Historic and Personal Influences of Grogan Ullah:

The Philosophies of The Center for Human Services in Gettysburg

Migrant workers have historically come to Adams county, Pennsylvania to work in the fruit picking and processing industry. These migrants would follow the harvest seasons throughout the country, coming to Pennsylvania during the apple, peach, and pear seasons. The majority of migrants used to be of African-American descent, but recently people of Hispanic (mostly Mexican) descent have outnumbered any other racial group. Within the last decade the pattern of migration has changed. Instead of moving on after the harvest, they have been increasingly settling out of the migrant stream and establishing permanent vibrant Hispanic communities throughout Adams county. In response to these new communities, social service organizations have responded with programs specifically for Hispanics, which deal with such issues as: health, children's education, citizenship classes, legal matters, pesticide education, and adult education. The Center for Human Services in Gettysburg is an educational facility for Hispanic migrant workers who have had at least 90 days working in agriculture. The services offered there include classes on General Equivalency Development (GED) in Spanish preparation, English as a second language (ESL), art, computer, photojournalism as well as, personal counseling, childcare, and a disabilities program. Each of these programs are influenced by the experiences which formed the beliefs and philosophies of Grogan Ullah, the project director. He describes his position at The Center for Human Services:

I teach because I need to keep that contact with the students, do some paperwork, and ...I do a lot of talking with people, going up to the staff end asking them how they're doing. And then helping them to think through any problems they're having, sort of engaging people in ... discussions about their job and then ... there's a research component that I do and keep up with the latest research. And ... developing, ... new programs and... sometimes it's just thinking about what we're doing and how can the place be improved. ... stepping back from it an just saying ... this is what we're doing, this is what we want to do, how can we, ... improve and then taking that to the staff end seeing what they think about it (Oral History, 7).

In order to understand the Center for Human Services, one must examine the background of each staff member. I chose to focus on the experiences of Grogan Ullah, because he holds the position of project director, and thus has played a large role in shaping the ideologies and services offered at the center. Grogan's vision for the Center for Human Services has been shaped by his life experiences. Grogan Ullah's beliefs are not only important as personal ones, but also as reflections and responses to historical contexts.

Grogan Ullah believes in empowerment and respect for the clients of the Center for Human Services. His goal is to create a cultural dialogue between the Anglo community and the Hispanics, where each group is learning from each other. Grogan is currently in the midst of writing a mission statement for The Center for Human Services. Each of his goal statements reflect his personal goals and philosophies on how his operation should be run and what it should ideally provide its clients. He shared the most important points in his opinion:

That the institution accommodate the special needs of working youth and adults by holding classes at hours that are suitable to their schedules i.e. evenings and weekends. That parents and students are empowered ... That innovations in teaching methods are developed and implemented. That those who are most vulnerable have increased learning opportunities. That all students are encouraged to become self motivated competent life long learners. That all students develop applied skills for future success as both citizens and employees while gaining a mastery of the basic academic subject areas. That students must be taught how to use and apply knowledge, science, and technology to the enhancement of the community in which they live. That those who are most vulnerable should be given the skills necessary to become leaders. That all students have the capacity to become productive members of society. That all students should develop both a sense of personal worth and learn to accept responsibility for self, family, community, and society as a whole ... that all adults must be prepared to take responsibility for the education of their future children thus fostering ... intergenerational development and change. That the community of parents coupled with their children have the assets to define and solve their children's problems. That the student's communities have rich traditions, history, and knowledge which must be included in the educational process. That the fostering of creativity and innovation are born out of inclusivity and diversity (Oral History, 15-16).

Grogan's vision for the Center for Human Services, as stated above, is partly a product of the

historical context of California in the 1970's, where he grew up.

Grogan lived in San Diego, California. He spent his childhood there and then attended

college at Sea Diego state university, where he got his bachelor's and then master's degrees. He

then began his teaching Iron San Diego. He taught ESL at the San Diego Community

College and there at Banning Unified school. During his years in California, Grogan experienced

the tumult of Anglo, Mexican, and Mexican American relations in California. Since the early 1900s immigrants have been coming to California for economic reasons. Many of these immigrants are of Hispanic descent. Over the last 30 or so years, the number of Mexican and Mexican-Americans living and working in California has steadily risen. In response to this growing population, the politics, social programs, and general attitude of Californians towards Mexicans has changed and evolved. Californians were forced to adapt to the Hispanic communities, and thus different ideas and factions were created. A wide variety of factions existed in California during the 1970's. They basically fell into two categories: those who were sympathetic to Hispanic migrants and those who saw them as a threat and a drain on American society economically, medically, judicially, and educationally. These issues and beliefs must have bombarded all Californians at the time whether they were consciously aware of them or not, simply due to the Immensity of this situation.

Headlines and television news as well as the judicial and political arenas screamed opinions from all factions. In 1975 AA Study of the Impact of Illegal Aliens on the County of San Diego on Specific Socioeconomic Areas@ was conducted by the Human Resources Agency. It states many statistics concerning the estimated A...50,000 illegal aliens [who] reside in the County of San Diego, of which 9,000 are estimated to be holding job slots" (2). The positive statistics included the low number of welfare recipients among this group; only 10 illegal aliens were revealed out of 9,132 cases surveyed, yet under the existing regulations they were entitled to these benefits (3). It was popular belief that migrants were draining the welfare system, yet these statistics are contrary to that belief and thus shed a positive light on this issue. Another positive estimate said that "...the 9,000 estimated illegal aliens believed working [in] San Diego and who earn an estimated \$34,560,000 in wages, spend about \$20,736,000 in the County of San Diego" (8). Thus almost two-thirds of their wages were being spent in the economy of San Diego to the advantage of San Diego.

The apparent positivity of this report is deeply overshadowed by the heavy emphasis on educational, medical, and law enforcement costs that illegal aliens incur. Alt is estimated that \$266,900 will be spent on reimbursement claims for the education of NI [Non-immigrant]/NC [Non-citizen] students in the 1975-76 school years, and it is estimated that this figure will increase to \$299,000 in 1976-77" (5). Furthermore these claims are mainly blamed on the "two out of every four NJ/NC students in San Diego [who] are from Mexico" (5). This money was believed by some to be wasted and unfair, despite the "present law [which] stipulates that a school district is required to provide a full-time education to the children of aliens who have been lawfully or unlawfully admitted into the U.S. if the alien children are of compulsory school attendance age and live within the school district" (5). This monetary issue must have created tensions between Hispanics and Anglos within the schools which Grogan probably had personal contact with, even though he probably did not read this report. These hostile economic issues also existed in the medical field. Medical costs "...incurred by 287 patients ... comprised of 66 illegal aliens, 111 72-hour pass holders, 89 newborn babies, and 19 A-Card holders residing in Mexico (Commuter Workers)" (5) totaled \$513,063 which was money that could not be recovered. This added to the bitter atmosphere surrounding Hispanic immigrants in the California where Grogan grew up. In addition, there was a heavy emphasis on the county costs of coping with Hispanic crime.

The cost impact of the 601 illegal aliens on the County jail is estimated to be \$8,871...the total cost impact of illegal aliens on the Juvenile Probation Department is estimated to be \$87,048 over a one year period...The top five criminal categories most violated by illegal aliens are: (1) Vehicle theft -82, (2) driving while under the influence of alcohol -63, (3) First degree burglary - 57, (4) petty theft -46, and (5) possession of marijuana -40...The total estimated cost impact of illegal aliens on the judicial and law enforcement system (i.e., County jail, youth probation, police departments, County Sheriff, CHP, County District Attorney, etc.), is estimated to be \$106,910 calculated on a yearly basis (6-7).

This negative focus is only one of many which set the stage of race relations between Anglos, Mexicans, and Mexican Americans in California in the 1970's. Because of the sheer immensity of these claims and the variety of spectrums in which they are made, it is easy to see why even

someone who is not directly related to Hispanics could be influenced without being overtly conscious of this influence.

There were also positive factions which aided and sympathized with Hispanics such as The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF). MALDEF was based out of San Francisco, California. It's philosophy is comprised of winning public support and opportunities for Hispanics through legal proceedings. They work towards court victories which will expand the political and basic Constitutional rights of Chicanos. For example:

In Garza v. Smith, Civil Action No. SA-70-CA-169, United States District Court for the Western District of Texas, San Antonio Division, MALDEF was successful in having the federal court declare unconstitutional Texas voter statutes which allowed aid to the physically-handicapped voter but not to the illiterate voter. Most of the illiterates in Texas are brown or black. Hence, these two minority groups bore the brunt of these statutes. MALDEF argued persuasively that the illiterate voter is just as disabled as the blind or physically handicapped and therefore must be entitled to the same aid in casting his vote. The three judge federal court agreed by a three to zero decision (4, MALDEF 1971).

Despite this court case being conducted in Texas, it influenced the national atmosphere concerning the rights of illiterates, who tended to be Hispanic or African American. Similar cases existed in California which reflected the crusade of MALDEF.

In addition to political and basic constitutional rights for Hispanics, MALDEF is also heavily involved in winning basic educational rights for Hispanic students. They attack this issue through court cases and by providing scholarships to Hispanic students who aspire to go to law school. In 1971 MALDEF was involved in an important California lawsuit (Covarrubias v. San Diego Schools) which dealt with the placement of Mexican American children in mentally disabled classes due to a cultural bias. There were cases of this throughout the country which affected not only the Mexican American students, but also the Anglos who were taught to perceive them as mentally disabled. Other concepts for which MALDEF fought included employment opportunities, police-community relations, and prison reform. Thus MALDEF was a player on the side of the Hispanics, an answer to those who saw Hispanics as a threat.

Even the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) had a very strong opinion which heavily affected public perceptions of the Hispanic community through their actions and public views. *The Illegal Alien Problem and It's Impact on Los Angeles Police Department Resources* is a briefing paper which was prepared for LAPD officers in January of 1977. It outlines the organization's utter disgust and racial bias against Hispanics in their jurisdiction. The following statements define their position:

The illegal alien population in the city of Los Angeles is currently estimated to be

650,000.... If the increase over the next five years is the same as the last five years. The illegal alien population in the city of Los Angeles will be 1,110,000 by 1981Approximately 90 percent of the illegal aliens entering the southwestern states are coming from Mexico and this influx is now reaching an alarming level... This alarming rate of increase in the illegal alien

population has a direct impact on police resources....While taxpayers and city officials believe each resident is receiving \$70 worth of police services, they actually receive only \$57 worth of services....All crimes committed by illegal aliens are crimes which should not be occurring in the United States....Illegal Alien involvement in crime, including street gang activities, narcotics trafficking and usage, and organized career criminal activities, appears to be increasing.... A 1974 arrest survey established that illegal aliens constituted 36.3 percent of all felony arresters in rampart area during a one month period ... Personnel from specialized investigative divisions estimated that city-wide, illegal aliens were responsible for 20-25 percent of all burglaries, 20 percent of all auto thefts, and 30 percent of all hit-and-run traffic accidents (2-9).

These statistics were seen by the anti-immigrant factions as crimes that should never have been committed in the United States, and thus as a legitimate focus for the LAPD report. Yet, sympathetic groups, saw the focus on criminal actions of individuals as a portrayal of the Hispanic community as a whole as racist. This pejorative stance was detrimental in some aspect to every Hispanic who came into contact with the LAPD. The voice of the LAPD must have been one of the stronger and most likely to be heard, because its officers basically run the city. It is significant that such a powerful organization held this hostile sentiment, thus it must have been an integral piece of the racial relations dialogue heard by every citizen.

In response to such negativity The Greater Los Angeles Community Action Agency

created a report outlining the plight of Hispanic migrants in the United States. They blame U.S.

social policies for social problems among the migrant population. Such problems include:

-elderly undocumented persons forced to beg for food and money to sustain themselves, living in drafty, cramped tool sheds and garages, who are ineligible for old age assistance despite the fact that they spend years in this country mopping floors, caring for children in homes of Americans and assuming the most menial of jobs, - young children are left in this country when their parents are deported in raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, with neighbors and sometimes strangers assuming the responsibility of caring for them, - minor children have been deported along with adults in street sweeps without the knowledge of their parents (1).

These atrocities had a voice in the racial dialogue as much as the voice of the LAPD. This

organization claims that the U.S. uses the migrants as scapegoats.

In moments of national crises and economic depression, immigrants have been made the target of irrational and discriminatory attacks. Perhaps as the weakest and most defenseless subgroup of society, the immigrants were looked upon as unable to protect their human rights and as a more convenient scapegoat (3).

This reasoning is in total conflict with the opposing views of the LAPD and politicians who

backed such policies as the Rodino Bill, who saw migrants as Atty. Gen William B. Saxbe put it:

AA severe national crisis (Saxbe, 1).@ The Rodino Bill was proposed A...as a system which would

impose fines and other criminal penalties for employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens@

(Tunney, 1). Instead of seeing migrants as a resource which we need to successfully support our

economy, many people, such as the Commissioner of the INS, saw them as harmful parasites who are "...milking the U.S. taxpayer of \$13 billion annually and taking away jobs from legal residents and forcing them into unemployment; by illegally acquiring welfare benefits and public services; by avoiding taxes" (Illegal, 189). The Rodino Bill was the most popular defense against this so called invasion. There was heavy debate about this bill among all the voices. Employers were against it, because it would put them in the role of an INS agent. Illegal aliens were also against the bill because it would impede their chances of obtaining work. Surprisingly many Mexican-Americans supported the bill, because it would cut down their competition in the job market. Many politicians and citizens who thought of Hispanic migrants as a threat or problem also supported this bill. This socio-political discourse bombarded the ears of all Californians at the time.

Many headlines and news broadcasts from the time also contributed to the dialogue both positively and negatively. A sample of headlines helps to set the tone of the times:

"Green Card Farm Labor Use Upheld", "Few Aliens on Welfare Illegally, Study Indicates", "Tunney to Push Bill on Illegal Alien Jobs, Measure Would Make Employers Subject to Fines", "Chavez Union Opposes Bill on Alien Workers", "Chicanos Divided by Sympathy for Aliens, Fear for Own Jobs", "Law Sought to Counter Anti-Alien Proposals, Ford Administration Backs Legislation to Speed Legal Import of Foreign Workers", Alllegal Aliens: Time to Call a Halt! The vast and silent invasion of illegal immigrants across our borders is fast reaching the proportions of a national disaster", and "Saxbe Calls Illegal Aliens a U.S. Crisis: Cites Job, Crime, Welfare Costs, Wants to Deport 1 Million in Year" (Various Newspaper Articles, CASA Papers).

Ultimately in the arena of so many opposing views concerning the racial dialogue between

Anglos, Mexicans, and Mexican Americans, one must pick and choose which views to subscribe

to, if any. Growing up in such a tumultuous atmosphere, Grogan was forced to make his own

judgements in light of each influential opinion and through his personal history. He chose to work

past the negative statistics and thus the heavy racism of the time, and was thus able to focus on

the equality he found in his own microcosm.

Grogan's personal experiences had a direct effect on his teaching and administrative

philosophies. When I asked Grogan how he got involved with the Hispanic community he told

me that: "...in San Diego there's a lot of Hispanic immigrants, Mexican and Central American

immigrants... I started teaching them in ESL ... every night working with them... really close

connections evolved ...when I was in the role of the teacher" (Oral History, 2). These bonds of

friendship influenced how he viewed the racial issues in addition to how he heard the many voices

in the media and on the streets. He was forced to see the Hispanic immigrants as real people with

tangible lives, hopes and dreams, rather than only an issue in the news. In addition to his role as a

teacher, Grogan also did

...a lot of labor intensive sorts of work. [He] loaded trains and boxcars and worked a little bit as a landscaper and in construction and in a machine shop. And all of these different jobs, in all of these different jobs, [he] worked side by side with Mexican immigrants. And so [he] got to know them, not only as a teacher, but working with them in blue collar type jobs...having worked with them for a number of years, [he] came out of that experience with a tremendous amount of respect and for their work ethic. There was one fellow in particular was about half [his] size and [they] were loading bicycles onto a train and [they] raced and he wore [Grogan] down and [he] was like 18 at the time thought ... [he] could really.... he was a ... good worker. And so [I] developed a tremendous amount of respect for ... Mexican immigrants and through that (Oral History, 3).

His work experiences where he was not in a power position, but an equal gave him tremendous insight into the lives of Hispanic immigrants. He had an insider's view into the racial issues which gave him the skills and the drive to find place in the political arena. He chose to join the social services which aid the immigrants, rather than those who oppose them. He embraced the philosophies of empowerment and the belief that bridges are needed between the communities rather than the walls that stand.

Grogan expresses the importance of respect for, and thus empowerment of, his Hispanic students at The Center for Human Services through his administrative actions. First Grogan expresses his respect for migrants through his selection of staff members. In his words:

... empowerment issues and that ownership ... I think it arises out of a respect that we have as a staff for them ... I wouldn't hire anyone that doesn't come here feeling that Mexican migrant, immigrant has ... a lot to offer. And we are not just teaching them, they are teaching us. And we're establishing a dialogue and a relationship of respect and both people are participating, both groups are participating in them (Oral History 3)

He credits his initial experiences loading trains for this fundamental respect which he has for his students. Thus he will not accept anything less in his staff. It is important that he has based his agency on sympathetic people who have a deep respect for their clients. This reminds me of the way that MALDEF and other social service agencies deem their clients important and strive to include others who feel the same way in their organizations. For instance, MALDEF provides educational funds to Hispanic students, who believe in human rights, to become lawyers. Perhaps the ideologies of such organizations in California influenced his decisions. For example, Grogan implemented a system where "...people who graduate from [their] program are invited to ... come back and work as teaching assistants or instructors and counselors" (Oral History, 4). By bringing in graduates of the program, this promotes an understanding between the students and their instructors, simply because the instructors have experienced many of the same issues which plague their students. Grogan and his staff are able to hold their positions because they understand the reciprocal relationship that exists between them and their clients.

In addition to the staff, empowerment is implemented through the programs and services available. He promotes creativity and self expression through the newly implemented art photojournalism classes, and writing workshops to create a newsletter. It seems as though he wants the students to express their experiences through the art. For instance, the students each made art projects in the theme of border crossing. The importance of their culture and experiences are encouraged and reinforced through the art projects. Another example is the photojournalism project where each student was given a camera and encouraged to tell any story important to them through pictures. They then shared these stories with each other. This theme of cultural equality, and the fact that each group has an abundance of valuable things to teach the other, is promoted through the art which focuses on their personal experiences, rather than common Anglo themes. Grogan expresses this cultural encouragement when he said:

we offer ... a community feeling that there's a place that they can come and it's theirs' and they're just not here in the United States being exploited and making money and dreaming about going home or settling out....always feeling on the margin of the society, but there's a place downtown that they feel is always going to be there to support them (Oral History, 5).

By sharing their common experiences and having staff who understand their struggles, they are partaking in a microcosm of a tightly knit Mexican community. For instance, for Thanksgiving the students, staff, and friends had a big turkey dinner at the center and shared what each person was thankful for. By hiring staff who hold the same respect for Hispanics, Grogan created a warm community atmosphere, which is conducive to learning. He replicated the learning environment which contributed to his friendships with Hispanic migrants initially in California. Empowerment permeates the entire facility from staff to students. It is important for the staff to also have the respect from the administration that they are expected to pass on to their

students. Grogan stresses this through the freedom that he gives his instructors to teach in

whatever manner they deem effective.

...we allow the staff to design their own courses. We don't superimpose a standardized curriculum on them and that way the classes are personalized and hopefully dynamic etc. because it is the individual teacher taking ownership for what's going on in his or her classroom ownership, it's really important ... and empowerment not just of the student but of the teacher ... it's gotta be what works for them in the classroom cause there's, something kind of magical about a good classroom and it's very personal it's between the teacher and the students and the other students and that magic isn't going to be there if administration is coming in and saying this is how you have to do it (Oral History,13).

It is important to recognize the importance of empowerment at the Center for Human Services as

it exists among the students and staff, because it is the foundation of the organization. When asked about the goals of The Center for Human Services, Grogan stated AI think the

empowerment would be probably one of the key phrases, terms@ (Oral History, 9).

Grogan's other goals for his students concern their entire lives, academically and on a

personal level. This may be attributed to his experiences with immigrants in their academic,

personal, and occupation lives. In his words:

...we help someone get their GED. And hopefully in the process of doing that they will become a life long learner, they will take interest in learning for learning sake. And so they'll wanna go to the museum or want to read on their own etc. So it's not just for those purposes. We also want to see them develop career interests outside of agriculture. Or moving up in agriculture, but outside of just the labor intensive types of work. So there's career goal setting. We do college preparation. We have a class at Gettysburg College that's an academic English course ... they can go to Gettysburg and audit courses until they feel ready to matriculate (Oral History, 4-5).

His personal experiences have helped him to solidify his views and relationships with migrants as

friends and colleagues into goals for The Center for Human Services. He has seen their struggles

in the work force and in the classroom through personal experience and through the headlines,

which help him to focus his aid where they need it most.

Grogan also recognizes the immense significance of the family unit in Hispanic culture;

and thus focuses heavily upon family literacy as a way to bring the families together through

learning.

...we would like to see parents ... take responsibility for teaching their kids and cultural transmission. And I am strongly committed to the idea that every culture ... has values and history and traditions that should be passed on ... but it's very hard to do that when you're working incredible amounts of hours and you come home really tired. So we want to try and facilitate that parents becoming educators and then taking responsibility for the education of their kids (Oral History, 5).

Grogan realizes the struggles of the working Hispanic community when it comes to having time and energy to devote towards education after a long day of labor intensive work, because he worked side by side with them in California. This recognition and belief also stems from his personal experiences in California where he taught children and their parents English.

...twice a week the parents were in the classroom working with their own children in Spanish and assisting the teacher. So it was a way of including the parents in the educational process ... once you remove the parents from that then what you've got is ... some parents who know English, who can be in the PTA and be in the classroom and then you've got a lot of parents who can't participate at all and you're setting up a situation where the child is learning things that the parents can't reinforce at home and education slowly takes on an adversarial role. It becomes something that the parents are afraid of because it lowers their esteem and respect in their child's eyes. They don't know this and it also causes the children to feel guilty because they know something their parents don't know (Oral History, 14-15).

He is currently involved in Even Start with Lincoln Intermediate Unit (LIU) which follows the same ideals as the program he was involved with in California. Even Start is a program in which parent educators visit homes and work with both children and their parents academically. This

program focuses on empowerment of the parents and a family approach to education.

It is evident that Grogan's role at The Center for Human Services is a direct product of his personal experiences, as well as being a product of the times in which he grew up. He seems to have gone against the popular tide of scape-goating and instead joined a small but strong group committed to the genuine support of the migrant community. Grogan's dream is to ultimately build bridges between the Anglo and Hispanic communities. His own personal bridges, constructed through friendships, and influenced by the voices of equality/tolerance in the California where he grew up, reflect his idealistic goals. The contract which each GED student signs along with a staff member embodies this. Grogan describes the GED classes as "...not us providing a service, it's them engaging with us in a goal. And so the contract is signed jointly by them and us and it ... outlines the responsibilities of each of the participants" (Oral History, 9). This contract shows an equality, a give and take relationship between the center and the students. When asked about providing skills to his students for assimilation, he responded:

I don't think that ... we do much to ... try and help students to assimilate ... if the going to college is a mechanism for that ... or having some staff that is part of the Anglo community, that's important ... most of our staff aren't Anglos, but we try and have a few Anglo staff members ...

having college students who are part of the dominant culture come in and be with the students and that, if there's anything we're doing which is encouraging these kind of bridge building activities that's probably the biggest ... we do make sure that there isn't a feeling ... hierarchy ... we're careful not to put the [college] student in a role of authority but to have them working together on tasks, if it's art or in an English situation that both are learning from each other. So that the student feels that they can participate and rather than just being you know talked to or served etc... it's not so much a case of: ok here's the dominant ...Anglo community and we're gonna go and teach you how to assimilate. But it's instead it's trying to put bridges in place where people can move to other structures where they can then encounter ...non-migrant farm workers. That would be like going to college or having college students come here (Oral History, 9-10).

These bridges are exactly what he has and is continuing to accomplish through The Center for

Human Services. Again he expresses the importance of each culture's values and ideals. He does

not propose a change to either culture, instead an understanding between cultures. Grogan ideally

wants the cultures to see their differences as valuable and wonderful, rather than threatening.

When asked about the cultural tensions in Adam's County he said:

...I think it's hard to make a ...blanket statement. One of the biggest problems is that you've got so many people in the Anglo community who are uninformed about Mexican migrant farm workers and ... don't want to think about them or don't want to interact with them or feel that they ... can't and then you've got this other group that worries about them and wants to have pity on them and so those are kind of two extremes. And ... what I'd like to see happen is that there are just people getting together and without ... either one of those ... disdain or pity but just trying to dialogue and find a way to become friends (Oral History, 10).

He wants others to feel the way that he does, but he is doing this in a positive manner through

education of those who want it, rather than forcing his views on those who feel differently.

Perhaps in California he learned that among so many voices, one really doesn't make a difference

outside of the microcosm in which it is heard. The Center for Human Services is the embodiment of this for Grogan. It is an island among many hostile groups and few sympathetic ones where Hispanics, as well as, Anglos feel a sense of community.

What ultimately sets Grogan apart from others, and allows him to hold the position of project director, is his strong belief in a reciprocal relationship between all cultures. Ironically, Grogan expresses the need for both a lack of power relationships, and also the need for strong leaders in the quest for cultural bridges. He is one of the leaders which he called for in the mission statement. Thus he realizes that it takes both leaders and followers in both communities to pull together and rise above the chaos of the socio-political racial dialogue which he experienced in

California and now today in Pennsylvania. Grogan's personal beliefs, along with those of his staff, and clients together create the community of The Center for Human Services.

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