for 500 people. It was not unusual for large crowds to show up to see the better Mexican teams. When Los Aztecas de Chicago came to play against the East Chicago team during the first week of June of 1927, the game drew a standing room only crowd of over 3,000 spectators. Large crowds were common in the Great Lakes area. This beautiful baseball diamond in East Chicago was eventually destroyed during the Depression because the wooden seats were used as firewood during the cold winter months. Also, someone discovered that beneath the surface of the field were deposits of coal. Apparently a coal or railroad company had left it there. The news spread quickly, and soon the leveled, desolate field became a center of activity with men, women, and children digging for the precious fuel with shovels and sticks...

Sunday was baseball day in Mexican communities across the Middle West. Residents first went to church and then breakfast before heading to the game. The players, on the other hand, ran home after church changing quickly into their uniforms and hurried to warm-up before the fans arrived, said Phillip Martinez of Dodge City, Kansas. The baseball games started around one in the afternoon. The people wore their Sunday best to the games.

Some of the games in Hutchinson drew better than a thousand people from in town and the surrounding communities said Bacho Rodriguez. Rodriguez was an outstanding pitcher for the Hutchinson team during the 1930s. He remembers games that usually drew 1000 to 1500 spectators. He noted that he and a few other players were scouted by the New York Yankees...

Richard Santillán is a professor of Ethnic and Women's Studies at California Polytechnic University at Pomona. His e-mail address is: rsantillan@csupomona.edu
The 2001 Border Academy, a collaborative effort involving the UA College of Medicine, the MASRC, and the Texas A & M School of Rural Public Health, will take place next July in McAllen, Texas, and is titled, "Clinical Issues in Diabetes Affecting Diagnosis and Treatment of the Mexican-Origin Patient."

The intensive three-day seminar will explore health and health-related policy issues affecting individuals and communities in the U.S.-Mexico border region. Its international faculty is made up of scholars, clinicians, and professionals from both Mexico and the United States. Attendees will include medical students, nurses, public health professionals, medical doctors, and others interested in working with Hispanic and border populations.

One day of the seminar will be devoted to clinical case study presentations on various topics related to the treatment and prevention of diabetes in the border region. The Academy also includes a one-day tour — participants will visit the immigrant colonias on the U.S. side of the border, as well as Mexican and U.S. health care facilities in the McAllen-Reynosa area.

Most of the speakers at the 2001 Academy will be practicing clinicians with regional and national reputations in the field. The Border Academy features a highly interactive style of instruction with extensive dialogue between speakers and workshop participants.

By the close of the Academy, it is expected that attendees will be able to:

- Identify and diagnose at least two major clinical issues in the management of diabetes within the U.S.-Mexico border region
- Recognize the limitations of treatment modalities given resource constraints on the border
- Understand the impact of the Mexican and American health-care delivery systems on the health of border residents, and how this may impact the quality of care for diabetes patients

The Border Academy offers 23 Continuing Medical Education (CME) credits for this program, and attracts a broad range of participants from the U.S. and Mexico. It will begin on July 19 and end on July 21, 2001.

The Border Academy seeks to promote an understanding of health care issues on the Mexican and U.S. sides of the border. It offers a dynamic curriculum, and brings together medical professionals who share the border as a common subject and focus. It also seeks to create a network of Academy alumni and faculty who will continue to share insights and resources, thus fostering a greater sense of community on the border.

The 2001 seminar will be the fourth annual Border Academy. Previously, it has taken place at the Biosphere II Center in Oracle, Arizona; in Rio Rico, Arizona; and San Diego, California.

Those interested in attending the Border Academy or learning more about the Arizona Hispanic Center of Excellence (AHCOE) should contact: Jannine Valcour at (520) 626-2160.

The AHCOE web site is: www.hispanichealth.arizona.edu
Diabetes, its effects, and methods of treatment and prevention were closely examined at the 2001 Border Academy that took place last July in McAllen, Texas.

Type II diabetes, also known as Adult Onset and Non-Insulin Dependent diabetes, is most common among Hispanics, Native Americans, and African Americans. The disease is widespread in the border region, and is approaching epidemic status in the United States, said several Border Academy speakers.

The intensive four-day seminar was hosted by Texas A&M University's South Texas Center for Rural Public Health, and sponsored by the Arizona Hispanic Center of Excellence (AHCOE), which is part of the University of Arizona College of Medicine. Physicians from both the U.S. and Mexico spoke on a range of topics related to diabetes, including renal function, vision loss, neonatal health, treatment measures, and prevention strategies.

Dr. Maria Alen, a clinical consultant for the South Texas Center for Rural Public Health and former chair of the Texas Diabetes Council, was instrumental in organizing the 2001 Academy, now in its fourth year.

The sessions were attended by about 30 people, including physicians, health professionals, and medical students from the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston, Stanford University, and Temple University.

Type II diabetes can be prevented or delayed by adhering to a diet that is low in fat and refined sugars, and by exercising regularly. Several Academy speakers noted that 80 percent or more of Type II cases are preventable through diet and exercise. Those over age 40, and overweight persons have the highest risk of developing the disease.

The Border Academy included a one-day tour of Mexican and U.S. health care facilities, and several immigrant colonias on the U.S. side of the border. Colonia is Spanish for neighborhood, but in the Texas border region "it refers to a residential development lacking such basics as potable water, wastewater systems, paved streets, adequate drainage, proper

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Graduate Student Profiles
MAS Graduates Aiming to Serve Latino Community

Earlier this summer, The Arizona Report interviewed two graduates of the Mexican American Studies Master of Science program in Latino Health to find out what led them to enroll in the program, and how they planned to use their degrees. The students, Lisa Lapeyrouse and Ada Wilkinson-Lee, have distinguished themselves as scholars, and each received campus-wide recognition in the Spring 2001 semester. Wilkinson-Lee won the “Best Master’s Project” award presented by the UA Graduate and Professional Student Council in April, and Lapeyrouse won the “Outstanding Graduate Student Leader” award presented by the UA Center for Student Involvement and Leadership in March. In the fall, Lapeyrouse will enter the doctoral program in Public Health at the University of Michigan, while Wilkinson-Lee begins work on a doctorate in Family Studies and Human Development here at the University of Arizona.

Wilkinson-Lee was interviewed at the offices of the Mexican American Studies & Research Center. Lapeyrouse sent in her responses via e-mail correspondence.

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Lisa Lapeyrouse
Could you provide a little information on your background?
I was born and raised in San Jose, California. I obtained my undergraduate degree from the University of California, Davis. There, I majored in Women and Gender Studies with an emphasis in reproductive health issues of Chicana and Latina women. I also minored in Native American Studies—both of which have been invaluable to me studying here in southern Arizona!

What led you to major in MAS?
During my senior year at UC Davis, I wrote an honors thesis on the untold stories of children born to teen parents. This project really focused my interest in studying more about adolescent pregnancy in my community and, what a great mentor of mine has termed, the “racialization of reproduction.” This area critically examines topics such as teenage pregnancy from health, cultural, feminist, and political perspectives. Coming to Arizona to study in MAS was a logical move. The program concentration in health issues among Latinos was a perfect match for my interests. Also, the fact that it is the only program nationwide to offer a

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Center faculty author book on health issues

MASRC Director Adela de la Torre and Professor Antonio Estrada are the authors of Mexican Americans and Health: ¡Sana! ¡Sana!, published by the University of Arizona Press.*

As noted by the Press:

Mexican Americans and Health explains how the health of Mexican-origin people is often related to sociodemographic conditions and genetic factors, while historical and political factors influence how Mexican Americans enter the health care system and how they are treated once they access it. It considers such issues as occupational hazards for Mexican-origin agricultural workers—including pesticide poisoning, heat-related conditions, and musculoskeletal disorders—and women’s health concerns, such as prenatal care, preventable cancers, and domestic violence.

The authors clearly discuss the health status of Mexican Americans relative to the rest of the U.S. population, interweaving voices of everyday people to explain how today’s most pressing health issues have special relevance to the Mexican American community. . . .

The book also addresses concerns of Mexican Americans regarding the health care system. These include not only access to care and to health insurance but also the shortage of bilingual and bicultural health care professionals. . . .

This timely book gives readers a broad understanding of these complex issues and points the way toward a healthier future for all people of Mexican origin.

Mexican Americans and Health is one of the first volumes in the UA Press series The Mexican American Experience, a cluster of modular texts designed to provide greater flexibility in undergraduate education. Each book deals with a single topic concerning the Mexican American population. Instructors can create a semester-length course from any combination of volumes, or may choose to use one or two volumes to complement other texts.

Available through the UA Press
(520) 621-1441
uapress@uapress.arizona.edu
www.uapress.arizona.edu

"The unfortunate fact is that there are relatively few health care professionals of Mexican descent. Thus, it is incumbent on us to pursue a dual strategy of educating all health care professionals in the area of cultural competency while increasing the pool of qualified Hispanic health care professionals. As the Mexican-origin population in the Southwest and other parts of the country continues to grow, bettering its health and access to health care is vital to the overall health of the nation.”

— From the Introduction by Adela de la Torre and Antonio Estrada


* The subtitle refers to the dicho "Sana sana/ colita de rana/ si no sanas hoy/ sanarás mañana" (Get well, get well/ Little frog tail/ If today you don’t get well/ Tomorrow you will be well) — a traditional saying recited to comfort a child while rubbing the site of a pain or injury.

Carvajal Leads Teen Substance Use Study

MASRC Associate Research Professor Scott Carvajal is heading a new project that will investigate adolescent substance abuse. The project, titled "Determinants of Latino/Euro American Youths’ Substance Use," has been approved for funding by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA).

The aim of the two-year study is to identify factors contributing to substance use by Latino and Euro American youth, two adolescent groups at high risk for using various drugs.

Major objectives of this study are to test a causal model predicting tobacco, marijuana and other substance use, and to test hypotheses linking cultural orientation and other socio-cultural factors to adolescent substance use.

The aims will be accomplished through secondary data analyses of cohorts from two studies — the Middle School Healthy Kids and Tobacco Survey (N =1622), and the Add Health Study (N=12,118). The former was led by Carvajal; the latter is a national study of adolescent health sponsored by NIDA and other federal agencies.
Tucson’s Mexican American Artisans and Folk Art Portrayed in *Hecho a Mano*
by Tom Gelsinon

For more than 30 years, Jim Griffith has been investigating the cultures of the Pimería Alta, a large geographic area comprising the northern state of Sonora, Mexico, and Southern Arizona. An anthropologist by training, he has amassed a large amount of information on Mexican, Mexican American, and Native American history and traditions. *Hecho a Mano*, written in a highly readable, non-academic style, documents the arts noted in the title, their history in Tucson, and their relationship to the city’s Mexican American community.

Those of us who are interested in Tucson’s history and cultures are lucky that Griffith has been busy documenting the unique features of the region’s folk arts. Among the interesting things he has found is that all the stores specializing in paletas (frozen fruit bars) in Phoenix and Tucson share a connection to the Mexican state of Michoacán. He also points out that the baroque style serves as a model for the low rider aficionados who cruise South Sixth Avenue today just as it did for the builders of San Xavier Mission in the eighteenth century.

*Hecho a Mano* has three chapters: The Community, The Arts, and Patterns and Processes. In the first, Griffith introduces readers to Tucson’s traditional arts, which date back to 1775, when the Spanish *presidio*, or cavalry fort, was established near the current site of city hall. As Tucson heads into the 21st century as a sprawling Sunbelt city on the make, the traditional arts remain, as do the descendents of the original craftsmen and women, who were of Spanish, Mexican, and Native American origin.

One of the first artists we meet is the late Raúl Vásquez, a blacksmith whose work from a half century ago can be seen at San Xavier in the snake-shaped handles on the mission’s front door and other wrought iron embellishments at the church. We soon meet famous songwriter and musician Lalo Guerrero, who was born in Tucson’s Barrio Viejo in 1916, and Mexican-born Nicolás Segura, founder of the Poblano Hot Sauce Company, who got his start in the 1920s.

The three sections of the second chapter are titled *el hogar* (the home), *el taller* (the workshop), and *la comunidad* (the community). The objects made in these different locations, from knitted works to neon lights, all contribute to the community in their practical value, as cultural enrichment, or both. In the short final chapter Griffith touches on the themes of religion and ethnic identity, and the cross cultural connections that have made these crafts a “rich and complex body of art.”

*Hecho a Mano* is a result of the exhibition, “La cadena que no se corta: las artes tradicionales de la comunidad mexicano-americana de Tucson,” which Griffith and folklorist Cynthia Vidaurri presented at the University of Arizona Museum of Art in 1996.

The book is not a buyer’s guide. As the author notes, “[it] is intended to serve as a report of what the traditional arts of Tucson’s Mexican American community looked like at a certain time to a specific group of investigators.”

The foreword is by Tucson author Patricia Preciado Martin, who aptly sums up the book’s subject: “It is an expressed exuberance that arises spontaneously from the wellsprings of heritage, history, culture, and spirituality that is boundless.”

*Hecho a Mano* offers ample evidence of how folk artists create the practical, celebratory, and religious objects that enrich the entire community. In a very few pages, Griffith and noted photographers José Galvez and David Burkhalter acquaint us with a central part of Tucson’s Mexican and Chicano cultures. It is a sensitive and instructive presentation of the work and people involved in Tucson’s traditional arts.

This review will appear in Vol. 5 of the *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies*, published by the UA Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese.
Border Academy from page 1

house construction and standard mortgage financing,” according to the Las Colonias Project of Southwest Texas State University. The tour was organized by the Texas A&M Center for Housing and Urban Development, Colonias Program, and conducted by Dr. Mario M. Jiménez of the Family Health Center in Rio Grande City, Texas.

The clinical sessions took place at El Milagro Clinic, a community medical center in McAllen that serves the indigent and uninsured patients and educates public health professionals.

The Border Academy featured clinical presentations by:

- Dr. V.K. Piziak, Chief of Endocrinology, Scott and White Hospital and Clinic;
- Dr. Sail Mangi of South Texas Kidney Specialists;
- Dr. Luis G. Hernández Zarco, Chief of the Nephrology Department at Reynosa (Mexico) Regional Hospital;
- Dr. Victor H. Gonzalez of the Dept. of Ophthalmology at the University of Texas at San Antonio;
- Dr. Virgilio Morales-Canton of the Mexican Association for the Prevention of Blindness in Mexico City;
- Dr. William J. Riley, Vice-President of Medical Education, Driscoll Children’s Hospital;
- Dr. Charles A. Reasner II, Chief of Endocrinology at the University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio;
- Dr. José de Jesús Gómez Alarcón, Past President and Founder of Mexico’s Northeast Association of Gynecology and Obstetrics; and
- Dr. Cristela Hernández of the University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio.

Type II diabetes accounts for 90 to 95 percent of diabetes cases nationally, and is an underlying cause of significantly higher mortality rates in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, according to the Texas Dept. of Health. It is the sixth leading cause of death in the U.S., as reported by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). The CDC report, Chronic Diseases and Their Risk Factors, also notes that diabetes may be underreported on death certificates, both as a condition and as a cause of death.

Approximately 16 million Americans have diabetes, and as many as five million are unaware that they have it, according to the American Diabetes Association.

Type II Diabetes

High Risk:

- Overweight
- Family history of diabetes
- Over age 40

Prevention:

- Early Screening
- Low-fat, High-fiber Diet
- Exercise

Online Information

Texas Dept. of Health, Texas Diabetes Council
www.tdh.state.tx.us/diabetes/tdc.htm

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)
www.cdc.gov/healthy/diabetes.htm

Las Colonias Project, Southwest Texas State Univ.
www.swt.edu/humanresources/lascolonias

The Diabetes Mall
www.diabetesmall.com

AZR

From Top: Dr. William Riley of Driscoll Children’s Hospital; Drs. Cristela Hernández and José de Jesús Gómez Alarcón answer questions about gestational diabetes; Dr. Virgilio Morales-Canton (left) and Dr. Victor González delivered presentations on the effects diabetes has on vision; Keynote speaker Dr. Charles Reasner; AHC0E Director Adela de la Torre addresses Border Academy participants at reception; El Milagro Clinic in McAllen, where most of the medical presentations took place.
Telemedicine Study Funded by Health Care Financing Administration

MASRC Director Adela de la Torre is the Co-Principal Investigator on a $249,000 grant from the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) that will fund a study on telemedicine use in Arizona.

Dr. Ana Maria López, Medical Director of the Arizona Telemedicine Program at the Arizona Health Sciences Center, is heading the project, titled “Understanding the Role of Culture in the Access and Utilization of Telemedicine Health Services Among Hispanic, Native Americans, and White Non Hispanic Populations.” The project received funding earlier this year.

The aim is to develop a comprehensive understanding of the effect of culture on access and utilization of telemedicine services by evaluating the overall utilization profile of the different ethnic populations, and the impact these services have on the quality of care. To achieve this end, the researchers will conduct a two-year community-based intervention evaluation study to identify key differences across the three targeted groups, and assess the role of cultural competency in the delivery of telemedicine services.

Wilkinson-Lee from page 2

Americans. When I ended up my senior year, it turned out that I had enough credits to get both degrees. But the intention wasn’t to get two degrees. I was just taking the MAS classes for enjoyment.

What are the most important things you have learned as a result of following this curriculum?

The interesting thing about the MAS program is that it’s interdisciplinary, so you learn a lot in different concentrations. You learn a lot about history. You learn about anthropology. You learn about the (Latino) health component. So you get a well-rounded picture of the Latino community and what’s going on out there. Even though my concentration was Latino Health, I realized that the core classes that I took helped me expand my knowledge, so I’m not just focused on Latino Health. I can see the overall picture of the community and I think that’s really important when dealing with health issues. You have to look at the overall community to be able to assess it correctly.

Most interesting? Most useful?

The class that I found most interesting was “Multi-Cultural Health Beliefs.” We think we know how to be multicultural. You come in thinking “Oh I know it all,” and you find out that you have a lot of work ahead of you.

The most useful I would have to say is probably not one of the most interesting classes, but the Research Methods class that I took through the Public Health Dept. (taught by Dr. Eng) shows you how to complete a research proposal and how to do it in a correct manner. He takes you, step by step, through it... It’s a very systematic way of learning how to write well and how to present your findings.

Where are you headed now?

The Ph.D. program here at the UA in Family Studies and Human Development.

What are your present goals?

Ultimately, I would like to teach, to be a professor at a university. I feel it’s really important for Latinos who are getting a higher education to be role models, and to be in those positions as mentors... If (my studies) led me to a research position focusing on Latinos, that would be fine as well... I tend to focus on Latinas because I feel that there’s not a lot of research on the topic.

How will your degrees in MAS help you achieve those goals?

Well, with both degrees what I realize is that they’ve given me that strong background of knowing the community — that I have a better overall sense of what the community looks like. And so my goal in the future is to be able to use that knowledge to adequately address important health issues. And I’ve learned that when you do research in the community it’s always good to get input from the community, because you want to work for people, not against them.

Do you have any advice for new or younger students?

Really begin thinking about what you want to do in the future, and start setting goals for yourself. Sometimes when people come to the university as undergrads the only thing they want to do is graduate, and I would say that you need to start looking into graduate schools as soon as you come in — to really start thinking “what do I want to do?” If you want to get an advanced degree then start looking at what it is that you need to do. If that means getting good grades and starting a GRE or LSAT or whatever (preparation) program, do that early on. Think about going beyond a bachelor’s or even a master’s degree, because we need those numbers, we need more representation in those fields — in every field. I think we can’t let perceived or set barriers get in our way. Stay focused on what it is you want to attain.
Lapeyrouse from page 2

Masters in Mexican American Studies in Latino Health, made the choice to apply and come here easy.

What are the most important things you have learned as a result of following this curriculum?

One of the most important skills I have gained from studying in MAS is developing an understanding of community and community-based research. Learning how language, culture and acculturation, and immigration create communities has been significant to my studies as these are all areas that greatly affect the health status of Chicano and Latino communities.

Most interesting? Most useful?

If I had to select the most interesting and useful information I have learned while studying here, it would have to be the fact that the health literature on Chicano and Latino populations is severely limited. Despite our growing population and our historical and continued residence in the Southwest and elsewhere, we are under-researched and underserved by the health care system. This means that there is a lot of work out there to be done. So, hopefully I will have many job offers when I am finally through with my studies!

Where are you headed now?

In the Fall of 2001, I will begin a doctoral program in the School of Public Health at the University of Michigan. My new department, Health Behavior and Health Education, offers an interdepartmental concentration on women and reproductive health that will allow me to continue my current work on adolescent pregnancy among Latino populations as well as pursue other interests.

What are your present goals?

My lifelong goal is to make a positive difference in my community, to serve the underserved. My immediate goals are to complete my doctoral degree and obtain a teaching position at a university, either here in Arizona or back home in California. My heart is loyal to West Coast and the sun.

How will your degree in MAS help you achieve those goals?

My degree in MAS will assist me in achieving my goals, as I wish to teach or at least have an appointment in a Chicana/o Studies department. I plan to continue to serve my community through the work I do as a scholar — something MAS has helped me to realize can be accomplished.

Do you have any advice for new or younger students?

The only advice I have for younger students is to keep their grades up. Too many Chicanos are left at the margins because their grades were not high enough to be admitted into a university, let alone graduate school. Start talking to people now and never be scared to dream. And for all students, I would just suggest that we begin to take better care of ourselves. We need our mind, body, and soul in balance (in order to) serve our communities well and to achieve our goals.
Civil rights struggles in 1940s Phoenix detailed in latest MASRC publication

LULAC and Veterans Organize for Civil Rights in Tempe and Phoenix, 1940-1947, written by Christine Marin, is the 29th title in the MASRC’s Working Paper Series. Marin is the curator and archivist of the Chicano Research Collection in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts at Arizona State University’s Hayden Library.

“World War II had a dramatic impact on Americans, including Mexican Americans in Arizona. It challenged families and communities to make sacrifices during wartime. Mexican Americans served in large numbers and with distinction in the war, and after it ended they sought to defend their rights as Americans, and to eliminate the discriminatory behavior and acts that kept them within ethnic boundaries. The segregation at Tempe Beach, the “brilliant star in Tempe’s crown,” and its “No Mexicans Allowed” policy, initiated in 1923, was one of them. Another ethnic boundary was the segregated housing policy for veterans established by the City of Phoenix in 1946.

“In Tempe and Phoenix, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) Council 110, led by Placida Garcia Smith, and the American Legion Thunderbird Post 41, led by Ray Martinez, were at the front lines in the fight against racism and discrimination in the 1940s. Mexican Americans confronted public elected officials over racist practices and policies of exclusion, and utilized the court system to provide them equal justice under the law. They exercised their right to seek equality after years of segregation, and to secure their civil rights as Americans.”

From LULAC and Veterans Organize for Civil Rights in Tempe and Phoenix, 1940-1947 by Christine Marin
Available from the MASRC for $3.00.

The Arizona Report
Mexican American Studies & Research Center
The University of Arizona
P.O. Box 210023
Tucson, AZ 85721-0023

ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED
Women and Environmental Protest in a Northern Mexican City
by Anna Ochoa O'Leary, Ph.D.

In March of 1997, residents of Hermosillo, the capital of the state of Sonora, Mexico, became aware of a toxic waste dump six kilometers outside the city. Hermosillo, with a population of more than 600,000,* is located 275 kilometers south of the U.S.-Mexico border on Mexican Highway 15. Community concern about the dumpsite emerged after a truck driver, hired to transport wastes from California across the international border, came in contact with soil contaminated with a toxic substance and soon developed a burn on his leg.

When reports of the driver's injury spread, concerned residents of Hermosillo came together to investigate the dumpsite. They found a dump of toxic waste lying exposed to the open air, situated approximately eight kilometers from the Rio Sonora and less than 25 kilometers from several colonias populares (working class residential areas): Costa del Sol, Cuahtemoc, Altareas, Palo Verde, and Nuevo Hermosillo. Among the toxic substances being dumped were lead, cadmium, cyanide, and other waste materials believed to have come from American-owned maquiladoras. They found that the company responsible for managing the deposit of toxic materials was

Continued on page 4

MASRC's González authors latest volume in UA Press series

The University of Arizona Press has just published Mexican Americans & the U.S. Economy: Quest for Buenos Dias, by MASRC Assistant Professor Arturo González. (See excerpt on page 6.)

The book is the newest volume in the UA Press series The Mexican American Experience, a cluster of modular texts designed to provide greater flexibility in undergraduate education. Each book deals with a single topic concerning the Mexican American population.

González's analysis, which covers several generations, examines four major topics:

- Immigration, reviewing the Bracero Program, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, legislation from the 1990s, and the problems faced by immigrants today
- Education, stressing the importance of economic incentives to invest in education
- Wealth and Poverty, evaluating opportunities and roadblocks as Mexican Americans aspire to middle-class status
- The Labor Market, covering such topics as employment, income, and discrimination.

"González has drawn on recent census data to present for the first time in one volume a detailed economic analysis of three generations of Mexican Americans. These statistics reveal a people who are steadily improving economically and provide evidence that stereotypes of Mexican Americans are outdated or erroneous." - from the cover notes

Available through the UA Press uapress@uapress.arizona.edu www.uapress.arizona.edu

Mexican Americans & the U.S. Economy / 165 pp./ 2002 Paper (0-8165-1977-3) / $14.95
The Chicano Battle Against Pollution and Power in Tucson

by Daniel E. Reyes III

Today's environmental justice movement is indebted to minority communities, many of which have learned over the years that they were and are exposed to disproportionately high levels of toxicity. In the last 20 years, these communities have spearheaded movements for environmental justice, and developed their own unique understandings about the environment, litigation, politics, organizing, and, most importantly, the effects of pollution on public health.

A number of Mexican-origin communities in the United States have suffered from the ill effects of unregulated dumping of pollutants as well as other types of environmental degradation. A significant case in point occurred on Tucson's South Side, where toxic industrial solvents contaminated aquifers, and where information about this danger was withheld from residents, who were predominantly of Mexican origin. Through mobilization, litigation, and other efforts, people from the area helped shape history, and added to our knowledge of a serious health threat.

According to many experts, the consumption of contaminated water in Tucson beginning in the mid-20th century produced disproportionate rates of illness among people living in the area where aquifers were contaminated. The main solvent that contaminated the water is trichloroethylene (TCE), which was used by the U.S. Air Force and companies in the aviation industry. In 1981, Pima County and state investigators discovered contaminated aquifers in a large area on the south side of Tucson. The pollution included TCE and other hazardous chemicals identified by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). TCE was also found in production wells used by Tucson Water, and these were shut down shortly after the contamination was discovered. No groundwater data exists for the years prior to 1981, and exposure levels before then are unknown. According to the EPA, "Prior to 1981, groundwater wells within the (10-square mile) TIAA (Tucson International Airport Area) site boundaries provided drinking water for over 47,000 people."!

TCE is a volatile organic compound that historically has been used by aircraft industries as a degreaser and for other purposes. For decades, the resulting industrial waste-fluid contaminated the aquifers that supplied South Side residents with drinking water, and despite cleanup efforts, Volatile Organic Compounds, or VOCs, remain, often in high concentrations, in the South Side's water today.

European researchers discovered trichloroethylene in 1890, and medical doctors began using it as a general anesthetic, but its use for this purpose came to an end after a number of patients could not be revived from TCE-induced unconsciousness. A short time afterward, manufacturers and industrialists began using the chemical in other capacities. TCE disease was soon reported wherever it was used. People from places as far flung as Shanghai, Eastern Europe, and Japan reported ailments they believed, and subsequent studies suggested, were related to TCE exposure. Studies conducted in Japan convinced the government there to ban all TCE use.

Beginning about 1942, industries located at and around Tucson International Airport (then Tucson Airport) began daily dumping of TCE and other toxic solvents into the surrounding dry washes, which were thought to be filters that would naturally clean the liquids as they seeped into the aquifer. Workers immersed their hands in TCE, poured it out of barrels into vats, and later onto the sandy ground. Eventually, the toxin made it into the aquifer that supplied the South Side. It issued from taps in homes, schools and parks, and flowed into street gutters, swimming holes, and other drainages. "Large-scale" waste disposal began in the 1950s, when Hughes Aircraft built a plant near the airport in 1951. Hughes, which later became Hughes Missile Systems, was purchased by Raytheon in 1997. Hughes began keeping records of TCE dumping as early as 1951.

Wartime and commercial industries in the area dumped the waste for decades, and throughout the history of TCE dumping, private firms, as well as the U.S. Air Force and the Air National Guard, engaged in indiscriminate disposal of the chemical.

It was in the 1950s that area residents first discovered problems with their drinking water, and the matter soon ended up in litigation. On December 29, 1953, residents of the South Side settled out of court. South Side residents were then, for the most part, not Mexican, but most fled soon after learning of the water problem. The area was soon marked by "white flight," and workers were suddenly in short supply. Home sellers and realtors failed to inform the newly arrived Mexican buyers of the tainted water. As the South Side industrialized and grew, jobs became abundant and new workers came to the area. The majority were predominantly of Mexican descent. Chicanos who moved to the area to work and attain the American Dream ended up making their homes in a toxic environment.

In 1984, South Side residents and city officials, in conjunction with the EPA, began work on designing a plan for cleaning the polluted aquifers. That year, the underground pollution "plume" officially measured four and a half miles long, and 3,500 feet wide, and was then moving northwest at 500 feet a year. The industries that dumped the solvent included the Air Force, Air National Guard, Grand Central

Continued on next page
Aircraft, Hughes Aircraft, Burr-Brown Corporation, and other smaller "probable responsible parties," or PRPs, as defined by the 1980 Superfund Act (the Comprehensive Environmental Recovery, Clean-up, and Liability Act). Chronic diseases, which were later found to be related to TCE exposure, struck primarily working-class and ethnic Mexican people from the South Side.

TCE water contamination produces relatively large clusters of leukemia-stricken children, but it is also the result of disparities in social power as it relates to the environment and the people who live in that environment. Investigative reporter Jane Kay, whom the community identified as a person who could aid its cause, conducted surveys with the help of mostly female community residents, in order to identify forms of illness in a square-mile area just west of the airport. In 1984, The Arizona Daily Star began publishing some of her findings. In a four-month survey of some 500 South Side households, Kay reported six diseases occurring at levels so far above the national norm that experts considered the findings remarkable. Specifically, there was a much higher than average occurrence of Lupus Erythematosis, and five types of cancer: leukemia, testicular cancer, cancer of the bone, floor of the mouth, and sinuses.

South Side residents — many of whom had long suspected that an external problem was to blame — soon mobilized themselves for action. From the outset they encountered resistance from government officials charged with addressing their needs . . . As they became increasingly tenacious in their pursuit of a remedy, they found few allies along the way who were not themselves Southsiders. In local government, Raúl M. Grijalva, a South Side member of the Pima County Board of Supervisors, became a loud critic of what in his eyes was a clear case of environmental racism, but few in government listened.

As South Side residents developed strategic plans in seeking answers to the many difficult questions related to the ravaging effects of TCE contamination, they became specialists in deciphering and influencing the latest health-related studies and clean-up technologies. The efforts to understand what happened and what needed to be done brought together over twenty-five community-based organizations, which in turn helped to shape new organizations such as Tucsonans for a Clean Environment, the Health Advisory Board, and the Unified Community Advisory Board . . . These efforts, which continue today, have led directly to strategic plans developed in seeking answers to the many difficult questions related to the ravaging effects of TCE contamination, they became specialists in deciphering and influencing the latest health-related studies and clean-up technologies. The efforts to understand what happened and what

needed to be done brought together over twenty-five community-based organizations, which in turn helped to shape new organizations such as Tucsonans for a Clean Environment, the Health Advisory Board, and the Unified Community Advisory Board . . . These efforts, which continue today, have led directly to new forms of knowledge about the effects of TCE on people and the environment.

The contaminated area, now home to fifty to sixty thousand residents, is one of the largest such communities in the world. Activism has enabled the community to obtain local and state funds to support a health clinic with a knowledgeable board of directors that includes specialists from the University of Arizona’s College of Medicine.

On February 18, 1991, Hughes announced a $84.5 million out-of-court offer to settle, with other firms, the five-year-old Tucson South Side TCE lawsuit. The plaintiffs agreed. The PRPs, knowing well that they were facing EPA punitive measures, did everything they could to use the settlement as a means of avoiding blame for the damages their TCE dumping caused. For example, a key part of the settlement was that the plaintiffs had to agree to have all court records about the case sealed indefinitely.

In Tucson, indiscriminate TCE dumping caused a large part of the Mexican-descent community to become ill, and contributed to many deaths. Although the South Side community continues to experience an environmental disaster, its people courageously and tenaciously averted a larger one. The people of this story made international scientists, the legal community, the general public, and the world aware of TCE and the health hazards it poses. Many others can now benefit from their struggle.

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Notes
1. Tucson International Airport Area (TIAA) Arizona, EPA ID# AZD980737530. "Site Description and History." U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. Online at [http://yosemite.epa.gov/r9/sfund/overview.nsf). The TIAA is an EPA Superfund Cleanup Site, and is in Region 9, which includes Arizona, California, Hawaii, and Nevada.
4. The Tucson Citizen, Tom Shields, 19 Nov. 1985 article.

Background graphic on opposite page, and detail on this page, “March 1999 Plume Outlines and TIAA Site Area,” is from the Arizona Department of Environmental Quality, Southern Region Office.
Environmental Protest from page 1

Confinamiento y Tratamiento de Residuos (Confinement and Treatment of Residuals, CYTRAR), a subsidiary of the Spanish-based company, TECMED. It appeared that TECMED was contracted by various U.S. corporations to manage the disposal of toxic materials. TECMED then subcontracted CYTRAR for its waste disposal needs in Mexico.

The community groups, a coalition of several nongovernmental organizations, complained about the dumping to local authorities, pointing out that the wastes were being improperly disposed of. The photographs and videos taken of the site showed that the wastes were uncontained and exposed to the elements. They questioned why the waste generated in the U.S. was being brought to Mexico and why residents had not been notified. The waste material also leaked from the trucks in which it was being shipped, and these traveled over public highways as well as residential streets. They argued that failure to adhere to the legal requirement for the confinement and processing of hazardous waste materials posed threats to the environment, to the health and welfare of residents, and jeopardized the underground water supply.

One of the more vocal groups was Alianza Civica (Civic Alliance), composed primarily of women. They lodged formal complaints against government administrators, charging them with violating laws regulating the importation, transport, and dumping of toxic wastes. Their petitions at the local levels of public administration were ignored for the most part, so they expanded their campaign to include agencies at the state and federal levels, such as the National Commission for Human Rights (Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos), and the national environmental agency, Procuraduría Federal de Protección del Ambiente in Mexico City. They also began a vocal campaign to bring public attention to the dumpsite through newspaper editorials and a sympathetic radio talk show program. They organized rallies at the dumpsite and in front of the Palacio del Gobierno (the municipal and state government complex in Hermosillo). On March 7, 1998, the women of Alianza Civica, along with community supporters, formed a human chain and physically blocked the entrance to the dumpsite. Local law enforcement units were deployed to remove the protesters. The next day, newspapers sported photographs of women being physically threatened by tractor-trailer drivers in a failed attempt to drive into the dump. The steady stream of waste-carrying trucks resumed later, facilitated by law enforcement officials and military personnel.

The women of Alianza continued to petition officials through conventional statutory channels with the hope that this strategy would eventually bring an end to the dumping. At best, this generated token guarantees. However, the women were well aware of the limitations inherent in this process because of the corruption that pervades all levels of Mexican government. The corruption of public authorities is generally acknowledged in Mexico as an intrinsic feature of the political system. In this, however, the public found official malfeasance and corruption intolerable. Community sentiment was nothing less than outrage: public authorities had grossly overstepped the boundaries of basic human decency by allowing the dumping to continue. When the conventional petitioning process failed to force administrators into action, the community struggle began to include a radical form of activism. With this strategy, the women crossed boundaries of what is considered appropriate political action. They brazenly confronted officials at every opportunity. The oppositional discourse that developed began to include a public and conspicuous denunciation of the overt collusion between government officials and those in private industry, which by design allowed the officials to feign innocence about dump management irregularities. Information gathered about these officials was used to challenge their integrity in public. Those not directly associated with the matter were challenged to take a stand for the community. Those that hesitated or neglected to act were assumed to be collaborators and risked being targets whenever they appeared in public. The number of political targets grew with the escalation of public activity, and protestors.

Continued on next page
continued gathering information that could be used to pressure those in office.

The information gathered about politicians and public administrators came primarily through social networks. As these networks became roused into action under the stimulus of activity and assertions, more information was generated. With this information, the women attempted to further humiliate officials, disrupting public appearances with outcries of ¡Traidores! (traitors!), ¡Vendidos! (Sell-outs!), ¡Corruptos! (corrupt!), ¡Sin vergüenzas! (shameless!), and ¡Nos han hecho el escusado del mundo! (You have made us the toilet of the world!).

The verbal attacks in public, especially on high-ranking officials, was unprecedented. In addition to displaying signs at these outings, the women assembled life-size dummies portraying well-known officials. Local presses couldn’t resist the political satire, and the effigies generated even more publicity at the expense of the officials. The protesters, however, were taken counter-attacked in newspaper editorials as unpatriotic, disloyal citizens. These attacks became even more furious when the women began to seek foreign audiences for their complaints, and there were rumors and threats that the women would be arrested or beaten, following the well-established practice of governmental suppression of critics.

In October 1998, several women from the Alianza traveled to New York, and filed a petition with the United Nations Environmental Programme. However, at the meeting with UN officials, the women were told that the UN was unable to "intervene" in contracts between countries. In the spring of 1999, another petition was filed with the Comisión de Cooperación Ambiental (Commission for Environmental Cooperation, CEC), an agency created by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to address environmental issues and regulations. In response to this complaint, they were told:

[The Government of the United States of Mexico is not legally able to respond to the matter in question, since it is subject to arbitration proceedings for resolving an international dispute with the Técnicas Medioambientales Tecmed, S.A. company [the investment partner of Cytrar S.A. de C.V.] over alleged noncompliance [the dump closure] with the Agreement for the Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments (Acuerdo para la Promoción y Protección Reciproca de Inversiones—APRI) reached with the Spanish Crown (Commission for Environmental Cooperation 2002).]

But the women persisted. Each day, the women and other community members gathered in front of the palacio, where, during the summer, the daily temperature commonly reaches 38 degrees centigrade (110° F). Alianza’s protest lasted for two years, with successes and failures materializing in various ways. In 1999, the dumpsite at Hermosillo was closed, signaling success for the group’s efforts, although the issue of clean-up for the site has not yet been resolved. The community activism served to raise the consciousness of residents of nearby municipalities, resulting in the blocking of proposed dumpsites at Benjamin Hill, Trincheras, and Carbó.

Through these efforts the Alianza women became self-educated on the interrelationship of systems that converged with the toxic dumping in their community: globalization, free trade, international subcontracting—none of which allowed for the inclusion of the opinions of those experiencing the negative and potentially harmful effects of unrestrained commercialism.

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* This figure is from the official website for the municipality Hermosillo (“Municipio de Hermosillo: Hermosillo en Línea,” 2001, www.hermosillo.gob.mx). Official estimates are conservative due to the continual influx of migrants who settle in unregulated shantytowns.
Economic Impact of Immigration

In 1994, Jesse Laguna wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* that "the state of California can no longer be the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for the rest of the world." He stated that he and many other Hispanics supported Proposition 187—which was intended to deny educational and social services to undocumented immigrants—because immigrants were "hollering for freebies." The argument that immigrants come to the United States primarily to receive social services, and that they abuse these services, is a common one among those who support restrictive immigration policies such as Proposition 187. A second common anti-immigration argument is the so-called displacement effect, which argues that immigrants take jobs away from or reduce the wages of native workers. Even though these two arguments contradict each other, they share a common thread that immigrants have a negative impact on the U.S. economy (Funkhouser 1996).

Several attempts have been made to assess the economic impact of immigrants (Funkhouser 1996; Smith and Edmonston 1997). Unfortunately, the first conclusion reached is that it is impossible to measure the full impact of immigration on the trillion-dollar U.S. economy, partly because of its sheer size. A strategy used by researchers, therefore, is to examine the impact of immigration on specific segments of the economy, such as labor markets (specifically employment and wages) and utilization of government services.

The majority of studies examine the fiscal impact of immigrants by comparing the taxes paid and services received by immigrants. One of the studies most often cited by anti-immigration supporters totaled particular taxes paid by immigrants and the costs of providing various services to conclude that immigrants cost taxpayers nearly $44 billion in 1992. The consensus among the majority of researchers was that this study had many flaws, however, including inaccurate population, tax, and cost estimates. Another group of researchers remedied these shortcomings by using more precise estimates of the undocumented population, as well as improved tax and cost figures, and concluded that all Mexican immigration benefited natives by the amount of $31 billion in 1992 (Funkhouser 1996).

Both studies fall short of providing the necessary information to make reasonable policy decisions, however. Even if it were possible to examine all sectors of the economy, the social, noneconomic impact is still ignored. Since immigrants affect U.S. society in many ways other than economically, it would be a mistake to base policy decisions solely on economic estimates.

Moreover, it is difficult to estimate the exact fiscal impact because it is impossible to measure the full utilization of services as well as the total taxes paid by immigrants. In addition, both studies limit their analysis to one year, 1992, and do not consider the future impact of immigration. This is important given the likelihood that young immigrant workers will help sustain programs such as Social Security at a time when the American workforce is aging (Hayes-Bautista 1993).

More importantly, however, both studies examine what immigrants paid and what they received, not the fiscal impact on public finances. To better assess the fiscal impact of immigrants, it is necessary to consider the present and future impact of immigration on all segments of society, including households, employers and employees, consumers, government, and landlords ..."
California’s Proposition 187, are not likely to be a burden in this regard.

One of the largest areas of spending on immigrants is education. In addition to schooling, immigrant children require some English-language instruction and may require more time to complete their education because they are more likely to be held back (Delgado Bernal 1998; Vernez, Abrahamse, and Quigley 1996). The growing number of immigrant children prompts some to argue that children of undocumented immigrants should not be denied a free public education. California and Texas crafted legislation with this goal specifically in mind (Delgado Bernal 1998). On the other hand, given that these children are very likely to remain in and eventually work in the United States, it is in our national interest to encourage all immigrant students to attain as much education as possible (Gonzalez 2000). Educated workers are more likely to earn higher wages, to be promoted, to suffer shorter spells of unemployment, and to experience other positive labor market outcomes. The net effect is that educated Mexican immigrants will contribute more in taxes over their lifetime than the cost of their education.


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Citations


Vernez, Georges, Allan Abrahamse, and Denise Quigley. 1996. How Immigrants Fare in U.S. Education. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.

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ENVIRONMENTAL STRUGGLE IN SONORA, MEXICO, CHRONICLED IN NEW CENTER PUBLICATION

Of Information Highways and Toxic Byways: Women and Environmental Protest in a Northern Mexican City is the newest title in the MASRC Working Paper Series. (See excerpt on front page.) Written by anthropologist Anna Ochoa O’Leary, it is the 30th title in the series, which began in 1981.

Women’s involvement in collective struggles for environmental quality has surged in recent years, as has research focusing on this phenomenon. Consistent with this research, a feminist lens is useful in revealing a new model of community struggle that features women’s activities and strategies to expose environmental insult. I use a case study of community protest in Hermosillo, a city in the Mexican state of Sonora, to feature social networks as a means of politicizing the placement of a toxic waste dump six kilometers outside the city. A feminist perspective reveals these social networks to be more than a way to mobilize resources. It allows us to see the ways in which gender interacts with globalized relations of power, political ecology, and environmental policy, and to validate a creative way in which women can out-maneuver the gendered constraints to political participation. An analysis of how social networks served in this particular struggle suggests that they are an important component in the process through which women gained voice and authored oppositional discourse in contexts where these have been previously denied, and ultimately deconstructed the political authority that sanctioned the dump.

—from author’s abstract

Available from the MASRC for $3.00. For a full listing of MASRC publications, visit our website at: http://w3fp.arizona.edu/masrc.
2002 Border Academy Will Focus on Emergency Medicine
Annual summer seminar returns to Southern Arizona

The Border Academy, a summer seminar for health care professionals and students, is returning to the Tucson area. The program starts on Thursday, April 25, and ends on Sunday, April 28.

The intensive, four-day seminar, which will focus on emergency medicine, will take place at the beautiful Westward Look Resort in the Catalina foothills overlooking Tucson. A full-day tour of health-related facilities and colonias in the ambos Nogales area of the U.S.-Mexico border will be an integral part of the academy.

The Border Academy’s faculty includes practicing physicians and other medical and public health professionals from Mexico and the United States. Clinical case study presentations will cover a range of subjects in the trauma care field. The Border Academy features a highly interactive style of instruction with extensive dialogue between speakers and participants.

Attendees include medical students, public health professionals, paramedics, nurses, and physicians.

The tour will be conducted by BorderLinks, a Tucson-based organization that began providing educational seminars on U.S.-Mexico border issues in 1987.

The Academy is sponsored by the Arizona Hispanic Center of Excellence.

The program, now in its fifth year, is coming back to Southern Arizona after two years away in other border states. Last year’s Border Academy in McAllen, Texas, focused on diabetes; the 2000 seminar in San Diego, California, focused on the treatment of cervical cancer, and proliferation of communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis, in certain areas along the 2000-mile-long border.

For more information about the 2002 Border Academy, contact Jannine Valcour at: (520) 626-8134 or via e-mail at: jvalcour@u.arizona.edu.
Antonio L. Estrada Takes On Directorship of MASRC

In July, Antonio "Tony" Estrada, a noted expert in public health, was appointed as the director of the Mexican American Studies & Research Center by UA Provost George Davis and Diana Liverman, Interim Dean of the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences.

Estrada first came to the University of Arizona in 1986, and has been a faculty member in the MASRC since 1991. He received his master's and doctoral degrees in Public Health, graduating from the UCLA School of Public Health in 1986.

His primary interests are in Hispanic health, focusing on health promotion and disease prevention within this population. Much of his work has analyzed the cultural and behavioral aspects of HIV/AIDS, and on ways to prevent the spread of the disease. Additionally, Estrada is interested in applied public health policy as it affects the health status and access to health care among Hispanics.

Estrada follows Adela de la Torre as director. An agricultural economist, de la Torre directed the Center for six years, beginning in 1996. She departed for the University of California, Davis, in the summer.

Estrada and de la Torre are the authors of Mexican Americans and Health, published in 2001 by the University of Arizona Press as part of its Mexican American Experience series of college text books.

Before his appointment, he served as associate director of the Center and chair of the Mexican American Studies graduate program.

In 1998, he earned the UA College of Social and Behavioral

New Booklet Has Useful Advice for Latinos in Higher Education

The Mexican American Studies & Research Center has published a handbook of useful advice for Hispanic students planning on going to college or to graduate school.

MASRC Assistant Professor Andrea Romero and MAS graduate student Veronica M. Vensor authored the publication, titled "Consejos Para Su Futuro en Educación: Suggestions for Your Future in Higher Education from Chicanos and Chicanas." (An excerpt appears in this issue on pages 6 and 7). The handbook was developed from charlas, or roundtable discussions, that were held at the 2002 annual conference of the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) in Chicago.

The 16-page handbook project was funded by the Committee on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention and Training in Psychology from the American Psychological Association.

The charlas were open discussions on topics of particular relevance to students of color. The discussions covered a wide array of issues, such as the difficulty in being the first in the family to attend college, racism on campus, and practical matters like time management and applying to graduate school.

First convened at the 2000 NACCS conference and held every

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE
Master’s Program Graduates Seek Success in Doctoral, Medical Studies

Carlos Reyes and Patricia Rodríguez graduated last spring from the Mexican American Studies master's program. Reyes’ studies were concentrated in the Latino Health strand of the program, while Rodríguez’ focus was on History and Culture. (The MAS MS program also offers a concentration in Public Policy.)

Reyes is now beginning his first year of medical school at the University of Iowa, and Rodríguez has been accepted into the doctoral program in history at the University of Arizona.

The Arizona Report corresponded with both of these outstanding graduates to find out their motivations for enrolling in the MAS graduate program, their plans for the future, and to learn what advice they might have for those just starting college or graduate school.

Carlos Reyes

What made you decide to study medicine?

I came into the UA feeling that it was a pleasure just to be here. Becoming a physician appeared to me to be an unreachable dream, but a dream nonetheless. I wanted to help people, and I thought medicine would provide an opportunity to help people in a way that other professions could not. Apart from providing mental and emotional help, medical doctors are able to alleviate physical problems through their expertise in diagnosing ailments, prescribing medicines and other interventions.

Even though I was unsure about my ability to be a physician, I took it bit by bit without thinking about the competitiveness or length of time I would be in school. First, I took the required courses and worried about passing those, then I took a practice MCAT, the test needed to apply to medical school, and I felt that I would never be a physician. I gave up for a while until I took a course on the psychology of death and dying, and it sparked my interest again. From then on, I had to figure out how I was going to get in.

What was the focus of your studies as an MAS graduate student?

Under the Latino Health concentration, I focused on HIV/AIDS intervention among Hispanic injection drug users. I looked at the relationships between acculturation and high-risk behaviors and HIV/AIDS knowledge. In addition, I conducted research on curanderismo (Mexican folk medicine) and its relevance to the clinical setting.

What did you major in as an undergraduate?

Psychology.

Patricia Rodríguez

What led you to major in MAS?

I learned about the program from my husband, Jonathan, who participated in the first Border Academy. Dr. Adela de la Torre had just then announced that the Board of Regents had approved the master’s program. I was thrilled to know that a major Latino group was the focus of a master’s degree. I had done graduate work in public policy years earlier, but Latinos were often an afterthought. I wanted to learn about the experiences of Mexican Americans, and to contrast or draw parallels with Salvadorans, like myself, in the United States.

What was the focus of your studies as an MAS graduate student?

I was in the history and culture track. In my research, I focused on the gender and intergenerational relationships among Salvadoran refugees in Tucson, particularly among women, who are most often left out of the literature. I have also researched other topics such as the 1969 Salvadoran-Honduran "Soccer War," post traumatic stress disorder, and political asylum policies.

What did you major in as an undergraduate?

My major was political science, and my minor was Spanish.

Did you belong to any groups or organizations while at the UA?

Yes, I was a founding member and served as co-chair of the ¡Aquí Estamos! Graduate Student Collective. I also participated in activities and events put on by the Chicano/Hispano Student Affairs Office.

Could you provide a little bit on your personal background?

I was born in El Salvador and raised in the Washington-
Welcome to the start of a new academic year! There is much work ahead of us, but we are fortunate that our former director, Dr. Adela de la Torre, left us with a solid foundation on which to build. The MASRC has come a long way since its inception in 1981, but we have much work still to do.

This past year the MASRC was the focus of yet another attempt to diminish its status within the university. Thanks to MASRC’s Community Advisory Board, and the renewed commitment to the Center from the UA Administration, the Center will continue to represent the interests of the Hispanic community in Arizona and the Southwest.

My vision for the Center includes building on our strengths and strengthening our weaknesses. Integration and synthesis with other university departments and colleges (while maintaining our uniqueness) is crucial to our mission. I envision a comprehensive center focused on three complimentary areas: public history and cultural studies; public policy, especially that which is related to immigration; and Hispanic and border health.

The major focus of my tenure as director of MASRC will be to enhance our community outreach, and research dissemination activities in each of the above areas. The Center must find innovative ways to take its research and scholarship to the Hispanic community. The Center must work with community-based organizations to assist them, where possible, in meeting the needs of the Hispanic population. The Center can bring its collective expertise to bear on many social and health issues facing the Hispanics in southern Arizona.

Beyond the many pressing issues facing our community, the Center must also maintain its academic excellence in both the undergraduate and graduate curricula, and continue to generate external funding to assist with infrastructure needs and targeted community projects.

One of my goals as the new director is to increase our external funding by at least 50 percent in order to support the Center’s growth and mission. Additionally, over the next several years, I would like to increase departmental resources for faculty, staff, and students; increase the number of students majoring in Mexican American Studies; continue to enhance our graduate program; develop a doctoral minor in Mexican American Studies; and, eventually, develop a doctoral program.

In order to accomplish these goals, the Center must hire additional faculty. I am happy to report that the university has committed to hire three new faculty members in MAS during the next several years, which should enable the Center to accomplish its goals.

The Center is here to stay. The sheer number of Hispanics in southern Arizona and the location of the University of Arizona only 60 miles from the Mexican border demands it. However, the Center must maintain its academic excellence and be responsive to community issues where it can. The struggle for equality is far from over, but with your help we can succeed.

Antonio Estrada

estrada from page 1

Sciences distinguished teaching award. His health-related grants have brought more than $8 million to the UA since 1987.

Shortly after his appointment he referred to the recent budget crisis, saying, "I never again want to see the MASRC on the fringes of being cut or its programs downsized. In order to accomplish this, we must integrate ourselves with other departments and colleges while maintaining our uniqueness, refocus our mission to encompass the Hispanic community, and maintain our academic excellence in teaching and research. It is our responsibility as Chicano faculty to represent our community in the academy and to assist the community in achieving its goals of empowerment and vitality."

The Arizona Report is published by the Mexican America Studies & Research Center at the University of Arizona.

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Book Excerpt: Chicano Popular Culture

Chicano Popular Culture: Que Hable el Pueblo by Charles Tatum, was published by the University of Arizona Press last year as part of its series The Mexican American Experience. Written primarily for undergraduate instruction, Chicano Popular Culture was one of just 35 titles recognized as “The Best of the Best from the University Presses” for 2002 by the selection committee for “University Press Books Selected for Public and Secondary School Libraries.”

By Charles M. Tatum

Chicano Music on the West Coast

In 1939, Texas was the most important center for the development of Chicano popular music from the late nineteenth century through the 1990s, it was not by any means the only site of musical activity. Especially since about 1960, California—particularly Los Angeles—has produced several musical genres and numerous groups, musicians, songwriters, and individual singing artists. This is not to say they all were from California, only that many of them eventually ended up in the Los Angeles area because it was the center of the recording industry and had a huge and enthusiastic Chicano population that supported its musical artists. Eduardo “Lalo” Guerrero and Ritchie Valens (Valenzuela), were two Mexican Americans who broke into the California recording industry early, the former in the 1940s and the latter in the 1950s. Although they were different in their musical tastes, both of them should be considered pioneers in terms of their success in an Anglo-dominated industry.

Eduardo “Lalo” Guerrero

Guerrero was born in Barrio Libre (the Free Barrio) in Tucson in 1916. His father, head boilermaker in the roundhouse of the Tucson Southern Pacific Railroad, worked tirelessly to support his family of five children, which was to grow to seventeen children by the time Guerrero was a young man. His mother, Doña Conchita, taught Guerrero to play the guitar when he was fourteen years old, but he began his career as a performer when he was in grammar school. His mother died when he was a young man and his father contracted Lou Gehrig’s disease (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis).

Guerrero and his brother Frank relocated from Tucson to Los Angeles when he was eighteen. He recorded exclusively in Spanish for a few years, and his records sold modestly in the southern California market. His first recording as a solo singer was in 1948, and his songs began to get airplay on Spanish-language radio stations in the Los Angeles area. His popularity grew and he was soon performing in many venues as the featured artist.

Despite the predominance of Spanish-language recordings he made during the late 1940s and 1950s, Guerrero desired to be primarily a performer of stock American tunes of that era. His idols as a high school student had been Rudy Vallee, Al Jolson, Eddie Cantor, and later, Bing Crosby (Reyes and Waldman 1998, 7). Imperial Records asked Guerrero to begin recording in English and to change his professional name to Don Edwards. The experiment flopped, however, and he went back to recording and playing for Mexican American audiences through the 1950s. At the same time, he recorded a parody of the “Ballad of Davy Crockett,” which had been popularized by Bill Hayes and Fess Parker. Guerrero’s version, which was called the “Ballad of Pancho López,” was a success and eventually sold more than 500,000 copies. He performed it on the “Tonight Show” hosted in the mid-1950s by Steve Allen as well as on the “Art Linkletter Show.”

Twenty years later, cultural nationalists and others would harshly criticize Guerrero for this song because it appeared to make fun of Chicanos (Reyes and Waldman 1998, 8). Some argued that he was merely satirizing American icon—Crockett—while others resented the humor being directed at Chicanos. Guerrero also wrote and recorded other parodies in late 1950s, including “Tacos for Two” (a parody of “Tea for Two”), “There’s No Tortillas” (“Yes, We Have No Bananas”), “Pancho Claus,” and “I Left My Car in San Francisco” (a parody of the Tony Bennett standard “I Left My Heart in San Francisco”). In 1960, he was able to open his own nightclub, Lalo’s Place, in Los Angeles financed from the proceeds of his recording and performing successes. Despite the criticism of his “Pancho López” parody, Chicano students of the Chicano Movement era generally considered Guerrero to be a pioneer in the music field, and Chicano organizations invited him to speak on college campuses during the 1960s and 1970s; now more than eighty years old, he is still performing on college campuses. At the same time, Guerrero has continued to perform for largely Anglo audiences at venues

Continued on next page
such as luxurious restaurants in Los Angeles, Palm Springs, and elsewhere.

Guerrero has never considered himself a militant, but he has taken strong stands on occasion in order to combat negative stereotyping and overt racism. For example, he composed and sang "No Chicanos on TV" as a protest against the television industry's practice of relegating Chicano characters to minor (and usually negatively stereotyped) roles.

Guerrero received numerous awards throughout his career, not only for his contribution to American musical culture but also for his public stands on social issues. The Latino organization Nosotros (founded by actor Ricardo Montalbán) awarded him two Golden Eagle Awards in 1980 and 1989. The Smithsonian Institution declared him a "National Folk Treasure" in 1980... Perhaps Guerrero's crowning honor was receiving the National Medal of the Arts awarded at a White House ceremony on February 7, 1997. In making the award, President William Clinton said, "Presented by the president of the United States of America for a distinguished music career that spans over sixty years, two cultures, and a wealth of different musical styles. With humor, passion, and profound insight, he has entertained and enlightened generations of audiences giving powerful voice to the joys and sorrows of the Mexican American experience."

From Chapter 2, pp. 31-34.

Citation


New MAS Graduate Students Have Varied Interests, Career Plans

Eight new students have been accepted into the Mexican American Studies Master of Science program for the fall of 2002. The incoming class—five men and three women—is a diverse group of individuals, with backgrounds and career goals that range from education to healthcare to literature. The MASRC is proud to welcome them. Below are profiles of four of our new graduate students.

Salvador Acosta was born and grew up in Mexico City, and has attended San Jose State University and UCLA. He has academic backgrounds in Latin American Literature, Chicano Literature, and History. He will follow the Culture and History strand, and upon graduation, hopes to join a Mexican American Studies department in a two- or four-year college.

Fran Brazzell is taking the Latino Health strand. She has worked in healthcare since 1984, and almost from the beginning worked with Latino patients. She spent 5 of the last 7 1/2 years working in Latin America; 2 years in Nicaragua with the Peace Corps as a community health promoter, and 3 years in Mexico helping prepare healthcare providers to work with Latino patients in the United States. "I realized very quickly that working with this population is much more complicated than Spanish language competency. I'm very excited about continuing my own journey to understanding the cultural components of healthcare delivery specific to the Latino population and contributing to the knowledge base for other healthcare providers," she says. Upon completion of the program, she plans to pursue a Ph.D. in Cultural Studies with an emphasis on healthcare delivery.

José de Jesús Muñoz Serrano, was born in León, Guanajuato, México, and his study concentration is in the MAS Public Policy strand. He is interested in studying the causes of Mexican migration to the United States during the last three decades. After the completion of his master's degree, he plans to enroll in a Ph.D. program either in Spanish literature or Sociology.

Rick Orozco graduated from the UA with a degree in Political Science, and currently teaches Mexican American Studies at Sunnyside High in Tucson. He will be studying in the History and Culture strand of the MAS graduate program. He is interested in pursuing a Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology after completing the program, and creating a Department of Mexican American Studies in the Sunnyside Unified School District.
The Arizona Report: Fall 2002

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year since then, the charlas were facilitated by students and faculty who had personal experience in various aspects of higher education. The discussions, which were open to all conference attendees, were taped and later summarized.

In the booklet, both students and faculty share their valuable experiences in higher education in the hope that their observations will motivate and help others.

One of the primary missions of NACCS is to advance the professional interests and needs of Chicanas and Chicanos in the academy. AER

Rodríguez from page 2

From "Consejos Para Su Futuro en Educación: Suggestions for Your Future in Higher Education from Chicanos and Chicanas"

How do I balance my time between family, friends and studying?

Balancing time between family and friends while in college can be difficult. Studying can be very time-consuming, usually lonely, and tiring. You need to find a balance between family, friends, and study time. Finding your own daily rhythm with the demands of school is key. It also helps to do other things that are not academically related. For example, you can make it a point to have dinner once a week with fellow students where you have all agreed NOT to talk about school or anything related to your studies. You can get to know this group outside of class and find it to be relaxing. Think of these techniques as somewhat of a reward system.

What has been your biggest challenge as a student?

One of the biggest challenges I faced was balancing a demanding teaching assistant position with my own schoolwork. I had to remind myself that my classes and research were as important. I also tried to maintain a balance among these and my family life.

What have you found to be most rewarding in your studies?

The opportunity to explore my own interests. I felt encouraged and supported by my professors to do research on a group that was not Mexican American. I also valued the sharing and learning from other students. Since we all come from different experiences, we each bring a unique perspective to our class discussions.

Where are you headed now?

This fall, I am starting in the doctoral program in history at the UA.

What are your present goals?

My present goal is to become a professor of U.S. history. As the field grows to include immigration of groups from Latin America and Asia, I hope to contribute to the emerging and exciting specialization of Central American studies.

How will your degree in MAS help you achieve those goals?

My degree in MAS provided the groundwork from which I can now build on in the history department.

Do you have any advice for new or younger students?

You cannot succeed as a graduate student alone. You should try to establish a good, working relationship with your adviser and your classmates. I found it useful to pair up with a more experienced student through our Compareñas/Compareños program. You can serve as a resource to each other. Get involved with activities around campus so that you don’t feel isolated. You will always have more work than is humanly possible to complete, so do your best and enjoy it!

Tailor your reward system to your hobbies or maybe find new ones.

You may also find a group of friends or classmates that you can study with on a regular basis. This can help you structure your studies and provide some socialization at the same time. Studying with other students and sharing notes can be highly beneficial and help improve your understanding of class material.

Balancing time between extracurricular activities and school is difficult also. The best advice is to not take on too many projects. This will help ensure that you can produce all required work in a timely fashion. If you work best at your studies at a particular time of day, try to schedule your activities accordingly. Everything else should be put aside during your study/writing/homework time. Once you figure out a daily schedule, you will

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see that it is easier to get your work done, and to reward yourself later for working hard. A regular work routine has the added benefit of reducing stress.

What should I expect if I decide to live at home and go to school?

Living at home and going to school can be difficult because of the different demands of college and home life. It can be challenging to balance spending time with family and time studying. Often, other family members are not in school and thus have different schedules than yours. They may expect you to spend more time with them when you are home, or to have a similar schedule. It can be helpful to give your family a class and studying schedule at the beginning of the semester so that everyone knows when to expect that you will be in class or studying. It might also be helpful to plan a chores schedule with your family so that you also are helping around the house.

Some students find that it is difficult to find a quiet place at home to get studying done, and decide to rent a study carrel at the library for a small fee. You can keep your books and papers in the study carrel, so you will not have to carry [them] from school to home as much. Also, look for any programs on campus that cater to commuter students. Oftentimes, programs will offer coffee get-togethers for students who do not live on campus. This is a good opportunity to meet other students in your same situation.

Don't forget to recognize and appreciate how your family is helping you. They are probably saving you money on rent and utility expenses, and helping you by providing home-cooked meals. Your family may be helping in many other ways as well, and it is good to recognize and appreciate the support.

Reyes from page 2

Did you belong to any groups or organizations while at the UA?

Sigma Lambda Beta, a Latino-based fraternity, and F.A.C.E.S. (Fostering and Achieving Cultural Equity and Sensitivity), a pre-health professions club.

Could you provide a little bit on your personal background?

I am the middle of three boys. My mother and father are from Mexico. I was born in Torrance, California, then I lived in Sonora, Mexico, a few years and then in Arizona. I briefly went to elementary school in Tucson, then I moved to Mesa, where I grew up. I graduated from Dobson High School and returned to Tucson for my undergraduate and graduate education.

What led you to major in MAS?

What led me to apply to the Masters program is that I was not accepted to a medical school after applying the first time. I wanted to stay in the health field and I heard about the MASRC Latino Health concentration. I loved my MAS classes as an undergraduate where I became enlightened about Chicano scholarship on the Southwest.

What are the most important things you’ve learned as a result of following this curriculum?

I learned that the research process has many details that are not noticeable until you go through it. I also learned about the importance of student mentoring and professionalism.

What has been your biggest challenge as a student?

Reading comprehension and organizing my studies so that I'm able to retain knowledge that I can use in the future. Another big challenge was applying to medical school — there are a lot of hoops to jump through.

What have you found to be most rewarding in your studies?

Mentoring from the faculty. They were outstanding. I could not have asked for anything more. Small group discussions were key to learning more from the class readings. Also, the opportunity to travel to conferences enriched my studies.

Where are you headed now?

I will attend the University of Iowa College of Medicine.

What area of medicine do you plan to practice?

Right now, I think it might be primary care, but I may change my mind.

How will your degree in MAS help you achieve those goals?

Presenting my research to faculty and other graduate students helped me develop intellectually and professionally. Attending conferences exposed me to other professionals around the country. These experiences will allow me to think less narrowly and, perhaps, make me a more flexible and well-rounded physician.

Do you have any advice for new or younger students?

Never give up on your dreams, even if they seem unreachable. Many believe that there is a secret to success, but any successful person will tell you, when you are passionate about something and you love what you are doing, you cannot help but to be successful. Also, don’t let anybody tell you what you want to be, follow your feelings and don’t be afraid to take the hard road. Even I begin each day with some fear, but that’s just life.
Richard Carmona Gives Keynote Speech at Border Academy

Trauma Care Is Focus of Fifth Annual Summer Seminar

The Border Academy, a summer seminar for health care professionals and students, took place in Tucson during the summer at the Westward Look Resort.

The Border Academy's faculty included practicing physicians and other medical and public health professionals with expertise in trauma care from Mexico and the United States.

Dr. Richard Carmona, who was later named United States Surgeon General, delivered the keynote address to the audience of medical students, physicians, health care workers, researchers, and other members of the Tucson community.

Other speakers included Drs. Terence Valenzuela and Frank Walter of the University of Arizona Dept. of Emergency Medicine; Dr. Miguel Fernández of the University of Texas Health Sciences Center, San Antonio; Drs. Juan Miguel Reyes Amézcuca and Maricela Zárate Gómez of the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León; and Gerald Perry, head of Information Services at the Arizona Health Sciences Library.

The intensive, four-day seminar, which focused on emergency medicine in the U.S.-Mexico border region, included a day-long tour of health-related facilities and colonias in the ambos Nogales area of southern Arizona and northern Sonora. The tour was conducted by BorderLinks, a Tucson-based organization that began providing educational seminars on U.S.-Mexico border issues in 1987.

The Academy was sponsored by the Arizona Hispanic Center of Excellence, which was a joint project of the MASRC and the UA College of Medicine.

Dr. Richard Carmona is flanked by Border Academy students. Medical students attending the four-day seminar came from the UA, Stanford University, the University of California, Berkeley, UC Davis, UC Irvine, and UC San Francisco. (Photo: Tom Gelsinon)
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