

En dedicación

This book is dedicated to those who have helped prepare the way and made possible our coming together now to express our needs and our common purpose...

los viejitos,

los migrantes,

los huelgistas,

los guarachistas,

los estudiantes de los walkouts,

los que murieron en las guerras extranjeras, y en las calles del barrio,

los encarcelados injustamente por ser Latinos,

los que viven para el futuro de sus hijos,

y los pobres.

INTRODUCTION

We mutually pledge...

It is entirely appropriate two hundred and one years after those words made history that another group of Americans raise them once again as a rallying cry.

"We mutually pledge," was said in outright rejection of foreign dominance by the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence. The words are spoken today by the Hispanic peoples of the United States as a confirmation of our allegiance to the United States and to each other. Rather than calling for separation, however, the peoples of Hispanic heritage hereby demand full acceptance, full rights, and full responsibility, no less than the colonialists demanded individual rights and freedom, with sovereignty as a single nation.

The document before you represents a working paper, a manual, a check list--the first expression of a joint effort by various Hispanic groups from throughout the United States, formulating a plan of action that would cover broad but essential areas of need and within a certain timetable.

We Mutually Pledge is dedicated to those who have prepared the way. This document represents a step in the evolution of the Hispanic American from faceless, divided and formless masses of people to that of a nation within a nation. We are conscious that our growing numbers will soon make the Hispanic people the second largest cultural/nationality group in the United States. We are aware of the bonds we have with other Spanish-speaking countries, that we, in fact, have made America rank as the fourth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world.

It was this growing sense of community within the United States and across national boundaries that the idea for a National Hispanic Leadership Conference was born. In a way, the concept for building Latino unity through some process of identifying common goals and action is not new. It may even be perceived as part of a historical and evolutionary process for peoples with common cultural and social roots who find themselves relegated to less than equal, less than first-class status in a society. At any rate this book represents part of that process of discovery and of self-expression toward the goal of self-development and full citizenship.

This book is addressed as much to the top Administration of the Nation as to the Latino of the city and rural barrio; it is directed to all those in-between, the official decisionmakers in the private and government sectors and to the indecisive ones who seek guidance about the nature and direction of the Latino movement.

The steps leading to the Dallas Conference began at the American G.I. Forum in 1976. Various groups, particularly IMAGE, the national Hispanic government employees' organization, sought funding for a national planning conference. However, it was the Dallas-Fort Worth Council of Spanish-Speaking Coordinators which took the idea and initiated a phased plan for its realization.

Phase One took place on May 2nd, 1977, in San Antonio, Texas, with a day-long discussion among 29 Latinos that resulted in the identification of eight subject areas, names of presentors and a larger list of potential participants. The word began to spread immediately; some persons could come, others could not, of course. But as the opening day of the Conference approached, the prospects were extremely high for a representative and productive session.

Phase Two was the Conference itself, held in the Airport Marina Hotel at the Dallas Airport on July 20th, 21st, and 22nd, 1977.

Not everyone could have been invited to that Conference who might have had something very worthwhile to say. Not everyone invited was able to come. And not all the numerous strains within the vast confluence of Hispanic American culture and thought could have been represented. Certainly, there was no conscious effort by the planning group to exclude anyone. Perhaps the steering committee itself was not representative enough to be able to conceive of all the facets of the Latino community which may exist. To have done so, in fact, might have made the conduct of a working conference impossible. All of these shortcomings and barriers were recognized; an effort was made to respond to as many of these problems as possible, but in the end, the significance of the event itself pushed the planning ahead.

Otherwise, there may have resulted a repetition of past efforts, where, with all the best intentions, such as the Unidos Conference in October 1971, we had met, grumbled, vented a lot of frustration and then parted with only a souvenir poster or program to show for the work. We had not been ready as a people in 1971 to set aside regional differences and ideological barriers. In 1977, we all tend to agree, Latinos have come a long way and the staging of a national planning conference was an idea whose time had come.

In many respects, the Dallas Conference followed traditional procedures. The presentation of papers was first on the agenda with eight separate panels set up by the planners. Participants were assigned in such a way that, during the course of the sessions, each could attend three panels, including one of their choice.

However, some effective dynamics were added that brought the Conference out of the ordinary. Two or three persons were continuously moving from session to session to observe progress and to report on their observations at meal breaks. There were no keynote speakers; each moderator of a panel reported to the entire assembly after each series of meetings concluded, also during the meal breaks. A professional recorder was assigned to every panel to assure adequate documentation of the proceedings.

Perhaps the most telling feature of the entire period was the innovational provision of workshops for the specific development of actions in each topic area, utilizing the papers and reaction panels as starting points. Most of the recommendations listed here resulted entirely from these workshops, rather than from the official papers.

Each work group was charged with establishing action items within specific guidelines. For a while as the workshops began to orient themselves, the participants could not seem to get untracked from the standard "queja" session of the past. By sheer determination, however, each group did evolve a set of action recommendations: the depth and quality of the actions developed by the panels varies. Some groups seemed to have gotten into the methodology quite easily; others stuttered into activity themselves, so that by and large the actions assembled represent admittedly a point of departure rather than a fully precise and totally rigid formula for action. In truth, the conference planners never intended that out of this Conference would come the ultimate answer. Rather, the Conference would set the stage for the future.

For the record, we include a breakdown of the Conference agenda and the format which panels sought to follow in creating a list of recommendations.

Media: Turning On America to the Latino News

This paper was prepared in draft by Domingo Reyes of Washington, D.C. and revised in joint session with the resource panel which included: Marta Sotomayor, moderator, Charles Rivera, Jay Rodriguez, Francisco J. Lewels, Leo Duron, and Ricardo Chavira. Supplementary material was provided by Joseph M. Aguayo of New York City, and the editor.

Preamble: Of fundamental importance in resolving all problems relating to Latinos is the ability to communicate these problems and solutions, not only to ourselves, but to the dominant society. This means that Latinos must recognize the urgent need to develop the skills and understanding necessary to make effective use of the media. The fact that Hispanics are an invisible minority cannot be blamed entirely on the mass media. We must accept much of the blame ourselves. If we are to shake off this cloak of invisibility, we must thrust ourselves and our problems boldly upon the American public.

In doing so, we must be prepared to use the established media of communication and to create our own media in our own native language and with our own code of conduct. Both types of media must be held accountable to the Hispanic American audience. In particular, those media which earn their livelihood in our communities should share the fruits of their harvest with the community.

The recommendations which we submit evolve from this philosophy. But the central question that remains to be answered is: Who will take the responsibility for carrying out these far-reaching goals? It is of major importance that this question be answered, for if it is not, our labors here will be in vain. We fully recognize that it is one thing to create a plan of action and quite another to carry it out.

Present Realities of the Media Marketplace*

This history of the media's response to Hispanic Americans is far too dark for me to muddle the issue with tall tales about employment projections. Let the facts speak for themselves:

In the Industry¹

Out of a total of 125,275 persons in the workforce in the broadcasting industry, Hispanic Americans held only 4,544 jobs. Of these figures, Hispanic Americans in the service category alone held almost as many jobs as the four categories of managers, professionals, technicians, and sales personnel combined. Hispanic American women held about one-third of the total jobs in all categories.

*From the draft paper by Reyes.

¹FCC Reports: "Women and minorities continue upward climb in higher broadcasting jobs," April 4, 1977-B.

Out of a workforce of 15,450 at the National Broadcast Headquarters of CBS, NBC, ABC, PBS, and NPR, Hispanic Americans held a total of 517 jobs. Of those jobs, laborers constituted as many persons (7.7%) in the workforce as the combined total of managers, professionals, technicians, and sales workers combined. Hispanic American women represented roughly about one-third of the total employees. Most of the women are found in clerical and office jobs.

Out of a total 43,792 persons employed in the commercial television workforce, Hispanic Americans were represented in only 1,808 jobs, or about a 20 to one ratio of Hispanics to all others employed.

From these same figures, laborers and service personnel (16.7%) represented almost as many as the total for managers, professionals, technicians, sales personnel, office and clerical personnel combined (18.8%).

Out of a workforce in commercial radio numbering 51,152, Hispanic Americans represented about 3.2 percent of the total employed (1,648). However, for the first time, the technical, clerical, and office categories indicated considerably better representation across the board.

The better showing is probably related to a distortion in the comingling of Puerto Rican broadcasting statistics with U.S. figures. In all fairness, you'd expect Hispanic Americans to do better on their own turf. (Puerto Ricans are not a minority in Puerto Rico.) When it comes to ownership of Spanish language radio, a truer picture is likely to be reflected.

Out of almost 300 radio stations in the U.S. who profess to program to the Hispanic American community, 85 are in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico has 15 TV stations, and there are about 12 TV stations in the U.S. that program primarily in Spanish.

The Public Broadcast Industry

Rampant employment discrimination exists throughout the public broadcasting industry, aided and abetted by inadequate compliance enforcement by relevant federal departments and agencies, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). The following data is based on hearings before the Subcommittee on Communications of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 94th Congress, Second Session, on the Enforcement of Equal Employment Opportunities and Antidiscrimination Laws in Public Broadcasting, August 9 and 10, 1976, Serial No. 94-139.

Almost 50% of noncommercial public radio stations receiving federal community service grant funds through CPB fail to employ any minority persons on a full-time basis. Thirty or 16.2% of the 145 CPB TV grantees reporting do not employ a single minority group member full-time in any capacity, and 58 or 31.4% fall below the minority representation in their service areas.

Some 66.7% of the individual TV stations in seven CPB-funded state TV networks in the South, the Northeast, and the Midwest employed no minority group members.

The Latino Market in Broadcasting**

Whereas March 1976 Census tabulations place the national Latino market at 11.1 million, still other federal agencies such as the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service note that from 1970 to 1976 some nine million illegal Hispanics have reached U.S. shores at the rate of 1.5 million per year. Adding the 3.1 million U.S. citizens of Puerto Rico gives an actual total of 23 million Latinos across the nation!

This same group of 23 million spends more than \$20 billion per year on consumer goods which are advertised primarily through the TV, radio, and newspaper media - as does most of the U.S. public.

It is important to note that the distribution of Latinos across the nation, and in particular the Northeast region, corresponds to the top 50 TV, radio, and newspaper markets of the nation.

Media Habits of the Latino Family

The typical Latino household is young, with a median age of 20.7 years as compared to 28.6 years for the U.S. family. Its median income in 1975 was \$9,600 as compared to \$8,779 for the black family and \$13,700 for the average U.S. family.

Consumer spending habits of the Latino family are 10% above those of U.S. families.

Radio and television are the favorite at-home pastimes for the typical Latino family. Various regional surveys both in New York and Los Angeles indicate that 95% of Latino households are reached by radio, with 51% of those families surveyed preferring Spanish language programming to English. Television viewing is quite popular as well. Whereas, over two-thirds of those families interviewed watch both English and Spanish programming, a full 71% of those families still preferred television programs in Spanish. Almost 30% indicated a preference for English language programming.

Broadcasting and Communications Ownership by Latinos

Of the 954 TV stations in the U.S. as of mid-June of 1975, more than 100 provide some amount of Spanish language programming. The Spanish International Network (Channel 41 in New Jersey), with 11 affiliate stations, provides mostly Spanish language programming produced in Mexico for syndication through Central and South America and including Puerto Rico.

**From paper "The Nature of Radio and TV Broadcasting Media," by Joseph M. Aguayo, New York City, January 16, 1977.

In terms of the radio market, more than 200 stations broadcast in Spanish with programming for at least 30 hours per week. The number one radio and TV market of New York City has at least two stations with 24 and 18 hours of Spanish language only programming.

No Latino owns either a radio or a TV station. Although several attempts have been made, neither legal, financial and technical resources nor FCC policy have made it possible up to the present. Nonetheless, it is estimated that almost 60 radio and TV stations are owned or operated mostly by blacks throughout America.

Print Media***

More minority group persons are landing newsroom jobs, but the difference is still based on whether the applicant has in hand a degree in journalism. This is the main conclusion to be drawn from statistics developed by the Newspaper Fund.

Scholarship assistance has increased to about \$200,000 for 1974-75. But the amount is still relatively low when compared with the fact that minority group persons represent less than 1% of newsroom employees nationwide (as reported by the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1972).

The following are the Newspaper Fund's 1973 data on journalism schools and hiring patterns:

- 58.7% of newsroom employees hired after college are journalism majors and minors.
- 1,825 persons enter daily newspaper editorial department positions for the first time in a typical year; about 1,075 are from journalism departments or schools; about 530 have liberal arts degrees; only about 220 come directly from junior colleges, from high school or from dropping out of college.
- Only 25% of work toward a degree in the 60 accredited schools and departments of journalism is permitted to be in journalism; the rest must be in liberal arts.
- More than \$2 million in financial aid was offered in 1974-75 for college students in journalism or communications; about 10 percent of this amount is directed to scholarship aid for minority youth.
- The percentage of minority graduates entering daily newspapers increased from 14.8% in 1971 to 22% in 1972.

We gain an additional perspective - although from a quite different angle, although no less disturbing - of the Anglo majority media from the Newspaper Guild, the national union of newsroom reporters.

*** From Chicano Press, A Status Report on the Needs and Trends in Chicano Journalism, Armando B. Rendón, Washington, D.C., 1974. pp. 41-43.

On the basis of reports to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1971, Spanish-surnamed reporters represented .7% of newsroom staffs, and only .6% of management.

Even among clerical workers, Spanish-surnamed employees held only 2.2% of the jobs (of service workers, i.e., janitors, guards, etc., a mere 3.7% were Spanish-surnamed).

The Newspaper Guild, according to James M. Cesnik, Director of Research and Information, counts some 33,500 members, primarily among the daily newspapers. Here and there, some newspapers do conduct in-house minority training and upgrading programs.

The statistics represent primarily the large dailies since EEOC reports were required only of firms employing more than 100 employees or holding federal contracts of more than \$10,000.

One Perspective on Enlightened Self-Interest*

Behind the obvious lack of Latino presence in the media, most people say, is apathy and ignorance, perhaps. However, it is unfair to characterize the victimization of generations of Hispanic Americans with such a simplistic rationalization. Hispanic Americans, like other colonized and oppressed people, are not so foolhardy as to storm the Bastille or take to the trenches on the media, a cause so low in their priorities for survival. Pointing the finger of blame at our leadership for the present state of affairs is, in part, justified. Some of those here at this conference share the responsibility to change the present conditions.

Some whites, we may trust, still believe in justice and fair play. But we must first look at our community for action. No greater understanding nor basic moral and philosophical support will ever be available.

Let's begin with what we have: all media can and must do more for our community. Right now! But it means your involvement, your enlightened self-interest in solutions. We are either a part of the problem or can be a part of the solution. Common sense dictates that those who would prosper from the fruits of our toil should do right by us.

Spanish language media, particularly, should not be allowed to peddle the same old exploitation formats that consistently relegate us to a barrio of mediocrity.

We must have more news and public affairs programming, more editorials, and a greater generation of news for, by, and about the community.

"Rip and read" news will not do. A steady diet of Ranchero and Salsa cannot do. We must expect broadcasters to enlighten, upgrade, and promote excellence and an appreciation of our culture. We should hold radio and TV responsible for promoting our consumer and environmental interests.

TV and radio must be made available to the full panorama of consent and dissent in our community. Under our system of laws, we not only should demand a full treatment of the issues but should be willing to create an atmosphere that fosters more respect, voices, and role models for all of us to assess, reject, or approve. No one need fear the truth.

Correspondingly, we should expect that broadcast owners, management, and advertisers, those who serve in the public interest, convenience and necessity, need not fear boycotts or license challenges. Help us; we will support you.

When it comes to ascertainment, all of us should participate and make it clear that business as usual will not be tolerated!

It is imperative that we, as community-oriented media professionals, make our leadership aware of the role they must play in community ascertainment of the regulated media. Too often we have been bought off by a community luncheon or similar function by a cynical broadcast management. Our leadership fancies this exercise as some sort of progress or some new relevancy--quite the contrary. Ownership knows that we are so eager to relate that an ego trip achieves the same results--another license challenge opportunity blown, another permit to continue with business as usual.

What is my message? For the media professionals it is that they should begin to share their knowledge with the community. We must begin training our leadership to respond to the trick bag of the broadcasters.

And at license renewal time, seize the moment to negotiate forcefully for the relevancy we all want from media.

What Latinos Can Do For Ourselves and the Industry

We must help establish a concise definition of the term "minority" for use by station managers and programming personnel as it applies to Hispanic Americans; outline the basic objectives of programming for Hispanic Americans; and establish priorities for programming from our point of view.

If public and commercial broadcasting is to comprehend and then protect Hispanic American community concerns, they must have our help. If broadcasting is to report with understanding, wisdom, and sympathy on the successes, problems, and developments in our communities, it must employ, promote, and listen to Hispanic American personnel.

We need a good definition of minority programming such as the one in PTR: A program that is closely identified with the social, economic, and cultural experience of a minority group, and focuses on a need, or an interest of the specific minority group with which the program identifies. (Bilingual Programming for Latinos: The Media's Missing Link? PTR, July-August 1976).

We want:

- . National and local programming that reflects our cultural and multilingual lifestyles, values, and interests;
- . A high standard of quality in production; and
- . A higher level of involvement in planning and production of Hispanic American programming.

Program Priorities

Cultural programming to provide exposure to our diversified cultural lifestyles and reflect in a positive sense, the realism of life in local, regional and national communities. Public affairs programming to address and to place in the proper perspective those issues that affect our lives and communities. Educational programming to focus on the development of goal-oriented programs that motivate, as well as instruct, and lend themselves to our specific needs. Children's programming to emphasize the positive elements of life and focus on authenticity and diversity within our community.

We Want National Recognition

We want national recognition because we are a national people. We are a national people which will have a tremendous impact on the social order of this society. While the implications pose all kinds of problems for many, there may well be opportunities.

On the basis of an enlightened self-interest, we must at some point control the media and the product of the media. But we must serve all of the communities which the current owners have ignored. The most important thing is to communicate!

Postamble

It must be re-emphasized that the primary recommendation of this panel is the development of an awareness and an understanding of the media by all Hispanics. This means using the media to our advantage to counter the overwhelming apathy toward Latinos found in the mass media. Every opportunity to do so must be grasped and used. In this regard, let the experience here in Dallas serve as an example of what not to do.

It is the unanimous opinion of the media professionals on the media panel that this conference could have served as a vehicle for considerable and favorable publicity in the Dallas-Ft. Worth area. The failure to grasp this opportunity underlines this major problem and explains the order of priority placed upon this issue in our recommendations.

Reaction Summary

(Media)

If legal activism was thought vital by one panel to bring the Latinos' case before the courts, the media, in every form and in every locale was perceived as essential to placing our case before the American public. The media was reinforced as the means by which Latinos would cease talking to themselves and force the rest of America to tune in on our concerns.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the position paper, Francisco Lewells, professor in the Department of Communications at the University of Texas, El Paso, stated that getting more Latinos into media and more about Latinos in the media meant starting "at the local level...one of the things that can be done and should be done is to encourage Hispanic students in elementary and high schools to enter the field of communication and consider it as a career possibility. We do not have trouble placing Latinos with communication degrees. I feel that my part of this movement is to provide the media with the talent they are looking for."

The presenter of the media paper, Domingo Reyes, suggested that to develop the three trained communications specialists for every 30,000 population that we need, "If each one of us provided for an annual scholarship fund, a dollar from each one of us, we would have enough money to do the job. We could produce a radiothon to raise money to build our own institutions and build our own scholarship fund."

The presence of distortions of Latino affairs, the lack of Hispanic broadcasters and newswriters, the need for the provision of informational material in Spanish by private media and government agencies were other issues raised in a lengthy interchange of ideas and needs.

One participant suggested that at the community level, "immediate skills" are needed to get a local group's message across. "One thing is to have media workshops where community groups get together with professionals to learn the basics. You have to know how the people in the media think and how they work in order to be effective. Another thing at the local level would be to form media advisory groups to meet with media personnel, the owners and operators of the media, on a regular basis and sensitize them to the problems of the Latino community in that area. Now the time is right."

The speaker was referring to opportunities for license challenges in the east during 1979 and in the west in 1980. The preparation of license challenges, by which the license to operate a radio or television station granted by the Federal Communications Commission can be called into question by local groups, require months of planning, research and preparation of documentation before they can be filed, a panelist explained.

"License challenging, which has been done in every major city in the United States, and has been very effective, is a means of gaining some measure of control of the media," a panelist pointed out. "I don't

advise anybody taking the job on casually. It takes years of hard work and a lot of personal sacrifice. Broadcasters are working rather subversively to make sure that license challenging is a thing of the past. The National Association of Broadcasters is trying to get legislation passed favorable to broadcasters, unfavorable to minority groups. This legislation has congressmen lining up in support because they want to have broadcasters on their side come election time."

A panelist noted that newspapers had been carrying articles recently about illegal aliens making \$14,000 a year. "This is the kind of stuff that is being put out and we have to reply with letters to the editor. We should also pay attention to what is being published by the federal government. There are a lot of publications in Spanish, but do they get to the Spanish-speaking community, are they really backed up by services that can be provided in Spanish?"

The federal government, it was noted, has a responsibility to take advantage of the wealth of information within each agency and to approach the media to broadcast or to print in Spanish that information. Local organizations as well have a responsibility to contact the media, broadcasters and press to have materials published in Spanish and to have programming in Spanish or with Spanish subtitles.

Carlos Esparza, director of the Spanish Speaking Program of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, spoke up: "Sometime ago the Civil Service Commission, our office, developed a series of bilingual publications about jobs, job hunting and so on. Then we had them distributed through Job Information Centers throughout the country, but it was a passive system, because we assumed that people knew that they were there.

"So we decided to initiate a mass media campaign, through radio stations especially because we felt this was the best medium and the cheapest one too. We also told all of our regional offices that we were going to undertake this project so they should expect a flood of calls and that they'd better be staffed with persons who could speak Spanish. And we got many Latinos into those Job Information Centers very quickly and had bilingual staff ready for them. The whole program contributed a great deal to helping some Latinos get jobs."

A word of caution came from another panelist: "If we simply expect translations to reflect the relevancy on the part of the stations to our community's needs, that is not enough. If that's all the stations do for us, then I think we may be losing sight of what their total responsibility should be.

"We don't want just translations. We want our people working on them, and in the picture. We want them reporting the news; we want programs for ourselves. We need translations of materials, of course, but we also need a commitment from the stations to regard us as a people worthy of first class broadcasts and not just translations."

A participant from New Mexico related that a study conducted by a state agency there had concluded that some 30 positions should be staffed by bilingual persons because of the need to provide service to a

non-English speaking client. The same procedure, via a study, could be launched by the Administration, he suggested, to identify positions through key contact agencies with substantial public contact to identify positions where bilingual persons should be assigned to serve in a language other than English appropriate to that area.

Rounding off the comments of all the panelists, a participant spoke on the issue of the Latinos' national image. She asserted: "We can no longer afford to be fragmented before the American public. We just can't allow ourselves to be so damn parochial and to talk about Chicanos or Puerto Ricans. Let us not leave this place without having emphasized the importance of having unity or coalition in the fact that we are all Hispanic Americans."

It was suggested that Latino business owners unite at the local level and exercise their economic pressure to sway the attitudes of media owners. "We have to remember," one of the panelists said, "that the media owners are primarily concerned with money. If you can communicate with them on those terms, then they will listen."

Charles Rivera, editor of *Nuestro*, a national Latino magazine, added that the necessity for communicating with the media itself raises a number of questions. "There is a danger inherent in proposing, either in terms of the print or electronic media, that the Spanish-speaking element of our culture is perhaps the thing that should be focused upon as most important. The very use of the term, Spanish-speaking, by the federal bureaucracy and by the media presents us with a problem, because from their point of view, we are foreigners."

Rivera continued: "We don't refer to other Americans as Italian-speaking or Gaelic-speaking or Yiddish-speaking, even though the language is still used in the home. What is it that we propose to do to impact on the majority media? To the degree that the Anglo audience can understand what it is we're talking about, to that degree we're going to have more impact on our society." It is crucial, Rivera noted, "for Latinos as a group to have our children and other peoples understand that speaking two languages is not a disadvantage at all--it's an advantage!"