National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

DRAFT

Cesar Chavez

Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment

October 2011

We are pleased to provide you with this copy of the draft Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment.

The public comment period for this draft report will extend through November 8, 2011. We welcome your comments on the report, as well as your thoughts on how best to conserve the significance resources associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Please sent your comments to:

National Park Service
Cesar Chavez SRS
Park Planning and Environmental Compliance
333 Bush Street, Suite 500
San Francisco, CA 94104
Email: pwr_chavez@nps.gov
Website: www.nps.gov/pwro/chavez

We also will be hosting a series of public meetings in various locations during the Fall of 2011. At each of these meetings, we will present the key findings of the draft study report and environmental assessment, answer your questions, and provide opportunities for you to submit your comments. Check the study website for specific meeting dates, times, and locations.

A limited number of additional copies of this report are available from the address above. In addition, the Executive Summary and the full report are both posted on the website (see above for web address).

We appreciate your contributions to the study process so far, and we look forward to your comments on this draft report.

Photo credits
Front cover: Striking farm workers hold a demonstration on a lettuce field, Salinas, California, 1970. Original photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University.
Front inside cover: Demonstrators picket in front of a store, location unknown, December, 1973. Photo by Cesar Chavez, courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University.
Back inside cover: Demonstrators protest the arrest and prosecution of United Farm Worker (UFW) picketers outside of the Criminal Court, New York City in 1969. Photo by Larry Gross, courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University.
Back cover: A farmworker stacks crates of harvested grapes, date and location unknown. Photo by Cris Sanchez, courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University.

Please keep in mind that your comments are public information. If individuals submitting comments request that their names and/or addresses be withheld from public disclosure, this will be honored to the extend allowable by law. Such requests must be stated prominently at the beginning of correspondence and comments. As always, NPS will make available to public inspection all submissions from organizations or businesses and from persons identifying themselves as representatives or officials of organizations and businesses. Anonymous comments may not be considered.

DRAFT

Cesar Chavez

Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment

October 2011

National Park Service
Pacific West Region
San Francisco, California

Abstract

The National Park Service (NPS) is conducting the Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study to evaluate the significance, suitability, and feasibility of designating sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States as part of the national park system, and to determine whether such sites are eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or designation as a National Historic Landmark. Congress authorized this study in 2008.

Through the study process, the NPS is making the following determinations:

- The study team evaluated over 100 sites significant to Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement in the western United States. Of these sites, five have preliminarily been found to be **nationally significant**: the Forty Acres National Historic Landmark ((NHL) Delano, CA); Filipino Community Hall (Delano, CA); Nuestra Senora Reina de la Paz (Keene, CA); the Santa Rita Center (Phoenix, AZ) and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route. The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route also meets eligibility criteria for designation as a national historic trail.
- The nationally significant sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States depict a distinct and important aspect of American history associated with civil rights and labor movements that is not adequately represented or protected elsewhere and are therefore **suitable** for inclusion in the National Park System.
- A partnership-based national park unit or technical assistance program which provides opportunities for collaborative management to protect cultural resources, provide public access, interpretation, and educational opportunities at certain sites associated with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement is a **feasible** addition to the national park system.
- There is a **need for NPS management** to achieve partnership-based protection of significant resources and enhanced visitor appreciation of the important resources and stories associated with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Five management alternatives were developed to explore a range of approaches to manage, protect, or restore significant resources and to provide or enhance public use and enjoyment.

- **Alternative A: Continuation of Current Management.** Sites, organizations, and programs significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement would continue to operate independently without additional NPS management or assistance other than that available through existing authorities.
- **Alternative B: National Network.** Congress would establish a farm labor movement network to facilitate preservation and education efforts related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Coordinated by the NPS, the program would consist of an integrated network of historic sites, museums and interpretive programs, coordinated with national, regional and local organizations.
- **Alternative C: National Historic Trail.** Congress would establish a new national historic trail (NHT) that would commemorate the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march.
- **Alternative D: National Historic Site.** Congress would establish a national historic site (NHS) at the Forty Acres in Delano, CA as a unit of the national park system that would preserve and interpret resources significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.
- **Alternative E: National Historical Park.** Congress would establish a national historical park (NHP) that would incorporate nationally significant sites in California and Arizona related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. These sites would include the Forty Acres, Filipino Community Hall, Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (La Paz) and the Santa Rita Center. The Secretary of the Interior would be authorized to add significant associated sites or districts to the national historical park that would be owned and operated by park partners.

The NPS has identified alternative E as the environmentally preferred alternative. Alternative E would protect the largest number of nationally significant resources, including opportunities for protection of the national historical park sites in perpetuity.

Contents

Executive Summary

Background and Study Process

The Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008 (P.L. 110-229, May 2008) authorized the National Park Service to conduct a special resource study of sites that are significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States.

The overall purpose of this study is to evaluate the significance and suitability of sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, and the feasibility and appropriateness of a National Park Service (NPS) role in the management of any of these sites. Through the study process, the NPS identifies alternative strategies to manage, protect, or restore the resources, and to provide or enhance public use and enjoyment. These alternatives explore partnerships and efforts to protect important resources in ways that do not necessarily require the commitment of funds and staff by the NPS. This study will provide information to aid the Congress, the U.S. Department of Interior, and the National Park Service in determining whether designation of a unit of the national park system is desirable and appropriate. The legislation authorizing this study specifically directs the NPS to determine appropriate methods for preserving and interpreting the sites and whether any of the sites meet the criteria for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or designation as a National Historic Landmark. The NPS, with assistance from the Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton (COPH), investigated nearly 100 sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Legislative and Policy Direction

Several laws and policies outline the criteria for units of the national park system. The National Park System New Area Studies Act and NPS management policies establish the basic process for NPS studies of potential new national park areas. According to NPS management policies, a proposed addition to the national park system will receive a favorable recommendation from the NPS only if it meets all of the following four criteria for inclusion:

- it possesses nationally significant natural or cultural resources;
- it is a suitable addition to the system;
- it is a feasible addition to the system; and
- it requires direct NPS management, instead of alternative protection by other public agencies or the private sector.

These criteria are designed to ensure that the national park system includes only the most outstanding examples of the nation's natural and cultural resources, while recognizing that there are other management alternatives for preserving the nation's outstanding resources.

Alternatives for NPS management are developed for sites that meet all four of the criteria for inclusion.

Public Involvement

The NPS study team launched public scoping for this study in spring of 2011. In April 2011 the study team produced and distributed, mailed, or emailed 1,900 newsletters to individuals, organizations, government officials, and the media. Newsletters were available in English and Spanish. The purpose of public scoping was to introduce the study, explain the process to community members and others, and solicit comments on issues the study should address. The newsletter was published and made available for comment on the National Park Service's Planning, Environment and Public Comment (PEPC) website. The comment period extended to June 16, 2011, thirty days after publication of the notice of scoping in the Federal Register. Comments received after this date were also accepted.

Press releases announcing the beginning of the study process and the public meeting schedule were distributed to local media. Numerous articles and opinion pieces about the study have appeared in area newspapers.

All information sent by mail or e-mail has also been available on the study website site at www.nps.gov/pwro/chavez. Updates and information about the study process were also made

available on the study's Facebook page at facebook.com/chavezstudy.

In May 2011, the study team held a series of public scoping meeting in California and Arizona. Public scoping meetings were well attended by approximately 240 people and held in San Jose, Salinas, Los Angeles, Oxnard, Coachella, Delano, (CA), and Phoenix and Yuma (AZ). Spanish translation was available at all meetings. The study team also consulted with representatives of the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation, the Filipino Community of Delano, Inc., the United Farm Workers, the Chavez Family Vision, and Chicanos Por La Causa during the course of this study, including local, state and federal government officials.

In addition to comments received at the public scoping meetings, the NPS received approximately 65 comments via written letters and through e-mail. Most of these comments expressed a desire to see a national park system unit with interpretive and education programs and partnership opportunities.

Study Sites

The National Park Service partnered with the Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton (COPH) to identify sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement and evaluate their significance.

COPH faculty and students developed a preliminary list of 84 sites based on information obtained through personal interviews, books and essays written in the 1960s and 1970s, declassified FBI surveillance files, newspapers, and photographs. They then conducted site visits to determine current conditions and integrity of the sites. The research team noted in their report the challenges of documenting sites associated with transitory events and activities (such as marches or picket lines). They observed that many sites associated with important events have changed dramatically in the years since the events, and therefore retain less historic integrity. The research team also noted in their report their expectation that additional significant sites will likely be found as information is gathered through the NPS study process. The research was completed between October 2009 and December 2010. Information has been added and revised based on contributions obtained during public scoping and subsequent research.

Study Findings

National Significance

The National Park Service (NPS) uses four basic criteria to evaluate the significance of proposed areas. These criteria, listed in the National Park Service *Management Policies*, state that a resource is nationally significant if it meets all of the following conditions:

- It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
- It possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.
- It offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment, or for scientific study.
- It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource.

The NPS evaluates national significance for cultural resources by applying the national historic landmarks (NHL) criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 65 (Appendix D).

National Park Service professionals consult with subject matter experts, scholars, and scientists, in determining whether a study area is nationally significant. Resource experts and scholars, within and beyond the NPS, contributed expertise, research, and technical review of the statement of significance.

Nationally Significant Sites

The NPS finds that five sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are nationally significant. The Forty Acres National Historic Landmark (NHL), Filipino Community Hall, the Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz, the Santa Rita Center and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route meet NHL criteria and retain a high degree of integrity for each attribute used to evaluate integrity for National Historic Landmarks: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The 1966 March Route also meets eligibility criteria for a national historic trail.

- **The Forty Acres NHL (Delano, CA)** - The National Farmworkers Service Center acquired this property in 1966, and this organization and its successors proceeded to build a service station, multipurpose hall, health clinic, and retirement housing. Cesar Chavez conducted

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- **The Forty Acres NHL (Delano, CA)** - The National Farmworkers Service Center acquired this property in 1966, and this organization and its successors proceeded to build a service station, multipurpose hall, health clinic, and retirement housing. Cesar Chavez conducted

his 1968 fast in the service station building, and his 1988 fast in the retirement village. The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee was headquartered at the Forty Acres from 1969-71, and the contracts that ended the 1966-70 strike against Delano-area growers were signed here. Many public events and rallies were based at the Forty Acres. As a property purchased, built, and used by farm workers, the Forty Acres embodies the farm labor movement itself. Forty Acres was designated a National Historic Landmark in 2008. It continues to function as a United Farm Workers (UFW) field office.

- **Filipino Community Hall (Delano, CA)** - On September 8, 1965, Filipino American farm workers led by Larry Itliong and affiliated with the AFLCIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) gathered in this building and voted to go on strike against Delano table-grape growers. When members of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) voted to join the AWOC strike eight days later the Filipino Hall became the joint strike headquarters. The hall hosted important visits by United Auto Workers' President Walter Reuther, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and other influential supporters, and became a symbol of the farm labor movement's multi-racial unity during the 1960s.

- **Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (Keene, CA)** - Between 1970 and 1984, the farm labor movement transitioned into a modern labor union, the UFW. This union secured unprecedented gains during these years which were closely associated with La Paz. The property supported not only the UFW headquarters and Cesar Chavez's residence, but also the thousands of union members who came to La Paz to help devise organizing strategies, to receive training, and to strengthen their sense of solidarity. Upon his death in 1993, Chavez was buried at La Paz.

- **Santa Rita Center (Phoenix, AZ)** - Cesar Chavez undertook a 24-day fast in May 1972 to protest an Arizona law that limited farm workers' rights to conduct strikes and boycotts and to publicize a campaign to recall the governor of Arizona. Thousands of Arizona farm workers, and influential supporters such as Coretta Scott King, came to the Santa Rita Center to participate in rallies, celebrate nightly Masses, give voice to the movement's newly adopted slogan "Si Se Puede!" and pledge their support for *La Causa.*

- **1966 March Route (Delano to Sacramento, CA)** - This march was a milestone event in the history of the farm labor movement. More than one hundred men and women set out from Delano on March 17, 1966, and thousands of farm workers and their families joined in for short stretches along the way. The march route passed through forty-two cities and towns of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as vast stretches of the agricultural landscape. By the time the marchers entered Sacramento on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1966, the farm worker movement had secured a contract and attracted new waves of support from across the country.

Potential Nationally Significant Sites - Additional Research Needed		
An additional 11 sites are nationally significant for their association with Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement, but need further research to assess their integrity and determine whether they fully meet National Historic Landmark criteria. Many of these sites represent major aspects of the historic context that are not represented by the five NHL-eligible sites above. These 11 sites include:		
Property / Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
McDonnell Hall, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church	San Jose, CA	During the early 1950s Chavez worked with priest and mentor Father Donald McDonnell at the church building, now known as McDonnell Hall, to support local migrant farm workers and galvanize community organizing.
Monterey County Jail	Salinas, CA	Cesar Chavez was jailed here for 20 days in 1970 for refusing to call off a lettuce boycott. The jail became the focus of marches, rallies, and national media coverage. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2004.
St. Mary's Catholic Church	Stockton, CA	St. Mary's Catholic Church is significant for its association with Dolores Huerta and CSO organizing.
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	Delano, CA	Cesar Chavez and his family lived here from 1962-71; the house also served as the first headquarters of the FWA.
Baptist Church ("Negrito Hall")	Delano, CA	This small church building became a strike headquarters for the 1965-70 Delano grape strike.
NFWA Office (Albany Street)	Delano, CA	Headquarters of the FWA and its successor organizations from 1963-69.
People's Bar and Café	Delano, CA	During the 1960s and 1970s, People's Bar and Café served as the central gathering place in Delano for union volunteers.
Arvin Farm Labor Center	Bakersfield, CA	Established as a migrant labor camp in 1936, this site remained in use as farm worker housing into the 1960s. The Kern County Housing Authority now manages the site. Three buildings are on the NRHP.
UFW Field Office ("El Hoyo")	Calexico, CA	Served as a UFW office and hiring hall in the 1970s; thousands gathered at El Hoyo to mourn the fatal shooting of Rufino Contreras during the lettuce strike of 1979.
Chavez Family Homestead Site	Yuma, AZ	Chavez lived in the adobe farmhouse on his grandparents' homestead in the Gila River Valley from 1932 until the family lost the property and moved to California in 1939.
UFW Field Office	San Luis, AZ	The UFW opened this office during the early 1970s and from this site led melon workers on strike.

Sites Potentially Eligible for Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places		
Twenty-four sites appear eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), most likely at the state or local level of significance. To be eligible, a site must be associated with an important aspect of history, and retain adequate integrity. With additional research, more sites may prove eligible for nomination to the NRHP. In many cases, more information is needed about integrity and historic location. These 24 sites include:		
Property / Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
San Francisco Labor Temple	San Francisco, CA	Boycott organizing center during the late 1960s.
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	San Jose, CA	Cesar Chavez and his family lived here in the early 1950s when he began organizing for the CSO.
Mexican American Political Association Office	Salinas, CA	Salinas Valley strike headquarters in 1970.
UFW Legal Offices	Salinas, CA	Legal offices for the UFW during the 1970s.
El Teatro Campesino	San Juan Bautista, CA	El Teatro Campesino performed songs and skits for and with farmworkers at Friday night meetings and on the picket lines.
El Centro Campesino Cultural	Fresno, CA	Headquarters of El Teatro Campesino between 1969 and 1971.
Graceada Park	Modesto, CA	1975 march from San Francisco to the Gallo Brothers (grape growers) culminated here.
Woodville Farm Labor Center	Porterville, CA	Location of FWA rent strike against the Tulare Housing Authority.
Linnell Farm Labor Center	Visalia, CA	Location of FWA rent strike against the Tulare Housing Authority.
Fresno County Jail	Fresno, CA	In 1973, more than two thousand UFW members and supporters were sent to the Fresno County Jail, including 76-year-old Catholic activist and writer, Dorothy Day.
Stardust Motel	Delano, CA	The motel was the site of pivotal negotiations at the beginning and end of the 1965-70 Delano grape strike.
Larry Itliong Residence	Delano, CA	Itliong was a long-time labor leader and resident of Delano who led the AWOC into launching the Delano strike in September 1965.
Kern County Superior Court Building	Bakersfield, CA	Site of many hearings for arrested strikers. Cesar Chavez was brought to this courthouse in 1968 during his first public fast to respond to contempt of court charges related to the Delano grape strike. The judge's favorable decision marked an important turning point in the court's attitude towards the union.

Sites Potentially Eligible for Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places		
Property / Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	Oxnard, CA	The Chavez family rented this house during the late 1950s.
NFWA Office	Oxnard, CA	1966 office of the NFWA.
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	Los Angeles, CA	Chavez lived here for most of his tenure as executive director of the CSO, 1959 to 1962.
Boycott House (Harvard House	Los Angeles, CA	Boycott headquarters during the 1960s.
La Iglesia de Nuestra Senora Reina de Los Angeles (“La Placita” Church)	Los Angeles, CA	Chavez attended mass and did organizing at this location. Built in the 1860s, it has California Historic Landmark status.
Church of the Epiphany	Los Angeles, CA	Cesar Chavez attended mass and organized here.
Veterans Park	Coachella, CA	The park served as UFWOC strike headquarters in the Coachella Valley in 1973.
Cesar Chavez Elementary School	Coachella, CA	This was the first public building in California named for Cesar Chavez, dedicated in1990.
Maria Hau Residence	San Luis, AZ	Chavez was staying at this home when he died in his sleep in April 1993.
Laguna School Building	Yuma, AZ	Cesar Chavez attended school here for much of his childhood.
Chavez General Store	Yuma, AZ	Cesar Chavez was born on this property in 1927.
The communities of Delano and San Jose, California contain a concentration of significant sites that may be eligible for both NHL and national register nomination and therefore possess exceptional opportunities to tell multiple aspects of the story of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.		

Suitability

To be considered suitable for addition to the national park system, an area must represent a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector.

Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type, while considering differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resource values. The comparative analysis also addresses rarity of the resources, interpretive and educational potential, and similar resources already protected in the national park system or in other public or private ownership. The comparison results in a determination of whether the proposed new area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resource protection or visitor use opportunities found in other comparably managed areas.

The NPS finds that nationally significant sites which represent Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States are suitable for inclusion in the National Park System. These sites depict a distinct and important aspect of American history associated with civil rights and labor movements that is not adequately represented or protected elsewhere.

Feasibility

To be feasible as a new unit of the national park system, an area must be: (1) of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park boundaries), and (2) capable of efficient administration by the National Park Service at a reasonable cost.
In evaluating feasibility, the NPS considers a variety of factors for a study area, such as the following:

- size
- boundary configurations
- current and potential uses of the study area and surrounding lands
- landownership patterns
- public enjoyment potential
- costs associated with acquisition, development, restoration, and operation
- access
- current and potential threats to the resources
- existing degradation of resources
- staffing requirements
- local planning and zoning
- the level of local and general public support (including landowners)
- the economic/socioeconomic impacts of designation as a unit of the national park system

The feasibility evaluation also considers the ability of the NPS to undertake new management responsibilities in light of current and projected availability of funding and personnel.

An overall evaluation of feasibility is made after taking into account all of the above factors.
Some management options are more feasible than others. The national park system includes many types of sites, a range of ownership and management approaches. The NPS also offers grant and technical assistance programs that help local communities achieve their goals for conservation and recreation. The five nationally significant sites each provide for the inclusion and protection of the primary resources; they include sufficient surrounding area to provide a proper setting for the resources; and they offer sufficient land for appropriate use and development, if needed. Current land uses, land ownership patterns, and planning and zoning would all support a range of NPS and partnership management approaches. Designation of a collaborative national park unit that works with property owners and local communities to protect the resources and provide public access, interpretation, education and other uses could be compatible with existing ownership patterns.

There is potential for public access and enjoyment among the significant sites and march route. Most sites are easily accessible from public roads, on major state or federal highways, and within a half a day's drive of major metropolitan areas. There are opportunities for a variety of visitor experiences at the sites and along the march route, and ample potential for development of additional visitor use opportunities.

Despite resource degradation and threats to a few sites, most sites contain resources of high integrity. These sites are not subject to resource degradation or threats that would preclude management as a unit of the national park system.

Significant public interest and support has been expressed during public scoping for the NPS to play a collaborative role in one or more nationally significant sites in partnership with other organizations and local communities. The social and economic impacts of NPS designation or other support/coordination role appear to be largely beneficial and would support the feasibility of NPS designation. Costs for establishment of a national park unit appear to be feasible, provided that partnership opportunities are pursued to support collaborative operations and development.

Based on the above analysis, a partnership-based national park unit or technical assistance program which provides opportunities for collaborative management to protect cultural resources, provide public access, interpretation, and educational opportunities at certain sites associated with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement is a feasible addition to the national park system.

Need for NPS Management

Determination of the need for NPS management is the final criterion for evaluating resources for potential designation as a new unit in the national park system. The criterion requires a finding that NPS management would be superior to alternative management arrangements by other entities.

Under all of the alternatives considered in this study, the majority of sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement would continue to be owned and operated by nonprofit organizations, private property owners, and local governments. The 300-mile long Delano to Sacramento march route primarily travels largely along public roads and rights of way. While many of the owners and managers of these sites are interested in long term preservation and public education, none of them provide the level of expertise in resource protection, visitor services and interpretation and education that could be offered by the NPS.

NPS partnerships with organizations and private property owners would provide enhanced opportunities for comprehensive interpretive planning, and coordinated site management to showcase the national significance of these sites. Development and cooperative management of interpretive programs and comprehensive visitor services with the NPS would be beneficial. The incorporation of multiple, predominantly privately owned sites would offer a superior visitor experience that allows the broadest understanding of the resources and stories relating to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

NPS planning and research capabilities, as well as historic preservation, cultural resource management and interpretive and educational programming expertise, would offer superior opportunities for the full range of sites to be preserved and interpreted. Depending on the selected alternative, disparate sites that are currently owned and managed by multiple entities would become parts of a cohesive national park experience and would become more accessible to a broader array of audiences.

The NPS finds that there is a need for NPS management in partnership with others to fully protect resources and to enhance visitor appreciation of the nationally significant resources and important stories associated with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Alternatives

Introduction

The following section describes a range of management alternatives that are being considered by the National Park Service (NPS) as part of the Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study.

The legislation authorizing this study specifically directs the NPS to determine appropriate methods for preserving and interpreting sites significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement; and whether any of these sites meet the criteria for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, designation as a National Historic Landmark or inclusion in the national park system.

Overview of the Alternatives

These alternatives are based on information gathered from public and stakeholder input, internal NPS discussions, historical research and management models used in national park units around the nation. The alternatives explore a range of possible actions including federal recognition of significant resources, technical assistance, and cooperative management and partnership with the NPS:

- **Alternative A: Continuation of Current Management**
- **Alternative B: National Network** of sites and programs related to the farm labor movement
- **Alternative C: National Historic Trail** following the route of the 1966 march from Delano to Sacramento
- **Alternative D: National Historic Site** focused on the Forty Acres site in Delano, CA.
- **Alternative E: National Historical Park** incorporating nationally significant sites in California and Arizona

Historic sites must meet the National Historic Landmark (NHL) eligibility criteria for national significance to be considered for national park status. Our findings indicate that five sites, including the Forty Acres (a designated NHL), Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz, Filipino Community Hall, the Santa Rita Center, and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route meet these criteria. An additional 11 sites meet some of the NHL criteria, but require further research to determine eligibility. Twenty-four sites appear eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. There are many other sites that are important to the farm labor movement and the life and work of Cesar Chavez. Over 100 sites have been identified through this special resource study.

The alternatives described here include traditional national park service management of nationally significant historic sites, as well as a range of programs and services that provide recognition, technical assistance, and interpretive opportunities at other important sites.

For each alternative there is a description of the overall concept and key elements of the alternative, including management approaches, resource protection, visitor services, and the role of organizations and public agencies. A map of each alternative is also included to illustrate the concepts discussed in the alternatives.

ITEMS COMMON TO ALL ACTION ALTERNATIVES

The following actions would apply to all of the action alternatives (alternatives B-E).

- The NPS would provide recognition and technical assistance for telling the story of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.
- Interpretation and educational programs would present a wide range of stories about the farm labor movement, told from multiple perspectives (e.g. Filipino, Mexican, growers, farm workers).
- Interpretation would be accessible and relevant to diverse audiences and multiple generations. Information would be presented in multiple languages.
- The NPS recognizes that most of the sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are owned by local government and private entities. Several of the nationally significant sites continue to be used for farm labor efforts or community organizing. The NPS would work cooperatively and in partnership with existing landowners and provide technical assistance opportunities for interpretation and/or preservation of sites included in the various alternatives.

ALTERNATIVE A: CURRENT MANAGEMENT

Concept

Sites, organizations, and programs significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement would continue to operate independently without additional NPS management or assistance other than that available through existing authorities.

Definition

Under a “no action” alternative, current management of resources continues. Current programs and policies of existing federal, state, county and nonprofit organizations remain in place.

Management

Significant sites would continue to be owned and managed by their respective public and private owners. There would be no NPS staffing or operational support other than assistance under existing authorities if requested.

Resource Protection

The primary responsibility for preserving significant sites would fall to the current owners and managers of those sites including the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation, the United Farm Workers of America, the Filipino Community of Delano, Inc., local churches and organizations, private land owners, and

state and local authorities. Resource protection would be voluntary and dependent on property owners' initiative.
The Forty Acres NHL and sites currently listed on the NRHP would receive some level of protection, including opportunities for technical assistance and grants for preservation from existing programs.
Locally protected sites in Phoenix and San Jose would receive protection as defined by local preservation ordinances. Sites not listed or protected by local preservation ordinances could change use or ownership which could result in alterations to the structures and loss of integrity.
Sites identified as potentially eligible for NHL nomination or nomination to the NRHP would continue to be owned by various public and private entities. These sites would continue to function for private and public uses not related to the farm labor movement. Interpretation and conservation of such sites would be uncoordinated, at the discretion of the current landowner.

Visitor Experience

Communities and organizations that provide visitor opportunities to learn about the life of Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement would continue to provide visitor opportunities. For example, the National Chavez Center would continue to provide visitor opportunities at the La Paz visitor center and memorial garden and the City of San Jose would continue to provide signage and information for the self-guided Cesar Chavez Memorial Walkway.
The majority of sites identified as significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are not managed to provide visitor opportunities to learn about or experience these sites.

Operations and Maintenance

Operations and maintenance of existing sites would be assumed to remain at existing levels.

ALTERNATIVE B: NATIONAL NETWORK

Concept

Congress would establish a farm labor movement network to facilitate preservation and education efforts related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The program would consist of an integrated network of historic sites, museums and interpretive programs, coordinated with national, regional and local organizations.

Definition

A network program coordinates private, and local preservation and education efforts and facilitates the creation of an integrated network of historical sites, museums, and interpretive programs that have a verifiable association to its subject.

Examples:

- Underground Railroad Network to Freedom
- Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network

Proposed area

Significant sites, museums, and interpretive programs related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States would be eligible to participate in the network (See Map, *Alternative B: National Network*).

Management

The NPS would evaluate sites and programs nominated for inclusion in the network for their association to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.
Elements of the network, such as historical sites and museums, would continue to be owned and managed by their respective public and private owners.
The NPS would administer the program which would focus on:

- Education about the historic significance of the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement
- Technical assistance to organizations that identify, document, preserve and interpret significant sites or that develop or operate interpretive or educational programs or facilities
- Matching grants for research, preservation efforts, and interpretive programs
- Coordination of network sites, programs and facilities.

Resource Protection

The primary responsibility for preserving significant sites would fall to current owners and managers of those sites including the Chavez Foundation, the UFW, local churches and organizations, private landowners, and state and local authorities. Resource protection would be voluntary and dependent on property owners' initiative. The NPS would offer technical assistance to preserve historic structures and landscapes.

Inclusion of a site or program in the network would recognize its association with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. This

recognition could be used by advocates to leverage preservation and commemorative efforts. However, inclusion in the network would not assure preservation or resource protection.

Visitor Experience

In alternative B, there would be no NPS visitor center or established presence at any of the significant sites. Network members would have primary responsibility for providing opportunities for visitors to learn about or experience sites and stories.

The NPS would support education and interpretation efforts through technical and financial assistance associated with NPS administration of the program. The NPS would work with network members to provide coordinated information about visitor opportunities through a website, brochures, etc.

Operations and Maintenance

Staffing
A farm labor movement network would likely be managed from NPS regional offices and/or nearby national park units in the areas with the largest concentrations of related sites and programs. The NPS staffing for the network could include a network program coordinator, regional program coordinators, administrative support, an interpretive specialist, and a historic preservation specialist.

Facilities
All facilities, sites and programs participating in this network would remain under their existing ownership and management. Participation in the network would be completely voluntary.

Funding and Costs
NPS coordination of the farm labor movement network and financial and technical assistance would be funded through federal appropriations as part of the annual NPS budget. Any financial assistance provided to network participants would be on a matching basis that would require some level of non-federal funding or in-kind services to match the federal funds. While no formal estimates of operating costs have been completed for this study, based on the breadth of the sites and programs that could be eligible to participate in this network, and the types of services and assistance proposed, the annual cost of NPS operations for the network could be expected to be $400,000 to $600,000. The estimated operational budget would primarily fund NPS salaries for coordination and technical assistance, and financial assistance to network participants.

ALTERNATIVE C: NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Concept

Congress would establish a new national historic trail (NHT) as a unit of the national trails system. The trail would commemorate the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route. It would follow the historic route, recognizing associated historic resources significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement for public use and enjoyment.

Definition

A national historic trail follows an original trail or travel route of historic significance. National historic trails identify and protect a historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment.

There are specific NHT criteria that must be met, including significance of the route and potential for public appreciation.

Examples:

- Selma to Montgomery NHT
- Juan Bautista de Anza NHT
- Lewis and Clark NHT

Proposed Area

The NHT would include approximately 300 miles of primary and secondary roads in the San Joaquin Valley along which farm workers marched from Delano to Sacramento in 1966 (See Map, *Alternative C: National Historic Trail*).

Management

The NPS would administer the NHT. NPS responsibilities would include facilitating coordination among and between agencies and partner organizations.

The trail rights-of-way would continue to be owned by their respective public and private owners. Through partnership with owners and other interested parties, the NPS would engage in planning and marking the NHT; certifying qualifying segments as protected; supporting voluntary resource preservation and protection; and assisting with interpretation, educational programs, and visitor enjoyment of the trail.

The NHT could include a visitor center at the Forty Acres or the Filipino Community Hall staffed by the

NPS or by partners. Additional visitor information about the NHT would be located at a partner-based site in Sacramento, such as an existing museum or visitor facility. More visitor information could be offered at other locations along the route.

Resource Protection

The NPS would enter into agreements with landowners, private organizations and individuals to provide the necessary trail rights-of-way for the NHT. If portions of the historic trail are located on federally owned lands and meet the national historic trail criteria, they could be included as federally protected components of the NHT. The NPS could also acquire or accept dedications of rights-of-way for the NHT. Other lands included in the NHT could be certified as protected segments if they meet NHT criteria and if the landowner voluntarily applies for certification. Preservation of significant sites along the trail would be encouraged; however NHT designation would not assure preservation or resource protection.

Visitor Experience

Visitors could experience the trail in segments or as a longer trip. One or more visitor centers operated by the NPS or partners would provide interpretation and visitor services. A virtual visitor center would use emergent technologies to provide information about the NHT and farm labor movement stories.

Local communities along the trail could collaborate to develop tour itineraries that identify destinations along the trail route. Managers of significant sites along the route could choose to make the sites available to visitors.

Operations and Maintenance

Staffing

A national historic trail would be staffed initially by a trail superintendent, supplemented over time by additional staff as funding became available. A comprehensive management plan would identify trail priorities, management emphases, and required staffing for a 15-20 year timeframe.

Some positions might be seasonal, temporary, or shared with nearby parks. In addition, partner organizations would likely retain staff, with types and numbers dependent on the functions provided by these partners. Types of partner functions might include staffing a visitor contact station, running a museum, developing and implementing educational programs.

Land Acquisition

The NPS would acquire little or no land as part of a national historic trail. The trail would be marked on existing public land and rights of way, such as existing roads, freeways, and trails.

Operational and Visitor Facilities

Construction of new administrative facilities for NPS operations and management would not likely be required to support the national historic trail. The NPS could share administrative and operational facilities with partner organizations, or adaptively reuse historic structures. A comprehensive management plan for the trail would identify specific operational and visitor facility needs.

Funding and Costs

NPS management of this national historic trail would be funded through federal appropriations as part of the annual NPS budget. While no formal estimates of operating costs have been completed for this study, based on the size and scope of this trail, and the types of services and assistance proposed, the cost of NPS operations for the network could be expected to be $500,000 to $1,000,000. The estimated operational budget would primarily fund NPS salaries for identification and marking of the trail, interpretive and educational programs, outreach, and trail planning.

ALTERNATIVE D: NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Concept

Congress would establish a national historic site (NHS) as a unit of the national park system.

The national historic site would preserve and interpret resources significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement at the Forty Acres in Delano, CA.

Definition

A national historic site usually contains a single historical feature with a direct association to its subject. National historic sites preserve places and commemorate persons, events, and activities important in the nation's history.

Examples:

- Martin Luther King Jr. NHS
- John Muir NHS
- Hubbell Trading Post NHS

Proposed Area

The national historic site would include the 40 acres that comprise the Forty Acres National Historic Landmark (See Map, *Alternative D: National Historic Site*).

Management

The NPS would have primary responsibility for: 1) overall interpretation and education associated with the national historic site and its resources, including the development of interpretive media and programs; 2) community outreach and assistance in training of park volunteers in association with local organizations; and 3) technical assistance for resource preservation efforts for both the historic site and community-based resources in Delano.

The NPS would manage the Forty Acres in partnership with the Chavez Foundation, through management agreements for historic preservation, interpretation, and educational programs. The NPS would provide staffing to manage a visitor or education center, interpretive exhibits, and educational programs at the Forty Acres.

Resource Protection

The NPS and existing owners share in the protection and preservation of the Forty Acres. The NPS would work with the Delano community to assist property owners in interpreting and preserving significant sites.

Visitor Experience

Visitor opportunities to learn about the life of Cesar Chavez and the broader farm labor movement would be available at a visitor facility at the Forty Acres, which could be located in an existing building. The NPS would have a highly visible presence. Visitor services could include ranger-led and self-guided tours, exhibits, and interpretive and educational programs. Visitor opportunities could also include walking tours and waysides at other significant sites in Delano.

The Forty Acres could function as a research or education center for topics related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The NPS would partner with the owners to provide program development and exhibit design and construction. A virtual visitor center would use emergent technologies to provide information about the Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement stories. The NPS would play a primary role in developing curriculum about Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Operations and Maintenance

Staffing

The national historic site would be staffed initially by a superintendent, supplemented over time by additional staff as funding became available. A general management plan would identify priorities, management emphases, and required staffing for a 15-20 year timeframe.

Some positions might be seasonal, temporary, or shared with nearby parks. In addition, partner organizations would likely retain staff, with types and numbers dependent on the functions provided by these partners. Types of partner functions might include staffing a visitor contact station, running a museum, developing and implementing educational programs. If the NPS took ownership of the site at some point in the future, maintenance staff would be required to maintain the historic structures and visitor facilities.

Land Acquisition

NPS acquisition of the Forty Acres property is not required for the NPS to manage a national historic site. However, legislation would provide the NPS with authorization to acquire the Forty Acres should the existing owners wish to donate or sell the property at some future time.

Significant sites other than the Forty Acres would continue to be owned and managed by their respective public and private owners.

Operational and Visitor Facilities

Construction of new administrative and visitor facilities for NPS operations and management would not likely be required to support the national historic site. However, some alterations to the site and circulation (e.g. trails, parking, exhibits) would likely occur. The NPS could share administrative and operational facilities with partner organizations, or adaptively reuse historic structures.

Funding and Costs

NPS management of a national historic site at the Forty Acres would be funded through federal appropriations as part of the annual NPS budget. While no formal estimates of operating costs have been completed for this study, based on the size and scope of this site, and the types of services and assistance proposed, the annual cost of NPS operations for the national historic site could be expected to be $1 million to $3 million. The estimated operational budget would primarily fund NPS staff, interpretive and educational programs, and

outreach. The higher end of the range would be more likely if the NPS were to acquire the property and assume full responsibility for operations, management, and maintenance of the historic structures.

ALTERNATIVE E: NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Concept

Congress would establish a national historical park (NHP) as a unit of the national park system. The national historical park would consist of nationally significant sites in California and Arizona related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement including the Forty Acres, Filipino Community Hall, Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (La Paz), and the Santa Rita Center.

The Secretary of the Interior would be authorized to add significant associated sites or districts to the national historical park. These sites would likely be owned and operated by park partners.

Definition

A national historical park extends beyond single properties or buildings. Resources include a mix of significant historic features. National historical parks preserve places and commemorate persons, events, and activities important in the nation's history.

Examples:

- Nez Perce NHP
- Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front NHP
- Tumacacori NHP

Proposed Area

The national historical park would include lands and historic structures associated with Forty Acres, Filipino Community Hall, La Paz, and the Santa Rita Center (See Map, *Alternative E: National Historical Park*).

Management

The NPS would have primary responsibility for: 1) overall interpretation and education associated with the national historical park sites, including the development of interpretive media and programs; 2) community outreach and assistance in training of volunteers in association with local organizations; and 3) technical assistance for resource preservation efforts for associated sites.

The NPS would work cooperatively with the owners of sites within the national historical park to preserve resources and provide appropriate opportunities for the public to learn about the life of Cesar Chavez and the broader farm labor movement. The NPS role could vary at each site, and could include staffing, visitor programs, and assistance with cultural resource protection. The NPS could enter into management agreements with public and private owners of park sites for historic preservation, interpretation, and education.

Associated sites significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement could be later added to the national historical park. The NPS would develop a process for adding associated sites to the national historical park. Criteria would include significance of the site or district to the life of Cesar Chavez or the farm labor movement, local commitment to preservation of the site or district, and the ability to offer interpretive opportunities or educational programs. Associated sites would be owned and managed by park partners. The NPS could provide technical assistance and grants to associated sites to establish visitor facilities, interpretive exhibits, and educational programs.

Resource Protection

The NPS would work with partners to protect the resources and setting associated with the historical park sites. Through this study, the NPS has identified a number of sites that appear to be nationally significant, but need further research to determine eligibility for National Historic Landmark status or listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In alternative E, the NPS would conduct additional research and provide assistance in preparing nominations for such sites.

The NPS would work with the Delano community to identify and establish preservation zones or districts for neighborhoods with a high concentration of significant sites. The NPS could assist property owners in interpreting and preserving significant sites if requested.

State and local governments, nonprofit organizations, and private property owners would be responsible for protection and preservation of associated sites. NPS matching grants could be available to conduct research and preserve sites, stories and artifacts.

Visitor Experience

Visitors would have the opportunity to learn about all aspects of the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor

movement through key historical park sites in California and Arizona. The NPS would work with park partners to develop educational and interpretive media and programs (e.g. walking tours, ranger-led tours, waysides, school curriculums, exhibits, and hands-on programs such as working in the fields). The NPS could work with partner organizations and agencies to mark and interpret march routes, or establish interpretive trails.

At the Forty Acres visitors could be welcomed at a visitor facility, which could be located in an existing building. A smaller visitor display could be located at the Filipino Community Hall. The Forty Acres or La Paz could function as a research or education center for topics related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. A visitor facility or exhibits could be developed at the Santa Rita Center in partnership with Chicanos Por La Causa as part of future development of the site as a community center.

Associated sites would provide visitor interpretation and education related to the significant events which occurred in these locations. A virtual visitor center would use emergent technologies to provide information about the Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement stories. NPS matching grants could be available for development of visitor services and interpretive materials.

Operations and Maintenance

Staffing
The national historic park would be staffed initially by a superintendent, supplemented over time by additional staff as funding became available. A general management plan would identify park priorities, management emphases, and required staffing for a 15-20 year timeframe.

Some positions might be seasonal, temporary, or shared with nearby parks. In addition, partner organizations would likely retain staff, with types and numbers dependent on the functions provided by these partners. Types of partner functions might include staffing a visitor facility, running a museum, developing and implementing educational programs.

If the NPS took ownership of a site at some point in the future, maintenance staff would be required to maintain the historic structures and visitor facilities.

Land Acquisition
NPS acquisition of the park sites is not required for the NPS to manage a national historic park. Legislation would provide the NPS with authorization to acquire the nationally significant park sites should the existing owners wish to donate or sell the property at some future time.

The legislation establishing the park would provide the NPS with authorization to acquire sites within the national historical park should the existing owners express interest in donating or selling their properties.

Operational and Visitor Facilities
Construction of new administrative and visitor facilities for NPS operations and management would not likely be required to support the national historic park. However, some alterations to the site and circulation (e.g. trails, parking, exhibits) would likely occur. The NPS could share administrative and operational facilities with partner organizations, or adaptively reuse historic structures.

Funding and Costs
NPS management of a national historic park would be funded through federal appropriations as part of the annual NPS budget. While no formal estimates of operating costs have been completed for this study, based on the size and scope of this park, and the types of services and assistance proposed, the cost of NPS operations for the network could be expected to be $1,000,000 to $3,000,000. The estimated operational budget would primarily fund NPS staff, interpretive and education programs, and outreach.

Environmental Assessment

Background

Before taking an action, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) requires federal agencies to identify a range of alternatives for that action and to analyze the potential environmental impacts of that action, including any potential adverse environmental effects that cannot be avoided if the proposed action is implemented. The NPS prepared the environmental assessment (EA) for the Draft Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study to identify and analyze the potential environmental and socioeconomic consequences of each of the alternatives considered in the study.

Impacts

Consequences are determined by comparing likely future conditions under each alternative with the existing baseline conditions as described in the “no action” alternative. The analysis includes consideration of the context, intensity, and duration of direct and indirect effects of all the alternatives.

The NPS based analysis and conclusions on a review of existing literature, information provided by experts within the NPS as well as outside organizations, analysis of case studies of existing programs in other locations, and the professional judgment of the team members.

Given the broad nature of the study, this impact analysis must also be broad and avoid speculation as to site-specific types of impacts.

The outcome of the study will be a recommendation to Congress. If Congress takes action, then new environmental analysis would be undertaken prior to specific implementation actions. This new analysis would propose specific actions whose specific impacts would be assessed prior to implementation. The NPS evaluated the environmental consequences of each alternative on the following topics: land use; water resources (water quality and hydrology); vegetation; wildlife; federally listed species; prehistoric and historic archeological resources; historic structures / cultural landscapes; museum collections; visitor experience; and socioeconomics.

The NPS finds that there would be no significant impacts associated with the proposed alternatives.

Environmentally Preferred Alternative

The NPS is required to identify an "environmentally preferred alternative" in an EA. The environmentally preferred alternative is determined by applying criteria set forth in the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), as guided by direction from the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ).

The environmentally preferable alternative should not be viewed as the National Park Service's preferred alternative. The Director of the National Park Service is required under law and policy to identify which alternative or combination of alternatives would be most effective and efficient in protecting significant resources and providing for visitor enjoyment. The Director will make this finding after the publication of the draft special resource study/ environmental assessment, considering public and stakeholder comments. This finding will be included in the study package forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior. Generally, the environmentally preferable alternative is the alternative that causes the least damage to the biological and physical environment and that best protects, preserves, and enhances historic, cultural, and natural resources.

The NPS determines alternative E to be the environmentally preferable alternative. Alternative E would protect the largest number of resources potentially eligible as NHLs, including opportunities for protection in perpetuity should current owners choose to donate or sell the properties to NPS in the future.

Next Steps

After the distribution of the Draft Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study there will be a minimum 30-day review period. The NPS will then revise the report if needed, and transmit it to the Secretary of the Interior. The Secretary will then transmit the report to Congress, along with his recommendation for the sites.

1 Introduction

Farm workers in a field use short handled hoes to harvest crops. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University; photographer unknown.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This section provides an overview of the purpose and scope of the study and describes the study process.

Purpose and Need

The Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008 (P.L. 110-229, May 2008) authorized the National Park Service to conduct a special resource study of sites that are significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States.

This legislation was sponsored by former Congresswoman Hilda L. Solis, from the Los Angeles, California area and Senator John McCain of Arizona, with numerous co-sponsors, including former Senator Kenneth Salazar of Colorado, Senator Barbara Boxer of California, and sixty-nine co-sponsors in the House from California, Arizona, Texas, and throughout the nation.

The overall purpose of this study is to evaluate the significance and suitability of sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, and the feasibility and appropriateness of a National Park Service (NPS) role in the management of any of these sites. Through the study process, the NPS identifies alternative strategies to manage, protect, or restore the resources, and to provide or enhance public use and enjoyment. These alternatives explore partnerships and efforts to protect important resources in ways that do not necessarily require the commitment of funds and staff by the NPS. This study will provide information to aid the Congress, The U.S. Department of Interior, and the National Park Service in determining whether designation of a unit of the national park system is desirable and appropriate. The legislation authorizing this study specifically directs the NPS to determine appropriate methods for preserving and interpreting the sites and whether any of the sites meet the criteria for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or designation as a national historic landmark.

The study follows the process established by the National Park System New Area Studies Act (P.L. 105-391, 16 U.S.C. Sec. 1a-5). This law requires that these studies be prepared in compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). At the beginning of the study process, the NPS initiated a notice of scoping that was published in the Federal Register on May 17, 2011 (Vol.76, No. 95, pp. 28453-28454). Through the initial public scoping process, the NPS was able to identify a range of issues to address through the study and impacts of concern to the public. Special Resource Studies that consider a national park unit as an alternative are typically required to complete an environmental impact statement (EIS). The NPS has determined that an environmental assessment is a sufficient level of environmental analysis for this study, provided that significant impacts or controversy do not emerge. No significant impacts are anticipated from the findings and recommendations of this study.

This study is written to provide the Secretary of Interior and Congress with information on the sites and resources associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, and contains alternatives for the management, administration, and protection of those sites and resources, and evaluates their appropriateness for becoming a unit of the national park system. Cost estimates for operations, acquisition and development are also included. The study team investigated, with assistance from the Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton (COPH), nearly 100 sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, ascertained the public's level of interest in recognizing Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement nationally, and evaluated whether one or more of the sites would be appropriate for designation as a national park system unit.

The draft study report is available for public review for a minimum of 30 days. During the review period, the NPS is accepting comments from interested parties electronically, at public meetings and by mail. At the end of the public comment period, the NPS will revise the report if needed, and transmit it to the Secretary of the Interior, along with the NPS Director's recommendation for the most efficient and effective alternative. The Secretary will transmit the report to Congress, along with the Secretary's recommendation for the sites.

Issues Addressed in Study

Through the scoping process, the public identified specific issues and concerns that should be addressed

in this special resource study. The following issues and concerns were identified based on public input and Congressional testimony.

- Contributions to American history made by Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement deserve national attention, and are not currently recognized in the national park system. The NPS has few units that focus on Latino American history.

- The leadership and contributions of the Filipino community to the farm labor movement have not been widely recognized and deserve greater attention.

- Sites with high interpretive and educational value should be recognized, even if they don't meet NPS criteria for significance and integrity.

- There is a strong interest in many communities in local sites that people can visit to experience a connection to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

- There is a strong desire to keep the history of the farm labor movement relevant to youth and future generations.

- Many of the former farm workers who participated in the movement are still alive and it is important that their stories be documented.

Study Sites

The National Park Service partnered with the COPH to identify sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement and evaluate their significance.

COPH faculty and students developed a preliminary list of 84 sites based on information obtained through personal interviews, books and essays written in the 1960s and 1970s, declassified FBI surveillance files, newspapers, and photographs. They then conducted site visits to determine current conditions and integrity of the sites. The research team noted in their report the challenges of documenting sites associated with transitory events and activities (such as marches or picket lines). They observed that many sites associated with important events have changed dramatically in the years since the events, and therefore retain less historic integrity. The research team also noted in their report their expectation that additional significant sites will likely be found as information is gathered through the NPS study process. The research was completed between October 2009 and December 2010. Chapters 2, *Historical Overview and Resources*, and Chapter 3, *Significance*, provide more information on the sites and the analysis of their significance. Information has been added and revised based on information obtained during public scoping.

Study Process

Legislative and Policy Direction

Several laws and policies outline the criteria for units of the national park system. The National Park System New Area Studies Act (P.L. 105-391, 16 U.S.C. Sec. 1a-5) establishes the basic process for NPS studies of potential new national park areas. NPS management policies provide further guidance. According to NPS management policies, a proposed addition to the national park system will receive a favorable recommendation from the NPS only if it meets all of the following four criteria for inclusion:

1. It possesses nationally significant natural or cultural resources;
2. It is a suitable addition to the system;
3. It is a feasible addition to the system; and
4. It requires direct NPS management, instead of alternative protection by other public agencies or the private sector.

These criteria are designed to ensure that the National Park Service includes only the most outstanding examples of the nation's natural and cultural resources. They also recognize that there are other management alternatives for preserving the nation's outstanding resources.

Alternatives for NPS management are developed for sites that meet all four of the criteria for inclusion, above. Further definition of each of these criteria is provided in the related sections of this report.

Public Involvement

The NPS launched public scoping for this study in spring of 2011. In April 2011 the study team produced and distributed, mailed or emailed 1900 newsletters to individuals, organizations, government officials and the media. The newsletter was also made available for comment on the study website and on the NPS's Planning, Environment and Public Comment (PEPC) website. Newsletters were available in English and Spanish.

The purpose of this newsletter was to introduce the study, explain the process to community members and others, and solicit comments on issues the study should address. The newsletter also contained information on the schedule of public scoping meetings.

Press releases announcing the beginning of the study process and the public meeting schedule were distributed to local media. Numerous articles and opinion pieces about the study were published in area newspapers and presented on television and radio.

All information sent by mail or e-mail has also been available on the study website site at www.nps.gov/chavez. Updates and information about the study process were also made available on the study's Facebook page at facebook.com/chavezstudy.

In May 2011, the study team held a series of public scoping meeting in California and Arizona. Included in the agenda was a presentation on the purpose and process of the study process, sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, and potential management ideas and outcomes. After the presentation the NPS facilitated, group discussions so that participants could discuss their vision for recognizing the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement and identify any additional sites that should be considered in the study. Study team members recorded discussion comments on flipcharts.

Public scoping meetings were held in San Jose, Salinas, Los Angeles, Oxnard, Coachella, Delano, (CA), and Phoenix and Yuma (AZ), and were attended by approximately 240 people. Spanish translation was available at all meetings. The study team also consulted with representatives of the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation, the Filipino Community of Delano, Inc., the United Farm Workers of America, the Chavez Family Vision, Chicanos Por La Causa, former participants in the farm labor movement and numerous local, state and federal government officials.

The comment period extended to June 16, 2011, thirty days after publication of the notice of scoping in the Federal Register. Comments received after this date were also accepted.

In addition to comments received at the public scoping meetings, the NPS received approximately 65 comments via written letters and through e-mail.

Development of Alternatives

Five alternatives are included in this study, including a "No Action" alternative which serves as a baseline for comparison for the other four action alternatives. Three of the four alternatives include designation of a national park unit. All four alternatives respect private property rights and existing local authority. The NPS alternatives propose collaborative management models that do not require extensive land management by the NPS.

The study team developed the five alternatives presented in the study based on information gathered from public and stakeholder input, internal NPS discussions, site research and NPS management models elsewhere. The alternatives explore a range of possible actions including federal recognition of significant resources, technical assistance, and cooperative management and partnership with the NPS:

- Alternative A: Continuation of Current Management (No Action Alternative)
- Alternative B: National Network
- Alternative C: National Historic Trail
- Alternative D: National Historic Site
- Alternative E: National Historical Park

See Chapter 6, *Alternatives*, for a full description of the study alternatives.

Two other alternative approaches to preservation and interpretation of significant sites were initially considered: a national heritage area encompassing the major agricultural valleys of California and Arizona, and a national historic trail that would connect the major communities with sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. These alternatives are no longer under consideration because the areas do not fully meet NPS criteria for national heritage area or national historic trail designation.

Related Plans and Studies

This section describes plans and studies that have recently been completed and which provided guidance and resource information for the study.

The Forty Acres National Historical Landmark Designation, National Park Service

The Secretary of Interior designated the Forty Acres property in Delano, CA as a National Historic

Landmark on October 6, 2008. The nomination form documents how the property meets NHL criteria and justifies the national significance of the property.

Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz National Register Nomination, National Park Service
Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz in Keene, CA was listed on the National Register of Historic Places at the national level of significance in 2011. The nomination form describes the many structures on the property and assesses and documents the property's significance.

Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz Historic Landmark Nomination, National Park Service
The Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz National Historic Landmark nomination builds on the NRHP nomination and documents how the property meets NHL criteria. The nomination will be submitted to the National Park System Advisory Board Landmarks Committee for review in November, 2011.

Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers' Movement in the American West and Southwest Theme Study, Raymond Rast PhD., Brian Casserly, PhD. and Gail Dubrow, PhD.
The purpose of the theme study is to assist in the identification and evaluation of the properties associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm workers' movement in the American West and the Southwest. It provides an historical overview intended to illustrate the relevance, general relationships, and national, regional, or local importance of associated properties. It also provides interpretive direction for analysis of these properties in greater depth and detail. The draft theme study was completed in 2004.

The Forty Acres in Delano, California served as the UFWOC and UFW headquarters. The service station building shown in the photo, was constructed in 1968 and provided services such as gasoline and auto repair to farm workers. Eventually, the facility would grow to include a health clinic and retirement village. The Forty Acres was designated a National Historic Landmark in 2008 by the Department of the Interior. c. 1960s. Photo by Ruben Montoya/www.farmworkermovement.us.

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Chapter 2: Historical Overview and Resources

This chapter describes the importance of the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement to American history and culture and the sites associated with these stories.

Introduction

This chapter provides the historic context for identifying resources associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement and for assessing the significance of these resources as described in Chapter 3 of this study.

The historic context in this chapter is primarily based on the 2004 draft document titled, "Cesar Chavez and the Farm worker Movement in the American West Theme Study" prepared for the NPS by the University of Washington Department of History's Preservation Planning and Design Program (Rast, Dubrow and Casserly 2004). Resources associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States were primarily identified through research conducted by the Center for Oral and Public History (COPH) at California State University, Fullerton, under the leadership of Dr. Raymond Rast, on behalf of the NPS. In 2009 and 2010, the COPH identified and evaluated 84 sites in California and Arizona with historical significance related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the American West. Sites were identified through primary sources archived within the Farm worker Movement Documentation Project, books, essays, oral history interviews, declassified FBI surveillance files, back issues of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) newsletters, and published secondary sources. The COPH conducted further field research to locate, evaluate, and document the sites, properties, and march routes identified. An additional 20 sites were also identified through the public scoping process.

Historic Context Overview

This section provides an historical overview intended to illustrate the relevance, general relationships, and national, regional, or local importance of properties associated with Cesar Chavez (1927-1993) and the farm labor movement in the American West. It is divided into eight sections:

I. Cesar Chavez's early life and formative experiences in the American West, 1927-52
II. Development of the agricultural industry, labor, and activism in California and the American West before 1960
III. Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer in California and the emergence of Dolores Huerta, 1952-62
IV. The organization of the Farm Workers Association in California, 1962-65
V. The Delano grape strike in Kern County, California and across the U.S., 1965-70
VI. The Salinas strike, the fight against the Teamsters, and agricultural labor laws in the American West, 1970-75
VII. The modernization of the UFW and the broadening of the farm labor movement in the U.S., 1975-84
VIII. Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in a new era in California and across the U.S., 1984-93

A more detailed narrative can be found in *Appendix F: Historic Context, Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement*.

I. Cesar Chavez's Early Life and Formative Experiences in the American West, 1927-1952

The story of Cesar Chavez's boyhood and early adulthood reveals much about why he became a successful labor organizer and social leader.

Early Years at the Chavez Family Homestead in Arizona

Cesar Chavez' paternal grandparents came to the U.S. in the 1880s from Chihuahua, Mexico. His

grandfather Cesario found work on the railroads and in the fields of Arizona, and in the late 1890s established a homestead in the North Gila Valley, twenty miles north of Yuma, Arizona.

Cesar's father Librado married Juana Estrada in 1924, and they purchased and operated a grocery, auto repair and pool hall business about a mile from the Chavez homestead. Cesar Chavez was born there on March 31, 1927. Five years later, debts and the Great Depression forced the young family back to the established family homestead.

During his boyhood years in the North Gila Valley, Cesar learned lessons that would stay with him for the rest of his life, including his commitment to nonviolence, his devout Catholicism, and the importance of sacrificing and sharing even the most meager resources with others who had less.

Cesar also experience racism and discrimination as a young child, branded as a "dirty Mexican" at the public school in Yuma. Such experiences taught Chavez how discrimination made its targets feel excluded and inferior.

Life as Migrant Farm Workers

During the depression of the 1930's, the Chavez family fell behind on tax payments and lost possession of the family homestead. The family joined the stream of migrants moving to California, and Cesar Chavez discovered the realities of life that migrant workers and their families faced every day.

The family moved to follow the crops, from Oxnard to Brawley, Beaumont, Hemet and Delano to pick beets, carrots, peas, cabbage, lettuce, broccoli, watermelons, cherries apricots, lima beans, corn, chili peppers, grapes, prunes, cucumbers tomatoes and cotton. They used *el cortito*, the short-handle hoe that forced farm labors to twist and stoop as they moved down the rows of crops.

In California, racism often was more abrasive than in Arizona as Mexican Americans were routinely accosted by border patrolmen, interrogated and searched by police officers, kicked out of restaurants and movie theaters, and cheated by employers who considered them too docile to object.

The Chavez family did not readily accept the harsh realities of their new situation. They stood up for their fellow workers and walked off the fields if someone was treated unfairly. The family's militancy stemmed in part from their somewhat unusual position as former landowners with strong social ties. As early as 1941, Chavez was exposed to the labor movement's efforts to organize farm labors in California, through organizers for the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA).

In 1944 at age 17, Chavez left the fields and volunteered for the Navy. After two years he received an honorable discharge and returned to his family in Delano. Two years later, Cesar married Helen Fabela. For several years they sought work in a number of locations, moving their growing family from farm work in Delano to sharecropping in San Jose, lumber work in Crescent City, and back to San Jose in 1952.

The family decision to move back to San Jose put Cesar on a path that soon would intersect with those of Father Donald McDonnell and Fred Ross, two men who would change the course of his life.

II. Development of the Agricultural Industry, Agricultural Labor, and Agricultural Labor Activism in California and the American West Before 1960

This section examines the development of agriculture in California, the evolution of the agricultural labor force, and the recurrent efforts during the first half of the twentieth century to organize migrant farm labors. In doing so, it reveals that farm labor leaders such as Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Gilbert Padilla, Larry Itliong and other members of the farm labor movement owed a part of their success to the struggles and the development of strategies that had taken place during the decades leading up to the 1960s and to the evolving historical context within which they worked.

The Agricultural Industry in California

As a result of many decades of Spanish and Mexican land grants, California, when it entered the Union in 1850, it had an agricultural economy dominated by massive landholdings. By 1900, almost two-thirds of all arable acreage in the state was concentrated in fewer than five thousand estates, run by "growers" rather than "farmers" and operated as "factories in the field." At the same time, thousands of emigrants worked modest landholdings, and by 1900, three-fourths of all farms in the state were less than 175 acres in size, mostly on marginal, arid lands.

The Chavez Family Homestead site in the Gila River Valley northeast of Yuma was Cesar Chavez's childhood home. The family acquired 100 acres of land in 1909, built an adobe farmhouse and cultivated the land. Today, only remnants of the adobe walls remain. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1960s.

The adobe farmhouse faced this canal and the fields on the opposite side. Photo by: NPS, 2010

This portrait of Cesar Chavez was taken at his 8th grade graduation. This was his final year of formal schooling before he went to work in the fields full time. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1942.

Throughout the early 1900s, government regulations and subsidies worked to the advantage of the largest growers , creating conditions ripe for the use and abuse of immigrant and migrant labor, evolving over time from Chinese, to Japanese, Filipino, and Mexican immigrants. Eventually the Depression and Dust Bowl of the 1930s sent hundreds of thousands of Americans from Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri and elsewhere to California looking for work.

Migrant farm workers' living and working conditions throughout the first half of the twentieth century were brutal. The work was exhausting, and it required considerable amounts of skill, dexterity, efficiency, and stamina. Farm workers also had to contend with summertime heat and lack of drinking water, sanitation facilities and housing, as well as low wages and the shortage of work.

ORGANIZING AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Farm workers facing such living and working conditions began organizing in the American West as early as 1884, when Chinese hop pickers in Kern County, California, went on strike for higher pay.

The first attempt to forge a multi-ethnic alliance emerged just after the turn of the century. In 1903, approximately 800 Japanese and Mexican beet-field workers in Oxnard united to organize the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association. Racism and the union movement's focus on organizing along craft lines kept these efforts from securing the institutional and financial support they needed to survive.

Throughout the early 1900's, various labor organizing efforts started, grew, but dropped out of favor when success eluded them. These efforts included the International Workers of the World (the IWW, or Wobblies) and the Wheatland Riot; Mexican farm labor organizing in the 1920s; and the groups that grew into the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU) in the 1930s. The CAWIU's strategies of inter-racial organizing, reliance on grassroots organizing, recruitment of women, and emphasis on orderly, nonviolent conduct contributed to the union's success and helped explain how the union could command the fierce loyalty of at least fifteen thousand San Joaquin Valley farm workers in October 1933. However, the union failed to win formal recognition from a single grower, and started to decline.

The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA), founded in July 1937, picked up where the CAWIU left off. Union leaders deliberately recruited diverse organizers. Rank and file members of the union pledged not to discriminate against a fellow worker because of creed, color, nationality, religious or political belief. In 1939, the UCAPWA negotiated perhaps the first contract signed by a grower and a union in the history of California's agricultural industry. By 1940 the union's national membership totaled more than 124,000 workers, 40,000 of whom worked in the fields. Cesar Chavez' father Librado became a new recruit in 1941.

The National Farm Labor Union (NFLU) was another key organizing effort in the 1930's and 40's, with its origins in the protection of the rights of sharecroppers in the South. By the 1940's the union redirected its energy toward agricultural wage workers and began organizing in California. In 1947 it focused on the working conditions of farm labors employed by the Di Giorgio Fruit Company. In the strike that ultimately was organized against the DiGiorgio company, the union sought endorsement from prominent individuals, and pioneered the strategies of boycotting specific agricultural products such as grapes, and picketing grocery stores which sold those products ("secondary boycotts"). The strike persisted for two and a half years, but ultimately collapsed because the NFLU had no means of cutting off DiGiorgio's supply of labor, brought in legally from Mexico through the Bracero Program.

Established by Congress in 1942, the Bracero Program was designed to provide growers with a reliable source of labor during the labor shortages of World War II. Congress continued to extend the program until 1964, when its termination cleared a path for the farm workers' successes of the 1960s and '70s.

III. Cesar Chavez's Education as a Community Organizer in California and the Emergence of Dolores Huerta, 1952-1962

During this time period, Cesar Chavez gained education and training as a social activist, and formed friendships and alliances with Father Donald McDonnell, Fred Ross, Dolores Huerta, Gilbert Padilla, and farm workers who would join him in the struggle to form an effective farm labor union.

CESAR CHAVEZ AND THE COMMUNITY SERVICE ORGANIZATION (CSO)

Cesar Chavez moved to the Sal Si Puedes barrio of San Jose in 1952, worked in a lumber mill and in the fields, and soon met Donald McDonnell, a young Catholic priest who sought to minister to braceros and other migrant farm workers. McDonnell introduced Cesar to a world of ideas including the writings of Mohandas Gandhi that would shape his personal philosophy, his approach to labor organizing, and his commitment to social justice,.

Also in 1952, Cesar helped Fred Ross bring to San Jose the Community Service Organization (CSO) idea that Ross had started in Los Angeles. The intent of the CSO was to help its members to deal with issues related to civil rights, voter registration, housing discrimination, and police brutality.

Cesar became chairman of the CSO voter-registration drive. He became successful enough at standing up for the rights of his community members that he was accused of being a Communist, as happened to many political and social leaders in the 1950s. Cesar turned to his Catholic beliefs and colleagues to help defend him against these suspicions and accusations.

Chavez's success in registering voters and establishing the San Jose CSO chapter resulted in a job offer as a CSO staff member, with responsibilities to organize campaigns in Union City, Oakland, and the San Joaquin Valley.

THE RISE OF DOLORES HUERTA AND OTHERS AS COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS

In 1955 Fred Ross began to organize a CSO chapter in Stockton, where one of his first contacts was a colleague of San Jose's Father McDonnell, Father Thomas McCullough. When Ross asked McCullough to put him in touch with potential CSO organizers, the priest introduced him to 25-year-old Dolores Huerta.

Dolores Huerta grew up in Stockton, where she developed an awareness of economic and racial injustice. By the 1950s she had several children, teaching credentials, and a desire to find a way to fight social injustices. Ross offered her the opportunity she sought. She agreed to work with the CSO, and organized voters and joined Ross in efforts to reform the police department, to get better treatment for Mexican Americans at the county hospital, and to have sidewalks built in the barrio.

The CSO work also attracted the attention of Chicanos such as Gilbert Padilla. Padilla was the son of migrant farm workers. He escaped the fields but experience discrimination in his other work. In the late 1950s he joined the CSO efforts. Padilla volunteered for the organization from 1957 to 1961 and then joined Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta as the organization's only paid staff members.

CHAVEZ'S TRANSITION FROM COMMUNITY ORGANIZER TO LABOR ORGANIZER

Cesar Chavez continued to work with the CSO through the 1950s, organizing in the towns of the San Joaquin Valley. As he organized new CSO chapters, he set up service centers, and began to see that helping people could be an organizing technique – that people who received help from an organization would be loyal to it. His interest in organizing farm workers also grew, in contrast to the urban focus of the CSO for which he worked.

In 1958, the United Packinghouse Workers union offered the CSO $20,000 to organize a chapter in Oxnard. Chavez took the job, and learned as he talked to farm workers in Oxnard that the Bracero Program, designed to import workers from Mexico to fill labor shortages, was instead being used to deny work to long-time farm workers in the Oxnard area.

Chavez documented the deceptive practices, organized a boycott of local merchants, organized sit-down strikes in the fields, put pressure on public officials, and organized marches. He realized that publicity could be used to his favor, and essentially "discovered the power of the march" to motivate people.

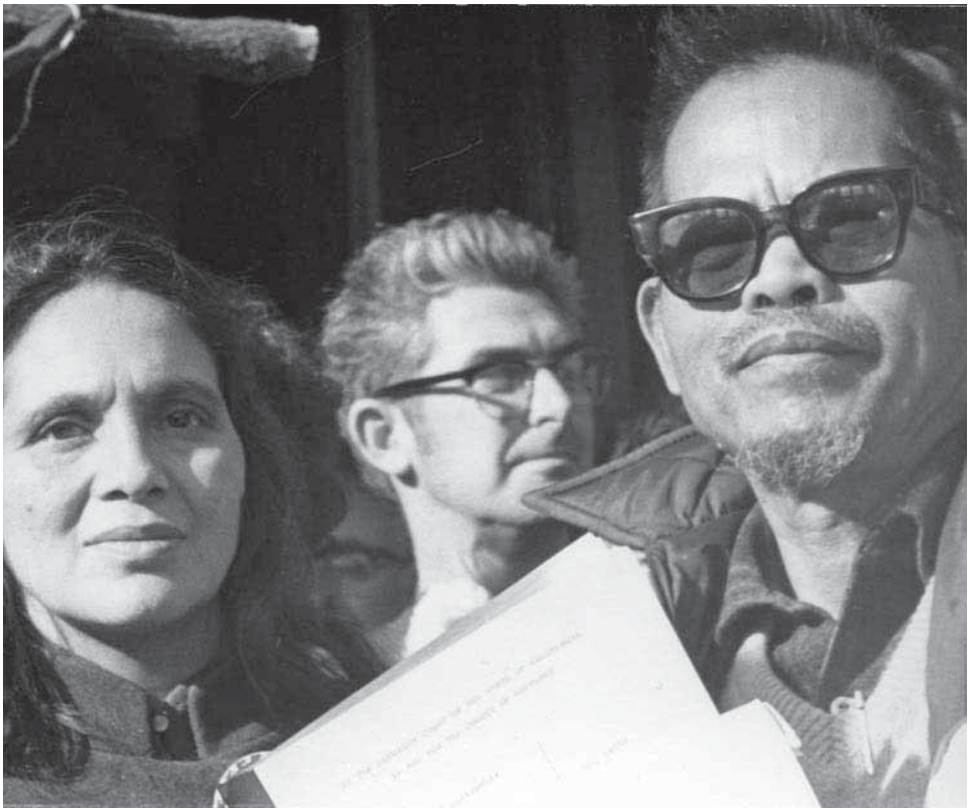
The Oxnard organizing effort resulted in an agreement with the growers to hire people at the CSO office, which became a model for the hiring halls created by the United Farm Workers the following decade. By 1959, the Oxnard CSO chapter had become an agricultural labor union in everything but name.

The success of the Oxnard CSO chapter in organizing farm workers led to conflicts with the AFL-CIO, which had just begun its own effort to organize agricultural labor in California. The conflict developed over several years, during which the AFL-CIO chartered the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) and brought in Dolores Huerta and Larry Itliong, but ultimately failed to gain a following among Mexican American farm workers,

Hop pickers at the Durst Ranch near Wheatland in Yuba County, California included children. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1913.

Durst Ranch Hop pickers in their camp organize to strike near Wheatland, California. A bumper crop of hops at the Durst ranch and advertisements promising work to anyone who wanted it brought in close to 3000 men, women, and children to work as pickers in 1913. When the living conditions and poor wages led IWW activists to call for a strike, the ranch owners called on the sheriff to put it down. A confrontation took place on August 3, 1913 and two lawmen and two migrant workers were killed. The Wheatland Riot drew unprecedented levels of attention to the plight of agricultural laborers, led to the creation of the California Commission of Immigration and Housing, and gave the movement its first martyrs. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1913.

Members of the Community Service Organization pose for a group photo. Second from right; Cesar Chavez, Front row center; Fred Ross Sr., Saul Aulinsky; far left and Helen Chavez, third from the right in back. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1950s.



Dolores Huerta and Larry Itliong, shown here in the 1970s, held key organizer positions with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) when it was chartered by the AFL-CIO in 1959 to organize farm workers in California. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1970s.

the single largest group of farm workers in California.

Cesar Chavez continued to be interested in organizing farm workers; the CSO was reluctant to shift from their urban and civic focus. Cesar accepted the position of executive director of the CSO in 1959, with hope of having greater influence over the organization.

During his three year tenure as executive director of the CSO, Chavez guided the organization to continued gains, developed relationships with members of the Mexican American Political Association and other civil rights activists, and earned a reputation as one of the most important civil rights leaders in the American West. By 1962, the CSO had grown to 22 chapters, helped tens of thousands of Chicanos register to vote, led thousands of Mexican immigrants through the naturalization process and provided Chicanos with a sense of power within the political system.

However, the CSO board and membership remained unwilling to support Chavez's farm worker organizing agenda, wanting to maintain the CSO's focus on urban and civic issues, not on the plight of rural labor. Chavez resigned his position in 1962, and moved his family from Los Angeles to Delano to begin the creation of a viable agricultural labor union.

IV. The Organization of the Farm Workers Association in California, 1962-1965

This period covers the initial efforts to organize a farm labor union, from the time Cesar Chavez left the CSO in 1962 to the time of the Delano grape strike of 1965.

With a sense of dedication, a willingness to sacrifice, and no source of income, Cesar and Helen Chavez and their eight children moved to Delano where there were supportive family and a stable population of farm workers to organize.

Chavez was aware that despite 80 years of trying, farm workers had been unable to form a union strong enough to counterbalance the power of the agricultural industry. Chavez was challenging a deeply entrenched way of life, a system that benefited growers but denied farm workers dignity, security, and a share of the industry's wealth.

FORMATION OF THE NFWA

Chavez was convinced of the importance of organizing first—developing a real community of farm workers and providing mutual benefits to strengthen it—before pushing for contracts and calling for strikes.

Cesar Chavez did not work alone. His wife Helen worked to support the family, his brother Richard helped in numerous ways, his sister Rita and her husband loaned money, his cousin Manuel joined in the efforts, and Fred Ross provided support. The Rev. Chris Hartmire of the California Migrant Ministry (CMM) assigned Rev. Jim Drake and his wife Susan to work with Cesar in Delano. Ultimately, Dolores Huerta and Gil Padilla agreed to leave paid positions with the CSO to co-found the new union, which they called the Farm workers Association (FWA).

Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Gil Padilla, Manuel Chavez, Julio Hernández, and Jim Drake formed the team that created the union. They sought to form a union that would be guided from the bottom-up, which meant delaying any thoughts of strikes and contracts.

By the end of the spring of 1962, the team had begun to develop a strategy for promoting the FWA. First, they called their organization an "association" and focused on the services it would provide, in the belief that support would be rewarded with loyalty. Second, they organized house meetings to ask farm workers what their concerns were and what services they needed. Farm workers talked about wages, the price of food in company stores, work conditions and the abuses they suffered at the hands of labor contractors.

By the fall of 1962, Chavez and the other organizers had built support among enough farm labor communities to plan a founding convention for the union. The convention was held in Fresno where the team presented a plan that included a minimum wage, unemployment insurance, collective bargaining rights, services such as a life insurance plan, a credit union, a co-op, and a hiring hall. They agreed to develop a constitution, set dues, and elect officers. They elected Cesar Chavez as president; Dolores Huerta, Gil Padilla, Julio Hernández, and Rodrigo Terronez as vice-presidents; and Antonio Orendain as secretary-treasurer.

During the following months, Chavez and the other officers worked to implement their plan. By early

1963 the FWA was a successfully functioning organization. It operated under a constitution, collected dues, and offered a variety of services to its membership. By 1965, the FWA had grown to 1,200 members. Chavez thought the FWA would be ready to sustain strikes and win contracts by the fall harvest of 1968. Meanwhile, Filipino farm labors in Delano, most of whom were AWOC members, voted to go on strike in September 1965, beginning what would become a five-year campaign to bring the California table grape industry and 70,000 farm workers under union contracts.

V. The Delano Grape Strike in Kern County, California and Across the U.S., 1965-1970

This section of the study focuses on the most important period in the modern history of the farm labor movement in the American West. It highlights the central role that Cesar Chavez played in the strike but it also reveals how others, including Filipino leaders such as Larry Itliong, political figures such as Robert Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., union leaders such as Walter Reuther, students and urban supporters continued to define and strengthen the farm labor movement.

Larry Itliong initiates the Delano Grape Strike

In 1965, a series of wage issues emerged between growers and Filipino workers throughout Southern California, with the Filipinos offered lower wages than Mexican workers. Larry Itliong and Ben Gines of the AWOC demanded the same pay as other workers, but were not successful. Itliong considered calling for a strike, but there was little support among the larger unions for a strike by Filipino farm workers. Nevertheless, on September 8, 1965, the Delano-area local of the AWOC met for a strike vote at the Filipino Community Hall, and despite warnings about the sacrifices that could be involved, the majority of Filipino farm workers voted to go on strike.

The FWA Joins the Delano Grape Strike

The FWA board (now the National Farm Worker Association, or NFWA) offered Itliong their support, endorsed by a general membership vote on September 16 at Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church in Delano. A huge crowd overwhelmingly voted to strike.

The Filipino Community Hall in Delano became the shared AWOC/NFWA strike headquarters. Growers and labor contractors had often segregated Filipino and Chicano farm workers into separate picking crews and exploited ethnic animosities to break up labor disputes. Soon after the strike began, however, the Filipino Community Hall became the scene of regular inter-ethnic meals for those working the picket lines, and Friday night meetings of all AWOC and NFWA members. Inter-racial alliances, as well as alliances with religious groups, civil rights activists, and student groups, were crucial.

For Chavez, the picket line was a recruiting tool, an organizing tactic, a classroom, and a means of claiming space. The NFWA quickly developed a system of "roving picket lines," to use a limited number of picketers to cover a wide geographic area.

During the first few weeks of the strike, growers, foremen, and law enforcement officers acted violently towards those on the picket line. Still, Chavez preached nonviolence. A close observer and supporter of the civil rights movement, he saw the positive national response to civil rights activists' nonviolence in the face of police brutality the South. Chavez decided to recruit activists from the civil rights movement to teach farm workers nonviolent tactics for the picket line. Students and other volunteers quickly answered Chavez's call.

The NFWA sought support on college campuses, at churches, and from other unions, civic groups, and social organizations. Chavez recognized the importance of symbolic acts of protest and defiance, as did others such as Luis Valdez, who founded the theatrical troupe El Teatro Campesino to entertain pickets, boost morale, and train strikers.

Emergence of the Grape Boycott

Despite the wave of support and emergence of unexpected resources such as El Teatro Campesino, the farm workers failed to make any headway with the Delano growers before the end of the fall harvest. In December, the NFWA launched its first boycott in about a dozen cities in California and the West. High profile leaders began to take notice and support the strike, including Walter Reuther, the president of the United Auto Workers, and Senator Robert Kennedy, who was instrumental in bringing Senate hearings on farm labor issues to Delano in 1966.

The 1966 March to Sacramento

In 1966 the NFWA decided to organize a march to Sacramento through most of the San Joaquin valley's

The founding convention of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), Fresno, California. At the convention, the team that created the union presented a plan that included a minimum wage, unemployment insurance, collective bargaining rights, services such as a life insurance plan, a credit union, a co-op, and a hiring hall. They agreed to develop a constitution, set dues, and elect officers. They elected Cesar Chavez as president; Dolores Huerta, Gil Padilla, Julio Hernandez, and Rodrigo Terronez as vice-presidents; and Antonio Orendain as secretary-treasurer. From left to right: ---, Dolores Huerta, ---, Cesar Chavez. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1962.

El Teatro Campesino, founded by Luis Valdez in 1965, performed skits at the Friday night meetings at the Filipino Hall, on the picket lines, and along march routes during the Delano grape strike. The skits, which featured humorous characters and dialogue, would entertain and educate audiences while dramatizing the plight and cause of the farm workers. In 1971, the company moved to San Juan Bautista, California, where they continue to present theater works to generate social change. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: John Kouns, 1966.

farming towns, as a strategy to keep farm workers from returning to the vineyards in the spring. The march, then the longest protest march in U.S. history, started at the NFWA offices in Delano, and ended 300 miles to the north on the steps of the state capitol building in Sacramento, on Easter Sunday.

As the marchers approached Sacramento a few days before Easter, Chavez learned that the Schenley Corporation wanted to sign a contract. On Easter Sunday, a crowd of more than 4,000 farm workers and supporters thronged to the steps of the capitol building to listen to speeches by Huerta and Chavez and to celebrate a remarkable victory.

The march to Sacramento represented a convergence of ideas Chavez had put into action in Oxnard and elsewhere. The march incorporated religious symbols and practices, it exemplified one of the most effective means of nonviolent protest, it relied on community support, and it attracted favorable publicity (due in part to the media coverage of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama the previous year). The march also gave the NFWA leadership a chance to reconnect with farm workers along the San Joaquin Valley, and it strengthened the solidarity of the thousands of people who participated.

The successful outcome with the Schenley Corporation was not repeated with other growers, and the strike continued against other growers.

EVOLUTION OF THE UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

After the Delano to Sacramento march, the NFWA refocused its boycott to cover other agricultural companies, and to expand into New York, Chicago, and other cities in the east. The DiGiorgio Company, the primary focus of this boycott, attempted to bring in strikebreakers organized under the Teamsters, but were pressured into holding union elections. The NFWA and AWOC merged (renamed the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, UFWOC) in order to improve their chances to win the election, and indeed did win the right to represent the field workers at the DiGiorgio Company.

The union's successes brought a new wave of favorable publicity across the country and prompted a telegram from Martin Luther King, Jr., acknowledging that "Our separate struggles are really one—a struggle for freedom, for dignity, and for humanity."

After the victories in the DiGiorgio elections, the UFWOC engaged in two smaller but still significant campaigns. The first involved the boycott of Perelli-Minetti Company's vineyard in Delano in 1966, and resulted in the signing of a contract in 1967, followed almost immediately by contracts with six other wineries in California. This gave the UFWOC a total of 11 contracts (all of them negotiated by Dolores Huerta) covering 5,000 workers, about two percent of the state's agricultural labor force.

The second campaign involved NFWA organizers in helping Tejano members of the Independent Workers Association organize a 400-mile march from Rio Grande City to the Texas state capitol in Austin.

THE FORTY ACRES

Around the time that the DiGiorgio campaign was concluding, Chavez decided to move forward with plans to develop a network of service centers for farm workers modeled after the service center in San Jose. He wanted the centers to provide medical clinics, co-op auto repair shops and gasoline stations, credit unions, and health and welfare services. He enlisted union volunteer Leroy Chatfield to develop these plans. Chatfield raised funds and the union acquired 40 acres of land two miles west of Delano in the spring of 1966, dubbed "the Forty Acres".

Although the Forty Acres land was barren and dusty in the summer heat, Chavez envisioned a model service center. By the beginning of 1968, Cesar's brother Richard had built a gasoline and vehicular repair station. Under Richard's supervision, and with a donation from the United Auto Workers, UFWOC volunteers completed construction of an administrative building the following September, and a health clinic shortly thereafter.

The final component of the Forty Acres, retirement housing for Filipino farm workers, was not completed until 1975.

THE TABLE GRAPE STRIKE

In the summer of 1967, the grape strike continued, focused on the Giumarra Brothers Fruit Company, the largest table-grape grower in the state. When the strike and boycott tactics used in previous strikes proved to be ineffective, the union decided to boycott the entire table-grape industry simultaneously, beginning in January 1968.

The boycott campaign owed its success to several factors, including the decision to send farm workers themselves to the cities and to the forefront of the

boycott organization. During the next two years, these union members established boycott centers in more than 40 major cities and worked with boycott committees in hundreds of smaller towns. This boycott experience took people out of the fields and gave many in the farm labor movement, particularly women, new confidence in their own organizing abilities.

By the spring of 1968, growing numbers of farm workers desired a more confrontational approach. As reports of violent activity and property damage caused by frustrated farm workers mounted, Chavez decided to fast until union members renewed their pledges of nonviolence. He set up a cot and a few religious items in a small room at the service station building at the Forty Acres, where he remained for most of the 25 days of his fast.

The fast attracted attention, and thousands of farm workers arrived at the Forty Acres with pledges of support and nonviolence. When Chavez was convinced that the workers' commitment to nonviolence had been renewed, he announced an end to his fast. UFWOC leaders planned a Mass and celebration at the Forty Acres and arranged to have Senator Robert Kennedy fly in to be at Chavez's side for the breaking of the fast.

End of the Delano Grape Strike

By the middle of 1969, it was clear that the grape boycott was having a substantial impact on California growers. As the first grape crop was ripening the following spring, Lionel Steinberg, the owner of three of the largest vineyards in the Coachella Valley, agreed to sign a contract with the UFWOC. In July, the Giumarra Company entered into negotiations, and 27 other growers came to the table.

The negotiations resulted in three year contracts that included an increase in pay, the creation of union-run hiring halls, an increase in piece-rate bonuses, the establishment of joint farm labor-grower committees to monitor and regulate pesticide use, and the funding of the Robert F. Kennedy Health and Welfare Plan for union members. The Delano contracts brought 85 percent of the table-grape growers in California under union contract, an unprecedented achievement in the history of the U.S. agricultural industry.

VI. The Salinas Strike, the Fight Against the Teamsters and Agricultural Labor Laws in the American West, 1970-1975

The next period of the farm labor movement saw the UFWOC face familiar challenges, complicated by unprecedented violence and force. Continued success in the fields and the undeniable power of the boycott brought important victories during this period, including the passage of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA), the first law in the continental United States that recognized the rights of farm workers to organize and negotiate contracts with growers.

Fight against the Teamsters

On the same day that the union finished its negotiations with Delano grape growers, Cesar Chavez learned that lettuce growers in the Salinas Valley had signed contracts with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. To the UFWOC, the issue was not just a rival union, but that the Teamsters signed contracts without the knowledge or consent of the farm workers they claimed to represent, and were willing to use violence to maintain their position.

The UFWOC quickly developed a counter-strategy to the Teamsters. They accelerated their organizing in the Salinas Valley, where farm workers picked 70 percent of the nation's iceberg lettuce as well as broccoli, cauliflower, carrots, celery, strawberries, and artichokes. The workers took to the streets in large marches and rallies beginning in August, 1970, and voted to strike. The threat of a strike and boycott led to negotiations among the unions, but they were unproductive. Cesar Chavez undertook another fast in response to the threats of violence, but ended the fast after six days when his health deteriorated.

The Salinas Strike

When it became clear that the Teamsters contracts with the Salinas Growers-Shippers Vegetable Association (GSVA) would stay in place, the area's farm workers rallied, renewed their commitment to strike, and pledged to remain nonviolent. The atmosphere grew tense as the GSVA obtained injunctions that prohibited picketing, local growers hired armed guards, and Teamsters physically intimidated UFWOC members. Other acts of violence followed, while local law enforcement officers sided with the growers.

Farm workers protested outside the DiGiorgio headquarters during what were perceived as being unfair union elections during the Delano grape strike. In the face of an injunction limiting the number of picketers who could assemble, Chavez suggested that farm workers gather at the edges of Di Giorgio ranches and pray instead of picket. A shrine was added to a station wagon, seen in the photo, to support these efforts. Photo courtesy of www.farmworkermovement.us. Photo by Jon Lewis, c. 1966.

On March 10th, 1968, Cesar Chavez breaks his 25-day fast by accepting bread from Senator Robert Kennedy, Delano, California. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Richard Darby, March 10, 1968.

Senator Robert Kennedy and Dolores Huerta address the press at the end of Cesar Chavez's 25-day fast, Delano, California. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Richard Darby, 1968.

El Malcriado

THE VOICE OF THE FARM WORKER

10¢

in English

VOLUME 4 NUMBER 1 DELANO, CALIFORNIA JUNE 15, 1970

COACHELLA VALLEY TABLE GRAPES
NET WT. 22 LBS.
PRODUCE OF U.S.A.
GROWN AND PACKED BY: LARSON
THERMAL, CALIFORNIA 92271
FARMWORKERS AFL-CIO
UNION LABEL

BULLETIN: More growers to sign with U.F.W.O.C.

UNION PROTECTION EXPANDS TO INCLUDE MELON AND PEACH WORKERS

SEE PAGES THREE AND SEVEN

El Malcriado was the union newspaper and the cover of this issue dated June 15, 1970, features Richard Chavez displaying a box of Coachella Valley grapes featuring the union label. Photo courtesy of www. farmworkermovement.us. c. 1970

Cesar Chavez walks to the Monterey County Jail, surrounded by supporters, Salinas, California, December, 1970. Chavez was jailed for 20 days for refusing to obey a court order to stop the boycott against Bud Antle lettuce. Manuel Uranday is in the far right corner. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Cris Sanchez, 1970.

A demonstration outside of a barber shop against the arrest and imprisonment of Cesar Chavez, Salinas, California. Men hold signs that read “LIBERTAD POR CHAVEZ” (Freedom for Chavez). Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Cris Sanchez, 1970.

Ethel Kennedy (center), widow of Senator Robert Kennedy, arrives at the Monterey County jail to visit Cesar Chavez amidst the jeers of an anti-UFW mob, December 6, 1970. To her left is Dolores Huerta. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Gene Daniels, 1970.

In addition to supporters of Cesar Chavez, anti-UFW protestors staged demonstrations outside of the Monterey County Jail. Photo courtesy of www.farmworkermovement.us. Photo by Hub Segur, 1970.

Cesar Chavez speaks to striking United Farm Workers (UFW) members, Salinas, California. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1970.

Members of the United Farm Workers (UFW) wave flags at the edge of a field during the lettuce boycott, Salinas, California. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1970.

A demonstration against Teamster involvement with farm workers in front of Teamster headquarters, Los Angeles, California. Picketers carry signs that read “Don’t Fight Unite” and “We Support the UFWU.” Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Doyle, 1973.

Photograph showing the granting of the National Charter for the United Farm Workers Union. Photo courtesy of www.farmworkermovement.us. Photo by: Jon Lewis, 1972.

Senator Edward (Ted) Kennedy, at podium, speaks during the first constitutional convention of the United Farm Workers Union (UFW), Fresno, California. Behind him stands his first wife, Virginia Joan Bennett. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1973.

The injunctions and mounting acts of violence convinced the UFWOC to pull farm workers away from the picket lines and instead focus on a boycott of non-UFWOC lettuce. Boycott organizers fanned out to 64 cities in North America.

The GSVA went to court to stop the boycott, and succeeded in obtaining an injunction against the boycott of its lettuce. Chavez defied the order, and was incarcerated at the Monterey County Jail in Salinas for contempt of court. While Chavez was in jail, the union maintained a constant vigil, with masses, rallies, and national media coverage, which escalated with two prominent visitors, Coretta Scott King and Ethel Rose Kennedy. After 20 days he was ordered released by the California Supreme Court.

The boycott continued until the growers promised to negotiate with the UFWOC, and when negotiations broke down, the lettuce boycott began again.

EVOLUTION OF THE UFW

While the organizing and boycott activities continued in Salinas, the union needed to administer the contracts that had already been signed. The union's leaders lacked experience administering large contracts, which required coordinating the election of ranch committees, ratifying the contracts, setting up hiring halls, verifying farm workers' seniority, administering the medical plan and life insurance program, and coordinating the collection of dues and the payment of taxes. Cesar refused to accept the administrative help offered by the AFL-CIO because he preferred to have farm workers learn the administrative tasks and build their capacity. UFWOC members at all levels struggled with their tasks, but Chavez was committed to the creation of a democratic union in which farm workers themselves would wield power and make decisions rather than rely on professional union administrators.

The union's growth paved the way for its admission into the AFL-CIO as a fully independent affiliate, renamed the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), in February 1971.

THE MOVE TO LA PAZ

When Chavez learned that Kern County was trying to sell the 187 acre former site of the Kern County Tuberculosis Hospital in the foothills of the Tehachapi Mountains, he contacted a union supporter who had offered to help the union buy its own ranch someday.

They acquired the property, and Chavez renamed the place Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (Our Lady Queen of Peace), or "La Paz". Chavez viewed the property as a place to retreat and plan strategy, a way to reduce his involvement in day-to-day union operations, and a space for a union training center, and he valued the peaceful and communal atmosphere reminiscent of Franciscan missions.

The decision to move the UFWOC's central administrative offices and staff residences to La Paz met some resistance from other union leaders, including Larry Itliong, who thought that the move would distance Chavez and other officers from farm workers, particularly the Filipino workers in Delano. Itliong opposed the union's emerging structure, and resigned in 1971.

The move to La Paz was accomplished in 1972. The full-time population of La Paz fluctuated between 100 and 150 individuals, most of whom lived in the old hospital's staff housing or in trailers. In addition, farm workers came to La Paz for training and volunteers passed through on their way to their assignments.

UNION SUCCESS IN FLORIDA

Other campaigns continued, including a prominent organizing drive in Florida. The UFW sent Manuel Chavez to organize the agricultural workers in the citrus groves of Minute Maid, a subsidiary of Coca-Cola. Coca-Cola recognized its vulnerability to a boycott, and signed a contract in 1972 with little protest.

The union's visible success in Florida led to a political initiative by a coalition of corporate growers and shippers, and anti-union groups, who joined the American Farm Bureau Federation and their allies in state offices to sponsor legislation that limited union voting rights to year-round employees, banned harvest-time strikes, banned boycotts, and, in some states, banned negotiations over pesticide use. Legislatures in Kansas, Idaho, Oregon, and Arizona passed these bills. UFWOC organizing was successful in defeating similar bills in Oregon and Florida.

ARIZONA FAST OF 1972

When the Farm Bureau bill passed in Arizona in 1972, Chavez and others arrived to support ongoing organizing and lobbying work, which had been led by Dolores Huerta. The well-known slogan "Si se puede!" emerged in this period from Dolores

Huerta's insistence on not saying "No se puede," rather "Si se puede!" (it can be done).

When the Arizona governor signed the Farm Bureau's bill, Chavez began a fast, most of which was conducted at the Santa Rita Community Center in Phoenix's south-side barrio, with farm workers gathering each evening to attend Mass, sing union songs, talk about unionization, and meet with prominent visitors such as Senator George McGovern and Coretta Scott King. The fast had the same mobilizing effect on farm workers that the Delano fast had in 1968. Chavez decided to end the fast after 24 days on June 4, the two-year anniversary of Robert Kennedy's assassination.

After the anti-union bill became law, UFW leaders organized a recall campaign against the Arizona governor. This campaign, while unsuccessful, nevertheless demonstrated tremendous public support and launched unprecedented numbers of Mexican Americans and Navajos into political office.

Proposition 22 in California

A similar anti-union bill was placed on the ballot in California in 1972. Despite being considerably outspent by pro-grower organizations, the UFW and its allies in California soundly defeated the bill. Unionized farm workers in California and across the country awakened to the political strength of their solidarity.

UFW Setbacks

The UFW's political victories of 1972 were impressive, but they came at a significant cost. Organizing activity in the fields came to a virtual standstill, and the hard-won three-year contracts with the table-grape industry were nearing expiration. The Teamsters moved in, with the political support of President Richard Nixon and proposed contracts directly intended to undermine UFW gains, against the will of farm workers whom they claimed to represent.

In April 1973 when growers signed contracts with the Teamsters, UFW members voted to strike any grower who signed with the Teamsters, beginning one of the most turbulent periods in the history of the farm labor movement. By the time Chavez ended the union's strikes against table-grape growers five months later, two UFW members had been killed, hundreds more injured, and more than 3,500 arrested for violating court injunctions against picketing and other demonstrations of protest. The teamsters used violence, and often the local law enforcement agencies sided with the Teamsters and growers.

Chavez's prediction that the Teamsters would capture the table grape industry held true, but the UFW strike continued. Chavez reminded union members of the importance of nonviolence as the violent treatment of strikers continued. In August, a young picket captain named Nagi Daifullah was knocked to the ground, suffered fatal head injuries and died on August 15. The next day, shots fired at pickets from a passing truck killed 60-year-old union member Juan de la Cruz. The sudden deaths, so close together, sent shock waves through the farm labor movement. As the union mourned, Chavez and the other union leaders agreed to call off all picketing until law enforcement agencies agree to provide for their safety. The UFW then shifted its dwindling resources to the boycott, targeting California's non-union table grapes and lettuce and the wines of Ernest and Julio Gallo.

By then, the union was almost a shadow of itself. During the strike of 1973 the UFW lost 90 percent of its contracts, dropping from 150 to 12 (which covered only about 6,500 farm workers), and its membership rolls dropped from 55,000 to 10,000. Yet the union's members remained committed to the struggle, and its boycott organizers remained spirited.

Despite skeptics' conclusions that the union's battle against the alliance of growers and Teamsters was hopeless, the boycott of non-union table grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine gained momentum. By the end of 1974, over 10 percent of the country's adult population had stopped buying grapes and lettuce.

California Agricultural Labor Relations Act

The union's leaders realized that the boycott alone would not force growers to recognize the union or allow elections. To beat the Teamsters and gain leverage with the growers, the union needed a law that would level the playing field and regulate the players. Agricultural workers were not covered under the National Labor Relations Act, the federal law that governed most labor relationships. At various times, this exemption was used by both unions and growers when it served their purposes.

In California, the November 1974 election of Jerry Brown as governor was seen as the beginning of a new era of possibility for the farm labor movement. After a major UFW-organized march to Sacramento, Governor Brown agreed to try to forge a bill that

The educational center at La Paz was named in honor of Fred W. Ross. Photo courtesy of www.farmworkermovement.us. Photographer unknown,1979.

Today, the building at La Paz that housed the Fred W. Ross Farmworker Educational Center has been renovated and named "Villa La Paz" as part of the National Chavez Center. The facility is still used for training, education, meetings and capacity building. Photo: NPS, 2011.

Supporters of the UFW march through the streets of Phoenix carrying signs, crucifixes, and banners with Our Lady of Guadalupe on them to the mass that ended Cesar Chavez's 24-day "Fast for Justice", which took place at the Santa Rita Center. Joseph Kennedy III is shown in center, next to the banner of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Chavez decided to end the fast on June 4, the two-year anniversary of Robert Kennedy's assassination. As many as five thousand farmworkers arrived at a Phoenix hotel for a memorial Mass in Kennedy's honor, a brief statement from Chavez, and a rally. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, June 4, 1972.

would be acceptable to the state's influential growers and farm workers.

By the end of May, Chavez knew that he would get what he wanted: binding, timely, secret-ballot elections; the right to boycott; voting rights for seasonal workers; protection for organizers in the fields; and the establishment of a government agency to certify election results and enforce the law's provisions. Growers, for their part, were satisfied that the legal framework would curtail the constant disruptions of strikes and boycotts that hampered their harvests and cost the industry millions of dollars. They were pleased, too, with the creation of a five-person supervisory board appointed by the governor.

On June 5, 1975, Governor Brown announced a remarkable political achievement—the signing into law of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA). The bill marked a victory for Brown as well, one of the first significant accomplishments of his administration.

VII. The Modernization of the United Farm Workers and the Broadening of the Farm Labor Movement in the U.S., 1975-1984

After the passage of the landmark Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ARLA) —which carried with it the explicit promise of fair and timely elections for farm workers seeking union representation and contracts—Chavez looked ahead to future challenges. He had developed a broad social vision, and wanted not only to negotiate union contracts, but to build health clinics and service cooperatives, address the public health and environmental safety problems caused by pesticides in the fields and engage politically to address discrimination faced by the farm workers. He also saw the need to reorganize and professionalize the union to enable it to meet the needs of their membership. At the same time, the state and the nation were becoming more politically conservative, creating an atmosphere in which these social goals would be difficult to achieve.

1,000-Mile March

Governor Jerry Brown's signing of the ALRA marked a proud moment for the farm labor movement, but growers also regarded it as a victory. Implementation of the law was plagued by conflict, contested elections, charges of unfair labor practices, lawsuits, and the limits of a new, inexperienced, and underfunded enforcement agency.

In July, 1975, the UFW organized a 1,000-mile march from San Ysidro north to Sacramento, then south again to La Paz, in order to publicize violations of the new law and create new opportunities for organizing. The 59-day march and its events succeeded in spreading the news of the ALRA among the state's farm workers, and it built momentum for upcoming elections. The march also was used to aid the effort to ban *el cortito* (the short-handled hoe) from the fields of California. The march rejuvenated Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Proposition 14

The union's leaders decided to put the key deficiencies of the ALRA, including lack of funding and experienced staff, and two possible remedies, before the state's voters. They prepared a ballot initiative that, if approved, would require the legislature to adequately fund the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) every year and require growers to allow all union organizers equal access to workers in the fields. In the summer of 1976, union volunteers collected signatures from more than 700,000 supporters, and put Proposition 14 on the November 1976 ballot.

However, corporate agribusiness interests launched a major media campaign against Proposition 14, and succeeded in casting the ballot measure as an attack on private property rights, and the initiative was soundly defeated.

UFW Emerges as Dominant Union in California Agriculture

After a long, difficult year in which most of the union's energy and resources went into driving the campaign for Proposition 14, filing complaints against growers, preparing for elections, and haranguing the farm-labor board for its lack of progress, the UFW finally found a cause for celebration and a reason for optimism. In March 1977, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons announced that the International Brotherhood was giving up its claims to field workers and that it would not seek to renew most of its remaining contracts covering farm workers in California. The announcement marked the end of the bitter, wasteful struggle between the two unions. With a membership approaching 40,000, the UFW in 1977 had become the dominant union in California agriculture.

Organizing campaigns and election drives continued to swell the union's membership rolls to a peak of more than 100,000.

When union contracts with lettuce growers in the Imperial and Salinas valleys were set to expire in 1979, the UFW insisted on negotiating with the entire industry at once so that growers under contract would not suffer a competitive disadvantage. Nearly 5,000 lettuce-pickers working on eight large ranches walked off their jobs, starting the union's first major strike in almost four years and shutting down one-third of the nation's iceberg lettuce production.

Despite the fatal shooting of union member Rufino Contreras at the Mario Saikhon Ranch, the farm workers' commitment grew, and by fall, the growers had signed contracts. This was one of the union's greatest victories. Lettuce-pickers under union contract became the highest paid field workers in the country, and veteran union members and recently-organized farm workers alike saw what they could accomplish through unified, nonviolent effort.

UFW Organizational Growth and Challenges

For several years, the union's leaders had been aware of mounting internal divisions over issues such as union leaders' various duties, the degree of Chavez's own influence over day-to-day operations, salaries for union leaders and staff, and the allocation of resources in political campaigns, legal battles, social services, and field organizing.

The contracts signed with growers who had operations in the Salinas Valley and Imperial Valley propelled the union into a new phase, in which the UFW evolved into a modern union with a well-defined management structure and an organizational system capable of handling tens of thousands of union members. The UFW leadership adopted a "team-management" model, requiring each board member to take command of one area of the union's operations. It relieved Chavez of the need to make all decisions, and was based on individual responsibility, accountability, and, "systematic and intensive communication."

Cesar continued to view his fight as more than a struggle for union recognition and contracts. La Causa was a labor movement, one that had evolved into a modern labor union, but it also was a social movement, one that sought dignity for farm workers, Chicanos, and other marginalized groups. Under Chavez's leadership, the union began to participate in the campaigns of politicians identified as allies. Chavez also began exploring the idea of a broader "Chicano lobby" in Sacramento and Washington, D.C., that would advocate the interests of all Mexican Americans.

During this time, a number of leaders and staff members who thought that the UFW could no longer be both a labor union and a social movement decided to resign, and not always on good terms. Some internal critics thought that the UFW was becoming too bureaucratic and falling out of touch with its roots as a social movement. Others thought that the union remained too close to its roots and that it needed the guidance of a professional management team. Others left because they thought that it was not doing enough to support grassroots organizing among farm workers out in the fields. Still others disagreed with the union policy of paying staff members as if they were volunteers rather than professional managers.

Divisions between the executive board and local union representatives in the Salinas Valley hurt the union as well. Local leaders who wanted more help with local services unsuccessfully challenged the elections at the union's convention in 1981. With the media coverage of internal UFW conflicts, growers began to sense that the UFW was weakening. They became more aggressive in obstructing organizing drives, contesting elections, and stalling contract negotiations. The original ALRB leadership and staff had been replaced with more conservative members, and election monitoring was reduced. In the conflict another union member was killed, this time at a union election in 1983 at a dairy ranch near Fresno.

Boycott against Unrestricted Pesticide Use

By the end of 1983, the union's strength was waning and its organizing efforts were spiraling downward. The union had difficulty attracting votes, getting elections certified, and persuading growers to negotiate contracts. The absence of new contracts limited resources and created the impression that the union was not worth voting for. Membership in the union plummeted to less than 40,000.

In the face of this spiral, the union decided to focus on the environmental and health risks associated with the hundreds of millions of tons of chemical pesticides dumped on grapes and other crops each year.

The union had opposed the unrestricted use of pesticides since the late 1960s. The UFW's opposition to unrestricted pesticide use provided a common cause with environmental and consumer safety groups. While 300,000 farm workers across

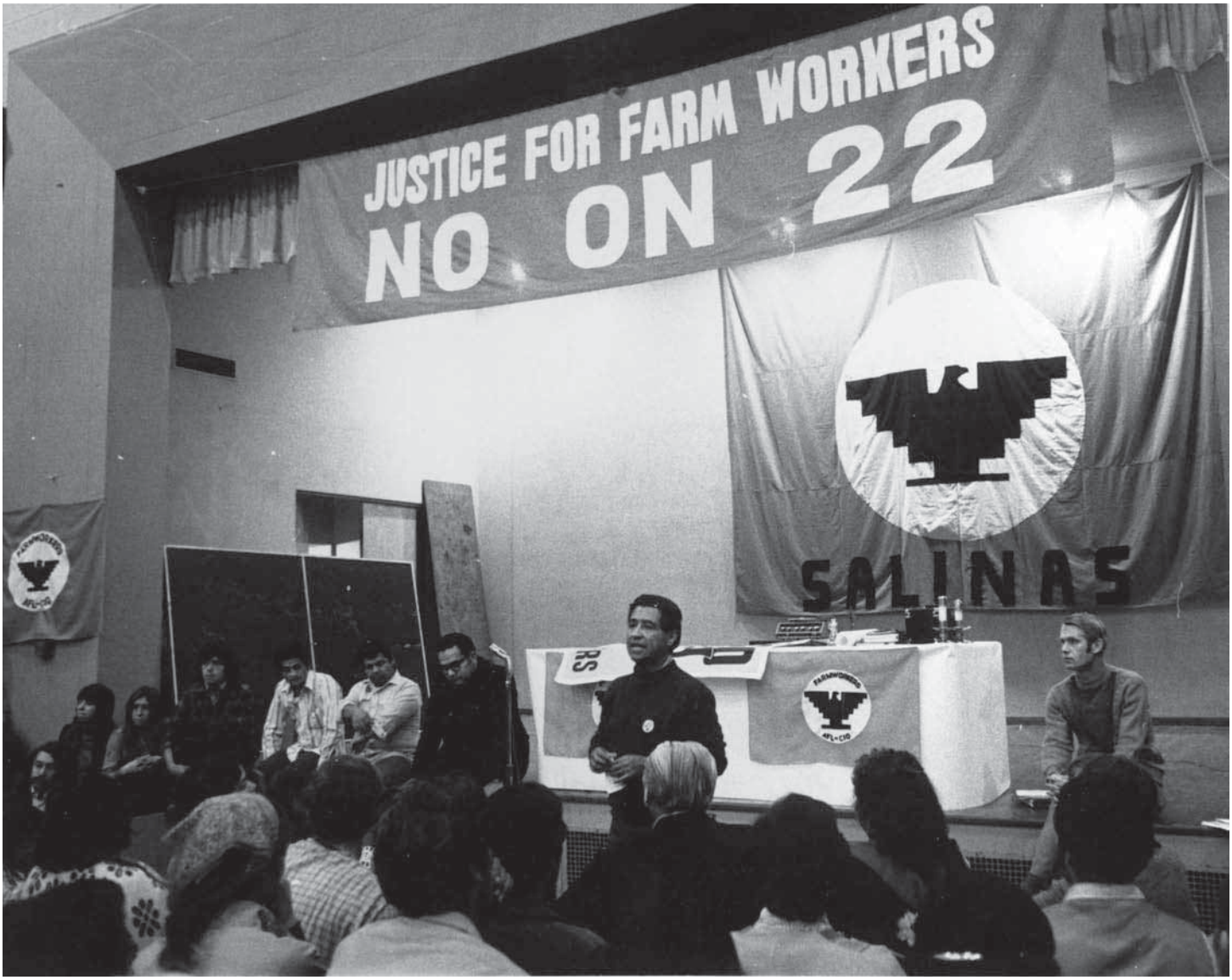
Protesters rally in support of farm workers at a Big Star store in Atlanta, Georgia. Left to right Ron Roberts (CWA), John Wright (President of Atlanta Labor Counsel), Jim Lynch, James Bond (backs to camera), City Councilman elect Bill Coleman, (SNCC Organizer) Bob Thompson, two amalgamated clothing workers of America organizers. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Iarden Failey,1973.

A nighttime picket by members and supporters of the UFW of a boycotted store, location unknown, Circa 1970s. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Paul Ramirez, c. 1970s.

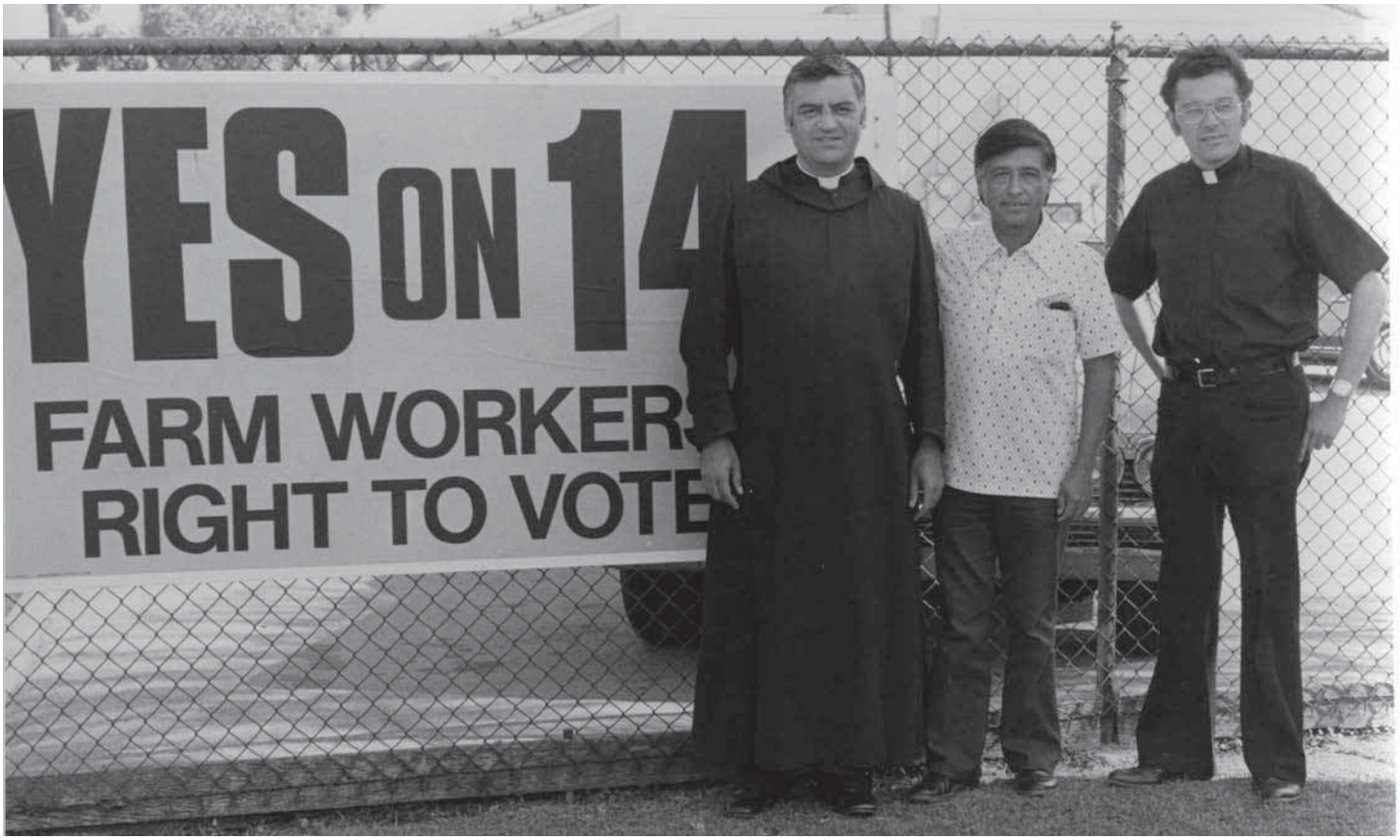
Supporters of the UFW Gallo Wine Boycott demonstrate in front of a liquor store, location unknown. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1970s.

Richard Chavez speaks during an outdoor rally at the Farm Bureau National Convention, Los Angeles, California. Left to right: Richard Chavez, LeRoy Chatfield. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Glen Pearcy, 1972.

Dolores Huerta, surrounded by United Farm Workers supporters and with Richard Chavez standing behind her, speaks to the press outside of the Farm Bureau National Convention in Los Angeles, California. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Glen Pearcy, 1972.



Cesar Chavez speaks at a rally at Lincoln Park opposing Proposition 22, Salinas, California. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Cris Sanchez,1972.



Cesar Chavez stands with two unidentified priests in front of sign in support of Proposition 14 that reads “YES ON 14 - FARM WORKERS RIGHT TO VOTE”, location unknown. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown,1976.

the country suffered illnesses caused by pesticide exposure every year, millions of Americans ate grapes and other produce items contaminated with pesticide residues. With high expectations of support from a wide range of interests, Chavez called for a national boycott of California grapes in June 1984. This campaign would help define the union through the rest of the decade.

VIII. Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement in a New Era in California and Across the U.S., 1984-1993

This section of the historic context examines the last decade of Chavez's life and the battles that the UFW faced during that time. The UFW never regained the strength it had in the 1970s, yet Cesar was never discouraged. According to Chavez, the most important battle already had been won: "In truth, hundreds of thousands of farm workers in California, and in other states, are better off today because of our work. And Hispanics across California and the nation, who don't work in agriculture, are better off today because of what the farm workers taught people—about organizing, about pride and strength, about seizing control over their own lives."

The union's new boycott of grapes took off, using computer-generated mailing lists, modern offset-printing equipment and mass mailings urging sympathizers to boycott California grapes until growers agreed to negotiate with the UFW and meet its demand to stop using pesticides known to have caused cancer in laboratory animals.

Cesar continued to make speeches with grace and eloquence, maintaining his broader focus on the union's fight against multiple injustices, especially poverty, racism, corporate welfare, the failure of the state to enforce the law, and the poisoning of the environment.

The table grape boycott was much harder to sell in 1984 than it had been in 1968 and 1973. Organized labor was reeling from the loss of manufacturing jobs and the political climate. The antiwar activists had grown up, developed careers, and their priorities had changed.

Yet the pesticide issue did not go away. In 1985, as many as 1,000 people became ill after eating California-produced watermelons that had been sprayed with Aldicarb, an illegal pesticide. In 1986, 120 citrus workers at the LaBue Ranch in Tulare County suffered burns when they came into contact with a combination of chemical pesticides that had not been approved by agriculture regulators. In 1987, twenty-seven farm workers in Fresno County were treated for symptoms of pesticide poisoning—rashes, dizziness, eye irritation, nausea, and respiratory difficulties, and new cancer clusters were identified in other San Joaquin Valley towns, including Delano.

The union produced and distributed 50,000 copies of a short documentary titled *The Wrath of Grapes* in 1987. It conveyed the stories of families whose children were born with birth defects or later developed cancer as a result of pesticides Chavez and other union leaders also continued to deliver speeches, lead marches, and participate in rallies throughout California and the rest of the country.

Fast Against Cancer-Causing Pesticides

As the table grape boycott entered its fourth year, Chavez sensed a need to refocus himself, the union, and its supporters on the campaign and its deeper meaning. Chavez decided to begin a new public fast, pledging to fast until table grape growers agreed to negotiate new contracts and eliminate cancer-causing pesticides. After 36 days, Chavez was advised to end the fast or risk permanent damage to his health and possibly death. On August 21, 1988, eight thousand farm workers and supporters, including Jesse Jackson, Ethel Kennedy, Tom Hayden, Martin Sheen and Edward James Olmos joined Chavez at the Forty Acres to attend Mass and celebrate the end of the fast. Supporters agreed to take up the fast in three-day periods and continue a "chain of suffering."

The fast was hard on Chavez's health, but it did not elicit a response from the growers. However it did produce a wave of media attention and a series of rallies, grocery-store pickets, and vigils around the country. Within two years, grape consumption was down considerably in major metropolitan cities throughout the US.

By the spring of 1989, Chavez was back on the road, speaking to farm workers, church groups, college students, and consumer groups. He continued to spread a broad message about the struggles of farm workers, pesticide poisoning, public health and the environment, public education, affordable housing, job training and opportunities. Chavez drew large audiences wherever he went, and he commanded the respect of a major labor and civil rights leader.

Even as the union was enjoying steady gains in boycott support and making progress in the fields, it was beset by financial problems stemming from lawsuits filed by growers to contest union elections and seek damages for losses from the union-organized boycotts.

CESAR CHAVEZ'S FINAL DAYS

Chavez traveled to San Luis, Arizona, in April 1993 to testify against a lawsuit filed by the Bruce Church Company, a corporate giant in the lettuce industry. After two days of testimony he was tired but confident, eager to defeat the lawsuit and return to organizing work. On April 22 Chavez spent an evening with UFW board member David Martinez at the San Luis home of Dona Maria Hau, a retired farm worker. Sometime in the early morning hours of April 23, 1993, Cesar died from natural causes. He was 66 years old.

News of Cesar's death spread, as did feelings of shock, sadness, grief, and gratitude for all that Cesar did, all that he fought for, and all that he symbolized. Almost forty thousand people made their way to Delano to pay their respects and to march with Cesar behind the red and black union flags one last time.

Farm workers, political leaders and celebrities reflected on Cesar's passing the words of Pete Velasco, a Filipino immigrant, farm worker, and union leader, perhaps reflect the widest sentiment:

> "Cesar was a gift to the farm workers, to all people, and to me. He taught us how to walk in the jungle and not be afraid. He taught us to maintain dignity. The spirit within every one of us has become renewed, just like the spirit of 1965 has come back to life. And that was a beautiful legacy that we received from our brother Cesar Chavez."

After the funeral procession, Chavez was laid to rest in a simple, private ceremony at La Paz.

Chavez's legacy matches that of any social leader in the U.S. during the twentieth century. Identification and preservation of sites associated with Chavez's life and the history of the labor movement that he led will ensure that this legacy is not forgotten. At the same time, identification and preservation of sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement will recognize the difficulties that farm labors faced in their efforts to form the attachments to place that most Americans take for granted. Properties such as the Forty Acres near Delano and Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz in the Tehachapi Mountains have particular importance. Purchased, shaped, and maintained by farm workers, these sites reflect the strength and permanence of their union. They remain sources of pride for Mexican Americans and others who supported the UFW in the 1960s and 1970s and continue to support the union today. For all Americans, these sites are critical locations for understanding U.S. history as it unfolded over the course of the twentieth century.

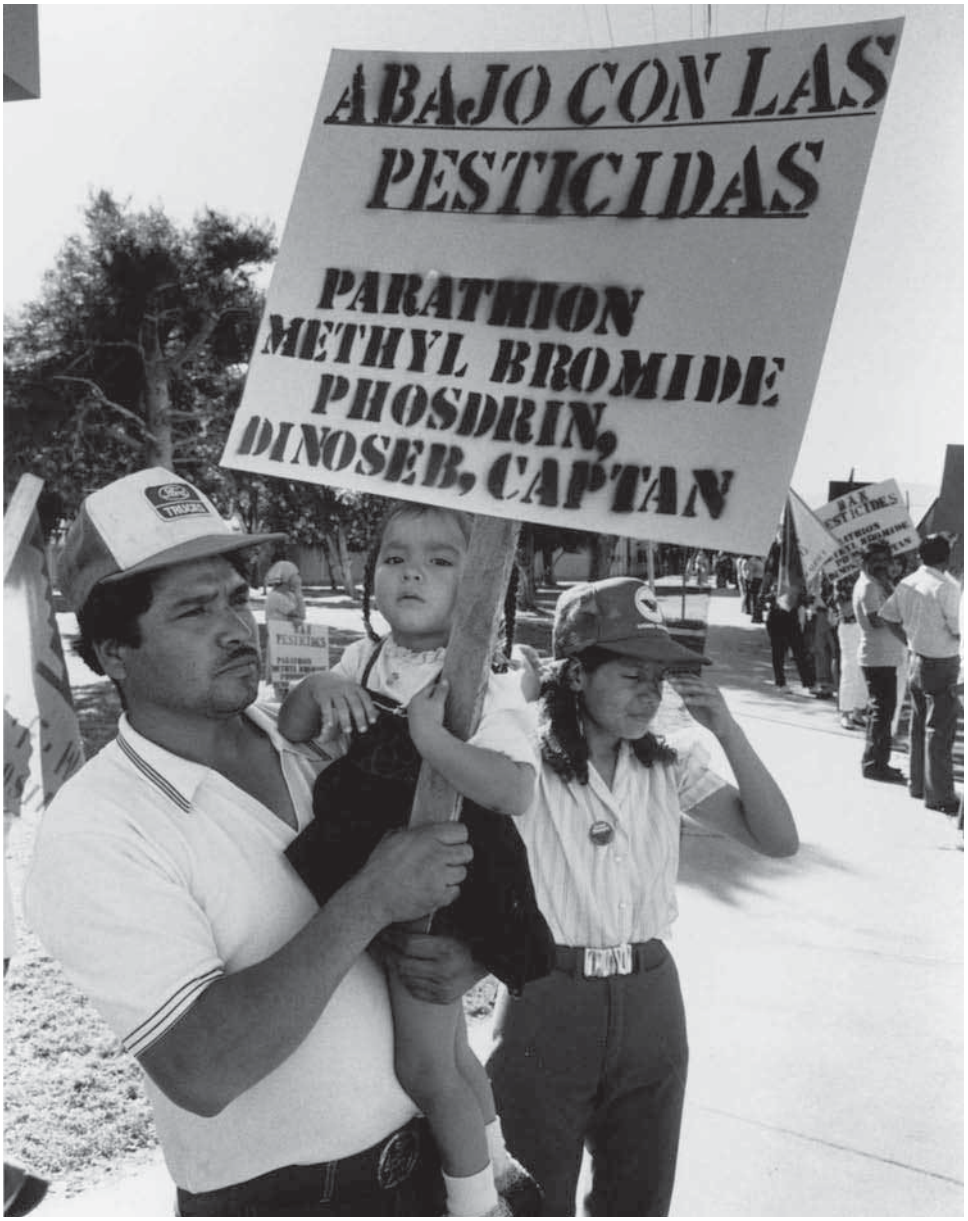
Historic Contexts & Resource Descriptions

Properties identified as being associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement correspond to eight historic contexts that are defined chronologically (*Table 2-1: Properties Associated with Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement*). Each property is categorized within each historic context by its associative characteristics (characteristics reflecting its association with one or more historic contexts) rather than its physical characteristics (e.g., style, structural type, size, scale, proportions, design, or architectural details).

In general, each of these properties might include buildings such as houses, social halls, schools, churches, courthouses, service centers, community centers, office buildings, commercial buildings, and civic auditoriums; sites such as labor camps, ranches, parks, plazas, fairgrounds, and athletic fields; and routes related to marches and picket lines.

1. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's early life and formative experiences between 1927 and 1952

These properties reflect and illustrate specific conditions and experiences that shaped Cesar Chavez's early life and thereby laid a foundation for his later careers as a community organizer, labor leader, and advocate for social justice. Most of these properties are located in Arizona and southern California. They include homes where the Chavez family lived, segregated and unsegregated schools that Chavez and his siblings attended, churches that the Chavez family attended, places where Chavez or his family worked, and places where Chavez gathered with friends.



Farm workers in Indio, California demonstrate in support of a ban of five dangerous pesticides that threaten the health of themselves and their children: parathion, methyl bromide, phosdrin, dinoseb, and captan. Shows a ma who holds his child and carries a sign that reads: “Abajo con las pesticidas” (Down with pesticides”). Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1980s.

A demonstration for the United Farm Workers renewed grape boycott. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1980s.

Celebrities speak at a press conference in support of Cesar Chavez's 1988 "Fast For Life"; a campaign to end the usage of pesticides and a boycott of grapes, August, 1988. (Left to Right: Actors Lou Diamond Phillips, Charles Haid, Edward James Olmos, Edward Albert, Martin Sheen, Robert Blake, Julie Carmen, and an unidentified women). Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown,1988.

2. Properties associated with the development of the agricultural industry, agricultural labor, and agricultural labor activism in the American West before 1960

These properties relate to the historical development of the agricultural industry and agricultural labor force in the American West and the history of the farm labor movement before Cesar Chavez became involved in it. Many of these properties are located in California. Associated properties include ranches, labor camps, union halls, and sites of conflict between farm labors and growers. The physical integrity of most of these properties is likely to be insufficient for listing in the National Register or National Historic Landmark designation.

3. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer and the emergence of Dolores Huerta between 1952 and 1962

Most of these properties are associated with Cesar Chavez's development as a community organizer, from his first exposure to the Community Service Organization (CSO) in 1952 to his decision to resign as president of the organization ten years later in order to form a labor union for farm labors. The rest of the properties reflect and illustrate Dolores Huerta's formative experiences and her work with the CSO. All of these properties are located in California, many of them in San Jose, Oakland, Oxnard, Stockton, and Los Angeles. They include homes where the Chavez and Huerta families lived, service centers affiliated with the CSO, churches, social halls, labor camps that the CSO sought to improve, ranches that were struck, office buildings, and march routes, among other properties.

4. Properties associated with the organization of the Farm Workers Association between 1962 and 1965

These properties reflect and illustrate the early efforts of Cesar Chavez, Helen Chavez, the Chavez children and extended family (especially Manuel Chavez), Dolores Huerta, Gilbert Padilla, Julio Hernández, Jim Drake, and others to form the Farm Workers Association (FWA) in Delano and build its membership throughout California's San Joaquin Valley. The properties include homes, public parks where recruitment events were held, office buildings, the site of the FWA's founding convention in Fresno, and the grower operation and labor camps that became the first targets of FWA strikes.

5. Properties associated with the Delano grape strike between 1965 and 1970

These properties reflect and illustrate the most important period in the modern history of the farm labor movement in the American West, a period that began when Filipino farm labors in Delano voted to go on strike and lasted until growers signed union contracts almost five years later. Most of these properties are in Delano and elsewhere in Kern County, California, but some are located in other parts of the state and in cities that UFW boycotters moved to throughout the West, Midwest, and East. Associated properties include homes (some of which served as boycott headquarters), courthouses and other government buildings, social halls such as the Filipino Community Hall, churches, ranches that were struck, office buildings, parks and fairgrounds, hotels and motels, march routes, and the grounds and buildings of the United Farm Workers' first national headquarters (the Forty Acres).

6. Properties associated with the Salinas strike, the fight against the Teamsters, and agricultural labor laws between 1970 and 1975

These properties are associated with the UFW's continuing development as a union and its battle to organize farm labors in the Salinas and Santa Maria Valleys while fending off efforts by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to do likewise. This battle began in 1970 with setbacks for the UFW, but the passage of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975 signaled the union's coming victory. Many associated properties are located in or near Salinas but other properties are in central and southern California, Arizona, Texas, Florida, and Oregon. They include office buildings, courthouses, community centers such as the Santa Rita center in Phoenix, hotels where negotiations were conducted and rallies held, a convention center where the UFW constitutional convention was held, ranches, march routes, and the site of the UFW's national headquarters (Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz).

7. Properties associated with the modernization of the United Farm Workers and the broadening of the farm labor movement between 1975 and 1984

These properties relate to the transformation of the UFW into a modern union and the evolution of the farm labor movement as its apparent strength declined. Most of these properties are located in California and Arizona. They include ranches where violent confrontations and union elections took place, schools and other sites of rallies or protests, homes, centers such as El Centro Campesino Cultural in San Juan Bautista, and march routes.

8. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in a new era, between 1984 and 1993

These properties reflect and illustrate the challenges that Cesar Chavez and the farm labors faced in a new political climate and their responses, beginning with a renewed grapes boycott called to raise awareness of the dangers of pesticides and ending with Chavez's death in 1993. Most of these properties are located in California, though the national scope of Chavez's efforts and the union's activities indicates that other properties will be found throughout the country. Associated properties include homes, ranches (some of them the sites of pesticide poisonings), march routes, sites of rallies, and centers such as the Pesticide Education Center in San Francisco.

Table 2-1: Properties Associated with Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement

Property/Site	City/Town (or proximate)	Historic Context							
		1. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's early life and formative experiences between 1927 and 1952.	2. Properties associated with the development of the agricultural industry, agricultural labor, and agricultural labor activism in the American West before 1960.	3. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer and the emergence of Dolores Huerta between 1952 and 1962.	4. Properties associated with the organization of the Farm Workers Association between 1962 and 1965.	5. Properties associated with the Delano grape strike, 1965 to 1970.	6. Properties associated with the Salinas strike, the fight against the Teamsters, and agricultural labor laws between 1970 and 1975.	7. Properties associated with the modernization of the United Farm Workers and the broadening of the farm labor movement between 1975 and 1984.	8. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in a new era, 1984 to 1993.
San Francisco-Oakland, CA Area									
East Bay Huelga Headquarters	Oakland					✓			
NFWA Office	San Francisco					✓			
San Francisco Labor Temple	San Francisco					✓			
St. Paul's Convent (Boycott House)	San Francisco						✓		
San Jose-San Juan Bautista-Salinas, CA Area									
Monterey County Jail	Salinas						✓		
Mexican American Political Association Office	Salinas						✓		
UFW Legal Offices	Salinas						✓		
Hartnell Community College Athletic Field	Salinas						✓		
San Jerardo Cooperative	Salinas							✓	
Chavez Family Residence (Scharff Avenue)	San Jose	✓		✓					
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Summer Street)	San Jose			✓					
CSO Office (Santa Clara Street)	San Jose			✓					
CSO Office (Jackson Avenue)	San Jose			✓					
McDonnell Hall, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church	San Jose			✓					
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Wabash Avenue)	San Jose			✓					
Mexican Heritage Plaza Site	San Jose					✓			

Table 2-1: Properties Associated with Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement (continued)

Property/Site	City/Town (or proximate)	Historic Context							
		1. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's early life and formative experiences between 1927 and 1952.	2. Properties associated with the development of the agricultural industry, agricultural labor, and agricultural labor activism in the American West before 1960.	3. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer and the emergence of Dolores Huerta between 1952 and 1962.	4. Properties associated with the organization of the Farm Workers Association between 1962 and 1965.	5. Properties associated with the Delano grape strike, 1965 to 1970.	6. Properties associated with the Salinas strike, the fight against the Teamsters, and agricultural labor laws between 1970 and 1975.	7. Properties associated with the modernization of the United Farm Workers and the broadening of the farm labor movement between 1975 and 1984.	8. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in a new era, 1984 to 1993.
Evergreen Ranch Site	San Jose			✓					
Center for Employment Training	San Jose						✓	✓	✓
Theodore Roosevelt Junior High School	San Jose						✓	✓	
El Teatro Campesino	San Juan Bautista					✓	✓		
Mission San Juan Bautista	San Juan Bautista						✓		
Sacramento-Stockton-Modesto-Fresno-Caruthers-Visalia-Porterville, CA Area									
Migrant Farm Worker Housing Center	Calistoga					✓			
St. Mary's Church	Stockton			✓					
Graceada Park	Modesto						✓		
Fresno County Jail	Fresno						✓		
El Centro Campesino Cultural	Fresno					✓			
Sikkema Dairy Ranch	Caruthers							✓	
Linnell Farm Labor Center	Visalia					✓			
Woodville Farm Labor Center	Porterville					✓			
Delano, CA Area									
The Forty Acres	Delano					✓	✓	✓	✓
Filipino Community Hall	Delano					✓			
People's Bar and Café	Delano					✓			
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	Delano				✓	✓			
NFWA Office (Albany Street)	Delano				✓	✓			

Table 2-1: Properties Associated with Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement (continued)

Property/Site	City/Town (or proximate)	Historic Context							
		1. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's early life and formative experiences between 1927 and 1952.	2. Properties associated with the development of the agricultural industry, agricultural labor, and agricultural labor activism in the American West before 1960.	3. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer and the emergence of Dolores Huerta between 1952 and 1962.	4. Properties associated with the organization of the Farm Workers Association between 1962 and 1965.	5. Properties associated with the Delano grape strike, 1965 to 1970.	6. Properties associated with the Salinas strike, the fight against the Teamsters, and agricultural labor laws between 1970 and 1975.	7. Properties associated with the modernization of the United Farm Workers and the broadening of the farm labor movement between 1975 and 1984.	8. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in a new era, 1984 to 1993.
Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, Meeting Hall	Delano					✓			
Baptist Church ("Negrito Hall")	Delano					✓			
Stardust Motel	Delano					✓			
Larry Itliong Residence	Delano		✓		✓	✓			
Richard Chavez Residence	Delano				✓	✓			
American Legion Hall	Delano			✓					
Dolores Huerta Residence	Delano				✓	✓			
DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, Sierra Vista Ranch	Delano					✓			
NFWA Strike Headquarters ("Arroyo Camp")	Delano					✓			
Delano High School, Auditorium	Delano					✓			
NFWSC Headquarters	Delano					✓			
Delano Memorial Park	Delano					✓			
NFWA Office (The "Pink House")	Delano					✓	✓		
Bakersfield-Lamont-Arvin-Keene, CA Area									
DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, Di Giorgio Farms	Arvin					✓			
Arvin Farm Labor Center	Bakersfield		✓		✓	✓			
Kern County Superior Court Building	Bakersfield					✓			
Giumarra Vineyards Corporation	Bakersfield					✓			

Table 2-1: Properties Associated with Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement (continued)

Property/Site	City/Town (or proximate)	Historic Context							
		1. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's early life and formative experiences between 1927 and 1952.	2. Properties associated with the development of the agricultural industry, agricultural labor, and agricultural labor activism in the American West before 1960.	3. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer and the emergence of Dolores Huerta between 1952 and 1962.	4. Properties associated with the organization of the Farm Workers Association between 1962 and 1965.	5. Properties associated with the Delano grape strike, 1965 to 1970.	6. Properties associated with the Salinas strike, the fight against the Teamsters, and agricultural labor laws between 1970 and 1975.	7. Properties associated with the modernization of the United Farm Workers and the broadening of the farm labor movement between 1975 and 1984.	8. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in a new era, 1984 to 1993.
Kern County Fairgrounds	Bakersfield					✓			
Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz ("La Paz")	Keene						✓	✓	✓
UFWOC Field Office	Lamont					✓	✓		
Carpinteria-Ventura-Oxnard, CA Area									
Carpinteria State Beach	Carpinteria			✓					
Buena Vista Labor Camp	Oxnard			✓					
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Wright Road)	Oxnard			✓					
CSO Office (Grant Avenue)	Oxnard			✓					
NFWA Office	Oxnard					✓			
Cesar Chavez Boyhood Residence (Garfield Avenue)	Oxnard	✓							
CSO Office (Hayes Street)	Oxnard			✓					
Farm Labor Placement Service Office	Ventura			✓					
Los Angeles, CA Area									
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Folsom Street)	Los Angeles			✓					
CSO Headquarters (Soto Street)	Los Angeles			✓					
CSO Headquarters (4th Street)	Los Angeles			✓					
UFWOC Field Office	Los Angeles					✓			

Table 2-1: Properties Associated with Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement (continued)

Property/Site	City/Town (or proximate)	Historic Context							
		1. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's early life and formative experiences between 1927 and 1952.	2. Properties associated with the development of the agricultural industry, agricultural labor, and agricultural labor activism in the American West before 1960.	3. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer and the emergence of Dolores Huerta between 1952 and 1962.	4. Properties associated with the organization of the Farm Workers Association between 1962 and 1965.	5. Properties associated with the Delano grape strike, 1965 to 1970.	6. Properties associated with the Salinas strike, the fight against the Teamsters, and agricultural labor laws between 1970 and 1975.	7. Properties associated with the modernization of the United Farm Workers and the broadening of the farm labor movement between 1975 and 1984.	8. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in a new era, 1984 to 1993.
California Migrant Ministry Offices	Los Angeles					✓			
La Iglesia de Nuestra Senora Reina de Los Angeles ("La Placita")	Los Angeles					✓	✓	✓	
Church of the Epiphany	Los Angeles					✓	✓	✓	
Boycott House (Winter Street)	Los Angeles					✓			
Boycott House (1st Street)	Los Angeles					✓			
Boycott House (Pacific Avenue)	Los Angeles					✓			
Boycott House (Harvard Street)	Los Angeles					✓			
Boycott House (Hobart Street)	Los Angeles					✓			
Borrego Springs-Coachella-Coachella Valley-Thermal, CA Area									
Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation, Borrego Springs Ranch	Borrego Springs				✓				
UFWOC Field Office	Coachella					✓	✓		
David Freedman Ranch	Coachella						✓		
Veterans Park	Coachella						✓		
Cesar Chavez Elementary School	Coachella								✓
Coachella Valley High School	Thermal						✓		
UFW Office (North Main Street)	Blythe						✓		
UFW Office (North Broadway)	Blythe							✓	
Calexico-Holtville-Imperial Valley, CA Area									
UFW Field Office ("El Hoyo")	Calexico						✓	✓	
De Anza Hotel	Calexico			✓					

Table 2-1: Properties Associated with Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement (continued)

Property/Site	City/Town (or proximate)	Historic Context							
		1. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's early life and formative experiences between 1927 and 1952.	2. Properties associated with the development of the agricultural industry, agricultural labor, and agricultural labor activism in the American West before 1960.	3. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer and the emergence of Dolores Huerta between 1952 and 1962.	4. Properties associated with the organization of the Farm Workers Association between 1962 and 1965.	5. Properties associated with the Delano grape strike, 1965 to 1970.	6. Properties associated with the Salinas strike, the fight against the Teamsters, and agricultural labor laws between 1970 and 1975.	7. Properties associated with the modernization of the United Farm Workers and the broadening of the farm labor movement between 1975 and 1984.	8. Properties associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in a new era, 1984 to 1993.
NFWSC Health Clinic	Calexico						✓	✓	
Mario Saikhon Ranch	Holtville							✓	
San Luis-Yuma, AZ Area									
UFW Field Office	San Luis						✓		
Maria Hau Residence	San Luis								✓
Chavez Family Homestead	Yuma	✓							
Laguna School Building	Yuma	✓							
Chavez General Store	Yuma	✓							
Phoenix-Tolleson, AZ Area									
Santa Rita Center	Phoenix						✓		
Del Webb Towne House	Phoenix						✓		
UFWOC Arizona Headquarters	Tolleson					✓	✓		
Marches									
1959 Downtown Oxnard march route	Oxnard			✓					
1965 Downtown Delano march route	Delano					✓			
1966 Delano to Sacramento march route	n/a					✓			
1969 Coachella to Calexico march route	n/a					✓			
1975 Delano to Modesto march route	n/a						✓		
1975 San Francisco to Modesto march route	n/a						✓		
1975 San Diego to Sacramento to La Paz march route	n/a							✓	

Resources Associated with Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement in the American West

Geographic Scope

Based on the special resource study legislation, the geographical scope of this special resource study is focused on sites, "…in the State of Arizona, the State of California, and other States that are significant to the life of Cesar E. Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States…"

Because Cesar Chavez spent much of his productive life in the same small towns and rural areas of California where the farm labor movement found most of its members, many associated properties are found in those areas. Yet the history of Chavez's life and the history of the farm labor movement are not simply rural histories nor strictly California histories. The farm workers whom Chavez sought to organize lived in California but also in states such as Arizona, Texas, Oregon, Washington, and Florida, and farm workers in the Midwest drew upon Chavez's inspiration in order to form unions of their own. Likewise, Hispanics throughout the nation found in Chavez a source of inspiration and optimism about their own futures, no matter what their occupation. Indeed, for more than a quarter of a century, Chavez received respect, attention, admiration, and support from individuals in all walks of life, from all parts of the nation.

The structure of the agricultural industry made this a national history as well. The consumption of agricultural products tied sites of production in agricultural valleys in California and elsewhere to urban points of distribution and to urban markets such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., New York, and Boston. The UFW's boycotters, in turn, targeted such points of distribution and urban markets in their efforts to gain support for the farm labor movement from across the nation and thereby pressure growers into recognizing the rights of the union's members.

Still, it should be noted that the vast majority of published scholarship related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement focuses on events that took place in rural California. Based on the legislation authorizing this special resource study, sites in Arizona are also considered. However, much work remains to be done to flesh out how the farm labor movement grew in the western United States and beyond.

Identification of Resources

Research on sites, properties, and march routes associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the American West began in October 2009 in partnership with Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton (COPH). The starting point was a list of 43 sites, properties, and march routes identified in a draft theme study, "Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement in the American West" (2004). Over the course of COPH's work, the list of sites, properties, and march routes was expanded from 43 to 84 (*Table 2-2: Descriptions of Associated Properties and March Routes*). The initial expansion resulted primarily from the work of their undergraduate research team, which surveyed a representative swath of the primary sources archived within the online Farm Labor Movement Documentation Project. Students worked with books and essays written during the 1960s and 1970s, oral history interviews conducted during the past four decades, recently declassified FBI surveillance files (which include a wealth of information about relevant locations), back issues of the UFW newspaper (*El Malcriado*) written in Spanish and English, photographs, other published and unpublished primary sources, and published secondary sources.

A smaller team of students subsequently cross-checked addresses and property-specific information in county directories and records databases. The CSUF team also conducted follow-up field research in 2010 and through site visits, informal conversations and preliminary interviews with individuals directly or indirectly associated with the farm labor movement, the list was further expanded. Sites were not generally removed from their list based on this work, but the field research facilitated assessment of sites for significance.

Additional sites were identified through the public scoping process for this special resource study. Given the breadth of properties and resources associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, additional resources will likely emerge over time. However, given the research conducted for the 2004 draft theme study and this special resource study, it is likely that the most significant associated sites have been identified.

Sites and properties that are Commemorative in Nature

In general, sites and properties that are commemorative in nature have not been included in this study.

Sites and properties included in this study have been analyzed following NPS Management Policies, Section 1.3.1 (Appendix C), which states that "national significance for cultural resources will be evaluated by applying the National Historic Landmarks criteria." Sites and properties included in this study have been analyzed following the National Historic Landmark (NHL) criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 65 as well as the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 60 (Appendix D).

NHL Criterion 2 governs sites and properties that might be considered nationally significant for their association with the life of a person who is nationally significant. NRHP Criterion B governs sites and properties that might be eligible for listing because of their association with a person significant in our past within a local, state, or national historic context. NHL Criterion 2, however, specifies that the association must be with the person's productive life. Similarly, NRHP Criterion B specifies that the associated property must illustrate rather than commemorate a person's important achievements.

Hundreds of schools, parks, streets, libraries, and community centers across the United States have been named after Cesar Chavez; statues and other monuments commemorate his life's work. Yet with one exception, these sites were named in honor of Chavez after his death in 1993 and thus are not associated with his productive life or important achievements.

The single exception is the Cesar Chavez Elementary School in Coachella, California. Chavez resisted efforts to name schools or other places after him throughout his life, but the community of Coachella convinced him to relent. Chavez attended the renaming ceremony on October 19, 1990, thus elevating his association with the site beyond the fact of commemoration.

Table 2-2: Descriptions of Associated Properties & March Routes		
Property/Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
San Francisco-Oakland, CA Area		
East Bay Huelga Headquarters	Oakland	This house served as a strike/boycott support center during the late 1960s.
NFWA Office	San Francisco	The NFWA maintained an office here beginning in 1966.
San Francisco Labor Temple	San Francisco	This location served as a Bay Area boycott organizing center and departure point for food caravans to Delano during the late 1960s.
St. Paul's Convent (Boycott House)	San Francisco	This building served as a boycott headquarters during the 1970s.
San Jose-San Juan Bautista-Salinas, CA Area		
Monterey County Jail	Salinas	In 1970, the UFWOC shifted its focus to the Salinas Valley, where hundreds of lettuce growers had signed contracts with the Teamsters. Cesar Chavez launched a lettuce boycott, but the grower secured an injunction. When Chavez refused to suspend the boycott in December, the judge sent him to the county jail, making it a key site for rallies, visits from Coretta Scott King and Ethel Kennedy, and national media coverage. The California Supreme Court ordered Chavez's release on December 24, 1970.
Mexican American Political Association Office	Salinas	The UFWOC borrowed and converted this office into its strike headquarters as competition with the Teamsters and strikes against Salinas Valley growers began in August 1970.
UFW Legal Offices	Salinas	Offices for UFW legal staff were located here, on the second floor, during the 1970s.
Hartnell Community College Athletic Field	Salinas	This was the site of a massive protest rally on August 2, 1970, in response to Salinas Valley growers' move to thwart the UFWOC by signing contracts with the Teamsters. It was the site of a second rally on August 23, 1970, to kick off a strike against Salinas Valley growers and to pledge nonviolent protest. In September 1979, it hosted another rally drawing 25,000 people to pressure Salinas Valley growers to sign new contracts with the UFW.
San Jerardo Cooperative	Salinas	Cooperative housing community established in the late 1970s by and for members of the farm labor movement
Chavez Family Residence (Scharff Avenue)	San Jose	Cesar and Helen and their children lived at this location during the early 1950s. The lot had two houses; Cesar and his family lived in the front house and Richard Chavez lived in the rear house. The front house was the location of the first meeting between Cesar and Fred Ross in June 1952.
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Summer Street)	San Jose	Cesar and Helen and their children lived here in 1954.
CSO Office (Santa Clara Street)	San Jose	Chavez opened this office and service center in 1953. It would serve as a model for the service centers founded by the NFWA (and later the UFW) the following decade.
CSO Office (Jackson Avenue)	San Jose	The CSO continued to thrive in San Jose under Rita Chavez Medina. This property served as the CSO chapter office.
McDonnell Hall, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church	San Jose	Our Lady of Guadalupe Church became instrumental in the farm labor movement during the 1950s and 1960s. The church, where Chavez worshipped when he lived in San Jose, supported local migrant farm workers with basic services and helped to galvanize community organizing efforts. The parish hall is where Chavez worked with priest and mentor Father Donald McDonnell during the early 1950s.
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Wabash Ave.)	San Jose	Cesar and Helen and their children lived here in the early 1950s.
Mexican Heritage Plaza Site	San Jose	Site of a Safeway grocery store that was among the first to be boycotted by the UFWOC during the late 1960s.
Evergreen Ranch Site	San Jose	Cesar Chavez and family members worked here during the early 1950s and discussed forming a farm workers' union.

Table 2-2: Descriptions of Associated Properties & March Routes (continued)		
Property/Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
Center for Employment Training	San Jose	CET was founded in 1967 to provide job training services to farm workers and other low-income residents of Sal Si Puede.
Theodore Roosevelt Junior High School	San Jose	This school was the site of student activism in support of the farm labor movement.
El Teatro Campesino	San Juan Bautista	El Teatro Campesino, founded by Luis Valdez and Agustin Lira in the winter of 1965-66, performed songs and skits for and with farm workers at Friday night meetings and on the picket lines. By 1971, the troupe had settled in San Juan Bautista, broadened its repertoire, and gained national recognition for its groundbreaking work.
Mission San Juan Bautista	San Juan Bautista	Chavez retreated to this small mission town outside of Salinas to recuperate from a fast in August 1970 and held secret negotiations with Salinas growers.
Calistoga-Sacramento-Stockton-Modesto-Fresno-Caruthers-Visalia-Porterville, CA Area		
Migrant Farm Worker Housing Center	Calistoga	Site of farm labor organizing and negotiation of contract with Christian Brothers Winery in 1967.
St. Mary's Church	Stockton	St. Mary's Catholic Church is significant for its association with Dolores Huerta and CSO organizing. When Fred Ross arrived in Stockton to form a new chapter of the CSO in 1955, Thomas McCullough, a priest at St. Mary's Catholic Church, introduced him to Dolores Huerta. Huerta became active at St. Mary's and impressed McCullough with her leadership skills.
Graceada Park	Modesto	A march from San Francisco's Union Square to the Gallo Brothers headquarters in February 1975 drew nearly 20,000 participants and culminated here with a celebration of the company's sudden willingness to help the UFW push for a state agricultural labor relations act.
Fresno County Jail	Fresno	When the UFW's contracts with table-grape growers expired in July 1973, the Teamsters moved in and a wave of violence hit the San Joaquin Valley. Law enforcement officials routinely blamed UFW organizers. By August, more than two thousand UFW members and supporters had been sent to the Fresno County Jail, including 76-year-old Catholic activist and writer, Dorothy Day. Supporters gathered at the jail to bring attention to the situation.
El Centro Campesino Cultural	Fresno	The headquarters of El Teatro Campesino were located here between 1969 and 1971.
Sikkema Dairy Ranch	Caruthers	René Lopéz was shot to death on this ranch after he finally succeeded in getting the ALRB to hold an election in September 1983.
Linnell Farm Labor Center	Visalia	The Tulare County Housing Authority's Woodville and Linnell labor camps were among the earliest targets of the Farm Workers Association. In the summer of 1965, the FWA organized a rent strike against the TCHA. The strike itself was a failure, but it did increase the organization's visibility and attracted some future leaders.
Woodville Farm Labor Center	Porterville	The Tulare County Housing Authority's Woodville and Linnell labor camps were among the earliest targets of the Farm Workers Association. In the summer of 1965, the FWA organized a rent strike against the TCHA. The strike itself was a failure, but it did increase the organization's visibility and attracted some future leaders.

Table 2-2: Descriptions of Associated Properties & March Routes (continued)		
Property/Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
Delano, CA Area		
The Forty Acres	Delano	The Forty Acres property was acquired in 1966. Several structures were built by union leaders and volunteers to house the UFW's headquarters and the first of many service centers created to meet farm workers' needs beyond the fields. The Forty Acres housed a gas station and repair shop, a multipurpose hall, a health clinic, and Agbayani Village, a retirement residential facility built for Filipino American farm workers and named after Pablo Agbayani, a Filipino who died of a heart attack during the 1965 Grape Strike. Cesar Chavez conducted his first fast at the Forty Acres in 1968, he moved his office into Reuther Hall in 1969, and he brought growers to Reuther Hall to sign contracts ending the union's five-year table-grape strike in 1970. Chavez conducted his final fast at the Forty Acres in 1988. As a property purchased, built, and used by farm workers, the Forty Acres embodies the farm labor movement itself. As Philip Vera Cruz once observed, "when you say 'Forty Acres,' there are people all over the world who know that you are talking about the United Farm Workers, Cesar Chavez, the farm workers, the grape pickers." Forty Acres was designated a National Historic Landmark in 2008. It is owned by the National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. and continues to function as a UFW field office.
Filipino Community Hall	Delano	On September 8, 1965, Filipino American farm workers led by Larry Itliong and affiliated with the AFL-CIO's AWOC gathered in this building and voted to go on strike against Delano table-grape growers. When members of the NFWA voted to join their strike eight days later, Itliong and other AWOC members such as Ben Gines,and Pete Manuel made the Filipino Community Hall available as a joint strike headquarters. The hall became the site of daily meals and regular Friday night meetings featuring speeches, songs, and performances by El Teatro Campesino. The hall hosted important visits by United Auto Workers' President Walter Reuther, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and other influential supporters, and became a symbol of the farm labor movement's multi-racial unity during the 1960s. The concrete block and stucco structure, built in 1949 by volunteers from the Filipino American community, now houses the Delano Adult Day Health Care Center and hosts social and cultural events.
People's Bar and Café	Delano	During the 1960s and 1970s, People's Bar and Café served as the central gathering place in Delano for union volunteers—a diverse group that included civil rights activists, college students, and others. Cesar Chavez often frequented the bar to play pool and connect with volunteers. As early as 1966, however, People's emerged as a "free speech zone," where volunteers felt free to debate any number of issues, including Chavez's own strategies and tactics.
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	Delano	Cesar, Helen, and their eight children moved to Delano in 1962 and settled into a two-bedroom house. The house served as the first headquarters of the FWA, but the house's significance also derives from its connection to the personal sacrifices that labor leaders and their families made as they created what would become the UFW.
NFWA Office (Albany Street)	Delano	The FWA held its founding convention in September 1962. By the beginning of 1963, the FWA had a constitution, a credit union, and a strong enough membership base to rent a building in Delano and move its offices out of Cesar and Helen Chavez's home. For the next six years, this building would serve as the headquarters of the FWA and its successor organizations.
Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, Meeting Hall	Delano	Members of the AWOC voted to go on strike against Delano table-grape growers on September 8, 1965. Eight days later, more than one thousand members of the FWA gathered at the meeting hall of Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church, where they voted overwhelmingly to join the strike.

Table 2-2: Descriptions of Associated Properties & March Routes (continued)		
Property/Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
Baptist Church (“Negrito Hall”)	Delano	Soon after voting to go on strike against more than thirty Delano table-grape growers in September 1965, the newly renamed NFWA rented this small church building and converted it into a strike headquarters. Simple partitions created offices and work space. Union members also crowded into this hall for regular Friday night membership meetings (which later would move to the Filipino Community Hall)
Stardust Motel	Delano	The Stardust Motel was the preferred place to stay for political leaders, labor leaders, religious leaders, lawyers, and journalists who came to Delano to observe or participate in the table-grape strike. The motel was the site of pivotal negotiations between Cesar Chavez and Al Green, the director of the AWOC, at the beginning of the strike in 1965 and between Chavez (and UFWOC general counsel, Jerry Cohen) and grower John Giumarra (and his son) at the end of the strike in 1970.
Larry Itliong Residence	Delano	Itliong was a long-time labor leader and resident of Delano before leading the AWOC into launching the Delano strike in September 1965.
Richard Chavez Residence	Delano	Built by Richard Chavez and used as collateral for the loan with which the NFWA credit union began.
American Legion Hall	Delano	The NFWA used this hall for its annual membership meetings prior to 1965.
Dolores Huerta Residence	Delano	Huerta moved her family to Delano in the mid-1960s, rented this house, and opened its doors to other farm workers, volunteers, and families.
DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, Sierra Vista Ranch	Delano	The NFWA struck and picketed this 4,400-acre ranch between September 1965 and August 1966. On March 16, Senator Robert F. Kennedy joined the picket lines here. Farm workers at the ranch elected the new UFWOC as their union representative in August 1966.
NFWA Strike Headquarters (“Arroyo Camp”)	Delano	The NFWA used this property, a former labor camp, as its strike headquarters in 1965. Meals were served at a strike kitchen, a Quonset hut was used to store and dispense donated food and clothing, two trailers served as a medical clinic, and a makeshift gasoline station provided fuel for vehicles used during the strike.
Delano High School, Auditorium	Delano	This school (auditorium) was the site of a well-known exchange between Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Kern County Sheriff Leroy Galyen in March 1966. Students at the school felt the impact of the strike.
NFWSC Headquarters	Delano	This building, located next to the Pink House, served as the first headquarters of the National Farm Workers Service Center, founded by LeRoy Chatfield in 1967 to provide services to union members.
Delano Memorial Park	Delano	Chavez broke his famous first fast here on March 11, 1968, with Robert F. Kennedy at his side.
NFWA Office (The “Pink House”)	Delano	The union rented this house in order to expand its office space. Its offices remained here until Reuther Hall at the Forty Acres opened in 1969. The Huelga School opened here in 1970.
Bakersfield-Lamont-Arvin-Keene, CA Area		
DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, Di Giorgio Farms	Arvin	This ranch was the site of an NFLU strike that began in 1947 and lasted for more than two years. The DiGiorgio strike inspired a number of innovative tactics, including the use of cars to surround the ranch’s twenty-mile perimeter with “the world’s longest picket line.” In September 1965, the NFWA struck and picketed this same ranch. Farm workers at the ranch elected the new UFWOC as their union representative in November 1966.
Arvin Farm Labor Center	Bakersfield	A New Deal agency opened this migrant labor camp in 1936. John Steinbeck’s visit to the camp informed The Grapes of Wrath, and Fred Ross later served as camp manager. The camp remained in use into the 1960s. In the summer of 1965, around two hundred members of the AWOC, most of whom were table-grape workers and residents of this camp, went on strike for higher wages.

Table 2-2: Descriptions of Associated Properties & March Routes (continued)		
Property/Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
Kern County Superior Court Building	Bakersfield	Cesar Chavez, who had begun his first public fast on February 14, 1968, was called to the Kern County Courthouse to respond to a contempt of court charge on February 28. When he arrived, more than 3,000 farm workers and supporters were gathered outside and inside the building. Growers' attorneys argued that the farm workers had to be evicted from the courthouse, but the judge disagreed. Jerry Cohen would later say that this was an important turning point—the first time the union won anything in this courthouse.
Giumarra Vineyards Corporation	Bakersfield	The Giumarra Company was the chief opponent of the UFWOC during the Delano strike.
Kern County Fairgrounds	Bakersfield	Site of a massive rally and strike vote against the Giumarra Company on August 3, 1967.
Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz ("La Paz")	Keene	Between 1970 and 1984, the farm labor movement transitioned into a modern labor union, the UFW. This union secured unprecedented gains during these years which were closely associated with La Paz. A union supporter purchased the property at La Paz in 1971, and leased it to the NFWSC. With 187 acres of land, residential buildings, administrative spaces and maintenance shops, the property supported not only the UFW headquarters and Cesar Chavez's residence, but also the thousands of union members who came to La Paz to help devise organizing strategies, to receive training, and to strengthen their sense of solidarity. For Chavez himself, La Paz became a place where he could retreat, recharge, and envision new directions for the UFW. Upon his death in 1993, Chavez was buried at La Paz. Owned by the National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc., Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz is used as a visitors center and retreat facility (Villa La Paz Conference Center).
UFWOC Field Office	Lamont	The UFWOC maintained a field office here in the 1960s and early 1970s.
Carpinteria-Ventura-Oxnard, CA Area		
Carpinteria State Beach	Carpinteria	Chavez and his family vacationed here before Chavez began organizing CSO chapters in the San Joaquin Valley in 1953, before he began his campaign in Oxnard in 1958, and before he returned to Delano to found the NFWA in 1962.
Buena Vista Labor Camp	Oxnard	One of the largest bracero labor camps in the country, with housing for 28,000 workers. Many of these workers sought assistance from Chavez in late-1950s.
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Wright Road)	Oxnard	The Chavez family rented this house during the late 1950s.
CSO Office (Grant Avenue)	Oxnard	Chavez opened a CSO office in Oxnard in 1958 in the back of a CSO-run rummage store. By the end of 1959, the office was functioning as a hiring hall for Oxnard area growers and provided a model for the hiring halls that the UFW would establish the following decade.
NFWA Office	Oxnard	The NFWA opened this office in 1966.
Cesar Chavez Boyhood Residence (Garfield Avenue)	Oxnard	This site served as the Chavez family residence during the walnut harvest in 1938, 1939, and 1940. The residence was an old shed.
CSO Office (Hayes Street)	Oxnard	This property served as a CSO office during the 1960s and 1970s.
Farm Labor Placement Service Office	Ventura	Chavez led unemployed farm workers from Oxnard to this office for forty days in a row in 1958 in order to document the abuses of the Bracero Program.

Table 2-2: Descriptions of Associated Properties & March Routes (continued)		
Property/Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
Los Angeles, CA Area		
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Folsom Street)	Los Angeles	Cesar, Helen, and their eight young children lived in a house in Boyle Heights for most of Chavez's tenure as executive director of the CSO, 1959 to 1962.
CSO Headquarters (Soto Street)	Los Angeles	Chavez occupied the main offices as executive director of the CSO between 1959 and 1962.
CSO Headquarters (4th Street)	Los Angeles	Chavez occupied the main offices as executive director of the CSO between 1959 and 1962.
UFWOC Field Office	Los Angeles	The UFWOC maintained a field office here in the late 1960s.
California Migrant Ministry Offices	Los Angeles	Rev. Chris Hartmire of the California Migrant Ministry maintained offices here.
La Iglesia de Nuestra Senora de Los Angeles ("La Placita") Church	Los Angeles	Chavez attended mass and did organizing at this location.
Church of the Epiphany	Los Angeles	Chavez attended mass and did organizing at this location.
Boycott House (Winter Street)	Los Angeles	This boycott headquarters was run by Bill Chandler during the late 1960s.
Boycott House (1st Street)	Los Angeles	This location served as UFWOC offices in the late 1960s.
Boycott House (Pacific Avenue)	Los Angeles	This location served as boycott headquarters during the late 1960s.
Boycott House (Harvard Street)	Los Angeles	This location served as boycott headquarters during the late 1960s.
Boycott House (Hobart Street)	Los Angeles	This location served as boycott headquarters during the late 1960s.
Borrego Springs-Coachella-Coachella Valley-Thermal-Blythe, CA Area		
DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, Borrego Springs Ranch	Borrego Springs	Target of NFWA and site of Chavez arrest in 1966.
UFWOC Field Office	Coachella	The UFWOC maintained a field office at this location in the late 1960s and 1970s.
David Freedman Ranch	Coachella	This was the ranch owned by Lionel Steinberg, who became well known for signing a contract with the UFWOC in April 1970 and for staying with the union in 1973.
Veterans Park	Coachella	This park served as UFWOC strike headquarters in the Coachella Valley in 1973; the St. Louis delegation of religious leaders, which witnessed Teamster violence first-hand, stayed here.
Cesar Chavez Elementary School	Coachella	The first public building in the state of California named for Chavez. Dedicated on October 19, 1990.
Coachella Valley High School	Thermal	Site of a rally and strike vote on April 13, 1973, at which more than one thousand UFW members voted to strike any grower who signed with the Teamsters.
UFW Office (North Main Street)	Blythe	Site of a UFW Office from 1970 to 1973.
UFW Office (North Broadway)	Blythe	Site of a UFW Office from 1973 to 1983.

Table 2-2: Descriptions of Associated Properties & March Routes (continued)		
Property/Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
Calexico-Holtville-Imperial Valley, CA Area		
UFW Field Office ("El Hoyo")	Calexico	Passage of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975 allowed the UFW to expand its presence in the Imperial Valley. The conversion of this former shape-up center into a UFW field office seemed to signal a new future for lettuce workers in the region. The fatal shooting of Rufino Contreras during the lettuce strike of 1979, however, marked a new turning point. Thousands gathered at El Hoyo to mourn Contreras's death, but the UFW withdrew from the fields shortly thereafter.
De Anza Hotel	Calexico	Site of the CSO annual convention in 1962. Chavez sought CSO support for organizing farm workers at this convention; when the membership refused, he tendered his resignation as executive director.
NFWSC Health Clinic	Calexico	An important service provided for UFW members. Chavez envisioned the provision of health clinics and other service centers throughout California and beyond.
Mario Saikhon Ranch	Holtville	Site of the fatal shooting of 28-year-old union member Rufino Contreras on February 10, 1979.
San Luis-Yuma, AZ Area		
UFW Field Office	San Luis	As Arizona labor organizer Gustavo Gutiérrez expanded the UFW presence in Arizona during the late 1960s, Manuel Chavez arrived to direct the union's campaigns. The UFW opened a San Luis field office during the early 1970s and began leading melon strikes every summer. These efforts were plagued by internal divisions over the treatment of undocumented workers and the use of violence, leading the UFW to suspend its activity in the state and prompting Gutiérrez and Lupe Sánchez, in turn, to form the Arizona Farm Workers Union.
Maria Hau Residence	San Luis	Chavez was staying at this home in April 1993 when he died in his sleep at the age of 66.
Chavez Family Homestead	Yuma	Cesar Chavez was born in 1927, and he lived in the adobe farmhouse on his grandparents' homestead in the Gila River Valley from 1932 until the family lost the property and moved to California in 1939. As a child living on this homestead, Chavez learned the value of hard work from his father, the principles of nonviolence from his mother, and the Catholic faith from his grandmother.
Laguna School Building	Yuma	Cesar Chavez recalled his childhood years in the Gila River Valley with fondness, but his childhood was not idyllic. At the Laguna School, Chavez discovered that his use of Spanish, clothing, and darker skin prompted other children and many adults to treat him and other Mexican American children as inferior.
Chavez General Store	Yuma	This property included a grocery store, an auto repair shop, and a pool hall located about one mile from the Chavez homestead. Chavez was born here on March 31, 1927.
Phoenix-Tolleson, AZ Area		
Santa Rita Center	Phoenix	Cesar Chavez undertook a 24-day fast in May 1972 to protest an Arizona law that limited farm workers' rights to conduct strikes and boycotts and to publicize a campaign to recall the governor of Arizona. Chavez conducted 19 days of this fast at the Santa Rita Center, a building associated with Sacred Heart Catholic Church in the south Phoenix barrio known as El Campito. Thousands of Arizona farm workers, and influential supporters such as Coretta Scott King, came to the Santa Rita Center to participate in rallies, celebrate nightly Masses, give voice to the movement's newly adopted slogan "Si Se Puede!" and pledge their support for La Causa. The recall campaign was thwarted, but these weeks marked a watershed moment for Arizona politics, for Mexican American political activity, and for the farm labor movement in the American West. Chicanos Por La Causa purchased the structure in 2004 with the intent to preserve the structure and develop a community cultural center. The site was listed on the Phoenix Historic Property Register in 2007.

Table 2-2: Descriptions of Associated Properties & March Routes (continued)		
Property/Site	**City (or proximate)**	**Description**
Del Webb Towne House	Phoenix	Site of June 4, 1972, Mass and rally during which Chavez broke his 24-day fast.
UFWOC Arizona Headquarters	Tolleson	Gustavo Gutiérrez established UFWOC's Arizona headquarters in this house in Tolleson. The house served as UFWOC headquarters for Arizona from 1967 to 1973.
1959 Downtown Oxnard march route	Oxnard	In the spring of 1959, Chavez led marchers through the streets of downtown Oxnard to call attention to their campaign against the growers who were abusing the Bracero Program. This march, the first march in which farm workers carried a banner of the Virgin de Guadalupe, gave Chavez a sense of how powerful marches could be for the farm labor movement.
1965 Downtown Delano march route	Delano	On December 16, 1965, UAW President Walter Reuther joined Chavez, Larry Itliong, and hundreds of farm workers as they marched through the streets of downtown Delano in defiance of a city council resolution passed the day before that prohibited demonstrations and marches. Reuther gave a rousing speech to the farm workers which was recorded and reported by members of the national press.
1966 Delano to Sacramento march route	n/a	The March to Sacramento in 1966 was a milestone event in the history of the farm labor movement. The AWOC and the NFWA had launched their table-grape strike against the Delano-area growers in September 1965. By late winter, union leaders were seeking ways to revitalize the strike. They decided to conduct a 300-mile protest march from Delano to Sacramento, and Chavez devised a theme ("Pilgrimage, Penitence, and Revolution") and a time-frame that would coincide with the Lenten season. More than one hundred men and women set out from Delano on March 17, 1966, and thousands of farm workers and their families joined in for short stretches along the way. The march route passed through forty-two cities and towns of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as vast stretches of the agricultural landscape. By the time the marchers entered Sacramento on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1966, the farm labor movement had secured a contract and new waves of support from across the country.
1969 Coachella to Calexico march route	n/a	The UFWOC undertook this nine-day march in July 1969 to solicit support for from Mexican immigrants.
1975 Delano to Modesto march route	n/a	In February 1975, simultaneous marches to the Gallo Company's headquarters in Modesto began in San Francisco and Delano; these marches led directly to the passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act.
1975 San Francisco to Modesto march route	n/a	In February 1975, simultaneous marches to the Gallo Company's headquarters in Modesto began in San Francisco and Delano; these marches led directly to the passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act.
1975 San Diego to Sacramento to La Paz march route	n/a	In July and August 1975, Chavez and other union members undertook a "1,000-mile march" lasting 59 days to organize farm workers and raise awareness of the new Agricultural Labor Relations Act.

Picketers in a field hold a banner showing support of the grape and lettuce strike and wave flags with the UFW eagle on them. c. 1970s. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University; photographer unknown.

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Chapter 3: Resource Significance

This section describes the National Park Service analysis of nationally significant resources within the study area.

Criteria for National Significance

To be considered nationally significant, under §1.3.1 of NPS *Management Policies 2006*, a proposed addition to the national park system must meet all four National Park Service special resource study criteria (*Appendix C: 2006 NPS Management Policies [Sections 1.2. and 1.3]*). National Park Service management policies also mandate that national significance for cultural resources be evaluated by applying the national historic landmarks criteria for national significance contained in 36 CFR Part 65. National Park Service professionals, in consultation with subject matter experts, scholars, and scientists determine whether a resource is nationally significant.

Special Resource Study Criteria

The National Park Service (NPS) uses four basic criteria to evaluate the national significance of proposed areas. These criteria, listed in the National Park Service *Management Policies 2006*, state that a resource is nationally significant if it meets all of the following conditions:

1. It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
2. It possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.
3. It offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment, or for scientific study.
4. It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource.

National Historic Landmark Criteria

NHL criteria (*Appendix D: National Historic Landmark Legislation*) require that the resources:

- are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained (Criterion 1); or
- are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States (Criterion 2); or
- represent some great idea or ideal of the American people (Criterion 3); or
- embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for the study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction (Criterion 4); or
- are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture (Criterion 5); or
- have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree (Criterion 6).

NHL national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture, and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.

If a resource is already designated as a National Historic Landmark (NHL), the national significance criteria are met without further analysis being required. The Forty Acres site in Delano, California is a designated national historic landmark and therefore meets the criteria for national significance.

National Historic Trail Criteria

Since several historical march routes related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are evaluated in this study, the significance analysis also considers criteria for national historic trails as required by the National Trails System Act, (16 USC 1241, et. seq.) The National Trails System Act criteria (*Appendix E: National Historic Trail Criteria*) includes:

- Criterion A: It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to quality, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation.
- Criterion B: a trail must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration, and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of Native Americans may be included.
- Criterion C: The route must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreational potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

It should be noted that the National Historic Trail criteria overlap with the special resource study and National Historic Landmark criteria. For criterion B, National Historic Landmark criteria parallel the concepts of the National Trails System Act, and provide that: "The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture; and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association (National Park Service 1999:71)." National Historic Landmark criterion 1 is appropriate for evaluation of the significance of farm labor march routes as they relate to the farm labor movement and National Historic Landmark criterion 2, for their association with the life of Cesar Chavez.

Criterion C overlaps with special resource study criteria 3 (offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment); therefore this analysis is primarily included under the discussion of special resource study criteria.

Significance of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement

Cesar Chavez is recognized for his achievements as the charismatic leader of the farm labor movement and the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), the first permanent agricultural labor union. The most important Latino leader in the history of the United States during the twentieth century, Chavez emerged as a civil rights leader among Latinos during the 1950s. Chavez also assumed major roles in the broader labor movement, the Chicano movement, and the environmental movement. As a result, Chavez earned a higher degree of national prominence and significance during his lifetime than any other Latino in U.S. history.

During Chavez's lifetime, a broad range of prominent political and social leaders recognized his importance, including Martin Luther King, Jr., Robert F. Kennedy, Jerry Brown, Ronald Reagan, and Richard Nixon. Labor leaders such as George Meany and Walter Reuther saw Chavez as an important force for reform within the labor movement. Religious leaders ranging from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to activist Dorothy Day acknowledged Chavez's leadership and influence. Mexican American activists such as Bert Corona and younger Chicano activists such as Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales recognized Chavez's national stature and embraced him as a leader.

Upon Chavez's death in April 1993, President Bill Clinton noted that Americans had lost "a great

Cesar Chavez with Senator Edward (Ted) Kennedy and Coretta Scott King at a “No on Proposal 22” rally. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1970s.

Cesar Chavez visits with Bishop Joseph Donnelly and Pope Paul VI during a trip to Rome, Italy. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1974.

President William Jefferson (Bill) Clinton posthumously presents the Presidential Medal of Freedom for Cesar Chavez to Helen Chavez, White House, Washington, DC, September 8, 1994. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by White House photographer, 1994.

Cesar Chavez and Bobby Seale (of the Black Panthers) meet students from Malcolm X Elementary following a press conference on May 9, 1972 at Merritt College in Oakland, California. After the Press conference, they met students from Malcolm X Elementary School which is located in Berkeley, California. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by: Melanie King,1972.

Cesar Chavez and Jane Fonda lead a UFW march from Coachella to Calexico, California. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown,1975.

leader." Recognizing that Chavez was "an authentic hero to millions of people," Clinton encouraged all Americans to take pride in the fact that Chavez brought "dignity and comfort" to "so many of our country's least powerful and most dispossessed workers." Clinton concluded that Chavez "had a profound impact upon the people of the United States" (Griswold del Castillo 1996). President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico remembered Chavez for his courageous leadership and constant efforts to improve the lives of all workers of Mexican descent. Pope John Paul II praised Chavez for his spirituality, his courage, and his untiring efforts to improve the lives of the working class and the poor (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

In August 1994, Chavez posthumously received the Presidential Medal of Freedom. In January 1999, the U.S. Department of Labor made Chavez the first Latino member of the Labor Hall of Fame. In April 2003, the U.S. Postal Service issued a stamp that honored Chavez and recognized his national significance. In November 2008, the U.S. Department of Interior affirmed Chavez's national significance when it designated "The Forty Acres" (the original UFW headquarters in Delano, California) a National Historic Landmark.

This recognition of Chavez's national significance is grounded in the historical record of his achievements. During the 1960s, Chavez led thousands of farm worker families and their supporters as they created the nation's first permanent agricultural labor union. As president of the union, Chavez led farm workers to a series of unprecedented victories, including contracts for more than 100,000 farm workers. The union contracts increased farm workers' wages above the poverty line, replaced a labor-contracting system with union-run hiring halls, established grievance procedures, funded health care and pension plans for farm laborers, state mandated clean drinking water and restroom facilities in the fields, regulated use of pesticides in the fields, and established a fund for community services including goods, health care, legal assistance, banking services, child care, automobile repair, and low income housing.

During the 1970s, Chavez's advocacy helped secure the passage of the first law in the U.S. that recognized farm workers' rights to organize and engage in collective bargaining (the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975 (ALRA)). The ALRA promised to remedy a forty-year injustice—the exclusion of farm workers from the protections of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. The ALRA recognized the rights of farm workers in California to organize unions, participate in secret-ballot elections to determine union representation, receive certification of election results, appoint representatives to bargain with their employers for better wages and working conditions, and authorize their representatives to sign contracts with their employers reflecting their agreements.

Chavez's legacy as a historically significant and inspirational figure is evident in the countless schools, community centers, parks, and streets named after him. Chavez's legacy and that of the UFW also live on among younger generations of labor leaders, political and social leaders, community organizers, and social reform advocates who continue to fight for the types of changes that Chavez and the UFW sought, often using strategies and tactics that Chavez himself developed or refined. As social activist and author Randy Shaw recently noted,

> "Chavez and the farmworkers movement developed ideas, tactics, and strategies that proved so compelling, so original, and ultimately so successful that they continue to set the course for America's progressive campaigns—and will likely do so for decades to come. Chavez and the United Farm Workers also developed a generation of progressive leaders who are reshaping the American labor movement, building the nation's immigrant rights movement, revitalizing grassroots democracy, and are at the forefront of the struggle to transform national politics in twenty-first-century America" (Shaw 2008).

The list of Latino leaders whose careers were launched, shaped, or inspired by the UFW includes, Los Angeles Mayor, Antonio Villaraigosa and labor leader Eliseo Medina. Villaraigosa, who in 2005 became the first Latino mayor of Los Angeles in more than 130 years, volunteered to help the UFW grape boycott when he was fifteen years old. He continued to support the movement throughout his years as a student at UCLA and then as an organizer for the United Teachers of Los Angeles. Eliseo Medina, the current International Secretary-Treasurer of the Service Employees International Union, joined what became the UFW in 1965 and worked alongside Chavez for thirteen years. This list also includes Lupe Sanchez, founder of the Arizona Farm Workers Union; Antonio Orendain, founder of the Texas Farm Workers Union; and Baldemar Velasquez, founder of the Ohio-based Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

The Chavez's legacy and that of the UFW also extends well beyond Latinos. Chavez and the UFW worked to improve the lives of *all* farm workers regardless of their ethnicity or the color of their skin. Moreover, Chavez and the UFW sought to inspire all men and women to respect the dignity of labor, the importance of community, and the power of peaceful protest. Here, they found immeasurable success (Ferris and Sandoval 1997, La Botz 2005).

The Farm Labor Movement

The national significance of the farm labor movement stems, in part, from its creation of the United Farm Workers union (UFW), the first permanent agricultural labor union established in the history of United States. In addition to Cesar Chavez, noted farm labor leaders, including Dolores Huerta and Larry Itliong, played key leadership roles in forming the UFW.

Thousands of farm workers, students, and social activists also played a role in the forming of the union. During the 1960s, the farm labor movement attracted support from a wide array of individuals, including members of other unions, religious leaders, civil rights activists, high school students and college students (including young Chicanos and Filipinos), environmentalists, and justice-minded consumers across the country and abroad.

As social and political activist Yolanda Alaniz and civil rights and labor activist Megan Cornish pointed out in 2008, "the UFW has remained the best known, most widely supported, and most firmly established farm worker union in the United States" (Alaniz and Cornish 2008).

Nationally Significant Sites

The significance analysis in this study is primarily based on research conducted by the Center for Oral and Public History (COPH) at California State University, Fullerton, under the leadership of Professor Raymond Rast, on behalf of the NPS. In 2009 and 2010, the COPH identified and evaluated 84 sites in California and Arizona with historical significance related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the American West. Sites were identified through primary sources archived within the Farmworker Movement Documentation Project, books, essays, oral history interviews, declassified FBI surveillance files, back issues of the UFW's newsletters, and published secondary sources. The COPH conducted further field research to locate, evaluate, and document the sites, properties, and march routes identified. An additional 20 sites were also identified through the public scoping process.

More sites may be identified in the future with further research. The transitory and fleeting nature of many sites related to the farm labor movement (e.g. strikes, marches, protests, etc.) created a challenge in identifying and documenting certain types of sites. For example, many important events happened at ranches where there were picket lines and at grocery stores that were boycotted. The locations of these types of events were not always documented and in some cases difficult to confirm. Future research and collection of oral histories could reveal more sites in the future.

National Historic Landmark Criteria

In this study, properties identified as meeting national historic landmark criteria are associated with key individuals, events, and activities associated with the national significance one or both overarching themes: the life of Cesar Chavez and the history of the farm labor movement. Some sites associated exclusively with Cesar Chavez's life and activities before, during, and beyond his involvement with the farm labor movement have been identified as nationally significant, as well as some properties exclusively associated with the farm labor movement before or after Chavez's involvement .

The COPH identified five sites and one march route that clearly meet the criteria for NHL status, based on their association with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States. These sites include The Filipino Community Hall in Delano, California; the Forty Acres in Delano, California (already designated a NHL); the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route in California; La Nuestra Reina Senora de La Paz (La Paz) in Keene, California; and the Santa Rita Center in Phoenix, Arizona. The Forty Acres in Delano, California was designated a NHL in 2008. La Paz was listed on the National Register of Historic Places at the national level of significance on August 30, 2011 and is currently under consideration for NHL designation. Each of these sites meets NHL Criteria and exhibits a high level of integrity.

Ordinarily, sites and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for NHL designation. Such properties, however, will qualify if they fall within certain exceptions defined

in the NHL criteria. Most of the sites analyzed in this study are less than fifty years old. The five sites identified as nationally significant, meet NHL Exception 8. Exception 8 is given to properties achieving national significance within 50 years that are of extraordinary national importance.

Filipino Community Hall (Delano, CA)

On September 8, 1965, Filipino American farm workers led by Larry Itliong and affiliated with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (AWOC), gathered in this building and voted to go on strike against Delano table-grape growers. When members of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), led by Cesar Chavez, voted to join their strike eight days later, Itliong made the Filipino Community Hall available as a joint strike headquarters. The hall became the site of daily meals and regular Friday night meetings, and it became a key symbol of the farm labor movement's multi-racial unity during the 1960s. The hall hosted important visits by Walter Reuther, Robert F. Kennedy, and other key supporters. When Chavez announced his first public fast on February 19, 1968, he did so in this hall.

Filipino Americans migrated to the United States in significant numbers in the 1920s. By 1930, thirty thousand Filipinos lived in California, most of whom (94%) were men. Four out of five Filipinos living in California during the 1930s were classified as migrant laborers. During this time, Filipinos were subjected to racist treatment, legally sanctioned discrimination, and socioeconomic marginalization. In response to such treatment, they developed strong communities in farming towns such as Delano, CA. Constructed in the 1960s, the Filipino Community Hall was the focal point of the Delano Filipino American community.

By 1965, many Filipino farm workers were members of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), which was created by AFL-CIO President George Meany in 1959. The AWOC was the latest in a decades-long series of efforts to organize farm workers in the American West. Meany chartered the AWOC reluctantly, and his appointment of Norman Smith (a former organizer of Midwestern auto workers) as national director did not bode well for the union's success. Smith convinced labor leader Ernesto Galarza and Dolores Huerta to help build the union. Huerta, in turn, recruited veteran labor organizer Larry Itliong, a Filipino American who had been active in the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) during the 1930s and 1940s. Itliong also had founded his own union, the Filipino Farm Labor Union, in the 1950s. Smith often ignored Galarza's and Huerta's advice. When the union failed to gain much of a following among Mexican American farm workers, both Galarza and Huerta resigned. Itliong, however, succeeded in building the union's Filipino American membership. At the beginning of 1965, the AWOC reported fifteen hundred members in the Delano area alone. Other Filipino Americans such as Ben Gines and Pete Manuel also played key leadership roles in the AWOC.

In the spring and summer of 1965, Larry Itliong led short AWOC strikes against table-grape growers in the Imperial Valley, Coachella Valley, and in the Arvin area south of Bakersfield. In the fall, when harvesting began in Delano, Itliong tried to negotiate with Delano growers but received little interest from them. On September 8, 1965, Filipino American farm workers led by Larry Itliong and affiliated with the AWOC, AFL-CIO, gathered in the Filipino Community Hall and voted to go on strike against Delano table-grape growers. When members of the (NFWA, led by Cesar Chavez, voted to join their strike eight days later, Itliong made the Filipino Community Hall available as a joint strike headquarters. The Filipino Community Hall became the site of daily meals and regular Friday night meetings, and it became a key symbol of the farm labor movement's multi-racial unity during the 1960s. The hall hosted important visits by Walter Reuther, Robert F. Kennedy, and other key supporters. When Chavez announced his first public fast on February 19, 1968, he did so in this hall. To further strengthen their efforts to address the conflict with growers, the AWOC and the NFWA decided to merge. On August 22, 1996 the two organizations formed the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (UFWOC). With Chavez as Director, Filipino organizers also played key roles in the UFWOC. Larry Itliong was the Assistant Director and Philip Vera Cruz, Andy Imutan, and Pete Valasco were vice presidents. In 1972, the UFWOC became the United Farm Workers of America (UFW).

The integrity of the Filipino Community Hall's location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship contribute to the building's exceptionally high integrity of feeling and association, both exterior and interior. A visitor to the property today can easily imagine what the building looked like in the 1960s

and what it would have felt like to sit in the meeting room amidst strike-related meetings and activity, facing a stage that remains intact. The property has undergone some superficial changes: the parking lot has been paved, the cultural plaza and recreational area west of the building have been developed and landscaped, interior spaces have been modified, the kitchen has been remodeled, a railing in front of the stage has been removed, light fixtures have been changed, and so on. Despite these changes, however, the Filipino Community Hall retains a high degree of integrity.

Following NHL criteria (36 CFR Part 65), the Filipino Community Hall is nationally significant because of its direct association with the productive life of Cesar Chavez (criterion 2) and with the history of the farm labor movement (criterion 1).

The Forty Acres NHL (Delano, CA)

The national significance of Forty Acres was established through its dedication as a national historic landmark in 2008. The Forty Acres is significant for its close association with the productive career of Cesar Chavez, the farm labor movement, and a wide range of reform movements that helped define twentieth-century American history, and in particular, the Chicano Movement. The Forty Acres served as the headquarters for the first permanent agricultural labor union in the United States, the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), established for the purpose of bringing about improved working conditions for migrant workers. The union's members are responsible for the passage of the first law in the United States that recognized the collective bargaining rights of farm workers, the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975 (ALRA).

Chavez's first public fast, one of many movement tactics, took place at the Forty Acres service station resulting in national media attention for the farm labor movement and bolstering Chavez's public image. The Forty Acres represents not only the legacy of Cesar Chavez's and the union's work toward better working conditions for Mexican American and Filipino American agricultural workers, but also a legacy of overall improvement in civil rights for Mexican Americans and other minorities in the United States.

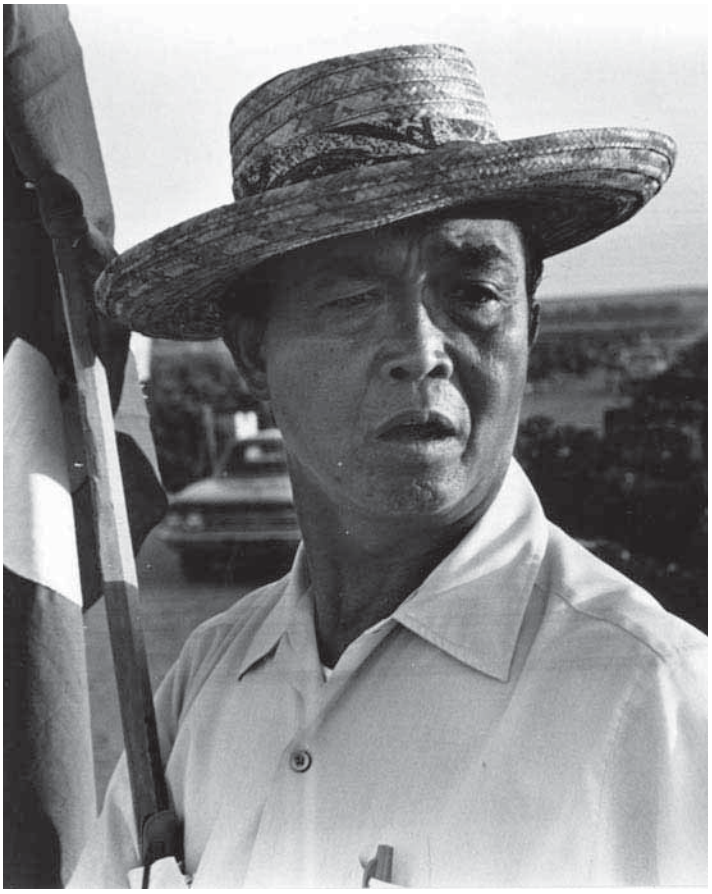
The National Farm Workers Association (NFWA)—a forerunner to the UFW—acquired the forty-acre parcel of land in Delano in 1966 under the auspices of an affiliated non-profit organization, the National Farm Workers Service Center Inc. As Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and other members of the farm labor movement fought for workers' rights during the high profile table-grape strike of 1965 to 1970, they also began to develop this barren parcel of land into a regional service center for farm workers and a national administrative headquarters for their growing union.

Richard Chavez, a builder by trade, led the effort to develop the Forty Acres. On his own, Richard graded the property and created the site's small park. Together, Richard and Cesar Chavez planned the property including the choice of Mission Revival architectural elements which reflected their Catholic heritage and the sense of permanence that Cesar and Richard Chavez associated with the California Franciscan missions.

Between 1966 and 1974, farm workers and an array of supporters constructed four buildings on the property: a mission-revival gasoline station and automobile repair shop, a steel-frame multipurpose hall, a mission-revival health clinic, and a mission-revival retirement center for Filipino farm workers (Agbayani Village) that also included landscape features, a brick barbecue pit, and a large grazing pasture. The service center was created to serve the operational needs of a national union but and to provide social services for the Mexican American and Filipino American community that were otherwise unmet. Members of the farm labor movement also constructed a water well and pump, a tree-shaded park, a stone memorial, a recreational field, and a system of roads and parking lots. These structures were built by volunteers that included carpenters, electricians, plumbers, and painters.

Completed in 1974, the Paolo Agbayani Retirement Village was the largest development at Forty Acres. The first residents moved into a retirement center that offered shared social spaces (a dining room, recreation room, courtyard, and garden) and comforts unheard of in the labor camps, including private bedrooms, adjacent bathrooms, and air conditioning. These comforts were valued, but the communal spaces were more significant. Before construction began, Philip Vera Cruz had noted that "the men don't want the traditional kind of retirement home. Those places are too confining. The men want a place where they can have some freedom . . . [and] enjoy their Filipino culture" (Day 1971). Agbayani Village responded to these desires.

Larry Itliong was active in the farm labor movement beginning as early as the 1930s and eventually led the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (AWOC), later becoming a United Farm Workers of America (UFW) officer. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1960s.



Pete Velasco, shown above, and other Filipino American farm labor leaders such as Larry Itliong, Philip Vera Cruz and Andy Imutan, became UFW leaders. This portrait of Velasco picketing in the fields was taken during the 1960s Delano Grape Boycott. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by Bob Thurber, 1969.

Filipino American farm workers led by Larry Itliong and affiliated with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (AWOC), gathered at the Filipino Community Hall in 1965 and voted to go on strike against Delano table-grape growers. When members of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), led by Cesar Chavez, voted to join their strike eight days later, Itliong made the Filipino Community Hall available as a joint strike headquarters which became a key symbol of the farm labor movement's multi-racial unity during the 1960s. A visitor to the property today can easily imagine what the building looked like in the 1960s and what it would have felt like to sit in the meeting room amidst strike-related meetings and activity. Photo by NPS, 2010.

The Forty Acres in Delano, California served as the UFWOC and UFW headquarters. The service station building shown in the photo, was the first building constructed at the site (1968) and provided services such as gasoline and auto repair to farm workers. During Chavez's 1968 "Fast for Nonviolence", he spent most of his time in a small room in the service center. Photo courtesy of www.farmworkermovement.us. Photo by Ruben Montoya, c. 1960s.

Today, the service station building, the grounds and other buildings where events significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm worker movement occurred are still extant. Photo by NPS, 2010.

Left to right: Andy Imutan, Dolores Huerta, Larry Itliong, and Senator Robert Kennedy participate in a rally in Delano, California before Cesar Chavez breaks his 25-day fast on March 10,1968. The purpose of the 1968 "Fast for Nonviolence" was to encourage union members to renew their pledges of nonviolence. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by Dick Darby, 1968.

The signing of the first grape contract, which ended the five-year Delano grape strike, took place in the administrative building (Reuther Hall) at the Forty Acres in Delano. Front row, left to right: Cesar Chavez, John Giumarra. Second row, left to right: Manuel Uranday, Msgr. George Higgins, Bishop Joseph Donnelly, Bill Kirchner, Jerry Sherry, editor of the "Catholic Monitor", and John Giumarra, Jr. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by Cris Sanchez, 1970.

The second building constructed at the Forty Acres was this administrative building (Reuther Hall) which was completed in 1969. Chavez's office was located in this building from 1969 until 1971, and this building is where the UFWOC signed contracts with Delano area growers in 1970, ending the union's five-year grape strike. The new building, constructed with adobe brick and an aluminum roof, eventually housed offices, a reception area, and a large meeting room that doubled as the hiring hall, from which farm workers would be dispatched to ranches under contract. Photo by NPS, 2011.

In 1971, union volunteers built the health clinic which was constructed with adobe brick and red roof tiles. Photo by NPS, 2011.

Filipino farm workers gather to plan the construction of Agbayani Village at the Forty Acres, Delano. The Village was built to house retired Filipino farm workers who had no family in the United States. Back row, 5th from right: Phillip Vera Cruz. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1972.

Today, Agbayani Village at the Forty Acres in Delano still functions as housing. Photo by NPS, 2010.

Living quarters at Agbayani Village open onto a central landscaped courtyard. Photo by NPS, 2011.

Two of Cesar Chavez's three public fasts took place at the Forty Acres in Delano. The room shown to the left is where Cesar Chavez held most of his 36-day "Fast for Life" in 1988. It remains much as it was in the 1980s. This room is located within the Agbayani Village which was built to house retired Filipino farm workers who had no family in the United States. Photo by NPS, 2011.

No other property in the United States is associated more closely with Cesar Chavez and the early events associated the forming of the UFW. Today, grounds and buildings where these events occurred are still extant.

The exceptionally high degree of integrity that the Forty Acres NHL exhibits conveys the feeling and association of the historical time and place as well as the vision of Cesar Chavez and the deep purpose of the farm labor movement. The property thus presents an outstanding opportunity to preserve, interpret, and commemorate multiple dimensions of the farm labor movement and Cesar Chavez.

1966 Delano to Sacramento March Route (CA)

The march from Delano to Sacramento in the spring of 1966 was a milestone event in the history of the farm labor movement, and it reflected Chavez's growing influence on that movement. The idea for the march emerged in January 1966, four months after the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) and then the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) launched the Delano table-grape strike. The unions had called for a boycott of all products sold by the Schenley Corporation (the second largest grower operation in Delano), but as winter set in, Chavez and other union leaders were seeking ways to revitalize the strike and draw new attention to it. A planning retreat generated the idea of a protest march from Delano to Sacramento, and Chavez decided to infuse the 300-mile march with religious overtones—specifically, he devised a theme ("Pilgrimage, Penitence, and Revolution") and a timeframe that would coincide with the Lenten season of 1966. More than one hundred men and women set out from Delano on March 17, 1966, and thousands joined in for short stretches along the way. Eighty-two walked the entire route. By the time they approached the state capitol on April 10, 1966, the marchers and their supporters had secured a contract from the Schenley Company and new waves of sympathy from across the country.

The scale of the march was unprecedented—it was 300 miles long, it involved hundreds of marchers, it inspired thousands of supporters and observers, and it was covered in the media for the entire twenty-five day duration. The march also was significant for its spatial dimensions by physically extending efforts beyond the fields, barrios and agricultural communities. Jessica Govea, a young volunteer who eventually rose to a position on the UFW executive board, thought that the march to Sacramento "opened the farmworkers' struggle and . . . [brought its message] to farmworkers all up and down the valley. The other thing that it did was take head-on the fear that most people felt in the valley." As Govea explained, farmworkers "grew up or lived with this . . . unspoken fear that there was this side and that side of the tracks, that there were places you couldn't go, there were ways that you would be treated." Luis Valdez observed that the march obliterated such territorial divisions. "The San Joaquin Valley is full of those limitations, of those barriers and those lines that you never crossed. Well, this march crossed them. It crossed them all. It was," he concluded, "a literal taking of the territory" (Rosales 1997).

As the marchers approached Sacramento a few days before Easter, Chavez received a telephone call from a lawyer representing the Schenley Corporation. The company wanted to sign a contract—the perseverance of the striking farm workers and their supporters was beginning to work. Dolores Huerta negotiated the contract, and she secured much of what the farm workers sought when they went on strike, at least from one employer: union recognition, a raise of thirty-five cents an hour, the replacement of the labor contracting system with a union-run hiring hall, and provisions for seniority and job security. The marchers' entrance into Sacramento on Easter Sunday (April 10, 1966) was triumphal, and a crowd of more than four thousand farm workers and other supporters thronged to the steps of the capitol building to celebrate.

The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route location is sufficiently known and therefore meets National Historic Trail criteria for location. Possessing an exceptionally high degree of integrity of location, the route clearly conveys its association with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement specifically as well as several major themes of United States history and heritage more broadly. The route followed established roads and highways and can be retraced.

Although the major cities and most of the towns through which the route passed (including Fresno, Stockton, and Sacramento) have undergone significant physical changes since 1966, the route as a whole retains integrity of setting.

Following NHL criteria (36 CFR Part 65), the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route can be judged nationally significant, in part, because of its direct association with the productive life of Cesar Chavez (criterion 2) and with the history of the farm labor movement (criterion 1). The 1966 Delano to

Sacramento march route thus also meets Criteria B and C of the National Trails Act.

Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (La Paz)

(Keene, CA)

Between 1970 and 1984, the farm labor movement transitioned into a modern labor union, the United Farm Workers of America (UFW). This union secured unprecedented gains, including the passage of the first law in the continental U.S. that recognized agricultural laborers' collective bargaining rights and the signing and administration of contracts that brought myriad improvements in farm workers' lives across the nation. La Paz is the property tied most closely to these developments, primarily because Chavez relocated the UFW's administrative offices and his own residence to La Paz in 1971, but also because thousands of union members themselves came to La Paz to help devise and implement organizing strategies, to receive training in contract administration, and to strengthen their sense of solidarity. For Chavez himself, La Paz became a place where he could retreat, recharge, and envision new directions for the UFW.

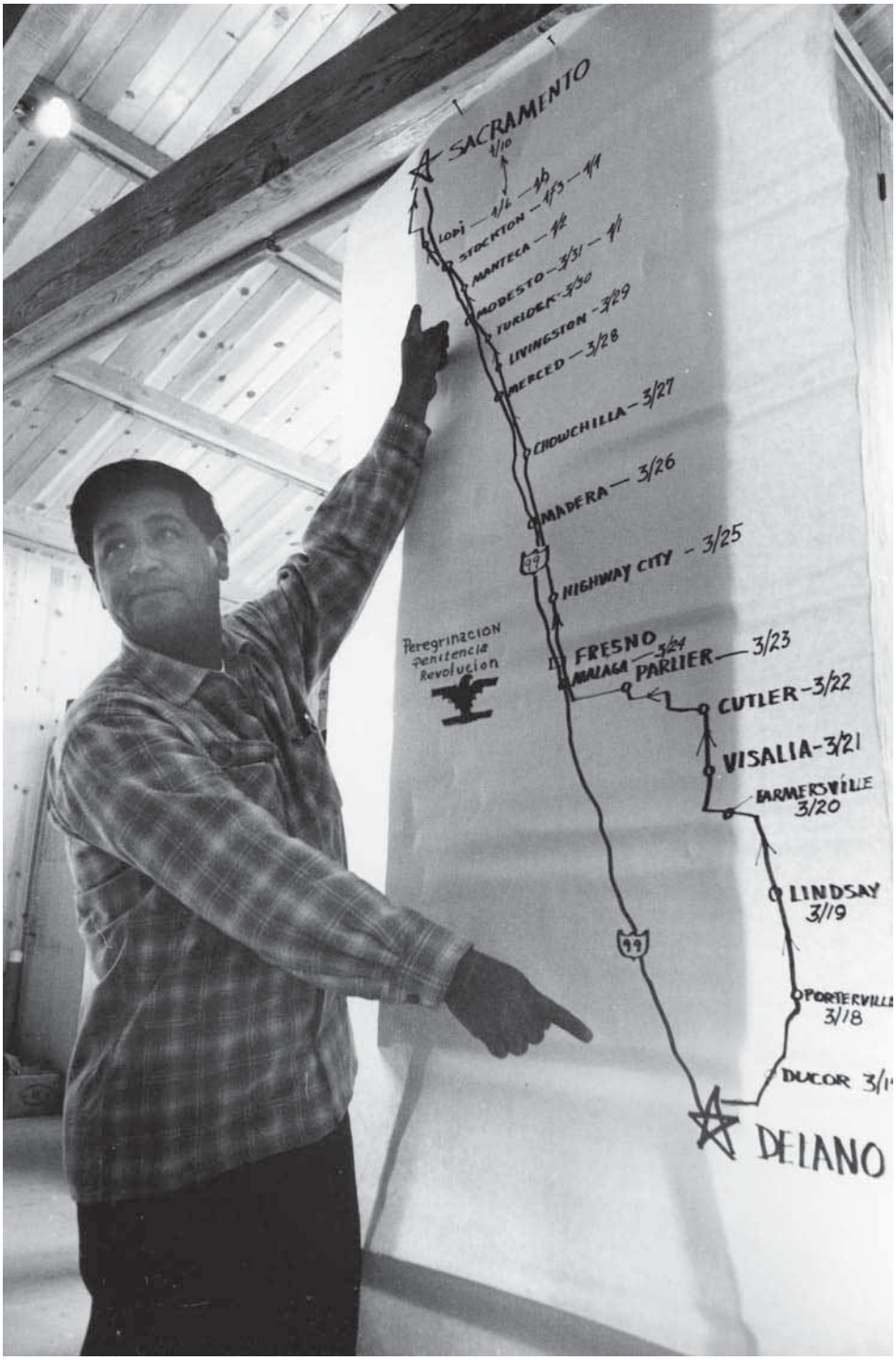
La Paz encompasses 187 acres in Keene, California, a small town located in the foothills of the Tehachapi Mountains of eastern Kern County. The property includes 23 buildings situated amidst rolling hills, rock outcrops, and oak savanna. Two buildings were constructed during the 1910s, when the property was associated with a nearby rock quarry. Fifteen buildings were constructed between the 1920s and the 1960s, when the property was used as a tuberculosis sanitarium. These buildings, most of which reflect Craftsman/California Bungalow influences, give La Paz much of its character (one exception, a children's hospital building built during the 1920s, reflects Spanish Colonial Revival influences). Six buildings were constructed by the UFW during the 1970s and early 1980s.

In the spring of 1970, the Forty Acres located in Delano continued to serve as the national headquarters of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (forerunner to the UFW), but Chavez realized that the location of the Forty Acres limited the union's ability to expand its efforts nationally. Delano was seen as the center of the union's nearly five-year strike against table-grape growers in the southern San Joaquin Valley. Despite victories elsewhere, the union's efforts often were associated only with the area around Delano. Chavez began to think that a move away from Delano might allow the union to broaden its profile and thus improve its ability to serve farm workers throughout the nation. He sought a place where he and other leaders, members, and supporters of the farm labor movement could retreat when necessary but also find the sense of renewal that would energize new campaigns.

In the spring of 1970, LeRoy Chatfield, director of the National Farm Workers Service Center (NFWSC), learned that the Kern County Board of Supervisors was selling a 187-acre property in Keene, a small town located in the foothills of the Tehachapi Mountains. Upon seeing the property—a former tuberculosis sanatorium—Richard Chavez thought that it could become exactly what Cesar sought. With its residential buildings, administrative spaces, maintenance shops, water supply system, sewage treatment plant, and boiler plant, the property could support a year-round community of UFW officers and employees, and a fluctuating population of union members and supporters almost immediately. The property's distance from Delano (approximately sixty miles) seemed ideal as well; it was close enough to drive whenever necessary, but distant enough to discourage social visits. A union supporter purchased the property for $231,500 and leased it to the NFWSC with the intent to sell. In the spring of 1971, Cesar announced his decision to move his office and residence from Delano to the new property, named "Nuestra Senora de La Paz Educational Retreat Center." The relocation of the UFW's national headquarters and central administrative functions became official in 1972.

Chavez's presence outdoors helped define La Paz, just as La Paz helped Chavez define himself. "For my dad, La Paz was . . . a refuge," Paul Chavez has explained. "He used to get up early in the morning and go up on the hills across from his office and meditate and watch the sun come up. And it would give him strength and give him the ability to establish a calm." La Paz was a place where Cesar could disengage from the constant conflict, restore his sense of perspective, and "recharge his batteries" (Richard Chavez, interview with COPH).

While a place of rejuvenation for Chavez, La Paz was also the place that helped him envision new directions for the UFW. He spoke of this effort in 1975. "After we've got contracts, we have to build more clinics and co-ops," he told journalist and Chavez writer Jacques Levy. "Then there's the whole question of political action, so much political work to be done taking care of all the grievances that people have, such as the discrimination their kids face in



The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march was conceived four months after the launch of the Delano grape strike in 1965. The march would draw national attention and garner support for the grape boycott. Photo courtesy of www.farmworkermovement.us. Photo by Jon Lewis, 1966.

The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march was given the theme of “Pilgrimage, Penitence and Revolution” and was timed to coincide with the Lenten season. An NFWA banner with Our Virgin of Guadalupe and flags of the U.S. and Mexico led the 300 mile march. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1966.

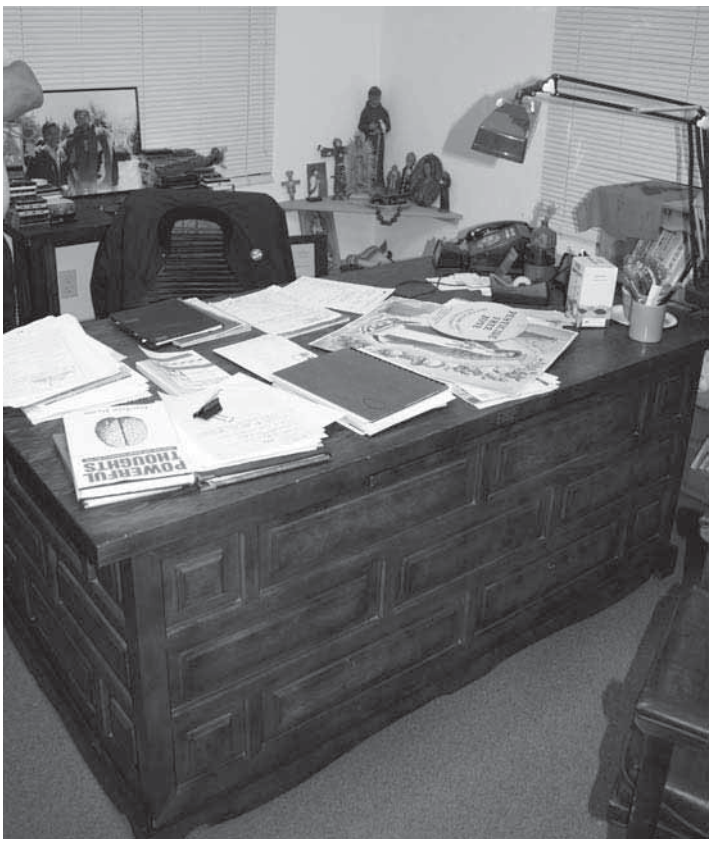
More than one hundred men and women set out from Delano on March 17, 1966 and thousands joined in for short stretches along the way, but only 82 walked the entire route. When the march reached the capitol in Sacramento on April 10, thousands gathered in support of the farm workers. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, 1966.

A meeting of UFW Officials and supporters at La Paz, Keene, California. Left to right: ----, Mike Ybarra, ---,----, Pete Velasco, Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Richard Chavez, Arturo Rodriguez. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1980s.

Known as “Nuestra Senora de La Paz Educational Retreat Center”, La Paz became the national headquarters for the UFW. The site also became important for training farm workers and building capacity within the farm labor movement. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by Venturati, 1972.

The original administrative building at La Paz has been converted into a visitor center that is open to the public. The building opens onto a memorial garden that includes Cesar Chavez's grave site. Photo: NPS, 2011.

Cesar Chavez's grave site. Photo: NPS, 2011.



Visitors can view Chavez's office which is largely as it was during its time of use. Photo: NPS, 2011.

A large dormitory building provided housing for the many farm workers and visitors who would stay at La Paz. Photo by NPS, 2011.

Several permanent residences for union leaders were located at La Paz. Many are still in use today. Photo by NPS, 2011.

school, and the whole problem of the police. . . . We have to participate in the governing of towns and school boards," he continued. "We have to make our influence felt everywhere and anywhere. It's a long struggle that we're just beginning, but it can be done because the people want it" (Levy 1971). Chavez viewed La Paz as a place where farm workers and their allies could prepare for this struggle. It was a place where he could bring people in and "put them in a new surrounding where he could work with them to develop the skills necessary to move things forward," Paul Chavez explained. "And so he always had conferences here to pull people in. You could get [them] out of the heat, and I'm not talking just about the temperature, I'm talking about the battle of fighting. . . . You pull them up here and give people a chance to really disengage and take a deep breath . . . and look at things more strategically." For Cesar, La Paz was a great place "to bring people and to work with them, and to teach them, prepare them, and inspire them" (Paul Chavez, interview with COPH).

The acquisition of La Paz reflected the full emergence of the UFW as a permanent labor union. As Richard Chavez has explained, La Paz became significant "because that's where we moved when we really had arrived. We were really a serious union and we had arrived." Richard also associated the acquisition of La Paz with the beginning of far-reaching changes in the union. "We started changing. Our lives changed and everything changed, [including] our way of doing things" (Richard Chavez, interview with COPH). Many of these changes turned La Paz into the crossroads of the UFW. Hundreds of men, women, and children called La Paz their home, but thousands more came from around California and the rest of the country to learn how to operate their union and increase their own capacity to affect political and social change. La Paz became the new symbol of the UFW. It was associated with past achievements but also new horizons, including the modernization of the UFW.

All of this activity produced a diverse population of around two hundred residents—not just farm workers but also priests and nuns, labor organizers, Chicano activists, and others. Some brought spouses and children; for them, the decision to relocate was perhaps more difficult. The NFWSC accommodated these families by converting some of the houses into duplexes and then creating a residential area filled with manufactured housing units. At the same time, the NFWSC converted the hospital building into a dormitory for unmarried residents and for those visiting La Paz for meetings, conferences, and training. This year-round community gave La Paz a constant energy. "It was a community," Chris Hartmire, a longtime union supporter, explained, ". . . and that's what Cesar loved. It was part of his stamina and his spiritual strength, just having the elements of people just living and working together and worshipping together on Sundays and having community meetings on Fridays" (Alaniz 2004).It was a community that coalesced through shared work and shared life—not only the routines of office work but also the work parties to make flags for a march, Saturday mornings spent in the gardens, meals shared in the cafeteria, and weekend celebrations, including first communions, quinceaneras, and weddings.

By the mid-1970s, La Paz had replaced the Forty Acres as the most important crossroads of the UFW. Thousands of union members and labor organizers from California and other parts of the country came to La Paz for meetings, conferences, and training sessions. To be sure, a visit to La Paz for most farm workers occurred less frequently than a visit to a union field office or service center. But such visits had a different purpose. Farm workers went to field offices and service centers to receive assistance with their immediate problems. They went to La Paz to receive the training they would need to solve problems themselves—and to help other farm workers do likewise. For supporters of the UFW such as volunteer Margie Coons, "a trip to La Paz [was like] . . . a journey to Mecca." As Coons explained to a Los Angeles reporter in 1972, La Paz was "so peaceful. And once you visit it you just feel. . . more tuned in to the whole movement" (Los Angeles Times 1972). Over the years, thousands of men and women shared Coons's experience.

During the 1970s and early 1980s, La Paz was a powerful symbol of what the UFW had become and still hoped to achieve. It was at La Paz during these years that leaders, members, and supporters of the UFW planned their strategies in campaigns against the growers of Salinas, Delano, Coachella, and elsewhere; against the Teamsters who competed with the UFW; against corporations whose subsidiaries refused to recognize farm workers' rights; and against politicians who sought to thwart the union's agenda through legislation. It was at La Paz that leaders, members, and supporters of the UFW celebrated victories in these campaigns. It was at La Paz that the UFW orchestrated its own legislative push for the first law in the U.S. that would recognize and protect farm workers' rights to organize a union and negotiate contracts with their employers. And it was at La Paz that leaders, members, and supporters of the UFW celebrated the passage of the California

Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA) in June 1975, the union's greatest political victory.

La Paz also was a symbol associated with what the union hoped to achieve in the future and how it hoped to achieve it. The passage of the ALRA allowed UFW leaders to focus first on modernizing the union. As Chavez observed in 1977, "much of the fight is being transferred from the picket lines and the boycotts to the courts and the hearing rooms [of the new Agricultural Labor Relations Board]" (Los Angeles Times 1977). UFW leaders calculated that they could shift much of their own energy from organizing in the fields to gaining greater leverage in the political system. They would intensify their efforts to train farm laborers to recruit members and administer contracts. They also would invest in new technologies that would enhance the union's ability to reach supporters and to operate within the political arena. These initiatives manifested at La Paz in the Fred Ross School housed in the building known as the North Unit, in the microwave telecommunications system installed on the property (to link twenty field offices and service centers with La Paz), in the computer system that enabled the creation of a database of members and supporters across the country, in the massive printing press used for direct mailings, and in the radio broadcasting studio installed in the basement of the dormitory building.

The passage of the ALRA in 1975 and two subsequent victories—the Teamsters' decision to withdraw from the fields in 1977 and the signing of new contracts with lettuce growers in 1979—allowed Chavez and other UFW leaders to begin broadening the union's focus as well. Chavez believed that the union's battles with particular growers and industries, its battles in the courts and in the hearing rooms of the ALRB, its efforts to target new supporters, and its alliances with sympathetic politicians were worthwhile, but he had long believed that these efforts were only a beginning. In order to affect social change, the union would have to confront the fundamental problem of economic inequality. Chavez had concluded that, "Effective political power is never going to come, particularly to minority groups, unless they have economic power. . . As a continuation of our struggle, I think that we can develop economic power and put it into the hands of the people so they can have more control of their own lives, and then begin to change the system" (Levy 1975). La Paz was an integral part of this broader struggle through its training facilities and programs, which prepared farm laborers and other men and women to work as union organizers and contract administrators but also as paralegals, credit-union workers, cooks, mechanics, and in other occupations that would enable them to earn better incomes, educate their children, and contribute to the forces of progressive social change.

Following NHL criteria (36 CFR Part 65), La Paz is nationally significant because of its direct association with the productive life of Cesar Chavez (criterion 2) and with the history of the farm labor movement (criterion 1). Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on August 30, 2011, at the national level of significance.

Santa Rita Center (Phoenix, AZ)

In 1972, an unprecedented political offensive began when a nationwide coalition of corporate growers and shippers, anti-union groups, and their allies in state offices joined with the American Farm Bureau Federation to sponsor legislation that limited union voting rights to year-round employees, banned harvest-time strikes, banned boycotts, and, in some states, even banned negotiations over pesticide use. Legislatures in Kansas, Idaho, Oregon, and Arizona passed these bills. During this time the UFW began to expand its efforts beyond the challenges associated with securing farm labor contracts towards political action, launching counter-attacks on such initiatives. The Santa Rita Center in Phoenix, Arizona was the center of one of the first orchestrated protests in response to the passing of such legislation in Arizona and represents the evolution of the UFW into political action beyond California.

Cesar Chavez undertook a twenty-four-day fast in May 1972 to protest an Arizona law that limited farm workers' rights to conduct strikes and boycotts and to publicize a campaign to recall the governor of Arizona. Chavez conducted nineteen days of this fast at the Santa Rita Center, a building located in the south Phoenix barrio known as El Campito. Thousands of Arizona farm workers—and national figures such as Coretta Scott King—arrived at the Santa Rita Center during the course of the fast to participate in rallies, give voice to the movement's newly adopted slogan ("Si se puede!"), celebrate nightly Masses, and pledge their support for La Causa. The recall campaign was thwarted, but these weeks marked a watershed moment for Arizona politics, Mexican American political activity, and the evolution of the farm labor movement into national politics.

Cesar Chavez attends a rally in Phoenix Arizona in May, 1972 with his brother Richard Chavez. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by El Malcriado, 1972.

Cesar Chavez accepts bread from Father Joe Melton to end his 24-day “Fast for Justice”, Phoenix, Arizona. The impetus for the fast was an Arizona law that limited farm workers’ rights to conduct strikes and boycotts and to publicize a campaign to recall the governor of Arizona. Nineteen of the 24 days of the fast took place at the Santa Rita Center. Thousands of farm workers and national figures such as Coretta Scott King, went to the Santa Rita Center to support the effort. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photo by Glen Pearcy, June 4, 1972.

The Santa Rita Center in Phoenix, Arizona was constructed in 1959 by and for the Mexican American parishioners of Sacred Heart Catholic Church and other residents of El Campito, one of several south Phoenix barrios. The force behind the construction of the building was Father Albert Braun, a priest who moved to Phoenix in 1949. During the 1950s Braun helped his parishioners construct the Sacred Heart Church, three chapels, a parochial school, a convent house, and a community hall, the Santa Rita Center. The Santa Rita Center served as an important community site during the 1960s for celebrations, classes and other community functions. Photo by: NPS, 2010.

The Santa Rita Center was chosen as the site for the “Fast for Justice” because there was a space for Chavez to hold his fast while also being able to meet with farm workers and attend nightly Masses. Photo by NPS, 2010.

The Santa Rita Center was constructed in 1959 by and for the Mexican American parishioners of Sacred Heart Catholic Church and other residents of El Campito, one of several south Phoenix barrios. The driving force behind the construction of the building was Father Albert Braun, a sixty-year-old priest who relocated to Phoenix in 1949. During the 1960s, Mexican American population in Phoenix approached 80,000. At the same time, Mexican Americans in Phoenix, especially those who began to self-identify as Chicanos, increased their participation in social welfare initiatives, labor and community organizing efforts, and local politics. One of the first outlets for this activity was the Migrant Opportunity Program (MOP), established in 1965 by the Arizona Council of Churches' Migrant Ministry and funded by federal grants from the Office of Economic Opportunity. The MOP was created to provide job training to migrant workers in the Phoenix area, but the program quickly began to move toward community organizing. In May 1965 the MOP brought Fred Ross and Cesar Chavez to Phoenix to provide a training session for its organizers. One of these organizers, thirty-two-year-old Gustavo Gutierrez, had spent most of his life in agricultural labor. Chavez and Gutierrez began a correspondence that would lay the foundation for bringing the UFW to Arizona.

By 1970 the UFW's membership in Arizona was growing and the union had secured several major contracts. These successes sparked a strong response from Arizona growers. In early 1972, Arizona Congressman Stan Akers introduced House Bill 2134 into the Arizona State Legislature. The bill, crafted in large part by the Arizona Farm Bureau, would severely weaken the UFW by imposing criminal penalties on anyone who participated in strikes and secondary boycotts during harvest season. As dozens of religious, civic, and labor leaders registered their opposition to the bill, UFW organizer Lupe Sanchez asked Governor Jack Williams to meet with Chavez before deciding whether to sign it. Williams refused, and when the legislature passed the bill on May 11, 1972, Williams bypassed the state attorney general's customary review and instead ordered a highway patrolman to deliver the bill to him immediately for his signature.

The following day, Chavez announced the beginning of what he called a "fast of love." His intention, he explained, was to appeal to the hearts of growers and show them that they had nothing to fear from farm workers—certainly not hatred or violence. The underlying purpose of the fast was to inspire farm workers themselves. During their first few days in Arizona, Chavez and other UFW leaders talked with Arizona farm workers and labor leaders about how to fight the new legislation, and several times they heard the response, "No se puede—it can't be done." Discussing this at a staff meeting on May 16, Dolores Huerta insisted, "From now on, we're not going to say, 'No se puede.' We're going to say, 'Si se puede!'" (Levy 1975). Chavez immediately identified the phrase as the union's new battle cry. Together, the slogan and the fast would inject a renewed spirit of optimism and activism into the farm labor movement which, in the short term, would be channeled toward a statewide campaign to register new voters and recall the governor.

Chavez's fast at the Santa Rita Center focused national attention on farm workers and their organized protest against restrictive legislation, and it invigorated two social movements—the Chicano movement and the farm labor movement. Ultimately it reshaped the political landscape, especially in Arizona. After the fast ended, the UFW's recall campaign gained steam. Tens of thousands of Arizona residents, eager to support the recall, registered to vote—most of them for the first time. In the 1972 elections, these voters sent four Mexican Americans and two Navajos to the State Legislature, elected a third Navajo county supervisor, and placed dozens of Mexican Americans on school boards, city councils, and local courts.

Two years later, the impact was even more dramatic. Democrat Raul Castro became the first Mexican American to be elected governor of Arizona. Alfredo Gutierrez was name majority leader of the newly Democratic controlled state senate. The party gained five more seats in the State House of Representatives and chose another Mexican American, Eddie Guerrero, to serve as the minority leader.

In the wake of the Arizona campaign, the UFW gained realization of itself as a political force in both state and national politics. The Santa Rita Center possesses an exceptionally high degree of integrity, which allows the property to convey its association with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement specifically as well as several major themes of United States history and heritage more broadly. The building has remained at the same location continuously since 1959. The integrity of the property's location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship contribute to the property's exceptionally high integrity of feeling and association. The property derives its national significance from its association with Cesar Chavez and with the farm labor movement. Despite

superficial changes and evidence of neglect, the building looks like it did in 1972. A visitor today can stand inside the small, simple room where Chavez fasted and easily imagine what the room and the property as a whole would have felt like at the time. Following NHL criteria (36 CFR Part 65), the Santa Rita Center is nationally significant because of its direct association with the productive life of Cesar Chavez (criterion 2) and with the history of the farm labor movement (criterion 1).

Potential Nationally Significant Sites - Additional Research Needed

An additional 11 properties have national significance for their association with Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement, meeting NHL Criteria 1 and/or 2. However, further research and study is necessary to assess integrity. These sites include properties in California and Arizona. Sites in Arizona are located in Yuma and San Luis. California properties are located in Delano, Calexico, Salinas, and San Jose. Although some of these sites have less than a high degree of integrity, they offer exceptional interpretive value. When combined with the five sites that clearly meet NHL criteria, these nationally significant resources collectively represent each of the major historic contexts associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement described in Chapter 2, *Historic Context and Resource Description*.

It should also be noted that the communities of Yuma and Delano include concentrations of significant sites related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The high concentration of sites in these communities provides exceptional interpretive opportunities and strengthens the feeling and association related to the period of significance.

Potential Nationally Significant Sites Associated with Cesar Chavez's Early Life and Formative Experiences in the American West, 1927-1952

Chavez Family Homestead Site (Yuma, AZ)

Cesar Chavez's paternal grandparents emigrated from Mexico in 1888 and settled in the Gila River Valley northeast of Yuma, Arizona, during the 1890s. The family acquired 100 acres of land in 1909, built an adobe farmhouse the same year, and began cultivating the land.

Cesar Chavez was born in the Gila River Valley in 1927. Chavez lived in the adobe farmhouse on his grandparents' homestead from 1932 until the family lost the property and moved to California in 1939, during the Great Depression. As a child living on the homestead, Chavez learned the value of hard work from his father, he learned the principles of nonviolence from his mother, and he learned the Catholic faith from his grandmother; these and other core values would shape his leadership of the farm labor movement. At the same time, childhood experiences beyond the homestead taught him the pain of discrimination, the hardships of poverty, and the value of a stable place to call home.

Although the footprint of the adobe farmhouse is evident and sections of several walls remain standing, the building itself (built in 1909) lacks physical integrity. The site as a whole, however, retains moderate integrity of location, setting, and feeling and low integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. The ruins at the site face dangers from erosion and other sources of deterioration, including dredging of an irrigation canal less than ten feet west of the farmhouse.

Potential Nationally Significant Sites Associated with Development of the Agricultural Industry, Agricultural Labor, and Agricultural Labor Activism in California and the American West Before 1960

Arvin Farm Labor Center (Arvin Federal Camp or Weedpatch Camp) (Bakersfield, CA)

The Resettlement Administration (an agency later absorbed by the Farm Security Administration) established this migrant labor camp near Bakersfield in 1936 primarily for migrants arriving in California

The Chavez Family Homestead site in the Gila River Valley northeast of Yuma was Cesar Chavez's childhood home. The family acquired 100 acres of land in 1909, built an adobe house farmhouse and cultivated the land. Today, only remnants of the adobe walls remain. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University. Photographer unknown, c. 1960s.

The Arvin Farm Labor Center was constructed in 1936 by the federal Resettlement Administration as a migrant labor camp. It was used as a model for "Weedpatch Camp" in John Steinbeck's, "The Grapes of Wrath". These buildings were recently restored. Photo by: NPS, 2010

Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in San Jose, California, became instrumental in the farm labor movement during the 1950s and 1960s. The church, where Chavez worshipped when he lived in San Jose, supporting local migrant farm workers with basic services and helped to galvanize community organizing efforts. The parish hall (now called McDonnell Hall) is where Chavez worked with priest and mentor Father Donald McDonnell during the early 1950s. Photo: NPS, 2011.

Cesar and Helen Chavez and their eight children lived in this rented house when they moved to Delano in April, 1962. This house served as the first headquarters for the Farm Workers Association (FWA). The house is now a private residence. Photo by: NPS, 2011.

from dust bowl-affected areas. John Steinbeck visited the camp shortly after it opened and used it as the model for "Weedpatch Camp" in *The Grapes of Wrath*. Two years later, Fred Ross was hired by the Farm Security Administration to manage the camp where he held this position for about a year. The camp remained in continuous use into the 1950s, and Kern County acquired the property in 1958. The Kern County Housing Authority assumed control of the camp in 1965. As the table-grape harvest moved north in the Arvin area that year, around 200 members of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) went on strike to demand higher wages. Most of those who struck lived in this camp, by then known as the Sunset Migrant Center. One year later, their union would merge with the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) to form the UFWOC.

This property as a whole retains moderate to low integrity relative to the 1960s, when its residents joined the farm labor movement. The property retains integrity of location, design, and setting, but the original housing has been replaced, leaving little evidence of materials and workmanship and low levels of feeling and association. However, three buildings on the property dating from the 1930s (a community hall, a library building, and a small post office building) have been preserved. Of these, the library and post office have been restored, but all three buildings give the property high interpretive value. The three buildings dating from the 1930s were listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1996.

Potential Nationally Significant Sites Associated with Cesar Chavez's Education as a Community Organizer in California and the Emergence of Dolores Huerta, 1952-1962

McDonnell Hall (San Jose, CA)

The first phase of Cesar Chavez's productive life as a community organizer, civil rights advocate, and labor leader began in the "Sal Si Puedes" barrio of East San Jose, where Chavez lived from 1952 to 1955 and met the two men whose influence shaped the rest of his life: Father Donald McDonnell and Fred Ross. The building most closely associated with this phase of Chavez's life is now known as McDonnell Hall.

Chavez lived in East San Jose at various times during the 1930s and 1940s. When he returned in 1952 with his wife and children, his parents and some of his siblings lived on Scharff Avenue. At the time, the surrounding barrio remained a neglected part of the city. Sal Si Puedes lacked paved streets, sidewalks, streetlights, and playgrounds. Although the community also lacked a permanent church, Father Donald McDonnell had begun to offer Spanish-language Masses in a borrowed building known as Tremont Hall.

Chavez and McDonnell were close in age, and they formed a strong friendship. McDonnell exposed Chavez to a universe of writings about spirituality, labor rights, human rights, and social justice, including the writings of Saint Francis of Assisi, the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII, biographies of Eugene Debs and John L. Lewis, classics of political philosophy by Machiavelli and de Tocqueville, and the writings and biographies of Mohandas Gandhi. Chavez, in turn, became McDonnell's close companion, accompanying him to bracero camps to offer Mass, to the city jail to talk to prisoners, and to homes throughout the barrio to build support for the construction of a permanent church.

Chavez and McDonnell had come to know each other well by May 1952, when Fred Ross arrived in East San Jose with plans to create the second chapter of the Community Service Organization (CSO), a community empowerment organization he created in Los Angeles a few years prior. Ross met Chavez in June and, like McDonnell, quickly became a mentor. Working closely with Ross, Chavez and Herman Gallegos spearheaded a voter registration campaign among the thousands of residents of East San Jose, including those Chavez had come to know through his work with Father McDonnell. When San Jose's CSO chapter elected its first officers that summer, Gallegos became the president and Chavez became the vice president.

As Chavez continued to build the CSO's strength in San Jose during the next year and push for streetlights, sidewalks, and other improvements, he began to crystallize the sense of purpose that would propel his long career as a labor leader and social justice advocate. Meanwhile, McDonnell's efforts to secure a permanent church for East San Jose came to fruition. In October 1953, Chavez helped move an old frame church building from another part of San Jose to a location on Kammerer Avenue. This building (now known as McDonnell Hall) was re-opened as Guadalupe Mission and later as Our Lady

of Guadalupe Catholic Church. During the next two years, this building would serve as the primary site from which Chavez and McDonnell served, educated, and organized farm workers and other community members. Although Chavez managed to open a CSO service center on East Santa Clara Avenue (across from the Five Wounds Church) in 1953, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church remained the primary site from which Chavez and other CSO organizers conducted their work.

Chavez moved away from San Jose in 1955, but his parents and siblings remained active in the CSO and in the church. Chavez visited East San Jose often and continued to consider Our Lady of Guadalupe his family's church. During the 1960s and 1970s, Chavez family members, other CSO members, and other parishioners at Our Lady of Guadalupe participated in the activities of the farm worker movement and provided abundant support (including, for example, donations of food and clothing delivered to the church). This close association with Cesar Chavez and with one of the many vibrant, unified, and politically active communities that provided crucial support for the farm worker movement suggests that McDonnell Hall merits listing on the National Register of Historic Places and potential designation as a National Historic Landmark.

The building has been well maintained by the diocese and the parish. The building was relocated within the property in recent years, but it appears to retain at least a moderate level of integrity.

St. Mary's Catholic Church (Stockton, CA)

In 1955, three years after recruiting Cesar Chavez into the Community Service Organization in San Jose, Fred Ross decided to organize a CSO chapter in Stockton. Donald McDonnell, a priest in San Jose, put Ross in touch with Thomas McCullough, a priest at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Stockton. When Ross asked McCullough to recommend potential CSO organizers, McCullough introduced him to 25-year-old Dolores Huerta. Born in New Mexico in 1930 but raised by her mother in Stockton after her parents divorced, Huerta had learned to recognize economic and social inequalities at a young age. Huerta's mother challenged the foundations of such inequalities and inspired her daughter to do so as well.

During the 1940s and early 1950s, Huerta became active at St. Mary's Catholic Church and impressed McCullough with her leadership skills. She also pursued a degree at Stockton Junior College and got married, but a divorce left her to raise three young children. Meeting Fred Ross marked a turning point in her life. "I always thank the day that I met Fred," Huerta has explained. "I always hated injustice and I always wanted to do something to change things. Fred opened a door for me. He changed my whole life." Huerta organized CSO meetings through the church, similar to Chavez's use of McDonnell Hall.

St. Mary's Catholic Church possesses high interpretive value because of its association with Dolores Huerta and the launching of her productive life as a community organizer, labor leader, and social justice advocate, but the building retains only moderate integrity. The building has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling, but it lacks clear association with the farm labor movement.

Potential Nationally Significant Sites Associated With the Organization of the Farm Workers Association in California, 1962-1965

Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Delano, CA)

When Cesar, Helen, and their eight children moved from Los Angeles to Delano in April 1962, they rented a small house on Kensington Street. They soon moved into the house next door; which was slightly larger but still offered only two bedrooms, one bathroom, a small kitchen, and a living room (where some of the children and most of the family's guests would sleep). This house served as the first headquarters of the Farm Workers Association (FWA). The historical significance and interpretive value of the house also lies in its connection to the personal sacrifices that Cesar, Helen, and their children made—like those that other union leaders such as Dolores Huerta, Gilbert Padilla, Richard Chavez, and all of their families made—as they created what would become the NFWA and ultimately the UFW. During the early 1960s, Helen, for example, would wake at 4:00 every morning, prepare breakfast and lunch for the children, work a full day in the fields or vineyards, then return home to cook dinner and clean. She and the children sometimes saw little of Cesar during these years, but their willingness to endure the strain, provide crucial

The Baptist Church (known as "Negrito Hall") in Delano was rented by the NFWA for use as the strike headquarters in the 1960s. Photo by: NPS, 2010.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the People's Bar and Cafe served as the central gathering place in Delano for union volunteers. Cesar Chavez often frequented the bar to play pool and connect with volunteers. As early as 1966, however, People's emerged as a "free speech zone," where volunteers felt free to debate any number of issues, including Chavez's own strategies and tactics. c. 2010. The site is now "Rosy's Place" and the "People's Market" occupies the adjacent space. Photos by NPS: 2011.

Top photo: This building on Albany Street in Delano, California, served as an office for the NFWA from 1963 to 1970 and during much of the Delano grape strike. Photo courtesy of: www.farmworkermovement.us. Photo by John Kouns, c. 1960s. Bottom photo: Today, the NFWA office on Albany Street is used as a church. The building's distinctive false front appears much as it did during the building's period of significance. Photo by: NPS, 2010.

support, and move into key roles themselves made the union's emergence possible. The Chavez family lived in this house until moving to La Paz (Keene, California) in 1971.

This house was built in 1936, and it retains a moderate to high level of physical integrity. Specifically, the house retains integrity of location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship. Part of the national story of the farm labor movement was that many of the farm labor movement leaders were also heads of families. They made considerable sacrifices on the part of their families.

NFWA Office (Delano, CA)

Chavez laid the foundation for the Farm Workers Association (FWA) after moving to Delano in April 1962, and the organization held its founding convention in September 1962. By the beginning of 1963, the FWA had a constitution, a credit union, and a strong enough membership base to rent this building and move its offices out of Cesar and Helen Chavez's home. For the next six years, this building on Albany Street would serve as the national headquarters of the FWA and its successor organizations, the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC). Prior to the FWA moving into the building, it had served as a Jehovah's Witness hall and then a grocery store. Richard Chavez assumed the task of converting the building into a suite of offices (which included building a makeshift desk over a toilet in the bathroom). In 1967, well-known novelist and journalist John Gregory Dunne described the interior as a "chaotic shambles of plywood partitions, mimeograph machines, and battered desks..." Walls featured a profusion of maps, lists of telephone numbers, and instructions to picketers suggesting the building's true purpose: a war room of the NFWA and the UFWOC for nearly the full duration of the Delano strike. For countless farm workers and volunteers, it also was the first place they would go when they were ready to join the farm labor movement.

The building retains a moderate level of integrity. It has high integrity of location and setting, but only moderate integrity of materials and workmanship, and low integrity of design, feeling, and association. The strongest aspect of building's integrity (beyond its location and setting) is its distinctive false front, which makes it immediately recognizable to anyone already familiar with the building's appearance during the 1960s. The greatest detractor from the building's integrity is the complete remodel of the building's interior to fit its function as a church. Despite this loss of integrity, the building retains potentially high interpretive value.

Potential Nationally Significant Properties associated with the Delano grape strike, 1965 to 1970

Baptist Church ("Negrito Hall") (Delano, CA)

When the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) voted to go on strike against Delano table-grape growers in September 1965, it had few of the resources necessary to sustain a strike. The NFWA had its offices on Albany Street and needed to expand. The union faced an immediate need for a strike headquarters, so it rented this small church building referred to, at the time, as "Negrito Hall". Former volunteer Wendy Brooks remembers activity at the hall, during the first few months of the strike, as chaotic yet controlled. Simple partitions created offices including an office for Cesar in the back, with a telephone and work space. One hundred people a day including union members and other farm workers, volunteers, and reporters would come and go. Union members also crowded into this hall for regular Friday night membership meetings (which later would move to the Filipino Community Hall). The meetings began with a prayer, included reports from picket captains and other updates. The meetings often included skits performed by El Teatro Campesino, and concluded with everyone joining hands and singing "*De Colores*." The building represents the role of the community and inclusion of cultural values and traditions which supported the early efforts of the farm labor movement, a critical component to its success.

This building has moderate integrity but high interpretive value. The building retains moderate integrity of location, setting, materials, and workmanship but low integrity of design. Use of the building as a church and ongoing maintenance and repairs have diminished its integrity of feeling tied to its period of significance; the building's ability to clearly convey its association with Chavez and with the farm labor movement has diminished as well.

PEOPLE'S BAR AND CAFE (DELANO, CA)

During the 1960s and 1970s, People's Bar and Cafe served as the central gathering place in Delano for union volunteers—an eclectic group that included civil rights activists, free speech proponents, antiwar activists, environmentalists, religious activists, members of the Chicano Movement, and others. During the early years of the table-grape strike, Chavez frequented the bar to play pool, relax, and connect with volunteers. As early as 1966, People's Bar also became a place where volunteers felt free to debate any number of issues, including Chavez's own strategies and tactics such as his decision to merge the NFWA with the AWOC in 1966 and his decision to conduct a public fast in 1968. People's Bar quickly emerged as a "free speech zone" where volunteers could argue about politics, forecast the future of the union, denounce growers and Teamsters, educate newly arrived volunteers, and discuss deeper questions of social justice. People's Bar was a forum where all voices within the farm labor movement could be heard.

People's Bar and Cafe was located in a large building at Glenwood Street and Garces Highway that was constructed in 1940 and continues to house People's Market. Although the name and ownership of the business known as People's Bar and Cafe have changed, the location still functions as a bar (Rosy's Place). The location retains a high level of integrity, including high integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling. The association between the location and the farm labor movement remains clear to those already familiar with the history of the movement. It is one of the best representations of a gathering place for the many people that played an important role in the farm labor movement, farm workers, students, social activists, free speech proponents, environmentalists, religious activists, and members of the Chicano Movement. As was previously stated, many such sites were transient with tenuous association and integrity (protest sites, strike areas, rallies, etc.).

Potential Nationally Significant Properties associated with the Salinas strike, the fight against the Teamsters, and agricultural labor laws between 1970 and 1975.

MONTEREY COUNTY JAIL (SALINAS, CA)

On the same day in July 1970 that the UFWOC signed historic contracts with table-grape growers in Delano, union leaders learned that lettuce growers in the Salinas Valley had agreed to sign contracts with the Teamsters. The UFWOC quickly moved most of its resources to Salinas and prepared to engage this new alliance. By the end of August it was clear not only that the growers would not rescind their contracts but also that the Teamsters would use violence to intimidate UFWOC organizers and members. In response, Chavez called for a strike and a nationwide lettuce boycott.

Arguing that these actions were triggered by a jurisdictional dispute between rival unions, the Bud Antle Company secured an injunction from Superior Court Judge Gordon Campbell. Chavez defied Campbell's order to suspend the boycott, and Campbell summoned him to the Monterey County Courthouse on December 4, 1970. With three thousand farm workers filling and surrounding the courthouse, Campbell placed Chavez in the county jail for contempt of court. As Christmas approached, the jail became a key site for marches, Masses, rallies, and national media coverage. Coretta Scott King and Ethel Kennedy came to Salinas to visit with Chavez and to show their support; the *New York Times* editorialized that the imprisonment of Chavez was "an exercise in legalism of the kind that serves only to discredit the law." On December 24, 1970, the California Supreme Court ordered Chavez's release pending further review of the case. Although Chavez was jubilant, these events forecast a difficult decade for the UFW in the Salinas Valley.

The former Monterey County Jail building ceased to function as a jail in 1977. Since then, it has been used primarily for storage and occasionally for temporary detention of prisoners. The building has suffered some deterioration due to lack of maintenance, yet it retains moderate to high integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling. The property possesses high interpretive value, especially for its connection to the history of the farm labor movement in the Salinas Valley.

Despite objections from county officials at the time, the property was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in September 2004 as a nationally significant resource because of its association with Chavez and the farm labor movement.

The Monterey County Jail in Salinas is the site where Chavez was jailed for 20 days for refusing to obey a court order to stop the boycott against Bud Antle lettuce in December, 1970. Monterey County Jail ceased to function as a jail in 1977 and since has been used for storage. Photo by NPS: 2010.

The UFW Field Office in San Luis, Arizona opened during the early 1970s Through four successive summers (1972-75), the UFW led melon workers on strike in Yuma County. Photo by NPS, 2010

Passage of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975 allowed the UFW to expand its presence in the Imperial Valley. This former shape-up center was converted into a UFW field office known as "El Hoyo". Thousands gathered at El Hoyo following the fatal shooting of Rufino Contreras during the lettuce strike of 1979 to mourn. Photo by: NPS, 2010.

UFW Field Office (San Luis, AZ)

Arizona farm worker and labor leader Gustavo Gutierrez established a UFW presence in Maricopa County in 1967. As that presence grew and as it emerged in Yuma County during the late 1960s and early 1970s, Chavez sent his cousin, Manuel Chavez, to direct the union's campaigns in Arizona. Gutierrez already managed a UFW office in Tolleson; the UFW had opened this office in San Luis, a few blocks from the U.S.-Mexico border, by 1972. Through four successive summers (1972-75), the UFW led melon workers on strike in Yuma County, but these efforts were plagued by internal divisions over the treatment of undocumented workers and the use of violence. Gutierrez and fellow organizer Lupe Sanchez resigned from the UFW in 1976 because of these disputes—they favored the protection of undocumented workers and they opposed the use of violence. Gutierrez, Sanchez, and other organizers created the Maricopa County Organizing Project and continued organizing farm workers, and their successes led to a brief resurgence of UFW organizing in Arizona in 1978.

This building retains a high level of integrity relative to its period of significance, including integrity of location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship. The building has been little used or modified in recent decades, allowing it to retain its integrity of feeling and a clear association with the farm labor movement.

Potential Nationally Significant Properties associated with the modernization of the United Farm Workers and the broadening of the farm labor movement between 1975 and 1984.

UFW Field Office ("El Hoyo") (Calexico, CA)

The UFW's boycotts of non-union table grapes and lettuce, launched in 1973, and the election of Jerry Brown as governor of California in 1974, led to the passage of California's landmark Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975 (ALRA), which recognized farm workers' rights to form unions and engage in collective bargaining (four decades after their omission from the National Labor Relations Act). Although the ALRA proved difficult to enforce and the Teamsters would remain a rival presence until 1977, the UFW was able to expand its strength after 1975 in places like the Imperial Valley. This building became the UFW Field Office in Calexico. Known locally as El Hoyo (the hole), the building and adjacent parking lot, within walking distance of the U.S.-Mexico border, had served as a shape-up center for day laborers; its conversion into a UFW office and hiring hall thus seemed to signal a new future for labor relations in the region.

Another turning point came in January 1979, when contracts with lettuce growers in the Imperial Valley expired, negotiations broke off, and four thousand farm workers went on strike. Eight companies that supplied one third of the nation's lettuce shut down, and tensions escalated. On February 19, 1979, Rufino Contreras, a 28-year-old union member confronting strikebreakers on the Mario Saikhon ranch near Holtville, was shot and killed by ranch guards. Thousands of farm workers, union members, and supporters gathered at El Hoyo to mourn. This tragedy heightened tensions even more, prompting Chavez's decision to shut down picket lines and to pull union members out of the Imperial Valley. Despite the violence enacted on the striking farm workers, the union remained committed to its ethic of non-violence. Ultimately, the strike resulted in one of the union's greatest victories. Lettuce-pickers under the new union contract became the highest paid field workers in the country.

The former UFW Field Office building currently sits vacant, but non-use of the building has allowed it to retain a high level of integrity. The building has high integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, and materials, all of which allows the building to retain integrity of feeling and association, especially for those familiar with the history of the UFW in the Imperial Valley.

SRS Criteria Analysis

Outstanding Example

The nationally significant sites which meet NHL Criteria 1 and/or 2 are outstanding examples of resources that depict the life of Cesar Chavez and events important to the farm labor movement. Each of these sites represents ideas, events, and activities that were pivotal to the farm labor movement. Innovations of the farm labor movement represented by these sites include the formation of unions, farm worker service centers and housing, the use of non-violent means of organizing and protesting such as

the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march, boycotts, fasts, and organized strikes.

Historical and Cultural Themes

Nationally significant sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement possess exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting seven of the most significant themes in the history of the United States as defined by the NPS thematic framework.

The life of Cesar Chavez and the history of the farm worker movement encompass seven of the framework's eight major themes.

- *Peopling places* is represented by the stories of farm workers who migrated through rural towns and settled within them and the communities that formed to support migrant workers.
- C*reating social movements* is illustrated by the emergence and growth of the farm labor movement in general and the United Farm Workers in particular.
- *Expressing cultural value* is demonstrated by both the farm labor movement and the union (UFW) which expressed cultural values shared by Mexican Americans, Filipino Americans, Catholics, and other social groups and shared values including fair pay and treatment in the workplace.
- The farm labor movement was responsible for *Shaping the Political Landscape* through voter-registration drives and as the UFW entered the political arena to sponsor initiatives, lobby for laws, and support sympathetic candidates.
- Growers' operations, labor laws, farm workers' labor, and union boycotts influenced the *development of the American economy.*
- *Transforming the environment* is represented by agribusiness practices which manipulated the environment and caused adverse consequences and stresses on the environment. The farm labor movement's effort to regulate use of pesticides represents protecting and preserving the environment.
- The development of immigration and trade policies in the interests of the agricultural industry illustrated and impacted the *Changing Role of the United States in the World community*.

Nationally Significant Sites

The Filipino Community Hall exhibits exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting major themes of United States history and heritage, including the peopling of places (specifically, family and the life cycle, migration from outside and within, and the development of communities and neighborhoods), the expression of cultural values, the development of the American economy (workers/work culture and labor organizations/protests), and the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements and religious institutions).

The Forty Acres exhibits exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting the themes development of the American economy (workers/work culture and labor organizations/protests), the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements), the peopling of places (family and the life cycle and community and neighborhood), the expression of cultural values (popular and traditional culture), and the shaping of the political landscape (parties, protests, and movements).

La Paz exhibits exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting the themes development of the American economy (workers/work culture and labor organizations/protests), the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements and religious institutions), the peopling of places (community and neighborhood), the expression of cultural values, and the shaping of the political landscape (parties, protests, and movements). La Paz also represents the Changing Role of the United States in the World community. During the time he was at La Paz, Chavez traveled abroad to encourage international boycotts.

The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route exhibits exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting major themes of United States history and heritage, including the expression of cultural values, the development of the American economy (workers/ work culture and labor organizations/ protests), the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements and religious institutions), and the shaping of the political landscape (parties, protests, and movements).

The Santa Rita Center exhibits exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting major themes of United States history and heritage, including the peopling of places (specifically, the development of communities and neighborhoods), the expression of cultural

values, the development of the American economy (workers/work culture and labor organizations/ protests), the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements and religious institutions), and the shaping of the political landscape (parties, protests, and movements).

Potentially Nationally Significant Sites

The Chavez Family Homestead represents the peopling of places (migration from outside and within, and community and neighborhood) and the expression of cultural values (popular and traditional culture).

The Arvin Labor Camp represents the peopling of places (migration from outside and within) and transforming the environment. Agribusiness practices which manipulated the environment and caused adverse consequences and stresses on the environment relied on a supply of low wage workers, many of which were marginalized recent immigrants who could be exploited.

Sites related to the emergence of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta as community organizers (St. Mary's Church in Stockton, CA and McDonnell Hall of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in San Jose, CA) illustrate and interpret the themes peopling of places (specifically, the development of communities and neighborhoods), the expression of cultural values, the development of the American economy (workers/ work culture and labor organizations/ protests), and the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements and religious institutions).

The Cesar and Helen Chavez family home in Delano, CA served as the first headquarters of the NFWA and also represents the sacrifices made by the family to support the development of the union. This site represents the peopling of places (specifically, the development of communities and neighborhoods), the expression of cultural values, the development of the American economy (workers/work culture and labor organizations/protests), the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements and religious institutions), and the shaping of the political landscape (parties, protests, and movements).

UFW and NFWA sites and meeting halls in San Luis, AZ; Calexico, CA; and Delano, CA represent the themes expression of cultural values, the development of the American economy (workers/work culture and labor organizations/ protests), the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements and religious institutions), and the shaping of the political landscape (parties, protests, and movements). UFW sites in Calexico and San Luis expanded services to address immigration concerns and issues related to the farm labor movement and represent the theme of the Changing Role of the United States in the World community.

People's Bar and Café in Delano, CA represents the expression of cultural values and the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements). People's Bar and Café was a central gathering place for farm workers that facilitated dialogue and debate about the movement.
The Monterey County Jail represents the development of the American economy (workers/work culture and labor organizations/protests), the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements and religious institutions), and the shaping of the political landscape (parties, protests, and movements).

Opportunities for Public Enjoyment

The majority of the nationally significant sites are in close proximity (approximately 2 hour-drive) of major metropolitan areas such as Phoenix, AZ; Los Angeles, CA; the San Francisco Bay Area; Sacramento, CA; and larger cities of the central valley including Fresno and Bakersfield.

A number of significant sites are concentrated in the community of Delano, providing exceptional opportunities to interpret various aspects of both the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The Forty Acres continues to function as a UFW field office, but it routinely hosts large social functions, including rallies and commemorative events. Plans for visitation could be created with minimal changes to the property itself. The Arvin Labor Camp is also near the City of Delano (~30 miles) which would provide an opportunity for visitors to see living conditions and possibly demonstration of what life was like for farm workers before and during the farm labor movement.

The City of San Jose is another location with a high concentration of sites related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Working in partnership with the organization Chavez Family Vision, the City has developed a Cesar Chavez heritage walk which includes McDonnell Hall at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and many other sites associated with Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer.

The Monterey County Jail is visible from the exterior, but has not been used by the county for many years. Lack of maintenance on the property has result in some deterioration which would need to be repaired before visitors could access the building. However, the site is easy to find and view from the exterior. Located in Salinas, the jail is also in close proximity to several sites eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places for their connection to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the town of Salinas and in nearby San Juan Bautista.

La Paz already demonstrates great potential for public enjoyment. The property welcomes visitors to a museum facility at the southeast corner and a new retreat facility (Villa La Paz Conference Center) in the former North Unit at the northeast corner. The property's location in Keene, however, constitutes a challenge to the potential for public enjoyment. Keene itself is a small town of fewer than 400 people. The largest nearby town, Tehachapi, has a population of approximately 10,000. La Paz is accessible from State Route 58 and the nearest major airport is in Bakersfield, a city of approximately 330,000 located 30 miles west, at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley.

The Santa Rita Center possesses great potential for public enjoyment. The property enjoys an accessible location within a mile of downtown Phoenix. Two interstate highways and a major international airport are in close proximity. Phoenix itself—a city with a diverse population of 1.6 million—is the urban anchor for a sprawling metropolitan area, one of the fastest growing in the country. The population of the Phoenix metropolitan area is approximately 4 million.

Sites in Yuma and San Luis, AZ and the NFWA office in Calexico, CA are probably the least accessible to airports and other transportation centers. The Chavez Family Homestead, Laguna School and Chavez General Store are located approximately 15 miles outside of Yuma and are not easily accessible. In particular, the Chavez Family Homestead is accessible primarily via a private canal levee road that would make public visitation difficult.

The 1966Delano to Sacramento march route possesses great potential for public enjoyment. The route can be retraced today by driving but also, in stretches, by cycling or walking. The route passes along public rights-of-way through vast stretches of rural, agricultural landscape but also more than three dozen cities and towns of the San Joaquin Valley, many of which retain their mid-twentieth-century character, including main street and downtown locations through which the march route passed. At the same time, many of these towns have undergone economic decline, suggesting something of the vulnerability of agriculture-based economies. The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route meets Criterion C of the National Trails Act.

Integrity

A nationally significant site or resource must retain a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource. Seven attributes are used to evaluate integrity for National Historic Landmarks: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

- *Location* refers to the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where historic events occurred.
- *Design* is a combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- *Setting* is the physical environment of a historic property – the character of a place, its topography, vegetation, simple manmade features such as paths and fences, and the relationship between features, and open space.
- *Materials* are 'the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
- Similarly, *workmanship***,** 'the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory, is seen in elements in the large-scale landscape.
- *Feeling* refers to a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time even, in this case, despite the maturation of original landscapes.
- *Association* refers to the connection we make today between a particular place and an important historic event or person.

As discussed in the analysis of the NHL criteria, there are five sites that have a consistently high level of integrity for all of the attributes described above including the Forty Acres, Filipino Community Hall, Santa Rita Center, La Paz, and the 1966 Delano to

Sacramento march route. However, many of the other nationally significant sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement were used for short periods of time and have changed ownership since their period of significance. As such, integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are often low to moderate for sites that are highly significant based on events or activities that took place at these locations, or have association with Chavez and/or the farm labor movement. That being the case, many of these sites possess integrity of location, as well as the more intangible qualities of feeling and association. Some of the sites which contain a moderate to low level of integrity but meet NHL Criteria 1 or 2, provide enough integrity that they possess high interpretive value in communicating the national significance of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

National Trails Act Criteria

Criterion A

Criterion A of the National Trails Act requires that a trail or route must be established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation. There are three elements that need to be addressed in the evaluation of the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route under criterion A:

1. Was the 1966 Delano Sacramento march route established by historic use?
2. Is the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route significant as a result of the use that established it?, and
3. Is the location of the March Route sufficiently known?

Was the 1966 Delano to Sacramento March Route established by historic use?

The march to Sacramento in the spring of 1966 was a milestone event in the history of the farm labor movement, and it reflected Cesar Chavez's growing influence on that movement. More than one hundred men and women set out from Delano on March 17, 1966, and thousands joined in for short stretches along the way, with eighty-two walking the entire route. By the time the marchers approached the state capitol on April 10, 1966, the marchers and their supporters had secured a union contract from the Schenley Company and new waves of sympathy from across the country.

Is the 1966 Delano to Sacramento March Route significant as a result of the use that established it?

The route of the farm workers' march from Delano to Sacramento in 1966 is a nationally significant route (or trail) as measured by NHL criteria 1 and 2 and NPS special resource study criteria. The route is an outstanding example of the resources (especially the routes or trails) associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement; it possesses exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting the broader themes of United States history and heritage; it possesses an exceptionally high degree of integrity; and it possesses great potential for public enjoyment.

Is the location of the 1966 Delano to Sacramento March Route sufficiently known?

The route of the farm workers' march to Sacramento in 1966 extends approximately 300 miles from the former NFWA office on Albany Street in Delano, through forty-two cities and towns of the San Joaquin Valley, to the capitol building in Sacramento. Sufficient documentation exists to retrace the historic route. There are maps of the routes taken and surviving participants can provide further evidence and documentation of the route.

Criterion B

A trail must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration, and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture.

As stated in the evaluation of NHL criteria, the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route meets NHL criteria 1 and 2. Evaluation of special resource study criterion 2 identifies the broad facets of American history represented by the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route. The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route exhibits exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting major themes of United States history and heritage, including the expression of cultural values, the development of the American economy (workers/work culture and labor organizations/protests), the creation of social institutions and movements (reform movements and

religious institutions), and the shaping of the political landscape (parties, protests, and movements).

Criterion C

The route must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreational potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

As stated in the special resource study criterion 3, the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route possesses great potential for public enjoyment. Numerous sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are located in towns along the march route and present many opportunities for interpretation along the route.

Table 3-1: Summary of Nationally Significant Sites (NHL Criteria)				
Site Name	**Location**	**NHL Criteria***	**Integrity**	**Significance**
Filipino Community Hall	Delano, CA	1, 2	High	On September 8, 1965, Filipino American farm workers led by Larry Itliong and affiliated with the AFL-CIO's AWOC gathered in this building and voted to go on strike against Delano table-grape growers. When members of the NFWA voted to join their strike eight days later, Itliong and other AWOC members made the Filipino Community Hall available as a joint strike headquarters. The hall hosted important visits by United Auto Workers' President Walter Reuther, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and other influential supporters, and became a symbol of the farm labor movement's multi-ethnic unity during the 1960s.
The Forty Acres	Delano, CA	1, 2	High	As a property purchased, built, and used by farmworkers, the Forty Acres embodies the farm labor movement itself. Forty Acres was designated a National Historic Landmark in 2008. It continues to function as a UFW field office.
1966 Delano to Sacramento march route	Delano to Sacramento, CA	1, 2	High	The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march was a milestone event in the history of the farm labor movement. More than one hundred men and women set out from Delano on March 17, 1966, and thousands of farm workers and their families joined in for short stretches along the way. The march route passed through forty-two cities and towns of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as vast stretches of the agricultural landscape. By the time the marchers entered Sacramento on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1966, the farm worker movement had secured a contract and new waves of support from across the country.
Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz	Keene, CA	1, 2	High	Between 1970 and 1984, the farm labor movement transitioned into a modern labor union, the UFW. This union secured unprecedented gains during these years which were closely associated with La Paz. The property supported not only the UFW headquarters and Cesar Chavez's residence, but also the thousands of union members who came to La Paz to help devise organizing strategies, to receive training, and to strengthen their sense of solidarity. Upon his death in 1993, Chavez was buried at La Paz. La Paz was listed on the NHRP at the national level of significance on August 30, 2011.
Santa Rita Center	Phoenix, AZ	1, 2	High	The Santa Rita Center was the center of one of the first orchestrated protests and in response to the passing of such legislation in Arizona and represents the evolution of the UFW into political action beyond California.

Potential Nationally Significant Sites - Additional Research Needed				
Chavez Family Homestead Site	Yuma, AZ	2	Moderate	Cesar Chavez was born in 1927, and he lived in the adobe farmhouse on his grandparents' homestead in the Gila River Valley from 1932 until the family lost the property and moved to California in 1939. As a child living on this homestead, Chavez learned the value of hard work from his father, the principles of nonviolence from his mother, and the Catholic faith from his grandmother.
Arvin Farm Labor Center	Bakersfield, CA	2	Low/ Moderate	A New Deal agency opened this migrant labor camp in 1936. John Steinbeck's visit to the camp informed *The Grapes of Wrath*, and Fred Ross later served as camp manager. The camp remained in use into the 1960s. In the summer of 1965, around two hundred members of the AWOC, most of whom were table-grape workers and residents of this camp, went on strike for higher wages.
McDonnell Hall, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church	San Jose, CA	1, 2	High	This parish hall was where Cesar Chavez worked with priest and mentor, Donald McDonnell, during the early 1950s; other activities at the hall were associated with the farm labor movement.
St. Mary's Catholic Church	Stockton, CA	1	Moderate	St. Mary's Church is significant for its association with Dolores Huerta and CSO organizing.
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	Delano, CA	2	Moderate to High	Cesar Chavez's home in Delano served as the first headquarters of the FWA, but the house's significance also derives from its connection to the personal sacrifices that labor leaders and their families made as they created what would become the UFW.
NFWA Office (Albany Street)	Delano, CA	1,2	Low/ Moderate / High	The first headquarters of the FWA outside of Cesar Chavez's home was located on Albany Street.
Baptist Church ("Negrito Hall")	Delano, CA	1,2	Low/ Moderate	Soon after voting to go on strike against more than thirty Delano table-grape growers in September 1965, the newly renamed NFWA rented this small church building and served as a strike headquarters and meeting hall for regular Friday night membership meetings.
People's Bar and Café	Delano, CA	1	High	During the 1960s and 1970s, People's Bar served as the central gathering place in Delano for union volunteers. People's Bar was a "free speech zone," where volunteers felt free to debate any number of issues, including Chavez's own strategies and tactics

Potential Nationally Significant Sites - Additional Research Needed (continued)				
Monterey County Jail	Salinas, CA	1,2	Moderate	In 1970, the UFWOC shifted its focus to the Salinas Valley, where hundreds of lettuce growers had signed contracts with the Teamsters. Cesar Chavez launched a lettuce boycott, but the grower secured an injunction. When Chavez refused to suspend the boycott in December, the judge sent him to the county jail, making it a key site for rallies, visits from Coretta Scott King and Ethel Kennedy, and national media coverage. The California Supreme Court ordered Chavez's release on December 24, 1970. This site was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2004.
UFW Field Office	San Luis, AZ	1	High	As Arizona labor organizer Gustavo Gutierrez expanded the UFW presence in Arizona during the late 1960s, Manuel Chavez arrived to direct the union's campaigns. The UFW opened a San Luis field office during the early 1970s and began leading melon strikes every summer. These efforts were plagued by internal divisions over the treatment of undocumented workers and the use of violence, leading the UFW to suspend its activity in the state and prompting Gutierrez and Lupe Sanchez, in turn, to form the Arizona Farm Workers Union.
UFW Field Office ("El Hoyo")	Calexico, CA	1	High	Passage of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975 allowed the UFW to expand its presence in the Imperial Valley. Thousands gathered at El Hoyo to mourn the fatal shooting of Rufino Contreras during the lettuce strike of 1979.

*Criterion 1: Association with the history of the farm labor movement

Criterion 2: Association with the productive life of Cesar Chavez

Note: Properties less than fifty years old must meet *Exception 8: A property achieving national significance within the past 50 years if it is of extraordinary importance*

Sites Potentially Eligible for Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places

Study legislation required that the NPS identify sites for potential listing on the National Register of Historic Places (national register). The following table documents those sites that appear to be eligible for nomination to the national register at the national, state, or local level. Each site has been evaluated by COPH. In some cases, additional research is necessary to establish clear association with Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement. With additional research, more of the sites included in the list of resources provided in Chapter 2, may prove eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. In many cases, more information is needed about integrity and historic location.

Table 3-2: Potentially Eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places

Site Name	Location	Significance	Association
San Francisco-Oakland, CA Area			
San Francisco Labor Temple	San Francisco	Boycott organizing center during the late 1960s.	Farm Labor Movement
San Jose-San Juan Bautista-Salinas, CA Area			
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	San Jose	Cesar Chavez and his family lived here in the early 1950s when he began organizing for the CSO.	Cesar Chavez
Mexican American Political Association Office	Salinas	Salinas Valley strike headquarters in 1970.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
UFW Legal Offices	Salinas	Legal offices for the UFW during the 1970s.	Farm Labor Movement
El Teatro Campesino	San Juan Bautista	El Teatro Campesino, founded by Luis Valdez and Agustin Lira in the winter of 1965-66, performed songs and skits for and with farm workers at Friday night meetings and on the picket lines.	Farm Labor Movement
Calistoga-Sacramento-Stockton-Modesto-Fresno-Caruthers-Visalia-Porterville, CA Area			
El Centro Campesino Cultural	Fresno	Headquarters of El Teatro Campesino between 1969 and 1971.	Farm Labor Movement
Graceada Park	Modesto	1975 march from San Francisco's Union Square to Gallo Brothers (grape growers) headquarters culminated here.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
Woodville Farm Labor Center	Porterville	Location of FWA rent strike against the Tulare Housing Authority.	Farm Labor Movement
Linnell Farm Labor Center	Visalia	Location of FWA rent strike against the Tulare Housing Authority.	Farm Labor Movement
Fresno County Jail	Fresno	In 1973, more than two thousand UFW members and supporters were sent to the Fresno County Jail, including 76-year-old Catholic activist and writer, Dorothy Day.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
Delano, CA Area			
Stardust Motel	Delano	The motel was the site of pivotal negotiations between Cesar Chavez and Al Green, the director of the AWOC, at the beginning of the strike in 1965 and between Chavez (and UFWOC general counsel, Jerry Cohen) and grower John Giumarra (and his son) at the end of the strike in 1970.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
Larry Itliong Residence	Delano	Home of Larry Itliong, long-time labor leader who led the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) into launching the Delano grape strike of 1965.	Farm Labor Movement

Table 3-2: Potentially Eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (continued)			
Site Name	**Location**	**Significance**	**Association**
Bakersfield-Lamont-Arvin-Keene, CA Area			
Kern County Superior Court Building	Bakersfield	Site of many hearings for arrested strikers. Cesar Chavez was brought to this courthouse in 1968 during his first public fast to respond to contempt of court charges related to the Delano grape strike. The judge's favorable decision marked an important turning point in the court's attitude towards the union.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
Los Angeles, CA Area			
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	Oxnard	The Chavez family rented this house in the late 1950s.	Cesar Chavez
NFWA Office	Oxnard	1966 office of the NFWA.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence	Los Angeles	Chavez lived here for most of his tenure as executive director of the CSO, 1959-62.	Cesar Chavez
Boycott House (Harvard House)	Los Angeles	Boycott headquarters during the 1960s.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
La Iglesia de Nuestra Senora Reina de Los Angeles ("La Placita" Church)	Los Angeles	Cesar Chavez attended mass and did organizing at this location. The building dates to the 1860s and has California Historic Landmark status.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
Church of the Epiphany	Los Angeles	Cesar Chavez attended mass and organized here; the church was a key site for the Chicano Movement as well as community organizing and social justice battles dating back to 1930s; the church was designated a Los Angeles cultural landmark.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
Borrego Springs-Coachella-Coachella Valley-Thermal-Blythe, CA Area			
Veterans Park	Coachella	This park served as the UFWOC strike headquarters in the Coachella Valley in 1973.	Cesar Chavez/Farm Labor Movement
Cesar Chavez Elementary School	Coachella	This school was the first public building in California named for Cesar Chavez.	Cesar Chavez
San Luis-Yuma, AZ Area			
Maria Hau Residence	San Luis	This was the location of Cesar Chavez's death in 1993.	Cesar Chavez
Laguna School Building	Yuma	At the Laguna School, Chavez discovered that his use of Spanish, clothing, and darker skin prompted other children and many adults to treat him and other Mexican American children as inferior.	Cesar Chavez
Chavez General Store	Yuma	Cesar Chavez was born here on March 31, 1927.	Cesar Chavez

Other Protected Sites

The Mission San Juan Bautista is part of a designated National Historic Landmark, the San Juan Bautista Plaza Historic District. However, the significance of this site is not attributed to its association with Cesar Chavez or the farm labor movement. In 1970, Chavez stayed at the Mission San Juan Bautista to reflect on conflicts which ultimately led to the Salinas strike.

National Significance Conclusion

This study concludes that 5 of the 104 sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are nationally significant. The Filipino Community Hall, the Forty Acres NHL, the Nuestra Senora Reina de la Paz, the Santa Rita Center and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route meet NHL criteria 1 and 2 and retain a high degree of integrity for each attribute used to evaluate integrity for National Historic Landmarks: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route also meets eligibility criteria for a national historic trail. An additional 11 sites need further research to determine whether they would fully meet National Historic Landmark criteria. Twenty-four sites appear eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

The communities of Delano and San Jose, California contain a concentration of significant sites that may be eligible for either NHL designation or listing in the National Register of Historic Places and therefore possess exceptional opportunities to tell multiple aspects of the story of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Portrait of Cesar Chavez and his "Huelga" car taken during the Delano Grape Strike, J.D. Marlin Ranch, Tulare County, California in 1965. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University; photographer unknown.

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Chapter 4: Suitability

This section describes the National Park Service analysis of whether nationally significant sites are suitable for inclusion in the national park system.

Introduction

To be considered suitable for addition to the national park system, an area must represent a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector. Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type, while considering differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resource values. The comparative analysis also addresses rarity of the resources, interpretive and educational potential, and similar resources already protected in the national park system or in other public or private ownership. The comparison results in a determination of whether the proposed new area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resource protection or visitor use opportunities found in other comparably managed areas.

NPS Thematic Framework –Cultural Themes

In evaluating the suitability of cultural resources within or outside the national park system, the NPS uses its “Thematic Framework” for history and prehistory. The framework is an outline of major themes and concepts that help to conceptualize American history. It is used to assist in the identification of cultural resources that embody America’s past and to describe and analyze the multiple layers of history encapsulated within each resource. Through eight concepts that encompass the multi-faceted and interrelated nature of human experience, the thematic framework reflects an interdisciplinary, less compartmentalized approach to American history. Seven of the eight concepts apply to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The concepts are:

- Peopling Places
- Creating Social Institutions
- Expressing Cultural Values
- Shaping the Political Landscape
- Developing the American Economy
- Transforming the Environment
- The Changing Role of the United States in the World Community

Each of the themes identified rest on a framework of topical sub-themes that are used to describe and explain the significance of the primary theme.

Peopling Places

This theme examines human population movement and change through prehistoric and historic times. It also looks at family formation; at different concepts of gender, family, and sexual division of labor; and at how they have been expressed in the American past. While patterns of daily life—birth, marriage, childrearing—are often taken for granted, they have a profound influence on public life.

The *Peopling Places* theme includes such topics as family and the life cycle; health, nutrition, and disease; migration from outside and within; community and neighborhood; ethnic homelands; encounters, conflicts, and colonization. For example, Hispanic communities, such as those represented by San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, had their origins in Spanish and Mexican history. Distinctive and important regional patterns join together to create microcosms of America's history and to form the "national experience."

For the purposes of this study, the topics of: 1) migration from outside and within, and 2) community and neighborhood, are the most appropriate to the stories represented by farm workers who migrated through rural towns and settled within them. Migrant workers were often recent immigrants that faced discrimination and therefore had few other means of finding employment. Social groups that played a major role in the farm labor movement include Mexicans, Filipinos, Japanese, and Chinese. Nationally significant sites that represent this theme include Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (La Paz), Filipino Community Hall, and the Santa Rita Center.

Potential nationally significant sites that relate to this theme and its related topics include the Chavez Family Homestead Site; the Arvin Farm Labor Center; the Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence; St. Mary's Church in Stockton, CA; and McDonnell Hall, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in San Jose, CA.

Units of the national park system that reflect the theme of *Peopling Places* in the area of migration and communities and neighborhoods:

- **Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (Nogales, AZ to San Francisco, CA)**. The Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (NHT) commemorates the colonizing expedition linking Mexico to Alta California. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza led 244 people 1,210 miles to the founding of the Mission and Presidio in San Francisco. Through the route, Spanish culture was expanded in the American West. To interpret the history of the NHT, the NPS provides interpretive waysides in Spanish and English, brochures, a website which includes a trail guide with maps and historical documentation on the expedition. The success of the interpretive program is a result of partnerships between the NPS and more than 30 universities, organizations, and individuals.

- **Yuma Crossing National Heritage Area (Yuma, AZ and Winterhaven, CA).** The Yuma Crossing National Heritage area recognizes the natural crossing on the Colorado River as a gateway to the Pacific Ocean during the Spanish Colonial Period. The crossing occurs at the confluence of the Colorado and Gila Rivers. The area is also significant as a Borderland between Mexico and the United States which contributed to the development of American Hispanic culture. The Yuma Crossing National Heritage Area Project conserves and interprets the national resources of the Colorado River and surrounding landscape, as well as the cultural and historic resources associated with the city of Yuma and the Yuma Crossing.

- **San Antonio Missions National Historical Park (San Antonio, TX). The San Antonio Missions National Historical Park** preserves five Spanish frontier missions in San Antonio, Texas. These outposts were established by Catholic religious orders to spread Christianity among the local natives. These missions formed part of a colonization system that stretched across the Spanish Southwest in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. The missions, presidio, and associated settlements served as the foundation of the successful communities, such as San Antonio, that emerged in this region of Texas.

NHLs and National Register Districts that reflect the theme of *Peopling Places* in the area of migration, community and neighborhood and ethnic homelands include:

- **California Missions.** During settlement, the Spanish established 21 Catholic missions in California. The mission stretched from San Diego, California north to Sonoma. Missions were the center of cultural life for the Spanish settlers. They contained rooms for religious instruction, occupational production such as crafts, and other daily functions. Seven of the 21 missions are National Historic Landmarks including: Carmel Mission in Monterey; La Purisima Mission, Mission Santa Inés, and Mission Santa Barbara in Santa Barbara County; Mission San Miguel Arcangel in San Luis Obispo; and San Diego Mission Church and San Luis Rey Mission Church in San Diego.

- **Locke and Walnut Grove, CA** Chinese and Japanese Historic Districts represent three neighboring Asian-American communities were established in the Delta Region of California by immigrant agricultural workers. Chinese immigrants to the region in the late 19th Century provided labor for an extensive levee project surrounding the Sacramento River, turning swampland into some of California's most valuable farmland. The Delta soon became the pear capital of the world, while in the early 20th century the region produced nearly 90% of the world's asparagus. Chinese and Japanese immigrants provided the unskilled labor the agricultural industry required, by the 1880's a majority of California's farm laborers were Asian immigrants. Pear orchards still comprise a significant part of the natural landscape, as do the flat agricultural fields bisected by the river and the rising levees.

Creating Social Institutions and Movements

This theme focuses upon the diverse formal and informal structures such as schools or voluntary

associations through which people express values and live their lives. Americans generate temporary movements and create enduring institutions in order to define, sustain, or reform these values. Why people organize to transform their institutions is as important to understand as how they choose to do so. Thus, both the diverse motivations people act on and the strategies they employ are critical concerns of social history. This category also encompasses temporary movements that influenced American history but did not produce permanent institutions. Topics that help define this theme include: clubs and organizations, reform movements, religious institutions, and recreational activities.

Nationally significant sites relevant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement that represent the theme *Creating Social Institutions and Movements* include the Forty Acres, La Paz, Filipino Community Hall, the Santa Rita Center, and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route. Potential nationally significant sites that relate to this theme include UFW and NFWA sites and meeting halls, People's Bar and Cafe, the Cesar and Chavez Family Residence in Delano, Monterey County Jail, McDonnell Hall, and St. Mary's Catholic Church.

Topics that help define this theme most relevant to this study include reform movements.

Units of the national park system that reflect the theme of *Creating Social Institutions and Movements* in the areas of with regard to social reform and civil rights include:

- **Boston African American National Historic Site (Boston, CA).** The Boston African American National Historic Site is comprised of the largest area of pre-Civil War black owned structures in the United States. It includes roughly two dozen sites on the north face of the Beacon Hill neighborhood in Boston. These historic buildings were homes, businesses, schools, and churches of a thriving black community that, in the face of great opposition, fought the forces of slavery and inequality.

- **Roger Williams National Memorial (Providence, RI).** The Roger Williams National Memorial commemorates the life of the founder of Rhode Island and a champion of the ideal of religious freedom. Williams, banished from Massachusetts for his beliefs, founded Providence in 1636. This colony served as a refuge where all could come to worship as their conscience dictated without interference from the state.

- **Frederick Douglass National Historic Site (Washington, D.C.).** The Frederick Douglass National Historic Site preserves the home and legacy of Frederick Douglass, a runaway slave, abolitionist, civil rights advocate, author, and statesmen. Born into slavery, Douglass escaped to spend his life fighting for justice and equality for all people.

- **Women's Rights National Historical Park (Seneca Falls, NY).** The Women's Rights National Historical Park preserves and interprets nationally significant historical and cultural sites, structures, and events associated with the struggle for equal rights for women. The First Women's Rights Convention was held in the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls. The NPS cooperates with national, state, and local entities to preserve the character and historic setting of such sites, structures and events.

National Historic Landmarks associated with the theme of *Creating Social Institutions and Movements* in the areas of with regard to social reform and civil rights include:

- **Eugene V. Debs National Historic Landmark (Terre Haute, IN).** This national historic landmark was the home of the famous industrial union leader. Debs played a leadership role of Debs in the union struggles of the 1890's is unquestionable. In August of 1893, Debs was active in the union when it struck the Great Northern Railway.

Expressing Cultural Values

This theme covers expressions of culture—people's beliefs about themselves and the world they inhabit. For example, Boston African American Historic Site reflects the role of ordinary Americans and the diversity of the American cultural landscape. This theme also encompasses the ways that people communicate their moral and aesthetic values. Topics that help define this theme relevant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement include: 1) visual and performing arts, and 2) popular and traditional culture.

Nationally significant sites relevant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement that represent the theme *Expressing Cultural Values* include the Forty

Acres, La Paz, Filipino Community Hall, the Santa Rita Center, and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route. Potential nationally significant sites that relate to this theme include UFW and NFWA sites and meeting halls, People's Bar and Café, the Cesar and Chavez Family Residence in Delano, McDonnell Hall, and St. Mary's Catholic Church.

Units of the national park system that reflect the theme of *Expressing Cultural Values* with regard to popular and traditional culture and visual and performing arts include:

- **Tumacacori National Historical Park.** This national historical park tells the story of the first Europeans who came to southern Arizona and of the native people who lived here then. The park protects three Spanish colonial mission ruins in southern Arizona: Tumacacori, Guevavi, and Calabazas. The adobe structures are on three sites, with a visitor center at Tumacacori. The cultural resources of Tumacacori National Historical Park collectively represent the culture of Native Peoples before and after the arrival of Europeans as well as the Spanish effort to colonize the Santa Cruz River valley through the Jesuit and Franciscan missionization of its Native People.

National Register of Historic Places sites that reflect the theme of *Expressing Cultural Values* with regard to popular and traditional culture and visual and performing arts include:

- **Teatro La Paz/ Xochil Art and Culture Center (Mission, TX).** Teatro La Paz was an early 20th cultural center that screened Mexican films and hosted visiting entertainers, scholars, and politicians. An agricultural community, Mission, Texas was known for production of ruby red grapefruits. Teatro La Paz was the only theater in Mission that catered to the Spanish-speaking community, providing travelling entertainers from Spain and Mexico. Later the theater became a cultural center for the area's Hispanic community.

- **Santa Fe Hotel (Fresno, CA).** The Santa Fe Hotel served as a critical link between the Basque community and acculturation to the wider American society. After emigration to the United States, Basques were primarily sheepherders. Basque sheepherders were dependent on the network of fellow Basque nationals within the greater Hispanic culture. Basque hotels catered to the herders and their families.

Shaping the Political Landscape

This theme encompasses tribal, local, state, and federal political and governmental institutions that create public policy and those groups that seek to shape both policies and institutions. Sites associated with political leaders, theorists, organizations, movements, campaigns, and grassroots political activities all illustrate aspects of the political environment. Topics that help define this theme most relevant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement include: 1) parties, protests, and movements; and 2) political ideas, cultures, and theories.

Nationally significant sites relevant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement that represent the theme *Shaping the Political Landscape* include the Santa Rita Center and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route. Potential nationally significant sites that relate to this theme include UFW and NFWA sites and meeting halls, People's Bar and Café, the Cesar and Chavez Family Residence in Delano, and the Monterey County Jail.

Units of the national park system that reflect the theme of *Shaping the Political Landscape* in the areas of parties, protests and movements and political ideas, cultures and theories include:

- **Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site (Atlanta, Georgia).** This national historic site commemorates the life and work of this major 20th century leader of the civil rights movement. The park includes the birthplace, church, and grave of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The park visitor center has exhibits and films on Dr. King. The surrounding 68.19-acre preservation district includes the Sweet Auburn neighborhood, the economic and cultural center of Atlanta's African American community during most of the 1900s.

- **Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site (Topeka, KS).** This national historic site commemorates the famous case desegregating public education. The 1954 landmark Supreme Court decision in Oliver L. Brown, et. al. v. the Topeka Board of Education, et. al. concluded that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal,"

effectively ending legal racial segregation in the public schools of this country. That decision is commemorated at the former Monroe Elementary School, one of four segregated schools for African American children in Topeka.

- **Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (AL).** The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail commemorates the 1965 voting rights march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The marchers walked along U.S. Highway 80 from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma, Alabama, to the State Capitol in Montgomery. The march helped inspire passage of voting rights legislation signed by President Johnson on Aug. 6, 1965.

- **Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site (Washington, DC).** This national historic site was the headquarters of the National Council of Negro Women, established by Mary McLeod Bethune in 1935. It commemorates Bethune's leadership in the black women's rights movement from 1943 to 1949. Her life demonstrated the value of education, a philosophy of universal love, and the wise and consistent use of political power in striving for racial and gender equality.

- **Sewall-Belmont House National Historic Site in Washington DC.** This national historic site celebrates women's progress toward equality—and explores the evolving role of women and their contributions to society—through educational programs, tours, exhibits, research and publications. Rebuilt after fire damage from the War of 1812, this red brick house is one of the oldest on Capitol Hill. It has been the National Woman's Party headquarters since 1929 and commemorates the party's founder and women's suffrage leader, Alice Paul, and associates.

- **Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (Tuskegee, AL).** Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site preserves historic structures in or near the campus of Tuskegee University, a school founded in 1881 by Booker T. Washington for the education of black Americans. In addition to University sites, the park includes "The Oaks," the home of Booker T. Washington and the George Washington Carver's laboratory (now the George W. Carver Museum). Booker T. Washington founded this college The George Washington Carver Museum, serves as the visitor center. The college is still an active institution that owns most of the property within the national historic site.

- **Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site (Richmond, VA).** This national historic site commemorates Maggie L. Walker, a leader in the national African American community in the early 1900s and the first woman to charter and be president of a bank. Visitors can learn more about the efforts of Maggie L. Walker through exhibits and tours at the historic site.

National Historic Landmarks that reflect the theme of *Shaping the Political Landscape* include:

- **Father Flanagan's Boys' Home National Historic Landmark, (Boys Town, NE).** In 1921, Father Edward Joseph Flanagan (1886-1948) established his home for homeless boys on a farm outside Omaha. This "City of Little Men" led in the development of new juvenile care methods in 20th-century America, emphasizing social preparation in what has become a recognized prototype for public boys' homes worldwide. The Hall of History is a museum about the history of Father Flanagan's Boys' Home and the Boys Town programs. It is located in the former dining hall built in 1939. Exhibits include actor Spencer Tracy's Academy Award statue that he won for his work portraying Father Flanagan in the movie *Boys Town*.

- **Henry Street Settlement & Neighborhood Playhouse National Historic Landmark, (New York, NY).** Founded in 1895, this was one of the leading institutions in the settlement house movement in the U.S. Lillian Wald, suffragist and pacifist, lived and worked here for nearly 40 years. She founded both this famous settlement house and a city-wide visiting nurse service. Henry Street continues provide social services, arts programs and health care services to New Yorkers of all ages. The Settlement serves about 50,000 people each year.

- **Hull House (Chicago, IL) National Historic Landmark.** Founded in 1889 as a social settlement, Hull-House played a vital role in redefining American democracy in the modern age. Jane Addams Hull and the residents of Hull-House helped pass critical legislation and influenced public policy on public health and

education, free speech, fair labor practices, immigrants' rights, recreation and public space, arts, and philanthropy. The Hull House is managed as a museum open to visitors. Exhibits are displayed and regular tours are offered.

- **North, Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company National Historic Landmark (Durham, NC).** Built in 1921, this building was the second home office of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, which was founded in 1898. This company evolved out of a tradition of mutual benefit societies and fraternal organizations which by the 20th century had become the most important social institutions in Afro-American life, with the exception of the church. From the beginning, the Mutual symbolized racial progress and is an institutional legacy of the ideas of racial solidarity and self-help.

- **The Home for the Aged and Thompson AME Zion Church National Historic Landmark (Auburn, NY).** This national historic landmark commemorates Harriet Tubman (1820/21?--1913), a renowned leader in the Underground Railroad movement, who established the Home for the Aged in 1908. Born into slavery in Dorchester County, Maryland, Tubman gained her freedom in 1849 when she escaped to Philadelphia. Working as a domestic, she saved money until she had the resources and contacts to rescue several of her family members in 1850. This marked the first of 19 trips back into Maryland where Tubman guided approximately 300 people to freedom as far north as Canada. The properties in Auburn offer compelling opportunities for public enjoyment. Visitors can tour the Home for the Aged and the grounds of property, and view a film at the visitor center. At the Tubman Residence visitors may come closest to being in the presence of the physical materials of Tubman's daily life – at her family home.

Developing the American Economy

This theme reflects the ways Americans have worked, including slavery, servitude, and non-wage as well as paid labor. It also reflects the ways they have materially sustained themselves by the processes of extraction, agriculture, production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. In examining the diverse working experiences of the American people, this theme encompasses the activities of farmers, workers, entrepreneurs, and managers, as well as the technology around them. It also takes into account the historical "layering" of economic society, including class formation and changing standards of living in diverse sectors of the nation.

Topics that help define this theme relevant to this study include: 1) workers and work culture, 2) labor organizations and protests, and 3) governmental policies and practices. Nationally significant sites relevant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement that represent the theme *Developing the American Economy* include the Forty Acres, La Paz, Filipino Community Hall, the Santa Rita Center, and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route. Potential nationally significant sites that relate to this theme include UFW and NFWA sites and meeting halls, the Cesar and Chavez Family Residence in Delano, Monterey County Jail, McDonnell Hall, and St. Mary's Catholic Church.

Units of the national park system that reflect the theme of *Developing the American Economy* in the areas of workers and work culture, labor organizations and protests, and governmental policies and practices include:

- **Keweenaw National Historical Park (Calumet, MI).** This national historical park commemorates the significance of copper mining on the Keweenaw Peninsula in northern Michigan. The NPS manages two park units through which provide a core resource and interpretive experience that anchors the national park unit. Dozens of cultural sites along the length of the Keweenaw Peninsula, inside and outside official park boundaries, contribute to the park story, including historic districts and official Keweenaw Heritage Site partners. Together the National Park Service and partner sites preserve and interpret the stories associated with the mining history. The park's Keweenaw Heritage Sites partners operate most visitor facilities, providing diverse experiences and views of the industry and its participants. Each Keweenaw Heritage Site is independently owned and operated.

- **Lowell National Historical Park (Lowell, MA).** Lowell National Historical Park commemorates the early story of America's Industrial Revolution. The park is distinctive in representing both the lives of workers and

technological innovations associated with this period. The park includes a 142-acre Park District and an adjacent and overlapping 583-acre Historic Preservation District. The Boott Cotton Mills Museum, "mill girl" boarding houses, the Suffolk Mill turbine, and guided tours tell the story of the transition from farm to factory, chronicle immigrant and labor history, and trace industrial technology

- **Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site (Saugus, MA).** This national historic site was the location of the first integrated ironworks in North America (1646–68) includes the reconstructed blast furnace, forge, and rolling and slitting mill, and a restored house from the 1600s. Visitor opportunities to learn about the ironworks include a museum, guided tours, demonstrations, and trails.

- **Golden Spike National Historic Site (Brigham City, UT).** This national historic site commemorates the location of the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in the U.S., where the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads met in 1869. The Central Pacific included more than 10,000 Chinese laborers, who had built the line east from Sacramento, California.

National Historic Landmarks and National Register Historic Districts that reflect the theme of *Developing the American Economy* in the areas of workers and work culture, labor organizations and protests, and governmental policies and practices include:

- **Socialist Labor Party Hall National Historic Landmark (Barre, VT)**. This national historic landmark commemorates the leading place were debates took place among anarchists, socialists, and union leaders over the future direction of the labor movement in United States in the early 20th century. Constructed in 1900, the Socialist Labor Party Hall is a two story flat-roofed brick structure with a gambrel-roofed single story rear hall. It is associated with Barre's rich ethnic heritage, specifically the vital Italian community that immigrated to Barre at the end of the 19th century.

- **American Federation of Labor Building National Historic Landmark (Washington, D.C.).** This national historic landmark commemorates the Federation's growth from, in the words of its founder, Samuel Gompers, "a weakling into the strongest, best organized labor movement of all the world." This site is not open to the public.

- **Auburn-Chinese Section (Auburn, Placer County, CA).** This site was home to Chinese laborers working on the transcontinental railroad in the 1850s and contains buildings associated with the Chinese community. This site is listed on the Historic American Buildings Survey.

- **Lamesa Farm Workers Community Historic District (Los Ybanez, Texas).** The federal government established this farm labor community during the 1940s to improve the living conditions of migrant workers in west Texas. The community offered indoor plumbing, electricity, gas, living quarters, recreation areas, and small stores. Mexican families were provided opportunities to maintain social and cultural traditions. The community continues to provide affordable housing to predominantly Hispanic communities (NPS 2011).

Transforming the Environment

This theme examines the variable and changing relationships between people and their environment, which continuously interact. The environment is where people live, the place that supports and sustains life. The American environment today is largely a human artifact, so thoroughly has human occupation affected all its features. This theme acknowledges that the use and development of the physical setting is rooted in evolving perceptions and attitudes.

Transforming the environment is embodied in the agribusiness practices that transformed the landscape and created the substandard working conditions faced by farm workers in the American West. The availability of large pools of migrant labor was the most important condition for the development of industrial scale agriculture in the American West. Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Mexican immigrants provided much of this labor. These immigrants worked under poor conditions, for low wages, and often faced discrimination. During the Great Depression, many of them were turned away from jobs in favor of displaced white Americans.

The *Modernization of the United Farm Workers and the Broadening of the Farmworker Movement in the U.S., 1975-1984*, was focused on raising awareness

about environmental impacts associated with use of pesticides in agriculture. The farm labor movement began to raise awareness about the public health impacts on farm laborers, as well as the impacts to the environment itself.

Topics that help define this theme relevant to this study include: 1. manipulating the environment and its resources, 2. adverse consequences and stresses on the environment, 3. protecting and preserving the environment. Nationally significant sites relevant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement that represent the theme *Transforming the Environment* include the Forty Acres, where Chavez conducted one of his last fasts to raise awareness about the environmental and public health effects of pesticides. Potential nationally significant sites that relate to this theme include the Arvin Labor Camp.

National Park Service Units that represent the theme *Transforming the Environment* as it relates to agriculture and protecting and preserving the environment include:

- **Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve (Whidbey Island, WA).** This national historical reserve is the nation's first historical reserve, created in 1978 to protect a rural working landscape and community on Central Whidbey Island. The reserve includes 17,500 acres, 17 farms, over 400 historical structures, native prairies, two state parks, miles of shoreline, a network of trails and the second oldest town in Washington

- **Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site (Deer Lodge, MT).** This national historic site was established to provide an understanding of the frontier cattle era of the Nation's history, to preserve the Grant-Kohrs Ranch, and to interpret the nationally significant values thereof for the benefit and inspiration of present and future generations. Once the headquarters of a 10 million acre cattle empire, Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site is a working cattle ranch that preserves these symbols and commemorates the role of cattlemen in American history.

- **Green Springs Historic District (Louisa County, VA).** Green Springs National Historic Landmark District encompasses over 14,000 acres in the piedmont of central Virginia. The homes and farms are a continuum of Virginia rural vernacular architecture, reflective and respectful of their location, preserved in their original context with little alteration. The site is privately owned, includes no public facilities, but is visible from public highways.

- **Homestead National Monument of America (Beatrice, NE).** This national monument commemorates the Homestead Act of 1862, one of the most significant and enduring events in the westward expansion of the United States. By granting 160 acres of free land to claimants, it allowed nearly any man or woman a "fair chance." Homestead National Monument of America, located in Southeast Nebraska, commemorates this Act and the far-reaching effects it had upon the landscape and people.

- **Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve (Cottonwood Falls, KS).** This national preserve protects a nationally significant remnant of the once vast tallgrass prairie and its cultural resources. Here the tallgrass prairie takes its last stand. Tallgrass prairie once covered 140 million acres of North America. Within a generation the vast majority was developed and plowed under. Today less than 4% remains.

- **The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve (Jacksonville, FL).** This ecological and historic preserve protects and preserves the Kingsley Plantation a nineteenth-century Florida plantation.

- **John Muir National Historic Site (Martinez, CA).** This national historic site preserves the home site of John Muir a conservation considered the "father of the National Park Service." Muir convinced President Teddy Roosevelt to protect Yosemite (including Yosemite Valley), Sequoia, Grand Canyon and Mt. Rainier as national parks.

National Historic Landmarks and National Register Sites that represent agriculture in the American West:

- **Trujillo Homestead (Mosca, CO).** Pedro Trujillo's homestead is representative of the tense relations between the small Hispanic-owned family ranches and the larger American-owned cattle ranches. In 1902, conflict between cattle ranchers and sheepmen in the area directly impacted the Trujillo family. Teofilo Trujillo, Pedro's father, was one of the area's largest sheepraisers and became a target of violent intimidation by

cattle operators. By February, Teofilo's house was burned to the ground. The homestead is currently vacant, but is pointed out on periodic tours offered of the area by the Nature Conservancy.

- **Carlsbad Reclamation Project National Historic Landmark (New Mexico).** This national historic landmark is a large and complex irrigation project that provides water to about 25,000 acres of farmland in the Carlsbad area and along the valley to the south. Private entrepreneurs initiated the project in the late 19th century. They touted grandiose plans but were unsuccessful in seeing them to fruition. In 1905, the Bureau of Reclamation purchased the struggling project and brought it to completion. The Federally-constructed features are representative of the early technical innovation and experimentation of the Bureau of Reclamation.

- **Senator Francis O. Newlands Home (Reno, NV).** This site commemorates Senator Newlands, the primary author of the Reclamation Act of 1902. The Reclamation Act sought to promote agriculture in the arid west through the construction of large-scale irrigation projects. The first project under the Reclamation Act was the Newlands Irrigation Project in Nevada's Lahontan Valley.

- **Porter Farm National Historic Landmark (Terrell, TX).** This national historic landmark was the site of the first cooperative farm demonstration, organized by Dr. Seaman A. Knapp in 1903. The project successfully demonstrated methods expanding crop production. From this foundation project developed the U.S. Department of Agriculture Agricultural Extension Service.

Changing Role of the United States in the World Community

This theme explores diplomacy, trade, cultural exchange, security and defense, expansionism—and, at times, imperialism. The interactions among indigenous peoples, between this nation and native peoples, and this nation and the world have all contributed to American history. Additionally, this theme addresses regional variations, since, for example, in the eighteenth century, the Spanish southwest, French and Canadian middle west, and British eastern seaboard had different diplomatic histories. America has never existed in isolation. While the United States, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has left an imprint on the world community, other nations and immigrants to the United States have had a profound influence on the course of American history.

The emphasis in this category is on people and institutions—from the principals who define and formulate diplomatic policy, such as presidents, secretaries of state, and labor and immigrant leaders, to the private institutions, such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, that influence America's diplomatic, cultural, social, and economic affairs. Topics that help define this theme include commerce and immigration and emigration policies. Nationally significant sites relevant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement that represent the theme *Changing Role of the United States in the World Community* include La Paz. Potential nationally significant sites that relate to this theme include UFW offices in Calexico and Yuma. National Park Service Units that represent the theme *Changing Role of the United States in the World Economy* as it relates to agriculture and protecting and preserving the environment include

- **Chamizal National Monument (El Paso, TX).** This national monument commemorates the peaceful settlement of a century-old boundary dispute between the United States and Mexico. This commemoration and multi-cultural understanding are enhanced through the arts in the memorial's 500-seat theater, outdoor stage, and three art galleries. Utilizing the visual and performing arts as a medium of interchange, Chamizal serves as an open door to help people better understand not only other cultures, but their own cultural roots as well.

- **Charles Pinckney National Historic Site (Sullivan's Island, SC).** This national historic site commemorates Charles Pinckney, 1757–1824, who fought in the American Revolution and became one of the principal framers of the Constitution. He served as governor of South Carolina and as a member of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, and was President Thomas Jefferson's minister to Spain. Part of his Snee Farm is preserved here

- **Fire Island National Seashore (Patchogue, NY).** This national seashore site is home to the estate of William Floyd, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The seashore

provides visitors with a blend of recreation, preservation, and conservation.

- **Independence National Historical Park (Philadelphia, PA).** This national historical park contains structures and sites in central Philadelphia associated with the American Revolution and the founding of the United States: Independence Hall, Congress Hall, Old City Hall, the Liberty Bell, the First and Second Banks of the United States, Franklin Court, and others.

- **Manzanar National Historic Site (Independence, CA**). Manzanar National Historic Site is located in the Owens Valley of eastern California and protects and interprets the historical, cultural, and natural resources associated with the relocation and internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

- **William Howard Taft National Historic Site (Cincinnati, OH).** This national historic site commemorates President Taft, the only person to serve as both president (1909–13) and Chief Justice of the United States (1921–30), was born and raised in this home. The Taft education center offers an orientation video and interactive exhibits on the Taft family.

- **Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site (Hyde Park, NY).** Val-Kill Cottage is the focal point of the historic site. Eleanor Roosevelt used Val-Kill as a personal retreat from her busy life. It was originally built as a factory building for Val-Kill Industries and was converted to a home in 1937. Roosevelt's activities at home reflected her interest in humanitarianism, as epitomized by her leadership in the creation of the UN's Declaration of Human Rights.

Conclusion – Finding of Suitability

As noted in the significance findings, Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are nationally significant. Cesar Chavez is recognized as the most important Latino leader in the history of the United States during the twentieth century. Recognition of the national significance of the farm labor movement stems from creation of the United Farm Workers union (UFW), the first permanent agricultural labor union established in the history of United States. The comparative sites described above represent various models of civil rights and labor reform movements that emerged in response to injustice and the plight for human rights. While some of the sites closely represent other important labor and civil rights movements, there are no sites that represent Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement in the American West.

Based on the analysis of comparable resources and interpretation already represented in units of the National Park System, or protected and interpreted by others, this study concludes the sites associated with Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement in the American West depict a distinct and important aspect of American history associated with civil rights and labor movement that is not adequately represented or protected elsewhere and are therefore suitable for inclusion in the National Park System.

5 Feasibility and Need for NPS Management

Police stand watch as a grape strike demonstration passes by, Coachella Valley, California, 1973. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University; photographer unknown.

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Chapter 5: Feasibility and the Need for NPS Management

This section describes the National Park Service analysis of whether the study area is feasible as a unit of the national park system and whether direct NPS management is clearly superior to other options.

Introduction

Feasibility

To be feasible as a new unit of the national park system, a resource(s) must be (1) of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park boundaries), and (2) capable of efficient administration by the National Park Service (NPS) at a reasonable cost.

In evaluating feasibility, the NPS considers a variety of factors for a site(s), such as the following:

- size
- boundary configurations
- current and potential uses of the study area and surrounding lands
- landownership patterns
- public enjoyment potential
- costs associated with acquisition, development, restoration, and operation
- access
- current and potential threats to the resources
- existing degradation of resources
- staffing requirements
- local planning and zoning
- the level of local and general public support (including landowners)
- the economic/socioeconomic impacts of designation as a unit of the national park system

The feasibility evaluation also considers the ability of the NPS to undertake new management responsibilities in light of current and projected availability of funding and personnel.

An overall evaluation of feasibility is made after taking into account all of the above factors. Evaluations such as these, however, may sometimes identify concerns or conditions, rather than simply reach a yes or no conclusion. For example, some sites may be feasible additions to the national park system only if landowners are willing to sell, or the boundary encompasses specific areas necessary for visitor access, or state or local governments will provide appropriate assurances that adjacent land uses will remain compatible with the site or sites' resources and values (NPS 2006).

Some management options are more feasible than others. The national park system includes many types of sites, a range of ownership and management approaches. When many people think of national parks, they think of the large and mostly natural parks like Yosemite and Yellowstone. However, the national park system includes many other types of sites. Some NPS parks are small historic sites located in urban areas, perhaps relying on partnerships, with little, if any, federal landownership or management. Other NPS sites are large natural areas where park agencies cooperate to conserve land and provide public services. The NPS also offers grant and technical assistance programs that help local communities achieve their goals for conservation and recreation.

Evaluation of feasibility factors

The following evaluation explores the potential for a range of different types of national park units and management roles, while acknowledging the existing ownership and uses of land among the sites that were evaluated.

Boundary Size and Configuration

An acceptable boundary for an envisioned unit of the national park system should provide for the inclusion and protection of the primary resources; sufficient

surrounding area to provide a proper setting for the resources or to inter-relate a group of resources; and sufficient land for appropriate use and development.

Preliminary findings suggest that five sites may meet National Historic Landmark criteria – the Forty Acres, Filipino Community Hall, Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (La Paz), the Santa Rita Center and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route. Nearly 100 additional sites have been identified as important to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The majority of sites are located in or near the major agricultural valleys of California and Arizona. A smaller number of sites are located in the metropolitan areas of San Francisco, Los Angeles and Phoenix.

The Forty Acres is located one and a half -miles west of the Delano city limits at the northeast corner of Garces Highway (CA State Highway 155) and Mettler Avenue in northern Kern County. The 40 acre parcel contains four historic buildings i. The property is bounded on the north by a landfill, on the east by Mettler Avenue, on the south by Garces Highway and on west by an adjacent property.

The Filipino Community Hall is a single-story, 70 ft. by 90 ft. structure located on Glenwood Street on the edgie of downtown Delano. The 1.8 acre parcel includes a paved parking lot south of the building, a cultural plaza featuring a picnic shelter, a recreational area featuring a basketball court and modest landscaping. The property is bounded on the north by a vacant lot, on the east by Glenwood Street, on the south by an adjacent property and on the east by Fremont Street.

Approximately 70 miles from Delano and 30 miles southeast of Bakersfield is Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz, located off Highway 58 near the town of Keene in the Tehachapi Mountains of eastern Kern County. The 187 acre property contains 24 buildings and five structures. La Paz is bounded on the north and east by a Burlington, Northern Santa Fe (BNSF) Railway line, on the south by Tehachapi Creek and on the west by an adjacent property.

The Santa Rita Center is a single story 2,880 sq. ft. building located on East Hadley Street in the El Campito neighborhood of Phoenix. The 5,924 sq. ft. parcel is bounded on the north by East Hadley Street, on the east by an adjacent storage facility, on the south by a scrap yard and on the west by a vacant lot. The majority of parcels surrounding the property are vacant, with a few scattered single family homes and light industrial facilities.

Boundary and configuration factors were not taken into consideration in evaluating feasibility of the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route or the national network. National Historic Trail criteria require a trail location to be "sufficiently known" but do not require a trail boundary. A network program would not have any particular boundary.

CONCLUSION

The five nationally significant sites identified above each provide for the inclusion and protection of the primary resources; they include sufficient surrounding area to provide a proper setting for the resources; and they offer sufficient land for appropriate use and development, if needed.

Land Use, Ownership Patterns, Planning and Zoning

The Forty Acres is owned and managed by the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation. The four historic buildings on the property are a former service station and auto repair shop that is no longer in use; the former Rodriquez Terronez Memorial Clinic which functions as a regional service center for the United Farm Workers of America; the Roy Reuther Memorial Building which serves as a multi-purpose hall, and the Agbayani Village, a 52-unit affordable housing facility. The property is zoned for larger lot, single-family residential development uses such as museums, parks and community facilities.

The Filipino Community Hall is owned and managed by the Filipino Community of Delano, Inc. The hall is leased on weekdays to the Delano Adult Day Health Care Center which provides medical, social and recreational services to seniors. The building is used for cultural and community events in the evenings and on weekends. The property is zoned for general commercial use.

Nuestra Senora Reina de la Paz is owned and managed by the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation. La Paz is home to the National Chavez Center which includes the 17,000 square foot Villa La Paz Conference Center, a 7,000-square-foot visitor center. A total of 24 buildings and 5 other structures are located on the property, including the burial site of Cesar Chavez, a memorial garden, administrative buildings and a dormitory. La Paz also serves as the national headquarters for the United Farm Workers of America and as administrative offices for a number

of affiliated organizations. The area is zoned for low and medium density residential uses, with permitted uses for community recreational facilities, offices, and residential facilities.

Santa Rita Center is owned and managed by Chicanos Por la Causa and is located in the El Campito neighborhood of Phoenix. The building is underutilized and open just a few times a year for special occasions and vigils. The area is zoned historic preservation. Zoning of the parcel is compatible with national park use. The setting around the building is now largely industrial and vacant parcels. The Phoenix Sky Harbor International Airport has purchased surrounding parcels as part of their expansion plans. Zoning of the surrounding area could allow for major changes to surrounding properties.

The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route spans 300 miles and passes through 43 cities and towns of various scale and size, including Visalia, Fresno, Madera, Merced, Modesto, Manteca, Stockton, Lodi, Courtland and Sacramento. Further research would be needed to determine zoning and land use patterns of the march route and specific historic sites associated with the mark. However most of the march route is on public rights-of-way, and associated sites are largely in private or local government ownership.

A park unit encompassing all the significant sites identified in this study would likely include resources owned by a variety of private organizations, local governments and individuals. The NPS would need to work with many owners who have differing interests, desires and concerns.

Conclusion

Current land uses, land ownership patterns, and planning and zoning would all support a range of NPS and partnership management approaches. Designation of a collaborative national park unit that works with property owners and local communities to protect the resources and provide public access, interpretation, education and other uses could be compatible with existing ownership patterns.

Access and Public Enjoyment Potential

The majority of the nationally significant sites are within an approximately two hour drive of major metropolitan areas such as Phoenix, AZ, Los Angeles, CA, the San Francisco Bay Area, Sacramento, CA and the larger cities of the Central Valley including Fresno and Bakersfield.

The Forty Acres and Filipino Community Hall in Delano are easily accessible from California State Route 99 and within half a day's drive from the San Francisco and Los Angeles metropolitan. The nearest major airport is in Bakersfield, a city of approximately 330,000 located 30 miles south. The cities and towns of the San Joaquin Valley are connected by Interstate 5 and State Route 99. The population of the valley as a whole is 4.2 million.

The Forty Acres property possesses potential for public access and enjoyment. The Forty Acres routinely hosts large social functions, including rallies and commemorative events. Public visitation could be accommodated with minimal changes to the property.

The Filipino Community Hall possesses potential for public enjoyment. The facility is currently leased on weekdays to the Delano Adult Day Health Care Center and is used for cultural and community events on the evenings and on weekends. Visitor opportunities could include exterior waysides or interior displays or the site could be part of a walking tour of significant sites in Delano.

The Arvin Labor Camp is approximately 30 miles from the city of Delano and would provide an opportunity for visitors to see living conditions and possibly demonstrations of what life was like for farm workers before and during the union organizing process.

La Paz is open to the public and already offers major opportunities for public enjoyment. Visitors to the Cesar Chavez Memorial and Visitor Center can see films and exhibits about Cesar Chavez' life, work and philosophy of nonviolence and visit his gravesite in the memorial garden. The Villa La Paz Conference Center was recently renovated and includes a theater/lecture hall and multiple meeting rooms. La Paz is accessible from State Route 58, and is a thirty minute drive from Bakersfield, a two hour drive from the Los Angeles area, and a half day's drive from the San Francisco area.

The Santa Rita Center possesses potential for public enjoyment and enjoys an accessible location within a mile of downtown Phoenix. The center is used a few times a year for special events and vigils. Rehabilitation would be needed to make the building publicly accessible on a regular basis. Potential visitor use opportunities could include exterior or

interior exhibits and education programs that could be developed in partnership with Chicanos Por La Causa as part of future development of the site as a community center.

In conjunction with the Santa Rita Center, potential visitor opportunities could be developed at one or two nearby sites. The former Sacred Heart church building, historically associated with the Santa Rita Center, is owned by the city of Phoenix which has expressed an interest in developing visitor opportunities at the church such as a visitor orientation program or driving tour. Chicanos Por La Causa also owns an adobe house 100 feet from the center that could be used for exhibits and interpretive programs.

The Santa Rita Center is located within a few miles of Sky Harbor International Airport and interstates 10 and 17. Phoenix is a city with a diverse population of 1.6 million and is the urban anchor for a fast growing metropolitan area of approximately 4 million.

The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route possesses potential for public enjoyment as it follows the spine of the heavily populated San Joaquin Valley and ends in Sacramento, the state's capital. The route passes along public rights-of-way through vast stretches of rural, agricultural landscape and more than three dozen cities and towns in the valley, many of which retain their mid-twentieth-century character, including main street and downtown locations through which the march route passed. Visitors could experience the march route in segments along hiking or biking trails or an auto tour route. One or more interpretive sites or centers could be located along the march route at Delano, Fresno, Modesto or Stockton, in partnership with existing visitor-serving organizations. Local communities and managers of historical or commemorative sites along the trail could collaborate to develop tour itineraries that identify destinations along the trail route, to attract visitors to their communities.

Public access and potential for enjoyment are limited at some sites. Significant sites in Yuma and San Luis, AZ and the NFWA office in Calexico are probably the least accessible to airports and other transportation centers. The Chavez family homestead, Laguna School building and Chavez general store are located approximately 15 miles outside of Yuma and are on private property. The Chavez family homestead is in a remote location on private property adjacent to Bureau of Reclamation and Bureau of Land Management lands. Resources associated with the family homestead may be located on public lands, however further research is needed.

Some potentially significant sites have uses that may be incompatible with public visitation. Sites such as the Chavez family homes in Delano and Los Angeles are private residences in residential neighborhoods. Other sites like the Laguna School building in Yuma and the People's Bar and Café in Delano operate as commercial businesses. These sites would not be open to the public for interpretation or visitor services. The concentration of historically significant sites in these areas, however, could allow for markers, interpretive waysides or walking or auto tours.

The city of San Jose is another location with a high concentration of sites related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Working in partnership with the Chavez Family Vision, the City developed the Cesar E. Chavez Memorial Walkway which includes McDonnell Hall at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and many other sites that contributed to Cesar Chavez's education as a community organizer.

The Old Monterey County Jail in Salinas is visible from the exterior but is currently inaccessible and has deteriorated due to disuse and lack of maintenance. The jail has been closed to the public for 34 years and has been proposed for demolition. Issues with the roof, HVAC, plumbing and spalling of concrete were determined in 2000 to be reparable, however these repairs would likely be extremely costly. With adequate funding, the site could be adaptively reused for public or private purposes and could also provide visitor interpretation and education related to the significant events that occurred there. The jail listed on the NRHP at the national level of significance, and is near several sites in Salinas and in nearby San Juan Bautista that are eligible for listing on the NRHP for their connection to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Many communities have expressed interest in interpreting and providing public access to sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. For example, the city of San Jose has developed a walking tour of significant sites, and both the city and Santa Clara County haves expressed strong interest in expanding their focus on significant sites in their jurisdictions; community members and elected officials in Salinas are interested in restoration of the Old Monterey County Jail for use as a museum; and the city of Coachella has expressed interest in development of a historic district and walking tour. Other communities may also be

interested in providing visitor interpretation and education related to the significant events which occurred in these locations.

CONCLUSION

There is a high potential for public access and enjoyment at the historically significant sites and along the march route. Most sites are easily accessible from public roads, on major state or federal highways, and within a half a day's drive of major metropolitan areas. There are opportunities for a variety of visitor experiences at the sites and along the march route, and ample potential for development of additional visitor use opportunities.

Existing Resource Degradation and Threats to Resources

Nationally significant sites and resources are generally of high quality and have a high degree of integrity. Nevertheless, development plans and underutilization may pose a threat to some of these resources.

- Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad has proposed the expansion of the rail lines of the Tehachapi Loop that run adjacent to La Paz. The expansion project could potentially have short-term impacts on the delivery of educational and interpretive programs at La Paz during construction due to air quality impacts and an increase in traffic, noise and vibration, and long-term impacts from the noise associated with increased rail traffic.

- The Route 99 Corridor Enhancement Master Plan identifies several lane widening projects to increase Route 99 from four to six lanes. These projects could potentially impact historic resources along the march route. These projects could also provide opportunities to install trail markers and interpretive signage.

- Santa Rita Center is under-used and has experienced some deterioration. Nearby Phoenix Sky Harbor International Airport has purchased surrounding properties and demolished structures as part of the airport's expansion plans.

- The Old Monterey County Jail has deteriorated due to disuse and lack of maintenance. The jail has been vacant for 34 years and has been proposed for demolition. The property condition report (2000) indicated issues with roof, HVAC electrical plumbing, and concrete spalling (deterioration).

- The remains of the adobe house on the Chavez family homestead site in the Yuma area faces threats from erosion and other sources of deterioration, including dredging of an irrigation canal less than ten feet from the site. Nearby, the Laguna School's physical integrity has been compromised. The building retains integrity of location and setting, but the addition of a metal storage structure and general deterioration of the building have eroded the integrity of design, materials and workmanship.

- Although minor renovation work was recently completed on the Filipino Community Hall, the building has ongoing maintenance challenges. The current long-term tenants are leaving at end of 2011 which will likely also reduce the availability of funds for building maintenance.

CONCLUSION

Despite resource degradation and threats to a few sites, the majority of sites contain resources of high integrity. Overall, the significant sites are not subject to resource degradation or threats that would preclude management as a unit of the national park system.

Public Interest and Support

Public involvement efforts from April through June of 2011 identified strong public support for the idea of establishing of a unit of the national park system that would preserve and interpret resources associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Public outreach efforts included public meetings throughout California and Arizona, meetings with local officials and stakeholders such as the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation, the Chavez Family Vision, the United Farm Workers of America and Chicanos Por La Causa.

Public suggestions conveyed a wide range of desired roles for the NPS. Suggested NPS roles included providing funding and technical assistance for preservation and interpretation, developing key partnerships necessary to preserve sites and leverage funding, conveying the broader story through interpretive and educational programs, and

designating a national park unit such as a historic site or trail.

Concerns about NPS presence at significant sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement included the need to maintain local land use control and private property rights.

Conclusion

Outreach for this study, including public meetings and consultations with stakeholders and public officials has demonstrated significant public interest and support for the NPS to play a collaborative role in one or more nationally significant sites in partnership with other organizations and local communities.

Social and Economic Impact

Social and economic impacts of NPS designation could vary widely depending on the size and scope of the park unit, management approach and external variables such as local, regional and national economic forces, and actions of local public and private organizations and individuals.

Recognition or designation of a national park unit incorporating one or more historically significant sites would likely have beneficial economic and social impacts on the area. Possible socioeconomic impacts could include: visitation to the site or sites, surrounding areas and other attractions, expenditures from park operations and park staff, expenditures by visitors, sales and hotel tax revenues from visitor expenditures, and growth in visitor-related businesses such as tourism.

The few socioeconomic concerns expressed during the public scoping process were related to the costs associated with converting the Monterey County to a public use facility and the potential traffic impacts of such an action. Additional analysis of social and economic impacts is provided in Chapter 7, *Environmental Consequences*

Conclusion

The social and economic impacts of NPS designation or other support/coordination role appear to be largely beneficial and would support the feasibility of NPS designation.

Costs Associated with Operation, Acquisition, Development, and Restoration

Costs associated with a national park unit include annual operations costs and periodic costs of land acquisition, development of facilities, and resource restoration.

Operational costs of national park units vary widely, depending on site management and partnerships, the amount and type of resources managed, number of visitors, level of programs offered, and many other factors. Operational costs for a partnership park unit or NPS technical/administrative assistance would typically be lower than operational expenses for a more traditional national park fully owned and operated by the NPS. Chapter 6, *Alternatives,* explores potential operational costs in more detail for each management alternative. The following tables provide some comparative 2010 NPS base budget figures for various park units.

The smaller budgets for partnership parks typically provide funding for core staff to handle park coordination and outreach, assist partners with conservation planning, and to provide interpretive and educational programs. In this proposal, operational partnerships with organizations such as the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation, the Filipino Community of Delano, Inc. and Chicanos Por La Causa, would be essential.

While no formal estimates of operating costs have been completed for this study, the following examples illustrate the potential range of each management alternative proposed in this study. The variation in operating budgets reflects differences in facility management responsibilities, visitor services, and types of programs offered, not just the acreage of the park or length of the trail.

Table 5-1: National Park Service National Network Annual Operating Budgets, shows the park operations base budget for fiscal year 2010 of two network programs that could be comparable to the national network proposed as alternative B in this study. The Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network and the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom are partnership-based NPS units comprised primarily of non-NPS lands. The annual operating base budget for the NPS portion ranges from $660,000 to $850,000.

Table 5-2: National Park Service National Historic Trail Annual Operating Budgets, shows the park operations base budget for fiscal year 2010 of five national historic trails that could be comparable to the national historic trail proposed as alternative C in this study. The annual operating base budget for the NPS portion ranges from $201,000 to $1 million.

Table 5-3: National Park Service National Historic Site Annual Operating Budgets, shows the park operations base budget for fiscal year 2010 of five national historic sites that could be comparable to the national historic site proposed as alternative D in this study. The national historic sites are units comprised of NPS and non-NPS lands. The annual operating base budget for the NPS portion ranges from $796,000 to $4.24 million.

Table 5-4: National Park Service National Historical Park Annual Operating Budgets, shows the park operation base budgets for fiscal years 2010 of four national historical parks that could be comparable to the national historical parks proposed as alternative E in this study. The annual operating base budget for the NPS portion ranges from $1.3 million to $2.7 million.

Table 5-1: National Network Annual Operating Budgets

National Network	Size	2010 NPS Annual Operating Budget
Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network	64,000 sq. miles	$496,000*
National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom	430 network members in 34 states and the District of Columbia	$850,000

**Over eleven years, Congress has appropriated $15.4 million for the Gateways Network, with $10 million in financial assistance awarded directly to Gateway partners through matching grants. Each $1 of federal money awarded has been matched by $1.55 in non-federal funds.*

Table 5-2: National Historic Trail Annual Operating Budgets

NHT	Length	2010 NPS Annual Operating Budget
El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT	404 miles	$201,000
Old Spanish NHT	2,500 miles	$274,000
Overmountain Victory NHT	300 miles	$349,000
Juan Bautista de Anza NHT	1,200 miles	$554,000
Selma to Montgomery NHT	54 miles	$1,016,000

Table 5-3: National Historic Site Annual Operating Budgets

NHS	Acres	2010 NPS Annual Operating Budget
Tuskegee Airmen NHS	90	$796,000
Hubbell Trading Post NHS	160	$907,000
John Muir NHS	39	$1,058,000
Martin Van Buren NHS	39	$1,274,000
Martin Luther King NHS	39	$ 4,239,000

Table 5-4: National Historical Park Annual Operating Budgets

NHP	Acres	2010 NPS Annual Operating Budget
Tumacacori NHP	360	$1,317,000
Rosie the Riveter WWII Home Front NHP	145	$1,341,000
Lewis and Clark NHP	3,303	$1,727,000
Nez Perce NHP	4,570	$2,688,000

The nationally significant sites could be managed for conservation and interpretation without direct NPS ownership. Major acquisition of land is not anticipated for any of the alternatives considered in this study. Most sites and trail right-of-ways would continue to be owned by their respective public and private owners.

Alternatives D and E suggest that NPS should be authorized to acquire property should current landowners express interest in donating or selling their properties. Land acquisition costs, however, cannot be estimated without more specific proposals for acquisition of these properties.

Development costs of new national park units vary widely, depending on existing conditions and facilities and the types of conditions and facilities and the types of conditions and facilities desired. New national park units frequently invest funds in inventorying and documenting the resources in the park, developing management or treatment plans for those resources, developing educational and interpretive materials, and developing or improving facilities for visitors and for park operations. The NPS could share facilities with existing organizations or share costs for the adaptive reuse of existing structures. Displays or waysides, rather than visitor service facilities, are envisioned at associated significant sites. Development costs could also be incurred for adaptive reuse should the NPS acquire land with facilities that could be used for operational purposes.

Staffing requirements for the NPS would depend upon the configuration of the sites and the nature of agreements between partners for administering the sites. Broad staffing approaches are described in Chapter 6, *Alternatives*.

Restoration, development and operations costs would be reasonable and feasible with partner investment and operational support.

CONCLUSION

Costs for establishing a national park unit appear to be feasible, provided that partnership opportunities are pursued to support collaborative operations and development.

Table 5-5: Feasibility Analysis, Summary Table	
Feasibility Factors	**Issues and Conclusions**
Boundary size and configuration	The five nationally significant sites each provide for the inclusion and protection of the primary resources; they include sufficient surrounding area to provide a proper setting for the resources; and they offer sufficient land for appropriate use and development, if needed.
Land use, ownership patterns, planning and zoning	Current land uses, land ownership patterns, and planning and zoning would all support a range of NPS and partnership management approaches. Designation of a collaborative national park unit that works with property owners and local communities to protect the resources and provide public access, interpretation, education and other uses could be compatible with existing ownership patterns.
Access and public enjoyment potential	There is potential for public access and enjoyment among the significant sites and march route. Most sites are easily accessible from public roads, on major state or federal highways, and within a half a day's drive of major metropolitan areas. There are opportunities for a variety of visitor experiences at the sites and along the march route, and ample potential for development of additional visitor use opportunities.
Existing resource degradation and threats to resources	Despite resource degradation and threats to a few sites, most sites contain resources of high integrity. These sites are not subject to resource degradation or threats that would preclude management as a unit of the national park system.
Public interest and support	Significant public interest and support has been expressed during public scoping for the NPS to play a collaborative role in one or more nationally significant sites in partnership with other organizations and local communities.
Social and economic impact	The social and economic impacts of NPS designation or other support/coordination role appear to be largely beneficial and would support the feasibility of NPS designation.
Costs associated with operation, acquisition, development, and restoration	Costs for establishment of a national park unit appear to be feasible, provided that partnership opportunities are pursued to support collaborative operations and development.

Feasibility Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, a partnership-based national park unit or technical assistance program which provides opportunities for collaborative management to protect cultural resources, provide public access, interpretation, and educational opportunities at certain sites associated with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement is a feasible addition to the national park system.

Need for NPS Management

Determination of the need for NPS management is the final criterion for evaluating resources for potential designation as a new unit in the national park system. The criterion requires a finding that NPS management would be superior to alternative management arrangements by other entities.

Under all of the alternatives considered in this study, the majority of sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement would continue to be owned and operated by nonprofit organizations, private property owners, and local governments. The 300-mile long Delano to Sacramento march route primarily travels largely along public roads and rights of way. While many of the owners and managers of these sites are interested in long term preservation and public education, none of them provide the level of expertise in resource protection, visitor services and interpretation and education that could be offered by the NPS.

NPS partnerships with organizations and private property owners would provide enhanced opportunities for comprehensive interpretive planning, and coordinated site management to showcase the national significance of these sites. Development and cooperative management of interpretive programs and comprehensive visitor services with the NPS would be beneficial. The incorporation of multiple, predominantly privately owned sites would offer a superior visitor experience that allows the broadest understanding of the resources and stories relating to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

NPS planning and research capabilities, as well as historic preservation, cultural resource management and interpretive and educational programming expertise, would offer superior opportunities for the full range of sites to be preserved and interpreted. Depending on the selected alternative, disparate sites that are currently owned and managed by multiple entities would become parts of a cohesive national park experience and would become more accessible to a broader array of audiences.

There is a need for NPS management in partnership with others to fully protect resources and to enhance visitor appreciation of the nationally significant resources and important stories associated with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Filipino farm workers gather to plan the construction of Agbayani Village at the Forty Acres, Delano, California, in 1972. The Village was built to house retired Filipino farm workers who had no family in the United States. Back row, 5th from right: Phillip Vera Cruz. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University; photographer unknown.

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Chapter 6: Alternatives

This chapter describes the range of management alternatives analyzed in the study.

Introduction

The following section describes a range of preliminary management alternatives that are being considered by the National Park Service (NPS) as part of the Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study.

The legislation authorizing this study specifically directs the NPS to determine appropriate methods for preserving and interpreting sites significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement; and whether any of these sites meet the criteria for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, designation as a national historic landmark or inclusion in the national park system.

Overview of the Alternatives

The special resource study team developed the alternatives based on information gathered from public and stakeholder input, internal NPS discussions, historical research and management models used in national park units around the nation. The alternatives explore a range of possible actions including federal recognition of significant resources, technical assistance, and cooperative management and partnership with the NPS:

- **Alternative A: Continuation of Current Management**
- **Alternative B: National Network** of sites and programs related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement
- **Alternative C: National Historic Trail** following the route of the 1966 march from Delano to Sacramento
- **Alternative D: National Historic Site** focusing on the Forty Acres site in Delano
- **Alternative E: National Historical Park** incorporating nationally significant sites in California and Arizona

Historic sites must meet the National Historic Landmark (NHL) eligibility criteria for national significance to be considered for national park status. Our preliminary findings suggest that five sites, including the Forty Acres (a designated NHL), Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz, Filipino Community Hall, the Santa Rita Center, and the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route meet these criteria. An additional 11 sites meet some of the NHL criteria, but require further research to determine eligibility and 24 sites appear eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. There are many other sites that are important to the farm labor movement and the life and work of Cesar Chavez. Over 100 sites have been identified through this special resource study.

The alternatives described here include traditional national park service management of nationally significant historic sites, as well as a range of programs and services that provide recognition, technical assistance, and interpretive opportunities at other important sites.

For each alternative there is a description of the overall concept and key elements of the alternative, including management approaches, resource protection, visitor services, and the role of organizations and public agencies. Maps of each alternative are also included to illustrate the concepts discussed in the alternatives.

Management Alternatives No Longer Under Consideration

Two other alternative approaches to preservation and interpretation of significant sites were initially considered: a national heritage area encompassing the major agricultural valleys of California and Arizona, and a national historic trail that would connect the major communities with sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. These alternatives are no longer under consideration because the areas do not fully meet NPS criteria for national heritage area or national historic trail designation.

National Heritage Area

A national heritage area is an area in which residents, businesses and local governments jointly conserve special landscapes and their heritage. The NPS is a partner and advisor, leaving decision-making authority in the hands of local people and organizations. No land is owned or managed by the NPS.

An alternative was considered in which Congress would establish a national heritage area that would encompass the major agricultural valleys of California and Arizona, such as the San Joaquin, Salinas, Coachella, Imperial and Gila valleys. The national heritage area would focus on sites and stories associated with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The NPS would provide a range of technical assistance and matching funds that would be available to heritage area partners for 10 to 15 years. Preservation and interpretation would be accomplished through partnerships among federal, state, and local governments and private nonprofit organizations.

An area generally must meet certain criteria for the NPS to recommend designation as a national heritage area. In addition to criteria that address resource quality and visitor opportunities, the area needs to:

- demonstrate local involvement in heritage area planning, including development of a conceptual financial plan that provides for management of the heritage area;
- identify a management entity that is able to plan for and implement the heritage area;
- identify a heritage area boundary that is supported by the public; and
- demonstrate commitment from governmental and private organizations to work in partnership to develop the heritage area.

While the agricultural valleys of California and Arizona may offer the resource preservation and visitor opportunities appropriate for a national heritage area, there is currently not sufficient local initiative or public support for a national heritage area related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Therefore the NPS is no longer considering this management alternative.

National Historic Trail Connecting Major Significant Sites

The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route is proposed as a national historic trail in alternative C. Numerous other suggestions were made during the public scoping period to create small interpretive trails in various communities with significant farm labor movement sites and to establish a national trail or tour route that would connect significant sites throughout California and Arizona.

These interpretive and connecting trails do not meet the criteria for the various NPS-managed trail designations – national historic trails, national scenic trails, and national recreation trails. However, these trail concepts could be implemented as part of one of the other action alternatives as tools for interpreting Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement and promoting tourism and community engagement in this history.

Items Common to All Action Alternatives

The following actions would apply to all of the action alternatives (alternatives B through E).

- The NPS would provide recognition and technical assistance for telling the story of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.
- Interpretation and educational programs would present a wide range of stories about the farm labor movement, told from multiple perspectives (e.g. Filipinos, Mexicans, growers, farm workers).
- Interpretation would be accessible and relevant to diverse audiences and multiple generations. Information would be presented in multiple languages.
- The NPS recognizes that most of the sites significant to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are owned by local government and private entities. Several of the nationally significant sites continue to be used for farm labor efforts or community organizing. The NPS would work cooperatively and in partnership with existing landowners and provide technical assistance opportunities for interpretation and/or preservation of sites included in the various alternatives.

Description of the Alternatives

ALTERNATIVE A: CONTINUATION OF CURRENT MANAGEMENT (NO ACTION ALTERNATIVE)

Concept: Sites, organizations, and programs significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement would continue to operate independently without additional NPS management or assistance other than that available through existing authorities.

DEFINITION

Under a "no action" alternative, current management of resources continues. Current programs and policies of existing federal, state, county and nonprofit organizations remain in place.

MANAGEMENT

Significant sites would continue to be owned and managed by their respective public and private owners. There would be no NPS staffing or operational support other than assistance under existing authorities if requested.

Filipino Community Hall

The Filipino Community Hall, owned by the Filipino Community of Delano, Inc., would continue to be used for community purposes. Currently it is leased on the weekdays to the Delano Adult Day Health Care Center and for cultural and community events in the evenings and on weekends.

1966 Delano to Sacramento March Route

Existing state and local agencies would continue to manage roads associated with the 300-mile march route from Delano to Sacramento. There would be no marking or interpretation of the march route and no visitor opportunities to understand the route and its connection to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

The Forty Acres

The Forty Acres would continue to be used as the United Farm Workers (UFW) Delano Field Office. Although a plaque acknowledges that the site is a National Historic Landmark (NHL), it would not offer visitor opportunities on a regular basis. Special events related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement would continue to be held on occasion.

Nuestra Reina Senora de La Paz (La Paz)

Owned by the non-profit, the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation (Chavez Foundation), La Paz would continue to function as the UFW National Headquarters and as a conference center. La Paz would also continue be managed to commemorate Cesar Chavez through its visitor center and memorial garden. The site is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

Santa Rita Center

The Santa Rita Center, owned by the non-profit organization, Chicanos Por La Causa, would continue to be used for storage in the short-term. In the long-term, Chicanos Por La Causa has plans to renovate the structure for use as a community center. The site is a local historic landmark.

Other Sites

The Monterey County Jail and Arvin Labor Camp would continue to be recognized as sites listed on the NRHP. The Monterey County Jail would continue to be boarded and vacant with its future use undetermined. The Arvin Labor Camp provides some interpretation related to its significance as a Depression-era farm labor camp. However, its significance as it relates to the farm labor movement is not currently interpreted or recognized.

Sites identified as potentially eligible for NHL nomination or nomination to the NRHP would continue to be owned by various public and private entities. These sites would continue to function for private and public uses not related to the farm labor movement. Interpretation and conservation of such sites would be uncoordinated, at the discretion of the current landowner.

RESOURCE PROTECTION

The primary responsibility for preserving significant sites would fall to the current owners and managers of those sites including the Chavez Foundation, the UFW, local churches and organizations, private land owners, and state and local authorities. Resource protection would be voluntary and dependent on property owners' initiative.

The Forty Acres NHL and sites currently listed on the NRHP would receive some level of protection, including opportunities for technical assistance and grants for preservation. Locally protected sites in Phoenix and San Jose would receive protection as defined by local preservation ordinances. Sites not listed or protected by local preservation ordinances could change use or ownership which could result in alterations to the structures and loss of integrity. Existing owners may lack funding to maintain or preserve sites. For example, the Monterey County Jail is listed on the NRHP and publicly-owned, but continues to remain unused causing further deterioration.

Visitor Experience

Communities and organizations that provide visitor opportunities to learn about the life of Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement would continue to provide visitor opportunities. For example, the National Chavez Center would continue to provide visitor opportunities at the La Paz visitor center and memorial garden. The City of San Jose has established a Cesar Chavez Memorial Walkway to commemorate and interpret sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the 1950s. The walkway is currently self-guided through road signs. The Chavez Family Vision, a non-profit organization, has plans to conduct guided tours along the walkway.

Most sites identified as significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are not managed to provide visitor opportunities to learn about or experience these sites.

Operations and Maintenance

Operations and maintenance of existing sites would be assumed to remain at existing levels. The Forty Acres would continue to be eligible for NHL assistance, Save America's Treasures grants, and other assistance provided under existing NPS authorities. If La Paz is designated an NHL, this site would also be eligible for such assistance programs. There would be no NPS staffing or operational responsibilities at the other nationally significant or potential NHL or NRHP sites.

ALTERNATIVE B: NATIONAL NETWORK

Concept: Congress would establish a national network to facilitate preservation and education efforts related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The program would consist of an integrated network of historic sites, museums and interpretive programs, coordinated with national, regional and local organizations.

DEFINITION

A national network program coordinates preservation and education efforts and facilitates the creation of an integrated network of historical sites, museums, and interpretive programs that have a verifiable association to its subject. The NPS would administer the program and provide technical assistance to support these efforts.

Examples include:

- The Underground Railroad Network to Freedom (national program)
- Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network (mid-Atlantic states in the Chesapeake Bay watershed including MD, VA, DC, PA, WV)

PROPOSED AREA

Significant sites, museums, and interpretive programs related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the Western United States would be eligible to participate in the network (*Alternative B: National Network*).

MANAGEMENT

The NPS would administer the national network which would focus on:

- Education about the historic significance of the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement;
- Technical assistance to organizations that identify, document, preserve and interpret significant sites or that develop or operate interpretive or educational programs or facilities;
- Matching grants for research, preservation efforts, and interpretive programs; and
- Coordination of network sites, programs and facilities.

The NPS would evaluate sites and programs nominated for inclusion in the network for their association to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement based on established criteria. Elements of the network, such as historical sites and museums, would continue to be owned and managed by their respective public and private owners.

RESOURCE PROTECTION

The primary responsibility for preserving significant sites would fall to current owners and managers of those sites including the Chavez Foundation, the UFW, local churches and organizations, private landowners, and state and local authorities. Resource protection would be voluntary and dependent on property owners' initiative. The NPS would offer technical assistance to preserve historic structures and landscapes.

Inclusion of a site or program in the network would recognize its association with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. This recognition could be used by advocates to leverage preservation and commemorative efforts. However, inclusion in the network would not assure the preservation or resource protection of the site.

VISITOR EXPERIENCE

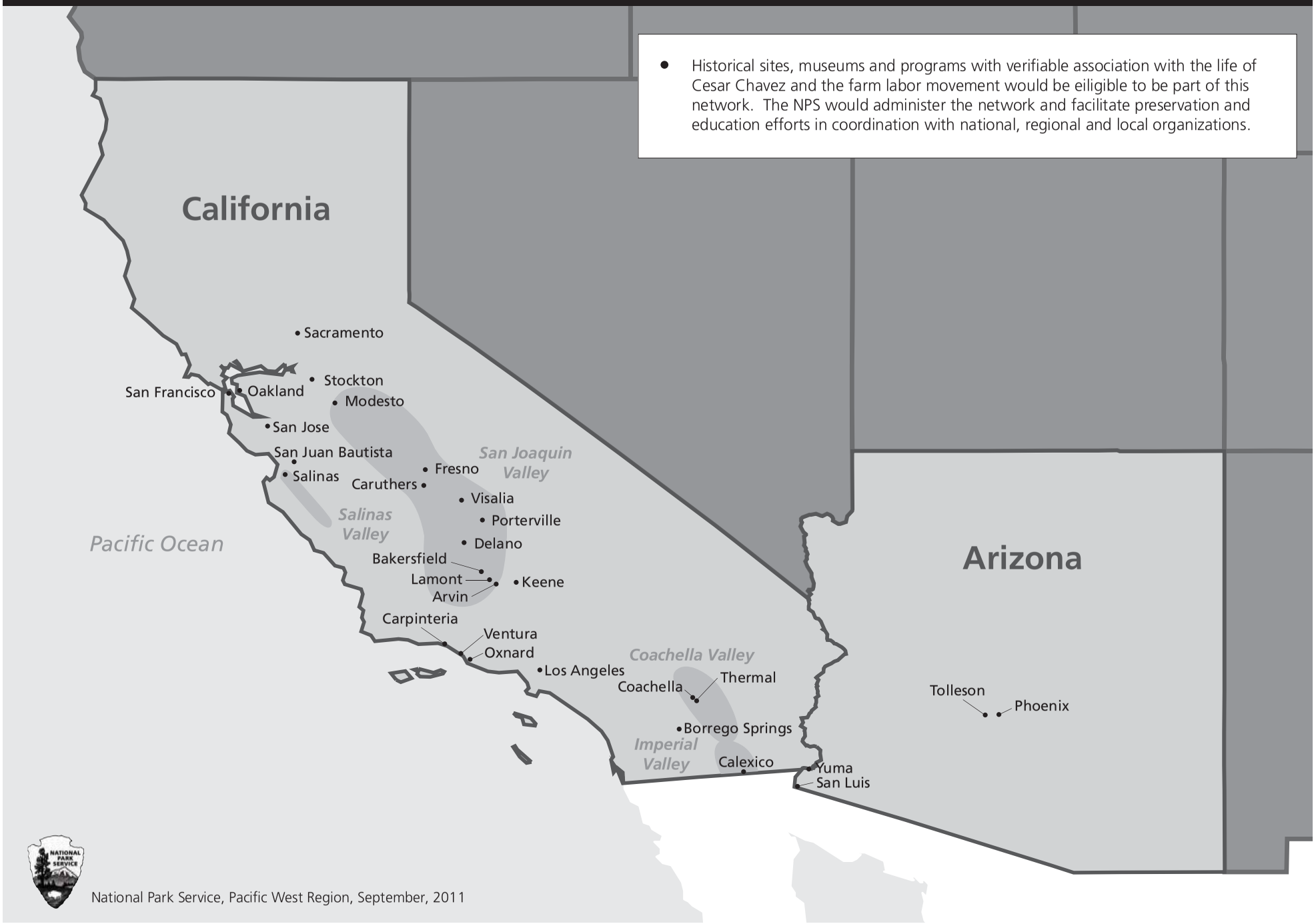
In alternative B, there would be no NPS visitor facility or established presence at any of the significant sites. Network members would have primary responsibility for providing opportunities for visitors to learn about or experience sites and stories. Visitor access to the interior of historic buildings and sites would be limited and could vary.

The NPS would support educational and interpretive efforts through technical assistance associated with NPS' administration of the program. The NPS would work with network members to provide coordinated information about visitor opportunities through a website, brochures, etc.

Since each organization would interpret a site or develop a program independently, there would be less control on the scope of story and themes that are presented. The full range of significant themes

Alternative B: National Network

- Historical sites, museums and programs with verifiable association with the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement would be eiligible to be part of this network. The NPS would administer the network and facilitate preservation and education efforts in coordination with national, regional and local organizations.



National Park Service, Pacific West Region, September, 2011

associated with the story may or may not be addressed.

Operations and Maintenance

Staffing

A farm labor movement network would likely be managed from NPS regional offices and/or nearby national park units in the areas with the largest concentrations of related sites and programs.

Based on comparisons of staffing levels for similar types of programs, the following types of staff might be recommended:

- Network program coordinator
- Regional program coordinators
- Administrative support
- Interpretive specialist
- Historic preservation specialist
- Volunteer / outreach program specialist

Given NPS budget constraints, it is likely that such a program would start small and gradually add staff, dependent on NPS and partner funding. Some of these positions could initially be shared with other programs.

Land Acquisition/ Operational and Visitor Facilities

All facilities, sites and programs participating in this network would remain under their existing ownership and management. Participating in the network would be completely voluntary on the part of the participants.

Funding and Costs

NPS coordination of the national network and financial and technical assistance would be funded through federal appropriations as part of the annual NPS budget. Any financial assistance provided to network participants would be on a matching basis, requiring some level of non-federal funding or in-kind services to match the federal funds.

The operating costs of similar network programs within the NPS vary widely, depending on staffing and function. For example, the Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network has been appropriated funding for matching grants. Over eleven years, Congress has appropriated $15.4 million for the Gateways Network, with $10 million in financial assistance awarded directly to Gateway partners through matching grants. Each $1 of Federal money awarded has been matched by $1.55 in non-federal funds.

Table 6-1: Existing NPS Network Programs Operations, Budget and Staffing (Fiscal Year 2010) shows the NPS operational base budgets for fiscal year 2010 of several programs that could be comparable to the national network proposed in this alternative. While no formal estimates have been completed for this study, these examples illustrate the potential range of operating costs. Based on the breadth of the sites and programs that could be eligible to participate in this network, and the types of services and assistance proposed, the annual cost of NPS operations for the network could be expected to be $400,000 to $600,000. The estimated operational budget would primarily fund NPS salaries for coordination and technical assistance, and financial assistance to network participants.

Table 6-1: Existing NPS Network Programs Operations, Budget and Staffing (Fiscal Year 2010)

Program	Annual Operating Budget (FY 2010)	Staffing Levels (FY 2010)
Chesapeake Bay Gateways Network	$496,000	14 Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) (shared with other programs and national trail units associated with the Chesapeake Bay Program)
Underground Railroad Network to Freedom	$850,000	6 FTE

ALTERNATIVE C: NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

Concept: Congress would establish a new national historic trail (NHT) as a unit of the national trails system. The trail would commemorate the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march. It would follow the historic route, recognizing associated historic resources significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement for public use and enjoyment.

DEFINITION

A national historic trail follows an original trail or travel route of historic significance. National historic trails identify and protect a historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment. There are specific NHT criteria that must be met, including significance of the route and potential for public appreciation. The significance analysis has determined that the route is nationally significant. If this alternative is identified as the preferred alternative, further analysis of the national historic trail feasibility criteria may be necessary. For example, the actual route would need to be mapped and land use along the route would need to be analyzed.

Examples include:

- Selma to Montgomery NHT (AL)
- Juan Bautista de Anza NHT (CA, AZ)
- Lewis and Clark NHT (spans 11 states throughout the midwest and northwest)

PROPOSED AREA

The NHT would include approximately 300-miles of primary and secondary roads that traverse towns through which farm workers marched from Delano to Sacramento in 1966 (*Alternative C: National Historic Trail*).

MANAGEMENT

The NPS would administer trail-wide coordination of the NHT. NPS responsibilities would include facilitating coordination among and between agencies and partner organizations. The trail right-of-way would continue to be owned by its respective public and private owners.

Through partnership with owners and other interested parties, the NPS would engage in planning and marking the NHT; certifying qualifying segments as protected; supporting voluntary resource preservation and protection; and assisting with interpretation, educational programs, and visitor enjoyment along the trail route.

The NHT could include a visitor facility in Delano (at the Forty Acres or Filipino Community Hall) staffed by the NPS. Additional visitor information about the NHT could be located at a partner-based site in Sacramento, such as an existing museum or visitor facility. Additional partner-managed visitor information sites could also be offered at other locations along the route.

RESOURCE PROTECTION

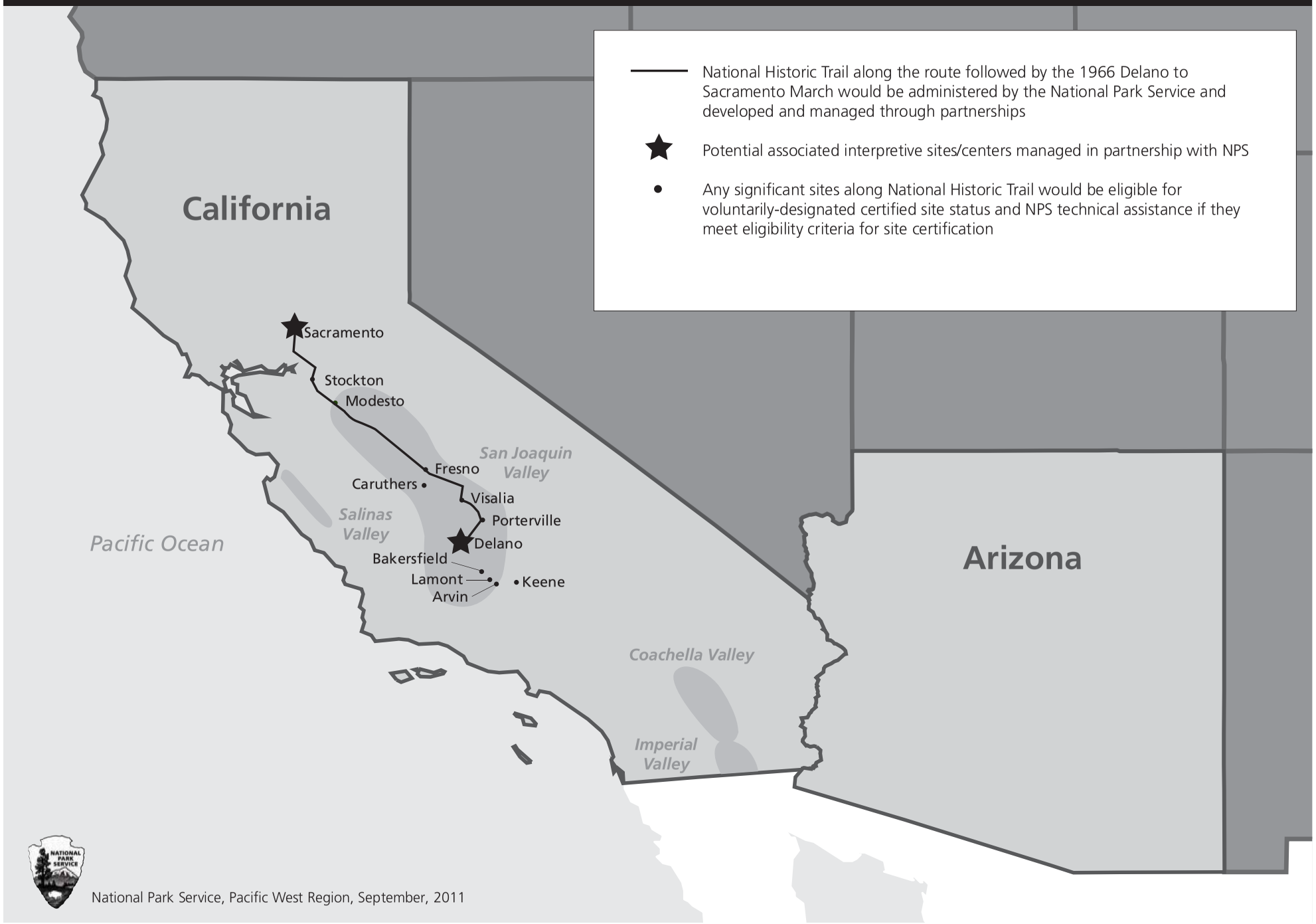
The NPS would enter into agreements with landowners, private organizations and individuals to provide the necessary trail rights-of-way for the NHT. If portions of the historic trail are located on federally owned lands and meet the national historic trail criteria, they could be included as federally protected components of the NHT. The NPS could also acquire or accept dedications of rights-of-way for the NHT. Other lands included in the NHT could be certified as protected segments if they meet NHT criteria and if the landowner voluntarily applies for certification. Preservation of significant sites along the trail would be encouraged; however NHT designation would not assure preservation or resource protection.

VISITOR EXPERIENCE

Visitors could experience the trail in segments or as a longer trip. One or more visitor facilities operated by the NPS or partners would provide interpretation and visitor services. A virtual visitor center would use emergent technologies to provide information about the NHT and farm labor movement stories.

Local communities along the trail could collaborate to develop tour itineraries for destinations along the trail route. Portions of the trail along main streets and within parks and open space may be used as walking trails that would interpret the march. An auto tour could also be developed with signage and itineraries to explore the march route and associated sites.

Alternative C: National Historic Trail



Managers of significant sites along the route could choose to make the sites available to visitors.

Operations and Maintenance

Staffing

A national historic trail would be staffed initially by a trail superintendent, supplemented over time by additional staff as funding became available. A comprehensive management plan would identify trail priorities, management emphases, and required staffing for a 15 to 20 year timeframe.

Based on comparisons of staffing levels for existing national historic trails of similar scale, the following types of staff might be recommended:

- Trail superintendent
- Interpretive specialist
- Community planner
- Park ranger
- Visitor use assistant
- Education program specialist

Some positions might be seasonal, temporary, or shared with nearby parks. In addition, partner organizations would likely retain staff, with types and numbers dependent on the functions provided by these partners. Types of partner functions might include staffing a visitor contact station, running a museum, developing and implementing educational programs.

Land Acquisition

The NPS would acquire little or no land as part of a national historic trail. If any land were acquired, it would be acquired only from willing sellers or donors. The trail would be marked on existing public land and rights of way, such as existing roads, freeways, and trails.

Operational and Visitor Facilities

Construction of new administrative facilities for NPS operations and management would not likely be required to support the national historic trail. The NPS could share administrative and operational facilities with partner organizations, or adaptively reuse historic structures. A comprehensive management plan for the trail would identify specific operational and visitor facility needs.

Funding and Costs

NPS management of a 1966 Delano to Sacramento national historic trail would be funded through federal appropriations as part of the annual NPS budget.

Table 6-2: Existing National Historic Trail Programs Operations, Budget and Staffing (Fiscal Year 2010) shows the NPS operational base budgets for fiscal year 2010 of several national historic trails that could be comparable to the trail proposed in this alternative. While no formal estimates of operating costs have been completed for this study, these examples illustrate the potential range. Based on the size and scope of this trail, and the types of services and assistance proposed, the annual cost of NPS operations for the trail could be expected to be $500,000 to $1 million. The estimated operational budget would primarily fund NPS salaries for identification and marking of the trail, interpretive and educational programs, outreach, and trail planning.

Table 6-2: Existing National Historic Trail Programs Operations, Budget and Staffing (Fiscal Year 2010)

Program	Annual Operating Budget (FY 2010)	Staffing Levels (2010)
Juan Bautista de Anza NHT (AZ & CA)	$554,000	3 FTE
Selma to Montgomery NHT, (AL)	$1 million	3 FTE
Ala Kahakai NHT (HI)	$519,000	3 FTE

ALTERNATIVE D: NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Concept: Congress would establish a national historic site (NHS) as a unit of the national park system. The national historic site would preserve and interpret resources significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement at the Forty Acres in Delano, CA.

DEFINITION

A national historic site usually contains a single historical feature that is directly associated with its subject. National historic sites preserve places and commemorate persons, events, and activities important in the nation's history.

Examples include:

- Martin Luther King Jr. NHS (GA)
- John Muir NHS (CA)
- Hubbell Trading Post NHS (AZ)

PROPOSED AREA

The national historic site would include the 40 acres that comprise the Forty Acres National Historic Landmark (*Alternative D: National Historic Site*).

MANAGEMENT

The NPS would have primary responsibility for: 1) overall interpretation and education associated with the national historic site and its resources, including the development of interpretive media and programs; 2) community outreach and assistance in training of park volunteers in association with local organizations; and 3) technical assistance for resource preservation efforts for both the historic site and community-based resources in Delano, CA.

The NPS would manage the Forty Acres in partnership with the Chavez Foundation and the UFW, through management agreements for historic preservation, interpretation, and educational programs. The NPS would provide staffing to manage a visitor facility or education center, interpretive exhibits, and educational programs at the Forty Acres.

The legislation would provide the NPS with authorization to acquire the Forty Acres should the existing owners wish to donate or sell the property at some future time. Significant sites other than the Forty Acres would continue to be owned and managed by their respective public and private owners.

RESOURCE PROTECTION

The NPS could enter into management agreements with the existing owners or offer technical assistance to preserve historic structures and the surrounding landscape at the Forty Acres. The NPS would work with the Delano community, including the Filipino Community of Delano, Inc., to assist property owners in interpreting and preserving other significant sites.

VISITOR EXPERIENCE

Visitor opportunities to learn about the life of Cesar Chavez and the broader farm labor movement would be available at a visitor facility at the Forty Acres, which could be located in an existing building. The NPS would have a highly visible presence. Visitor services could include ranger-led and self- guided tours, exhibits, and interpretive and educational programs. Visitor opportunities could also include walking tours and waysides at other significant sites in Delano.

The Forty Acres could function as a research or education center for topics related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The NPS would partner with the owners to provide program development and exhibit design and construction. A virtual visitor center would use emergent technologies to provide information about the Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement stories. The NPS would play a primary role in developing curriculum about Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

OPERATIONS AND MAINTENANCE

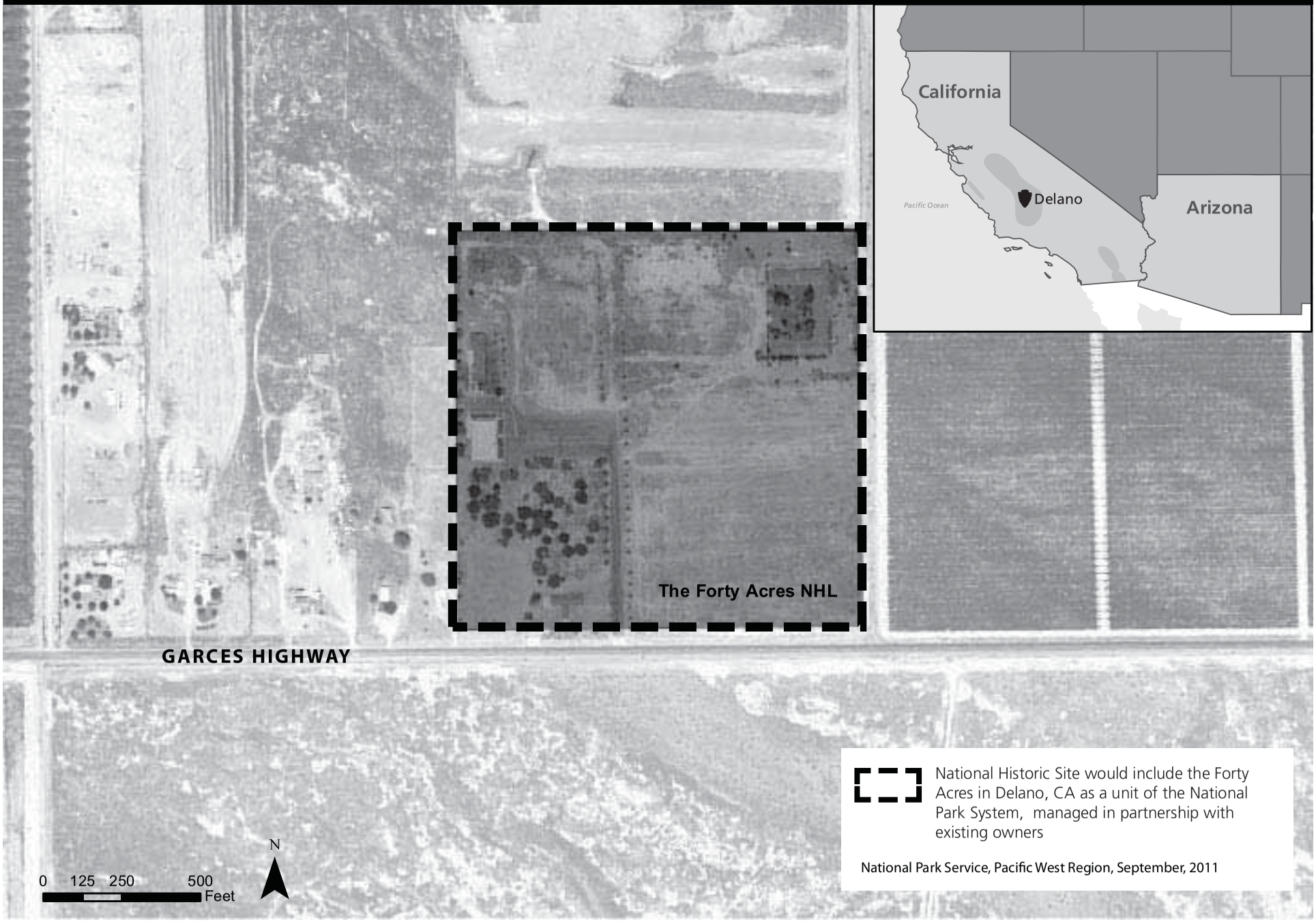
Staffing

The national historic site would be staffed initially by a superintendent, supplemented over time by additional staff as funding became available. A general management plan would identify priorities, management emphases, and required staffing for a 15 to 20 year timeframe.

Based on comparisons of staffing levels for existing national historic sites of similar scale, the following types of staff might be recommended:

- Superintendent
- Interpretive specialist

Alternative D: National Historic Site



- Cultural resource specialist
- Law enforcement and interpretive park rangers (3)
- Visitor use assistant
- Education program specialist

Some positions might be seasonal, temporary, or shared with nearby parks. In addition, partner organizations would likely retain staff, with types and numbers dependent on the functions provided by these partners. Partner functions might include staffing a visitor contact station, running a museum, developing and implementing educational programs. If the NPS took ownership of the site at some point in the future, maintenance staff would be required to maintain the historic structures and visitor facilities.

Land Acquisition

Land acquisition of the Forty Acres is not required for the NPS to manage the area as a national historic site. As previously stated, the NPS could operate the site in partnership with the Chavez Foundation and the UFW through management agreements. Legislation would provide the NPS with authorization to acquire the Forty Acres should the existing owners wish to donate or sell the property at some future time.

Operational and Visitor Facilities

Construction of new administrative and visitor facilities for NPS operations and management would not likely be required to support the national historic site. However, some alternations to the site circulation (e.g. trails, parking, exhibits) would likely occur. The NPS could share administrative and operational facilities with partner organizations, or adaptively reuse historic structures.

Funding and Costs

NPS management of a national historic site at the Forty Acres would be funded through federal appropriations as part of the annual NPS budget.

Table 6-3: Existing National Historic Site Operations, Budget and Staffing (Fiscal Year 2010) shows the NPS operational base budgets for fiscal year 2010 of several national historic sites that could be comparable to the national historic site proposed in this alternative. While no formal estimates of operating costs have been completed for this study, these examples illustrate the potential range. Based on the size and scope of this site, and the types of services and assistance proposed, the cost of NPS operations for the national historic site could be expected to be $1 million to $3 million. The estimated operational budget would primarily fund NPS staff, interpretive and educational programs, and outreach. The higher end of the range would be more likely if the NPS were to acquire the property and assume full responsibility for operations, management, and maintenance of the historic structures.

Table 6-3: Existing National Historic Site Operations, Budget and Staffing (Fiscal Year 2010)

Program	Annual Operating Budget (FY 2010)	Staffing Levels (2010)
Martin Luther King Jr. NHS (Atlanta, GA)	$4,2 million	37 FTE
John Muir NHS (Martinez, CA)	$1 million	12 FTE
Hubbell Trading Post NHS (Ganado, AZ)	$907,000	13 FTE

ALTERNATIVE E: NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Concept: Congress would establish a national historical park (NHP) as a unit of the national park system. The national historical park would consist of nationally significant sites in California and Arizona related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement including the Forty Acres, Filipino Community Hall, Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (La Paz), and the Santa Rita Center. The Secretary of the Interior would be authorized to add significant associated sites or districts to the national historical park. These sites would likely be owned and operated by park partners.

DEFINITION

A national historical park extends beyond single properties or buildings. Resources include a mix of significant historic features. National historical parks preserve places and commemorate persons, events, and activities important in the nation's history.

Examples include:

- Nez Perce NHP
- Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front NHP
- Tumacacori NHP

PROPOSED AREA

The national historical park would include lands and historic structures associated with Filipino Community Hall, the Forty Acres, La Paz, and the Santa Rita Center (*Alternative E: National Historical Park*).

MANAGEMENT

The NPS would have primary responsibility for: 1) overall interpretation and education associated with the national historical park sites, including the development of interpretive media and programs; 2) community outreach and assistance in training of volunteers in association with local organizations; and 3) technical assistance for resource preservation efforts for associated sites.

The NPS would work cooperatively with the owners of sites within the national historical park to preserve resources and provide appropriate opportunities for the public to learn about the life of Cesar Chavez and the broader farm labor movement. The NPS role could vary at each site, and could include staffing, visitor programs, and assistance with cultural resource protection. The legislation establishing the park would provide the NPS with authorization to acquire sites within the national historical park should the existing owners express interest in donating or selling their properties. The NPS could enter into management agreements with public and private owners of park sites for historic preservation, interpretation, and education.

Associated sites significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement could be later added to the national historical park. The NPS would develop a process for adding associated sites to the national historical park. Criteria would include significance of the site or district to the life of Cesar Chavez or the farm labor movement, local commitment to preservation of the site or district, and the ability to offer interpretive opportunities or educational programs. Associated sites would be owned and managed by park partners. The NPS could provide technical assistance and grants to associated sites to establish visitor facilities, interpretive exhibits, and educational programs.

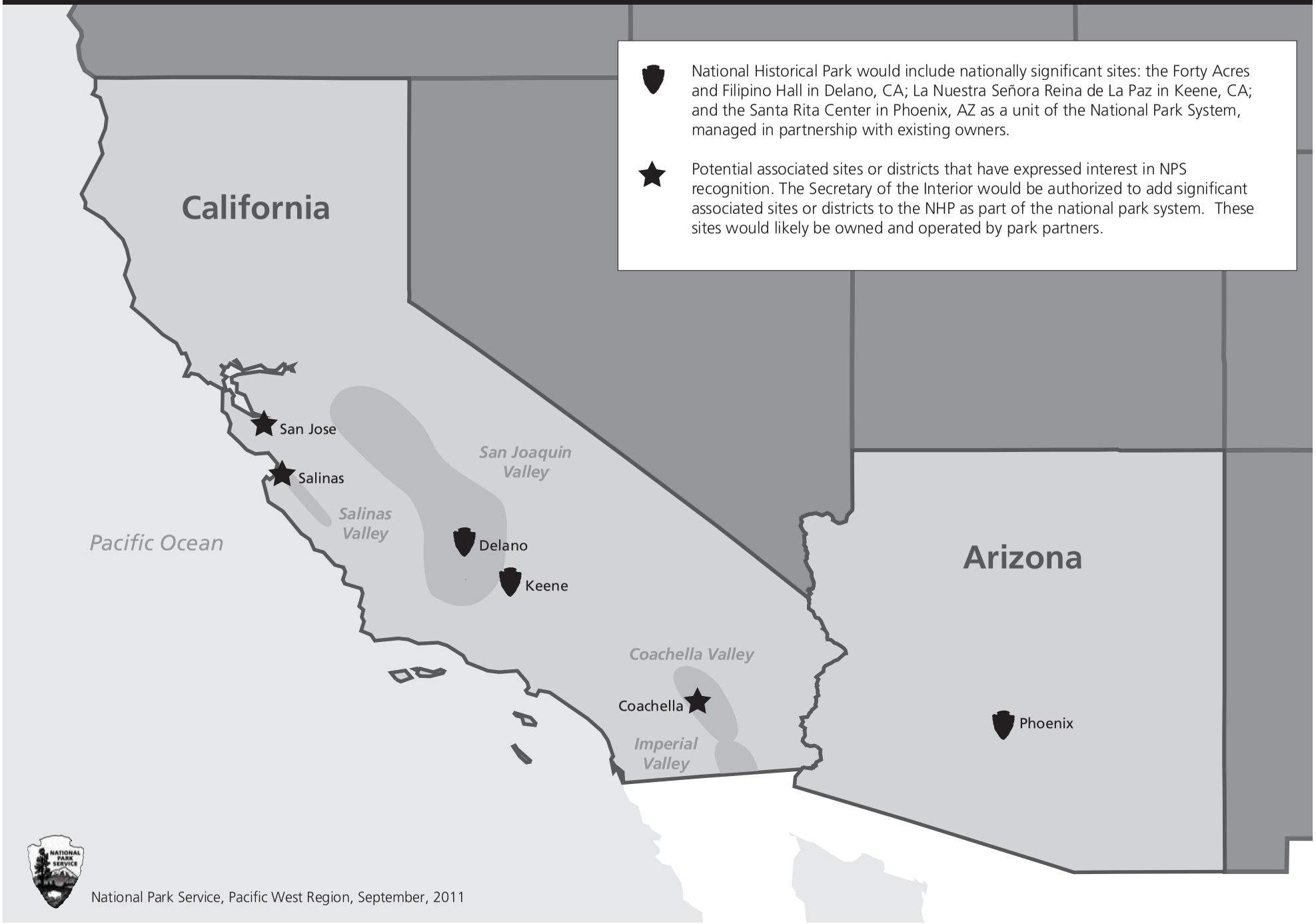
RESOURCE PROTECTION

The NPS would work with partners to protect the resources and setting associated with the historical park sites. Through this study, the NPS has identified a number of sites that appear nationally significant, but need further research to determine eligibility for National Historic Landmark status or listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In alternative E, the NPS would conduct additional research and provide assistance in preparing nominations for such sites.

The NPS would work with the Delano community to identify and establish preservation zones or districts for neighborhoods with a high concentration of significant sites. The NPS could assist property owners in interpreting and preserving significant sites if requested.

State and local governments, nonprofit organizations, and private property owners would be responsible for protection and preservation of associated sites. NPS matching grants could be available to conduct research and preserve sites, stories and artifacts.

Alternative E: National Historical Park



National Park Service, Pacific West Region, September, 2011

VISITOR EXPERIENCE

Visitors would have the opportunity to learn about all aspects of the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement through key historical park sites in California and Arizona. The NPS would work with park partners to develop educational and interpretive media and programs (e.g. walking tours, ranger-led tours, waysides, school curriculums, exhibits, and hands-on programs such as working in the fields). The NPS could work with partner organizations and agencies to interpret march routes. For example, signage and an auto tour could be created to interpret the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route.

At the Forty Acres visitors could be welcomed at a visitor facility, which could be located in an existing building. A smaller visitor display could be located at the Filipino Community Hall. The Forty Acres or La Paz could function as a research or education center for topics related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. A visitor facility or exhibits could be developed at the Santa Rita Center in partnership with Chicanos Por La Causa as part of future development of the site as a community center.

Associated sites would provide visitor interpretation and education related to the significant events which occurred in these locations. A virtual visitor center would use emergent technologies to provide information about the Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement stories. NPS matching grants could be available for development of visitor services and interpretive materials.

OPERATIONS AND MAINTENANCE

Staffing

The national historic park would be staffed initially by a superintendent, supplemented over time by additional staff as funding became available. A general management plan would identify park priorities, management emphases, and required staffing for a 15 to 20 year timeframe.

Based on comparisons of staffing levels for existing national historic parks of similar scale, the following types of staff might be recommended:

- Superintendent
- Community planner
- Interpretive specialist
- Cultural resource specialist
- Law enforcement and interpretive park rangers (4)
- Visitor use assistant (2)
- Education program specialist

Some positions might be seasonal, temporary, or shared with nearby parks. In addition, partner organizations would likely retain staff, with types and numbers dependent on the functions provided by these partners. Types of partner functions might include staffing a visitor facility, running a museum, developing and implementing educational programs. If the NPS took ownership of a site at some point in the future, maintenance staff would be required to maintain the historic structures and visitor facilities.

Land Acquisition

Land acquisition of the park sites is not required for the NPS to manage the area as a national historic park. As previously stated, the NPS could operate in partnership with the current landowners through management agreements. Legislation would provide the NPS with authorization to acquire the nationally significant park sites should the existing owners wish to donate or sell the property at some future time.

Operational and Visitor Facilities

Construction of new administrative and visitor facilities for NPS operations and management would not likely be required to support the national historic park. However, some alternations to the site circulation (e.g. trails, parking, roads, exhibits) would likely occur. The NPS could share administrative and operational facilities with partner organizations, or adaptively reuse historic structures.

FUNDING AND COSTS

NPS management of a national historic park would be funded through federal appropriations as part of the annual NPS budget.

Table 6-4: Existing National Historical Park Operations, Budget and Staffing (Fiscal Year 2010) shows the NPS operational base budgets for fiscal year 2010 of several national historic parks that could be comparable to the national historic park proposed in this alternative. While no formal estimates of operating costs have been completed for this study, these examples illustrate the potential range. Based on the size and scope of this park, and the types of services and assistance proposed, the annual cost of NPS operations for the network could be expected to be $1 million to $3 million. The estimated operational budget would primarily fund NPS staff, interpretive and education programs, and outreach.

Table 6-4: Existing National Historical Park Operations, Budget and Staffing (Fiscal Year 2010)		
Program	**Annual Operating Budget (FY 2010)**	**Staffing Levels (2010)**
Nez Perce NHP (ID, MT)	$2.7 million	25 FTE
Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front NHP (CA)	$1.3 million	8 FTE
Tumacacori NHP (AZ)	$1.3 million	17 FTE

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Farm workers and United Farm Worker (UFW) supporters gather at the steps of the State Capitol in Sacramento, California at the end of the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University; photographer unknown.

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Chapter 7: Environmental Consequences

Analysis of the environmental impacts associated with the study alternatives

Introduction

NPS policy requires that a special resource study be accompanied by an Environmental Assessment (EA) or Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), as appropriate, prepared in accordance with the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, as amended (NEPA) and its implementing regulations (36 CFR 1500-1508), and Director's Order #12, *Conservation Planning, Environmental Impact Analysis, and Decision-Making* (2001), and accompanying handbook.

This EA also fulfills the requirements of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended (NHPA), and has been prepared in accordance with the implementing regulations of the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation (36 CFR Part 800) and NPS Director's Order #28: *Cultural Resources Management* (DO-28) and accompanying Handbook. Since a study presents management alternatives at a broad level, the EA is similarly broad and the analysis is general (see Assumptions below). Implementation of an action alternative would come only after action by Congress. If the NPS is authorized to establish a site, more detailed planning through a general management planning process would result.

This chapter analyzes the potential environmental consequences, or impacts, that would occur as a result of the alternatives. Topics analyzed in this chapter include land use, water resources, vegetation and wildlife, cultural resources (including archeological resources, historic structures, cultural landscapes, and museum collections), visitor experience (access and transportation, visitor use opportunities / interpretation and education) and socioeconomics (including minority and low income populations). Direct, indirect, and cumulative effects are analyzed for each resource topic carried forward. Potential impacts are described in terms of type, context, duration, and intensity.

NEPA requires that environmental documents disclose the environmental impacts of the proposed federal action, reasonable alternatives to that action, and any adverse environmental effects that cannot be avoided should the proposed action be implemented. This section analyzes the environmental impacts of project alternatives on affected park resources. These analyses provide the basis for comparing the effects of the alternatives. NEPA requires consideration of context, intensity and duration of impacts, indirect impacts, cumulative impacts, and measures to mitigate impacts. In addition to determining the environmental consequences of the preferred and other alternatives, *Management Policie*s (NPS 2006) and Director's Order-12, *Conservation Planning, Environmental Impact Analysis, and Decision-making* require analysis of potential effects to determine if actions would impair park resources. Impact analysis for historic properties is based on NHPA 36 CFR Part 800 criteria of effect as detailed below.

IMPACT TYPE classifies the impact as beneficial or adverse and direct or indirect.

- Beneficial: A change that improves the condition or appearance of the resource or a change that moves the resource toward a desired condition.
- Adverse: A change that would deplete or detract from the condition or appearance of the resource or a change that moves the resource away from a desired condition.
- Direct: An effect that is caused by an action and occurs in the same time and place.
- Indirect: An effect that is caused by an action but is later in time or farther removed in distance, but is still reasonably foreseeable.

CONTEXT describes the area or location in which the impact will occur.

- Site Specific: Impacts would occur at the location of the action.
- Localized: Impacts are limited in extent and would occur in the vicinity of the site being discussed.
- Regional or Widespread: Occurring across an area or habitat, such as affecting the resource within a watershed or park unit (beyond the boundary of the site being discussed).

Widespread impacts are often detectable on a landscape or regional scale.

DURATION describes the length of time an effect will occur, either short-term or long-term:

- Short-term impacts generally last only during construction, and the resources resume their pre-construction conditions following construction. Short-term impacts are often quickly reversible and associated with a specific event and may last from one to five years.
- Long-term impacts last beyond the construction period, and the resources may not resume their pre-construction conditions for a longer period of time following construction. Long-term impacts may be reversible over a much longer period, or may occur continuously based on normal activity, or for more than five years.

INTENSITY describes the degree, level, or strength of an impact. For this analysis, intensity has been categorized into negligible, minor, moderate, and major. Because definitions of intensity vary by resource topic, intensity definitions are provided separately for each impact topic analyzed in this environmental assessment. Beneficial impacts are described but are not assigned intensity levels.

Reducing the Level of Impacts

To reduce their occurrence or intensity, impacts may be avoided, minimized or mitigated. Managers may

- Avoid conducting management activities in an area of the affected resource.
- Minimize the type, duration or intensity of the impact to an affected resource.
- Mitigate the impact by:
  - Repairing localized damage to the affected resource immediately after an adverse impact.
  - Rehabilitating an affected resource with a combination of additional management activities.
  - Compensating a major long-term adverse direct impact through additional strategies designed to improve an affected resource to the degree practicable.

Cumulative Impact Scenario

The Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) regulations, which implement the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 USC 4321 et seq.), require assessment of cumulative impacts in the decision-making process for federal projects.

The CEQ describes a cumulative impact as follows (Regulation 1508.7):

> A "Cumulative impact" is the impact on the environment which results from the incremental impact of the action when added to other past, present, and reasonably foreseeable future actions regardless of what agency (federal or non-federal) or person undertakes such other actions. Cumulative impacts can result from individually minor but collectively significant actions taking place over a period of time.

The cumulative projects addressed in this analysis include past and present actions, as well as any planning or development activity currently being implemented or planned for implementation in the reasonably foreseeable future. Cumulative actions are evaluated in conjunction with the impacts of an alternative to determine if they have any additive effects on a particular resource. Because most of the cumulative projects are in the early planning stages, the evaluation of cumulative impacts was based on a general description of the project. Ongoing or reasonably foreseeable future projects were identified for the surrounding region.

The geographic scope for this analysis includes actions within the boundaries of sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Because impacts are affected by regional boundaries for some resources topics (such as wildlife and special status species) the region is used as the reference area for these impact analyses.

Because proposed actions would occur from designation and into the future, the temporal scope of the cumulative impacts analysis includes known projects occurring in the vicinity of these sites.

PROJECTS INCLUDED IN THE CUMULATIVE EFFECTS ANALYSIS FOR THIS ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT

Phoenix Sky Harbor Airport

Although the Phoenix Sky Harbor Airport has been purchasing land in the vicinity of the Santa Rita

Center, it is unknown how development plans would affect this area or this site.

La Paz Master Development Plan (taken from the La Paz NHL Nomination, Rast 2005)
Completed: In 2001, the César E. Chavez Foundation (working with the NFWSC) began an effort to transform the property into the "National Chavez Center at Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz." The first phase of this effort began with the development of a memorial garden around the gravesite of César Chavez. Upon his death in 1993, Chavez was buried in a rose garden immediately east of the (former) administration building. Eight years later, landscape architect Dennis Dahlin oversaw the construction of memorial space that incorporated the gravesite and garden and added elements such as perimeter walls finished with stucco, stone fountains and sculptures, an arbor constructed with redwood beams, and native vegetation.[1] Associated landscaping work included the pavement of pathways north of the garden, the repavement of the parking lot south of the garden, and the creation of a picnic area south of the parking lot. An ancillary project resulted in the development of a playground area 40 yards north of the cafeteria building.

The first phase of redevelopment concluded with the opening of a visitors' center in 2004 on the site of the former administration building. Given the prohibitive expense of renovation, the Chavez Foundation elected to raze the building and construct a replica on the same site. Although the building itself lost all integrity, the Foundation protected the integrity of the property as a whole by constructing a building with dimensions, roof lines, and siding that matched those of the original. (The Foundation also built a replica of César's corner office and refurnished it to match its appearance upon his death in 1993.)

Current Phase: A second phase of redevelopment began in the spring of 2005. The Chavez Foundation plans to renovate and remodel the buildings of the North Unit in order to create an independent conference and retreat center. The Foundation plans to retain the buildings' exterior materials and architectural characteristics. The interiors will be redesigned to provide meeting spaces and amenities for dining, lodging, and recreation. The Chávez Foundation anticipates a third phase of redevelopment that will include the construction of a cultural center, a central plaza, a chapel, and an open-air meditation space; the rehabilitation of the community garden; the paving of primary roadways; and the transformation of secondary roadways into hiking trails.)32 To date, changes associated with the redevelopment project have not detracted from the integrity of the property as a whole.
Future Plans: Following the construction of the conference center, the Chavez Foundation anticipates a third phase of redevelopment that will include the construction of a cultural center, a central plaza, a chapel, and an open-air meditation space; the rehabilitation of the community garden; the paving of primary roadways; and the transformation of secondary roadways into hiking trails.

Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad: The railroad has proposed the expansion of rail lines of the Tehachapi Loop that run adjacent to La Paz. The expansion project could potentially have short-term impacts on the delivery of educational and interpretive programs at La Paz during construction due to air quality impacts and an increase in traffic, noise and vibration, and long-term impacts from the noise associated with increased rail traffic.

The Route 99 Corridor Enhancement Master Plan: This plan identifies several lane widening projects to increase Route 99 from four to six lanes. These projects could potentially impact historic resources along the march route. These projects could also provide opportunities to install trail markers and interpretive signage.

Santa Rita Center: This site is under-used and has experienced some deterioration. Nearby Phoenix Sky Harbor International Airport has purchased surrounding properties and demolished structures as part of the airport's expansion plans.

Old Monterey County Jail: The jail has deteriorated due to lack of maintenance. The jail has been vacant for 34 years and has been proposed for demolition. The property condition report (2000) indicated issues with roof, HVAC electrical plumbing, and concrete spalling (deterioration).

[1] See Dennis Dahlin, "Grassroots Design at the National Chávez Center," *Landscape Online* (June 2005), available at http://www.landscapeonline.com/research/article/5274 (last accessed July 23, 2005).

[32] Refer to "Master Plan: Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz, César E. Chávez Education and Retreat Center, Keene, California" (2001), copy on file at Stony Brook Corporation offices, Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz, Keene, Calif.

Chavez Family Homestead Site: This site in Yuma faces threats from erosion and other sources of deterioration, including dredging of an irrigation canal less than ten feet from the site. Nearby, the Laguna School's physical integrity has been compromised. The building retains integrity of location and setting, but the addition of a metal storage structure and general deterioration of the building have eroded the integrity of design, materials and workmanship.

Filipino Community Hall: Although minor renovation work was recently completed on the Filipino Community Hall, the building has problems with the HVAC system and needs a new roof. Current long-term tenants are leaving at end of 2011 which will likely also reduce the availability of funds for building maintenance.

No other reasonably foreseeable future development projects that would have impacts on the sites or their resources in the study area are currently known. There are no proposed NPS projects with the potential to result in additional cumulative impacts on the resources analyzed in this study.

Assumptions

- The analysis in this document is necessarily broad because it covers a wide array of sites that are privately owned. Based on the current array of proposed alternatives and the likelihood of organizations participating with or deciding to coordinate with the NPS to open certain Cesar Chavez or farm labor movement areas to the public, not enough information is known about potential specific actions to conduct meaningful site-specific environmental impact analysis. If the NPS and/or other organizations later propose actions at one of the other developed areas additional site specific environmental analysis would occur and the NPS would consult with the USFWS and SHPO and actions would comply with NEPA, NHPA and the ESA and other applicable federal laws.
- Because the alternatives in this study are also conceptual, the analysis of environmental consequences is necessarily quite general. Reasonable projections of likely impacts are made.
- For many actions that could occur under the alternatives on private land, the NPS is neither the decision-maker nor the implementing organization. Therefore, the alternatives recognize the prerogative of individuals and organizations to choose whether and how to implement elements of the alternatives. Impacts therefore may vary widely, depending on how the responsible organization or individual chooses to implement proposed measures.
- Action items in the alternatives may require additional site-specific environmental analysis before they can be undertaken by the various implementing agencies and organizations.
- Compliance with federal and state biological and cultural resources laws and regulations as well as local zoning and permitting regulations and processes would be required for many actions under the alternatives.
- Current economic conditions limit the potential in the near term for increased local, state and federal funding for conservation and historic preservation. Some initiatives may not be financially feasible in the near term, while others may require creative approaches to funding.

Impact Topics

Specific impact topics were developed to address potential physical, natural, cultural, recreational, and social impacts that might result from the proposed alternatives as identified by the public, NPS, and other agencies, and to address federal laws, regulations and executive orders, and NPS policy. Impact topics are the resources of concern that may be affected by the range of alternatives considered in this EA. An Environmental Screening Form was used to identify initial resources of concern. Environmental Screening Forms were mandated by NPS DO-12: *Conservation Planning, Environmental Impact Analysis and Decision-making*. Comments received from the public during scoping were also considered in the impact topic screening process. A brief rationale for the selection or non-selection of each impact topic is given in this section.

Impact Topics Analyzed

Impacts of the alternatives on the following topics are presented in this EA: air quality; geology; paleontological resources; land use; water resources; vegetation; wildlife; federally listed species; prehistoric and historic archeological resources; historic structures / cultural landscapes; museum collections; visitor experience; and socioeconomics.

Physical Resources

Land Use

Management Policies (NPS 2006) states, "…the Service will cooperate with federal agencies; tribal, state, and local governments; nonprofit organizations; and property owners to provide appropriate protection measures. Cooperation with these entities will also be pursued, and other available land protection tools will be employed when threats to resources originate outside boundaries." Because the alternatives may affect land use, including ownership, occupancy and activities, land use has been retained as an impact topic.

Water Resources (Water Quality and Hydrology)
The 1972 Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended by the Clean Water Act (CWA) of 1977, is a national policy to restore and maintain the chemical, physical, and biological integrity of the nation's waters, to enhance the quality of water resources, and to prevent, control, and abate water pollution. *Management Policies* (NPS 2006) provides direction for the preservation, use, and quality of water in national parks. The purpose of the CWA is to "restore and maintain the chemical, physical, and biological integrity of the Nation's waters." To achieve the goal of the CWA, the Army Corps of Engineers (ACOE) evaluates federal actions that result in potential degradation of waters of the United States and issuing permits for actions consistent with the CWA (under Section 404). The EPA or its designee – the states – reviews permits and actions under Section 401. Section 401 of the CWA as well as NPS policy requires analysis of impacts on water quality. Minor construction projects have the potential to contaminate ground and/or surface water and may have impacts to streams, including water quality. Potential effects to hydrology could also occur from the construction of structures, such as culverts or bridges; therefore this topic has been retained.

Biological Resources
Vegetation
NEPA calls for examination of the impacts on the components of affected ecosystems. *Management Policies* (NPS 2006) calls for protecting the natural abundance and diversity of park native species and communities, including avoiding, minimizing or mitigating potential impacts from proposed projects. Potential removal of or reestablishment of vegetation could impact the sites; therefore this topic has been retained for analysis.

Wildlife
NEPA calls for examination of the impacts on the components of affected ecosystems, including terrestrial and aquatic wildlife and fish. NPS policy is to protect the natural abundance and diversity of park native species and communities, including avoiding, minimizing or mitigating potential impacts from proposed projects. Because the sites are located in highly developed urban or agricultural areas, most wildlife species are anticipated to be common and/or abundant and generally would not be affected by additional existing or potential future use of the sites, with potential negligible to minor effects on diversity, abundance and distribution. There could, however, be effects on wildlife at some lesser disturbed sites, such as La Paz. Therefore, this topic has been retained for additional analysis.

Federally Listed Species
The Endangered Species Act (ESA) requires an examination of impacts to all federally-listed threatened or endangered species. *Management Policies* (NPS 2006) calls for an analysis of impacts to state-listed threatened or endangered species and federal candidate species. Under the ESA, the NPS is mandated to promote the conservation of all federal threatened and endangered species and their critical habitats within the parks. *Management Policies* includes the additional stipulation to conserve and manage species proposed for listing. There is a potential for federally listed species to occur at La Paz, therefore, this topic has been retained for analysis.

Cultural Resources

Prehistoric and Historic Archeological Resources
Compliance with ARPA in protecting known or undiscovered archeological resources is necessary. *Management Policies* (NPS 2006) calls for ongoing inventory and analysis of the significance of archeological resources. In addition to the NHPA and *Management Policies*, NPS DO 28B *Archeology* affirms a long-term commitment to the appropriate investigation, documentation, preservation, interpretation, and protection of archeological resources within units of the National Park System. As one of the principal stewards of America's heritage, the NPS is charged with the preservation of the commemorative, educational, scientific, and traditional cultural values of archeological resources for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations. Because previously unidentified archeological resources could be found in sites associated with Cesar Chavez; this impact topic is retained for further analysis.

Historic Structures / Cultural Landscapes
Consideration of the impacts to cultural resources is required under provisions of Section 106 of the NHPA as amended, and the 2008 *Programmatic*

Agreement among the National Park Service, the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP). It is also required under *Management Policies* (NPS 2006). Federal land management agencies are required to consider the effects proposed actions have on properties listed in, or eligible for inclusion in, the National Register (i.e., Historic Properties), and allow the ACHP a reasonable opportunity to comment. The National Register is the nation's inventory of historic places and the national repository of documentation on property types and their significance. Agencies are required to consult with federal, state, local, and tribal governments/organizations, identify historic properties, assess adverse effects to historic properties, and negate, minimize, or mitigate adverse effects to historic properties while engaged in any federal or federally-assisted undertaking (36 CFR Part 800).

Historic Properties may be objects, structures, buildings or cultural landscapes. Cultural landscapes are settings humans have created in the natural world. They reveal the ties between the people and the land. These ties are based on the need to grow food, build settlements, recreate, and find suitable land to bury their dead. They range from prehistoric settlements to cattle ranches, from cemeteries to pilgrimage routes and are the expressions of human manipulation and adaptation of the land. Because some of the sites associated with Cesar Chavez are listed on or potentially eligible for the National Register, this topic has been retained for analysis.

Museum Collections

Management Policies (NPS 2006) and other cultural resources laws identify the need to evaluate effects on NPS collections if applicable. Requirements for proper management of museum objects are defined in 36 CFR 79. Because the collections at the sites associated with Cesar Chavez could potentially benefit from coordinated analysis and management; because there is the potential that additional materials could also be identified during the study and because implementation of the alternatives would add reports, plans, and data to be catalogued and/or archived, museum collections have been retained as an impact topic.

Recreational / Social Resources

Visitor Experience, including Access and Transportation, Interpretation and Education and Visitor Use Opportunities

According to *Management Policies* (NPS 2006), the enjoyment of park resources and values by people is part of the fundamental purpose of all park units. The NPS is committed to providing appropriate, high quality opportunities for visitors to enjoy the parks, and will maintain within the parks an atmosphere that is open, inviting, and accessible to every segment of society. The parks provide opportunities for forms of enjoyment that are uniquely suited and appropriate to the superlative natural and cultural resources found in the parks. *Management Policies* (NPS 2006) also states that scenic views and visual resources are considered highly valued associated characteristics that the NPS should strive to protect. Among the impacts that may be considered in this section are visitor access, opportunities and experience, soundscape and scenic resources. This section therefore also includes visitor access as well as interpretation and education. Management of invasive plants may affect visitor use by preventing visitors from experiencing or enjoying all or parts of the parks for short periods of time when some areas of the parks may be closed due to treatments. Therefore this topic has been retained for analysis.

Socioeconomics

Socioeconomic impact analysis is required, as appropriate, under NEPA and *Management Policie*s (NPS 2006) pertaining to gateway communities. The local and regional economy and some business of the communities surrounding the sites may be based on tourism and resource use. Manufacturing, professional services, and education also contribute to regional economies. Because the alternatives, if implemented, could affect local or regional economies, including minority and low income populations, this impact topic has been retained for additional analysis. Included in socioeconomics is a brief analysis of impacts on minority and low income populations. Farm laborers generally meet the definition of a low income population and Cesar Chavez and farm labor sites have direct connections to the Latino and Filipino communities.

Impact Topics Dismissed From Further Analysis

The topics listed below either would not be affected by the alternatives evaluated in this EA, or there would be negligible to minor effects on them. Therefore, these topics have been dismissed from further analysis. Negligible / minor effects are

localized effects that would not be detectable over existing conditions or would not have lasting consequences. There would be no apparent change in the resource.

Air Quality

Under the Clean Air Act (CAA) (42 USC 7401 *et seq*.), no air quality designation is associated with the Cesar Chavez related sites. If national park unit designation occurred it is likely that these areas would fall under the Class II designation. Class II areas allow only moderate increases in certain air pollutants, while Class I areas (primarily large national parks and wilderness areas) are afforded the highest degree of protection. While negligible to minor effects could occur if a site was designated, these impacts would be undetectable because of the location of most of the sites in urban areas currently affected by vehicular, agricultural and other air quality impacts.

Geological / Paleontological Resources

Management Policies (NPS 2006) calls for analysis of geology and geological hazards should they be relevant. Geological resources, including paleontological resources (fossils) (both organic and mineralized remains in body or trace form) will be protected, preserved, and managed for public education, interpretation, and scientific research (NPS 2006). Because there are no major geological resources associated with the sites, this topic has been dismissed from further analysis.

Soils

Management Policies (NPS 2006) require that the NPS understand and preserve, and prevent, to the extent possible, the unnatural erosion, physical removal, or contamination of the soil. Although potential future actions could have a minor effect on soils from disturbance associated with rehabilitation or construction, these site specific impacts are currently unknown and would undergo future environmental analysis. Therefore this topic has been dismissed from further analysis.

Floodplains

Floodplains are areas of low-lying land that are subject to inundation by the lateral overflow of waters from rivers or lakes with which they are associated. EO 11988 (Floodplain Management) requires an examination of impacts to floodplains, including the potential risk involved in placing facilities within floodplains. It states that federal agencies must:

…take action to reduce the risk of flood loss, to minimize the impact of floods on human safety, health and welfare, and to restore and preserve the natural and beneficial values served by floodplains...

Accordingly, agencies must determine whether a proposed action is located in or would impact the 100-year floodplain. The 100-year floodplain is designated by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) as those low-lying areas that are subject to inundation by a 100-year flood (i.e., a flood that has a one percent chance of being equaled or exceeded in any given year). Because, according to initial investigations, no areas of existing development at the sites are within the 100-year floodplain, this topic has been dismissed from further environmental analysis.

Wetlands

EO 11990 *Protection of Wetlands* requires federal agencies to avoid, where possible, adversely impacting wetlands. In addition, §404 of the CWA authorizes the ACOE to prohibit or regulate, through a permitting process, discharge or dredged or fill material or excavation within waters of the United States.

The ACOE identifies three criteria for the identification of wetlands including hydrophytic vegetation, hydric soil, and positive indicators of wetland hydrology (ACOE 1987). The ACOE and EPA jointly define wetlands (under their administration of the CWA) as:

Those areas that are inundated or saturated by surface or groundwater at a frequency and duration sufficient to support, and that under normal circumstances do support, a prevalence of vegetation typically adapted for life in saturated soil conditions. Wetlands generally include swamps, marshes, bogs and similar areas (33 CFR 3 § 328.3, 2004).

DO 77-1: *Wetland Protection* requires that the NPS use the *Classification of Wetlands and Deepwater Habitats of the United States* (Cowardin *et al.* 1979) as the standard for defining, classifying, and inventorying wetlands. This system generally requires that a positive indicator of wetlands be present for only one of the indicators (vegetation, soils, or hydrology) rather than for all three parameters as mandated by ACOE and EPA. As with the ACOE, NPS policies for wetlands *Protection*, proposed actions that have the potential to adversely affect 0.10 acre or more of wetlands must be addressed in a *Statement of Findings*. As stated in 2006 *Management Policies* (NPS 2006) and DO 77-1

Wetlands Protection, strive to prevent the loss or degradation of wetlands and to preserve and enhance the natural and beneficial values of wetlands. Because, according to initial investigations, no areas of existing development at the sites contain wetlands, this topic has been dismissed from additional environmental analysis.

Ethnography / Traditional Cultural Resources

Analysis of impacts to known ethnographic resources is important under the NHPA and other laws. The NPS defines ethnographic resources as any "site, structure, object, landscape, or natural resource feature assigned traditional legendary, religious, subsistence, or other significance in the cultural system of a group traditionally associated with it" (DO-28, *Cultural Resource Management Guideline*:181). Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) or other sites are associated with the cultural practices and beliefs of a living community that are rooted in that community's history and are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community. No traditional cultural properties or ethnographic resources associated with the sites have been identified to date. Therefore this topic has been dismissed from additional environmental analysis. Letters sent to potentially affiliated tribes raised no issues about potential effects of this special resources study. If later ethnographic resource concerns were identified from ongoing consultation with affiliated tribes, these would be investigated further to avoid impacts.

Soundscape

In accordance with *Management Policies* (NPS 2006) and DO 47 *Sound Preservation and Noise Management*, an important component of the NPS mission is the preservation of natural soundscapes associated with national park units. No impacts to soundscapes have been identified from the alternatives; therefore this impact topic has been dismissed from further environmental analysis.

WILDERNESS

NPS wilderness management policies are based on provisions of the 1916 NPS Organic Act, the 1964 Wilderness Act, and legislation establishing individual units of the national park system. These policies establish consistent service-wide direction for the preservation, management, and use of wilderness and prohibit the construction of roads, buildings and other man-made improvements and the use of mechanized transportation in wilderness. All management activities proposed within wilderness are subject to review following the minimum requirement concept and decision guidelines. The public purpose of wilderness in national parks includes the preservation of wilderness character and wilderness resources in an unimpaired condition, as well as for the purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, education, conservation, and historical use. Because there is no wilderness in or associated with any of the proposed sites, there would be no impacts to wilderness. Therefore this topic has been dismissed from additional environmental analysis.

Human Health and Safety / Hazardous Materials

Management Policies (NPS 2006) states that the NPS and its concessioners, contractors, and cooperators will seek to provide a safe and healthful environment for visitors and employees. If an NPS unit were later established, NPS standard safety policies and guidelines would be employed and would be used to minimize risk. Because no specific risks associated with the proposed alternatives have been identified, this topic has been dismissed from additional environmental analysis.

Prime and Unique Farmlands

The Farmland Protection Policy Act of 1981, as amended, requires federal agencies to consider adverse effects to prime and unique farmlands that would result in the conversion of these lands to non-agricultural uses. Prime or unique farmland is classified by the USDA, Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS), formerly the Soil Conservation Service, and is defined as soil that particularly produces general crops such as common foods, forage, fiber, and oil seed; unique farmland produces specialty crops such as fruits, vegetables, and nuts.

Prime farmland is one of several kinds of important farmland defined by the USDA. It is of major importance in meeting the nation's short and long-range needs for food and fiber. Because the supply of high-quality farmland is limited, the USDA recognizes that responsible levels of government, as well as individuals, should encourage and facilitate the wise use of our nation's prime farmland.

Prime farmland is defined by the USDA as:

...land that has the best combination of physical and chemical characteristics for producing food, feed, fiber, forage, oilseed, and other agricultural crops with minimum inputs of fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and labor, and without intolerable soil erosion, as determined by the Secretary [of Agriculture]. Prime

farmland includes land that possesses the above characteristics but is being used currently to produce livestock and timber. It does not include land already in or committed to urban development or water storage (7 USC 73 §§ 4201 *et seq*., 1981).

Unique farmland is defined by the USDA as: *…land other than prime farmland that is used for production of specific high-value food and fiber crops, as determined by the Secretary [of Agriculture]. It has the special combination of soil quality, location, growing season, and moisture supply needed to economically produce sustained high quality or high yields of specific crops when treated and managed according to acceptable farming methods. Examples of such crops include citrus, tree nuts, olives, cranberries, fruits, and vegetables.* (7 USC 73 §§ 4201 *et seq.,* 1981).

Although it is likely that some of the sites associated with Cesar Chavez contain prime or unique agricultural soils or prime farmlands, there are no specific actions that would affect these. Proposals in this plan would not affect the status of these areas; there would be no conversion of farmland to nonagricultural uses. Prime farmland areas could be improved by the removal of nonnative invasive plants if future NPS management occurred. Impacts on prime farmland would be negligible and beneficial. If later impacts were identified, additional environmental analysis would occur. Based on the limited scope of the proposed alternatives, additional environmental impact analysis of this topic has been dismissed.

Energy Consumption

Except associated with travel to the sites, implementation of the proposed actions would not cause substantial increases or decreases in the overall consumption of electricity, propane, wood, fuel oil, gas or diesel. As a result, energy consumption has been dismissed from additional analysis.

Lightscapes or Night Sky

In accordance with *Management Policies* (NPS 2006), the NPS strives to preserve natural ambient lightscapes, which are natural resources and values that exist in the absence of human-caused light. No impacts on natural lightscapes have been identified as a result of the actions proposed in the alternatives. Therefore, lightscape, or night sky, will not be addressed further as an impact topic.

Wild and Scenic Rivers

Under the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (16 U.S.C. 1271-1287), "…certain selected rivers of the Nation, which with their immediate environments, possess outstandingly remarkable scenic, recreational, geologic, fish and wildlife, historic, cultural, or other similar values, shall be preserved in free-flowing condition, and that they and their immediate environments shall be protected for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations." There are no wild and scenic rivers in or proposed within any of the sites; therefore this impact topic has been dismissed from further analysis.

Environmental Justice

EO 12898 requires all federal agencies to incorporate environmental justice into their missions by identifying and addressing disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects of their programs and policies on minorities and low-income populations and communities. The actions evaluated in this EA would not adversely affect socially or economically disadvantaged populations. There would be no disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects on minorities or low-income populations or communities. Potential beneficial effects to these communities, however, are discussed within Socioeconomics. Proposed actions would not exclude or separate minority or low income populations from the broader community or disrupt community cohesiveness and economic vitality. Therefore, environmental justice has been dismissed from additional analysis.

Indian Trust Resources

Indian trust assets are owned by Native Americans but held in trust by the United States. Secretarial Order 3175 ("Identification, Conservation and Protection of Indian Trust Assets") requires that any anticipated impacts to Indian trust resources due to a proposed project or action by agencies within the Department of the Interior be explicitly addressed in environmental documents. The federal Indian trust responsibility is a legally enforceable fiduciary obligation on the part of the United States to protect tribal lands, assets, resources, and treaty rights, and it represents a duty to carry out the mandates of federal law with respect to American Indian and Alaska Native tribes. None of the sites are held or contain areas that are held in trust by the Secretary of the Interior for the benefit of Indians due to their status as Indians, therefore this topic was dismissed from detailed analysis.

Public Health and Safety

Implementation of some of the proposed actions could potentially benefit public health. The alternatives would preserve agricultural land and open space which would contribute to improved health and recreational opportunities. Providing financial assistance for the preservation, protection, enhancement, and maintenance of resources would improve working conditions for employees and the safety of visitors. The benefits to public health and safety would be minor, and therefore have been dismissed from further analysis.

Climate Change and Sustainability

The long-term effects of global climate change are uncertain; however it is clear that the earth is experiencing a warming trend that affects ocean currents, sea levels, polar sea ice, and global weather patterns. Although these changes may affect winter precipitation patterns and amounts in the sites associated with this study, it would be speculative to predict localized changes in temperature, precipitation, or other weather changes, in part because there are many variables that are not fully understood and there may be variables not currently defined. Analysis of the degree to which effects may occur over the timeframe of this plan would be speculative and would not change actions associated with the alternatives. Therefore the effects of future climate change or speculation about changes that would occur are not discussed further.

Physical Resources

Land Use

Intensity Level Definitions

Negligible	Measurable or anticipated degree of change would not be detectable or would be only slightly detectable and localized.
Minor	Impacts would be slightly detectable or localized within a small portion of the project area.
Moderate	Measurable or anticipated degree of change is readily apparent and appreciable, may be localized or widespread, and would be noticed by most people.
Major	Impacts would be substantial, highly noticeable, and widespread. Changes to the character of the landscape would occur.

Discussion

The National Historic Landmark (NHL) eligible and listed and National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligible and listed Cesar Chavez and farm worker movement-related sites have a variety of land use designations. Among these include commercial, historical and industrial. In addition, some of these areas are in the midst of Williamson Act designated lands (lands that carry permanent agricultural uses with their titles). According to the California government website: (http://www.conservation.ca.gov/dlrp/lca/Pages/Index.aspx), the California Land Conservation Act of 1965, known as the Williamson Act, enables local governments to enter into contracts with private landowners to restrict specific parcels of land to agricultural or related open space use. In return, landowners receive lower property tax assessments because they are based upon farming and open space uses as opposed to full market value. The local governments also receive a benefit from the state for property tax revenues via the Open Space Subvention Act of 1971.

The Forty Acres, owned and managed by the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation, is zoned for larger lot, single-family residential development uses such as museums, parks and community facilities.

Filipino Community Hall, owned and managed by the Filipino Community of Delano, Inc., is used for cultural and community events in the evenings and on weekends and is zoned for general commercial use.

Nuestra Senora Reina de la Paz is owned and managed by the Chavez Foundation. It is zoned for low and medium density residential uses, with permitted uses for community recreational facilities, offices, and residential facilities.

Santa Rita Center, owned and managed by Chicanos Por La Causa, is zoned for historic preservation. The setting around the building is now largely industrial and vacant parcels, many of these are owned by the Phoenix Sky Harbor International Airport. Zoning of this surrounding area could allow for major changes to surrounding properties.

The 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route spans 300 miles and passes through 43 cities and towns of various scale and size, including Visalia, Fresno, Madera, Merced, Modesto, Manteca, Stockton, Lodi, Courtland and Sacramento. Further research would be needed to determine zoning and land use patterns

of specific march route sites however the majority of sites are in private ownership and likely range from residential to commercial and industrial zoning. When it was conducted in 1966, most of the march route followed public rights-of-way.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE A (NO ACTION: CONTINUE CURRENT MANAGEMENT)

There would be no changes in land use ownership, occupancy or use as a result of implementation of this alternative. Sites, organizations, and programs significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement would continue to operate independently. Most sites related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement are not managed to provide visitor opportunities to learn from or experience.

Existing land use plans and zoning would continue to guide management of individual areas. Some agricultural lands currently identified under the Williamson Act could continue to be protected, benefitting landscape preservation. Sites that are not currently used to interpret the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement could be sold for development and the characteristics that identify them with this history could be modified or lost. Depending on the nature of the site and its significance to the story, these could be minor to moderate adverse impacts. Except for sites already listed on city or county historic registers or linked via an existing program such as the Cesar E. Chavez Memorial Walkway in San Jose, there would continue to be no coordination of sites related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Over time, there could be systematic loss of some sites related to Cesar Chavez, where not already protected by private or municipal preservation organizations, a long-term indirect minor to moderate adverse effect because there would be no effort made to link these sites as part of a group, potentially leading to less collective desire for protection. Pending continued protection of sites designated or eligible as NHLs or listed on the National Register of Historic Places NRHP, effects would remain moderate.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE B

An integrated network of historic sites, museums and interpretive programs would be coordinated with national, regional and local organizations. Although the sites would continue to be owned / managed by a variety of organizations and individuals, they would be linked via the network concept and local land use plans could be modified to reflect this, including changes to zoning if requested by landowners / managers. Possible changes to zoning could occur through county and city land use plans to reflect the recreational use or historic preservation of network sites and/or the intent to preserve these sites.

Long-term beneficial effects and additional localized preservation initiatives could result from recognizing these widely dispersed sites as part of a collection of sites related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Recognition, in the network, however would be based on the desire of individual owners and organizations to participate in the network. Therefore, although some sites would be recognized and managed as part of the network a long-term beneficial impact, as in Alternative A some sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement could be modified or lost. Where landowners elected to be part of the network, there would likely be long-term beneficial effects on protection of sites. NPS technical assistance and applicable historic preservation grants could be used to preserve some sites where current owners / managers do not have the resources to showcase their significance associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, resulting in long-term beneficial effects on land use from historic preservation efforts and new opportunities to provide visitors with a better understanding of the importance of the site(s). These changes would likely affect current land use by the provision of designated visitor parking and/or other minor facilities. Where Williamson Act lands were designated near the sites, there would be better protection of historic views and landscapes.

As noted in the description of the alternatives, inclusion of sites in the network, however, would not guarantee their protection or preservation. As a result, while initial preservation efforts could result in long-term beneficial impacts, sites could eventually be developed or otherwise lose integrity, resulting in long-term minor to moderate adverse impacts from changes in ownership, occupation and operations. Whereas some sites with less significance could be lost, sites designated or eligible as NHLs or listing on the NHRP would be expected to be protected, a long-term beneficial effect on land use.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE C

Designation of a national historic trail could result in some lands now zoned for other uses being rezoned for recreation, historic preservation and/or another suitable parkland type designation in city and county plans. Occupancy, ownership and types of uses

could also change. Visitor facilities at the beginning (Delano) and end (Sacramento) of the 1966 March Route could be among these rezoned areas. Where Williamson Act lands were designated near the sites, there would be better protection of historic views and landscapes.

Use of the Forty Acres site facilities for a visitor center would result in a change in land use from management solely by the UFW to co-management as a primary visitor use designation by the NPS and would likely have long-term beneficial effects on the site. Among the changes that might occur would include the provision of formal public parking and other facilities, such as trails, to accommodate visitors at the site. Existing facilities at the Forty Acres site could also be used to provide other visitor services, subject to the desire for these changes and cooperative management by the current landowner and the NPS. While the site currently functions as a UFW field office, it also routinely hosts large social functions, such as rallies and commemorative events (Rast 2011). These uses could continue and others, such as a walking tour or exhibits could be added. All changes in land use would conform to and preserve, to the extent possible, character-defining features that contribute to the significance of the site as an NHL. To ensure this, a cultural landscape inventory could be prepared to identify these characteristics and a cultural landscape report could be used to recommend appropriate methods to preserve these.

Specific sites associated with the farm laborer towns along the 1966 March Route in the San Joaquin Valley could also be identified and preserved, subject to landowner / manager interest in being part of the national historic trail. Although the cities and towns may have undergone substantial changes since the march, it is likely that a substantial number of the buildings, urban centers and rural landscapes, as well as main streets and downtown locations proximate to the route retain integrity of design, materials and workmanship and/or their mid-twentieth century character (Rast 2011:53). Historic photographs specifically identify towns visited and the dates rallies occurred on the march. As qualifying segments of the march route were protected, zoning of these could change in city and county plans, depending on whether the route is identified for driving, bicycling and/or walking. Local cities and towns could develop tour itineraries that would include related sites and efforts could be made to protect these, a long-term beneficial effect, depending on the extent to which sites were identified and protected. It is likely; however, that some less important sites would be modified or lost, potentially resulting in long-term minor to moderate adverse effects.

Although no specific site has been identified for commemorating the end of the 1966 March Route in Sacramento, future identification and preservation of such a site at a museum or current visitor facility would likely result in beneficial changes in land use and protection associated with a partnership providing for additional visitor use, interpretation and/or education and potential historic preservation.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE D

As in alternative C, land use zoning as well as ownership, occupancy, and type of use could change with the establishment of a National Historic Site commemorating the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Most of these changes would occur associated with designation of the Forty Acres site as the primary visitor use destination for the national park unit. Changes would be similar to those identified in alternative C, but would likely be more extensive because of the focus on the Forty Acres as the primary visitor use area. Because of this increased focus, the NPS would initially work in partnership with the current landowner through a more formal cooperative agreement, however, if at some point, use or management of the site by the current landowner changed; legislation would likely authorize the NPS to purchase the land from a willing seller or to receive the land as a donation. In addition, in working with others in the Delano area that own and/or manage other significant sites in the area associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, these additional areas could also be identified for long-term visitor use opportunities and if appropriate, changes in existing land use to provide for visitor use or other interpretive opportunities (such as for signs or waysides on a walking or driving tour) could occur.

If managed by the NPS, specific areas at the Forty Acres could be designated for various categories of park management activities through general management plan zoning. Among these could include administrative, maintenance, visitor facilities, and cultural / historic landscape preservation. These designations which would be coupled with long-term planning for the site(s) would further modify existing land uses to ensure full protection of cultural / historic resources and to illustrate and use the site's significance for NPS operations and visitor use. NPS management approaches would vary, depending on the extent of management provided for through a

cooperative agreement with the current landowner / manager. As in alternative C, to the extent possible, character-defining features that contribute to the significance of the site as an NHL would be preserved in future management.

Where possible, especially at the Forty Acres, agricultural lands within and adjacent to the site if part of Williamson Act designated lands could continue to contribute to maintaining the appearance of the historic landscape thereby protecting the setting surrounding the sites that existed when the sites were used by Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Because other sites, even those eligible as NHLs would not be linked in this alternative, there could continue to be a wide range of impacts, including minor to moderate adverse impacts, on land use if these properties were sold and developed or structures affiliated with Chavez and the farm labor movement lost.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE E

Similar to alternative D, land use zoning as well as ownership, occupancy and type of use could change with the establishment of a national historical park commemorating the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. While changes at the Forty Acres would likely be the same as those in alternative D, these types of changes would also likely occur at other sites nationally significant (NHL eligible) to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, depending on the NPS role and which sites became part of the national historical park. As in alternative D, the NPS could establish formal agreements with landowners of sites identified as part of the national historical park. These formal agreements could result in modifications at these sites to provide for visitor use and historic preservation. Visitor use would likely encompass a wide range of opportunities, from placement of signs directing visitors to the site and information outside the site noting its significance, to modifications that opened the interior of these sites to tours or to enclose exhibits. These interior and exterior changes could therefore result in the desire of landowners and/or the NPS to pursue zoning changes for the sites through city or county planning. As in other alternatives, it is likely that these zoning changes would include designating the areas for historic preservation, recreation or other park land uses. Because this alternative could encompass sites in two states and sites that are widely dispersed, it is also likely that an auto tour route would be identified and signed, which could result in additional changes in land use to designate appropriate routes to the sites.

As in alternative D, it is also likely that agricultural lands near the sites would continue to contribute to the historic appearance or setting of the sites. Where possible it is likely that routes to the sites would pass through existing agricultural areas. To the extent that these agricultural lands remained in this use or were identified through the Williamson Act, historic landscapes along these routes would be reminiscent of their appearance during the life of Cesar Chavez and of the landscapes integral to uniting farm laborers.

Depending on the plans of landowners and managers of sites, there could also be some minor beneficial or adverse effects on existing long-range plans for some of the sites, such as the Forty Acres or La Paz. Of the sites currently being considered as eligible for the national historical park, La Paz has a master plan and continues to be used as a conference center and to interpret the life of Cesar Chavez. It welcomes visitors to a museum facility and has plans to for further development of the conference center. Depending on the extent of future anticipated visitor use, there could be changes to this master plan to enhance the site for visitors if it was incorporated into the national historical park. Similarly, the Filipino Community Hall, which is now used for elder day and health care and social and cultural events could eventually include indoor uses as well as outdoor recognition, if desired by the landowners and incorporated into the proposed park.

MEASURES TO AVOID, MINIMIZE OR MITIGATE IMPACTS

Measures to minimize impacts to land use would include:

- Under alternatives B-E, the NPS would provide technical assistance to assist private landowners in protecting sites eligible for listing on the NRHP or designation as an NHL.
- Under alternatives B-E, pending staff availability and funding, the NPS would assist private landowners in nominating eligible sites to the NRHP or for designation as an NHL. In alternative B this would be for network sites; in alternative C this would be for march route associated sites; in alternative D, this would be focused on sites in Delano and in Alternative E, this would be focused on nationally significant sites.

Cumulative Effects

There would be no contribution to cumulative effects on land use under alternative A. Alternatives B, C, D and E would have increasing levels of beneficial cumulative effects on land use from the preservation of historic sites related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement combined with long-term adverse and beneficial effects from modifications to areas nearby from proposed development projects as described below.

To the extent that agricultural lands were also preserved additional beneficial effects on land use would also occur. Among the projects that could contribute to cumulative effects, include modifications to the cell and microwave towers near the Forty Acres (affecting alternatives B, C, D and E) and the likely proposed Phoenix Sky Harbor airport expansion near the Santa Rita Center (affecting alternatives B and E), as well as expansion of Highway 99 (affecting alternative C) and changes to the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad near La Paz (affecting alternative E). The Phoenix airport has been acquiring land in the vicinity of the Santa Rita Center; however, the Center is within a mile of downtown Phoenix and could be available for public use. Although many of the same land uses (light manufacturing, railyards, transportation operations and warehouses) occur in the vicinity of the Santa Rita Center, housing has declined, likely due to the its presence within flight paths for the airport. Razing of many of the houses has occurred with this depopulation (Rast 2011). Enhancement of the Route 99 Corridor could contribute both beneficial and adverse effects associated with the march route, from the ability to place interpretive and directional signs and from impacts to cities and towns located along the route. Changes to the Burlington Northern Railroad route near La Paz would likely have short-term adverse effects from construction, coupled with long-term periodic noise.

Conclusion

Alternative A would have no direct effects on land use, but could have a long-term indirect minor to moderate adverse effect from not linking Chavez and farm labor movement-related sites from modifications or loss of these sites (efforts for protection would continue to be based on the initiative of current landowners). Alternatives B and C would have long-term beneficial effects from linking sites and resultant preservation initiatives, however some sites could be modified or lost, a minor to moderate adverse effect if other NHL-designated or eligible sites were protected. Alternative D would have long-term beneficial effects, primarily on protecting sites in Delano and the Forty Acres. Because some related sites, located elsewhere would not be linked, these could be modified or lost, a minor to moderate long-term adverse effect. Alternative E would link NHL-designated or eligible sites with long-term protection strategies, a long-term beneficial effect. Other sites could be associated and could be offered additional strategies for protection, a long-term beneficial effect.

Water Resources

Intensity Level Definitions

Negligible	Hydrology: Impacts on hydrology and water quantity would be at or below the level of detection, would occur in a small area, and the changes would be so small that they would not be measurable or perceptible. Water Quality: Chemical, physical, or biological impacts would not be detectable, would be within water quality standards or criteria, and/or historic or desired water quality conditions.
Minor	Hydrology: Impacts on hydrology and water quantity would be detectable, but localized, small and of little consequence. Water Quality: Chemical, physical, or biological impacts would be detectable, but would be within water quality standards or criteria and/or historical or desired water quality conditions.
Moderate	Hydrology: Impacts on hydrology and water quantity would be readily detectable and have localized consequences on the health and functioning of an area or a measurable change to a hydrologic system. Water Quality: Chemical, physical, or biological impacts would be detectable but would be within water quality standards or criteria except for short-periods; historical baseline or desired water quality conditions would be temporarily altered.
Major	Hydrology: Impacts on hydrology and water quantity would be widespread, with substantial and regional consequences. Water Quality: Chemical, physical, or biological impacts would be detectable and would be frequently altered from the historical baseline or desired water quality conditions. Chemical, physical, or biological water quality standards or criteria would routinely be exceeded.

Impacts of Alternative A-C

There would be no known changes to water resources as a result of implementation of these alternatives. Because no changes would occur in management of existing Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement-related sites in alternative A, there would be no new impacts to water resources. In Delano, at Forty Acres, use of a well drilled at the site during its development and later modified would likely continue.

Existing impacts may also be occurring at La Paz based on the location of Tehachapi Creek along the southern boundary of the site and from the low water crossing of Tehachapi Creek on the entrance road to La Paz. It is likely that this low water crossing regularly contributes sediment and could be affected by vehicle crossing of it when water is present. Among the likely impacts to this site that currently occur from vehicles passing through the low water crossing when water is present include adverse impacts on water quality from petroleum based vehicle contaminants, rubber residue from tires, possible transport of nonnative invasive plant seeds or parts coupled with disturbance of aquatic resources up and downstream from these impacts. Other impacts to water resources at the site could occur from periodic runoff from paved roads and facilities located throughout the site. It is unknown to what degree these impacts are occurring or could be affecting Tweedy or Tehachapi creeks.

In alternatives B-C, most of the other sites that could be included in the network or national historic trail are located in highly developed urban areas and contain no streams or other surface water resources. Existing impacts would continue to occur at La Paz.

Impacts of Alternative D

There would be no known changes to water resources as a result of implementation of this alternative. Impacts at La Paz would likely continue to be the same as in alternatives A-C. Although modifications could be made to accommodate visitor parking and walking tours at the Forty Acres in Delano, there are no known water resources located at this site, aside from the well used to support existing operations.

Impacts of Alternative E

If La Paz were to be designated as part of the national historical park, there could eventually be minor impacts to water resources if modifications to the low water crossing over Tehachapi Creek on the entrance road to La Paz were made. As noted above, this crossing is used by vehicles entering the site. Among the modifications that could be considered would be a small bridge or box culvert to avoid impacting the stream crossing from repeated vehicle crossing of the creek during spring and fall runoff. At other times of the year, this area is a dry wash.

Long-term beneficial effects on hydrology and water quality would occur over time from replacing the low water crossing with a bridge or box culvert. Replacement itself would have short-term minor adverse impacts from the potential for sedimentation from excavation around the stream channel for placement of the structure.

Because of its distance from developed areas and municipal systems, La Paz also likely is dependent on septic systems for treatment of human and other waste. These systems are currently functional but could need upgrades over time if the site is designated as part of the national historical park. Upgrades could have short-term negligible to minor adverse impacts on water resources from the potential for runoff to occur during construction and, if systems failed, there could be localized moderate adverse impacts on water resources from potential release of waste.

Other potential impacts likely occur now from use of water at the site and from the proximity of Tweedy Creek to the community garden.

Measures to Avoid, Minimize or Mitigate Impacts

Measures that would be included to minimize impacts to water resources include:

- Installing protective barriers around, adjacent to riparian areas to be protected, and/or using other erosion protection measures to minimize impacts to water resources.
- Avoiding or limiting the duration of instream work.
- Timing work in or near water to occur during low flow periods.

Cumulative Effects

Because most sites are located in developed areas and consist of small residences or larger public buildings, many with landscaping, it is likely that these contribute negligible to minor adverse effects during runoff to area water quality. Because there would be no direct actions associated with alternatives A-D, there would be no contribution to cumulative impacts. Alternative E likely contributes negligible to moderate localized adverse impacts as a result of increased visitation over alternative A because of the low water crossing. If this was eventually replaced, long-term beneficial effects would result and the contribution to cumulative impacts would diminish. When combined with past, present and proposed future actions, primarily additional implementation of the master plan at La Paz and changes to the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad, alternative E would have long-term minor adverse and beneficial impacts.

Conclusion

Alternatives A-D would have no direct effects and ongoing minor adverse effects on water resources. Alternative E would have initial negligible to moderate adverse effects followed by long-term beneficial effects on water resources. ~~no~~

Biological Resources

Vegetation (including Nonnative Invasive Species), Wildlife and Federally Threatened and Endangered Species

Intensity Level Definitions

Negligible	Native Vegetation: Impacts would have no measurable or perceptible changes in plant community size, integrity, structure or function. Individual native plants could be affected, but there would be no effect on plant populations. Nonnative Invasive Species: There would be no increase or barely detectable increases in the number of nonnative invasive species and the extent of their range. Effects would generally be short-term and small-scale. Wildlife: Impacts would not be measurable or perceptible.
Minor	Native Vegetation: Impacts to the size, structure, integrity, diversity or function of a plant community would be measurable or perceptible but would be localized within a relatively small area, and would not affect the overall viability of the plant community. Individual plants and/or a small segment of plant populations could be affected. Nonnative Invasive Species: Changes in the extent of nonnative invasive species would be short term, localized, and measurable. Wildlife: Impacts would be measurable or perceptible and would be localized within a relatively small area; however, the overall viability of wildlife would not be affected. Without further impacts wildlife populations or species would recover.
Moderate	Native Vegetation: Impacts would cause a change in the plant community (e.g., size, integrity, diversity, structure or function); however, the impact would remain localized. The change would be measurable and perceptible, but could be reversed. Impacts would affect some individual native plants and could also affect a sizeable portion of the population in the long term and over a large area. Nonnative Invasive Species: Changes in the extent of several or more nonnative species would occur over a relatively long period of time. Nonnative plants invasive could spread beyond the localized area. Wildlife: Impacts would be sufficient to cause a change in the abundance, distribution, quantity, or quality of wildlife or wildlife habitat; however, the impact would remain localized. The change would be measurable and perceptible.
Major	Native Vegetation: Impacts would be substantial, highly noticeable, and permanent in their effect on plant community size, integrity, diversity, structure or function. Nonnative Invasive Species: Changes would have a considerable long-term effect on native plant populations and nonnative invasive plants. Wildlife: Impacts would be substantial and highly noticeable, and could cause widespread changes in species or populations.

Impacts of Alternative A

Because no modifications to the existing ownership or management of Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement related sites would occur, there would be no impacts to vegetation or wildlife resources and no known impacts to federally threatened or endangered species would occur as a result of implementation of alternative A. Ongoing long-term minor adverse impacts would continue to occur from modifications to area landscaping and from noise related to staff and intermittent or regular human activities at some of the sites. Where unvegetated areas, or bare ground, existed, there would continue to be the potential for colonization by nonnative invasive plants, a long-term minor impact, that could range to moderate associated with the Forty Acres and La Paz, which have much larger areas where this impact could occur.

Impacts of Alternative B

Ongoing impacts from alternative A would likely continue. Although modest changes could occur to sites to provide for additional use as a result of designation as part of a network of sites related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement under alternative B, these changes would generally be of small scale and would primarily include navigational and interpretive signs located at the network sites. Vegetation, if present, where signs were installed would primarily consist of landscaped and nonnative species present in the setting adjacent to key buildings or structures. As a result, there would be negligible adverse effects on native vegetation. Similarly, because most of the sites that could be designated as part of the network are located in urban, suburban or rural developed areas that have been largely modified by the presence of roads, buildings, structures, utilities and other facilities associated with modern life, very little native wildlife habitat exists. Nonetheless, it is likely that human-habituated species such as coyotes and foxes and a wide variety of native and nonnative birds would occur in the vicinity of these sites. Because actions to place signs and to enhance buildings and structures for visitor use would be of limited scope, impacts to native and nonnative wildlife would also be limited and would primarily have negligible to minor short-term adverse impacts from disturbance during construction. Long-term negligible to minor adverse impacts, such as from noise, would also continue to occur from use of the sites by staff and visitors passing within and through the areas on foot and in vehicles. There would be no impacts on federally threatened or endangered species and contributions to bare ground, and consequent invasion by nonnative invasive species would be limited.

Impacts of Alternative C

Ongoing impacts from alternative A would likely continue.

Forty Acres: No known threatened or endangered species occur at the Forty Acres site. Although nearby areas in this rural setting have remnant native vegetation and/or are comprised of agricultural lands and highly disturbed areas (such as an adjacent dump that also has existed since the time of the Forty Acres development), the Forty Acres site is primarily dominated by nonnative landscaping and hardscape surfacing dotted with buildings and facilities related to its long-term use as a UFW service center. Among the nonnative vegetation includes large areas of lawn edged or dotted with palm trees, Italian cypress, and a grove of Central Valley native Modesto ash (*Fraxinus velutina*), fruitless mulberry and magnolia trees. A landscaped garden is adjacent to the Filipino farm laborer housing area and small individual gardens are also located in this area. As noted in the cultural resources section, the site contains a former gas station, multipurpose hall, health clinic and 59-unit retirement center (Agbayani Village) with a shared courtyard and garden. Other facilities at the site include a well and pump, park, recreational fields and a system of roads and parking lots (Rast 2011). As a result, very little native vegetation has been retained at the site. Although native vegetation could be used in future landscaping efforts, it is likely that the site would continue to be comprised primarily of nonnative landscaping that is true to its historic period of significance. This would include replacing nonnative trees and shrubs in kind as decadence or die-off occurred. Although the pasture and recreational fields are no longer used, these are evident in the landscape and are currently dominated by nonnative, including nonnative invasive species.

Accommodating visitors by providing an NPS-staffed visitor center in one of the current buildings and/or providing a walking tour of the site could be done with very little modification to the existing site (Rast 2011:24). Although walkways and parking would be designated, there would be negligible to minor adverse impacts on native vegetation and wildlife due to the existing highly developed nature of the site. Long-term beneficial impacts on the historic appearance and setting could result from rehabilitation of the recreational field or pasture but would likely have little effect on native vegetation or wildlife. Regardless, it is likely that these open areas

would continue to provide opportunities to see wildlife, such as birds and occasional deer or coyotes and ground squirrels.

1966 March Route: No known threatened or endangered species occur along urban, suburban and rural areas that would likely encompass much of the march route from Delano to Sacramento. Although it is likely that remnant native vegetation could occur along roadways that could potentially be used by the 1966 March Route, it is more likely that these areas are comprised of bare ground, or dominated by nonnative plants, including invasive species; contain native and nonnative landscaping; and/or are agricultural production lands. Therefore, it is anticipated that there would be negligible adverse impacts to native vegetation from establishment of a national historic trail along the 1966 March Route. If routes for walking were designated as part of the 1966 March Route, landowners and/or managers could elect to enhance these with native plants and/or these walking routes could be designated in some areas that have remnant or widespread native vegetation, resulting in long-term beneficial effects. Similar to alternative B, it is likely that human-habituated wildlife would be present and could be seen in many areas designated as part of the 1966 March Route. Where the 1966 March Route traversed native plant communities, there would be both greater opportunities to affect native vegetation and wildlife and greater opportunities to enhance these. Foremost among the wildlife that would be seen would likely be birds and occasional small to medium-sized mammals adapted to human presence. In areas with or with some connection to native vegetation, it is also possible that native reptiles could be present. Overall impacts on wildlife and vegetation would be negligible to minor.

Sacramento Site: Because this site has not been identified, it is unknown what impacts to native vegetation or wildlife could occur. Nonetheless, because this site is anticipated to be within an existing museum or other visitor use facility, it is likely that there would be negligible, if any, impacts.

Other Related Sites: As noted in the alternatives description, significant sites other than the Forty Acres would continue to be owned and managed by their respective public and private owners. As a result it is unlikely that other than small changes would be made to existing landscaping and settings at these sites. Among the changes that could occur could be provision of navigational and interpretive signs as noted in if desired by current landowners / managers and if related site recognition was provided by the NPS. Because these would primarily be placed within existing landscaped areas in urban, suburban and developed areas, there would be no or negligible short-term impacts to native vegetation and wildlife.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE D

As in other alternatives, ongoing impacts occurring in alternative A would likely continue.

Forty Acres: Actions and impacts would be similar to alternative C. The Forty Acres would be used as a primary visitor destination to interpret the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Other Delano Sites: These include a wide variety of other sites located in the town of Delano, including the Filipino Community Hall, former Chavez family homes, local churches, NFWA offices, the Stardust Motel, Delano Memorial Park, Delano High School, and the former People's Bar and Café among others. In this alternative, the NPS would include these sites on a walking or driving tour or via some other way or recognition if desired by the current owners / managers. As a result, small changes to include navigational and interpretive signs could occur enroute to, or at these sites. Because these would primarily be placed within existing landscaped areas in urban, suburban and developed areas, projected impacts to native vegetation and wildlife would be short-term and negligible.

Other Related Sites: Because these would not be included in the historic site and would continue to be owned and managed by their respective public and private owners, it is unknown what changes could occur at these sites that would affect remnant vegetation and wildlife.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE E

Ongoing impacts from Alternative A would likely continue.

Forty Acres: Actions and impacts would be the same as described in alternatives C and D.

La Paz: Of all of the sites affiliated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, La Paz contains the most native vegetation as well as the most landscaping. Situated in central California at the bottom of the San Joaquin Valley, the National Chavez Center is surrounded by blue and live oak woodlands and savanna, dominated by European nonnative annual grasses and spotted with native perennial grasses and native and nonnative forbs.

Because most of the area has not been surveyed for rare, threatened or endangered species, it is unknown to what degree these may be present at the site. Regardless, Table 7-1shows the likely species that could be present at the site based on its location near Keene in the foothills of the Tehachapi Mountains in Kern County. Although proposed actions in the La Paz master plan would likely affect previously disturbed areas, surveys for potentially affected species would need to be conducted to ensure that these actions did not affect them. The list in Table 7-1 could therefore, eventually be modified to highlight only species that were likely to occur at the site.

Table 7-1: Federal Candidate, Threatened or Endangered Species Occurring in Kern County
(that could also occur at La Paz)

Scientific Name	Common Name	Federal Status
Mammals		
Vulpes macrotis mutica	San Joaquin kit fox	Endangered
Dipodomys ingens	Giant kangaroo rat	Endangered
Dipodomys nitratoides nitratoides	Tipton kangaroo rat	Endangered
Sorex ornatus relictus	Buena Vista Lake ornate shrew	Endangered
Martes pennanti	Fisher	Candidate
Birds		
Gymnogyps californianus	California Condor	Endangered
Polioptila californica californica	Coastal California gnatcatcher	Threatened
Vireo bellii pusillus	Least Bell's Vireo	Endangered
Empidonax traillii extimus	Southwestern Willow Flycatcher	Endangered
Amphibians		
Rana aurora draytonii	California Red-legged Frog	Threatened
Ambystoma californiense	California Tiger Salamander	Endangered
Reptiles		
Gopherus agassizii	Desert tortoise	Threatened
Thamnophis gigas	Giant garter snake	Threatened
Gambelia silus	Blunt-nosed leopard lizard	Endangered
Fish		
Gila bicolor mohavensis	Mojave Tui chub	Endangered
Invertebrates		
Branchinecta conservation	Conservancy fairy shrimp	Endangered
Branchinecta longiantenna	Longhorn fairy shrimp	Endangered
Euproserpinus euterpe	Kern Primrose Sphinx moth	
Plants		
Pseudobahia peirsonii	San Joaquin adobe sunburst	Threatened
Sidalcea keckii	Keck's Checker-mallow	Endangered
Eremalche kernensis	Kern mallow	Endangered
Opuntia treleasei	Bakersfield cactus	Endangered
Monolopia (=Lembertia) congdonii	San Joaquin wooly-threads	Endangered
Caulanthus californicus	California jewelflower	Endangered
Arenaria paludicola	Marsh sandwort	Endangered
Chorizanthe parryi var. fernandina	San Fernando Valley Spineflower	Candidate

***Definitions: Federal**
Endangered (FE): Species in danger of extinction throughout all or a significant portion of its range
Threatened (FT): Species likely to become endangered within the foreseeable future throughout all or a significant part of its range
Candidate (FC): Species is a candidate (proposed) for threatened or endangered status

Filipino Community Hall: The Filipino Community Hall is located within a highly developed urban landscape in Delano, California. There would be no effect on rare, threatened or endangered species or native vegetation from actions that could be undertaken to provide for visitor use at the site. Negligible to minor adverse effects on wildlife could occur from disturbance.

Santa Rita Center: The Santa Rita Center is located within a highly developed urban landscape in Phoenix, Arizona. There would be no effect on rare, threatened or endangered species or native vegetation from actions that could be undertaken to provide for visitor use at the site. Negligible to minor adverse effects on wildlife could occur from disturbance.

Other Designated NHP Sites: Actions and impacts would be the same as or similar to those described in "Other Related Sites" in alternative D.

Measures to Avoid, Minimize or Mitigate Impacts

Measures to minimize impacts to biological resources would include:

- Where appropriate, nonnative historic landscaping could be replaced in kind.
- Where appropriate, native plants would be used in landscaping modifications.
- If areas containing native plant communities were proposed for modifications to accommodate visitor use or facilities, these would be surveyed for sensitive, rare, threatened or endangered species and the species protected if found.
- Where NPS involvement occurred, sites would be monitored for noxious weeds and these would be treated as appropriate, following discovery.

Cumulative Effects

Alternative A would have no new effects and no new contributions to cumulative effects. Ongoing cumulative effects would continue to be present from existing development. Because most of the Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement-related sites are located in highly developed areas with little native vegetation or wildlife habitat, the contribution to cumulative effects from proposed actions that could take place under alternatives B-D is negligible. Overall cumulative effects would remain moderate to major from previous alteration of vegetation and wildlife habitat and presence at these sites. Alternative E would have negligible to minor cumulative adverse effects from the contribution of current actions combined with past, present and future actions that could occur at the sites, primarily related to its generally intact native landscape and proposed development projects through the La Paz master plan, potential additional development associated with the Phoenix Sky Harbor Airport, and Highway 99 corridor modifications.

Conclusion

Unknown effects could occur at sites not designated as part of the alternatives. Alternative A would have no new effects on federally threatened or endangered species, vegetation or wildlife. Ongoing impacts would continue to occur, including the potential for additional nonnative invasive species. Alternative B would have negligible to minor short-term adverse effects on native vegetation and wildlife and no effect on federally threatened or endangered species. Alternative C would have no effect on federally threatened or endangered species and negligible to minor, primarily short-term adverse impacts on native vegetation and wildlife. Alternative D would have negligible impacts on native vegetation and wildlife and no effect on federally threatened or endangered species. Alternative E could have negligible to minor adverse effects on native vegetation and wildlife and mitigation measures would be used to ensure no effect on federally threatened or endangered species.

Cultural Resources

Prehistoric and Historic Archeology / Historic Structures / Cultural Landscapes

Intensity Level Definitions

NEPA	Section 106	
Negligible to Minor	No Effect	A determination of no historic properties affected means that either there are no historic properties present or there are historic properties present in the area of potential effects (APE) but the undertaking will have no effect upon them (36 CFR 800.4(d)(1)).
Minor to Moderate	No Adverse Effect	A determination of no adverse effect means there is an effect, but the effect would not meet the criteria of an adverse effect [36 CFR Part 800.5(a) (1)], i.e. diminish the characteristics of the cultural resource that qualify it for inclusion in the National Register (36 CFR 800.5(b)). The undertaking is modified or conditions are imposed to avoid or minimize adverse effects. This category of effects may have effects that are considered beneficial under NEPA, such as restoration, stabilization, rehabilitation, and preservation projects.
Major	Adverse Effect	An adverse effect occurs whenever an impact alters, directly or indirectly, any characteristic of a cultural resource that qualifies it for inclusion in the National Register, e.g. diminishing the integrity (or the extent to which a resource retains its historic appearance) of its location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association. Adverse effects also include reasonably foreseeable effects caused by the alternatives that would occur later in time, be farther removed in distance or be cumulative (36 CFR 800.5(a) (1)). An adverse effect may be resolved in accordance with the 2008 Programmatic Agreement, or by developing a memorandum or program agreement in consultation with the SHPO, ACHP, American Indian tribes, other consulting parties, and the public to avoid, minimize, or mitigate the adverse effects (36 CFR Part 800.6(a)).

Impacts of Alternative A (No Action)

Most development of sites related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, including those at the Forty Acres and La Paz occurred prior to the advent of or just as cultural and archeological resources protection laws and guidelines were instituted. As a result, it is both unknown whether and unlikely that archeological resources were surveyed for during development of the sites. Most of the sites identified in the study are located in suburban or urban areas and are currently surrounded by nonnative landscaping, including lawns, gardens and/or impervious surfaces, such as sidewalks, other walkways, gravel and paved parking areas and roads. Of the numerous sites, little natural topography or remnant vegetation remains except at La Paz and near the Forty Acres. La Paz contains a wide array of native plant communities, including blue oak woodlands, riparian areas and grasslands occur in what appears to be a primarily natural setting, though based on the presence of nonnative European annual grasses, this area was likely affected by ranching during the early history of the area. No archeological sites, are currently known from this area, however, systematic surveys have not occurred. The Forty Acres is located across from some fairly intact

natural communities, but is itself developed and it is likely that impacts to archeological resources, if originally present, have already occurred due to extensive grading of the topography and modification of the alkali soils that were initially present.

Under alternative A, there would be no new actions that would affect prehistoric or historic archeological resources. Although no new actions would occur, existing buildings would continue to be used by various organizations and entities. Use of the sites by current landowners could have the potential for ground disturbance and consequent impacts to archeological resources, particularly where some remnant native vegetation and soils exist. Therefore, although no new actions are proposed, current landowners could continue to modify areas under their control and could affect previously undiscovered archeological resources. Depending on the significance of these and the extent of disturbance, this could be a minor to moderate adverse effect. Archeological resources on private

lands could also continue to receive some beneficial effects from zoning, historic preservation and landowner stewardship. Because the likelihood of finding archeological resources in highly developed areas would be low given the suburban or urban setting of most sites, ongoing actions in alternative A would likely have no effect on archeological resources.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE B

As in alternative A, there would be no anticipated direct effects on archeological resources from the implementation of the network for Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement related sites because most sites have been heavily disturbed by previous development. Nonetheless, as in alternative A, existing activities and uses would continue and could affect archeological resources. In addition, development of some sites to accommodate additional visitor facilities, including from placement of navigational and interpretive signs to link connected sites in the network could have minor adverse effects from disturbance or loss of archeological resources. Where state or federal archeological protection laws were invoked, these areas would be surveyed and/or tested in advance, thereby minimizing the potential for impacts to previously undiscovered archeological resources. Overall effects would likely be minor and would have no adverse effect on archeological resources. Some beneficial effects could also occur from additional survey and discovery of new archeological sites.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE C

Forty Acres: There are no known archeological sites at the Forty Acres. In this alternative enhanced NPS involvement at this site could result in additional staffing and funding to protect archeological resources, a long-term beneficial effect. As in alternative B, where proposed actions to provide for visitor use require ground disturbance, these could have the potential to disturb previously unidentified archeological resources. Because mitigation measures, including pre-surveys and below ground sampling, where appropriate, as identified below would be employed prior to implementation of proposed actions, potential impacts to archeological resources would be expected to have no effect or no adverse effect.

1966 March Route / Sacramento Site: While designating sections of trail would likely occur, for the most part, in previously developed areas, such as along roadsides in the rural, suburban and urban landscapes on the route that passed through towns and cities between Delano and Sacramento, some trail segments could cross areas of natural vegetation and topography. Trail segments needing construction, in addition to designation, would require ground disturbance and could affect previously unidentified archeological resources. The potential interpretive site in Sacramento would likely be a partner site and therefore would be located in an existing, publicly accessible structure where there would be no potential for effects on archeological resources. Because mitigation measures would be employed to designate and/or construct other trail sections, impacts would likely remain negligible to minor and would have no effect or no adverse effect on archeological resources. Long-term beneficial effects could result from areas where additional archeological surveys occurred.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE D

Forty Acres: Actions and impacts would be the same as described in Alternative C.

Related Sites in Delano: As noted in alternative A, because these sites are located in a developed suburban / urban area, it is likely that impacts to archeological resources occurred with that development. As a result, there would be few anticipated impacts to archeological resources from minor enhancement of some of these sites for visitor use, including for the placement of navigational and interpretive signs and/or from other actions to accommodate visitor use. As in alternative C, where new ground disturbance was proposed in areas that had the potential for archeological resources and NPS involvement, surveys would occur prior to actions being taken. Future proposed actions would have no effect or no adverse effect on archeological resources.

Other Related Sites: Because these sites would continue to be privately owned and managed by a variety of individuals, foundations and religious organizations and would not be part of the national historic site, protection of archeological resources, if found, or surveys for these prior to actions taking place would likely not occur. As a result, there could be long-term minor to moderate adverse effects on such resources if present. Because, however, these sites are generally highly developed, except for La Paz, most actions would not affect previously undisturbed archeological resources.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE E

Forty Acres: Actions and impacts would be the same as described in alternative C.

La Paz: There are no known archeological sites at La Paz. Because the natural landscape (terrain and vegetation) at La Paz is more extensive than that of other Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement related sites, however, there is a greater potential that archeological resources could be affected by proposed actions. It is likely; however, that most actions associated with providing visitor services would take place in existing facilities and in partnership with the current landowner. Nonetheless, there could be some actions, such as replacement of the low water crossing with a small bridge or box culvert that would cause ground disturbance. As in other areas there could also be additional placement of navigational and interpretive signs. Because the NPS would also work in cooperation with the existing landowner and would undertake site specific surveys prior to taking actions, as described in mitigation measures, actions under alternative E at La Paz would be anticipated to have no adverse effect on archeological resources.

Filipino Community Hall / Santa Rita Center / Other Designated National Historical Park Sites: As noted above, while previously unidentified archeological resources could be found in sites located in developed areas, it is likely that these were disturbed during initial construction of current buildings and structures. As a result, there would be little opportunity for new effects on archeological resources from enhancement of these sites, if needed, to provide for anticipated visitor use. The sites, currently being considered for inclusion in the national historical park, are generally not found in areas with intact topography or vegetation. As a result, it is likely that future proposed actions would have no effect or no adverse effect on archeological resources. As in other alternatives, mitigation measures would be employed where new ground disturbance was proposed, a long-term beneficial effect.

Measures to Avoid, Minimize or Mitigate Impacts

Measures to minimize impacts to prehistoric and historic archeological resources would include:

- Survey of project areas by a professional archeologist for prehistoric and historic cultural remains.
- Immediate work stoppage and/or relocation to a non-sensitive area would occur should unknown archeological resources be uncovered during construction to allow collection of artifacts, soil samples and recordation. The site would be secured and consultation with the California State Historic Preservation Officer and tribal representatives would occur to determine appropriate actions to be taken.
- Additional consultation would occur if appropriate, according to provisions of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. In compliance with this act, the NPS would also notify and consult concerned tribal representatives for the proper treatment of human remains, funerary, and sacred objects should these be discovered during the course of the project.

Cumulative Effects

Archeological resources within or near Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement related sites have likely been adversely impacted to varying degrees from past construction-related disturbances (prior to or concurrent with the advent of archeological resources protection laws); visitor impacts and vandalism; and from erosion and other natural processes. Because mitigation measures would be employed to minimize impacts to potentially unidentified cultural resources in other proposed and future projects, it is likely that these would protect archeological resources from additional impacts. There would be no construction-related contributions to cumulative impacts from new actions proposed under alternative A; ongoing impacts from landowner actions however could continue to occur. It is unknown whether there would be contributions to cumulative impacts on resources from proposed actions that would be implemented by others as identified in the vicinity of these sites. It is likely that under alternatives B-E, if archeological remains were inadvertently discovered during construction, these alternatives could contribute additional negligible to minor adverse impacts which would be mitigated by additional investigation of the find immediately upon discovery or relocation of the work to a non-sensitive area.

Conclusion

If archeological resources were discovered during implementation, the preferred action would be to avoid further impacts to the site by modifying project implementation as needed. If this is not possible, as much information as possible would be collected about the site in accordance with applicable laws and regulations and additional consultation with applicable agencies and tribes would occur as

specified above. The proposed actions under alternatives A would have no additional effects on archeological resources. Alternatives B-E would have no effect or no adverse effect on archeological resources .

Historic Structures / Potential Cultural Landscapes

INTENSITY LEVEL DEFINITIONS

(See Archeological Resources above)

DISCUSSION

As noted in the significance chapter, five sites are nationally significant and 11 others are potentially eligible for National Historic Landmark (NHL) nomination. Another twenty-four sites are potentially eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Two of the sites evaluated in this study are designated NHLs, the Forty Acres and the Mission San Juan Bautista. The Forty Acres is the only NHL designated for its association with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The Arvin Labor Camp, Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz, and the Monterey County Jail are listed on the NRHP.

The fix sites that were found to be nationally significant, and retain a high degree of integrity include:

- The Forty Acres National Historic Landmark (Delano, CA) (Designated as an NHL in 2008)
- Filipino Community Hall (Delano, CA)
- Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (Keene, CA) (listed on the NHRP August 2011)
- The Santa Rita Center (Phoenix, AZ) (Listed on the Phoenix Historic Property Register in 2007)
- The1966 March Route (Delano to Sacramento, CA)

Preliminary analysis indicates that another 11 sites meet one or more NHL criteria but additional research would be necessary to establish significance and integrity. These include:

- UFW Field Office (San Luis, AZ) (Criterion 1)
- People's Bar and Café (Delano, CA) (Criterion 1)
- UFW Field Office ("El Hoyo") (Calexico, CA) (Criterion 1)
- Chavez Family Homestead Site (Yuma, AZ) (Criterion 2)
- Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Delano, CA) (Criterion 2) (moderate to high)
- NFWA Office (Delano, CA) (Criteria 1, 2) (low, moderate, high)
- St. Mary's Catholic Church (Stockton, CA) (Criterion 1)
- Monterey County Jail (Salinas, CA) (Criteria 1, 2) (listed on NRHP in September 2004 for associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement)
- Our Lady of Guadalupe Church's McDonnell Hall (San Jose, CA)
- Baptist Church ("Negrito Hall") (Delano, CA) (Criteria 1, 2)
- Arvin Farm Labor Center (Bakersfield, CA) (Criterion 2) (three 1930s buildings listed on the NRHP in 1996)

Another 24 sites may be eligible for listing on the National Register under national, state or local significance but do not meet NHL criteria. The family residence sites, mission, CSO office and Mexican American Political Association Office are related to Cesar Chavez. The others are primarily related to the farm labor movement. Many of the sites also have lost some aspect of integrity (location, setting, use, feeling, association). In some cases, the association is also unclear.

San Francisco, CA

- San Francisco Labor Temple, San Francisco

San Jose-San Juan Bautista-Salinas, CA Area

- Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence, San Jose
- Mexican American Political Association Office, Salinas
- UFW Legal Offices, Salinas
- El Teatro Campesino, San Juan Bautista

Sacramento-Stockton-Modesto-Fresno-Caruthers-Visalia-Porterville, CA Area

- El Centro Campesino Cultural, Fresno
- Graceada Park, Modesto
- Woodville Farm Labor Center, Porterville
- Linnell Farm Labor Center, Visalia

- Fresno County Jail, Fresno

Delano, CA Area
- Stardust Motel, Delano
- Larry Itliong Residence, Delano

Bakersfield-Lamont-Arvin-Keene, CA Area
- Kern County Superior Court Building, Bakersfield

Los Angeles, CA Area
- Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence, Oxnard
- NFWA Office, Oxnard
- Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence, Los Angeles
- Boycott House (Harvard House), Los Angeles
- La Iglesia de Nuestra Senora Reina de Los Angeles ("La Placita" Church), Los Angeles
- Church of the Epiphany, Los Angeles

Borrego Springs-Coachella-Coachella Valley-Thermal-Blythe, CA Area
- Veterans Park, Coachella
- Cesar Chavez Elementary School, Coachella

San Luis-Yuma, AZ Area
- Maria Hau Residence, San Luis
- Laguna School Building, Yuma
- Chavez General Store, Yuma

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE A (NO ACTION)

Approximately 41 of the sites analyzed for the special resource study are listed as or eligible for designation as an NHL or are listed on or eligible for the NRHP based on their relationship to Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement. Most of these sites are owned privately by individuals, foundations, or religious organizations.

Mission San Juan Bautista is listed independently as an NHL. Under alternative A, existing management of the mission buildings and settings would continue.

Some of the sites evaluated in this study would continue to receive some protection from landowner stewardship. Others would continue to be neglected. Over time, additional buildings and structures would likely be demolished. At least four of the sites no longer have extant structures that date to the events that occurred during their association with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

The Forty Acres NHL contains historic buildings, structures, sites and one object. Of the buildings, structures and objects at the site, there are four contributing buildings (Service Station, Roy L. Reuther Memorial Building, Rodrigo Terronez Memorial Clinic, and The Paolo Agbayani Retirement Village and Landscaping); three sites (Park, Grazing Pasture and Recreational Field), two structures (Roads and Parking Areas and Brick Barbecue); and one object (Reuther Memorial). One structure (Water Well and Pump) is non-contributing because it was recently replaced.

According to the NHL nomination, the 187-acre La Paz site contains 23 potential contributing buildings (dormitory, financial management building, trust funds building, North Unit, administration building, cafeteria, six houses, four manufactured houses, a Quonset hut, three garages, two storage units, and a microwave telecommunications building); two contributing sites (garden area, mobile home lot); and four contributing structures (boiler plant, water tank, satellite dishes, road system). La Paz also contains one building (visitor center), two sites (memorial garden and playground), and one structure (swimming pool) that are non-contributing.

As described above, the following sites are managed for their relationship with Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement and would likely remain so under Alternative A, a long-term beneficial effect on historic structures and cultural landscapes from documentation of their significance and management in accordance with it:

- The Forty Acres (current use: UFW Field Office and continued Filipino Community retirement center) (owner: National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc.)
- Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (current use: National Chavez Center, Visitor's Center, Memorial Gardens, and Villa La Paz Conference Center) (owner: National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc.)

Sites associated with the official Cesar E. Chavez Memorial Walkway (designated in 2009as a five mile route that begins in downtown San Jose at a park named for Cesar Chavez and ends at the Mexican Heritage Plaza) would likely continue to be protected and interpreted for their association with Cesar Chavez under alternative A, a long-term beneficial effect. Because the potential NRHP eligible sites on this walk are maintained for other purposes (private home and church functions), however, there could be

minor to moderate adverse effects on some characteristics that make them potentially eligible. The route includes two important sites: Our Lady of Guadalupe Church's McDonnell Hall (potential national significance) and the former family residence of Cesar and Helen Chavez (local landmark). Other sites along the route are commemorative. The designated trail includes signs at the following locations: 1) the Cesar Chavez Arch of Dignity, Equality and Justice, 2) the Mayfair Community Center, 3) Cesar Chavez Elementary School, 4) Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, and 5) Cesar Chavez's former house on Scharff Avenue.

The following sites are actively used and would also therefore continue to be maintained (albeit, generally for other purposes). As a result, their integrity would not be assured under alternative A and, in fact, some now have integrity only associated with one of several characteristics. Over time, additional interior and exterior modifications would likely continue to be made at the following sites under alternative A as routine maintenance and use occurred. As a result, long-term minor to moderate adverse effects on some characteristics that make them potentially eligible for the NRHP could occur related to the following sites:

- Filipino Community Hall (current use: Delano Adult Day Health Care Center) (owner: Filipino Community of Delano, Inc.)
- Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Los Angeles) (current use: private residence)
- People's Bar and Café (current use: People's Market)
- El Teatro Campesino (current use: theater)
- St. Mary's Catholic Church (Stockton) (current use: Catholic church)
- Arvin Farm Labor Center (current use: residential and historic) historic housing demolished
- Cesar and Helen Chavez Family Residence (Delano) (current use: private residence)
- NFWA Office (Delano) (current use: evangelical church)
- Baptist Church ("Negrito Hall") (current use: Baptist church)
- Kern County Superior Court Building (Bakersfield) (current use: courthouse)
- Stardust Motel (Delano) (current use: Travel Inn motel)

The following sites are in disuse, used for storage and/or abandoned and would likely continue to deteriorate under alternative A. As a result, ongoing minor to major adverse effects to some or all of the characteristics that make them potentially eligible for the NRHP could occur at the following sites:

- Santa Rita Center (current use: storage) (owner: Chicanos Por La Causa, Inc.)
- Chavez Family Homestead site (current use: abandoned)
- Laguna School Building (current use: storage)
- UFW Field Office ("El Hoyo") (current use: vacant)
- UFW Field Office (San Luis) (current use: vacant)
- Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church Meeting Hall (current use: vacant)
- Monterey County Jail (on NRHP for association) (current use: vacant)
- Fresno County Jail (Fresno) (current use: unknown)

The map of the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route shows the following towns between Delano and Sacramento as intended destinations for the marchers: Delano, Ducor, Porterville, Lindsay, Farmersville, Visalia, Cutler, Parlier, Malaga, Fresno, "Highway City," Madera, Chowchilla, Merced, Livingston, Turlock, Modesto, Manteca, Stockton, Lodi and Sacramento. The march began at the former NFWA office on Albany Street in Delano and passed through 42 cities and towns in the San Joaquin Valley. It ended at the California State Capitol building in Sacramento. Although there are specific locations where rallies were held in each of these towns, these were used ephemerally and were not evaluated for individual significance. As a result, although the locations exist, some of the buildings or parks that hosted the marchers may have been lost or altered. Though most of the towns have undergone major changes, the route could still be followed. While the route would remain, even if sites associated with it have been changed or lost, long-term minor to moderate adverse effects could continue to occur if this route was not highlighted for preservation.

Under alternative A, it is unknown how many of the other sites that retain some integrity associated with

Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement would continue to be preserved for their relationship with Chavez and/or the farm labor movement. Sites in California may be more likely to be preserved, especially those that also have state significance because the state has designated March 31 as Cesar Chavez day and it is a holiday for state workers and an optional holiday for schools. Overall, however, there would likely continue to be piecemeal loss and deterioration of integrity associated with sites that are not currently recognized for their association with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

Many other sites were evaluated by the Center for Oral and Public History but were not found to retain integrity or characteristics that would make them eligible for the NRHP (Rast 2011). Unless recognized and specific efforts were made to highlight their association with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, it is likely that these other sites would also continue to lose additional integrity under alternative A and contribute to additional minor to moderate adverse effects on the characteristics that could make them potentially eligible for the NRHP.

Overall, without establishment of a cohesive management unit, it is likely that the ability of public and private landowners to maintain and protect cultural resources would continue to be limited by funding, staffing and their ability to apply for grants to help them retain characteristics of buildings and sites that make their lands important in this part of American history. No specific actions would be taken under alternative A to ensure the stabilization or preservation associated with structures and sites related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. No major funding would likely be directed toward stabilization or restoration of sites that are not in current use or currently recognized. For those sites that are in current use and/or those sites that are currently recognized for their association, it is possible that state and/or federal money or money from the organization that manages the site would continue to be periodically available for maintenance and/or additional stabilization or restoration work. Whether it would be used to restore or maintain character-defining features would depend on the knowledge of the site managers and whether the property had been recognized at the city, state or federal level.

While cultural landscapes have not been specifically inventoried or evaluated, it is likely that several sites associated with Cesar Chavez qualify, including the Forty Acres, La Paz and some other significant sites, where both indoor and outdoor characteristics contribute to their significance. Designated separately from historic structures, cultural landscapes usually consist of a collection of historic structures, including the landscape surrounding them that was modified during the period of significance. Under alternative A, there would be no systematic effort to identify cultural landscapes or to inventory features associated with these or other sites that could be considered as a cultural landscape.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE B

Under alternative B, the NPS would provide additional funds and staff to provide technical assistance for sites to further protect and interpret cultural resources associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Through the network, partnerships between public agencies, private organizations, and individuals would be established to inventory, protect, and access cultural resources. Partnerships established with private organizations and individuals could allow better public access to privately-owned historic sites. Additional public access may provide opportunities for more public interpretation and education of historic resources. This could result in increased public knowledge and management changes that encourage protection of resources, resulting in long-term beneficial impacts to existing and potential historic structures and cultural landscapes.

Similar to alternative A, however, sites would be preserved and recognized on a case-by-case basis and would not be systematically stabilized or rehabilitated because they would continue to be owned privately. Their private landowners would be able to choose whether to partner with the NPS as part of a Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement network or to continue operating independently under current conditions.

While a network would result in additional coordination of interpretive and other services and would provide opportunities for stabilization or restoration of historic resources, monies available for these purposes would be limited and dispersed over time. As a result, some of the resources that are currently vacant or deteriorating could deteriorate further and could become ineligible for the network based on loss of integrity. Other areas, such as the Forty Acres and La Paz would continue to be managed by the Chavez Foundation and could become anchoring properties in the network, as could the San Jose sites, where the city has supported numerous Chavez-commemorative areas, including a 5-mile designated walk. To the extent that current

landowners with eligible resources chose to participate in the network, there would be long-term beneficial effects from increased coordination and new interpretive opportunities to link sites to a Chavez-related road tour or other unifying thematic structure. As noted in the alternative description, it is likely that being included in the network would allow eligible sites to leverage additional preservation efforts. Inclusion in the network would not guarantee future stabilization or rehabilitation efforts or preservation of any given site. At any time, landowners could withdraw participation in the network, sell properties or add non-contributing features or uses that would diminish the eligibility of their related site(s).

Because landowners, consisting of foundations, local governments, religious organizations and individuals would be responsible for historic preservation, uniform standards or retention of character-defining features would not be guaranteed. As a result, a wide range of beneficial and/or adverse effects on existing and potential historic structures could occur. It is likely that dependent on the resource, there could be determinations of no effect, no adverse effect or adverse effect for individual historic resources. There would be long-term beneficial effects from retention of important historic properties in the network, while loss of others could result in minor to moderate adverse effects by affecting the network concept itself. For instance, if nationally significant sites in Arizona were not included, they would comprise a missing link in the story. Similarly if some of nationally significant properties elected not to participate in the network, these stories could be less evident. Because this alternative would rely primarily on the ability of many disparate organizations to be coordinated by efforts of the NPS and each other, there could be wide-ranging disparity in what was offered at the various sites or how they contribute to the network as a whole. Nonetheless, overall effects would be expected to be long-term and beneficial on historic resources from increased coordination of interpretive and educational efforts and from the NPS-directed management of information sources, such as a network website leading to better historic preservation of buildings, structures, sites and objects. The NPS could also provide technical assistance by helping to craft eligibility determinations and nominations for network sites with resources potentially eligible for the NRHP or designation as an NHL, another long-term beneficial effect.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE C

With NPS staffing of a visitor center at the Forty Acres (in cooperation with the current landowner), this site would anchor the national historic trail on the south. Similarly, a partner-based visitor facility in a current museum or other existing facility in Sacramento would anchor the north end of the trail. As in alternative B, the NPS would serve primarily in a coordination role to administer the trail and to link the separate ownership and management of partner agencies and organizations. Where qualifying segments of the trail were identified, the NPS would plan for and mark the trail, certifying segments as protected and supporting voluntary resource preservation and protection. As in alternatives A and B, there could be a wide range of potential impacts regarding protection of historic resources that are part of associated sites. Due to the likely presence of the NPS at the Forty Acres, NPS staff could provide routine technical assistance to the landowner as site rehabilitation efforts were undertaken. Where possible, these would conform to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, a long-term beneficial effect on this historic property. Elsewhere, the NPS would also serve in a technical assistance role, advising private landowners about historic structure management and rehabilitation as requested.

As in alternative B, because private foundations, individuals and religious organizations would continue to own and manage most Cesar Chavez - related sites, and the NPS would retain only a coordinating and advisory role in supporting voluntary resource preservation and protection, impacts on historic properties and other contributing historic resources could vary widely as private landowners' implemented ongoing maintenance and occasional stabilization or rehabilitation. Although the NPS would advise private landowners to undertake actions for historic and eligible properties according to the Secretary's Standards, private landowners and managers could choose to undertake actions that did not comply with these. Where management actions protected sites, buildings and structures according to historic preservation standards, there would be long-term beneficial effects. Where they did not, minor to moderate adverse effects could occur.

Because sites in Arizona would not be part of the national historic trail, these could continue to deteriorate or could instead be highlighted by the existing landowners and or continue to be commemorated by the City of Phoenix. As a result,

there could be long-term adverse or beneficial effects, depending on the disposition of these areas over time.

As in alternatives A and B, it is likely that dependent on the resource, there could be determinations of no effect, no adverse effect or adverse effect for individual historic resources, including those along the 1996 Delano to Sacramento march route. Where sites were recognized by NRHP listing or city or state historic registers these would be more likely to be protected and to retain their historic characteristics over time. Because the march route itself would be highlighted and identified for preservation there would be long-term beneficial effects as its contributing resources were protected and marked. As San Jose has done, local communities along the route could identify tour itineraries and applicable historic sites to showcase on the march route, likely leading to commemoration, protection and/or historic preservation of these sites, a long-term beneficial effect. As in alternative B, the NPS could also provide technical assistance toward this end in helping to craft eligibility determinations and nominations for the potentially historic properties related to the march route.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE D

Similar to alternative C, there could be a cooperatively managed visitor center at the Forty Acres. While the UFW and Chavez foundation would continue to own / manage the Forty Acres (unless donated to or purchased by the NPS), the NPS would take a broader role by designating the Forty Acres as a national historic site and providing enhanced visitor services, including interpretive and educational programs. Therefore, as in alternative C, there would be a greater opportunity for preservation of historic buildings, structures, sites and objects as well as cultural landscapes at the Forty Acres. It is likely that a cooperative management agreement would encourage actions that would adhere to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for actions taken that would affect these historic structures. As a result, there would be long-term beneficial effects on historic structures and cultural landscapes from management actions at the Forty Acres. Actions would be anticipated to have no effect or no adverse effect on historic structures and cultural landscapes.

Similarly, there would likely be a variety of long-term beneficial effects from the NPS presence in Delano related to the protection of associated sites in the community of Delano. As at the Forty Acres, the NPS could take on a broader technical assistance role to help site owners / managers identify actions that could further the protection of potentially historic resources at these sites. Creation of an expanded interpretive tour itinerary that encompassed these sites would also have some long-term beneficial effects in understanding the characteristics they possess that could allow them to be listed on the NRHP. Where requested, as in alternatives B and C, the NPS could assist with eligibility determinations and nominations for the NRHP.

Because there would be no recognition program for associated sites in alternative D, there would be no specific actions that could improve or ensure that historic resources associated with associated sites were protected. As a result impacts to these sites could vary widely and would likely be the same as described in alternative A. In general, sites that have some local, state or federal recognition would be more likely to be protected, while sites that are important but are not part of a recognition program could either be protected or could lose integrity. As in alternative A, sites that have lost some characteristics associated with integrity because they are used for storage, or are vacant or abandoned (such as the Santa Rita Center) would likely continue to lose these characteristics under alternative D. This would comprise an ongoing long-term minor to moderate adverse effect on potential historic resources and cultural landscapes. Some sites however would be offered additional assistance via their association with the Chavez Foundation and/or NPS. For instance, because La Paz is also managed by the Chavez Foundation, and a strong working relationship with the NPS would be established in this alternative based on cooperative actions at the Forty Acres and technical assistance from the NPS, it is likely that actions at La Paz would generally also be in conformance with the Secretary's Standards and that ongoing management and rehabilitation would include actions that would protect eligible historic resources. In addition, if La Paz were also listed on the NRHP as an NHL, protection of its historic resources could be more likely, a long-term beneficial effect.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE E

Actions and impacts associated with the Forty Acres and sites in Delano in alternative E would be the same as described in alternative D.

Conversely, actions and impacts associated with associated sites, some of which would be formally recognized under this alternative as part of the national historical park. Designation as an associated

site would also likely facilitate better protection of historic structures and cultural landscapes than in alternative D. Similar to some sites in alternatives C and D, the reasons for this would stem from additional NPS involvement site recognition and therefore an improved ability to provide technical assistance when requested by Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement related site owners and managers. As associated sites were certified, there would likely be long-term beneficial effects, including improved maintenance and treatment of historic structures from improved coordination with the NPS and from successful procurement of funding and/or grants for rehabilitation of historic characteristics.

Although it is likely that there would still continue to be a wide range of adverse and beneficial effects on sites that were not designated as part of the national historical park or as associated sites, similar to the network, march route and historic site alternatives, overall protection of Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement sites would likely be improved in alternative E compared to these other alternatives.

Measures to Avoid, Minimize or Mitigate Impacts

Measures to minimize impacts to historic structures and cultural landscapes would include:

- Federal actions undertaken by the NPS on historic or potentially eligible historic resources would meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties as applicable.
- Under alternatives B-E, pending staff availability and funding, the NPS would assist private landowners in nominating eligible sites to the NRHP or for designation as an NHL. In alternative B this would be for network sites; in alternative C this would be for the Delano to Sacramento march route associated sites; in alternative D, this would be focused on sites in Delano and in Alternative E, this would be focused on nationally significant sites.

Cumulative Effects

Although there would be no new actions in Alternative A, it would continue to contribute minor to major adverse cumulative effects on historic and cultural resources potentially eligible for the NRHP. Where buildings and structures were preserved, including their character-defining features, there would be long-term beneficial effects. Where buildings and structures continued to deteriorate, were deliberately modified or were lost, loss of integrity and character-defining features would have ongoing adverse effects. Ongoing beneficial effects (no adverse effect) would likely continue to occur at sites that have been listed on the NRHP, except associated with the Monterey County Jail, which has not been used for many years. Alternatives B, C, D and E would contribute a series of increasingly beneficial cumulative effects associated with the establishment of a variety of NPS-associated sites, including a potential national historic site or national historical park. Ongoing impacts affecting privately owned buildings and structures, however, would likely continue to occur and would be considered cumulative adverse effects. When combined with past, present and future actions, such as development plans along Highway 99, modifications to the railroad near La Paz, deterioration of the Chavez family homestead in Yuma and changes in the use of the Filipino Community Hall, Alternative A would continue to have minor to major cumulative adverse effects, alternatives B and C would have minor to moderate cumulative adverse and beneficial effects. Alternatives D and E would also have minor to moderate cumulative adverse but could have more cumulative beneficial effects.

Conclusion

Alternative A. No specific actions would be taken to ensure the stabilization or preservation of NRHP listed or eligible sites identified with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. It is likely that three major sites, two listed (the Forty Acres and Mission San Juan Bautista) and one eligible (La Paz) for the NRHP as NHLs would continue to preserved, a long-term beneficial effect. It is not clear, whether the separately listed Monterey County Jail would continue to be preserved. Two sites in San Jose would also likely persist because of their location on the city-established Cesar Chavez walk. The Santa Rita Center, listed on the Phoenix register could also persist, though it is currently minimally used for storage. There would be no systematic effort to inventory or rehabilitate cultural landscapes. Other sites eligible for the NRHP could be maintained or modified and there could be a variety of effects, ranging from no effect to no adverse effect to adverse effect. The preservation and management of these sites would continue to be dependent on the initiative of their private landowners.

Alternative B. With establishment of a cohesive NPS management unit (network) it is possible that the ability of private landowners to maintain and protect their sites would be supplemented by additional funding and technical assistance from the

NPS. The extent to which this would allow preservation of sites is unknown and would be dependent on the initiative of private landowners to become part of the network and to work to protect their sites. Impacts would likely be similar to alternative A, with some long-term beneficial and some adverse effects. Overall impacts to historic and cultural resources would range from no effect to no adverse effect to adverse effect.

Alternative C. Similar to alternative B, with establishment of the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route and actions to protect its eligibility as a national historic trail, sites associated with it could be protected and interpreted, pending landowner desire for affiliation. Because of the NPS presence at the Forty Acres for a visitor center, it is likely that actions to accommodate visitors would have no effect or no adverse effect on this NHL. This could also extend to related sites in other areas, pending the willingness of landowners to manage sites in accordance with historic preservation guidelines, however the NPS would retain only a technical assistance, coordinating or advisory role. Where management actions to protect sites, buildings and structures occurred, there would be long-term beneficial effects. Where they did not, minor to moderate adverse effects could occur. As in alternatives A and B, there would likely be a range of effects on historic resources.

Alternative D. As in alternative C, there would be greater opportunities for preservation of facilities associated with the Forty Acres. Actions would have no effect or no adverse effect on this site. Similar benefits could occur at related sites in Delano. Because there would be no recognition program for other related sites, however, there would likely continue to be a wide range of effects on these sites, ranging from beneficial effects where they were designated on the NRHP (such as La Paz) or by other municipalities (such as in San Jose and Phoenix) and protected to no effect, no adverse effect and adverse effects, depending on the disposition of the properties and the interest and initiative of landowners in maintaining the characteristics which make the sites potentially eligible for the NRHP.

Alternative E. The effort to protect the sites most eligible for NHL status through a national historical park could result in long-term beneficial effects from actions that would protect and rehabilitate these sites. At a minimum, it is likely that designated and nominated NRHP sites would continue to be maintained, with the possible exception of the Monterey County Jail. Because these sites could be part of the park, depending on landowner desire, and not just associated they would be more likely to be protected. Specific management agreements for participation could ensure this. As in alternatives B and C, other associated sites would also be offered technical assistance and this could lead to better protection of these sites. Overall, as in other alternatives there would likely continue to be a range of impacts that would affect NHRP eligible sites.

Museum Collections

Intensity Level Definitions

Negligible	Changes to museum collections would not have perceptible consequences.
Minor	Changes would affect the integrity of a few items in or eligible for a museum collection, but would not degrade the usefulness of the collection for research and interpretation.
Moderate	Changes would affect the integrity of numerous items in or eligible for a collection or diminish the usefulness of some items in the collection for research and interpretation.
Major	Changes would affect the integrity of most of the items in or eligible for a collection and/or the usefulness of numerous items in the collection for research and interpretation.

Impacts of Alternatives A and B

There would be no changes to museum collections as a result of implementation of alternative A. Although the NPS would take on a network coordination role in alternative B, it is unlikely that there would be a consolidated effort among partners (comprised of the individual, foundation and religious organization private landowners) to manage or identify a single depository for museum collections. Instead, it is likely that network sites would continue to maintain their historic objects / collections associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement independently. While the network website in alternative B could list key historic objects that were in the hands of its partners, these would not be owned or managed by any single entity. As a result, in both alternative A and alternative B, standards of care would vary among partners and organizations holding related objects. Because of this, there would be a variety of effects on museum collections, ranging from long-term beneficial effects where items were stored and maintained properly to minor to moderate adverse effects and even loss of resources, where they were not. To the degree that the NPS provided technical assistance to partner foundations, organizations and individual private landowners of Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement sites for museum collections and/or individual objects, there would be long-term beneficial effects on individual collections held and/or maintained at these sites.

Impacts of Alternative C-E

In alternatives C, D and E, the NPS would take on an expanded role for conservation and protection of museum collections because it could, in fact, acquire objects pertinent to its role in providing for visitor services interpretation and education in these alternatives. Because the NPS would also work in partnership in each of these alternatives with the Chavez Foundation in its role at the Forty Acres, there is a potential for beneficial effects to occur from its ability to lend management and collections expertise (technical assistance) to this and other partner foundations, organizations and individual private landowners. It is also likely that as a overall coordinator of partner roles at these sites in these alternatives, that the NPS could become the recipient of donated objects or broader collections from individuals or organizations. To the extent that these were curated and stored by the NPS in an acceptable depository, there would be long-term beneficial effects on museum collections. Under alternatives D and E, it is also possible that a collections storage facility could eventually be needed and that this could be provided in a jointly managed building at the Forty Acres or another partner site, which could also have long-term beneficial effects. As in alternatives A and B, however, there also could be a wide range of negligible to localized moderate adverse effects on museum objects or collections currently maintained at partner sites, depending on the desire of these partner sites for NPS technical assistance advice in maintaining them.

Measures to Avoid, Minimize or Mitigate Impacts

Measures that would be used to minimize impacts to museum collections would include:

- Objects obtained by or donated to the NPS would be curated in an appropriate museum facility.
- Under alternatives C-E, the NPS would identify or provide technical support for a repository for collections storage. Where requested in Alternative B, the NPS could provide technical support regarding museum collections.

Cumulative Effects

Except for the efforts provided under the Farm Labor Movement Documentation Project, an effort that is individually managed and privately funded by Leroy Chatfield, there has been no systematic effort to

collect and document objects associated with Cesar Chavez. This documentation project (a virtual archive launched in 2004), however, has identified a wide range of documents, oral histories, art and other objects associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement and is available to the public at www.farmworkermovement.org. It contains primary, secondary and other sources of information. In addition, as noted in the Center for Oral and Public History report (Rast 2011), there is a repository of United Farm Workers of America (UFW) information at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan. This collection would likely yield a great deal of additional information, though its focus is somewhat different. In addition to the existing collections and individual objects maintained at the wide range of sites that were identified under this study, it is likely that a systematic survey for related objects and collections would also yield more information about and therefore better protection for museum objects and collections related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. When the effects of alternative A or B are added to past, present and future actions, there would be both beneficial and negligible to minor cumulative adverse effects on museum collections, depending on the extent to which individuals, foundations and organizations preserved artifacts related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Alternatives C-E would likely also have negligible to minor adverse effects coupled with cumulative beneficial effects on museum collections.

Conclusion

There would be no new impacts in alternative A. It would not add appreciably to protection of museum collections, although some objects and materials could continue to be protected. Alternative B would likely have some beneficial effects in increased coordination associated with implementing the network but would also not be likely to add appreciably to protection of museum collections. Alternatives C, D and E, however could have the potential to add to museum collections and to improve protection of existing collections. These improvements would likely be greatest in alternative E, followed by alternatives C and D.

Recreational/Social Resources

Visitor Use and Experience-Access and Transportation

Intensity Level Definitions

Negligible	Proposed changes would have no detectable effect on visitor access or transportation to or within a site.
Minor	Changes in visitor access or transportation would be slightly detectable or localized within a small area of a site or would not affect the whole visit.
Moderate	Impacts would be readily apparent and would affect how visitors are able to access a site.
Major	Impacts would be substantial, highly noticeable changes in ease of access and transportation.

Impacts of Alternative A (No Action)

There would be no changes to access and transportation as a result of implementation of alternative A. Without a national park system unit related to Cesar Chavez, it is anticipated that current visitation to the sites, traffic volumes and patterns of use would continue. Current programs and policies of existing federal, state, county and non-profit conservation organizations would remain in place. Some of these would continue to offer visitor facilities, while others would remain privately held and would not. People interested in Cesar Chavez would likely find their way to the visitor center at La Paz and perhaps would travel to other sites, but because there would be no systematic linkages associated with these sites, it is likely that this travel would be based on individual interest and experience and would occur widely spaced over time. Occasional ongoing social and public events would likely continue, however, at the Forty Acres and La Paz and could occasionally result in traffic congestion. Alternative A would have no new effects on access and transportation.

Impacts of Alternative B

Alternative B would have long-term beneficial effects on providing access to sites and information about Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Creation of a NPS sponsored network of sites would encourage people to seek out the sites that were part

of it and public information pamphlets, brochures, and a website would be created to provide more information about the sites. More people would therefore be drawn to the sites and over time, it is likely that additional visitor services would be provided. Those sites that chose to be part of the network would eventually be somewhat integrated and would understand what visitor services were provided at each site. This shared knowledge would likely encourage visitors at one site to consider visiting others. Because there would be few changes in level of service at the sites, there would likely be no effect on transportation and no changes in traffic congestion. There would, however, continue to be occasional public events at the Forty Acres and La Paz that could temporarily increase traffic congestion. Generally, low numbers of additional or side trips would be generated and would likely involve small overall numbers of visitors.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE C

As in alternative B, there would be long-term beneficial impacts on access to sites and information about Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Similar to other national historic trails, a NPS brochure would be created to highlight the publicly accessible sites. Although it would be possible to follow the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route over the course of several days on an auto tour, stopping at available sites along the way, it is more likely that visitors would visit sites individually over time unless deliberately retracing the march route. Participation by a wide range of partners would allow for a broad visitor experience at many unique sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. For instance the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail has 24 sites along the trail from Mexico to San Francisco, which include national and state parks, churches, sections of road and designated trails and other sites. As in alternative B, there would likely be few changes in levels of service at the sites and thus no effect on transportation or traffic congestion. Occasional ongoing social and public events would likely continue, however, at the Forty Acres and La Paz and could occasionally result in traffic congestion.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVES D AND E

As in alternatives B and C, alternatives D and E would have long-term beneficial effects on visitor access, including both to park sites and to information about Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Because a national historic site or national historical park would be designated under these alternatives, it is likely that specific trips would be generated by people to visit these. There are numerous park visitors who make it a point to visit each national park unit. In some cases, park visitors would be on a circuit, traveling to numerous sites in a region, while in others, they would choose to make the park itself the primary destination, especially for local or regional visitors. Under both alternatives D and E, a future management plan would establish long-term goals and desired future conditions for the sites. Because the sites in alternative E would be spread out, perhaps even over both Arizona and California, visitors would be arriving from multiple locations to reach the sites. As they neared the Forty Acres or La Paz, they would be directed along a single rural route, whereas in visiting other more urban areas, there could be multiple ways to reach the sites. Nonetheless, except associated with special events, no long lines of traffic congestion, such as that often experienced at entrance stations to national parks would be expected. Alternatives D and E would have long-term beneficial effects on access and negligible to minor adverse effects on transportation.

MEASURES TO AVOID, MINIMIZE OR MITIGATE IMPACTS

Measures to minimize impacts to access and transportation would include:

- Uniform signage if an NPS associated site was created under alternatives B-E.
- NPS assistance with planning for navigational and directional signage to sites via the most effective route if an NPS site was created under alternatives B-E.

CUMULATIVE EFFECTS

Alternative A would have no new actions and thus would not contribute cumulative effects on visitor access and transportation. Existing sources of information about Cesar Chavez-related sites and access to these would continue. Because few sites provide public access, these would continue to be minor cumulative adverse effects. Recent opening of a formal visitor center and memorial gardens at La Paz has added to beneficial effects on public access. When added to past, present and anticipated future actions, such as proposed modifications along the Highway 99 corridor, alternatives B and C would have long-term beneficial effects on providing additional visitor access and information combined with some short-term adverse effects on access and transportation, while alternatives D and E would likely contribute more beneficial effects from

additional secure public access and availability of information over time. Alternatives B-E would also all likely have some continued minor cumulative adverse impacts on public access, from the potential that existing private landowners would not allow or would not facilitate public access to their related sites.

CONCLUSION

Alternative A would have no effect on access and transportation. Current conditions would continue. Alternative B would have long-term beneficial effects from providing information about access to publicly available sites and services. Because there would be few changes in levels of service at the sites, there would likely be no effect on transportation and no changes in traffic congestion. Alternative C would be similar to alternative B but could generate more trips to visit the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route, related sites, and visitor centers. Alternatives D and E would have a range of beneficial effects on visitor access from opening more areas to visitation and from providing information. Except associated with special events in alternatives C, D and E, there would be few effects on transportation or traffic congestion.

Visitor Use and Experience -Visitor Use Opportunities / Interpretation and Education

Because most of the new visitor use opportunities would be associated with interpretation and education, these topics have been combined below.

Intensity Level Definitions: Visitor Use Opportunities

Negligible	Visitors would not be affected or changes in visitor use and/or experience would be below or at the level of detection. Any effects would be short-term. The visitor would not likely be aware of the effects associated with the alternative.
Minor	Changes in visitor use and/or experience would be detectable, although the changes would be slight and likely short-term. The visitor would be aware of the effects associated with the alternative, but the effects would be slight.
Moderate	Changes in visitor use and/or experience would be readily apparent and likely long-term. The visitor would be aware of the effects associated with the alternative and would likely be able to express an opinion about the changes.
Major	Changes in visitor use and/or experience would be readily apparent and have substantial long-term consequences. The visitor would be aware of the effects associated with the alternative and would likely express a strong opinion about the changes.

Intensity Level Definitions: Interpretation and Education

Negligible	Impacts would not be perceptible.
Minor	Impacts would be slightly perceptible or would affect a small number of programs or a relatively small area.
Moderate	Impacts would affect a large number of programs and/or would be readily apparent.
Major	Impacts would be substantial, highly noticeable, and/or result in changing the nature and extent of programming over a broad area.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE A (NO ACTION)

There would be no changes in visitor use opportunities as a result of implementation of this alternative. There would continue to be formal visitor use opportunities to view sites in San Jose either by walking or driving to sites along the Cesar E. Chavez Memorial Walkway (albeit little known outside of San Jose). Several of the other sites associated with Cesar Chavez also offer a small plaque or sign.

Ongoing opportunities to visit La Paz, including walking or reflecting or celebrating special events in the memorial gardens and touring the new visitor center (including a replica of Chavez's office there) would also be available. The visitor center is open daily except on holidays and currently charges a small fee. La Paz would also continue to offer a small picnic area. These opportunities would continue to be publicized on the Chavez Foundation website. The Chavez Foundation would also continue to offer elementary and secondary education teacher's packets and resource guides in several subject areas.

Occasional special events also allow for public access to the Forty Acres. For instance, guided tours were offered on the day of its dedication as a national historic landmark. Other sites, such as the Santa Rita Center, despite being formally recognized by the City of Phoenix would likely remain closed to visitors, pending establishment as a community center. Our Lady of Guadalupe / McDonnell Hall remains a church / facility and can be visited. Still other sites, such as the closed Monterey County Jail and the Filipino Community Hall could be viewed from the exterior. As a result, overall public use would continue to be limited and would be dependent on the initiative of the visitor to take advantage of opportunities to see related sites and on the initiative of site owners and managers to make these available to the public, a long-term minor to moderate adverse effect.

Opportunities are also available to make virtual visits to various websites, including the Chavez Foundation website, farmworker movement and farmworkers forum websites. The Chavez Foundation offers products (souvenirs) and services (a speaker's bureau), as well as books and a variety of other products, while all of these websites offer articles, white papers, timelines and other written material. Visitation would be expected to remain at current levels, including periodic increases for special events at the Forty Acres or La Paz. While no additional visitor services would be provided in alternative A, there would be ongoing visitor use opportunities to experience some Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement sites and information, a long-term beneficial effect.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE B

In addition to a variety of ongoing beneficial effects in alternative A, there would be enhanced opportunities for visitor use in alternative B. Partnerships between the NPS and private foundations, organizations and/or individuals would create new opportunities for visitors to experience and understand Cesar Chavez-related sites. Additional sites and new visitor use opportunities at those sites could be provided. The NPS would link sites that participated with interpretive programming, identifying major themes and coordinating information and some activities associated with the network. Educational programs, developed by the NPS and its partners would highlight Chavez's role in the farm labor movement.

Because there would be no official visitor center, many of the visitor use opportunities in alternative B would be dependent on the desire and initiative of partners to develop visitor facilities at their sites or would be dependent on internet-based information. The historic places and their signs, and educational or interpretive programs related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, if offered, would become part of the network and would be eligible to use or display a network logo. These sites could also receive technical assistance and other benefits based on their relationship with each other and the NPS.

Coordination of the wide variety of sites managed by many different private organizations by the NPS would improve visitor understanding and education of this era in history over the no action alternative. Partner sites could offer a wide range of new visitor use opportunities, associated with interpretation and education, such as auto and walking tours and opportunities for photography, viewing exhibits and films, etc. There would also be new information on the internet, including an NPS-based network website for pre-visit site planning and for those people studying the life of Cesar Chavez and/or the farm labor movement. This website could offer links to other existing websites, such as the Chavez Foundation, farmworker movement site, farmworker forum site, etc. In addition, because this alternative could link sites in Arizona and California, a driving tour could be developed to trace Chavez's life from

its origin in Yuma to the major UFW activities that occurred in California, including in areas, where there are limited extant facilities such as in Los Angeles and Oxnard (where he lived with his family) before later significant events occurred.

While some partner locations would continue to be viewed only from the outside and current unrelated uses would likely continue, it is also possible that over time these sites could become more accessible to the public. Nonetheless, even commemorative and interpretive signs indicating the events that transpired would improve visitor use opportunities and experiences. Combined there would be long-term beneficial effects by providing new and/or expanded visitor use opportunities from implementing a Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement network under alternative B.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE C

Opportunities for visitor facilities and services in alternative C would be enhanced. There would be a variety of long-term beneficial effects from establishment of the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route trail. Many of the same beneficial effects identified in alternative B would also occur in alternative C; including a wide range of new interpretive and educational programs presented by the NPS and the likelihood that there could be a network-like group of related partner sites that would be associated with the march route.

There would also likely be more recreational opportunities, such as walking or driving tours, and more interpretive and educational visitor use opportunities than in alternative B. Because the NPS would play a more active and engaged role in this alternative, it is likely that public use and visitor enjoyment would increase. Local communities could develop tour routes that incorporate their Chavez-related sites and these could be linked to the march route.

New or expanded visitor use opportunities could include viewing exhibits and displays, and taking interpretive walks and/or attending talks in addition to viewing the outside of buildings and structures. These opportunities could also potentially include viewing the area where Chavez fasted at the Forty Acres and touring the park and gardens if eventually restored. NPS interpretive staffing of a national historic trail visitor center at the Forty Acres would facilitate the NPS role in planning for and marking the trail, certifying qualifying segments as protected and supporting voluntary resource protection.

Visitors could choose to walk some segments of the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route or to follow it via roadside signage in their vehicles. Cities and towns where no formal signage now occurs could choose to mark their Chavez-related sites. With visitor centers at both ends of the historic trail, there would be opportunities to direct visitors to key sites along the trail, where partners would welcome them to see or experience sites of interest. Visitors could begin at either end or somewhere in the middle, following a tour itinerary of their choice. As in alternative B, pre-visit site planning information would also be available on the NPS website established for the historic trail.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE D

As in alternatives B and C, public use and visitation enjoyment would be increased by exhibits, displays, tours, and NPS interpretive staffing, especially at the Forty Acres with establishment of a national historic site. Visitation would also likely increase because of the site designation compared to alternatives B and C (see Access and Transportation above). While there would initially be few changes in opportunities at the Forty Acres, eventually there could be a wider variety of activities and events, including children's programming through the Junior Ranger or educational curriculum development. In the interim, school groups and others could take advantage of programs developed by the Chavez Foundation. Because the NPS would share in historic preservation at the Forty Acres, other sites could be stabilized or restored, such as the park and recreational fields. As noted in the alternatives description, the Forty Acres could function as a research or education center for topics related to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.

In addition to beneficial effects noted in alternatives B and C, such as expanded interpretive and educational programs, passive recreational opportunities and pre-visit site planning information on an NPS website established for the unit, it is likely that visitors would have other expanded opportunities in this alternative, especially at the Forty Acres. Highlighting just the Forty Acres and incorporating information about other key sites in Delano would provide more of a focus for park visitors. There could be guided or self-guided tours of the Forty Acres and sites in the town of Delano. The visitor center would likely offer a more expansive story, depending on whether private foundations, organizations and individuals chose to continue to offer information at their sites, despite not being

included in the national historic site. Because these sites would not officially be part of the national historic site and would not be associated sites, it is likely that many visitors would only visit the Forty Acres and would therefore not visit sites where specific events related to this era occurred, such as the Santa Rita Center. Despite this, opportunities to learn about these places would be provided through interpretive and educational programs, including films, exhibits and stories.

IMPACTS OF ALTERNATIVE E

In terms of expanded visitor use opportunities, impacts from implementation of alternative E would be very similar to alternative D, however in alternative E, there would be a greater diversity of park sites included in the national historical park and there would be provisions made to include additional associated sites that would continue to be owned / managed by their respective foundations, organizations or individuals. Therefore, in alternative E, visitors would have the greatest ability to visit sites where events associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement occurred. National historical park designation would also likely provide greater recognition of, and access to, historic sites and could provide increased opportunities for public use and enjoyment at the sites included in this study. As in other action alternatives, increased visitation may result in increased public knowledge and could further encourage protection of resources, resulting in beneficial impacts over time. Actions associated with alternative E would likely result in more enhancement of the visitor experience and broader visitor satisfaction compared to other alternatives and a wide variety of other long-term beneficial effects.

As in alternative D, the NPS could eventually take ownership of sites if desired by current landowners who no longer could or wished to maintain them. Other sites would be privately owned and managed. In alternative E, there would likely be more cooperative agreements than in other alternatives to identify the key functions of the NPS compared to these management organizations.

CUMULATIVE EFFECTS

Current visitor use opportunities, including interpretation and education are offered independently by the Chavez Foundation and the City of San Jose. Except for expansion of opportunities at La Paz, it is unknown how or if other organizations or site managers plan to offer visitor services or programming. There would be no cumulative effects to visitor use opportunities under alternative A because these would not be coordinated or expanded. In the future, it is likely that unused road sections would become trails at La Paz and could provide additional visitor use opportunities at that site. Alternatives B-E would contribute an array of increasingly beneficial cumulative effects by providing additional visitor use opportunities that highlight the work of Cesar Chavez and his association with the farm labor movement. Over time there would be cumulative beneficial effects from more Americans gathering a better understanding of the farm labor movement and his contributions to it if one of these alternatives were implemented because information would be available through an NPS website and site visitor use opportunities would be advertised and potentially coordinated by the NPS.

CONCLUSION

Alternative A would have no effect on visitor use opportunities and interpretation and education about Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Alternatives B-E would likely have increasingly beneficial effects on visitor use opportunities associated with understanding Cesar Chavez and his influence on the farm labor movement. These opportunities would likely be greatest in alternative E and least in alternative B, though all of the action alternatives would contribute to engendering a better understanding of these events for all Americans as well as for international visitors (primarily in alternatives D and E if a new national park unit was established). Because of their inclusion of NPS involvement, alternatives B-E would provide a centralized national location for information about Cesar Chavez that would be available to all in perpetuity.

Socioeconomics (including minority and low income populations and communities and gateway communities)

Intensity Level Definitions

Negligible	There would be no measureable effect on the socioeconomic environment.
Minor	A small sector of the local or regional economy would be affected; however the effect would not be readily apparent.
Moderate	A small sector of the local or regional economy would be affected and this effect would be measurable but would not alter socioeconomic structure or functions.
Major	Changes in the regional economy would occur and would be readily apparent in shifts in the key economic functions and structure. New economic sectors could be created or others eliminated.

Impacts of Alternative A (No Action)

There would be no changes to socioeconomic conditions as a result of implementation of this alternative. Under alternative A, services provided at the sites would continue at the same levels. The number of employees at the various historic sites included in this study would not change. No new direct impacts on the regional economy would occur with this alternative.

Discussion

Recognition or designation of a national park unit incorporating one or more historically significant sites would likely have beneficial economic and social impacts on the area. Possible socioeconomic impacts could include: visitation to the site or sites, surrounding areas and other attractions, expenditures from park operations and park staff, expenditures by visitors, sales and hotel tax revenues from visitor expenditures, and growth in visitor-related businesses such as tourism.

Impacts of Alternative B

Although the San Joaquin Valley has a primarily agriculturally-based economy, it also includes tourism, manufacturing and a variety of other employment sectors. Visitors to Yosemite, Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks travel through the central valley to reach those destinations, contributing a small amount to the economy. Establishing a network of Cesar Chavez and farm labor movement related sites in California and Arizona would likely have no effect on state economies and localized negligible to minor beneficial effects on regional economies. Because it is likely that a network NPS site would not be a big draw for visitors, alternative B would likely have the fewest beneficial impacts on socioeconomics, including little potential for developing gateway communities. In alternative B, this is especially true because there would be no one NPS visitor center or other centrally located facility to which visitors would be drawn (except as now offered under existing conditions by La Paz, which is currently the only related-site that offers a formal visitor center) focused on Cesar Chavez.

Alternative B activities would coalesce around a NPS network website which could have initial negligible and later improved beneficial effects on minority and low income communities by providing an additional point to collate information about the primarily Latino and Filipino heritage of farm laborers associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the southwestern United States. This site would be in addition to those already existing sites, including those hosted by the UFW, Chavez Foundation, Farmworker Movement Documentation Project, and the Farmerworker Forum. Because the network would be associated with the NPS, Latino and Filipino and other low income farm laborer populations would have a place to see themselves and their heritage in a national park unit. (Currently there are few national park units that highlight the history or heritage of these populations.) This would be a long-term beneficial effect on furthering the goals of ensuring that the national park system represents the whole of United States history and events important to it.

Impacts of Alternative C

Alternative C could have slightly more beneficial effects on local economies, particularly in Delano and Sacramento, where visitor information centers would attract visitors. While this could be a slightly noticeable effect in Delano, it would be unlikely to be discerned in Sacramento, which has a much broader economic base. The effect in Delano would depend on the degree to which the national historic trail attracted visitors and how much these visitors spent to facilitate their visit to the Forty Acres and other sites in Delano. Because no food, fuel or lodging services would be available, those visiting from out of town or from out of the area would likely spend money on food and fuel and perhaps lodging,

depending on where they were from and whether the trip was a day trip or included additional sites on the march route or on a national park or other travel itinerary. Analysis of economic impacts of national parks through the Money Generation Model developed by Michigan State University does not identify the economic benefits associated with a national historic trail. The Money Generation Model is a conservative peer- reviewed tool used by the NPS Social Science Program to estimate the contribution of visitor and park payroll spending to gateway economies within a 50-mile radius of parks. Nonetheless, the model does show that even the smallest national park unit has a beneficial effect on local and generally regional economies from the employment of staff, and the purchase of materials and supplies. Because this alternative would include a small visitor center co-managed by the NPS (pending landowner approval), it is anticipated that these effects would occur and would be beneficial. Because, however, there would be no land ownership and thus no ongoing management of those lands, effects would be small.

As in alternative B, there would be some negligible to minor beneficial impacts from collating data for the primarily Latino and Filipino heritage of farm laborers associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the southwestern United States as well as from having a national park unit that honored additional contributions of Latino and Filipino communities to the history of the United States.

Impacts of Alternative D

As in alternative C, alternative D would increase beneficial effects on local economies if a national historic site was established. Because the unit would be a more "traditional" unit of the national park system under alternative D, it would be more likely to generate a larger number of recreational visitors to the region and to fulfill other economic benefits traditionally associated with small national park sites. Because, however, it is unknown whether any land ownership would occur, these may initially be small and primarily associated with securing a small number of staff for interpretive, planning / management and potentially some limited maintenance operations, depending on the management agreement with the current landowner / manager. Additional visitors and NPS staff would contribute to the local economy by purchasing various goods and services, including food, gasoline, and lodging. To the extent that such expenditures are recycled into the local economy, a multiplier effect would occur. Overall, beneficial impacts on the local economy would be expected. Because the use of a visitor center at the Forty Acres would focus interpretive and park operations in Delano, it is likely that most economic benefits would occur there, but that these could also extend to related sites if those continued operations to highlight contributions from Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. Over time, there would likely be sustained economic benefits from tourism dollars and jobs supported by them.

Beneficial impacts associated with honoring the contributions of Latino and Filipino farm laborers as described in alternatives B and C would also be expected to occur and could be more extensive with greater involvement from the NPS in telling this part of the story through interpretive and educational materials.

Impacts of Alternative E

Impacts from alternative E would be similar to alternative D. As in alternative D, establishment of a traditional national park unit would likely increase the number of visitors and economic benefits. In addition, because the national historical park would encompass sites in several different areas, including sites in both California and Arizona, those economic benefits would be spread out but could still provide discernible benefits where major sites were located, such as in Keene for La Paz, in Phoenix for the Santa Rita Center, and in Delano associated with several sites including the Filipino Community Hall and the Forty Acres. In addition, even smaller non-park but associated sites, such as Yuma could see some benefit if sites in these towns provided visitor services and were highlighted as publicly accessible sites.

Beneficial impacts associated with honoring the contributions of Latino and Filipino and other farm laborers would likely be the same as in alternative D.

Cumulative Effects

Because there would be no new actions in alternative A, there would be no contribution to cumulative impacts on socioeconomics. Alternatives B-D would contribute increasingly beneficial effects on socioeconomics. The cultural heritage documentation of Latino and Filipino contributions through the farm labor movement, including Cesar Chavez and his associates, could be enhanced by designation of a national park unit. Latino and Filipino Americans would be able to recognize the contributions of their communities to the farm labor movement and the importance of these efforts if they

were commemorated in a new national park unit. Because there would be no new actions in alternative A, there would be no contribution to cumulative impacts on socioeconomics. Alternatives B-D would contribute increasingly beneficial effects on socioeconomics. The cultural heritage documentation of Latino and Filipino contributions through the farm labor movement, including Cesar Chavez and his associates, could be enhanced by designation of a national park unit. Latino and Filipino Americans would be able to recognize the contributions of their communities to the farm labor movement and the importance of these efforts if they were commemorated in a new national park unit. Combined with past, present and future actions, such as the proposed changes in the Highway 99 corridor, and associated with the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad, alternatives B-D would have beneficial and negligible to minor adverse contributions to cumulative socioeconomic impacts.

CONCLUSION

Alternative A would result in no direct or cumulative impacts on socioeconomics. Alternative B would have some localized beneficial impacts on socioeconomics. Alternatives C, D and E would likely have increasingly beneficial impacts on socioeconomics, including some discernible impacts on local gateway communities, as well as beneficial impacts on the heritage documentation of some minority / low income populations from telling this story at a national park site.

ENVIRONMENTALLY PREFERABLE ALTERNATIVE

In accordance with NPS Director's Order-12, *Conservation Planning, Environmental Impact Analysis, and Decision-making* and Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) requirements, the NPS is required to identify the "environmentally preferable alternative" in all environmental documents, including EAs. The environmentally preferable alternative is determined by applying the criteria suggested in the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, which is guided by the CEQ. The CEQ (46 FR 18026 - 46 FR 18038) provides direction that the "environmentally preferable alternative is the alternative that would promote the national environmental policy as expressed in NEPA's Section 101," including:

1. Fulfill the responsibilities of each generation as trustee of the environment for succeeding generations;
2. Assure for all Americans safe, healthful, productive, and aesthetically and culturally pleasing surroundings;
3. Attain the widest range of beneficial uses of the environment without degradation, risk of health or safety, or other undesirable and unintended consequences;
4. Preserve important historic, cultural and natural aspects of our national heritage and maintain, wherever possible, an environment that supports diversity and variety of individual choice;
5. Achieve a balance between population and resource use which will permit high standards of living and a wide sharing of life's amenities; and
6. Enhance the quality of renewable resources and approach the maximum attainable recycling of depletable resources (NEPA Section 101(b)).

Generally, these criteria mean the environmentally preferable alternative is the alternative that causes the least damage to the biological and physical environment and that best protects, preserves, and enhances historic, cultural, and natural resources (46 FR 18026 – 46 FR 18038).

Because it is likely that alternative E would protect the largest number of resources potentially eligible as NHLs, including opportunities for protection of these in perpetuity should current owners express an interest in donating or selling the properties in the future, alternative E would best meet criterion 1 above. Alternatives B, C and D would also meet it to varying extents, depending on whether key associated resources related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement were associated with these national park designations and protected. Although all action alternatives (B-E) would meet the intent embodied in criteria 2, 3, and 4, alternatives B, C and E would best meet these because they would provide opportunities for protection of the widest range of sites for visitors to learn about Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. All alternatives would likely meet the principles identified in criteria 5 and 6. Although there are no specific actions related to these currently in the alternatives associated with these criteria, long-standing NPS policies and actions would apply. Based on this analysis, although alternatives B, C, D and E meet several of the criteria, alternative E also best meets two of the six criteria and is therefore the environmentally preferable alternative.

Table 7-2: Impact Comparison Chart Comparison of Environmental Impacts by Impact Topic					
Resource	**Alternative A**	**Alternative B**	**Alternative C**	**Alternative D**	**Alternative E**
Land Use	There would be no direct impacts to land use. Existing land use plans and zoning would continue to guide management of individual areas. Over time, there could be systematic loss of some sites related to Cesar Chavez, where not already protected by private or municipal preservation organizations, a long-term indirect minor to moderate adverse effect because there would be no effort made to link these as part of a group of sites, potentially resulting in less desire for protection.	Long-term beneficial effects and additional localized preservation initiatives could result from recognizing widely dispersed sites in the network as part of a collection of sites. Although some sites would be recognized, others could be modified or lost. While initial preservation efforts could result in long-term beneficial effects, sites could eventually be sold or otherwise lose integrity, resulting in long-term minor to moderate adverse impacts from changes in ownership, occupation and operations pending continued protection of NHL eligible sites.	Specific sites associated with farm labor towns along the march route could be identified and preserved, subject to landowner / manager interest, resulting in a long-term beneficial effect, depending on the extent to which sites were identified and protected. Although the loss of some sites could occur and could have minor to moderate adverse effects, the widespread nature of this alternative could result in broader initiatives to preserve them.	There would be long-term beneficial effects from designating a visitor facility at the Forty Acres, resulting in future initiatives for its protection as an NHL. Sites in the Delano area could also be linked and therefore more protection initiatives would be offered for them. Some related sites in the Delano area, not part of the national historic site could be modified or lost, a minor to moderate long-term adverse effect.	Long-term beneficial effects would result from identification and protection of most or all NHL-eligible sites in the national historical park. Long-term protection efforts would be identified for these and other associated sites. Minor beneficial or adverse effects could occur related to existing long-range plans.
Water Resources	There would be no direct impacts on water resources from implementation of these alternatives. Most sites occur in highly developed areas and do not contain water resources. Existing impacts at La Paz from the low water crossing over Tehachapi Creek would continue. Other impacts to water resources at the site could occur from periodic runoff from paved roads and facilities located throughout the site. It is unknown to what degree impacts are occurring or whether these affect Tweedy or Tehachapi creeks.				The low water crossing of Tehachapi Creek could potentially be modified with a small bridge or box culvert, resulting in minor impacts from construction and overall long-term beneficial impacts from improved protection of water quality.

Table 7-2: Impact Comparison Chart Comparison of Environmental Impacts by Impact Topic					
Resource	**Alternative A**	**Alternative B**	**Alternative C**	**Alternative D**	**Alternative E**
Vegetation, Wildlife, and Federally Threatened and Endangered Species	There would be no new impacts to vegetation, wildlife or federally threatened or endangered species. Ongoing minor adverse impacts to wildlife from noise and disturbance would continue to occur as could ongoing minor to moderate adverse impacts to vegetation from invasive species. It is likely that nonnative invasive species would be a problem in some areas where extensive bare ground exists, a long-term minor to moderate localized adverse effect.	Modest changes, such as the placement of navigational and interpretive signs, could occur at various sites to accommodate visitor use. Because these changes would generally occur in highly modified habitats, they would have negligible to minor short-term effects on native vegetation and wildlife and no effect on federally threatened or endangered species. Ongoing impacts from alternative A would likely continue.	No known federally threatened or endangered species occur at the Forty Acres or associated 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route sites. There would be no impact on known federally threatened or endangered species associated with actions at the Forty Acres or along the march route. Impacts on native vegetation and wildlife to accommodate visitors at the Forty Acres and other highly disturbed areas along the march route would be negligible to minor.	Actions and impacts at the Forty Acres would be the same as in alternative C. There would be no impacts on known federally threatened or endangered species. Negligible impacts on native vegetation and wildlife could occur to provide interpretive signs at other Delano sites. For other related sites that would not be included in this alternative, impacts on vegetation would be the same as in alternative A.	Actions and impacts at the Forty Acres would be the same as in alternatives C and D. While no impacts on known federally threatened or endangered species are projected to occur at La Paz, because actions would take place in previously disturbed areas, surveys for affected species would be conducted and if found, actions modified to avoid impacts if possible. Because other NHL-eligible sites are located in highly modified areas with little or no native vegetation, actions to provide for visitor use would have no effect on federally threatened or endangered species, negligible effects on native vegetation and short-term negligible to minor adverse effects on wildlife.

Table 7-2: Impact Comparison Chart Comparison of Environmental Impacts by Impact Topic					
Resource	**Alternative A**	**Alternative B**	**Alternative C**	**Alternative D**	**Alternative E**
Archeological Resources	No new actions would affect prehistoric or historic archeological resources. Resources if present have likely already been impacted. There would be no effect on archeological resources.	Placement of signs would not be expected to affect archeological resources if present in these already highly developed areas. There would be long-term beneficial effects where state or federal archeological resources protection laws were invoked and/or from survey or testing. There would be no effect or no adverse effect on archeological resources.	Actions and impacts would be similar to alternative B. Mitigation measures would be applied at areas where NPS had some involvement or jurisdiction. There would be no effect or no adverse effect on archeological resources.	Actions and impacts would be similar to alternative C at the Forty Acres site. At other associated sites in Delano, NPS involvement could result in survey and/or testing. Because other related sites would not be included in the national historic site, there could be unknown / ongoing impacts. Because these sites, however, are generally developed (except for some areas of La Paz), it is unlikely that previously undisturbed archeological resources would be present. There would be no effect or no adverse effect on archeological resources.	Actions and impacts would be similar to alternative D at the Forty Acres site. At other sites, where the NPS had some involvement, surveys and/or testing could occur in partnership with the landowner, particularly at La Paz where there is a higher potential for sites because of the amount of undisturbed area. At other sites, located in highly developed areas, it is unlikely that previously undisturbed archeological resources would be present. There would be no effect or no adverse effect on archeological resources.

Table 7-2: Impact Comparison Chart Comparison of Environmental Impacts by Impact Topic					
Resource	**Alternative A**	**Alternative B**	**Alternative C**	**Alternative D**	**Alternative E**
Historic Structures / Cultural Landscapes	No specific actions would be taken to ensure the protection of NRHP listed or eligible sites identified with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. It is likely that the Forty Acres and Mission San Juan Bautista NHLs, and La Paz would continue to be preserved, a long-term beneficial effect. It is not clear, whether the separately listed Monterey County Jail would continue to be preserved. Two sites in San Jose would also likely persist because of local conservation efforts. The Santa Rita Center, listed on the Phoenix register could also persist, though it is currently minimally used for storage. There would be no systematic effort to inventory or protect cultural landscapes. Other sites eligible for NHL designation or listing on the NRHP could be maintained or modified with effects ranging from no effect to no adverse effect to adverse effect. The preservation and management of these sites would continue to be dependent on the initiative of their private landowners.	With establishment of a cohesive NPS management unit (network) it is possible that the ability of private landowners to maintain and protect their sites would be supplemented by additional funding and technical assistance from the NPS. The extent to which this would allow preservation of sites is unknown and would be dependent on the initiative of private landowners to affiliate and protect their sites. Impacts would likely be similar to alternative A, with some long-term beneficial and some adverse effects. Overall impacts to historic and cultural resources would range from no effect to no adverse effect to adverse effect.	Similar to alternative B, with establishment of the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route and actions to protect its eligibility as an NHT, sites associated with it could be protected and interpreted, pending landowner desire for affiliation. If the NPS established a visitor center at the Forty Acres, it is likely that actions to accommodate visitors would have no effect or no adverse effect on this NHL. This could also extend to related sites in other areas, pending willingness of landowners to manage sites in accordance with historic preservation guidelines, however the NPS would retain only a technical assistance, coordinating or advisory role. Where management actions to protect sites, buildings and structures occurred, there would be long-term beneficial effects. Where they did not, minor to moderate adverse effects could occur. As in alternatives A and B, there would likely be a range of effects on historic resources.	There would be greater opportunities for preservation of facilities associated with the Forty Acres. Actions would have no effect or no adverse effect on this site. Similar benefits could occur at related sites in Delano. Because there would be no recognition program for sites beyond Delano, there would likely continue to be a wide range of effects on these sites. Beneficial effects could expected for sites that are listed on the NRHP (such as La Paz, designated as NHLs, or designated by local municipalities (such as in San Jose and Phoenix) and protected to no effect, no adverse effect and adverse effects, depending on the disposition of the properties and the interest and initiative of landowners in maintaining the characteristics which make the sites potentially eligible for designations.	The effort to protect the sites most eligible for NRHP or NHL status through a national historical park could result in long-term beneficial effects from actions that would protect and rehabilitate these sites. At a minimum, it is likely that designated and nominated NRHP and NHL sites would continue to be maintained, with the possible exception of the Monterey County Jail which has remained vacant and unused for many years. Because these sites could be part of the park, depending on landowner desire, they would be more likely to be protected. Specific management agreements for participation could ensure this. Overall, as in other alternatives there would likely continue to be a range of impacts that would affect NHRP eligible sites.

Table 7-2: Impact Comparison Chart Comparison of Environmental Impacts by Impact Topic					
Resource	**Alternative A**	**Alternative B**	**Alternative C**	**Alternative D**	**Alternative E**
Museum Collections	There would be no new impacts. Alternative A would not add appreciably to protection of museum collections, although some objects and materials could continue to be protected. Some objects may also be lost due to lack of protection options.	This alternative would likely have some beneficial effects in increased coordination associated with implementing the network but would also not be likely to add appreciably to protection of museum collections.	Alternatives C, D and E, could have the potential to add to museum collections and to improve protection of existing collections. These improvements would likely be greatest in alternative E, followed by alternatives C and D.		
Visitor Use and Experience: Access and Transportation	There would be no changes to access and transportation. Current conditions would continue.	Long-term beneficial effects would occur from providing information about access to publicly available sites and services. Because there would be few changes in levels of service at the sites, there would likely be no effect on transportation and no changes in traffic congestion.	Similar to alternative B, there would be long-term beneficial impacts on access to sites associated with the 1966 Delano to Sacramento march route and information provided about them. Participation by a wide range of partners could allow for a broad visitor experience. Some specific trips could occur to visit the march route and associated sites. As in alternative B, there would be few changes in levels of service at the sites, therefore no effect on transportation or traffic congestion would be expected.	Alternative D would have a range of long-term beneficial effects on visitor access, with specific trips generated to visit either the national historic site. Because visitors could arrive from multiple destinations, there would be few impacts on traffic congestion. Because visitors would be concentrated in alternative D at Delano sites, there could be negligible to minor effects on traffic during special events or activities.	Similar to alternative D, alternative E would have a range of long-term beneficial effects on visitor access, with specific trips generated to visit the national historical park. Unlike alternative D where visits would be concentrated in Delano, alternative E could generate a wide variety of dispersed visits because of the number of individually associated sites and broadly protected sites that could be in both California and Arizona. Except during special events, impacts to traffic would be negligible to minor.
Visitor Use and Experience: Visitor Use Opportunities / Interpretation and Education.	There would be no effect on visitor use opportunities and interpretation and education about Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement.	Alternatives B-E would likely have increasingly beneficial effects on visitor use opportunities associated with understanding Cesar Chavez and his influence on the farm labor movement. These opportunities would likely be greatest in alternative E and least in alternative B, though all alternatives would contribute to engendering a better understanding of these events for all Americans as well as for international visitors (primarily in alternatives C, D and E if a new trail or national park unit was established). Because of their inclusion of NPS involvement, alternatives B-E would provide a centralized national location for information about Cesar Chavez that would be available to all in perpetuity.			

Table 7-2: Impact Comparison Chart Comparison of Environmental Impacts by Impact Topic					
Resource	**Alternative A**	**Alternative B**	**Alternative C**	**Alternative D**	**Alternative E**
Socioeconomic impacts, including minority and low income populations	There would be no direct or cumulative impacts on socioeconomics.	There would be some localized beneficial effects on socioeconomics.	Alternatives C, D and E would likely have increasingly beneficial impacts on socioeconomics, including some discernible impacts on local gateway communities, as well as beneficial impacts on the heritage documentation for some minority / low income populations from telling this story at a national park site.		

Chapter 8: Consultation and Coordination

Public Involvement

Congress directed the National Park Service (NPS) to complete a special resource study of sites that are significant to the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States, and to determine whether one or more of these sites was eligible and suitable to be managed as a unit of the National Park System. The study team provided opportunities for elected officials, local governments, organizations and residents in California and Arizona to learn about and contribute to the study process through public meetings, stakeholder meetings, a newsletter, the study website and Facebook page.

As directed in the legislation, the NPS consulted with the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation, the United Farm Workers of America, and state and local historical associations and societies, including state historic preservation offices.

Scoping

The NPS initiated public scoping for this study in spring 2011.

The NPS study team used a variety of methods to notify the public and stakeholders of the study initiation. The study team compiled mailing and email lists totaling over 1,600 names, including elected officials, government agencies, organizations, and individuals and mailed or emailed a newsletter to these lists. The newsletter described the study process and announced the dates and locations of public scoping meetings. The newsletter was available in English and Spanish. On May 17, 2011, a Notice of Scoping was published in the Federal Register formally initiating the comment period for public scoping. The comment period extended to June 16, 2011.

In May 2011, the study team held a series of public scoping meeting in California and Arizona. Included in the agenda was a presentation on the purpose and process of the study process, sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement, and potential management ideas and outcomes. After the presentation, the NPS facilitated group discussions so that participants could discuss their vision for recognizing the life of Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement and identify any additional sites that should be considered in the study.

Public scoping meetings were held in San Jose, Salinas, Los Angeles, Oxnard, Coachella, Delano, (CA), and Phoenix and Yuma (AZ). Spanish translation was available at all meetings. The study team also consulted with representatives of the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation, the Filipino Community of Delano, Inc., the United Farm Workers of America, the Chavez Family Vision, and Chicanos Por La Causa. Local, state and federal government representatives were also consulted.

A web page for the Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study (www.nps.gov/pwro/chavez) was developed to provide updates on the study. It contained detailed information about the feasibility study process, background information about the study sites, and was updated periodically to include news releases and the newsletters. The web page also included a link by which individuals could add their addresses to the study mailing list or e-mail list.

During the public scoping period, the NPS received approximately 65 comment letters and e-mails from elected officials, government agencies, organizations, and individuals. Input on the scope of the study was also provided by the approximately 240 people who attended public meetings hosted by the NPS.

The NPS also engaged the Center for Oral and Public History (COPH) at the California State University, Fullerton, to conduct historic research at the outset of this study. In the course of conducting this research, the COPH team interviewed numerous individuals who were at one time associated with Cesar Chavez or the farm labor movement. These interviews also guided the study process.

All of the above sources were used to identify the significant resources, issues, alternative concepts, and impact topics to be considered in the study.

The following is a list of organizations and stakeholders with which the study team met. Formal consultation letters were also sent to appropriate agencies and tribal groups. Numerous telephone conversations were held when face-to-face meetings were not possible.

STAKEHOLDER MEETINGS

- Cesar E. Chavez Foundation
- Chavez Family Vision
- United Farm Workers of America
- Filipino Community of Delano, Inc.
- Chicanos Por La Causa
- Santa Clara County, CA
- City of San Jose, CA

Agency and Tribal Consultation

The National Park Service sent out letters to agencies and tribal organizations announcing the commencement of the study and requesting their input.

Agencies

SECTION 106 OF THE NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION ACT.
State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPOs) in California and Arizona were notified by letter in May 2011 of the conduct of the special resource study.

SECTION 7 OF THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT.
The NPS has initiated consultation under Section 7 with field offices of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, in Carlsbad, CA, Sacramento, CA, and Phoenix, AZ with regard to threatened and endangered species. Consultation is in process. All three field offices have been invited to comment on the draft report.

Tribal Organizations

Letters were sent to the following tribal organizations:

- Augustine Band of Cahuilla Indians
- Cabazon Band of Mission Indians
- Quechan Tribe
- Torres-Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians
- Tule River Indian Tribe

Contributions and Technical Review

The NPS worked with the Center for Oral and Public History (COPH) at California State University, Fullerton to determine resource significance. A number of methods were employed including interviews, meetings, and field trips. NPS interpretation, cultural and natural resource professionals were also consulted during this process. A more complete list of contributors can be found in the *Preparers* section of this report.

Contributions and Technical Review by National Park Service Professionals

- Elaine Jackson-Retondo, Ph.D, , Acting History Program Manager, National Historic Landmarks Program Manager, Pacific West Region
- Fred York, Ph.D., Regional Anthropologist, Pacific West Region

Contributions and Technical Review by other Agencies, Experts and Scholars

The primary research for the majority of sites and properties in Arizona and California was directed by Professor Raymond W. Rast, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of History and Associate Director, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton.

List of Agencies and Organizations to Whom Copies of the Draft Report are Being Sent

This report is being sent to the entire study mailing list. An announcement that the report is available online is being sent to the entire e-mail list for this project. The full study report and an executive summary newsletter are also posted on the study web page, at *www.nps.gov/pwro/chavez*. The following agencies and organizations are on the study mailing list and are among those who are being sent the draft special resource study report:

Federal Agencies and Elected Officials

- U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service
- Congressional Representatives
  - Senator Jon Kyl
  - Senator John McCain
  - Senator Barbara Boxer
  - Senator Dianne Feinstein
  - Congressman Raul Grijalva

- Congressman Ed Pastor
- Congressman Sam Farr
- Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi
- Congresswoman Barbara Lee
- Congresswoman Zoe Lofgren
- Congressman Dennis Cardoza
- Congressman Jim Costa
- Congressman Devin Nunes
- Congressman Kevin McCarthy
- Congresswoman Lois Capps
- Congresswoman Lucille Roybal-Allard
- Congresswoman Mary Bono Mack
- Congressman Bob Filner

State Agencies and Elected Officials

- State of Arizona Office of Historic Preservation
- State of California Office of Historic Preservation
- Assemblymember Luis Alejo
- Assemblymember Jim Beall, Jr.
- Assemblymember Nora Campos
- Assemblymember Paul Fong
- Assemblymember Shannon Grove
- Assemblymember William Monning
- Assemblymember David Valadao
- Senator Elaine Alquist
- Senator Jean Fuller
- Senator Michael Rubio
- Members of the California Latino Legislative Caucus

Local Agencies and Elected Officials

- City of Coachella, CA
- City of Delano, CA
- City of Salinas, CA
- City of San Jose, CA
- City of Phoenix, AZ
- City of Yuma, AZ
- Kern County, CA
- Monterey County, CA
- Santa Clara County, CA
- Maricopa County, AZ
- Yuma County, AZ

Organizations

- Alliance of Monterey Area Preservationists
- Arizona Farm Bureau
- Arizona Preservation Foundation
- California Farm Bureau Federation
- California Preservation Foundation
- Cesar E. Chavez Foundation
- Chavez Family Vision
- Chicanos Por La Causa
- Filipino Community of Delano, Inc.
- Filipino Memorial Project
- Kern County Farm Bureau
- Kern County Hispanic Chamber of Commerce
- League of United Latin American Citizens
- National Parks Conservation Association
- National Trust for Historic Preservation
- La Raza Roundtable de California
- United Farm Workers of America

Tribal Governments and Organizations

- Augustine Band of Cahuilla Indians
- Cabazon Band of Mission Indians
- Quechan Tribe
- Torres-Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians
- Tule River Tribe

Appendices

A female striker holds a UFW eagle flag and covers her face to hide her identity during the San Luis strike, San Luiz, Arizona, 1974. Photo courtesy of Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University; photographer Ben Garza.

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Appendix A: Cesar Chavez Special Resource Study Legislation

PUBLIC LAW 110-229—MAY 8, 2008

SEC. 325. CESAR E. CHAVEZ STUDY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 3 years after the date on which funds are made available to carry out this section, the Secretary of the Interior (referred to in this section as the "Secretary") shall complete a special resource study of sites in the State of Arizona, the State of California, and other States that are significant to the life of Cesar E. Chavez and the farm labor movement in the western United States to determine—

(1) appropriate methods for preserving and interpreting the sites; and

(2) whether any of the sites meets the criteria for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or designation as a national historic landmark under—

(A) the Act of August 21, 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.); or

(B) the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

(b) REQUIREMENTS.—In conducting the study authorized under subsection (a), the Secretary shall—

(1) consider the criteria for the study of areas for potential inclusion in the National Park System under section 8(b)(2) of Public Law 91-383 (16 U.S.C. 1a-5(b)(2)); and

(2) consult with—

(A) the Cesar E. Chavez Foundation;

(B) the United Farm Workers Union; and

(C) State and local historical associations and societies, including any State historic preservation offices in the State in which the site is located.

(c) REPORT.—On completion of the study, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate a report that describes—

(1) the findings of the study; and

(2) any recommendations of the Secretary.

(c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out this section.

Appendix B: New Area Studies Act

(112 STAT. 3501, P.L. 105-391, November 13, 1998)

TITLE III—STUDY REGARDING ADDITION OF NEW NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS

SEC. 301. SHORT TITLE.
This title may be cited as the ''National Park System New Areas Studies Act''.

SEC. 302. PURPOSE.
It is the purpose of this title to reform the process by which areas are considered for addition to the National Park System.

SEC. 303. STUDY OF ADDITION OF NEW NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AREAS.
Section 8 of Public Law 91–383 (commonly known as the
National Park System General Authorities Act; 16 U.S.C. 1a–5)
is amended as follows:

(1) By inserting ''GENERAL AUTHORITY.—'' after ''(a)''.
(2) By striking the second through the sixth sentences of subsection (a).
(3) By redesignating the last two sentences of subsection (a) as subsection (f) and inserting in the first of such sentences before the words ''For the purposes of carrying'' the following:
''(f) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—''.
(4) By inserting the following after subsection (a):

''(b) STUDIES OF AREAS FOR POTENTIAL ADDITION.—
(1) At the beginning of each calendar year, along with the annual budget submission, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Resources of the House of Representatives and to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate a list of areas recommended for study for potential inclusion in the National Park System.
''(2) In developing the list to be submitted under this subsection, the Secretary shall consider—
''(A) those areas that have the greatest potential to meet the established criteria of national significance, suitability, and feasibility;
''(B) themes, sites, and resources not already adequately represented in the National Park System; and
''(C) public petition and Congressional resolutions.

''(3) No study of the potential of an area for inclusion in the National Park System may be initiated after the date of enactment of this subsection, except as provided by specific authorization of an Act of Congress.
''(4) Nothing in this Act shall limit the authority of the National Park Service to conduct preliminary resource assessments, gather data on potential study areas, provide technical and planning assistance, prepare or process nominations for administrative designations, update previous studies, or complete reconnaissance surveys of individual areas requiring a total expenditure of less than $25,000.
''(5) Nothing in this section shall be construed to apply to or to affect or alter the study of any river segment for potential addition to the national wild and scenic rivers system or to apply to or to affect or alter the study of any trail for potential addition to the national trails system.

''(c) REPORT.—
(1) The Secretary shall complete the study for each area for potential inclusion in the National Park System within 3 complete fiscal years following the date on which funds are first made available for such purposes. Each study under this section shall be prepared with appropriate opportunity for public involvement, including at least one public meeting in the vicinity of the area under study, and after reasonable efforts to notify potentially affected landowners and State and local governments.
''(2) In conducting the study, the Secretary shall consider whether the area under study—
''(A) possesses nationally significant natural or cultural resources and represents one of the most important examples
of a particular resource type in the country; and
''(B) is a suitable and feasible addition to the system. ''

(3) Each study—

''(A) shall consider the following factors with regard to the area being studied—

''(i) the rarity and integrity of the resources;

''(ii) the threats to those resources;

''(iii) similar resources are already protected in the National Park System or in other public or private ownership;

''(iv) the public use potential;

''(v) the interpretive and educational potential;

''(vi) costs associated with acquisition, development and operation;

''(vii) the socioeconomic impacts of any designation;

''(viii) the level of local and general public support; and

''(ix) whether the area is of appropriate configuration to ensure long-term resource protection and visitor use;

''(B) shall consider whether direct National Park Service management or alternative protection by other public agencies or the private sector is appropriate for the area;

''(C) shall identify what alternative or combination of alternatives would in the professional judgment of the Director of the National Park Service be most effective and efficient in protecting significant resources and providing for public enjoyment; and

''(D) may include any other information which the Secretary deems to be relevant.

''(4) Each study shall be completed in compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.

''(5) The letter transmitting each completed study to Congress shall contain a recommendation regarding the Secretary's preferred management option for the area.

''(d) NEW AREA STUDY OFFICE.—The Secretary shall designate a single office to be assigned to prepare all new area studies and to implement other functions of this section.

''(e) LIST OF AREAS.—At the beginning of each calendar year, along with the annual budget submission, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Resources of the House of Representatives and to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate a list of areas which have been previously studied which contain primarily historical resources, and a list of areas which have been previously studied which contain primarily natural resources, in numerical order of priority for addition to the National Park System. In developing the lists, the Secretary should consider threats to resource values, cost escalation factors, and other factors listed in subsection (c) of this section. The Secretary should only include on the lists areas for which the supporting data is current and accurate.''.

(5) By adding at the end of subsection (f) (as designated by paragraph (3) of this section) the following: ''For carrying out subsections (b) through (d) there are authorized to be appropriated $2,000,000 for each fiscal year.''

Appendix C: 2006 NPS Management Policies (Sections 1.2 and 1.3)

1.2 The National Park System

The number and diversity of parks within the national park system grew as a result of a government reorganization in 1933, another following World War II, and yet another during the 1960s. Today there are nearly 400 units in the national park system. These units are variously designated as national parks, monuments, preserves, lakeshores, seashores, wild and scenic rivers, trails, historic sites, military parks, battlefields, historical parks, recreation areas, memorials, and parkways. Regardless of the many names and official designations of the park units that make up the national park system, all represent some nationally significant aspect of our natural or cultural heritage. They are the physical remnants of our past—great scenic and natural places that continue to evolve, repositories of outstanding recreational opportunities, classrooms of our heritage, and the legacy we leave to future generations—and they warrant the highest standard of protection.

It should be noted that, in accordance with provisions of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, any component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System that is administered by the Park Service is automatically a part of the national park system. Although there is no analogous provision in the National Trails System Act, several national trails managed by the Service have been included in the national park system. These national rivers and trails that are part of the national park system are subject to the policies contained herein, as well as to any other requirements specified in the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act or the National Trails System Act.

1.3 Criteria for Inclusion

Congress declared in the National Park System General Authorities Act of 1970 that areas comprising the national park system are cumulative expressions of a single national heritage. Potential additions to the national park system should therefore contribute in their own special way to a system that fully represents the broad spectrum of natural and cultural resources that characterize our nation. The National Park Service is responsible for conducting professional studies of potential additions to the national park system when specifically authorized by an act of Congress, and for making recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior, the President, and Congress. Several laws outline criteria for units of the national park system and for additions to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System and the National Trails System.

To receive a favorable recommendation from the Service, a proposed addition to the national park system must (1) possess nationally significant natural or cultural resources, (2) be a suitable addition to the system, (3) be a feasible addition to the system, and (4) require direct NPS management instead of protection by other public agencies or the private sector. These criteria are designed to ensure that the national park system includes only the most outstanding examples of the nation's natural and cultural resources. These criteria also recognize that there are other management alternatives for preserving the nation's outstanding resources.

1.3.1 National Significance

NPS professionals, in consultation with subject-matter experts, scholars, and scientists, will determine whether a resource is nationally significant. An area will be considered nationally significant if it meets all of the following criteria:

1. It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
2. It possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.
3. It offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment or for scientific study.
4. It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource.
5. National significance for cultural resources will be evaluated by applying the National Historic Landmarks criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 65 *(Code of Federal Regulations)*.

1.3.2 Suitability

An area is considered suitable for addition to the national park system if it represents a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not

comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector.

Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type, while considering differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resource values. The comparative analysis also addresses rarity of the resources, interpretive and educational potential, and similar resources already protected in the national park system or in other public or private ownership. The comparison results in a determination of whether the proposed new area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resource protection or visitor use opportunities found in other comparably managed areas.

1.3.3 Feasibility

To be feasible as a new unit of the national park system, an area must be (1) of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park boundaries), and (2) capable of efficient administration by the Service at a reasonable cost.

In evaluating feasibility, the Service considers a variety of factors for a study area, such as the following:

- size
- boundary configurations
- current and potential uses of the study area and surrounding lands
- landownership patterns
- public enjoyment potential
- costs associated with acquisition, development, restoration, and operation
- access
- current and potential threats to the resources
- existing degradation of resources
- staffing requirements
- local planning and zoning
- the level of local and general public support (including landowners)
- the economic/socioeconomic impacts of designation as a unit of the national park system

The feasibility evaluation also considers the ability of the National Park Service to undertake new management responsibilities in light of current and projected availability of funding and personnel.

An overall evaluation of feasibility will be made after taking into account all of the above factors. However, evaluations may sometimes identify concerns or conditions, rather than simply reach a yes or no conclusion. For example, some new areas may be feasible additions to the national park system only if landowners are willing to sell, or the boundary encompasses specific areas necessary for visitor access, or state or local governments will provide appropriate assurances that adjacent land uses will remain compatible with the study area's resources and values.

1.3.4 Direct NPS Management

There are many excellent examples of the successful management of important natural and cultural resources by other public agencies, private conservation organizations, and individuals. The National Park Service applauds these accomplishments and actively encourages the expansion of conservation activities by state, local, and private entities and by other federal agencies. Unless direct NPS management of a studied area is identified as the clearly superior alternative, the Service will recommend that one or more of these other entities assume a lead management role, and that the area not receive national park system status.

Studies will evaluate an appropriate range of management alternatives and will identify which alternative or combination of alternatives would, in the professional judgment of the Director, be most effective and efficient in protecting significant resources and providing opportunities for appropriate public enjoyment. Alternatives for NPS management will not be developed for study areas that fail to meet any one of the four criteria for inclusion listed in section 1.3.

In cases where a study area's resources meet criteria for national significance but do not meet other criteria for inclusion in the national park system, the Service may instead recommend an alternative status, such as "affiliated area." To be eligible for affiliated area status, the area's resources must (1) meet the same standards for significance and suitability that apply to units of the national park system; (2) require some special recognition or technical assistance beyond what is available through existing NPS programs; (3) be managed in accordance with the policies and standards that apply to units of the national park system; and (4) be assured of sustained resource protection, as documented in a formal agreement between the Service and the nonfederal management entity. Designation as a "heritage area" is another option that may be recommended. Heritage

areas have a nationally important, distinctive assemblage of resources that is best managed for conservation, recreation, education, and continued use through partnerships among public and private entities at the local or regional level. Either of these two alternatives (and others as well) would recognize an area's importance to the nation without requiring or implying management by the National Park Service.

Appendix D: National Historic Landmark Criteria Sec 65.4

The criteria applied to evaluate properties for possible designation as National Historic Landmarks or possible determination of eligibility for National Historic Landmark designation is listed below. These criteria shall be used by NPS in the preparation, review and evaluation of National Historic Landmark studies. They shall be used by the Advisory Board in reviewing National Historic Landmark studies and preparing recommendations to the Secretary. Properties shall be designated National Historic Landmarks only if they are nationally significant. Although assessments of national significance should reflect both public perceptions and professional judgments, the evaluations of properties being considered for landmark designation are undertaken by professionals, including historians, architectural historians, archeologists and anthropologists familiar with the broad range of the nation's resources and historical themes. The criteria applied by these specialists to potential landmarks do not define significance nor set a rigid standard for quality. Rather, the criteria establish the qualitative framework in which a comparative professional analysis of national significance can occur. The final decision on whether a property possesses national significance is made by the Secretary on the basis of documentation including the comments and recommendations of the public who participate in the designation process.

(a) Specific Criteria of National Significance: The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and:

1) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or

(2) That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or

(3) That represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or

(4) That embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

(5) That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

(6) That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

(b) Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for designation. Such properties, however, will qualify if they fall within the following categories:

(1) A religious property deriving its primary national significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

(2) A building or structure removed from its original location but which is nationally significant primarily for its architectural merit, or for association with persons or events of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(3) A site of a building or structure no longer standing but the person or event associated with it is of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(4) A birthplace, grave or burial if it is of a historical figure of transcendent national significance and no other appropriate site, building or structure directly associated with the productive life of that person exists; or

(5) A cemetery that derives its primary national significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, or from an exceptionally distinctive design or from an exceptionally significant event; or

(6) A reconstructed building or ensemble of buildings of extraordinary national significance when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other buildings or structures with the same association have survived; or

(7) A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own national historical significance; or

(8) A property achieving national significance within the past 50 years if it is of extraordinary national importance.

Appendix E: National Historic Trail Criteria

From the National Trails System Act (P.L. 90-543, as amended through P.L. 111-11, March 30, 2009)(also found in *United States Code*, Volume 16, Sections 1241-1251):

SEC. 5. [16USC1244] (a) National scenic and national historic trails shall be authorized and designated only by Act of Congress…

SEC. 5. [16USC1244] (b) (11) To qualify for designation as a national historic trail, a trail must meet all three of the following criteria:

> (A) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential. A designated trail should generally accurately follow the historic route, but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variations offering a more pleasurable recreational experience. Such deviations shall be so noted on site. Trail segments no longer possible to travel by trail due to subsequent development as motorized transportation routes may be designated and marked onsite as segments which link to the historic trail.
>
> (B) It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of native Americans may be included.
>
> (C) It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

Appendix F: Historical Context, Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement

Introduction

This appendix describes the historic context for identifying resources associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement. The purpose of this historic context is to assist in the identification and evaluation of properties associated with César Chavez and the farm worker movement in the American West. It provides an historical overview intended to illustrate the relevance, general relationships, and national, regional, or local importance of associated properties.

This historic overview has been adapted from the 2004 draft document titled, "Cesar Chavez and the Farm worker Movement in the American West Theme Study" prepared for the NPS by the University of Washington Department of History's Preservation Planning and Design Program (Rast, Dubrow and Casserly 2004). In 2009 and 2010, the COPH identified and evaluated 84 sites in California and Arizona with historical significance related to Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement in the American West. Sites were identified through primary sources archived within the Farmwoker Movement Documentation Project, books, essays, oral history interviews, declassified FBI surveillance files, back issues of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) newsletters, and published secondary sources. This work was preceded by the 2004 draft document titled, "Cesar Chavez and the Farm worker Movement in the American West Theme Study" prepared for the NPS.

Historic Context

This overview of historic contexts provides an historical overview intended to illustrate the relevance, general relationships, and national, regional, or local importance of properties associated with Cesar Chavez (1927-1993) and the farm labor movement in the American West.

During the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, the structure of the agricultural industry in the American West—dominated by corporate growers and supported by government agencies—hindered the efforts of farm workers to form the attachments to place that most Americans take for granted. Noted Chicano historian Rudy Acuna has explained that "when you are [a migrant farm worker] in a rural area, you are very vulnerable, especially if you are living from hand to mouth. There is very little integration of other ideas that's taking place when you're constantly moving . . . [you] never form a sense of place." The structure of the agricultural industry, and the subordinate position of agricultural labor within that structure, required most farm workers to sacrifice attachments to place in order to focus simply on survival. "You're constantly worrying if you're going to have enough money to pay [for] the gas, or if you're going to have enough money to buy the food," Acuna explained. "It's a tremendous feeling of isolation [and] fear," one that transforms mobility into a necessity and transforms rootedness—a sense of attachment to a place—into a luxury.

The emergence of the United Farm Workers (UFW) during the 1960s, gave farm workers the opportunity to create meaningful places in California and elsewhere in the American West and form permanent attachments to them. Some of these attachments came as farm workers claimed public places, if only temporarily, through direct action—picketing ranches and supermarkets, marching down streets and through valleys, occupying the steps of courthouses and capitol buildings. For farm workers living transient lives, properties owned by the UFW such as the Forty Acres and Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz came to represent the strength and permanence of their union.

Cesar Chavez appealed to Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants regardless of class, generation, ideology, or regional identity. Social leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., welcomed Cesar as a brother in the shared "struggle for freedom, for dignity, and for humanity," and Senator Robert Kennedy counted Cesar as an ally and a friend. National labor leaders, including UAW President Walter Reuther, recognized Chavez as an important force in the labor movement. Chavez has also been the subject of a wide range of scholarly work. During his lifetime, Chavez became the subject of more published work than any other Latino leader, past or present. Even Chavez's strongest opponents acknowledged that

farm workers' lives and working conditions had improved as a result of his efforts.

Facing seemingly insurmountable odds, Chavez led a movement of thousands of farm labor families and their supporters as they created the nation's first permanent farm workers' union. Chavez then steered that union to a series of unprecedented victories: contracts that covered more than 100,000 workers and created union-run hiring halls, provided healthcare plans, established grievance procedures, raised farm workers' wages above the poverty level, mandated the provision of clean drinking water and hand-washing facilities in the fields, and regulated the use of pesticides. Under Chavez's leadership, the union established dozens of service centers providing credit unions, health clinics, co-op stores, and child care, and it created the nation's first pension plan for farm workers. Most notably, Chavez's advocacy and the power of the farm labor movement as a whole helped secure the first law governing farm labor in the continental United States (the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975) and the legal banishment of *el cortito* (the short-handled hoe) from the fields of California.

What Chavez and other farm labor movement leaders accomplished extends well beyond contracts and labor laws. Cesar Chavez cultivated a life-long commitment to bringing respect, dignity, and democracy to all of the nation's socially-marginalized groups. He focused first on farm workers, inspiring them to look their employers in the eyes, to stand up for their rights, and to take active roles in creating their union and wielding its power. He then broadened his focus to include all Latinos, serving them as a symbol of what could be accomplished in this country through unified, courageous, and nonviolent action. And yet he refused to settle for the racial nationalism ascribed to him by those who identified him as a leader of *La Raza*. What Chavez fought for—respect, dignity, and democracy—he wanted all of humanity to share. Before the end of his lifetime, Cesar Chavez was recognized as much more than a leader of farm workers. He was one of the most important civil rights leaders in the U.S.; he was a spiritual leader whose faith inspired fellow Catholics and other Christians; he was a pioneering leader in the modern environmental movement; and he was a staunch advocate for the poor.

I. Cesar Chavez's Early Life and Formative Experiences in the American West, 1927-1952

The story of Cesar Chavez's boyhood and early adulthood reveals much about why he became a successful labor organizer and social leader. The experiences Chavez faced and the lessons he learned during his youth would serve him well during his long struggle to build a farm workers' union.

The Chavez Family Homestead

Cesar's grandfather, Cesario, came to the U.S. in the 1880s from Chihuahua, Mexico. Fleeing the injustices of the hacienda system, Cesario crossed into El Paso, Texas, and found work on the railroads and in the fields of Arizona. By 1888, Cesario had saved enough money to send for his wife, Dorotea, and their fourteen children—including Cesar's father Librado, then two years old. Cesario decided in the late 1890s to homestead in the North Gila Valley, twenty miles north of Yuma, Arizona. With Librado's help, Cesario also built a sturdy adobe farmhouse with thick walls, wood floors, and a flat roof made of elm and cottonwood beams and a layer of dirt on top.

In 1924 Librado married Juana Estrada. Soon after their first daughter (Rita) was born in 1925, Librado and Juana purchased a business that included a grocery store, an auto repair shop, and a pool hall located about one mile from the Chavez homestead north of Yuma. The couple made their home in the same building as the grocery store and there, on March 31, 1927, Cesario Estrada Chavez was born. With a growing family, Librado decided to expand his business. The family borrowed money and purchased forty acres of land surrounding the property. Late in 1932, Librado's debts forced him to sell his property and move the family back with his mother on the Chavez homestead, where they would live for the next six years.

During these boyhood years in the North Gila Valley, Cesar learned lessons that would stay with him for the rest of his life. Many of these came from his mother, who frequently told her children *cuentos* (stories with moral lessons), offered them *consejos* (advice), and taught them *dichos* (proverbs) that dealt with virtues such as honesty and obedience. Juana's lessons helped inspire Cesar's life-long commitment to nonviolence. Juana taught her boys that "It's better to say that [a man] ran from here than to say that he died here" and that "It takes two to fight" (Levy 1975). Later in life, Cesar recalled the words

his mother told him whenever he needed to drive points home to his fellow farm workers.

Cesar's mother and grandmother also passed on their devout Catholicism. Dorotea Chavez told her grandchildren stories about saints, explained Church teachings, and prepared the children for their first Communion. As the Depression years wore on, Juana increasingly sent Cesar and his siblings to find *trampitas* who could use a plate of food and a cup of coffee. Juana impressed upon Cesar the importance of sacrificing and sharing even the most meager resources with others who had less (Levy 1975).

As an adult, Cesar would look back on his childhood years on the Chavez farm with fondness. He remembered long summer days working with his father, having barbecues in the evening, and staying up into the night as his parents and relatives talked about life in Mexico. Cesar learned lessons from these stories as well. "There were stories . . . about the haciendas," he recalled, "how the big landowners treated the people, about the injustices, the cruelties, the exploitation." Such stories made him appreciate the life his family had struggled to build in the U.S. all the more.

Cesar's childhood was not idyllic. Like most Mexican-American families in this time period, the Chavez family spoke Spanish at home. Cesar discovered, however, that his language and his appearance marked him as a "dirty Mexican" at the public school in Yuma. Chavez's teachers rapped his knuckles with a ruler whenever they heard him speaking Spanish. On one occasion a teacher reprimanded Chavez for saying that he was Mexican. The teacher tried to convince him that he was just as American as his white classmates, but Cesar had trouble reconciling this explanation with the fact that Mexican Americans were viewed differently and treated unfairly in school. Not surprisingly, Cesar fared no better with his classmates, especially those whose families poured into Yuma in the mid-1930s as construction of the Imperial Dam on the Colorado River began. Fights between white and Mexican-American boys began to break out at school, and Chavez remembered with bitterness how the principal routinely blamed the Mexican-American students for any conflict. Such experiences with racism taught Chavez how discrimination made its targets feel excluded and inferior. Biographers Richard Griswold del Castillo and Richard Garcia explain that, as a result, "one of the main tenets of [Chavez's] later organizing philosophy was that neither racial nor ethnic prejudice had a place within a farm workers' union movement" (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1996).

Life as Migrant Farm workers

During the years of the Great Depression, Cesar also became aware of the consequences of his family's marginal economic status. A grace period on back taxes owed by his father ended in 1937 and the state took legal possession of the Chavez homestead in August 1937. Librado forestalled eviction for another year and a half. During that time, Cesar gained his first exposure to life as a migrant farm worker. Late in the summer of 1937 his father joined the stream of "Okies" and other migrants heading to California, hoping to earn enough money to save the family's land. After finding a job in Oxnard and a dilapidated house to rent in the local barrio (then known as "Sonoratown"), Librado sent for Juana and the children. In California, Chavez discovered the realities of life that migrant workers and their families faced every day.

The family managed to raise enough money to move on to Brawley. The family worked feverishly in the summer cotton harvest in Brawley to earn enough money for rent, food, and gas. It became clear that Librado's plans for returning to Yuma with money to save the farm would not work out, and the family went back to the homestead penniless (Levy 1974). In March 1939 a grower bought the Chavez farm at public auction. A few days later a deputy sheriff delivered the final eviction notice and the new owner immediately began bulldozing the property. The force with which Chavez later fought to help farm workers gain economic stability can be traced, in large part, back to his childhood memories of the day that a tractor bulldozed the trees, irrigation ditches, and outbuildings he knew so well (Daniel 1987).

The Chavez family returned to southern California and began to feel the full impact of the racism faced by Mexican Americans amidst a larger stream of tens of thousands of white migrants. In California, racism often was more abrasive than in Arizona as Mexican Americans were routinely accosted by border patrolmen, interrogated and searched by police officers, kicked out of restaurants and movie theaters, and cheated by employers who considered them too docile to object (Griswold de Castillo and Garcia 1995).

After spending most of the summer of 1939 in and around San Jose, the Chavez family found work picking walnuts near Oxnard. When that harvest ended, the family again had no work and no place to

live. A fellow farm worker allowed Librado and Juana to set up a tent behind her house, but the winter was wet and cold, and thick fog from the ocean kept the family and their meager possessions constantly damp. With a lack of shoes or decent clothes, Cesar recalled the taunting he and Richard received, but he also pointed out that the school in Oxnard—one of about thirty-seven he would attend off and on before quitting after the eighth grade—was among the least of his concerns as they focused on working to supplement the family's income. Their work included sweeping out the local movie theater, shelling walnuts, chopping wood, running errands, collecting cigarette foil and empty bottles to sell, shining shoes, and selling newspapers. Cesar and his brother worked hard, following the examples set by their parents and older sister, but the family continued to earn barely enough to avoid starvation, and they often relied on the charity of others for shelter, gas money, and clothes.

Librado and Juana did not accept the harsh realities of their new situation. "We were probably one of the strikingest families in California, the first ones to leave the fields if anybody shouted '*huelga!*' [strike!]" Cesar recalled with pride. "If any family felt something was wrong and stopped working," he continued, "we immediately joined them even if we didn't know them. And if the grower didn't correct what was wrong, then they would leave, and we'd leave." The family's militancy stemmed in part from their somewhat unique position as former landowners with strong social ties. As early as 1941, Chavez was exposed to the labor movement's efforts to organize farm workers in California. A few organizers working with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) came to the Chavez home to speak with Cesar's father and uncle. Librado joined UCAPAWA and ended up paying dues to several different unions throughout the 1940s and '50s. As historian Cletus Daniel concludes, Librado's strong conviction that unionism was a manly act of resistance made a lasting impression on his young son (Terkel 1986, Daniel 1987, Levy 1975).

In the meantime, as the Chavez family spent the next several years developing their annual route through California, Cesar became increasingly familiar with the conditions of migrant life. Like most farm workers, the Chavez family cycled through many of the same valleys, towns, and labor camps every year. They spent winters in Brawley, tending and picking carrots, peas, cabbage, lettuce, broccoli, and watermelons with *el cortito*, the short-handle hoe that forced farm workers to twist and stoop as they moved down the rows of crops. By springtime the family would decide whether to move to Oxnard to work beets, to Beaumont for cherries, or to the Hemet area for apricots. Through the middle of summertime they worked lima beans, corn, and chili peppers and often moved to grapes, prunes, cucumbers, and tomatoes by August. And in October every year the family would look for work in the cotton fields near Delano (Levy 1975).

It was in Delano that Cesar met his future wife, Helen Fabela. The Chavez family found space in a tent city in McFarland, and Cesar went into Delano to look around. When Cesar met Helen, they had much in common. The daughter of Mexican immigrants, Helen was born in Brawley in 1928. Her parents set her to work in the fields when she was seven years old, and her mother and four siblings felt the pinch of poverty even more after Helen's father died in 1940. Cesar and Helen soon began courting, but interruption was unavoidable as the Chavez family returned to Brawley to work the fields there (Ferris and Sandoval 1997, Levy 1975).

DISCRIMINATION IN THE U.S. NAVY

In 1944 Chavez decided to leave the fields and volunteer for the Navy. Hundreds of thousands of young Mexican Americans, motivated by patriotism, machismo, or poverty, enlisted during World War II. Military service opened up a new world for Cesar, providing him with his first visit to a medical doctor, training in San Diego, and time in the Mariana Islands and Guam. But Chavez ultimately regarded his experience in the Navy as two of the worst years of his life. He chafed against the regimentation and discovered that the same racist sentiment that prevailed at home prevented African Americans, Filipinos, and Mexican Americans from learning trades that would allow them to escape unskilled labor upon returning to the U.S.

After two years in the Navy, Chavez received an honorable discharge and returned to his family in Delano. Two years later, Cesar and Helen were married. Following a Church ceremony in San Jose on October 22, 1948, the young couple took a two-week honeymoon and toured all of the Franciscan missions in California. Cesar was drawn to the missions as places to relax and contemplate his religious heritage. Later, the missions would serve as architectural models for his efforts to develop headquarters for the farm workers' union. Cesar and Helen moved back to Delano, where Cesar again found himself working the grape and cotton harvests.

When Cesar failed to find steady work in the spring, the couple agreed to join Cesar's parents in sharecropping, growing strawberries outside San Jose for a company that provided land, two small homes, electricity, water, fuel, and twenty-five dollars a week for groceries. The arrangement promised to free the Chavezes from the endless cycle of migration. However, the soil was poor in quality, the work was exhausting, and almost all of the meager profits went to the company. With two children and one on the way, Cesar and Helen decided to follow Cesar's brother Richard into lumber work in Crescent City, four hundred miles north of San Jose. Chavez loved the forests of northern California, but the difficulty of the work was exacerbated by relentless wind and rain. Early in 1952, the family decision to move back to San Jose put Cesar on a path that soon would intersect with those of Father Donald McDonnell and Fred Ross—two men who would change the course of his life (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Taylor1975).

With the birth of their fourth child in 1952, Cesar and Helen were on the verge of falling permanently into the cycle of poverty that had trapped many farm labor families. Cesar was frustrated by his situation, but his efforts to improve it had been stymied. Three years prior, Chavez had participated in a San Joaquin Valley cotton strike called by the National Farm Labor Union. Cesar and his parents supported the strike, and the family agreed that Cesar would participate while everyone else worked the grape harvest. Cesar joined the rallies, and eventually found his way into the daily planning meetings. He wanted to help, but Cesar was only offered menial tasks. When the strike ended after two weeks, Chavez rejoined his family.

Cesar's experience in the strike had been, in a certain way, unsettling. He saw the effort as disorganized and he wanted to learn how to avoid the mistakes he felt the NFLU had made, but there was no one to help him at this time (Taylor 1975, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1996).

II. Development of the Agricultural Industry, Agricultural Labor and Agricultural Labor Activism in California and the American West Before 1960

This section examines the development of agriculture in California, the evolution of the agricultural labor force, and the recurrent efforts during the first half of the twentieth century to organize migrant farm workers. In doing so, it reveals that farm labor leaders such as Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Gilbert Padilla, Larry Itliong and other members of the farm labor movement owed a part of their success to the struggles and the development of strategies that had taken place during the decades leading up to the 1960s and to the evolving historical context within which they worked.

The Agricultural Industry in California

Spaniards began colonizing southern California in the late-eighteenth century by establishing a series of pueblos, missions, and presidios. These settlements functioned only with the well-regulated labor of Spanish peasants and American Indians. Private land grants in California were rare under Spanish rule, but they increased dramatically after Mexico declared its independence in 1821. In an effort to spur settlement and increase tax revenue, the Mexican government dispensed more than eight hundred land grants containing eight million acres of land between 1833 and 1846. American forces conquered California in 1846 and officially took possession of the territory two years later.

When California entered the Union in 1850, it had an agricultural economy dominated by massive estates whose large landowners were prohibited from using slaves but were free to maintain peon labor forces. The discovery of gold on the American River set off an unprecedented wave of emigration and subsequent commercial development in California; however the state's economic growth during the next fifty years was based primarily on the exportation of wheat and other agricultural resources (Jenkins 1985, McWilliams 1935).

As courts upheld the legal validity of almost six hundred land grants and as railroad magnates and speculators accumulated additional millions of acres of land, the trend toward concentrated landholdings and capitalist development became clear. By 1900, almost two-thirds of all arable acreage in the state was concentrated in fewer than five thousand estates, each of them larger than one thousand acres (Jenkins 1985, Kushner 1975).

This concentration of land—in the hands of individuals who, according to historian Carey McWilliams, were "growers" rather than "farmers" and operated their farms as "factories in the field"—did not go uncontested. During the last third of the nineteenth century, thousands of emigrants worked to carve out relatively modest landholdings (Vaught 1999). By 1900, three-fourths of all farms in the state were less than 175 acres in size. If the operators of industrialized farms saw themselves as businessmen and eagerly utilized labor contractors, foremen, gang labor, and piece rates in order to maximize profits, small-scale farmers saw themselves as "horticulturists" or "orchardists" who were motivated by economic success but also by their roles in the development of small, virtuous communities. Still, these farmers most often were forced onto marginal, arid lands, and their abilities to maintain their farms' economic viability would be challenged even more during the twentieth century as large-scale landowners shifted their operations away from livestock and wheat and toward labor-intensive specialty-crop production—a shift that required access to vast amounts of irrigation water, rationalized and regulated markets, and large pools of inexpensive, migrant labor, all of which, in turn, required the support of politicians and government policies (McWilliams 1935).

Government policies regulating markets were slow to develop. Prior to the 1930s, large-scale growers formed cooperatives to negotiate with their suppliers, wholesalers, and shippers; to create grading systems that would legitimize claims to produce quality and to stabilize prices by avoiding market gluts during peak harvest times. During the Depression years, however, the California Legislature and then the U.S. Congress intervened in the market on behalf of growers. Under amendments to the Agricultural Adjustment Act passed in 1938, the federal government was empowered to organize growers' associations, which would market products cooperatively and regulate shipments based on market condition reports supplied by the Federal Marketing Service. This worked to the advantage of the largest growers (Jenkins 1985, Gregory 1989).

The Agricultural Labor Force

Perhaps one of the most important conditions for the development of the agricultural industry in California and throughout the American West was the existence and regulation of large pools of migrant labor. The need for agricultural labor in California remained moderate until after the worldwide collapse of the wheat market in the 1870s, after which, large-scale growers began to shift their operations to the production of specialty crops. The transcontinental railroad and the development of refrigerated cars allowed growers to get their perishable crops to eastern markets, but growers faced a new need for workers who would accept low wages, poor working conditions, and erratic employment. Government policies—especially those governing foreign relations and immigration, freedoms of speech and assembly, and rights to organize unions—would help provide and regulate those workers (McWilliams 1935, Kushner 1975).

Growers turned initially to Chinese immigrants. Most Chinese immigrants originally worked for mining operations or railroad companies but, the completion of the transcontinental railroad left more than ten thousand Chinese laborers without work. Large-scale growers saw this newly available pool of workers as an opportunity to meet their needs. In the view of growers, Chinese farm workers were cheap, hardworking, and docile (meaning they would not strike). However, their perceived willingness to accept conditions that white workers would not tolerate, their foreignness, and the fact that they enabled large-scale growers to cut labor costs made the Chinese targets of attacks from organized labor, nativists, small-scale farmers, and other groups. Anti-Chinese sentiment reached new heights with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and resulted in a violent effort to drive Chinese farm workers from the fields (McWilliams 1935, Kushner 1975, Daniel 1981).

As the number of Chinese laborers declined, growers turned to Japanese laborers who were willing to work for very low wages, did not ask for housing or board, and accepted even the most arduous tasks in the rapidly expanding sugar beet fields. By 1910, more than thirty thousand Japanese immigrants, more than one third of the total farm labor force, were working in California's agricultural industry. Japanese farm workers also began to acquire land of their own. In 1910, Japanese farmers owned almost 17,000 acres of farmland in the state and controlled (contracted for, leased, or shared) an additional 178,000 acres. The Japanese immigrants' ability to thrive in the agricultural industry made them targets for racist attacks. The nation's first Alien Land Act, denying property rights to Japanese immigrants, was passed in California in 1913. Mounting racist hostility, the passage of Alien Land Acts in other western states, and restrictions on Japanese immigration led to a decline in the Japanese farm labor force (Daniel 1981, McWilliams 1935, Kushner 1975, Jenkins 1985, Almaguer 1994, Garcia 2001).

Growers had identified this decline by the 1920s and began turning toward Filipino and Mexican laborers. Filipino farm labor was appealing to growers for several reasons. As a result of American imperialism in the Philippines, Filipinos were classified as U.S. "nationals" and free from immigration restrictions; however, Filipinos could not vote, own land, or apply for citizenship. They were considered, moreover, to be hard-working, docile, and willing to accept low wages. The first large group of Filipino immigrants, ninety-four percent of whom were male, came to California in 1923 and by 1930, thirty thousand Filipinos resided at least part of the year in California. This group of immigrants again helped meet growers' needs for labor, but racist hostility and economic downturn made them, like their predecessors, targets of attack. Years later, UFW Vice-President Philip Vera Cruz described the difficulties that Filipinos faced in a typical California town during the 1930s:

> "In those depression years, Filipinos were blamed for taking the Anglos' jobs. Racist growers and politicians picked on the Filipino minority as . . . [an] easy target for discrimination and attack. Filipinos were harassed and driven from their jobs. . .In those race riots staged in their camps, some were hurt and one was shot."

As Vera Cruz explained, Filipinos were forced from the fields, but "the sad thing was they didn't have anywhere to go." Most Filipino farm workers responded to racist attacks by banding together even tighter, establishing a pattern of union organization that would strengthen Filipino farm workers' resolve to begin the Delano grape strike thirty years later (Maram 1996, Kushner 1975, McWilliams 1935).

By the eve of the Depression, Mexican farm workers already greatly outnumbered Filipinos in California. Mounting anti-Filipino sentiment further fueled the turn toward Mexican labor. Large-scale growers had begun recruiting farm workers from Mexico in the 1910s when social and economic instability caused by the Mexican Revolution fueled immigration, but demand for Mexican laborers grew even more after the Immigration Act of 1924 began to curtail Japanese immigration. As with Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino laborers, the pattern held: growers viewed Mexican immigrants as the "perfect solution" to their perennial demand for farm workers deemed cheap and docile. One industry observer crowed that the Mexican farm worker "is the result of years of servitude, has always looked upon his employer as his *padron*, and himself as part of the establishment."

Between 1924 and 1930, approximately 150,000 Mexican men, women, and children worked in the California agricultural industry annually. As the Great Depression deepened during the following decade, however, increasing numbers of Mexicans were forced to return to Mexico. With hundreds of thousands out of work and with state and local relief funds nearly exhausted by the early 1930s, calls for Mexican "repatriation", a euphemism for expulsion, swelled. Beginning in February 1931, thousands of Mexicans, many of them American citizens, were deported to Mexico.

As in decades past, white workers and their demands for jobs fueled hostility toward Mexican laborers. Historian James Gregory's history of "Okie" emigration to California reveals that the economic push during the 1930s came with unprecedented force. Facing declining agricultural markets, drought and Dust Bowl conditions, hundreds of thousands of whites and African Americans from Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri flooded California looking for work. In this context, Mexican migrants were seen as unwelcome competitors for agricultural work that could be taken by displaced white Americans (Gregory 1989).

These emigrants from Oklahoma and elsewhere were the first migrant farm workers to gain sympathy from American society at large. But the conditions of the migrant farm worker that Dorthea Lange, John Steinbeck, and other observers brought to the attention of the nation were the same conditions that Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, and other agricultural laborers had endured—and protested—for decades: pitiful working and living conditions, a corrupt labor contracting system, and poor wages (Gregory 1989).

Migrant farm labors' living and working conditions throughout the first half of the twentieth century were brutal. The work was exhausting, and it required considerable amounts of skill, dexterity, efficiency, and stamina. Cesar Chavez recalled the particular agony of thinning crops with *el cortito*, the short-handle hoe, which he described as, "like being nailed to a cross. You have to walk twisted, as you're stooped over, facing the row, and walking perpendicular to it," he explained. Farm workers also had to contend with summertime heat, and they had to provide their own drinking water. When their water jug was empty, a family member had to walk to a water pump to get more, losing as much as an hour of work and pay to do so. During the winter, farm labors' primary challenge was staying warm and dry,

but the fields often were damp and muddy, making the task impossible. Growers were not obligated to provide toilet facilities, so laborers had to leave the fields or, more likely, improvise (Levy 1975).

After a long day in the fields (or driving from field to field without finding work), farm workers were lucky if they could return to a tent or tarpaper-and-wood cabin in a crowded labor camp to eat a dinner of beans and potatoes. Even then, they were unlikely to have electricity or indoor plumbing. Farm workers considered themselves lucky to find space in these camps. Their only alternatives were squatters' camps, barns and abandoned buildings, or sleeping under a bridge or in a car, if they owned one (Levy 1975).

Such conditions were exacerbated by unscrupulous labor contractors, who often owned or managed labor camps, deducted rent before giving workers their pay, and ran company stores that charged exorbitant prices. Labor contractors found numerous ways to cheat or exploit workers—they spent workers' pay and then blamed its absence on the grower; they over-recruited workers and then lowered their promised wage; they short-weighed baskets of produce and pocketed the difference; they demanded sexual favors from women in exchange for giving them or their families work. Convinced that "labor contracting is nothing more nor less than a remnant of the system of peonage," Cesar later made the replacement of labor contractors with union-run hiring halls one of his top priorities (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1996, Levy 1975).

Organizing Agricultural Labor

Farm workers facing such living and working conditions began organizing in the American West as early as 1884, the year in which Chinese hop pickers at the Haggin Ranch in Kern County, California, went on strike for higher pay. Efforts such as these occurred sporadically among Chinese farm workers, but they were too isolated to have any broader impact. Japanese farm workers, however, developed much greater sophistication and proficiency in organizing. Japanese farm workers formed labor "associations" that initially served as contracting agencies. The associations accepted far less than prevailing wages in order to drive other workers out of the area. Once a local labor market was under their control, Japanese farm workers would form a list of demands and present them to growers just before harvest time, threatening to strike if they were not met. Japanese labor leaders also called for work slow-downs and utilized blacklists of obdurate growers when necessary. In some areas, cooperative agreements between Japanese crews functioned so well that the labor market effectively became a closed shop (London and Anderson 1970, Daniel 1981).

The first attempt to forge a multi-ethnic alliance emerged just after the turn of the century. In 1903, approximately eight hundred Japanese and Mexican beet-field workers in Oxnard united to organize the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association (later renamed the Sugar Beet and Farm workers' Union of Oxnard). They elected a president, recruited several hundred more workers, and successfully struck for recognition and better wages; however, the union failed to secure the institutional and financial support it needed to survive.

Union secretary J. M. Lizarras wrote to American Federation of Labor (AFL) President Samuel Gompers requesting a charter "under which we can invite all the sugar beet and field laborers in Oxnard without regard to their color or race." As he had on other occasions, Gompers flatly refused to include Japanese workers under the AFL umbrella (Almaguer 1994). The AFL had been attempting to organize farm labor in the West since the late 1880s, but the federation's attempts were half-hearted—poorly organized, insufficiently funded, or prompted only by challenges from more radical organizations. The AFL's strict focus on organizing along craft lines and its racism weakened their attempts further (London and Anderson 1970).

The Wheatland Riot

The AFL's conservatism, craft unionism, and racism opened the door for the rise of the International Workers of the World (the IWW, or Wobblies) formed in 1905. The Wobblies hoped to overcome the pattern of racial discrimination and segregation that divided white, Japanese, Mexican, East Indian, and other laborers in order to pull all of them (and their counterparts in other industries) into "One Big Union." The Wobblies' promotion of inter-racial solidarity was a response to the racism of the AFL but also to growers' divide-and-conquer tactics through which growers would segregate workers along racial lines into separate work crews and labor camps (Garcia 2001).

Between 1905 and 1913, the Wobblies demonstrated their growing strength in California, especially in free-speech campaigns in San Diego and Fresno. IWW locals began to proliferate, but in 1913 the Wobblies counted only five thousand members in the

state. Still, the influence of the IWW outspread its numbers. As Carey McWilliams observed, "whenever 'labor trouble' occurred in the fields . . . it was usually discovered that a 'camp delegate' had been on the ground." Such was the case at the Durst Brothers' hop ranch near Wheatland in August 1913. Ralph Durst's advertisements throughout the state promising work to anyone who wanted it attracted almost three thousand farm workers, twice as many as he needed. Durst neglected to provide accommodations for these arrivals, many of whom were destitute. The water supply quickly ran out and few provisions had been made for sanitation resulting in stench around the camp and dysentery. Durst ignored these conditions, though, hoping that workers would leave without collecting wages withheld as an end-of-harvest "bonus." Within a few days, two IWW organizers had mobilized the hop pickers and formed a list of demands. Durst ignored most of the demands and, on August 3, arrived at the camp with the Yuba County sheriff and several deputies to break up a mass meeting. A gunshot "to quiet the mob" touched off a riot, leaving the district attorney, two deputies, and two workers dead and dozens more injured (McWilliams 1935, London and Anderson 1970).

The Wheatland Riot was one of the most significant events in the history of the farm labor movement. It drew unprecedented levels of attention to the plight of agricultural laborers, led to the creation of the California Commission of Immigration and Housing, and gave the movement its first martyrs. This fallout also propelled further IWW organizing efforts. In 1915, IWW began sending organizers directly into the fields to recruit farm workers. Creating locals throughout the West and Midwest, the union counted one hundred thousand members by 1917. By then, however, the political winds were shifting. A wave of raids and arrests by the federal government crippled the IWW, and the climate of wartime patriotism encouraged the public to turn against any activity or agitation that might hamper (in one official's words) "the effectiveness of the country's efforts" (London and Anderson 1970, McWilliams 1935, Daniel 1981, Dunbar and Kravitz 1976).

FARM LABOR ORGANIZING (1920-1950)

Organizing efforts among the farm workers of California became sporadic again until the late 1920s, when Mexican farm workers attempted to forge an ethnically-defined solidarity. In 1928, Mexicans belonging to the Los Angeles Federation of Mexican Societies established the Confederacion de Uniones de Obreros Mexicanos (CUOM), an organization whose three thousand members dedicated themselves to promoting unionism among Mexican workers and fighting in particular to reform the agricultural industry's labor contracting system.

Later that same year, Mexican farm workers in the Imperial Valley made such an attempt. On the eve of the cantaloupe harvest in May 1928, Mexican laborers formed La Unión de Trabajadores del Valle Imperial (the Imperial Valley Workers' Union) and succeeded in attracting twelve hundred members. The union's leaders presented a list of requests to growers. Union leaders had no intention of calling a strike, but when growers ignored the workers' requests, a few dozen members of the rank-and-file walked out just as the harvest was beginning. Growers and local authorities smashed the strike, but they drew a clear conclusion: Mexican farm workers were not the simple, docile laborers whom growers thought they were hiring. The union's failure offered lessons for farm labor organizers as well. Most important, the failure of the strike hinted at the consequences of the union's decision not to reach out to Filipino farm workers in the Imperial Valley, many of whom already embraced a reputation for militant labor activism (Daniel 1981, London and Anderson 1970).

Two events that occurred the following year coincided to give organizing efforts among farm workers their strongest push yet. First, the Communist Party USA created the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL). Second, the crash of the stock market triggered the Great Depression. Communists had been quietly active in the fields of California throughout the 1920s, but the party formed the TUUL in September 1929 with the expressed mandate of organizing farm labor. Their first effort came in January 1930, when a walk-out by a few hundred Mexican and Filipino lettuce workers near Brawley turned into a full-fledged strike involving five thousand farm workers across the Imperial Valley. Communist organizers from the TUUL soon arrived in Brawley and formed a front organization, the Agricultural Workers Industrial League (AWIL). They wrested leadership of the strike away from the Mexican Mutual Aid Society, but this contest split the rank and file and gave the growers an opening to decry "Bolshevism." Growers easily mobilized community opposition and enlisted the aid of local authorities. Within a few weeks, the strike collapsed (London and Anderson 1970).

Over the next couple of years, AWIL leaders regrouped. They changed the union's name to the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union (AWIU) in

1931 and, after working to organize striking cannery workers in the Santa Clara Valley later that year, renamed it the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU) —the name that the organization would retain as it grew into the strongest agricultural workers' union in California during the early 1930s. By 1933, thirty-seven major strikes erupted and the rejuvenated CAWIU led twenty-four of them. The CAWIU's San Joaquin Valley cotton strike was the largest, longest, and most dramatic including at least twelve thousand farm workers from a string of cotton fields stretching 114 miles down the valley (London and Anderson 1970, Daniel 1981, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1996, McWilliams 1935, Ruiz 1998).

One of the CAWIU's first acts was to establish a strike headquarters and camp on forty acres of rented land outside of Corcoran. The striking farm workers also recruited and received community support and public sympathy grew after growers resorted to increasingly brutal strikebreaking tactics, including deadly violence. After three weeks, a mediation board created a resolution. Neither the union nor growers could claim a clear victory, but both sides accepted.

The CAWIU remarkably could claim at least partial victories in twenty out of twenty-four strikes its members participated in during 1933. The union's strategies of inter-racial organizing, reliance on grassroots organizing, recruitment of women, and emphasis on orderly, nonviolent conduct contributed to the union's success and helped explain how the union could command the fierce loyalty of at least fifteen thousand San Joaquin Valley farm workers in October 1933. However, the union failed to win formal recognition from a single grower, and it failed to replace labor contractors with union-run hiring halls. As a result, the CAWIU lost its membership and began to crumble.

The demise of the CAWIU left a legacy that would be inherited by the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA), founded in July 1937 and chartered by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) soon thereafter. The union's founders wanted an organization that was decentralized and inclusive and their constitution guaranteed local autonomy and local control of at least fifty percent of union dues. Moreover, union leaders deliberately recruited diverse organizers, many of whom climbed into the ranks of union leadership themselves. Rank and file members of the union pledged "never to discriminate against a fellow worker because of creed, color, nationality, religious or political belief; to defend freedom of thought . . . [and] to defend [their fellow members] on all occasions." By 1940 the union's national membership totaled more than 124,000 workers, 40,000 of whom worked in the fields. Librado Chavez became a new recruit in 1941 (Ruiz 1987, Kushner 1975).

UCAPAWA was the most prominent union in the fields of California between 1937 and 1940. Its greatest achievement came in November 1939, when Local 307 of Visalia negotiated a contract with the Mineral King Farm Association. This contract was perhaps the first ever signed by a grower and a union in the history of California's agricultural industry.

The contract with the Mineral King Farm Association was a significant achievement, but the limited victory in the Madera cotton strike that same year was a more typical outcome of UCAPAWA's efforts. On October 12, 1939, as many as one thousand white, Mexican, and African American cotton-field workers in Madera County went on strike, demanding an increase in wages. Led by the Associated Farmers, an anti-union vigilante group, growers repeatedly attacked pickets with fists and rubber hoses. On October 26, three hundred growers descended on striking families attending a rally in Fresno's Madera Park and beat them with axe handles. State highway patrolmen reportedly stood back and watched before deciding to fire tear gas into the crowd to "quiet the melee." UCAPAWA eventually won the strike, but, like so many farm workers before them, they failed to gain formal recognition from the growers. The following year, UCAPAWA leaders decided to withdraw from the fields in order to focus the union's resources on cannery and packinghouse workers.

The National Farm Labor Union (NFLU) also contributed to the foundation upon which Cesar Chavez began building during the 1950s. The NFLU was an outgrowth of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, founded in Arkansas by Harry Leland Mitchell in 1934. The union focused for many years on protecting the rights of sharecroppers, but in the 1940s redirected its energy toward agricultural wage workers. In 1945, the union was renamed the NFLU and rechartered with the AFL. Two years later, NFLU leaders decided to move west, and they began establishing locals throughout California. As this work was getting underway in the summer of 1947, they became aware of the impoverished conditions of farm workers employed by the Di Giorgio Fruit Company (Grubbs 1975).

By the summer of 1947, the 27-year old Di Giorgio Fruit Company was a giant in the agricultural industry that had amassed sixteen thousand acres of farmland across Kern County and had generated eighteen million dollars a year in gross revenue from the sale of fruits, vegetables, wines, and processed foods. More than eight hundred people, most of whom were Okies, worked year-round in the company's Kern County fields and orchards, packing sheds, and winery. The company hired an additional sixteen hundred farm workers, most of them Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants, at harvest time. The company's operations as they existed in the years after World War II were massive. As Ernesto Galarza explained, the showpiece was Di Giorgio Farms in Arvin—an enterprise of eleven thousand acres devoted to grapes, fruit orchards, and vegetables valued in the late 1940s at twenty-four million dollars. Sierra Vista Ranch, twenty-five miles north near Delano, was "less spectacular, but equally prosperous. The five-thousand-acre ranch was a self-contained community with its own volunteer fire department, restaurant, recreational facilities, dormitories, and police force." With additional operations at Borrego Springs and elsewhere in California and Florida, the Di Giorgio Company was a giant in the agricultural industry. The company as a whole was the second largest producer of wine in the United States.

Joseph Di Giorgio was among the strongest opponents of unions in California and one of the chief supporters of the "Associated Farmers" vigilante group. Knowing this, NFLU leaders Mitchell and Hasiwar made Di Giorgio's company their first target. If they could gain recognition from Di Giorgio, they thought, others surely would fall in line. By September 1947, the NFLU had enlisted a majority of the company's full-time employees and formed a list of demands (Galarza 1970, London and Anderson 1970).

When the company refused to acknowledge the union's existence, the local membership voted to strike at the Grange Hall in Weedpatch on September 30, 1947. More than one thousand striking workers spread out to picket Di Giorgio Farms. Like some of its predecessors, the union appealed for support from around the state and the nation, and it drew the endorsement of prominent individuals. The union also activated an immediate boycott of all Di Giorgio products, including table grapes. The union's rising leader, Ernesto Galarza, pioneered the idea of picketing grocery stores such as Safeway in order to educate consumers and raise support for farm workers. This was one of several ideas that Chavez and the UFW later would adopt. The union's members were well organized, and the Di Giorgio strike—labeled by historian Donald Grubbs "the most significant farm worker strike prior to *La Huelga*"—would persist for another two and a half years (Grubbs 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1996).

The strike ultimately collapsed because the NFLU had no means of cutting off Di Giorgio's supply of labor. The Bracero Program—begun during World War II to import seasonal contract laborers from Mexico—allowed Di Giorgio to hire as many workers as the company needed for its harvests every year. Until the program was terminated in the mid-1960s, growers could continue to ride out strikes simply by (falsely) claiming the existence of a labor shortage, replacing their workers with braceros, and protecting them with sheriff's deputies and company guards.

The NFLU operated on additional fronts during the late 1940s and early 1950s. In September 1949 the union led a two-week strike of cotton field workers in the San Joaquin Valley. The union won its demand that an announced pay cut be rescinded, but no further organizational gains were made. Cesar Chavez participated in this strike, but the experience left him wishing that the leaders had set higher goals and worked more effectively to achieve them. The NFLU's last major victory in the fields came three years later with a strike on the five-thousand-acre ranch of the Schenley Corporation outside of Delano which brought modest victories (London and Anderson 1970).

After winning the Schenley strike in 1952, Ernesto Galarza helped keep the NFLU alive for seven more years, renaming it the National Agricultural Workers Union (NAWU). Born in southern Mexico in the city of Tepic, Nayarit, Galarza came to California with his family in 1910. With a doctorate in sociology from Columbia University and eleven years of experience with the Pan American Union in Washington, D.C., Galarza returned to California, settled his family in San Jose, and joined the leadership of the NFLU as Director of Research and Education. Galarza shifted his energies to defeating the Bracero Program. Galarza became convinced that the NFLU's fight—and that of all farm workers—was not against a single grower like Di Giorgio, but against a system in which corporate farms were intricately linked with petroleum companies, power companies, water suppliers, and financial institutions. Galarza concluded that these other industries applied great economic pressure on

growers and the primary way that growers could generate profits was to keep their labor costs low and their workers powerless.

The most effective means that growers found to minimize the power of labor was the perpetuation of the Bracero Program. Established by Congress in 1942, the program was designed to provide growers with a reliable source of labor at a time when military industries offered American workers much higher wages and better working conditions. As Galarza understood, the "experiment" was an unmitigated success for growers. In creating the program, Congress promised the Mexican government that growers would pay braceros prevailing wages, provide transportation and cover living expenses, and only hire braceros when local labor shortages developed (not to break strikes). Although all of these promises were broken by the growers Congress extended the program to 1950 and, following the outbreak of the Korean War, formalized the program and extended it indefinitely.

Galarza made termination of the program his mission. His efforts to bring the Bracero Program to an end contributed greatly to the foundation upon which Chavez built. Indeed, the termination of the Bracero Program in 1964 cleared a path for the farm workers' successes of the 1960s and '70s. The NFLU demonstrated the importance of recruiting a coalition of supporters, and it introduced to the farm labor movement tactics such as the consumer boycott of grapes and the secondary boycott of grocery stores. The union showed that agribusinesses giants such as Di Giorgio were not too big to confront. The lessons Chavez learned from the NFLU and other farm labor union victories and defeats would inform and inspire his own efforts.

III. Cesar Chavez's Education as a Community Organizer in California and the Emergence of Dolores Huerta, 1952-1962

Cesar Chavez and the Community Service Organization (CSO)

As Ernesto Galarza was making a home in San Jose and beginning his battle against the Bracero Program, Cesar Chavez and his growing family were settling into their rented house on Scharff Avenue in San Jose's Sal Si Puedes barrio. Near the end of the Chavezes' first summer in Sal Si Puedes, Cesar took an organizing job with the Community Service Organization and begin moving his family up and down the San Joaquin Valley. Over the next decade, Cesar would gain his education and training as a social activist, and form friendships and alliances with Father Donald McDonnell, Fred Ross, Dolores Huerta, Gilbert Padilla, and farm workers who would join him in the struggle to form an effective farm labor union.

Soon after moving to Sal Si Puedes in 1952, Cesar met Donald McDonnell, a young Catholic priest in San Jose. Along with Father Thomas McCullough, McDonnell had lobbied the San Francisco Archdiocese to create a "mission band" of roving priests who would minister to braceros and other migrant farm workers. Basing his operations in Sal Si Puedes, McDonnell began his mission by knocking on doors in the barrio and asking Catholics if they would support the opening of a new church in the neighborhood. Chavez, a devout Catholic, was highly receptive and relayed to the priest that he and his family felt unwelcome in a church across town. Cesar and McDonnell began talking about problems facing farm workers who lived in the barrio, and Chavez revealed an interest in labor organizing that had stayed with him since his experience in the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike three years earlier. The two men talked late into the night about social justice, the Church's stand on farm labor and readings from the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII in which he upheld labor unions (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975).

McDonnell introduced Cesar to a world of ideas that would shape his personal philosophy, his approach to labor organizing, and his commitment to social justice, including the writings of Mohandas Gandhi. Chavez learned that Gandhi spoke about "the complete sacrifice of oneself for others" and "the need for self-discipline and self-abnegation in order to achieve a higher good." Chavez also remembered reading "three or four volumes on agriculture, describing the Associated Farmers, their terror and strikebreaking tactics, and their financing by banks, utilities, and big corporations." All of these books taught Cesar a great deal, but they could not teach him everything about building a union (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Like McDonnell, Fred Ross was drawn to Sal Si Puedes by his desire to help Mexican Americans improve their lives. A community organizer working for social activist Saul Alinsky, Ross went to Los Angeles in 1947 to organize the Community Service Organization (CSO) and train its members to deal

with issues related to civil rights, voter registration, housing discrimination, and police brutality. Ross decided to expand the CSO with a new chapter in San Jose and was looking for residents who could help him. Chavez agreed to host a house meeting with Ross and a dozen or more people from the barrio on June 9, 1952 (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975).

At the meeting Ross explained that he saw the conditions of Sal Si Puedes in other Mexican American communities and what the CSO had accomplished in Los Angeles. Cesar talked with the organizer for two hours and then offered to drive him to his next meeting that night. Fred was just as excited about meeting Cesar Clearly, Ross recognized Chavez's potential as a community leader. His diary entry that night went straight to the point: "I think I've found the guy I'm looking for" (Ross 1989, Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Matthiessen 1973, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

In 1952, Cesar became a deputy registrar and then the chairman of the CSO voter-registration drive in San Jose. He continued to work during the day at the lumber mill and in the fields, and then at night he would work to recruit voters. Instead of recruiting college students as Ross had done, Chavez called on his friends. Chavez realized that organizing would be accomplished more effectively through social networks. By election night of November 1952 he had registered nearly six thousand new voters. More important, the campaign provided Chavez a formative experience in linking his emergent interest in labor organizing with civil rights activism and political mobilization (Taylor 1975, Matthiessen 1973, Levy 1975, Daniel 1987).

Chavez's success in the voter-registration drive was gratifying, but the campaign exposed him to a sudden host of adversaries and accusations. During the early 1950s, almost anyone who organized communities and fought for political rights, labor rights, or the rights of racial minorities in America might be suspected of being a Communist. On the national level, Senator Joseph McCarthy was conducting investigations of the government in search of Communists. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and similar committees at the state level investigated, and blacklisted hundreds of suspected radicals– including those in movie studios, universities, and labor unions– but countless individuals suffered from an atmosphere of political repression (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

When newly registered Mexican-American voters were intimidated at the polls, Chavez sent a letter of complaint to the U.S. attorney general. This move raised undue suspicions that Chavez might be a Communist. FBI agents began questioning Cesar, and the local newspaper ran stories implying that he worked for the Communist Party. These accusations drew the attention of the very people Chavez was trying to organize into a CSO chapter, but accusations of Communist affiliation were inconsistent with Chavez's Catholic conservatism. The Catholic Church was in the forefront of the anticommunist movement in the early 1950s, and Cesar wisely turned to McDonnell and other priests to defend him against suspicions and accusations (Levy 1975, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

After the successful voter-registration drive, Chavez saw that a good amount of organizing work in Sal Si Puedes remained. Cesar opened an office that could serve more as a service center and give the residents of Sal Si Puedes a place where they knew they could go with their problems. Such a central location would be especially important for the migrant farm workers who moved in and out of the area. Cesar found space to rent and set up the San Jose CSO office and service center on East Santa Clara Street (Levy 1975).

Chavez's success in registering voters and establishing the San Jose CSO chapter helped Fred Ross convince Alinsky to hire the twenty-five year old as a CSO staff member. Ross assigned Chavez to finish an organizing campaign in nearby Union City (then named De Coto), freeing Ross to move on to King City and other towns in the Salinas Valley. Cesar did well in Union City and was sent to Oakland to orchestrate his own campaign. Cesar already sensed that social organizing was to be his life's work, and, with his experience in Oakland, he proved that he could succeed at it (Levy 1975, Etulain 2002).

Delores Huerta's Rise as a Community Organizer

In 1955 Ross made plans to organize a chapter in Stockton, where one of his first contacts was Father McDonnell's colleague in the "mission band," Father Thomas McCullough. McCullough had located his mission in Stockton and began moving through bracero camps exploring ways to meet the needs of migrant farm workers. McCullough based his mission out of St. Gertrude's Catholic Church, where one of the brightest parishioners was twenty-five-year-old Dolores Fernandez Huerta. When Ross

asked McCullough to put him in touch with potential CSO organizers, the priest introduced him to Huerta (Taylor 1975).

Dolores Huerta had grown up in Stockton, but like both of her parents, she was born in Dawson, New Mexico, in 1930. Huerta's father worked as a miner in northern New Mexico and pursued farm work as far north as Wyoming, but the Depression forced the family to move up and down the Pacific Coast looking for work. Huerta's parents divorced in 1933 and two years later her mother, Alicia Fernandez, moved the family to Stockton. Huerta's mother worked in a cannery and waited tables until she saved enough money to buy a restaurant and seventy-room boarding house in which she always made room for unemployed farm workers (Coburn 1976, Rose 1990, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Baer 1975, Huerta 1975, Baer and Matthews 1974, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Fernandez's influence on her daughter was profound, showing her children that women could be strong, independent, and successful. "I was raised with two brothers and a mother," Huerta explained, and "there was no sexism. My mother was a strong woman and she did not favor my brothers. There was no idea that men were superior." Huerta elaborated: "At home, we all shared equally in the household tasks." Fernandez made unconventional choices throughout her life, and she encouraged Dolores to do the same. Huerta followed that advice as she became increasingly active in the farm labor movement (Rose 1990, Baer 1975, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

Dolores's mother also provided her children with middle-class aspirations and a strong sense of racial equality. In her elementary school, Mexican-American, African-American, and white children "were all thrown in together," but in high school, Dolores confronted increased economic and racial segregation. Huerta took her education very seriously and did quite well, but she continued to develop a strong sense of the ways in which economic and racial injustice pervaded American society. A trip to Mexico City with her mother heightened her racial pride and further convinced her that the racist treatment directed at Mexicans in the U.S. was deplorable. Upon returning home Huerta began to consider leading a life of social activism (Huerta 1975).

After a failed marriage to her high school boyfriend left her to raise three children, Huerta moved back in with her mother and enrolled in community college courses in Stockton (where she was the only Chicana student). By 1955, the year in which Fred Ross arrived in Stockton, Dolores had earned her teaching credentials from the College of the Pacific. She also married Ventura Huerta and had four more children. But she had not given up her desire to find a way to fight social injustices. Ross would offer her the opportunity she sought (Baer 1974, Huerta 1975).

When Ross met with Huerta and other members of Stockton's Mexican-American community, he shared the ideas that he had discussed at house meetings in Sal Si Puedes and elsewhere. She was skeptical as Ross shared stories of their successes in San Jose and elsewhere, but just as he had done with Cesar, Fred won Dolores over. Dolores, like Cesar, credited Ross with changing the course of her life. Ross assigned Huerta to a voter-registration campaign and she threw herself into the work. With the registration drive underway, Huerta joined Ross in efforts to reform the police department, to get better treatment for Mexican Americans at the county hospital, and to have sidewalks built in the barrio (Huerta 1975).

As Dolores's involvement in the CSO continued, she heard more and more about Cesar. Ross was so impressed by him, she had little choice. When she finally met Chavez, she was initially unimpressed due to his reticence. Given time, though, Huerta came to know her CSO colleague quite well. By the end of the decade, Huerta's path had crossed Chavez's so many times that she had come to know him, trust him, and admire him for his remarkable skills as an organizer and a leader. A common bond developed between the two activists (Rose 2002, Etulain 2002, Taylor 1975 Matthiessen 1973).

While Huerta remained involved with the Stockton CSO chapter during the mid-1950s, Chavez continued the assignment Ross had given him after his Oakland campaign: organizing the towns of the San Joaquin Valley. Cesar approached this assignment with great eagerness, for it brought him back to the towns he had known as a teen-age migrant. More important, it gave him the opportunity to hone his skills as an organizer of Mexican American farm workers. But Cesar grew increasingly committed to helping farm workers and figuring out how to organize them so that they might be empowered to help themselves (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

CHAVEZ'S TRANSITION FROM COMMUNITY ORGANIZER TO LABOR ORGANIZER

Perhaps Chavez's greatest discovery during these years working in the fields for the CSO was that assistance to farm workers could be used as an organizing tool. When Chavez was organizing a new CSO chapter, he would set up a service center like that in Sal Si Puedes. Through these service centers he would be able to help the people who came to him with personal problems. Not surprisingly, he attributed this willingness to the example his mother set for him as a young boy. And then "one night it just hit me," Chavez explained:

> "Once you helped people, most became very loyal. . . Once I realized helping people was an organizing technique, I increased that work. I was willing to work day and night and go to hell and back for people—provided they also did something for the CSO in return. . . . For a long time we didn't know how to put that work together into an organization. But we learned after a while—we learned how to help people [commit to an organization] by making them responsible." (Levy 1975)

Chavez was effectively synthesizing lessons he had learned about labor organizing, community organizing, and civil rights activism with the lessons about sacrifice, service to others, and inclusiveness that he had carried with him since his childhood (Levy 1975).

Cesar's dedication to building a solid, powerful organization for farm workers piqued the interest of Chicanos such as Gilbert Padilla. The son of migrant farm workers, Padilla was born in a labor camp in the late 1920s. He grew up in the fields and tried to escape the life of the migrant farm labor by enlisting in the military. After his army discharge in 1947, Gil found himself returning to Los Banos in California's central valley with his brothers and being offered a lower wage than that of the braceros. Increasingly disgusted with the racist treatment received in the fields, Padilla found work in a dry-cleaning business and started a civil rights group, Club Mexico. In 1957 he was back in the fields of Kings County, and two years later, he met Cesar Chavez and soon joined his CSO efforts. He would go on to volunteer for the organization from 1957 to 1961 and then joined Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta as the organization's only paid staff members (Taylor 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

The year after he recruited Padilla into the CSO, Chavez accepted an assignment that proved to be one of the most significant in his transition from community organizer to labor organizer. During the summer of 1958, the United Packinghouse Workers union offered Saul Alinsky and the CSO twenty thousand dollars to organize a chapter in Oxnard where the Chavez family had lived during the winter of 1938. The union was trying to organize the field and packing-shed workers and asked Chavez to open a CSO office in Oxnard (Daniel 1987, Levy 1975, Matthiessen 1973).

Chavez held numerous house meetings in Oxnard during the fall of 1958 in order to further the CSO agenda, but local Mexican Americans kept bringing up one issue: growers were giving their jobs to braceros. One of the largest bracero camps in the country, the Buena Vista Camp which housed as many as 28,000 Mexican farm workers, was located in Oxnard. As Chavez began to investigate the abuses of the Bracero Program in Oxnard, he discovered how growers, working with corrupt Farm Labor Placement Service officials, blocked local farm workers from getting jobs and then claimed the existence of a labor shortage so that they could import braceros. Cesar continued to work on organizing a CSO chapter and dedicated most of his thirteen months in Oxnard to attacking the Bracero Program.

Chavez began by gathering evidence to prove that growers abused the Bracero Program by accompanying farm workers to the Farm Labor Placement Service office, where officials made them spend several hours filling out referral cards. By the time they would arrive in the fields, growers would tell them that all the jobs were taken. Chavez retained their referral cards to verify their efforts. A second part of the campaign, a boycott of local merchants, was designed to apply indirect pressure on growers. A third technique was a sit-down strike, first used at the Jones Ranch in April 1959. Chavez and his companions would find a crew of braceros in a field and sit down across from them. The braceros usually stopped working and, when the foremen arrived with local police, Chavez would demand that the braceros be taken back to the labor camps so that local farm workers who accompanied him could have their jobs. Chavez also put pressure on public officials. Cesar called the Department of Employment offices every day for a month, before he finally got the director on the telephone. One night in the spring of 1959 a sympathetic official from the Bureau of Employment Security called to tell Cesar that "these people don't want any investigations. . . . They don't want any publicity . . . and you've got everybody shook up." Cesar began formulating a fifth tactic. The next morning Oxnard farm workers

began to march in the streets and to the fields (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975).

Farm workers and CSO volunteers implemented Chavez' plan to get all of the publicity they could. Meanwhile, Cesar led seventy farm workers to the employment office where they filled out hundreds of referral cards. More farm workers joined them later and, by the time they began marching to the Jones Ranch, farm workers driving fifty cars, numerous policemen, and several reporters had joined them. When the assembly arrived at the ranch Chavez delivered a speech culminating with a condemnation of the referral cards, burned his card, and watched as other farm workers followed suit. The farm workers began to realize their strength, and Chavez discovered the importance of symbolic acts of commitment (Ross 1989, Levy 1975).

The following month Chavez led a march through the streets of Oxnard . Volunteers created signs and one woman brought a banner of the Virgin de Guadelupe, who Cesar decided should lead the march. As the march left the CSO office and spilled into the street, hundreds of people started joining in, taking up signs and singing marching tunes and hymns. On that day, Chavez "discovered the power of the march. We started with a couple of hundred people in la colonia," he told writer Jacques Levy. "[B]y the time we got through, we must have had ten thousand people" (Levy 1975).

One of their biggest victories came after the march when the growers agreed to hire people at the CSO office which became a hiring hall. The CSO chapter office in Oxnard became a model for the hiring halls created by the United Farm Workers the following decade. Growers now came directly to the CSO office to request workers. With more than one thousand members, most of whom were farm workers, the CSO chapter had become an agricultural labor union in everything but name. As the summer of 1959 drew to a close, Chavez was eager to establish a union and to sign contracts with area growers (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975).

The AFL-CIO, which had just begun its own effort to organize agricultural labor in California, pressured the CSO board of directors to reject Chavez's plan to establish a farm labor union in Oxnard. A number of developments had coincided to push the AFL-CIO into the fields and led the organization to see Chavez's plan as detrimental to its own. Ernesto Galarza's NAWU (formerly the NFLU) folded in 1959, but Galarza's campaign against the Bracero Program succeeded in focusing national attention on the plight of migrant farm workers and the unchecked power of western growers. A group of religious leaders, labor leaders, and progressive politicians formed the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor and began to lobby AFL-CIO President George Meany. When Father Thomas McCullough failed to persuade Meany to act,, he returned to Stockton, and with the help of Dolores Huerta organized the Agricultural Workers Association (AWA).

Internal politics of the AFL-CIO influenced its decision to become active in organizing farm labor. Meany knew AFL-CIO Vice President Walter Reuther had an increasing interest in organizing agricultural labor, and, as the two men fought for control of the AFL-CIO, Meany hoped to prevent Reuther from turning farm workers into a personal power base (Ganz 2000, Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

In February 1959, Meany decided to charter the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC). Meany allocated funding to the AWOC, but his appointment of Norman Smith (a former organizer of midwestern autoworkers) as director combined with his insistence on quick results at the local level did not bode well for the organization's long-term success (Ganz 2000, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997). To Smith's credit, he recognized the talent of Dolores Huerta, who rose to the position of AWOC secretary-treasurer after the AWA became a part of the AWOC. Huerta, in turn, recruited Larry Itliong, a Filipino farm worker who had risen to a position of leadership in UCAPAWA during the late 1930s. Still, the AWOC's top leadership demonstrated a poor understanding of the complexities of farm labor organizing in California; they often ignored the advice of Huerta (who left the union within a year) and that of Ernesto Galarza (who served on the AWOC staff until he quit in frustration). They also failed to gain a following among Mexican American farm workers, the single largest group of farm workers in California. By the early 1960s, the faltering AWOC leadership would begin to view Chavez as a serious rival (Ganz 2000, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Chavez had been angered and frustrated by the CSO's fear of a territorial dispute with the AFL-CIO over the organization of Oxnard farm workers. Although he began to think about leaving the CSO, his appointment in 1959 as executive director, with its promise of greater influence over the CSO agenda, convinced Chavez to stay. Chavez moved into the CSO headquarters in Los Angeles. His experiences

in Oxnard confirmed his desire to dedicate himself to the farm workers' struggle, and convinced him that he would be capable of organizing a farm labor union when the next opportunity arose. The techniques he used in Oxnard—the boycott, sit-down strikes, marches behind religious images, the use of media, and the lobbying of public officials—represented both old and new community-organizing and labor-organizing tactics (Levy 1975, (Ganz 2000, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

During his three year tenure as executive director of the CSO, Chavez guided the organization to continued gains, developed relationships with members of the Mexican American Political Association and other civil rights activists, and earned a reputation as one of the most important civil rights leaders in the American West. By 1962, the CSO had grown to twenty-two chapters, helped tens of thousands of Chicanos register to vote, led thousands of Mexican immigrants through the naturalization process and provided Chicanos with a sense of power within the political system (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1997).

Chavez continued to unsuccessfully lobby the CSO board of directors to support his plans for a farm workers' union. Displeased with continued opposition from the board and with the general drift of the CSO away from the working class and the fields, Cesar "started a revolt" (Jensen and Hammerback 2002).

In the winter of 1962, the CSO board of directors finally agreed to support a pilot project to organize farm workers, but with two conditions: that Chavez's salary be paid from farm workers' dues and that a majority of the CSO membership vote to endorse the project. The membership considered the proposal at the annual convention in March 1962 but voted against it, wanting to maintain the CSO's focus on urban and civic issues, not on the plight of rural labor. On the final day of the convention, Chavez resigned. A couple of weeks later, Cesar moved his family from Los Angeles to Delano to begin the creation of a viable agricultural labor union (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

IV. The Organization of the Farm Workers Association in California, 1962-1965

Although Cesar's decision to leave the CSO came as a surprise to almost everyone involved with the organization, he had discussed the idea with Helen Chavez in advance. He warned her that the task of forming a union would require a great deal of work and sacrifice and the prospects were daunting. Despite numerous attempts over the previous eighty years, farm workers in California had been unable to overcome the obstacles set up by growers and the politicians, courts, and law enforcement officials who supported them. They had been unable to form a union strong enough to counterbalance the power of the agricultural industry. In confronting this history, Chavez was challenging a deeply entrenched way of life, a system that benefited growers but denied farm workers a larger share of the industry's wealth, a measure of security for their families and even challenged their dignity.

More immediately, Cesar and Helen had no income and eight children to support; nonetheless Chavez had decided to move forward with his plans. Between 1962 and 1965 he worked to build the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), a forerunner to the United Farm Workers (UFW). As this section of the study reveals, Chavez had help. His wife and children made sacrifices large and small, and Helen eventually accepted a position working for the union. Dolores Huerta and Gilbert Padilla left the CSO not long after Cesar did in order to become co-leaders of the effort. They were joined by Cesar's brother Richard, his cousin Manuel, Rev. Jim Drake, and others. Just as important, Chavez had developed a vision for the union built on a solid grasp of the history of efforts to create and sustain an agricultural labor union. This vision was turning into a reality when Filipino farm workers affiliated with the AWOC unexpectedly began the Delano grape strike in 1965.

When Cesar decided to leave the CSO, he and Helen chose Delano for a number of reasons. Their family network in Delano provided them with the support to take the risks required to organize a farm workers' union. Chavez also had tactical reasons for picking Delano. He knew that the nature of agricultural production in the area had enabled the stabilization of Delano's agricultural labor force. By the 1960s, the area's vast acres of grapes (which require constant tending) provided year-round employment for several thousand Mexican-American and Filipino farm workers (London and Anderson 1970, Dunne 1971, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Hammerback and Jensen 1998).

The roots of the Delano grape industry reach back as far as 1873, the year in which the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Delano and provided a connection

with urban markets. The cultivation of grapes on a large scale began in the 1920s when Joseph Di Giorgio bought thousands of acres of land and drilled hundreds of feet into the earth to tap the water table with powerful electric pumps. During the late 1930s, Delano also attracted dozens of smaller-scale Yugoslavian growers, most of whom came from families that had tended grapes along the Adriatic Sea. These smaller-scale growers set the tone for civic and social life in Delano (Dunne 1971, Kushner 1975, Scharlin and Villanueva 2000).

The completion of Highway 99 through Delano reinforced the town's social and spatial divisions previously marked by the railroad tracks. By the time Cesar and Helen returned to Delano in 1962, the town of fourteen thousand residents had come to resemble other towns up and down the valley in its social order and spatial form. Delano had a small business district that ran parallel to the highway. The north and east sides of Delano were the middle-class residential areas where most of the town's white population lived. This part of town also included the high school, the municipal park, the hospital, an International Harvester retailer, a branch of the Bank of America, a furniture store, and the Stardust Motel. Across the tracks to the west sat the last of the honky-tonk bars, several cheap hotels and boardinghouses, liquor stores, and draw-poker parlors. Further west were the working-class residential areas where most Mexican Americans, Filipinos, African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Arab Americans made their homes (Dunne 1971).

Among those living on the west side of Delano were many of the area's farm workers, those who worked for Di Giorgio and other growers. Because this work required a stable, year round and semi-skilled work force, vineyard workers were able to command higher wages than migrant farm workers received and achieve a measure of economic security. Chavez felt that Delano-area farm workers were in a better position to support organizing efforts and would be easier to hold together as a bargaining force (Hammerback and Jensen 1998, Dunne 1971, Matthiessen 1973).

FORMATION OF THE NFWA

When Cesar and Helen arrived in Delano in April 1962, the cheapest house they could find to rent was a wood-frame house on the east side of Delano on Kensington Street. The house was modest in size, and its appearance made it stand out against middle class section of town's tidy homes. The Chavez family lived in the house for eight years, during which time Cesar first articulated his vision for a farm workers' union. The Chavez's, Dolores Huerta, other organizers, and thousands of farm workers made sacrifices to create what would become the United Farm Workers (Matthiessen 1973, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Taylor 1975, Coplon 1984).

Chavez's vision for a farm workers' union had developed during his years with the CSO, but his ideas also were shaped by his understanding of agricultural labor history and his desire to create a viable alternative to the AWOC. Cesar wanted his organization to be built through the community organizing techniques he had developed in the CSO, blending elements of the ethnic labor associations and *mutualistas* (mutual-aid societies) prevalent in barrios and colonias throughout the West and Southwest (Ganz 2000, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

Chavez admired organizers and farm workers who had suffered through poverty and violence in their efforts to form unions, but he recognized many of their mistakes. He concluded, for example, that the first weeks of a strike were crucial. More important, Chavez saw that most organizers thought that they couldn't organize unless they struck at the same time (Levy 1975). Chavez became convinced of the importance of organizing first—developing a real community of farm workers and providing mutual benefits to strengthen it—before pushing for contracts and calling for strikes. In this sense, he translated the CSO's community-organizing tactics into a labor-organizing strategy.

During the first eighteen months of its existence in 1959 and 1960, the AWOC led more than 150 strikes and gained some wage increases, but due to a lack of foundation among farm workers, the union lacked the strength to sustain strikes and secure contracts. As part of the same strategy, the AWOC organized by going through labor contractors rather than going into the fields among farm workers themselves. As Dolores Huerta later pointed out, this was one of AWOC's biggest mistakes (Levy 1975, Jensen and Hammerback 2002, Ganz 2000, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Dunne 1971, Majka and Majka 1982).

"Once in Delano," Chavez recalled, "the first thing I did was draw a map by hand of all the towns between Arvin and Stockton, eighty-six of them, including farming camps" (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975). Cesar decided to visit all of them, crisscrossing the San Joaquin Valley in his old station wagon, talking to

farm workers and gauging their reactions to his idea of a union. As he had done during his days as a CSO organizer, Chavez spent a lot of time on the road and saw little of his family. "It's very difficult to ask your wife and children to make a sacrifice," Cesar acknowledged. "…but I had no difficulty in that decision, [because] Helen wanted to do it" (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975).

Indeed, Helen Chavez's willingness to work in the vineyards and fields while also taking care of eight children helped make Cesar's work possible. Helen remembered working ten-hour days, five days a week, earning about eighty-five cents an hour. From her perspective, "the beginning of the union was the roughest time we had." Still, she tried to shield Cesar from her worries and frustrations.

Cesar and Helen struggled to make ends meet during the first months of organizing the new union which was called the Farm workers Association (FWA), but family, friends, and new supporters became committed to La Causa. Even though Cesar's brother Richard worked full-time as a carpenter, he helped out when he could and offered construction work when Cesar was short on money. Cesar's sister Rita and her husband mortgaged their home and loaned Cesar and Helen some money. And his cousin Manuel gave up a job as a car salesman in San Diego in order to join Cesar in Delano. Manuel's impatience with being poor and hungry led the men to the doors of strangers, asking for food. Cesar quickly realized that this way of meeting farm workers—seeking and accepting their hospitality—offered another organizing tool (Levy 1975, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

This discovery led Cesar to the home of Julio Hernandez, a farm worker from Corcoran who quickly became one of the FWA's strongest advocates and most successful organizers, eventually becoming a union vice-president. Like other farm workers whom Chavez met in the early 1960s, Hernández initially was skeptical, but Cesar won him over and the enthusiastic organizer went on to draw more than three hundred farm workers into the union, more than any other recruiter in the valley. Fred Ross continued to give Cesar his support, and the two often met to discuss problems and strategies. Dolores Huerta and Gil Padilla, Cesar's colleagues on the CSO staff agreed to leave their positions with the CSO to become co-founders of the FWA (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Taylor 1975).

Huerta had become prominent as a CSO staff member and as one of the nation's foremost Chicana trade-union activists by the early 1960s holding positions on the California Welfare Commission and on an AFL-CIO advisory commission. Federal officials often consulted her about issues of race and poverty. Cesar asked her to join him in founding the FWA, but he expected her to give up her CSO salary and to move with her seven children from Stockton to Delano. Like Gil, Dolores remained on the CSO staff after Cesar resigned—she would have had no income otherwise—but she began to organize for the FWA on the side. Cesar pressured Huerta to leave the CSO, but he could not offer her any pay. Huerta wanted to leave the CSO and work full-time for the FWA. She had misgivings over the conflict of interest presented by her employment with the CSO which refused to support the work of organizing agricultural labor. Dolores decided to sacrifice her salary, join Cesar full-time and moved to Delano in 1964 (Taylor 1975, Rose 2002, Levy 1975).

Another of Cesar's contacts from his CSO days was Rev. Chris Hartmire, the director of an interdenominational group known as the California Migrant Ministry (CMM). The CMM had a long history of doing charitable work among the state's farm workers, and Hartmire encouraged Cesar's efforts. More important, he decided to assign Rev. Jim Drake and his wife Susan to work with Cesar in Delano and continue to pay Drake's full salary. The minister's increasingly avid outreach efforts among Protestants and his administrative assistance would prove invaluable (Levy 1975, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

Many individuals helped shape the FWA, but six of them—Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Gil Padilla, Manuel Chavez, Julio Hernández, and Jim Drake—formed the team that created the union. As Cesar explained, this small group "began to form this really close, really tight community. We began to set rules, not written, but understood. We wanted only people with a real commitment" (Levy 1975).

Dolores's commitment paralleled Cesar's. In the mid-1970s she observed that her thirteen years of organizing, disregard for her personal life, and constricted involvement in the lives of her children resulted in her life being the union. Huerta's commitment took time and a great deal of struggle and sacrifice. After her second divorce in 1961, Huerta fought for custody of her children,. Fortunately, family members and friends offered their help. Huerta took on translation and teaching work and even harvest-time work in the fields in addition to her work for the FWA. Yet this sometimes was not enough to provide what she needed. Still,

Dolores embraced her work and her leadership role in the FWA (Dunne 1971, Levy 1975, Rose 1990a, Rose 1990b, Rose 2002, Fujita-Rony 2002, Baer and Matthews 1974, Coburn 1976).

By the end of the spring of 1962, the team had begun to develop a strategy for promoting the FWA. First, they chose to call their organization an "association" and focused on the services it would provide. This reflected Chavez's theory of organizing and his firm belief that support would be rewarded with loyalty. Second, they produced hundreds of thousands of fliers with a questionnaire that asked farm workers for their names, addresses, and wages they thought they deserved. As the questionnaires began coming in, they provided contacts for setting up house meetings—the final part of Chavez's organizing strategy. Cesar ran these house meetings differently than he had as a CSO organizer because he wanted farm workers to tell him what their concerns were and what services they needed. Chavez was committed to creating a union that would be guided from the bottom-up. This meant delaying any thoughts of strikes and contracts. At the house meetings, farm workers felt free to talk about economic matters such as wages and the price of staples such as rice and beans, which they often had to purchase from company stores. They also aired frustrations about work conditions and the abuses they suffered at the hands of labor contractors (Taylor 1975).

Chavez and the other members of the organizing team began to plan for a founding convention and continued to recruit farm workers, attend house meetings, and help solve problems throughout San Joaquin Valley. Soon they were helping farm workers deal with police harassment, nonpayment of wages, workmen's compensation issues, and poor service at county hospitals. By the fall of 1962, Chavez and the other organizers had built support among enough farm labor communities to anticipate a successful convention (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Levy 1975).

The convention was held in Fresno where the team's plan was presented. The Farm Workers Association would lobby the governor's office to establish a minimum wage for farm labor of $1.50 an hour and to recognize farm workers' right to unemployment insurance. The FWA would avoid promoting itself as a union, but it would advocate for collective bargaining rights. It would establish services such as a life insurance plan, a credit union, a co-op, and a hiring hall. The FWA would adopt a constitution and elect officers, and it would set dues at $3.50 per month. The 287 convention participants embraced this plan and elected Cesar Chavez to the office of president; Dolores Huerta, Gil Padilla, Julio Hernández, and Rodrigo Terronez to the office of vice-president; and Antonio Orendain to the office of secretary-treasurer. They also accepted the proposed level of dues. The only real debate revolved around the union's flag. When Manuel unveiled the proposed flag—with its simple black thunderbird set against a white circle on a red flag—many convention participants gasped. Some thought the flag was Communistic, others that it too closely resembled the Nazi flag, and all of them clamored for an explanation. Finally Manuel told them that the black eagle represented the dark situation of the farm worker, the white circle signified hope, and the red background stood for all of the hard work and sacrifice that the union's members would have to contribute in order to gain justice for farm workers. The participants adopted the flag and chose "*Viva La Causa*" as their motto (Ferriss and Sandavol 1997, Levy 1975).

During the following months, Chavez and the other officers worked to implement their plan. Cesar returned to Delano to continue handling cases and to draft the union's constitution. Gil and Dolores hired a lawyer to write articles of incorporation. Dolores then headed to Sacramento with Manuel to begin lobbying for the FWA program while Gil began working on a life insurance program. Setting up a credit union proved easy by comparison. Richard Chavez had built a small one-bedroom house in Delano and Cesar realized that the house could be used as collateral to secure a loan and finance the credit union. The credit union opened and, at the suggestion of Dolores Huerta, Helen was recruited to manage its books (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval, Rose 2002, Taylor 1975, Rose 1990).

By early 1963 the FWA was a successfully functioning organization. It operated under a constitution, collected dues, and offered a variety of services to its membership. Its offices eventually moved from the Chavez home to an old building located at 102 Albany Street, in the far southwest corner of Delano. Richard Chavez donated his labor to fix up the place, and the FWA had a party when he finished (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975).

Still, the FWA struggled to recruit members and to collect dues. Chavez did not want the union to become reliant on outsiders and their money so collection of dues was important to him. Just as important, he saw that "once a guy had paid a whole year's dues, $42.50, if anybody said anything wrong

about the union or anybody in the union, that guy was like a lion. He had commitment" (Levy 1975). The commitment and the solidarity it fostered would be crucial if the FWA expected to have a chance of getting growers to raise wages, improve working conditions, and sign contracts.

Two events during the first half of 1965 demonstrated that the FWA had the strength to stand up for its members against the pressure of growers, labor contractors, policemen and local government officials. The union's first strike occurred in May 1965 in response to broken promises regarding wages to rose field workers. The FWA organized the workers for about a month and called a strike. The company countered by importing a group of unskilled workers from Mexico. Workers returned to work after the fourth day with concessions of a small wage increase. No contract was signed, however, and the wage increase remained nothing more than a temporary concession (Taylor 1975).

The union also supported a rent strike near Porterville. Jim Drake and Gil Padilla, both of whom were paid by CMM but worked in conjunction with the FWA, found out that the Tulare County Housing Authority was generating a sizable profit from the Woodville and Linnell labor camps. The county health department had condemned the camps in 1965, but the housing authority continued to run the camps anyway. With the help of Cesar, Dolores, CMM worker David Havens, and a few other volunteers, Jim and Gil organized a summer-long rent strike against the Housing Authority and the J. D. Martin Ranch, where most of the Woodville rent strikers were employed. While this strike was quite improvised, it was notable for its effectiveness in raising awareness of the FWA. The black eagle of the FWA flag appeared in public for the first time. By the end of the summer, one new supporter—a Berkeley undergraduate named Doug Adair—had decided to move to Delano to join editor Bill Esher on the staff of the FWA's newspaper, *El Malcriado* (meaning "the unruly one") , which had debuted the previous December (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Taylor 1975, Levy 1975).

As the third anniversary of the FWA founding convention approached, Chavez thought that the union was on the right track. However, its treasury was low and the union received no support from national labor organizations. The rose-workers' strike and the rent strike revealed the union's continued weaknesses. The FWA had managed to survive for three years and had grown to twelve hundred members. Chavez thought the FWA would be ready to sustain strikes and win contracts by the fall harvest of 1968 (Levy 1975). Meanwhile, Filipino farm workers in Delano, most of whom were AWOC members, voted to go on strike in September 1965, beginning what would become a five-year campaign to bring the California table-grape industry—and 70,000 farm workers—under union contracts.

V. The Delano Grape Strike in Kern County, California and Across the U.S., 1965-1970

During the years of the Delano grape strike, Chavez drew on all of the lessons he had learned and the experiences he had gone through since his boyhood. The years of the Delano strike also revealed the strength of the team of organizers and labor leaders that surrounded Chavez. If Helen Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Gil Padilla, Richard Chavez, Manuel Chavez, Jim Drake, and other activists (particularly Filipino labor organizers Larry Itliong and Philip Vera Cruz) were the right people to join Cesar in leading the Delano grape strike, September 1965 was the right time for that strike to begin.

This section of the study focuses on the most important period in the modern history of the farm labor movement in the American West. It highlights the central role that Cesar Chavez played in the strike but it also reveals how other leaders, union members, and urban supporters continued to define and strengthen La Causa. It also points to the importance of historical context. Several events and developments during the 1960s cleared a space that the farm labor movement never before had been able to claim and use.

Conditions favorable to the farm labor movement had been developing since the late 1950s. The array of progressive and pro-labor groups that had pressured the AFL-CIO to create the AWOC in 1959 continued to mount a campaign against the Bracero Program. Ernesto Galarza remained the most vocal critic of the program, but other organizations applied increasing pressure on Congress to better regulate the program and to let it expire in 1961. The successes of the civil rights movement and the election of John F. Kennedy also gave members of these organizations hope that American society was entering a new era, one that would see improvement in the lives of migrant farm workers, racial minorities, and the working poor. The broadcast of Edward R. Murrow's powerful documentary, *Harvest of Shame*, in November 1960

attracted further support for their efforts (Majka and Majka 1982).

Congress voted in 1961 to extend the life of the Bracero Program for two more years, but in March 1963 the House voted against extending the program an additional two years. Though the Kennedy administration pushed through a final one-year extension, the Bracero Program ended on December 31, 1964.

The following spring, Chavez called some of California's Chicano political leaders, labor organizers, and civil rights activists to Delano to talk about their window of opportunity. Chavez and his fellow participants in the farm labor movement were inspired by Martin Luther King, Jr., and others who fought and sacrificed for civil rights. They saw commonalities between their campaigns as did supporters of the civil rights movement in the cities and on the college campuses beyond Delano. Both King and Chavez were strong, charismatic leaders, who were dedicated to inter-racial alliances and nonviolent resistance. Both were willing to serve their causes as symbols and spokesmen, however, they understood the necessity of grassroots organizing and empowerment (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

Larry Itliong initiates the Delano Grape Strike

In the spring of 1965, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz declared that braceros could be imported under Public Law 414 on an "emergency" basis if a labor shortage were to arise. He set $1.40 an hour as the braceros' minimum wage. When grape growers in the Imperial and Coachella Valleys subsequently offered their Filipino workers only $1.25 an hour, Larry Itliong and Ben Gines of the AWOC demanded the same pay as that offered to braceros. After short strikes, the growers agreed to their demand. When the grape harvest moved north into the Arvin area, however, growers decided to set $1.25 an hour as the prevailing wage. Filipino farm workers again went on strike, but this time they lost (Majka and Majka 1982).

Larry Itliong, whom Dolores Huerta had recruited into the AWOC, was prepared to renew the fight when the grape harvest reached Delano, but he knew that the area presented a more challenging situation. The Delano agricultural economy employed a stable labor force, and many of the Filipino farm workers had lived in Delano for thirty years. Still, most of these farm workers were aging bachelors who had nowhere to live except in the labor camps located on Delano ranches. If the AWOC called a strike, growers could respond by shutting off the electricity and gas to their bunkhouses or by evicting them. Itliong approached Chavez for support. Chavez told them that the organization was a union, but that it was in no position to initiate a strike over the wage issue (Taylor 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Levy 1975).

Itliong's efforts to secure support from the AWOC leadership were rebuffed. George Meany's disappointment with the organization had led him to close down the AWOC in the early 1960s and reactivate it nine months later with a new staff of professionals and a new national director, Al Green. In the fall of 1965, Green was trying to build a membership base large enough to justify the AFL-CIO's investment, which had ballooned to one million dollars. Green had no interest in grape workers and was, working behind the scenes with the Teamsters to organize citrus grove and packinghouse workers. Ronald Taylor notes that, as far as Green was concerned, "the Filipinos were on their own" (Scharlin and Villanueva 2000, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Itliong was cautious when Filipino farm workers in Delano wanted to strike. He sent letters to nine growers asking for the wages that many of them had paid at their operations in southern California, but his letters were ignored. Finally, on September 8, 1965, the members of the Delano-area local of the AWOC met for a strike vote at the Filipino Community Hall. Itliong offered a series of warnings about the sacrifices that could be involved, but the majority of Filipino farm workers courageous vote to go on strike. Former UFW Vice-President Philip Vera Cruz characterized the vote as "one of the most significant and famous decisions ever made in the entire history of the farm workers' labor struggles in California" (Scharlin and Villanueva 2000, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

The FWA Joins the Delano Grape Strike

Chavez knew that Itliong had been thinking about the possibility of a strike, but the Filipino labor leader had not informed anyone in the FWA that he would hold a vote. Cesar never considered breaking the strike, but he was not sure if the FWA was ready to join it. Helen Chavez was more certain. When Cesar

consulted his wife, she asked, "Well, what are we? Aren't we a union? That's what we're a union for, right?" (Scharlin and Villanueva 2000, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997). After speaking with Helen, Chavez along with the rest of the FWA board offered Itliong their unconditional support, but told him that they would need to call a general meeting of the membership in order to hold a vote. Chavez set the date of the meeting for September 16, Mexican Independence Day.

While the strike attracted two thousand workers—most of whom were Filipino—and spread to twenty ranches. FWA organizers furiously planned their general meeting. They inserted fliers in *El Malcriado* (the union's newspaper) and distributed leaflets in Delano, McFarland, Earlimart, and other valley towns, announcing the meeting and proclaiming "Now is when every worker, without regard to race, color, and nationality, should support the strike and under no circumstances work in the ranches that have been struck" (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997). Looking for a place large enough to hold the meeting, Cesar turned to Father Francis Alabart, the pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church in Delano where the Chavez family attended Mass.

On the night of September 16, 1965, as many as fifteen hundred men, women, and children crowded into the church hall, filled the doorways and windows, and gathered outside. The crowd overwhelmingly voted to strike. Gil Padilla opened the meeting and introduced speakers who recounted the history of the AWOC strike and explained the stakes. Chavez spoke at length, stressing the seriousness of the decision to join the strike and the need for nonviolent action modeled after that of the civil rights movement. He then invited farm workers in the audience to express their thoughts after which, when Chavez asked for a strike vote, they overwhelmingly raised their hands, and their voices. They chanted: '*Huelga! Huelga! Huelga! Huelga!*' and began to clap in rhythm." The sentiment was clear. Within a few days, organizers had counted twenty-seven hundred cards signed by farm workers authorizing the FWA to represent them. On Monday, September 20, the FWA (newly renamed the National Farm Workers Association or NFWA) struck thirty Delano-area ranches (Taylor 1975).

Delano growers thought that Father Alabart had betrayed them. Growers pressured the hierarchy of the Catholic Church to distance itself from Chavez and the farm labor movement. The Church's failure to do more to help farm workers disappointed and angered Chavez. He had appreciated the efforts of Father McDonnell and a few other priests over the years, but his interactions with the California Migrant Ministry made him wonder why the Catholic Church was not doing the same. César and other Catholics working in the CSO and the FWA asked "why the Protestants come out here and help people, demand nothing, and give all their time to serving farm workers, while our own parish priests stay in their churches. . . ?" (Etulain 2002). Chavez would remain critical of the Church at least until March 1966, when the Catholic Bishops of California publicly endorsed the Delano strike. Nevertheless, Catholicism itself would provide a vital source of strength for Chavez and a unifying force for the farm labor movement throughout the years of the Delano grape strike (Etulain 2002, Kushner 1975, Day 1971).

The NFWA leadership had asked the membership to wait until September 20 to strike so they could prepare. Chavez, still unsure that the NFWA could survive a large strike, rushed out letters seeking negotiations with growers or mediation from state officials which were ignored. NFWA leaders wanted to call upon CMM Director Chris Hartmire for support and supplies. Chavez arranged a meeting with Al Green at the Stardust Motel in Delano on September 19. As Cesar explained, "I proposed that we have a joint strike committee, a joint finance committee…We said we would recognize him as the leader of the strike" (Levy 1975). Green balked, saying he could not agree to anything without authorization from AFL-CIO headquarters (which he refused to call). Chavez's proposal marked a potential turning point in the history of the farm labor movement. (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Levy 1975).

Despite Green's obstinence, Larry Itliong agreed to a measure of cooperation with the NFWA. The union lacked money to fund a strike and sufficient facilities to serve as strike headquarters, but the AWOC had resources to share. The Filipino Community Hall on 1457 Glenwood Street in Delano had been converted into the AWOC's strike headquarters. The hall had a large meeting room, large kitchens, a dining room, office space, and rooms for storage. Soon after the NFWA strike vote, Itliong invited the Chicano farm workers to share the Filipino Community Hall. The NFWA retained its own offices at First and Albany, but it also set up a small office in the hall and rented an adjoining "*huelga* house." The food served to striking farm workers at the Filipino Community Hall quickly came to reflect the inter-ethnic nature of their alliance. Tacos and tamales began to show up next to platters of lumpia and adobo dishes in the dining room as the hall continued to offer a hot meal every

day for hungry pickets (Taylor 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Dunne 1971).

The Filipino Community Hall took on great historical significance during the Delano grape strike. Not only was it associated with important events, including the AWOC strike vote in September 1965, a pivotal speech by UAW President Walter Reuther in December 1965, and Chavez's announcement of his first public fast in February 1968, the hall highlights the important roles of Filipino farm workers who helped lead the strike and the Filipino community that helped support it (Fujita-Rony 2002).

Philip Vera Cruz once stated that "all that has been written about the union has been focused on the Chicanos . . . and all the resources of the union that were spent in organizing were [spent on] . . . the Chicanos" (Scharlin and Villanueva 2000). Although neither part of Vera Cruz's statement is entirely true, the sentiment it conveys did spring from the verifiable tendency of scholars, writers, and the general public to associate the farm labor movement and its leadership exclusively with Chavez and other Chicanos. Yet such distortions of historical memory contradict the spirit that Chavez himself tried to instill in the movement. Chavez spent a great deal of time during the Delano grape strike at the Filipino Community Hall, and he encouraged Chicano farm labor to do so as well. Growers and labor contractors often segregated Filipino and Chicano farm workers into separate picking crews and exploited ethnic animosities to break up labor disputes. At the Filipino Community Hall, however, Filipino and Chicano pickets began to develop a strong sense of unity. Soon after the strike began, the Filipino Community Hall became the scene of Friday night meetings of all AWOC and NFWA members (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Scharlin and Villanueva 2000, Taylor 1975).

Inter-racial alliances, as well as alliances with religious groups, civil rights activists, and student groups, were crucial after September 1965. Chavez's immediate concern, though, was what would happen in the first few weeks of picketing. By the end of the first day of the strike, more than twelve hundred workers had gone on strike but only two hundred had joined picket lines at vineyards spanning an area of about four hundred square miles around Delano, Earlimart, and McFarland.

The NFWA quickly developed a system of "roving picket lines." Pickets would form a car caravan behind a picket captain, who would lead the way to a ranch location scouted the previous day. At the entrance to the ranch, pickets would gather with signs and flags and await the arrival of the first workers. As workers approached, they were asked to join the picket line or at least withhold their labor from the ranch being struck By mid-morning, after all the sympathetic workers had turned around and the other *esquiroles* ("scabs") had crossed the picket lines, the car caravans would drive the backroads looking for work crews. When one was spotted, the pickets would gather again and urge workers to support their strike with shouts of "*Hay huelga aqui!*" ("There is a strike here!") or, in Tagalog, "*Mag labas kayo, kabayan!*" ("Come out of there, countrymen!")(Taylor 1975, Ganz 2000).

"The picket line is where a man makes his commitment," Chavez said in the late 1960s, "and the longer he's on the picket line, the stronger the commitment." For Chavez, the picket line was a recruiting tool, an organizing tactic, a classroom, and a means of claiming space. California's vast ranches might have been the private property of wealthy growers, but the picket line allowed farm workers to assert their control over public space. Chicana farm workers asserted such control from the beginning of the NFWA involvement in the strike. As the strike wore on, some farm labor families began to decide that the men should look for work on nonstruck ranches while the women stayed to represent their families on the picket lines (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Matthiessen 1973).

During the first few weeks of the strike, growers, foremen, and law enforcement officers acted violently towards those on the picket line. Growers and their supporters continued to play down the strike publicly, but some growers attacked pickets and threatened them with shotguns while law enforcement either looked the other way or took pickets into "protective custody" (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Kushner 1975).

Still, Chavez preached nonviolence. A close observer and supporter of the civil rights movement, he saw the positive national response to civil rights activists' nonviolence in the face of police brutality in Birmingham, Alabama, in April 1963 and in Selma, Alabama, two years later. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his followers received heightened sympathy and support from the public after each of these confrontations, and the federal government was spurred to action. Chavez's own commitment to pacifism grew from his mother's teachings and his readings of Gandhi, but he cast his insistence that pickets resist retaliating against growers' attacks in practical terms (Levy 1975).

Chavez decided to recruit activists from the civil rights movement to teach farm workers nonviolent tactics for the picket line. This decision met some opposition, but students and other volunteers—many of whom participated in the civil rights movement as members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)—quickly answered Chavez's call (Ganz 2000, Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997). One of the first to do so was Marshall Ganz, the future director of the union's international boycott and a future UFW executive board member (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

An emphasis on inclusiveness—and the union's need for support and publicity from beyond Delano—led Cesar, Dolores, and young farm workers such as Jessica Govea and Eliseo Medina to college campuses, churches, and to meetings of other unions, civic groups, and social organizations. When the Kern County sheriff directed his deputies on October 18 to prevent pickets from "disturbing the peace" with shouts of "*huelga*," Cesar planned to have a group of volunteers disobey the order on the same day that he was speaking at the University of California-Berkeley. Jim Drake recruited a group of clergymen and other supporters and notified the sheriff's department, television stations, and newspaper reporters of their intention to use the word "*huelga*." The following day, sheriff's deputies arrested forty-four pickets—including Helen Chavez, Protestant clergymen, and several SNCC and CORE volunteers—for chanting "*huelga*" outside the W. B. Camp Ranch. Chavez received word of the arrests during his speech on the steps in front of UC-Berkeley's Sproul Hall and announced the news to the students in his audience, who began shouting the word and contributing cash. After similar speeches at San Francisco State University, Mills College in Oakland, and Stanford University later that day, Cesar returned to Delano with $6,700 and a new wave of volunteers. Many of them headed immediately to the Kern County Courthouse in Bakersfield, where Helen and the others remained in jail. As many as 350 people gathered outside the courthouse to picket and sing protest songs until those arrested were released (Taylor 1975, Rose 1990, Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Jensen and Hammerback 2002).

Chavez recognized the importance of such symbolic acts of protest and defiance, but no one did more to cultivate them than Luis Valdez. The son of farm workers, Luis Valdez was born in Delano and lived there until he was fourteen. He studied drama at San Jose State University and then joined the San Francisco Mime Troupe. Valdez was drawn to the Delano strike immediately and began a theatrical troupe (El Teatro Campesino), that would entertain pickets and boost morale (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Levy 1975, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

Valdez attracted enough farm workers to begin performing skits at the Friday night meetings at the Filipino Community Hall, on the picket lines, and along march routes. Luis and Cesar soon discovered that the skits, that entertained and educated, were as meaningful for the actors as they were for their audiences. "I found out that one of the hardest things for me to do was to get campesinos to act like growers," Valdez explained. "But the moment that they did the boss, they changed. They became better organizers. They became confident and in control of themselves, and Cesar saw this." The Teatro became a training ground (Galan Productions 1996).

EMERGENCE OF THE GRAPE BOYCOTT

Despite the wave of support and emergence of unexpected resources such as El Teatro Campesino, the farm workers failed to make any headway with the Delano growers before the end of the fall harvest. In December, Chavez decided to launch the NFWA's first boycott, targeting the multiple products of the Schenley Corporation, the second largest grower operation in Delano. In December 1965, Chavez assigned Jim Drake and Mike Miller (a SNCC organizer from San Francisco) to organize the boycott. They in turn recruited a staff of young farm workers and accepted SNCC's offer to help coordinate the campaign. During the next few months these union members and volunteers set up boycotts in about a dozen cities in California and elsewhere in the West.

These first boycotts were narrower in scope, more concentrated on the West Coast, and shorter in duration than the famous table-grape and lettuce boycotts of the later 1960s and 1970s. They relied heavily on white supporters who lived in the cities and only secondarily on farm workers themselves. Nevertheless, the first boycotts helped the union learn valuable lessons, and increased the movement's national exposure (Rose 1990).

Two other developments, one in December 1965 and the other in March 1966, helped make the strike a national event. Walter Reuther, the formidable president of the UAW and vice president of the AFL-CIO, visited Delano on December 16 and almost immediately joined Chavez and Itliong at the head of

a march through the streets of downtown Delano in defiance of a city council resolution passed the day before that prohibited demonstrations and marches. Reuther gave a rousing speech to hundreds of marchers, and members of the media and then met with Delano's mayor and city manager, telling them that "sooner or later these guys are going to win" (Levy 1975).

That evening, more than five hundred farm workers and supporters arrived for a rally at the Filipino Community Hall which was overflowing. Chavez, Larry Itliong, and Al Green joined Reuther on the stage, and when Chavez rose to a thunderous applause Reuther began to see the strength of the NFWA having arrived in Delano prepared to deal primarily with the AWOC. Reuther began his own speech by declaring: "This is not your strike, this is *our* strike!" The crowd roared back: "*Huelga! Viva Reuther! Viva La Causa!*" Reuther then announced that the AFL-CIO had voted to support the strike. Reuther's decision to split the financial support equally between the AWOC and the NFWA gave the NFWA its first recognition and substantial means of support from the wider labor movement. Dozens of reporters from television and newspapers across the country covered the day's events. The following morning, three times the usual number of farm workers joined picket lines in Delano, Los Angeles, and San Francisco (Taylor 1975, Kushner 1975).

When Senator Robert Kennedy came to Delano three months later, he publicly embraced Chavez and the farm labor movement. Kennedy was a member of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor along with Senator Pete Williams and Senator George Murphy. Williams, the subcommittee chairman, had sponsored bills that would ensure a minimum wage for farm labor, collective bargaining rights under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), tighter restrictions on child labor, and tighter control over the Farm Labor Placement Service. When the NFWA suggested that Williams hold hearings in California to bring attention to the bills and the Delano strike, he scheduled three—in Sacramento, Visalia, and Delano on March 14, 15, and 16. Chavez was one of the first witnesses called to testify. Bishop Hugh Donohoe of Stockton also testified that the Catholic Bishops of California, who previously had remained silent regarding the strike, could find "no compelling reason for excluding farm management-labor relations from the National Labor Relations Act" (Taylor 1975). This institutional support from the Catholic Church was important to the striking farm workers, but Catholicism itself continued to play a far greater role in the farm labor movement—as a march to Sacramento in the spring of 1966 would demonstrate.

THE 1966 MARCH TO SACRAMENTO

The idea for the march to Sacramento originated in January 1966. NFWA leaders had retreated to a supporter's home in Santa Barbara to evaluate the Schenley boycott and figure out how to keep farm workers from returning to the vineyards in the spring. Chavez, Huerta, Drake, Ganz, Valdez, Vera Cruz and a few others met and discussed the concept for a march to Sacramento that would pass through most of the farm labor towns. Chavez then suggested that since the march would coincide with Lent perhaps the march should be a pilgrimage which could arrive at Sacramento on Easter Sunday. Plans for the march were made and on March 17 a group of about seventy-five farm workers and thirty supporters began what was then the longest protest march in U.S. history—from the NFWA offices on Albany Street, along Highway 99 in Delano, to the steps of the state capitol building in Sacramento 250 miles to the north (Ganz 2000, Levy 1975).

The march adopted three themes that Chavez suggested: *Perigrinación, Penitencia, y Revolución* ("Pilgrimage, Penitence, and Revolution"). These themes resonated during the Lenten season, but they also reflected Chavez's continuing emergence as a spiritual leader who urged farm workers to use spirituality as a source of strength (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997). The march was arduous. Only eighty-two men and women made it the whole way and most of them had to endure fatigue, blisters, and bloody feet. Some marchers carried portraits of the Virgin of Guadalupe and a few shouldered large crosses. Others carried flags from the U.S., Mexico, the Philippines, the NFWA, and the AWOC. Most people wore red headbands or red armbands. The marchers walked about ten miles a day, beginning with a Mass and ending with a rally. At night marchers would rely on the hospitality of farm workers along the march route for places to shower and sleep. During the day, supporters brought food and entire families joined in for several miles and even an entire day or two on the weekends, doubling and tripling the ranks of the marchers and stretching the march out as long as two miles. The march, like the movement itself, was a family affair embedded within a larger social network of community support (Ganz 2000, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Levy 1975, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

The march to Sacramento represented a convergence of ideas Chavez had put into action in Oxnard and

elsewhere. The march incorporated religious symbols and practices, it exemplified one of the most effective means of nonviolent protest, it relied on community support, and it attracted favorable publicity (due in part to the media coverage of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, the previous year). The march also gave Chavez the chance to reconnect with farm workers along the San Joaquin Valley. Most important, it strengthened the solidarity of the hundreds of men, women, and children who participated (Levy 1975).

The scale of the march was unprecedented—it was more than two hundred miles long, it involved hundreds of marchers and inspired thousands of supporters and observers. But the march also was revolutionary and historically significant for its spatial dimensions. Luis Valdez observed that the march obliterated territorial divisions. "The San Joaquin Valley is full of those limitations, of those barriers and those lines that you never crossed. Well, this march crossed them. It crossed them all. It was," he concluded, "a literal taking of the territory" (Galan Productions 1996).

As the marchers approached Sacramento a few days before Easter, Chavez received a telephone call from a lawyer representing the Schenley Corporation. The company wanted to sign a contract. Dolores Huerta assumed responsibility for drawing up and negotiating a contract. When the Schenley Corporation officially recognized the NFWA on April 6 and signed a contract ninety days later, the farm workers' union had achieved much of what it sought when it went on strike in September. On Easter Sunday (April 10) a crowd of more than four thousand farm workers and supporters thronged to the steps of the capitol building to listen to speeches by Huerta and Chavez and to celebrate a remarkable victory (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Ganz 2000, Taylor 1975).

A few days after Schenley announced its recognition of the NFWA, the Di Giorgio Company hinted that it might consider holding elections on its ranches to determine whether its workers wanted representation from the NFWA. A wary Chavez arranged a round of talks only to learn that the company insisted on an immediate end to the strike and boycott, compulsory arbitration, an election that would exclude striking farm workers, and a ballot that also listed a company-run union. When Chavez heard that union organizers had been physically attacked at the company's Sierra Vista ranch while he was meeting with company officials, he broke off the talks and decided to confront the agribusiness giant head on (Levy 1975).

Evolution of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee

Chavez quickly refocused the NFWA's boycott network (now strengthened by the full support of the AFL-CIO) on Di Giorgio's popular juice and canned food brands. The network also expanded into New York, Chicago, and other cities in the East where pickets could target points of distribution. When NFWA organizers learned that Di Giorgio was recruiting strikebreakers and requiring them to sign cards authorizing the Teamsters to represent them, Chavez and AFL-CIO organizing director Bill Kircher realized they would have to beat the Teamsters in ranch elections (Taylor 1975, Dunne 1971).

Di Giorgio planned to hold elections at its Sierra Vista ranch in Delano and its Borrego Springs ranch in San Diego County, but the company gave the NFWA only three days' notice. Kircher and Chavez were infuriated and secured an injunction removing the NFWA and the AWOC from the ballots. They also pressed Governor Brown to investigate the situation. Chavez traveled with Chris Hartmire to Di Giorgio's Borrego Springs ranch to recruit farm workers and maintain pressure on the company. After persuading ten farm workers to walk out, Chavez, Hartmire, and Father Victor Salandini entered the property to help the workers reclaim their belongings. All thirteen men were arrested for trespassing and detained before being chained together, taken to the San Diego County jail, stripped naked, and searched. When news of Cesar's rough treatment spread, more outraged farm workers joined the strike. The negative publicity also pressured Di Giorgio to agree to the governor's recommendation that new elections be held on August 30, 1966 (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Dunne 1971).

In anticipation of the Di Giorgio elections, the NFWA and the AWOC negotiated a merger. The creation of the new union, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), was announced on August 22, 1966. Bill Kircher approved an operating budget of ten thousand dollars per month from the AFL-CIO, and the membership voted Cesar Chavez director and Larry Itliong assistant director; Dolores Huerta, Gil Padilla, Tony Orendain, Philip Vera Cruz, and Andy Imutan were appointed vice presidents and fellow members of the board of directors (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975).

The farm workers' new strength and unity helped bring them victory in the Di Giorgio elections. Although the Teamsters won the packing-shed workers, the field workers voted 530 to 331 in favor of representation from the UFWOC. When the news arrived at the Filipino Community Hall, where most of the union members had gathered to await results, "everyone just exploded." The victory party soon migrated to the Peoples Bar and Cafe to celebrate (Levy 1975).

The union's successes brought a new wave of favorable publicity across the country and prompted a telegram from Martin Luther King, Jr. The civil rights leader acknowledged that "the fight for equality must be fought on many fronts—in the urban slums, in the sweat shops of the factories and fields. Our separate struggles are really one—a struggle for freedom, for dignity, and for humanity…We are together with you in spirit and in determination that our dreams for a better tomorrow will be realized" (Levy 1975).

After the victories in the Di Giorgio elections, the UFWOC engaged in two smaller but still significant campaigns. The first involved the boycott of Perelli-Minetti Company's 2,600-acre vineyard in Delano in August 1966 after the company refused to negotiate a contract with the UFWOC. With this boycott, the UFWOC sent farm workers to Los Angeles, the company's major market, but the union also used AFL-CIO assistance to follow cargo shipments to urban markets in the East. In New York City, union supporters organized a boycott of Macy's department store, which carried Perelli-Minetti products. Perelli-Minetti finally conceded in February 1967 and signed a contract four months later. Six other wineries in California followed suit almost immediately, giving the UFWOC a total of eleven contracts (all of them negotiated by Dolores Huerta) covering five thousand workers—about two percent of the state's agricultural labor force. The contracts demonstrated the power of the boycott. (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Jenkins 1985).

In the summer of 1966, NFWA organizers had helped Tejano members of the Independent Workers Association organize a four-hundred-mile march from Rio Grande City to the Texas state capitol in Austin that was modeled after the march to Sacramento. By the time Chavez was able to join in, as many as ten thousand striking melon workers and their supporters were closing in on the state capitol building. After Chavez left, the IWA members voted to merge their organization with the UFWOC, and Tony Orendain agreed to head the Texas branch of the union. Tejano members of the UFWOC faced many of the same obstacles as their counterparts in California—staunch resistance from growers, intimidation from law enforcement authorities and quickly-issued injunctions from the local courts (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Taylor 1975).

THE FORTY ACRES

Around the time that the Di Giorgio campaign was concluding, Chavez decided to move forward with plans to develop a network of service centers for farm workers modeled after the service center in San Jose. He wanted the centers to provide medical clinics, co-op auto repair shops and gasoline stations, credit unions, and other health and welfare services. Chavez enlisted union volunteer Leroy Chatfield, the former principal of a Catholic high school in Bakersfield, to develop these plans. Chatfield soon raised twenty-five thousand dollars from a foundation and secured fifty thousand dollars more from the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department (Taylor 1975).

The union acquired forty acres of land two miles west of Delano, on the north side of Highway 99 next to the city dump, in the spring of 1966. Although the land was barren and dusty in the summer heat, Chavez had ambitious plans for what would become the union's headquarters, known by members as the Forty Acres. From the beginning, Chavez envisioned the Forty Acres as a model service center, and the union began planning the construction of four buildings—an automobile service station, an administrative center, a health clinic, and a retirement center for Filipino farm workers. By the beginning of 1968, Cesar's brother Richard had built a gasoline and vehicular repair station. (Matthiessen 1973).

Under Richard's supervision—and with a donation of fifty thousand dollars from the United Auto Workers—UFWOC volunteers and other members of trade unions who donated their labor completed construction of an administrative building the following September and named it after Roy Reuther, brother of Walter Reuther. The new building, constructed with adobe brick and an aluminum roof, eventually housed offices, a reception area, and a large meeting room that doubled as the hiring hall, from which farm workers would be dispatched to ranches under contract. When Reuther Hall opened in 1969, Larry Itliong relocated his offices there, taking up a room down the hallway from Cesar (Kushner 1975, Taylor 1975, State of California

1988). Union volunteers built the health clinic, and the offices of the credit union and *El Malcriado* (the union's newspaper) also relocated to the Forty Acres (State of California 1988).

The final and perhaps most notable component of the Forty Acres, devoted to retired Filipino farm workers, were not completed until 1975. Most Filipinos who immigrated to the U.S. came as young bachelors. Although some found wives in the U.S. and started families, most did not due in part to a climate of racism and anti-miscegenation laws. These aging men were not covered by Social Security. The UFWOC responded to their need for retirement homes and care by setting aside land on the east side of the Forty Acres for the creation of the Agbayani Village, a retirement center named for a Filipino farm worker who had died of a heart attack while on a picket line. The center's residential building was designed with sixty units, each offering residents a private room and an adjoining bathroom. The center included a central kitchen, a dining hall, a living room, and a recreation room. Nearby land was reserved for a vegetable garden and for grazing a few head of cattle. In 1980 the Agbayani Village housed seventy single Filipino men (State of California 1988, Scharlin and Villanueva 2000, Day 1971).

THE TABLE GRAPE STRIKE

In the summer of 1967, the grape strike continued with the Giumarra Brothers Fruit Company, the largest table-grape grower in the state. It controlled eleven thousand acres (six thousand of them in table grapes), employed more than two thousand workers at harvest time, and grossed twelve million dollars a year. When the Giumarra family refused to come to the bargaining table, the UFWOC called for a rally and strike vote on August 3, 1967, at the Bakersfield fairgrounds. More than sixteen hundred farm workers attended, voting in overwhelming numbers to go on strike against Giumarra (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Majka and Majka 1982, Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Taylor 1975).

The Giumarras gained injunctions that limited the number of pickets to three per ranch entrance and restricted the use of bullhorns. The company aggressively recruited illegal Mexican immigrants to break the strike (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997). The union countered with a boycott of Giumarra table grapes, but the boycott initially proved difficult to manage. Boycott organizers thought that they could alert consumers to the Giumarra label, but grocery stores seldom shelved grapes by producer. Moreover, the Giumarra Company had little trouble marketing their product under other growers' labels. Dolores Huerta and Fred Ross proposed a boycott of all California table grapes. The union would attack the entire table-grape industry simultaneously. The boycott began in January 1968.

The campaign owed its remarkable success to a number of factors, the most important of which was the decision to send farm workers themselves to the cities and to the forefront of the boycott organization. During the next two years, these UFWOC members established boycott centers in more than forty major cities and worked with boycott committees in hundreds of smaller towns. One of the first young Chicanos to leave Delano to begin a major urban boycott campaign was Eliseo Medina. A Delano farm worker who had joined the NFWA in 1965 when he was a teen-ager, Medina would become a veteran of numerous organizing and boycott campaigns.

For Medina, as for dozens of other Chicanos, "it was a big experience." This was especially true for Chicanas such as Mary Elena Rojas, Juanita Herrera, Fina Hernandez, Maria Sanchez, and Esther Padilla, all of whom joined their husbands in directing boycott efforts in Pittsburgh, Denver, Cleveland, and other cities. Chicanas who had been raised to defer to their husbands or other men found opportunities in the boycott to redefine their relationships with their spouses and to reconstruct their own self-images. Jessica Govea, Maria Saudado, Peggy McGivern, and Hope Lopez—single Chicanas who, along with Dolores Huerta, independently directed boycott efforts in major cities—found still other opportunities in the campaign. These women discovered "a new space to express a gendered resistance to the status quo based on their own views and experiences." Indeed, leadership in the boycott campaigns gave women in the farm labor movement new confidence in their own organizing abilities (Rose 1990, Rose 1995, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Taylor 1975, Galan Productions 1996).

The boycott helped fuel the broader transformation of the Delano grape strike from a local labor struggle (though one that had spread to southern California and to Texas and had received national media coverage) into a key facet of the maturing Chicano movement. Since the early months of the Delano strike in 1966, Chavez had been identified alongside Reies Lopez Tijerina and Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales as a national Chicano leader. Chavez rejected efforts to impose racial boundaries on the social movement he was building. Yet Chicanos across the country took pride in his courageous leadership and in the

farm labor movement as a whole. The appearance and confidant assertiveness of Chicano boycott leaders in front of grocery stores, inside churches, and on college campuses inspired and attracted urban Chicanos across the country. During the coming months and years, young urban Chicanos would flock to La Causa and attribute to it a cultural significance that extended far beyond the San Joaquin Valley. As a result, the status of Chicanos gained new visibility within the broad spectrum of civil rights movements of the era (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

In the meantime, Chavez and the UFWOC leaders were increasingly worried about losing their momentum. Chavez himself was concerned that impatient farm workers and union supporters might abandon their commitment to nonviolence. It was becoming harder for the farm workers who had been on strike for more than two years to exercise restraint. By the spring of 1968, the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam movement, and the Chicano movement all had grown more militant. The first half of the year would see an escalation of revolutionary rhetoric among groups such as the Black Panthers and Black Muslims, the eruption of dozens of riots after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., an explosion of more than 220 student protests against the Vietnam War, and a continuation of Tijerina's insistence that stolen land must be reclaimed through armed occupation. Growing numbers of farm workers began to believe that it was time to adopt a more confrontational approach (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Taylor 1975, Daniel 1981).

As reports of violent activity and property damage caused by frustrated farm workers mounted, Chavez became profoundly disappointed. He called a meeting at the Filipino Community Hall on February 19, 1968, and announced that he had begun to fast. He would continue to do so until union members renewed their pledges of nonviolence. Chavez then left and walked to the service station building at the Forty Acres, where he set up a cot and a few religious items in a small room. He would remain there for most of the twenty-five days of his fast (Levy 1975, Daniel 1981).

UFWOC leaders were divided in their responses. Tony Orendain and a few others thought that Cesar's fast was a publicity stunt, and a waste of time. Dolores Huerta saw the fast's broader spiritual and cultural significance. Within days word of the fast had spread throughout the San Joaquin Valley. Thousands of farm workers began streaming to the Forty Acres with pledges of support and nonviolence and prayers for Chavez's health. Father Mark Day (the recently-appointed pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church) pledged to offer Mass every day of the fast, and hundreds of farm workers and supporters pitched tents, and attended festive Masses, Jerry Cohen recalled, Cesar's fast and the events surrounding it at the Forty Acres rejuvenated the farm labor movement (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Matthiessen 1973, Levy 1975). Cohen explained how the fast also helped pull the union together in a new way. When a weakened Chavez was called to trial at the Kern County Courthouse in Bakersfield on the thirteenth day of his fast, the leaders of the union's ranch committees (which functioned as locals) met to coordinate a show of support (Levy 1975).

When Chavez and Cohen arrived at the courthouse, they were overwhelmed by the presence of as many as one thousand farm workers, singing and praying. The judge rejected a plea from Giumarra's attorneys that the farm workers be evicted. This decision was a small but significant victory. It was the first time the farm workers' union ever won anything in that courthouse. "Every time I had ever been in that courthouse before, it was like going on enemy territory," Cohen explained. "But after that demonstration, it was a lot different" (Taylor 1975, Levy 1975).

A little less than two weeks later, Chavez was convinced that the farm workers' commitment to nonviolence had been renewed. He announced an end to his fast. UFWOC leaders planned a Mass and celebration at the Forty Acres and arranged to have Robert Kennedy fly in to be at Chavez's side. On the morning of March 11, 1968, hundreds of cars began arriving in Delano, and organizers soon realized that they would need to relocate to Memorial Park. By the time Kennedy arrived, the gathering had swelled to four thousand people. Several priests, ministers, and rabbis celebrated an ecumenical Mass and Kennedy offered Chavez a piece of bread.

One week later, Kennedy announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president. For the next two months, the union shifted many of its members and volunteers into the campaign to help their ally win the California primary election. Their efforts worked, and on the night that Kennedy won he acknowledged his gratitude to Cesar, Dolores, and the UFWOC. After leaving the stage in the Ambassador Hotel ballroom, Kennedy was shot by an assassin. His death the next day shocked the nation, but it was especially devastating to the farm workers, who considered Kennedy not only a critical

ally but also a close friend (Taylor 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Levy 1975).

The union poured its resources back into the table-grapes boycott, its most powerful weapon. By the middle of 1969, it was clear that the boycott was having a substantial impact on California growers. The increasingly desperate growers filed a lawsuit against the union on July 4, 1969, claiming that the boycott had cost the industry twenty-five million dollars in sales. (Levy 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977, Majka and Majka 1982).

The union also opened a new front in its attack on growers with a focus on environmental health issues. In 1969 some grape workers with skin rashes and flu-like symptoms began to complain to the union that they thought they were being poisoned by pesticides. Jerry Cohen discovered that growers had been substituting highly toxic phosphate-based pesticides for recently-outlawed DDT-based pesticides. The California Department of Health opened its own investigation and concluded that at least fifteen percent of all farm workers in the state suffered from pesticide poisoning. Boycotters in Washington, D.C., decided to purchase some Delano groups and have them tested. When the grapes showed high concentrations of Aldrin (a pesticide that has been banned because of its links to cancer), the issue exploded in the media, adding further fuel to the boycott effort (Taylor 1971, Meister and Loftis 1977).

END OF THE DELANO GRAPE STRIKE

As the first grape crop was ripening in southern California the following spring, the growers' solidarity began to crack. In April 1970, Lionel Steinberg, the owner of three of the largest vineyards in the Coachella Valley, agreed to sign a contract with the UFWOC if a special committee of bishops appointed by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops was allowed to sit in on the negotiations. A handful of growers from the Coachella Valley followed Steinberg's example, but the union's big break came on the evening of July 25, 1970. John Giumarra, Jr. called Jerry Cohen and proposed that they meet immediately.

The quick moving negotiations held in room 44 of the Stardust Motel barely slowed when Chavez and Cohen insisted that the Giumarras get the rest of the struck Delano grape growers—all twenty-seven of them—on board. After two days of meetings, the growers agreed to the union's demands for an increase in pay; the creation of union-run hiring halls; an increase in piece-rate bonuses; the establishment of joint farm labor-grower committees to monitor and regulate pesticide use; and the funding of the Robert F. Kennedy Health and Welfare Plan for union members. On July 29, conciliatory growers gathered with elated union members at Reuther Hall at the Forty Acres to sign three-year contracts.

The Delano contracts brought eighty-five percent of the table-grape growers in California under union contract, an unprecedented achievement in the history of the U.S. agricultural industry. But even as the UFWOC leaders celebrated, they knew that a new campaign already was needed. The Teamsters had broken a jurisdictional agreement with the UFWOC and moved in on farm workers in the lettuce fields of the Salinas Valley (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

VI. The Salinas Strike, the Fight against the Teamsters, and Agricultural Labor Laws in the American West, 1970-1975

The next period of the farm labor movement saw the UFWOC face familiar challenges brought with unprecedented force. On the same day that the union finished its negotiations with Delano grape growers, Chavez received confirmation that 29 lettuce growers in the Salinas Valley had signed contracts with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and that at least 175 vegetable growers employing 11,000 farm workers in the Salinas and Santa Maria Valleys were considering Teamsters contracts of their own. Salinas Valley growers were determined to avoid giving in to the UFWOC (as they thought Coachella and Delano growers had done), and they were not adverse to violence. As the UFWOC engaged these new opponents, its leaders also had to administer the union's new contracts and maintain its existing membership base. Moreover, the union initiated two transformative projects—moving its headquarters from Delano to a location in the Tehachapi Mountains and completing the process of gaining independent standing within the AFL-CIO (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

Continued success in the fields and the undeniable power of the boycott brought important victories during this period, including the passage of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, the first law in the continental United States that recognized the rights of farm workers to organize and negotiate contracts with growers.

FIGHT AGAINST THE TEAMSTERS

Given the Teamsters' territorial raid in 1966 when the Di Giorgio Company and the Teamsters together tried to thwart the UFWOC, the Teamsters sudden move into the fields of the Salinas Valley was not without precedent. The Teamsters had a long-standing presence in the valley, and in July 1970 the union's Salinas-based local had just renegotiated contracts covering workers in the area's canneries, packing sheds, and frozen-food processing plants as well as field-truck drivers and packing-carton stitchers. As negotiations ended, representatives of the Growers-Shippers Vegetable Association (GSVA) asked if the Teamsters might also sign a contract covering field workers which would violate accepted trade-union policy. Nevertheless, William Grami, director of organizing for the Western Conference of Teamsters saw an opportunity to expand his power and sent word to the GSVA that he was willing to sign recognition agreements immediately (Meister and Loftis 1977, Taylor 1975).

When Chavez and other union leaders learned of the Teamsters' contracts, they quickly developed a counter-strategy. Chavez already had planned to organize the Salinas Valley, where farm workers picked seventy percent of the nation's iceberg lettuce as well as broccoli, cauliflower, carrots, celery, strawberries, and artichokes, but he had hoped to spend a couple of years after the Delano campaign building farm labor solidarity in the area before confronting growers. The UFWOC's success in Delano forced the issue as growers in the Salinas Valley believed that if they signed a contract with the Teamsters, it would forestall the UFWOC moving into their area. However, the growers underestimated the strength of the UFWOC's organizational base, which Manuel Chavez and Gil Padilla had begun building in the area several months earlier. Second, they underestimated the anger with which farm workers would respond to the contracts when they learned that they had been signed by Teamsters officials and growers without farm workers' consent (Taylor 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

That anger turned into activism when the UFWOC initiated the first step in its counter-strategy, a march on Salinas culminating in a massive rally. On August 2, 1970, more than three thousand farm workers marched through the streets of Salinas and streamed onto the football field of Hartnell Community College, chanting "*huelga*" and carrying UFWOC banners, American and Mexican flags, and pictures of the Virgin of Guadalupe and Martin Luther King, Jr. Chavez took the stage. Alternating between Spanish and English, he denounced the growers and the Teamsters for their "great treason against the aspirations of those men and women who have sacrificed their lives for so many years to make a few men rich" (Levy 1975). Behind-the-scenes deals would not be accepted, Cesar asserted and he urged farm workers to refuse to sign Teamster cards. He asked them to begin forming representative committees at their ranches that would report to the UFWOC's Salinas headquarters during the coming week. After several priests offered Mass, the crowd voted overwhelmingly to go on strike (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

Chavez was able to gain use of the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) office on South Wood Street in Salinas. When Teamsters organizers, growers, and foremen tried to force the valley's *lechugeros* (lettuce cutters) and other field workers to sign union cards, many of the workers simply walked off and went to the MAPA office instead. Many of the workers did not know the addresses of the ranches where they worked, so this took a great deal of time. Finally union organizers hung a large map of the valley in the MAPA office. As Padilla recalled, they "color-coded the strikes and then assigned each picket captain two or three ranches and told them to get those workers who had struck those ranches to form the picket lines" (Taylor 1975).

Meanwhile Chavez and AFL-CIO organizing director Bill Kircher pressured the Teamsters to recognize the UFWOC's jurisdiction over field workers. They took their case to AFL-CIO President George Meany, who arranged for a meeting so that the leaders of the competing unions might come to an agreement. After this meeting and further mediation from the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Committee on Farm Labor, the Teamsters agreed on August 10 to sign another "no raid" pact and to explore ways to break their Salinas contracts. Chavez, in turn, declared a six-day moratorium on strikes (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

Chavez called off all UFWOC strikes in order to allow the Teamsters and growers to meet without distraction, but he realized that the union would need to maintain some pressure. The union's leaders decided to target the area's largest corporate growers. Each of these operations would be vulnerable to negative publicity and, if necessary, a consumer boycott. Leroy Chatfield had already sent out signals that the union was considering a boycott of United Fruit's popular Chiquita bananas, and the arrival of corporate executives from the East Coast provided an opportunity for further maneuvering. During the

second week in August, United Fruit's vice president Will Lauer and Purex's chairman of the board, William Tincher, met with Dolores Huerta, Jerry Cohen, and Marshall Ganz (Levy 1975). As negotiations moved forward over the coming days and weeks, the union concluded that the corporate growers would be unwilling to rescind their Teamsters contracts and sign with the UFWOC in order to avoid a boycott.

Uncertain about what would lie ahead—how long growers would hold out, the extent to which the Teamsters could be trusted, and how long the area's farm workers would remain nonviolent—Chavez decided to begin another fast. Chavez's health deteriorated quickly, leading him to end the fast on the sixth day. On August 17, Chavez retreated to the Franciscan mission at San Juan Bautista to recuperate, leaving Huerta, Cohen, Ganz, and others to run the UFWOC office and continue negotiations. The mission at San Juan Bautista and others like it appealed greatly to Chavez. He found them to be peaceful places where he could meditate and pray. During his time in San Juan Bautista, Cesar noted that he "was able to reflect on what was happening, to shed all of those million little problems, and to look at things a little more dispassionately" (Levy 1975). The need for a place to retreat, reflect, and plan would stay with Chavez for the rest of his life (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Levy 1975).

THE SALINAS STRIKE

While Chavez was at the mission, the union learned of Grami's decision that the Teamsters were "honor bound" to maintain their contracts with all growers who wanted to keep them. Several corporate growers had notified the Teamsters of their desire to rescind their contracts in order to sign with the UFWOC, but 170 smaller-scale vegetable and soft-fruit growers insisted on staying with the International Brotherhood. The Teamsters' refusal to rescind these contracts shattered Cesar's remaining hopes of avoiding a strike. Chavez knew that farm workers' anger had been rising daily. A few days after his initial agreement with Grami, he discovered that the Teamsters had accepted a piece-rate increase of only two and half cents over the five-year length of their contracts. After the initial six-day moratorium period ended, Chavez and Huerta had to plead with union members to refrain from striking in order to give the Teamsters more time. Now, with the announcement on August 21 that members of the GSVA and the Teamsters were keeping their contracts, the area's farm workers would not be stopped. When farm workers met at another rally at Hartnell College on August 23, 1970, they thundered their continuing commitment to a strike and pledged to remain nonviolent. The next morning, as many as 7,000 farm workers walked off their jobs at more than 150 ranches, making this the largest farm labor strike since the 1930s. From Salinas south to Santa Maria, the UFWOC's red banners flew in the towns and along the roads. All across the landscape, "it looked like a revolution," Jerry Cohen remembered (Daniel 1981, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Taylor 1975, Levy 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977).

The atmosphere grew tense as the GSVA obtained injunctions that prohibited picketing, as local growers hired armed guards, and Teamsters officers sent thugs with baseball bats to intimidate UFWOC members, including those employed at grower operations that rescinded their Teamsters contracts. Local law enforcement officers sided with the growers and their men. When two burly Teamsters attacked Jerry Cohen as he was trying to check on the safety of broccoli workers involved in a sit-down, the only response from a sheriff's deputy was a complaint to the semi-conscious UFWOC lawyer that there were too many pickets at the ranch. Cohen, who had suffered a concussion, was hospitalized for eight days. Other acts of violence followed during the next several weeks. A ranch foreman drove a bulldozer into UFWOC pickets' cars, several pickets were shot at, and some were attacked with chains. Some farm workers began to retaliate, throwing rocks and using lead pipes as weapons (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

The injunctions and mounting acts of violence convinced Chavez to pull farm workers away from the picket lines and turn the union's boycott machinery against non-UFWOC lettuce. George Meany had announced the official end of the grape boycott on August 31, and the first of several hundred boycott organizers began to return to California a week later. Despite his sense that most of them would not want to leave again so soon, Chavez announced at a press conference on September 17 that the union was sending boycotters to sixty-four cities in North America.

The GSVA responded by going to court with the argument that the UFWOC strike was prompted by a jurisdictional dispute between two unions and that growers should not have to suffer the consequences. As union appeals moved forward, the Bud Antle Company, acting independently, went to court with a similar argument and convinced Judge Gordon Campbell to issue an injunction against the boycott of its lettuce. Chavez defied the order, and Judge

Campbell summoned him to the Monterey County Courthouse in Salinas on December 4. When Chavez arrived with Jerry Cohen, the courthouse was surrounded and filled by three thousand farm workers standing or kneeling silently in a show of support. The hearing ended after three hours with Chavez refusing to call off the boycott. Cesar was led to jail for contempt of court, and his pre-planned press release went out: "Boycott Bud Antle! . . . And boycott the hell out of them!" (Levy 1975).

The actions of the Antle Company and Judge Campbell played right into the union's hands. As Chavez passed time in the Monterey County Jail, reading books and answering letters, the union maintained a constant vigil. Priests offered Masses, union leaders organized rallies, and the national media covered every development. Media coverage escalated when Chavez received two prominent visitors, Coretta Scott King and Ethel Rose Kennedy. Both women had confidence in Cesar's struggle, and they passed on the strength that they had shared with their husbands. Clearly, Chavez was now regarded on a par with the nation's other civil rights leaders. He remained in jail for twenty days. On December 24, 1970, the California Supreme Court ordered his release pending its review of the case.

Over the course of the next year, the UFWOC continued to wage its battles against Salinas and Santa Maria Valley growers and against the Teamsters. In Washington, D.C., George Meany and Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons brokered a new jurisdictional settlement, which Chavez and Bill Grami signed in mid-March. UFWOC leaders met in May with thirty or forty growers and several Teamsters officials. The Teamsters no longer wanted their contracts with the GSVA, and the growers promised to negotiate with the UFWOC if Chavez would suspend the boycott. The UFWOC leaders accepted the deal; however after five months of weekly negotiations, the union concluded that the growers were not willing to sign contracts. Bill Kircher announced in November that the UFWOC was breaking off talks. The lettuce boycott began again, with no end in sight (Levy 1975).

Evolution of the UFW/ The Move to La Paz

Despite the slow progress in Salinas, the union continued to win victories on other, less prominent fronts. By the summer of 1971, the UFWOC had 150 contracts to administer; however, the union's leaders lacked real experience administering contracts that covered thousands of workers. When Chavez insisted on going to Salinas to personally honor his promise to farm workers there, he took most of the union leadership with him, leaving only Larry Itliong and Richard Chavez in Delano to coordinate the election of ranch committees, ratify the contracts, set up hiring halls, verify farm workers' seniority, administer the medical plan and life insurance program, and coordinate the collection of dues and the payment of taxes. The California Migrant Ministry assigned twenty volunteers to help, but they too had little practical experience. Cesar refused to accept the administrative help offered by the AFL-CIO because he preferred to have farm workers stumble through administrative tasks and learn from their own mistakes (Levy 1975, Taylor 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Meister and Loftis 1977, Daniel 1981).

The task of setting up hiring halls proved particularly difficult. Growers were supposed to send written requests for a certain number of workers to the hiring hall every day. Likewise, workers seeking employment on a union ranch were supposed to go to the hiring hall, verify their UFW membership (and pay their dues if necessary), and request a dispatch to a union ranch. Hiring hall administrators were responsible for matching workers with growers' needs based on a seniority system. This system broke down in the first couple of weeks of August as confusion over ranch information, duplicate registrations and dispatch cards were compounded by thousands of people waiting to be dispatched at the same time. John Giumarra, Jr., noted his complaints about the early inefficiencies of the hiring hall even as he acknowledged how transformative they were. In the eyes of growers, the hiring hall quickly became "a bottleneck in every farm operation" (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Taylor 1975).

Richard and other union leaders became able administrators, and growers such as Lionel Steinberg expressed satisfaction with the hiring hall. Yet the year and a half following the signings in Delano continued to be a challenging period of adjustment for everyone involved in the union. Farm workers had to learn what their rights were under the contracts and how to initiate grievance procedures (which often meant translating the legalistic language of contracts into Spanish). The workers elected to ranch committees had to learn how to represent their co-workers and deal with growers, and those assigned to help run local hiring halls had to learn how to place thousands of workers a day. Meanwhile, union leaders and organizers continued to recruit new union members, direct pickets and boycotts, negotiate with growers and mediators, talk to elected officials and

the media, and raise money from union supporters. UFWOC members at all levels struggled with their tasks, but Chavez was committed to the creation of a democratic union in which farm workers themselves would wield power and make decisions rather than rely on professional union administrators or even their own leaders to tell them what to do. Chavez knew that if the union's structure did not empower farm workers, then growers would never treat them with the respect they deserved (Taylor 1975).

Chavez's commitment to a democratic union influenced his decision in 1971 to move the union's national headquarters from Delano to a more remote site. While in Salinas, Chavez had received word that Kern County was trying to sell 187 acres of land it owned in the foothills of the Tehachapi Mountains. The property located near Keene, thirty miles east of Bakersfield, was the former site of the Kern County Tuberculosis Hospital. The sanitarium had been closed, but a number of wood-frame cottages, administrative buildings, hospital wings, and a central steam-boiler plant still stood, sheltered by large oak trees and set among grassy hills (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Taylor 1975). When Chavez learned about the property's reduced price tag, he contacted a union supporter who had offered to help the union buy its own ranch someday. This supporter entered into a bidding contest with a farmer and finally won the property for a price of $232,000. The down payment was his gift to the UFWOC, and the union made arrangements with county officials to pay off the rest. Chavez renamed the place Nuestra Senora Reina de La Paz (Our Lady Queen of Peace). He announced that he wanted to move the UFWOC's central administrative offices and staff residences there (Taylor 1975).

This decision met some resistance from other union leaders. Larry Itliong, for example, thought that the move would distance Chavez and other officers from farm workers, especially the Filipino farm workers in Delano and exacerbate a distance that the union's emerging bureaucratic structures already had created. Itliong wanted Chavez to remain a daily presence in Delano. Itliong thought that Jim Drake, Leroy Chatfield, Marshall Ganz, and other volunteers had too much influence on the union leader and that Chavez had been "swayed by the grandiose thinking of a brain trust of intellectuals" (Taylor 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977). Not surprisingly, Itliong refused to relocate to La Paz. His continued opposition to the union's emerging structure, among other reasons, prompted his decision to resign in October 1971 (Scharlin and Villanueva 2000, Taylor 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977).

Helen Chavez also was reluctant to move to La Paz for more personal reasons. She had spent time at the Kern County Tuberculosis Hospital as a girl. However, most of the staff welcomed the move. They realized that La Paz would provide a place to retreat and plan strategy, and they thought that the move would curtail interruptions from workers who went to the Forty Acres with complaints best handled by field office staff or ranch committee members (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

Chavez himself was eager to establish offices and a residence at La Paz for several reasons. First, he wanted to decrease farm workers' dependence on his leadership. The relocation from Delano also would help keep the union from becoming too closely identified with one particular place or one part of the nation's farm labor population and thus would allow the union to maintain an appealing and inclusive national profile. Chavez also wanted enough land to build a union training center, where farm workers could learn leadership skills and nonviolent tactics. Finally, Chavez continued to relish the peaceful and communal atmosphere of Franciscan missions such as San Juan Bautista, and he longed for a refuge where he could escape the media spotlight and spend free time with his family. The move to La Paz thus represented an important transition in Chavez's own identity as a movement leader (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Taylor 1975). The move was completed by the summer of 1972. Chavez's office was located in one corner of the large administration building. The Chavez family moved into a two-bedroom wood-frame house on the property.

Through the rest of the decade the full-time population of La Paz fluctuated between 100 and 150 individuals, most of who lived in the old hospital's staff housing or in trailers purchased by the union. The main hospital unit was converted into a hotel of sorts for farm workers who came to La Paz for training and for volunteers who passed through on their way to field offices or other assignments. The union also established a day care center for younger children and arranged for older children to be bused to Tehachapi for school (Taylor 1975).

Despite Chavez's best intentions, some union members who wished to build a wider base of leadership thought that Chavez's involvement with the day-to-day problems of farm workers and the day-to-day operation of the union remained remarkably high, even excessive. As historian Cletus Daniel notes, the AFL-CIO president and trade-union traditionalists developed serious doubts about

Chavez's "eccentric" style of leadership—his well-known idealism, his constant involvement in all aspects of the union, his unwavering sense of mission, and his stubborn aversion to compromise. The latter quality in particular rankled Meany, who privately blamed Chavez for the AFL-CIO's difficulty in settling the jurisdictional dispute between the UFWOC and the Teamsters (Taylor 1975, Daniel 1981).

Still, few could deny that Chavez's leadership was effective and that farm workers derived benefits from their union. As a result of these improvements, the union grew larger and stronger. The union's growth under Cesar's direction, in fact, paved the way for its admission into the AFL-CIO as a fully independent affiliate, renamed the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), in February 1971. This change in status gave the union a voice in directing federation policies and operations but required the union to forfeit a ten-thousand-dollar monthly subsidy it had continued to receive as an organizing committee. The shift reflected the union's maturation (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Taylor 1975, Levy 1975).

UNION SUCCESS IN FLORIDA

As the campaign in Salinas stalled in 1971 and 1972, other organizing campaigns and political battles drew the union's attention. One of the most prominent organizing drives took place in Florida. Following the NBC broadcast in 1971 of the documentary *Migrant*, which exposed the squalid living and working conditions of Florida's agricultural laborers, the UFW sent Manuel Chavez to meet with farm workers and establish a base of operations for the union. The documentary was particularly critical of the Minute Maid Company, a subsidiary of the Coca-Cola Company that operated thirty thousand acres of citrus groves and employed twelve hundred farm workers in south central Florida. Coca-Cola moved quickly to improve conditions, but its predominantly African-American workers still welcomed the assistance of the UFW. Manuel organized the Minute Maid workers. Coca-Cola recognized its vulnerability to a boycott and signed a contract in February 1972 with little protest. As in California, the union's efforts transformed the lives of farm workers (Taylor 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977).

The union's success in Florida, however, turned the state into one of several new political battlegrounds. In 1972, an unprecedented political offensive began when a nation-wide coalition of corporate growers, shippers, anti-union groups, and their allies in state offices joined with the American Farm Bureau Federation to sponsor legislation that limited union voting rights to year-round employees, banned harvest-time strikes, banned boycotts, and, in some states, even banned negotiations over pesticide use. Legislatures in Kansas, Idaho, Oregon, and Arizona passed these bills. Similar initiatives had begun in Florida and California when the UFW launched its counter-attack. Chavez assigned Jerry Cohen to lead a whirlwind campaign in Oregon, where a Farm Bureau bill had just passed and Gov. John Connally had one week in which to act on it. Cohen and the union's Portland-based boycotters mobilized farm workers and supporters and applied enough pressure on the governor to veto the bill. Eliseo Medina achieved even greater success in Florida. Several months before the beginning of the legislative season in 1972, a supporter informed the union that a Farm Bureau bill would be introduced. Medina and his staff began an opposition campaign that exposed the rampant abuses of the labor contracting system and the deplorable sanitary conditions of labor camps (which caused a typhoid epidemic in the spring of 1972). The campaign helped defeat the bill in committee (Meister and Loftis 1977, Levy 1975).

ARIZONA FAST OF 1972

In 1972, Chavez decided to focus his own efforts on Arizona, where Dolores Huerta had been meeting with farm workers, lobbying politicians, and monitoring the rapid progress of yet another Farm Bureau-sponsored bill. Aware of the pressure that the bill's opponents could bring to bear on his office, Governor Jack Williams instructed the highway patrol to deliver the bill as soon as it passed the state senate. Forgoing a customary review by the state attorney general's office, the governor signed the bill within an hour of its passage on May 11, 1972. Chavez immediately traveled to Arizona with Jim Drake, Marshall Ganz, Leroy Chatfield, and his brother Richard to join Dolores. As the group of union leaders met to strategize, they discussed their frustration over local farm workers' sense of defeatism. "Every time we talked about fighting the law," Cesar explained, "people would say, 'No se puede, no se puede—it's not possible. It can't be done.'" Dolores, however, insisted that "from now on, we're not going to say, 'No se puede,' we're going to say, "Si se puede!'" (Huerta 1975). The slogan stuck. The attitude that it reflected propelled a labor campaign that transformed Arizona politics (Huerta 1975, Levy 1975).

Upon learning of Governor Williams' decision to sign the Farm Bureau's bill, Chavez began a fast that would last twenty-four days. On the sixth day of his

fast, Chavez moved to the Santa Rita Community Center in Phoenix's south-side barrio. The worn-down, white-stucco building offered a small air-conditioned room for Cesar's cot and a large meeting hall for Masses and rallies. During the next eighteen days farm workers gathered nightly to attend Mass, sing union songs, listen to farm workers from California talk about unionization, and meet with visitors such as Sen. George McGovern and Coretta Scott King. The fast had the same mobilizing effect on farm workers that the Delano fast had in 1968, but it was no less physically difficult for Cesar. Although his physical health deteriorated rapidly, he remained committed. Chavez decided to end the fast on June 4, the two-year anniversary of Robert Kennedy's assassination. Five thousand farm workers arrived at a Phoenix hotel for a memorial Mass in Kennedy's honor, a brief statement from Chavez, and a rally (Taylor 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977, Levy 1975).

Meanwhile, Jim Drake and the other union leaders organized a recall campaign against Gov. Williams and began to collect the necessary 108,000 signatures. They exceeded that number. The attorney general blocked the recall election by challenging the validity of tens of thousands of signatures, but the union's victory was clear. Forty percent of the number of voters in the most recent gubernatorial election signed petitions opposing the Williams administration. Moreover, farm workers in Arizona began to recognize and exercise their political power. In the 1972 election, an unprecedented number of Mexican Americans and Navajos were elected to state, county, and local offices. Two years later, Raul Castro captured the governor's office (Taylor 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977, Levy 1975).

PROPOSITION 22

During the middle of the Arizona campaign, the union learned of its greatest political threat yet. The American Farm Bureau Federation was preparing to place an initiative on the California November ballot that would shackle the UFW with the same restrictions that had been enacted in Arizona. Pro-grower groups spent $224,000 to qualify the initiative (Proposition 22) for the ballot and another $500,000 on the campaign to pass it. In response, union leader Leroy Chatfield sent farm workers and union supporters throughout the state to serve as "human billboards" in high-traffic areas and to talk with community groups, church groups, students, and other sympathizers. The union could spend only one-fifth of the amount that growers spent, but the union's campaign was more effective. On November 7, Californians soundly defeated Proposition 22. As in Oregon, Florida, and Arizona, the UFW demonstrated its abilities to orchestrate and win political battles. Unionized farm workers in California and across the country embraced the political strength of their solidarity. Growers took notice as well (Daniel 1981, Taylor 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977).

CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURAL RELATIONS ACT

The political victories of 1972 were impressive, but they came at a significant cost. While union leaders and organizers focused on the political arena, organizing activity in the fields came to a virtual standstill. At the same time, union leaders had to delay efforts to further improve the union's administration of existing contracts, and the union's largest strike—against Salinas growers—continued to lie dormant. The extent of the union's vulnerability was revealed when its three-year contracts with the table-grape industry expired in 1973. Once again the Teamsters broke a jurisdictional agreement, this time with the support of the White House (Daniel 1981, Levy 1975).

When Richard Nixon ran for reelection in 1972, he gained strong support from the Teamsters and their president, Frank Fitzsimmons. Nixon appointed Peter Nash as general counsel to the National Labor Relations Board and instructed him to aid growers filing complaints against the UFW (despite the fact that the NLRB had no jurisdiction over agricultural workers). Nixon also pardoned former Teamsters president Jimmy Hoffa and ordered the Justice Department to drop its prosecution of Fitzsimmons' son on fraud charges. It is not surprising, that the Nixon White House also backed the Teamsters union in its jurisdictional fight with the UFW.

In the summer of 1972, Nixon's White House Counsel, Charles Colson, sent a memo to the Justice and Labor Departments and to the NLRB explaining that the president had taken a "personal interest" in the fight and that these agencies should intervene if and when they could thwart the UFW (Levy 1975). Colson also reportedly arranged to have Fitzsimmons address the American Farm Bureau Federation's annual convention in Los Angeles in December 1972. The Teamsters president used the opportunity to attack the UFW as "a revolutionary movement that is perpetuating a fraud on the American public" (Meister and Loftis 1977, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Taylor 1975, Levy 1975).

Around the time of the Farm Bureau convention, a sympathetic grower from the Coachella Valley warned Chavez that the area's table-grape growers were going to sign with the Teamsters when their UFW contracts expired in April 1973. When the Teamsters announced in January that they had renegotiated their contracts with 170 Salinas and Santa Maria growers—almost *three years* before they were set to expire—it was clear that the Teamsters were launching a major offensive. As Bill Grami announced these new contracts, Teamsters officials continued their aggressive negotiations with growers in the Coachella and Imperial Valleys. Teamsters organizer Ralph Cotner, met with twenty-five Imperial Valley growers in Indio on January 24 and proposed contracts directly intended to undermine UFW gains. Cotner claimed that the Teamsters had the workers' consent and promised to produce the signatures of 4100 workers (despite the Farm Labor Service's estimation that only 1500 farm workers were employed in the area and a survey by the Catholic Bishops Committee showing that the vast majority favored the UFW). The Teamsters continued to represent farm workers against their will.

In response to the Teamsters' maneuvers, Chavez called for early negotiations with growers under contract, but his efforts were in vain. Nine hours after the union's contracts with Coachella and Imperial Valley growers expired on April 15, 1973, all but two growers (Lionel Steinberg and K. K. Larson) signed with the Teamsters. On April 13, union members filled the Coachella High School auditorium and voted to strike any grower who signed with the Teamsters. Three days later, one thousand farm workers walked off their jobs, beginning one of the most turbulent periods in the history of the farm labor movement. By the time union strikes against table-grape growers ended five months later, two UFW members had been killed, hundreds more injured, and more than thirty-five hundred arrested for violating court injunctions against picketing and other demonstrations of protest (Meister and Loftis 1977, Levy 1975).

When the UFW lost the Coachella contracts, the union's leaders immediately began to rally support. Rev. Chris Hartmire sent volunteers and supplies from the California Migrant Ministry and Monsignor George Higgins arrived with twenty-five clergymen and labor organizers to offer their assistance. Familiar groups of Chicano students and progressive sympathizers began to arrive or send aid, and the AFL-CIO offered its strongest support yet when president George Meany publicly denounced the Teamsters as "union busting" and "strikebreaking." A few days later, Meany persuaded the AFL-CIO executive council to authorize $1.7 million in aid. Combined with the $1 million of UFW funds that Chavez committed to the fight, this contribution from organized labor made the 1973 campaign the best-financed farm labor strike in U.S. history. Pickets could count on strike pay, and they knew that the union could provide legal assistance and bail for those sent to jail (Taylor 1975, Levy 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977).

As court injunctions against picketing increased the union needed to provide bail money to free hundreds of farm workers and supporters from jail. On the first day of the strike, Riverside County Judge Fred Metheny issued an injunction covering the Tudor ranch; by the end of the harvest, a total of eighteen injunctions had limited the number of UFW pickets, their distance from ranch properties, and the use of bullhorns. Cesar recalled that "the worst was the Tenneco [ranch] injunction which prohibited all picketing," …the day that was issued, Teamster goons appeared at various picket lines armed with grape stakes, clubs, baseball bats, metal pipes, and knives" (Levy 1975).

The Teamsters willingness to use violence was well known. The International Brotherhood hired more than 300 "guards" and paid them to "protect" nonstriking farm workers. Their intimidating appearance--dark sunglasses, tattoos, and biker boots—ran contrary to the union's $1.3 million a year public relations campaign to improve its image. The guards' first show of force came on April 25, when thirty Teamsters stormed a meeting at a labor camp and began throwing rocks at UFW members. Violent encounters were then reported every week: shots were fired at a house where Chavez was sleeping, two Teamsters kidnapped a man they mistook for a UFW member and attempted to murder him, several Teamsters in the back of a truck hurled twenty-pound rocks at a car in which Chavez was riding, unidentified men set fire to a trailer home with a UFW family inside, a bomb blew up the car of another UFW member. An attack on June 24 was, in the words of Lt. Paul Yoxsimer, "the most violent eruption of the entire strike."(Levy, 1975).Approximately 180 Teamsters carrying iron pipes, chains, clubs, tire irons, and machetes attacked 400 men, women, and children on a picket line southeast of Thermal, leaving twenty-five injured and four hospitalized (Levy 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977, Taylor 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

Throughout these weeks, Chavez reminded union members of the importance of nonviolence. As the strike wore on and the union failed to make any headway with growers, who managed to harvest most of their crops with imported workers from Mexico, some could not resist retaliating. When the harvest moved north toward Delano, the situation looked bleak. On July 10, 1973, the E & J Gallo Wine Company, the nation's largest winery, announced that it had signed a four-year contract with the Teamsters. The UFW's Delano contracts were set to expire less than three weeks later. Nevertheless, Chavez remained upbeat. Chavez knew that the jurisdictional fight would continue after the 1973 harvest, and he was convinced that the union had the strength to retain farm workers' loyalty and public support.

Chavez's prediction that the Teamsters would capture the table-grape industry held true. What surprised Chavez and the rest of the UFW was the vigor with which law enforcement in Kern, Tulare, and Fresno Counties aided the Teamsters' (and growers') efforts. One of the largest confrontations between union members and sheriff's deputies occurred in Kern County on July 22, 1973. As union members picketed on Edison Drive in front of the Giumarra Ranch, several helicopters began to sweep low to kick up dust and spark disarray. Deputies ran in among the pickets, swinging billy clubs and grabbing picketers' faces to spray mace in their eyes. One deputy pinned 17 year old Marta Rodriguez's arms behind her back, handcuffed her, and began to drag her away. Rodriguez panicked and screamed for help. When Frank Valenzuela, the former mayor of Hollister, approached the deputy and offered to calm the girl down, other officers converged on him, clubbed him on the legs, sprayed mace in his eyes, and hit him in the stomach. They pinned the fallen man's arms behind his back, shoved his face in the dirt, and handcuffed him. By the end of the afternoon, 230 picketers had been arrested (Levy 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

Amid such violence, the union's last-minute talks with the Giumarras and other Delano growers went nowhere. By the beginning of August as many as three thousand union members were picketing ranches scattered throughout Kern, Tulare, and Fresno Counties—standing up to Teamsters' threats and attacks, withstanding brutal arrests by sheriff's deputies, and filling county jails to capacity. The picketing would last only two more weeks. On the night of August 13, the union sponsored a party at a park in Arvin. Following the party, a young picket captain from Yemen named Nagi Daifullah and several other union members were talking outside a bar near the park. A sheriff's deputy ordered them to disperse. When they refused, a scuffle broke out. Daifullah ran from the scene; the deputy chased after him and , knocked him to the ground with a blow from his flashlight. The twenty-four-year-old farm worker suffered fatal head injuries and died on August 15. The next day, shots fired at pickets from a passing truck killed sixty-year-old union member Juan de la Cruz. The deaths, so close together, sent shock waves through the farm labor movement. As the union prepared to mourn its martyrs, Chavez and the other union leaders agreed to call off all picketing "until the federal law enforcement agencies guarantee our right to picket and see that our lives are safe and our civil rights not trampled on" (Levy 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Taylor 1975).

For Chavez, this was a momentous decision. Just a few years earlier, he had explained to writer Peter Matthiessen his belief that "the picket line is where a man makes his commitment" (Matthiessen 1973). As Chavez knew, the picket line was profoundly important as a recruiting tool, an organizing tactic, and a means of claiming space. The courageous act of picketing itself allowed farm workers to demonstrate their commitments to La Causa to their employers and co-workers. Such commitments were difficult to break, and they gave striking farm workers a strength that simply was harder to cultivate in the safer settings of rallies, marches, and distant boycotts. However, Chavez was not willing to risk farm workers' lives on the picket lines. The UFW thus shifted its dwindling resources to the boycott, targeting California's non-union table grapes and lettuce and the wines of Ernest and Julio Gallo.

By then, the union was almost a shadow of itself. During the strike of 1973 the UFW lost ninety percent of its contracts, dropping from 150 to 12 (which covered only about 6,500 farm labors), and its membership rolls dropped from 55,000 to 10,000. The union also had burned through almost three million dollars in strike-related expenses. Yet the union's members remained committed to the struggle, and its boycott organizers remained spirited. On the morning of September 1, five hundred boycotters gathered at the Forty Acres for a rally. They climbed into cars, trucks, and buses decorated with union signs, formed caravans, and headed for cities throughout the U.S. and Canada (Meister and Loftis 1977, Levy 1975).

Chavez and other union leaders continued hasty preparations for the union's second constitutional

convention (its first since gaining full membership in the AFL-CIO), to be held at the new Fresno Convention Center from September 21 through 24, 1973. The convention was unlike those of other trade unions. Most of the 414 delegates could barely afford to attend. Debate was unusually lengthy, extending over several marathon sessions, the last of which stretched for twenty-two hours. Convention delegates paused several times to listen to addresses by guests such as Sen. Edward Kennedy and UAW President Leonard Woodcock, but most of their time was spent discussing, amending, and finally adopting the union's new 111-page constitution. The convention concluded with the election of a new nine-member executive board: Cesar Chavez (president), Dolores Huerta (vice-president), Philip Vera Cruz (vice-president), Pete Velasco (vice-president), Gil Padilla (secretary-treasurer), and at-large board members Mack Lyons, Eliseo Medina, Richard Chavez, and Marshall Ganz. Cesar was pleased with the union's new structure. The convention "set rules which are law and have to be obeyed. Before, we improvised, and I had to make all the decisions. Now we have a clearly constituted authority to act between conventions," he explained. "The executive board makes the policy decisions, which I carry out" (Levy 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977, Taylor 1975).

After the convention, union leaders turned their attention back to the boycott. During the rest of the year and into 1974, Cesar and Dolores spent more time on the road traveling to different cities, speaking to the media, and rallying farm workers and volunteers on the picket lines. Chavez also traveled with Helen in Europe (on non-UFW funds) for three weeks to spread the boycott message and curtail California growers' ability to dump their produce on European markets. He and Helen received an unexpected audience with another supporter, Pope Paul VI. The Pope praised Cesar for his "sustained effort to apply the principles of Christian social teaching" and for his close cooperation with the U.S. Bishops Committee on Farm Labor and then offered his blessing. As Chavez returned to California, it was clear that the American Catholic Church would intensify its support of the union and its boycott (Rose 1990, Levy 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977).

Despite skeptics' conclusions that the union's battle against the alliance of growers and Teamsters was hopeless, the boycott gained momentum. By the end of 1974, a Louis Harris poll revealed that twelve percent of the country's adult population (or seventeen million Americans) had stopped buying grapes and eleven percent (fourteen million people) had stopped buying lettuce. The union estimated that growers had lost at least four million dollars in sales. Ernest and Julio Gallo were hit particularly hard, reportedly losing nine percent of its market share (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Meister and Loftis 1977).

Still, the union's leaders realized that the boycott alone would not force growers to recognize the union or allow elections. To beat the Teamsters and gain leverage with the growers, the union needed a state law that would level and regulate the playing field.. During the 1974 legislative session in California, Jerry Cohen pushed a bill that would have given the union secret-ballot union-recognition elections. The proposal contained no language about boycotts or strikes (which growers had tried to limit with Proposition 22) and thus was vulnerable to powerful opposition from agribusiness, but the maneuver signaled the possible emergence of new common ground. Between 1965 and 1974, growers had come to believe that farm workers should be protected—and thus regulated—by the NLRA, which guaranteed secret-ballot elections. During the same time, the union had moved toward the opposite position. In the early years of the first Delano strike, Chavez had railed against the exclusion of farm workers from the legislative act that protected other industrial workers' basic rights to organize. Chavez knew that the farm workers' continued exclusion from the NLRA allowed the union to utilize its most effective weapons, the primary and secondary boycotts, without restriction. If the two sides could compromise on these issues, though, a legal framework that would benefit workers and growers might be constructed. Cohen's bill was defeated in the state senate, but not before gaining the endorsement of the former secretary of state and current gubernatorial candidate, Jerry Brown (Taylor 1975, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

Jerry Brown's election as governor of California in November 1974 marked the beginning of a new era of possibility for the farm labor movement. Governor Brown (the son of former governor Pat Brown) considered himself a friend of Chavez and the farm labor movement, and he even recruited union organizer Leroy Chatfield onto his staff. The union thus expected to see prompt movement toward a farm labor law when Brown took office in January 1975, but there was little response to Chavez's requests for a meeting. As the union's leaders began considering ways to get the governor's attention, Fred Ross, Jr., proposed a march on Gallo. Not only would a march to the company's headquarters in Modesto put pressure on the giant company, it would

send a message to Brown and show skeptics across the country that the movement was strong (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

On February 22, 1975, several hundred farm workers and union supporters gathered in San Francisco's Union Square while another contingent prepared to head north from Delano, following much of the same route as the famous march on Sacramento almost a decade prior. The main group would trace a 110-mile route across San Francisco Bay, toward Stockton, and south to Modesto. Before the marchers left Union Square, three Gallo supporters unfurled a huge banner from the top of the St. Francis Hotel with a provocative message: "GALLO'S 500 UNION FARM WORKERS BEST PAID IN U.S. . . . MARCHING WRONG WAY, CESAR?" The union's members barely blinked. Their contract demands called for much more than raises in pay. When the marchers arrived in Modesto one week later, however, another banner waited: "73 MORE MILES TO GO. GALLO ASKS UFW TO SUPPORT NLRA-TYPE LAWS IN SACRAMENTO TO GUARANTEE FARM WORKER RIGHTS." By that time the marchers' numbers had swelled to almost twenty thousand, and they had good reason to cheer as it seemed that Gallo had given in. The jubilant marchers converged in Modesto's Graceada Park for a rally and celebration (Ferriss and Sandoval 1995).

Governor Brown succumbed to the pressure even though he knew how difficult it would be to forge a bill that would be acceptable to the state's influential growers and farm workers. During the next two months, Brown and his secretary of agriculture organized a series of public hearings at the capitol and private negotiating sessions at the governor's homes in Hollywood and Sacramento. Cohen served as the union's lead negotiator on the bill, and he pushed Chavez's demands effectively. By the end of May, Chavez knew that he would get what he wanted: binding, timely, secret-ballot elections; the right to boycott; voting rights for seasonal workers; protection for organizers in the fields; and the establishment of a government agency to certify election results and enforce the law's provisions. Growers, for their part, were satisfied that the legal framework would curtail the constant disruptions of strikes and boycotts that hampered their harvests and cost the industry millions of dollars. They were pleased, too, with the creation of a five-person supervisory board appointed by the governor.

The bill survived a special legislative session and, on June 5, 1975, Governor Brown announced the remarkable political achievement—the signing into law of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. The bill marked a victory for Brown as well, one of the first significant accomplishments of his administration. But the governor wisely sounded a note of caution. He warned those present at the bill signing ceremony not to "overstate what's going on here today; this is the beginning, not the end." Indeed, the UFW had a great deal of organizing work ahead. And, as Chavez and other union leaders returned to the fields, they would find that the growers' approval of the ALRA was anything but a capitulation to the UFW (Levy 1975, Meister and Loftis 1977, Ferriss and Sandoval 1995, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

VII. The Modernization of the United Farm Workers and the Broadening of the Farm Labor Movement in the U.S., 1975-1984

After the passage of the landmark Agricultural Labor Relations Act, Chavez allowed himself to look ahead to future challenges. As one of the most prominent labor leaders and civil rights leaders in the American West, Chavez had developed a broad social vision. The challenges he had identified were many. "After we've got contracts, we have to build more clinics and co-ops," he told writer Jacques Levy in 1975. "Then there's the whole question of political action, so much political work to be done taking care of all the grievances that people have, such as the discrimination their kids face in school, and the whole problem of the police. . . . We have to participate in the governing of towns and school boards," he continued. "We have to make our influence felt everywhere and anywhere. It's a long struggle that we're just beginning, but it can be done because the people want it" (Levy 1975).

During the time period covered by this section of the study, Chavez began a sustained effort to broaden his personal focus and that of the farm labor movement beyond the challenges associated with securing contracts. He worked to make the UFW a modern union, one that had a well-trained leadership and utilized an array of tools to communicate with politicians and the public. As Chavez's leadership in the fields of public health and environmental safety evolved, he focused more of the union's resources on the problems of pesticides. Still, this wider focus developed slowly and haltingly. The promises of the ALRA proved to be fleeting, growers still fought the UFW on several fronts, the Teamsters remained in the fields, and the possibility of violence on the picket lines continued to influence Chavez's strategic thinking. Moreover, the UFW's political power was greatly diminished by the conservative drift of state

and national politics. As the union's public appeal began to fall, the boycott, the union's most effective weapon, became less reliable. Nevertheless, when Chavez called a renewed boycott of grapes in 1984 to publicize the dangers of pesticides and protest growers' refusal to come to the bargaining table, his commitment to fighting for the dignity of farm workers was as strong as ever.

1,000-Mile March

Governor Jerry Brown's signing of the ALRA marked a proud moment for the farm labor movement, but growers also regarded it as a victory. Both celebrations ended quickly. The first controversy erupted when Brown announced his nominees to the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), the five-person board responsible for certifying election results and enforcing the farm labor law's provisions. Despite Brown's promise to appoint a balanced board, four of his five nominees were decidedly pro-farm labor: former UFW organizer Leroy Chatfield and another Chavez ally, Bishop Roger Mahony, as well as a Latino civil rights activist and a progressive Democrat who had worked for the Teamsters. When growers complained that the board was "oriented toward unionization," they seemed to reveal a fundamental misunderstanding of the ALRA's purpose. Most growers demonstrated no greater inclination to cooperate with UFW organizers who began seeking access to ranches in anticipation of ALRB-supervised elections. Citing constitutional rights preventing trespassing on private property, the Gallo Company and other grower operations refused to allow UFW organizers into their fields—even as they granted access to Teamsters organizers (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Meister and Loftis 1977).

Chavez decided to publicize violations of the new law and create new opportunities for organizing by embarking on a "thousand-mile march" from San Ysidro north to Sacramento, then south again to La Paz. On July 1, 1975, Chavez and sixty union members touched the fence of the U.S.-Mexico border near San Ysidro and began walking north. Marching and singing every day, the farm workers gathered almost every night with supporters from nearby towns and ranches to hold rallies and sign petitions demanding elections. The fifty-nine-day march and its events rejuvenated Cesar (Meister and Loftis 1977, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

The thousand-mile march succeeded in spreading the news of the ALRA among the state's farm workers, and it built momentum for upcoming elections. Because it also helped maintain pressure on Gov. Brown, the march aided another battle fought on behalf of farm workers: the effort to ban *el cortito* (the short-handled hoe) from the fields of California. *El cortito* was a hoe that measured only twenty-four inches in length. Its use required farm workers to bend and stoop as they walked along rows of lettuce and sugar beets, thinning and weeding, and it left users with lifelong back pain if not debilitating back injury. Chavez traced his long struggle with back pain to the use of *el cortito* in his youth. Despite California growers' arguments that *el cortito* allowed greater precision in thinning and weeding, growers in other states had stopped forcing farm workers to use it long ago. In 1972, California Rural Legal Assistance attorney Maurice Jourdane had submitted the first formal complaint against the use of the short-handled hoe to the state Division of Industrial Safety. The DIS rejected the claim, but the state supreme court overturned the ruling. Three years later, the DIS had yet to issue an order forbidding the use of the tool. Jourdane contacted the UFW, which in turn pressured Gov. Brown to order the DIS to take action (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

Meanwhile, the ALRB established offices around the state, staffed them with arbitrators and paralegals, and arranged for more than 150 elections during the late summer of 1975. At the same time, the Teamsters' power was waning. Their most powerful ally, Richard Nixon, had been out of office for almost two years, former president Jimmy Hoffa had disappeared, and several federal agencies were moving forward with criminal investigations into the union's activities. Still, the International Brotherhood continued to work with growers to fight the UFW. Teamsters organizers enjoyed unlimited access to field workers, and their men who continued to serve as "guards" prevented UFW organizers from "trespassing." Largely as a result, the two unions split the elections held during August and September. The UFW won 74 elections and the Teamsters won 73 (17 ranches voted for "no union"); however, before the end of the year, the UFW began to pull away. Of the remaining elections, the UFW won 124 to the Teamsters' 42, giving the UFW the right to represent 27,000 farm workers seeking union contracts (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Meister and Loftis 1977, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

Virtually all of these elections were contested. Growers challenged the validity of elections in which striking farm workers voted, the Teamsters filed complaints charging the UFW with electioneering at the polls, and the UFW registered more than one

thousand complaints against growers for firing pro-UFW workers and against the Teamsters for intimidating UFW organizers. This workload overwhelmed the ALRB's young, inexperienced staff. Not only did the board conduct more than three hundred elections by the beginning of 1976, it was asked to investigate nearly twelve hundred charges of unfair labor practices and forced to respond to more than two hundred lawsuits. As a result, the board only certified seventy-five elections by the end of 1975, including one at Inter Harvest, where the UFW won handily, but excluding the Gallo Wine Company and the Giumarra Company, two of the state's largest grower operations (Meister and Loftis).

More important, the ALRB used its $2.6 million annual operating budget in just seven months. By early 1976, the board was forced to lay off all of its 175 employees and suspend operations until the legislature appropriated additional funds. This froze more than two hundred uncertified election results, more than one thousand complaints of unfair labor practice, and hundreds of petitions for elections. Without board agents in the fields, growers had little incentive to open negotiations with election winners and even less incentive to recognize unofficial election results. The UFW also charged that growers fired several hundred farm workers for engaging in UFW organizing activity. The board appealed to the legislature for emergency funding, but by this time enough rural Democrats in the legislature had aligned themselves with Republicans to block the request. In addition, the board's opponents pressed for radical changes to the law, which would have reduced penalties for unfair labor practices, restricted seasonal farm workers' voting rights, and virtually blocked UFW organizers from access to the fields. The pro-grower coalition refused to grant emergency funding and even threatened to withhold the next year's allocation if such changes did not go through. Gov. Brown stood by the UFW. Despite Brown's welcome support, though, Chavez knew that the union would have to take yet another battle to the public (Meister and Loftis 1977, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

PROPOSITION 14

The union's leaders decided to put the key deficiencies of the ALRA, including lack of funding and experienced staff, and two possible remedies, before the state's voters. They prepared a ballot initiative that, if approved, would require the legislature to adequately fund the ALRB every year and require growers to allow all union organizers equal access to workers in the fields. In the summer of 1976, union volunteers collected signatures from more than 700,000 supporters with remarkable ease. Their effort put Proposition 14 on the November 1976 ballot (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

The drive for signatures forced growers and their allies to retreat, but only temporarily. The legislature voted to provide additional funding for the board without changes in the law, and, with three new members, the board went back to work. Pro-grower forces then launched a $1.8 million media campaign against Proposition 14. The "No on 14" campaign, largely funded by oil companies and other corporate interests with ties to agribusiness, was deceptive. Ignoring the legislature's responsibility to fund the board adequately and the limitations on union organizers' access to workers that the initiative itself proposed, the campaign cast the ballot measure as nothing but an attack on private property rights (Meister and Loftis, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Chavez, Cohen, Huerta, and other union leaders countered the "No on 14" campaign in speeches and other public appearances, but they seem in retrospect to have been overconfident. The initiative was defeated by a three-to-two margin. No one took the defeat of Proposition 14 harder than Chavez. Once a firm believer in the political process and confidant that the public always would see the justice of La Causa, Chavez became disillusioned. In the future he would be more inclined to deal with elected officials and other political power brokers rather than appeal to the electorate itself (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

UFW EMERGES AS DOMINANT UNION IN CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURE

Victories in the fields also proved hard to come by in 1976. With an enormous backlog of election petitions, complaints, uncertified election results, and lawsuits to deal with, the ALRB slowed the UFW's progress toward new contracts to a virtual standstill. Chavez increasingly expressed his frustration and displeasure with the board. The ALRB did hold nineteen elections during the calendar year—of which the UFW won fifteen—but the more important process of certifying election results at the largest grower operations (such as Gallo) went nowhere (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

After a long, difficult year in which most of the union's energy and resources went into driving the campaign for Proposition 14, filing complaints against growers, preparing for elections, and haranguing the farm labor board for its lack of progress, the UFW finally found a cause for celebration and a reason for optimism. In March

1977, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons announced that the International Brotherhood was giving up its claims to field workers and that, with the exception of a contract with Bud Antle, it would not seek to renew any of its remaining contracts covering farm workers in California. This development, though unexpected, reflected the reality of the Teamsters' mounting defeats at the ballot box in 1975 and 1976. The announcement marked the end of the bitter, wasteful struggle between the two unions. Chavez looked back at the period with regret, but looked to the future with great optimism. With a membership approaching forty thousand, the UFW in 1977 was unquestionably the dominant union in California agriculture. With as many as 200,000 farm workers in the state still unorganized, the union seemed poised to grow even stronger (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Daniels 1981).

UFW Organizational Growth and Challenges

As Chavez anticipated the organizing work that lay ahead, he felt more keenly his long-standing desires to restructure the UFW's management and chart the union's future. For several years, the union's leaders had been aware of mounting internal divisions over issues such as union leaders' various duties, the degree of Chavez's own influence over day-to-day operations, salaries for union leaders and staff, and the allocation of resources in political campaigns, legal battles, social services, and field organizing. Chavez hoped to tackle the issue of management structure first. He had invited consultants such as Kenneth Blanchard, the author of *The One-Minute Manager*, to La Paz to lead seminars and offer advice. Now, one month after the Teamsters' announcement, Chavez decided to bring the entire union staff to the mountain retreat of Charles Dederich's drug rehabilitation program, Synanon, for a conference. Cesar was impressed with the order, tidiness, and efficiency of the Synanon retreat, and he thought that the union might adopt certain aspects of Dederich's program. One feature that appealed to Chavez was an exercise in open communication known as "the Game." Soon after the staff conference at Synanon in April 1977, Chavez set up weekly two-hour sessions of the Game for all union staff at La Paz (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Coplon 1984).

The Game required participants to sit in a circle, confront fellow participants, and air grievances—often quite combatively. It proved to be unpopular with many of the staff members, and long-time union organizer Jim Drake even resigned after the Game was introduced to La Paz. Yet Chavez felt that the exercise was worthwhile. "It was very productive," he told a reporter. "We wanted a more open union. We wanted the staff to deal squarely with the leadership, and vice versa. . . The Game [gave] you license to say anything." Jerry Cohen later acknowledged Drake's perspective. The Game itself "was just a little blip on the screen," but "it was indicative of an internal problem with the union." The problem—or array of problems, all of them associated with the union's continuing transition into a modern labor union—also pushed away Vice-President Philip Vera Cruz, and another of the union's talented board members, Eliseo Medina. But Drake, Vera Cruz, and Medina would not be the last to leave, and the internal divisions beginning to plague the union's leadership would not be resolved for three more years (Coplon 1984, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Scharlin and Villanueva 2000).

Yuma Melon Strike

Despite the emergence of internal divisions, organizing campaigns and election drives continued to swell the union's membership rolls to a peak of more than one hundred thousand. One organizing campaign occurred during the summer of 1978 in Yuma, Arizona. Melon pickers near Chavez's hometown had contacted the UFW for assistance in a strike and warned the union that a local judge had issued an injunction against all picketing. Chavez left La Paz with his wife Helen and drove to Arizona during the second week of June. Their decision to challenge the injunction and face imprisonment made this an unusual homecoming, for by now growers had learned that jailing the prominent UFW leader would create more problems than it would solve. On June 13, Cesar and Helen joined forty farm workers on a picket line along Highway 95 at the G&S Produce Company's fields. Sheriff's deputies ordered the pickets to disburse and all of them did (at Chavez's request) except for Cesar and Helen. County officials were unsure how to proceed. At the hearing, the judge handed down a suspended six-month sentence for contempt, and the Chavezes emerged from the courthouse to a cheering throng of six hundred farm workers waving UFW banners (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Jensen and Hammerback 2002).

Imperial Valley Lettuce Strike

Returning to La Paz, Chavez looked ahead to a new campaign—the union's most important since the passage of the ALRA. When union contracts with lettuce growers in the Imperial and Salinas Valleys were set to expire on January 1, 1979, Chavez wanted to negotiate with the entire industry at once so that

growers under contract would not suffer a competitive disadvantage. Marshall Ganz began investigating the conditions of the state's vegetable growers and the executive board met to discuss strategy. After Ganz discovered that inflation had created huge profits for growers (even as workers' wages stood still), the board decided to push growers for wage and piece-rate increases of more than forty percent, payment of salaries for full-time UFW representatives (to be elected by workers on each ranch), and increased contributions to the union's medical plan. When Dolores Huerta and the negotiating team presented these demands, growers were caught off guard (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Lindsey 1979).

The farm workers' solidarity was remarkable. After negotiations with Imperial Valley growers failed to produce results, nearly five thousand lettuce-pickers working on eight large ranches walked off their jobs on January 19. It was the union's first major strike in almost four years and it immediately shut down one-third of the nation's iceberg lettuce production, costing growers more than two million dollars during the first two weeks alone. The spirit of solidarity even spread to a new generation of Chicanos. When growers were allowed to post worker-recruitment handbills on the classroom windows of Holtville High School, Chicano students walked out in protest. Only a union lawsuit could bring the growers' recruitment efforts at the high school to a halt (Lindsey 1979, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Farm workers' commitment to the fight—and Chavez's commitment to nonviolence—remained strong even after the fatal shooting of twenty-eight-year-old union member Rufino Contreras on February 10, 1979, at the Mario Saikhon Ranch. As Contreras and a group of pickets entered the ranch to confront strikebreakers, ranch guards fired as many as fifteen rounds in the group's direction. A bullet struck Contreras in the head, killing him instantly. Many pickets responded with anger and violence of their own, but a saddened Chavez again doubted the wisdom of sending farm workers to the picket lines (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

As the harvest ended in the Imperial Valley and moved north to the Salinas Valley, Chavez began to argue with Marshall Ganz and others at executive board meetings that the union should pull farm workers from the picket lines and reactivate the lettuce boycott that Chavez had quietly ended the previous year. Local ranch-committee members and strike leaders, however, insisted that the farm workers were galvanized by the strike and that growers were close to giving in. Their prediction proved true in September, in large part because of the pressure created by two marches and a massive Labor Day rally. The twin marches—one south to Salinas from San Francisco, the other coming north from San Ardo—converged on Hartnell Community College and drew twenty-five thousand participants, some of whom threw down their tools and joined the marches as they passed through the valley. Near the conclusion of the rally, Jerry Cohen announced that the Meyer Tomato operation had agreed to sign a contract and meet all of the union's demands. Within a few days, most of the valley's other vegetable growers signaled their willingness to sign as well (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Etulain 2002).

This victory was one of the union's greatest. Lettuce-pickers under union contract became the highest paid field workers in the country. Moreover, the improved medical plan allowed the union to meet the health-care needs of an increasing number of farm workers. Perhaps most important, veteran union members and recently-organized farm workers alike saw just what they could accomplish through unified, nonviolent effort (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

MODERNIZATION OF THE UFW

The contracts signed with growers who had operations in the Salinas Valley and Imperial Valley propelled the union into a new phase, one in which the UFW would continue to evolve into a modern union with a well-defined management structure and an organizational system capable of handling tens of thousands of union members. The phase also would see Chavez's increased efforts to expand his view beyond the campaigns for union contracts in order to pursue his wider social agenda. And, not coincidentally, the new phase would be marked by the departures of several long-time union leaders, many of whom left because of their sense that La Causa could no longer encompass both a modern union and a broad social movement. These transformations came in the wake of a great victory, but they occurred at a time when the political climate in California and the rest of the nation was growing more conservative. The union's struggles were far from finished.

Efforts to reorganize the union's management had been developing slowly since 1977, but they finally came to fruition after the signing of the lettuce contracts. The nine-member executive board adopted a "team-management" model, requiring each board member to take command of one area of the union's operations. Chavez was pleased with the adoption of

this new system. It was predicated on a great amount of individual responsibility, accountability, and, in Cesar's words, "systematic and intensive communication." But it relieved Chavez of the need to make all decisions—even if it did not deter Chavez from keeping a hand in all decision-making processes. As part of the same effort to improve and modernize the union's management, the UFW turned the old doctors' residence at La Paz into a computer center with records for members and supporters as well as sympathetic individuals who might be receptive to direct-mail appeals. The union also received a grant to develop a microwave communication system, so that staff members in La Paz could communicate with organizers in the fields without relying on public telephones (Jensen and Hammerback 2002, Coplon 1984, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

With the union's modernization efforts progressing, Chavez again looked ahead to the broader challenges that he had talked about with Jacques Levy in 1975. His goal of mobilizing farm workers' political power remained important, and the union began to funnel hundreds of thousands of dollars into the campaign treasuries of politicians identified as allies. Chavez also began exploring the idea of a broader "Chicano lobby" in Sacramento and Washington, D.C., that would push the interests of all Mexican Americans. Yet even as Chavez directed political initiatives, he remained convinced that political power alone would not get farm workers and Chicanos what they needed (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Cesar continued to view his fight as more than a struggle for union recognition and contracts. La Causa was a labor movement, one that had evolved into a modern labor union, but it also was a social movement, one that sought dignity for farm workers, Chicanos, and other marginalized groups. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Chavez was trying to chart a course for the UFW that encompassed union work and a broader social agenda (Levy 1975).

During this time, a number of leaders and staff members who thought that the UFW could no longer be both a labor union and a social movement decided to resign, and not always on good terms. Some internal critics thought that the UFW was becoming too bureaucratic and falling out of touch with its roots as a social movement. Others thought that the union remained too close to its roots and that it needed the guidance of a professional management team. Marshall Ganz and Jessica Govea, both highly-respected board members, decided to leave the union because they thought that it was not doing enough to support grassroots organizing among farm workers out in the fields. Attorney Jerry Cohen left as well, in part because he disagreed with the union policy of paying staff members as if they were volunteers rather than professional managers. Even Gil Padilla, one of the original founders of the FWA, decided to resign after finding himself disagreeing too often with Chavez and the rest of the board over policy decisions. These departures saddened Chavez and undoubtedly hurt the union (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Coplon 1984).

Divisions between the executive board and local union representatives in the Salinas Valley hurt the union as well. These divisions first emerged during the summer of 1979, when local strike leaders rejected Chavez's proposal to shift union resources from the picket lines to the boycott. After the union won its contracts, many of these local leaders were elected as union representatives and began pressing La Paz for help in setting up a credit union and dealing with a membership base that had grown by the thousands. When the executive board was slow to respond, the representatives decided to challenge three board positions on Chavez's slate at the union's convention in 1981. The surprise move failed, and the Salinas delegates walked out of the convention. Chavez, suspecting that the move was the work of grower-paid saboteurs, fired seven field representatives from the Salinas Valley. This well-publicized battle continued into 1982, when a judge ordered the union to reinstate the representatives and give them back pay on the grounds that they had been elected and thus were not subject to termination from the executive board (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Coplon 1984).

When word of these internal divisions made its way into the news, California growers paid attention. The work of the ALRB already progressed at a snail's pace. In 1982, seven years after the farm labor board's creation, it had yet to make an award for violation of the ALRA. Now, with the turnover in union leadership and the rift between the executive board and the Salinas representatives, growers began to sense that the UFW was weaker than it had been in years. They became more aggressive in obstructing organizing drives, contesting elections, and stalling contract negotiations. One grower's gun even took the life of yet another union member—the fifth martyr for La Causa. After months of organizing work among fellow farm workers at the Sikkema Family Farm, a dairy ranch outside of Fresno, twenty-one-year-old Mexican immigrant René Lopéz finally succeeded in getting the ALRB to hold an

election in September 1983. As Lopez and his friends relaxed and awaited the outcome of the vote, Sikkema guard Donato Estrada and Ralph Sikkema's brother-in-law drove toward the group and called Lopéz over to their car. A shot rang out, and Lopéz fell dead. He was the first union organizer to die while trying to work under the protection of the ALRA. Speaking to a crowd of one thousand family members, friends, and farm workers at Lopéz's funeral, Cesar asked. "How many more martyrs must there be before we can be free?" Chavez's questions were rhetorical, of course, but the criticism underlying them was largely directed at David Stirling, the new general counsel of the ALRB (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Coplon 1984).

Stirling had been appointed by George Deukmejian, a conservative Republican who captured the California governor's office in 1982 with the strong support of agribusiness. Gov. Deukmejian selected Stirling for the post and backed his efforts to pull the ALRB away from its "pro-union bias." Stirling quickly moved to replace the ALRB's field staff and signaled his intent to slow down the board's work even further. Stirling also reduced the board's expenditures on election monitors. Before the cuts, four monitors normally would have been sent to an election the size of that on the Sikkema ranch in September 1983 to protect farm workers. The board failed to protect Lopéz, though, and Chavez blamed Stirling (Jensen and Hammerback 2002, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Boycott against Unrestricted Pesticides

By the end of 1983, the union's strength was waning and its organizing efforts were spiraling downward. The union had difficulty attracting enough votes to win elections. When it did win elections, it took months to have them certified. Even when the union's victories were certified, growers refused to negotiate contracts. The absence of new contracts limited resources and, more important, created the impression that the union was not worth voting for, perpetuating this cycle. Membership in the union plummeted to less than forty thousand, and frustrated executive board members knew that the union needed to break the cycle. During the spring of 1984, the board prepared to call a new and more dramatic boycott of grapes to force growers to the bargaining table despite their ability to hide behind the Deukmejian's ALRB. This time, the union would work to make the public aware of the environmental and health risks associated with the hundreds of millions of tons of chemical pesticides dumped on grapes and other crops each year.

The union had opposed the unrestricted use of pesticides since the late 1960s. In 1969, Chavez testified in front of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor that "the issue of pesticide poisoning is more important today than even wages," and pesticide regulations were written into virtually every contract the union negotiated—years before the Environmental Protection Agency issued its own regulations. Chavez also began encouraging young union members and supporters such as Marion Moses to study medicine so that they might help farm workers overcome the health risks associated with pesticides. Moses earned her medical degree in the 1970s and, after residencies in internal and occupational medicine, returned to California to work for the union. Soon after her arrival at La Paz in 1983, Moses began to hear reports that a number of farm workers and other people, most of them children, from farm towns around Delano had developed cancer. In McFarland, a farm town near Delano with six thousand residents, thirteen children living in a six-block area had recently been diagnosed with leukemia. This extraordinarily high ratio—four hundred percent above average—defined the town as a cancer cluster. It would not be the only one (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Taylor 1975).

The UFW's opposition to unrestricted pesticide use provided a common cause with environmental and consumer safety groups. An estimated three hundred thousand farm workers across the country suffered illnesses caused by pesticide exposure every year, but millions of tons of pesticides spread through the air and groundwater, and millions of Americans ate grapes and other produce items contaminated with pesticide residues. With promises of support from church groups and high expectations of support from other organizations, Chavez called for a national boycott of California grapes on June 12, 1984. The union planned to rely heavily on their computerized databases and a newly-acquired knowledge of advertising techniques. This campaign—the "high-tech boycott" with a focus on pesticides—would help define the union through the rest of the decade (Jensen and Hammerback 2002, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

VIII. Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement in a New Era in California and Across the U.S., 1984-1993

Cesar was fond of telling doubters and reassuring supporters that "we have more time than money." He knew that the combined economic resources of farm workers would never match the countless millions of dollars on which corporate growers and their allies could draw. But Chavez believed that if farm workers remained patient and nonviolent, eventually they would gain enough strength and support to help them outlast the "feudalistic" structure of agribusiness. During the final decade of Chavez's life, the UFW never regained the strength it had in the 1970s. Yet Cesar was never discouraged. According to Chavez, the most important battle already had been won. "It doesn't really matter whether we have a hundred thousand members or five hundred thousand members," he explained in 1984. "In truth, hundreds of thousands of farm workers in California—and in other states—are better off today because of our work. And Hispanics across California and the nation, who don't work in agriculture, are better off today because of what the farm workers taught people—about organizing, about pride and strength, about seizing control over their own lives." Chavez led the farm labor movement as it continued to fight the other battles against growers, pesticides, conservative politicians, and the ineffectual farm labor board, but also, more broadly, against racism, ignorance, violence, greed, poverty, and despair, until his death in 1993 (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

This section of the historic context examines the last decade of Chavez's life and the battles that the UFW faced during that time.

The union's new boycott of grapes took off under the direction of Richie Ross, a labor activist and political consultant. Using computer-generated mailing lists and modern offset-printing equipment installed at La Paz, Ross began sending out hundreds of thousands of pleas from Chavez asking sympathizers to boycott California grapes until growers agreed to negotiate with the UFW and meet its demand to stop using pesticides known to have caused cancer in laboratory animals. Growers retaliated with a media campaign of their own, and they tried to divert attention away from the issue of pesticides and toward Chavez's "political" interests (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Coplon 1984).

Cesar rose above these personal attacks with grace and simple eloquence. In a speech before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in November 1984—a speech that he considered particularly important and, along with union speechwriter Marc Grossman, took great pains to prepare—the union leader maintained his broader focus on the union's fight against multiple injustices, especially poverty, racism, corporate welfare, the failure of the state to enforce the law, and the poisoning of the environment. He called attention to the fact that "thousands of farm workers live under savage conditions: beneath trees and amid garbage and human excrement. . . . They walk miles to buy food at inflated prices," he noted, "and they carry water from irrigation pumps." Given such conditions, Chavez explained, it was no surprise that the babies of migrant farm workers suffered a twenty-five percent higher infant mortality rate than the rest of the population, or that malnutrition among the children of migrant workers was ten times higher, or that farm workers' life expectancy was only forty-nine years, twenty-four years less than that of the average American (Jensen and Hammerback 2002).

Finally, after years of denying that unrestricted pesticide use posed any dangers, growers were beginning "to reap the harvest from decades of environmental damage they have brought upon the land—the pesticides, the herbicides, the soil fumigants, the fertilizers, the salt deposits from thoughtless irrigation, the ravages from years of unrestrained poisoning of our soil and water. Thousands of acres of land in California have already been irrevocably damaged by this wanton abuse of nature," Cesar reported. Thus the union decided to return to the boycott and update it for a new era. Chavez noted that the union's traditional allies—racial minority groups, labor unions, and church groups—were providing their support, but so too was "an entire generation of young Americans who matured politically and socially in the 1960s and '70s—millions of people for whom boycotting grapes and other products became a socially accepted pattern of behavior." Chavez concluded that many of these supporters were responding because the union's boycott was "high-tech." It was a boycott "that uses computers and direct mail and advertising techniques which have revolutionized business and politics in recent years" (Jensen and Hammerback 2002).

Chavez's confidence aside, the table-grapes boycott was much harder to sell in 1984 than it had been in 1968 and 1973. Church groups might have been supportive, but organized labor was reeling from the loss of manufacturing jobs and the hostility of the

Reagan administration, which had decimated the air traffic controllers' union just three years prior. Hundreds of thousands of union members who would have been sent out to rally support for the boycott in the 1960s and 1970s were now out of work. The generation of antiwar students had grown up, developed careers, and gained more disposable income, but many of their priorities had changed, and many had become disillusioned. In his speech to the Commonwealth Club, Cesar claimed that the union had achieved more success with the boycott by November 1984 than it had during the fourteen years since 1970. The boycott might have gained a strong following, but table-grape growers showed no immediate sign of feeling the pressure (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Jensen and Hammerback 2002).

Yet as the boycott continued through the mid-1980s, news of other pesticide-induced illnesses emerged. In 1985, as many as one thousand people became ill after eating California-produced watermelons that had been sprayed with Aldicarb, an illegal pesticide. In 1986, one hundred and twenty citrus workers at the LaBue Ranch in Tulare County suffered burns when they came into contact with a combination of chemical pesticides that had not been approved by agriculture regulators. In 1987, twenty-seven farm workers at the H. P. Metzler Ranch in Fresno County were treated for symptoms of pesticide poisoning—rashes, dizziness, eye irritation, nausea, and respiratory difficulties. That same year, new cancer clusters were identified in other San Joaquin Valley towns, including Delano (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Jensen and Hammerback 2002, Hoffman 1988).

The Environmental Protection Agency concluded that consumers, too, were endangered by pesticides. The heightened awareness of the dangers reached the pages of the *New York Times* in March 1986. "Pesticides dwarf the other risks the agency deals with," noted Steven Schatzow, director of the agency's Office of Pesticide Programs. "The risks from pesticides are so much greater because of the exposure involved. Toxic waste dumps may affect a few thousand people living around them. But virtually everyone is exposed to pesticides" (Hoffman 1988).

The UFW took the E.P.A.'s warnings to consumers, student groups, and public officials in several ways. The union produced and distributed a short documentary titled *The Wrath of Grapes* in 1987. It included testimonials from parents in McFarland and other farm towns lamenting the fact that growers and the government were ignoring the dangers of pesticides, and it conveyed the stories of families whose children were born with birth defects or later developed cancer as a result of direct contact with pesticides and indirect contact with pesticide residues in the water and air. Around fifty thousand copies of the documentary went out to consumer groups, church groups, student groups, and the media. Chavez and other union leaders also continued to deliver speeches, lead marches, and participate in rallies throughout California and the rest of the country. Marion Moses took yet a third approach to educating the public. In 1988 she opened the Pesticide Education Center in San Francisco to serve as a clearinghouse of information about pesticides and a base from which to pressure public officials to ban known cancer-causing pesticides (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Levy 1975, Chavarria 1987).

As the table-grapes boycott entered its fourth year, Chavez sensed a need to refocus himself, the union, and its supporters on the campaign and its deeper meaning. In order to reflect on this, to serve penance for those who enabled growers to continue to use pesticides and nonunion labor, and to bring pressure to bear on the grocery stores that "promote, sell, and profit from California table grapes," Chavez decided to begin a new public fast. He vowed to consume nothing but water until table-grapes growers agreed to negotiate new contracts and eliminate pesticides known to cause cancer (Jensen and Hammerback 2002, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Chavez recognized the dangers of this fast. Despite a healthy personal regimen that included a vegetarian diet, exercise, and yoga, his sixty-one years of age had taken their toll. A medical team joined Chavez at the Forty Acres to monitor his health, and his family drew near. Even former union leaders such as Marshall Ganz, Jerry Cohen, and Fred Ross Jr., returned to Delano to offer Cesar their support. After a remarkable thirty-six days, Chavez was advised to end the fast or risk permanent damage to his health and possibly death. On August 21, 1988, eight thousand farm workers and supporters, including Jesse Jackson, Ethel Kennedy, and state assemblyman Tom Hayden as well as actors such as Martin Sheen and Edward James Olmos joined Chavez at the Forty Acres to attend Mass and celebrate the end of the union leader's fast. The spirit of Cesar's fast did not end, however. Supporters agreed to take up the fast in three-day periods and continue a "chain of suffering." Jesse Jackson was the first to accept a small wooden crucifix from Cesar and fast for three days before passing the cross to the next person (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

The fast was hard on Chavez's health, and it would take him months to recover. Even more troubling, according to Chris Hartmire, was the fact that "the growers didn't call." The fast accomplished Cesar's personal goals, though, and it produced a wave of media attention and a series of rallies, grocery-store pickets, and vigils around the country. Within two years studies would show grape consumption down seventy-four percent in New York City, thirty-seven percent in Los Angeles, and thirty-six percent in San Francisco. Chavez's patient confidence remained intact (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Less than a month after Chavez ended his fast, Dolores Huerta unexpectedly risked her own life for La Causa. On a fundraising trip through California, presidential candidate George Bush proclaimed, "I have never, nor will I ever, boycott grapes!" The next day, September 15, Huerta arrived at a rally for Bush at the St. Francis Hotel to distribute press releases criticizing Bush's opposition to the boycott. After talking to several reporters outside the hotel, Huerta found herself herded into a group of protesters. Within a few minutes a police officer began beating the fifty-eight-year-old union leader with his billy club. Huerta was hospitalized with four fractured ribs, a ruptured spleen, and life-threatening internal bleeding. Chavez, still recovering from his fast, demanded a full investigation, as did several civil rights groups and the California Labor Federation. The city finally settled a lawsuit with Huerta out of court three years later for more than eight hundred thousand dollars. Huerta used the settlement proceeds to assist groups working to organize women (Ferris and Sandoval 1997).

By the spring of 1989, Chavez's health was restored and he was back on the road, speaking to farm workers, church groups, college students, and consumer groups. He talked about the struggles of farm workers and the history of the union, the tragedies caused by pesticide poisoning and the refusal of the state to pass and enforce restrictions on the use of pesticides, and the broader problems faced by farm workers, Latinos, other racial-minority groups, and the poor. He called for increased concern for public health and the environment, greater state investment in public education, greater support from the state and private industry for affordable housing for lower-income Americans, and more job training and job opportunities for the unemployed. Chavez drew large audiences wherever he went, and he commanded the respect due a labor leader and civil rights leader of his stature (Ferris and Sandoval 1997, Jensen and Hammerback 2002).

Even some of Chavez's former opponents were beginning to recognize his legacy. On October 19, 1990, a reluctant Chavez helped celebrate the opening of new elementary school in Coachella named in his honor—the first public building in the state of California to bear his name. Two years later, in the middle of a rejuvenated field-organizing campaign that prompted the first wage increase for grape workers in eight years, the union planned a two-mile march in downtown Salinas. Members of Teamsters Local 890 asked if they could join Chavez, and he agreed. The mingling of UFW members and Teamsters on the streets of Salinas seemed strange to those who remembered the bitter, violent confrontations of the 1970s (Hartmire 2000, Ferriss and Sandoval 1997)

Even as the union was enjoying steady gains in boycott support and making progress in the fields, it was beset by financial problems stemming from grower lawsuits. One of the most difficult lawsuits was filed by one of the union's staunchest opponents, the Bruce Church Company, a corporate giant in the lettuce industry. The grower operation, which owned land in California and Arizona (encompassing the former Chavez homestead near Yuma), had signed with the Teamsters in 1970. After its workers voted for representation by the UFW under the auspices of the ALRA, the company launched what would become a seventeen-year battle challenging the election. And, in 1984, the company filed a $5.4 million lawsuit in Arizona for damages stemming from the secondary boycott. A federal judge finally dismissed the suit in 1992, but the company initiated a $3 million lawsuit one year later. Because the UFW's total assets at the time had fallen to around $2 million, the suit threatened to drive the union into bankruptcy and out of existence (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997, Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995).

Chavez traveled to San Luis, Arizona, in April 1993 to testify against this new lawsuit. After two days of testimony he was tired but confidant, eager to defeat the lawsuit and return to organizing work. On April 22 the union leader spent a relaxing evening with UFW board member David Martinez at the San Luis home of Dona Maria Hau, a retired farm worker. Sometime in the early morning hours of April 23, 1993, Cesar died from natural causes. He was sixty-six years old.

As news of Cesar's death spread to family members, friends, farm workers, supporters, and old allies, so too did feelings of shock, sadness, and grief—but also gratitude for all that Cesar did, all that he fought for, and all that he symbolized. Almost forty thousand people made their way to Delano to pay their respects and to march with Cesar behind the red and black union flags one last time.

The funeral procession followed Cesar's simple pine casket along the Garces Highway, past People's Cafe, to the Forty Acres. Jesse Jackson, Edward James Olmos, and some of Robert Kennedy's children took turns as pallbearers, while Ethel Kennedy offered comfort to Helen, her longtime friend. Former governor Jerry Brown spoke at the funeral, and words of condolence flowed in from Pope John Paul II, President Salinas de Gortari of Mexico, and President Bill Clinton. Countless farm workers whose lives Cesar fought to improve reflected, too, on the passing of their champion. The words of Pete Velasco, a Filipino immigrant, farm worker, and union leader, perhaps reflect the widest sentiment:

"Cesar was a gift to the farm workers, to all people, and to me. He taught us how to walk in the jungle and not be afraid. He taught us to maintain dignity. [With Cesar's death,] the spirit within every one of us has become renewed, just like the spirit of 1965 has come back to life. And that was a beautiful legacy that we received from our brother Cesar Chavez."

After the funeral procession, Chavez was laid to rest in a simple, private ceremony at La Paz. As Velasco affirmed, Chavez's legacy lived on (Ferriss and Sandoval 1997).

Chavez's legacy matches that of any social leader in the U.S. during the twentieth century. Identification and preservation of sites associated with Chavez's life and the history of the labor movement that he led will ensure that this legacy is not forgotten. At the same time, identification and preservation of sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement will recognize the difficulties that farm workers faced in their efforts to form the attachments to place that most Americans take for granted. Properties such as the Forty Acres near Delano and Nuestra Señora Reina de La Paz in the Tehachapi Mountains have particular importance. Purchased, shaped, and maintained by farm workers, these sites reflect the strength and permanence of their union. They remain sources of pride for Mexican Americans and others who supported the UFW in the 1960s and 1970s and continue to support the union today. For all Americans, these sites are critical locations for understanding U.S. history as it unfolded over the course of the twentieth century.

Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement Timeline	
1903	Japanese and Mexican beet-field workers in Oxnard unite to form Japanese-Mexican Labor Association
1905	Industrial Workers of the World (also known as Wobblies) begin efforts to organize farm workers
1913	Wheatland Riot breaks out at the Durst Brothers' hop ranch, leaving five dead and dozens injured
March 31, 1927	Cesario Estrada Chavez born in the Gila River Valley northeast of Yuma, Arizona
1927 – 1938	Chavez spends boyhood at the family homestead in the Gila River Valley; attends Laguna School
1928	Mexican farm workers in the Imperial Valley form *La Unión de Trabajadores del Valley Imperial*
1930	Mexican and Filipino lettuce workers form Agricultural Workers Industrial League (AWIL)
1931	Farm workers in California form Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU)
1933	CAWIU organizes 24 strikes, including massive San Joaquin Valley cotton strike
1935	National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) signed into law; protects industrial workers' rights to engage in collective bargaining but specifically excludes farm workers and domestic workers
1938 – 1943	Chavez family spends time in Oxnard, San Jose, Delano, and elsewhere working in seasonal agriculture
1939	United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) active in California
1944 – 1946	Cesar serves two years in the U.S. Navy
1947	National Farm Labor Union (NFLU) leads a strike and boycott against Di Giorgio Farms in Kern County
1948	Cesar marries Helen Fabela
1949	NFLU leads strike of cotton field workers in the San Joaquin Valley; Chavez participates
1949 – 1951	Cesar works for a lumber company with Richard in Crescent City; Helen pregnant with third child
1951	Cesar and Helen move back to San Jose's *Sal Si Puedes* barrio
June 1952	Fred Ross, founder of the Community Service Organization (CSO), meets Chavez in San Jose, recruits him
1953 – 1958	Chavez organizes CSO chapters in Oakland and the San Joaquin Valley
1955	Fred Ross meets Dolores Huerta in Stockton, recruits her into CSO
1959	Chavez elected executive director of the CSO; family moves to Los Angeles (Boyle Heights)
March 1962	CSO membership votes down Chavez's proposal to organize farm workers; Chavez resigns
April – September 1962	Chavez family moves to Delano; Chavez begins talking with farm workers about forming an association
September 30, 1962	Farm Workers Association (FWA) holds founding convention in Fresno
1963	FWA sets up offices at 102 Albany in Delano
March 1965	First FWA strike, for a pay raise, against a rose grower
Summer 1965	Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) calls strikes in Coachella Valley and near Arvin
September 8, 1965	AWOC members in Delano, led by Larry Itliong, meet at Filipino Community Hall and vote to go on strike
September 16, 1965	FWA changes name to National Farm Workers Association (NFWA); votes to join AWOC strike
November 1965	Luis Valdez and Agustin Lira form El Teatro Campesino
December 1965	NFWA and AWOC launch boycott of Schenley Industries and Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation

Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement Timeline (continued)	
December 1965	UAW president Walter Reuther visits Delano, announces support for AWOC and NFWA
March 1966	Robert F. Kennedy, visiting Delano for Senate hearings, announces support for AWOC and NFWA
March 17 – April 10, 1966	NFWA and AWOC members undertake 300-mile, 25-day march to Sacramento
April 1966	Schenley Industries agrees to sign a contract; focus turns to Di Giorgio; national boycott continues
June 1967	Di Giorgio agrees to talks with NFWA and AWOC, then signs contract with Teamsters
July 1967	NFWA and AWOC merge to form United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC)
August 30, 1967	Election victories give UFWOC right to represent field workers at Di Giorgio ranches
Summer 1967	Chavez activates nationwide boycott of Giumarra table grapes
January 1968	Giumarra selling grapes under rivals' labels; Chavez extends boycott to entire table-grapes industry
February 14 – March 11, 1968	Dismayed by violence, Chavez conducts fast at Forty Acres; announces fast on February 19 at Filipino Community Hall
Spring 1969	UFWOC declares boycott of all Safeway grocery stores (where Giumarra sold 20 percent of its grapes)
April 1970	Coachella grower Lionel Steinberg signs a contract with UFWOC
July 29, 1970	Giumarra and other Delano growers sign contracts with UFWOC, ending five-year table-grapes strike
August 1970	Salinas Valley lettuce growers sign contracts with Teamsters; UFWOC moves operations to Salinas
August 23, 1970	Chavez activates lettuce boycott; InterHarvest, Fresh Pict, and Pic N Pac sign contracts with UFWOC
December 4 – 24, 1970	Chavez jailed at Monterey County Courthouse for refusing to terminate boycott of Bud Antle lettuce
1971	UFWOC begins the process of becoming an AFL-CIO union; begins to move headquarters to La Paz
1971	Larry Itliong resigns from UFWOC
May 12 – June 4, 1972	Chavez conducts fast at Santa Rita Center in Phoenix to protest anti-union legislation
November 1972	UFW leads defeat of Proposition 22, which would have restricted union activity in California
April 1973	UFW loses Coachella Valley contracts to Teamsters; violence often erupts along picket lines
Summer 1973	Strike activity and violence spread to San Joaquin Valley
August 13, 1973	Nagi Daifullah dies from head injuries suffered while fleeing deputy sheriff near Arvin
August 15, 1973	Juan de la Cruz dies from gunshot wounds in Kern County; Chavez suspends picketing, activates boycott
September 1973	UFW holds first convention
February 1975	March to Gallo headquarters in Modesto prompts negotiations on new state law to govern labor relations
June 5, 1975	Governor Jerry Brown announces passage of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act
July 1975	Chavez conducts "thousand-mile march" from San Ysidro to Sacramento to La Paz
April 1976	Agricultural Labor Relations Board runs out of funds; Chavez puts funding proposition on November ballot
November 1976	Growers oppose Proposition 14 with $2 million campaign; Proposition 14 defeated by wide margin
1977	Teamsters withdraw from fields; Chavez brings "the Game" to La Paz

Cesar Chavez and the Farm Labor Movement Timeline (continued)	
January 1979	Contracts with Imperial and Salinas Valley growers expire; negotiations stall; strike begin
February 10, 1979	Rufino Contreras dies from gunshot wounds in Imperial Valley; Chavez suspends picketing
August 1979	Focus of strike activity moves to Salinas Valley; picketing and marches secure new contracts
1978 – 1981	UFW leadership increasingly divided by internal issues (union structure and authority, priorities, salaries)
1982	ALRB's failure to enforce the ALRA creates perception of inactivity in the fields
1983	Radio Campesina network launched
September 1983	Rene Lopez dies from gunshot wounds near Fresno, reflecting ALRB's failure to protect organizers
1984	Chavez calls on American consumers to boycott grapes because of health risks from pesticides
1987	Cancer clusters prompt UFW production of short documentary film The Wrath of Grapes
1988	Chavez conducts 36-day fast to pressure growers to negotiate contracts and regulate pesticides
April 22, 1993	Chavez dies in his sleep in San Luis, Arizona

Acronyms and Abbreviations

A

ACHP – Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
ACOE – Army Corps of Engineers
AFL - American Federation of Labor
AFL-CIO - American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization
ALRA – Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975
ALRB - Agricultural Labor Relations Board
APE – area of potential affects
ARPA - Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979
AWIL - Agricultural Workers Industrial League
AWOC – Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee
AWIU - Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union

B

BLM – Bureau of Land Management
BNSF – Burlington, Northern Santa Fe Railway Line

C

CAA – Clear Air Act
CAWIU - Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union
CEQ – Council of Environmental Quality
CFR – Code of Federal Regulations
CIO - Congress of Industrial Organizations
CMM - California Migrant Ministry
COPH – Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
CPLC – Chicanos Por La Causa
CSO – Community Service Organization
CUOM - Confederacion de Uniones de Obreros Mexicanos (Confederation of Mexican Workers Unions)
CWA – Clean Water Act

D

DIS - Division of Industrial Safety (State of California)
DO – Director's Order

E

EA – Environmental Assessment
EIS – Environmental Impact Statement
EO – Executive Order
EPA – United States Environmental Protection Agency
ESA – Endangered Species Act

F

FBI – Federal Bureau of Investigation
FEMA – Federal Emergency Management Agency
FR – Federal Register
FTE – Full-Time Equivalent
FWA – Farm Workers Association

G

GSVA - Growers-Shippers Vegetable Association

H

HB – House Bill
HUAC - House Un-American Activities Committee
HVAC – heating, ventilation, and air conditioning

I

IWA - Independent Workers Association
IWW - International Workers of the World (also known as Wobblies)

L

LWCF – Land and Water Conservation Fund

M

MAPA - Mexican American Political Association
MCOP – Maricopa County Organizing Project
MOP – Migrant Opportunity Program

N

NAGPRA – Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990
NAWU - National Agricultural Workers Union
NEPA – National Environmental Policy Act
NFLU - National Farm Labor Union
NFWA – National Farm Workers Association
NFWSC – National Farm Worker Service Center
NHL – National Historic Landmark
NHP – National Historic Park
NHPA – National Historic Preservation Act
NHS – National Historic Site
NHT – National Historic Trail
NLRA - National Labor Relations Act
NP – National Park
NPS – National Park Service
NRCS – Natural Resources Conservation Service, United States Department of Agriculture
NRHP – National Register of Historic Places

P

PEPC – National Park Service Planning, Environment and Public Comment Website
PL – Public Law

S

SHPO – state historic preservation officer
SNCC - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
SRS – Special Resource Study

T

TCP – Traditional Cultural Properties
TUUL - Trade Union Unity League

U

UAW - United Auto Workers
UCAPAWA - United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America
UFW – United Farm Workers of America
UFWOC – United Farm Workers Organizing Committee
USC – United States Code
USDA – United States Department of Agriculture
USFWS – United States Fish and Wildlife Service

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Preparers

Core Study Team

The core study team is based in the National Park Service's Pacific West Regional Office in Oakland / San Francisco, California. Core study team members were responsible for public involvement and outreach, research, writing and analysis, development of the alternatives, environmental compliance, and production of the draft study report.

- **Martha Crusius, Project Manager**; Program Chief, Park Planning and Environmental Compliance
- **Suzanne Brinkley, Planner**
- **Barbara Butler, Landscape Architect**
- **Anne Dove, Planner**

Extended Study Team

The extended study team includes NPS Pacific West Regional Office staff who provided assistance and expertise for specific aspects of the study.

- **Mamie Choy, Landscape Architect.** Participated in newsletter production, website development, public meeting facilitation, alternatives development.
- **Elaine Jackson-Retondo, Ph.D., Architectural Historian,** Acting History Program Manager, National Historic Landmarks Program Manager**.** Participated in alternatives development, technical review of historic overview, resource description and resource significance.
- **Lynne Nakata, Interpretive Specialist.** Participated in alternatives development and review.
- **Rose Rumball-Petre, Environmental Compliance Specialist**. Primary author of the environmental assessment. Participated in alternatives development and review.
- **Fred York, Ph.D., Anthropologist.** Participated in alternatives development and review. Advised on Native American communications.

Contributing Organizations

California State University, Fullerton, Center for Oral History and Public History

- Raymond W. Rast, Ph.D.

Dr. Rast directed the research that identified significant historical sites associated with Cesar Chavez and the farm labor movement; conducted interviews and oral histories as part of this research; submitted a report to the NPS that served as the basis for much of Chapters 2 and 3 of this report; assisted in stakeholder outreach; advised in development of public materials; participated in alternatives development; provided technical review of historic overview, resource description and resource significance.

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