NEW DIRECTIONS IN CHICANX AND LATINX STUDIES



Amber Rose González, Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, Melissa Moreno, Lucha Arévalo, Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr.

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New Directions in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

Amber Rose González, Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, Melissa Moreno, Lucha Arévalo, Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr.

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About the Authors

Authors

This book was created as a collaborative project by five faculty of color with research, teaching, and professional experience in Chicanx/Latinx studies and ethnic studies. You can find out more about each of the authors in the following section. Each author contributed to one or more specific chapters, which is noted at the bottom of each page and summarized in Section 1.4: Overview of the Textbook.

Amber Rose González, PhD



Image Description: Dr. Amber Rose González standing in front of a mural featuring a rainbow and Mesoamerican symbols

Amber Rose González is a queer Apachicana (Apache~Mexican~Spanish descent) born and raised in the San Gabriel Valley, California and ancestrally rooted in New Mexico and Jalisco. She is a proud transfer student who earned a B.A. in Gender, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Studies from California State Polytechnic University, Pomona and a Ph.D. in Chicana and Chicano Studies with a doctoral emphasis in Feminist Studies from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Dr. González is currently a professor of Ethnic Studies at Fullerton College, a writer-researcher-organizer with the Los Angeles-based feminist of color spiritual artivist collective Mujeres de Maiz, a certified yoga teacher, and a wife, mami, and auntie.

Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, PhD



Image Description: Dr. Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick in a field of roses

Dr. Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick is an Instructor of Ethnic Studies at Cuesta College, Mellon/American Council of Learned Societies Community College Faculty Fellow, poet, scholar, and author. He earned a BA in Ethnic Studies with a minor in Indigenous Studies in Natural Resources and the Environment from California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo. His MA and PhD in Sociology were achieved at the University of California, Santa Barbara, as a Health Policy Research Scholar funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. This work with and for Chicanx and Latinx communities is rooted in a commitment to family and community on California's Central Coast and in Michoacán, Mexico (Purépecha). Dr. Espinoza-Kulick shares stories about culture, health equity, and community leadership as a host of Central Coast Voices on the National Public Radio (NPR) station *KCBX*. His work has been published in *Oxford University Press*, the *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *Health Promotion Practice*, and regional news outlets like *El Latino*, *Santa Maria Times*, and the *Santa Barbara Independent*.

Melissa Moreno, PhD



Image Description: Dr. Melissa Moreno facing directly forward

Melissa Moreno (Xicana and Otomi) is a Professor of Ethnic Studies and has taught courses in Chicana/o Studies, Native

American Studies, and Comparative Ethnic Studies over the last fifteen years. She is a first-generation college student. Dr. Moreno is the co-founder of the California Community College Ethnic Studies faculty council, Ethnic Studies YOLO Academy, and member of the Indigenous Caucus for the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS), among other associations. She is an activist scholar, public speaker, facilitator, program coordinator, writer, and has served on Ethnic Studies advisory committees. She holds certificate degrees in Ethnic Studies and Tribal Leadership and Governance, and doctorate and master's degrees in education. Also, she holds bachelor degrees in Sociology and Women Studies from the University California.

Lucha Arévalo, PhD



Image Description: Dr. Lucha Arévalo looking forward with intention

Dr. Lucha Arévalo is an Associate Professor of Chicana/o/x Studies at Río Hondo College. She earned a BA in Chicano/a Studies and Sociology with a minor in Black Studies from the University of California (UC), Santa Barbara. She earned her MA in Sociology and Education with a concentration in Policy Studies from Teachers College at Columbia University. She earned her MA and PhD in Ethnic Studies from UC Riverside with her dissertation, *Insurgent Learning: Confronting Neoliberal Assaults on Public Education in Los Angeles County, 2000-2015* which captures efforts to privatize public schools, while highlighting the ongoing resistance of teachers, parents, and students as they work to transform their public institutions. Lucha's commitment to educational justice includes research and writing while remaining grounded in community-driven initiatives. She finds joy in raising her child and visiting her ancestral P'urhépecha home in Michoacán, Mexico.

Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr., PhD



Image Description: Dr. Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr. on a sunny day

Dr. Alvarez Jr. is a first-generation college student and a former elementary school teacher. An interdisciplinary scholar, he obtained an B.A. and M.A. in Spanish from California State University, Northridge, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Chicana and Chicano Studies from University of California, Santa Barbara. His research interests include Chicanx and Latinx aesthetics, performance, and popular culture, Gender and Sexuality, Queer oral histories, Los Angeles queer Latinx histories, Queer of color theories, Jotería Studies, Jotería pedagogies, Queer Space, Feminist geographies, Sound Studies, and Critical Fat Studies. His academic and creative work has been published in *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies, Revista Bilingüe/Bilingual Review, TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly, Journal of Lesbian Studies, and Sounding Out! The Sound Studies Blog*.

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Dedication and Land Acknowledgment

Dedication

This work is dedicated to all those who paved the road before us, to our contemporary comrades in struggle who walk alongside us, and to the future generations of Chicanx and Latinx studies activist-scholars and all potential allies invested in love and liberation. This book is for you.

Land Acknowledgment

We acknowledge that this important textbook was created throughout the unceded territory of California, home to nearly 200 tribal nations, including those whose tribal lands cross colonial state boundaries. We acknowledge and honor the original Peoples and their descendants, past, present, and emerging, of the various regions where we authors now live and work. We support ongoing movements for tribal sovereignty and we stand in solidarity with all Indigenous peoples worldwide. A land acknowledgment is a critical step towards working with Native communities to secure meaningful partnerships in the stewardship and protection of their homelands and cultural resources. In this respect, we are continuously striving to be good relatives.

The image in Figure 1 titled "Native Californian Tribes" by Timara Lotah Link (Chumash Coastal Band) features text that reads "Native People of This Place. In all of North America, California has always been home to the largest number of different Native people and their cultures. Many of the tribal groups on this map speak different languages and have different traditions. Their homelands––established for thousands of years––extend far beyond state boundaries. These Native cultures overlap in ways that this map cannot show, through shared resources, trade, and family relationships." The map shows the tribal areas of eight-five out of the hundreds of California Native nations in their own languages and features a quote by Richard Bugbee (Luiseño, raised by Kumeyaay) that reads, "Language is a reflection of our environment, unique to each area."



Figure 1: "Native Californian Tribes" by Timara Lotah Link, *Santa Clara University Digital Exhibits*, is available for free online with an undefined license.

Figure 1 includes the names of the tribes in the following list:

- Tolowa
- Yurok
- Chilula
- Wiyot
- Chimariko

- Mattole
- Nongatl
- Sinkyone
- Lassik
- Kenneto
- Cahto
- Coast Yuki
- Huchnom
- Lake Miwok
- Wappo
- Coast Miwok
- Ohlone
    - Awaswas
    - Chochenyo
    - Karkin
    - Ramayutsh
    - Tamyen
    - Chalon
    - Mutsun
    - Rumsen
- Yokut
    - Choinumni
    - Chukchansi
    - Dumna
    - Gashowu
    - Tachi
    - Wukchumni
    - Yowlumni
    - Bankalachi
    - Chowchilla
    - Nutunutu
    - Esselen
- T’epoteha’l
- Chumash
    - yak titʸu titʸu yak tiɬhini
    - Amuwu
    - Kuyam
    - S’amala
    - Shmuwich
    - Micqanaqa’n
    - Hul Kuhk;u
    - Kasthik
    - Michumash
- Tongva
- Kumeyaay
- Karuk
- Shasta
- Hupa
- Wintu
- Nomlaki
- Yuki
- Yana
- Kankow
- Patwin
- Nisenan
- Sierra Miwok
- Mono
- Modoc

- Achumawi
- Atusgewi
- Maidu
- Northern Paiute
- Washo
- Numa
- Owens Valley Paiute
- Western Shoshone
- Tubatulabal
- Kawaiiisu
- Southern Paiute
- Kitanemuk
- Tatviam
- Kawaiisu
- Maarangea'yam
- Ivatim
- Chemehuevi
- Mojave
- Hakhidhoma
- Payómkawichum
- Kuupangaxwichem
- Quechan

This land acknowledgement is adapted from the California Indian Culture and Sovereignty Center, CSU San Marcos. Specific land acknowledgments e aroften used in teaching Chicanx and Latinx studies courses and we honor that practice by including one at the beginning of this textbook.

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1: FOUNDATIONS AND CONTEXTS

Learning Objectives

- Analyze and articulate core concepts related to identity in Chicanx and Latinx studies and the core frameworks of the textbook, including transnational, intersectional, and relational perspectives.
- Apply knowledge produced by Chicanx and Latinx communities about the origins, critical events, and cultural context of the field, with a particular emphasis on agency, social movements, and collective self-determination.
- Review a foundational overview of the textbook, including its organization, sections, and content.

Introduction

> "Quien no sabe de donde viene no sabe hacia dónde va (someone who doesn't know where they came from doesn't know where they are going)" — *dicho*

This *dicho* or proverb means that it is critical and important to have a sense of the past to know and understand how the present came to be, in order to address or change what is before you. This wisdom about our past to understand the present is what drives the field of **Chicanx and Latinx studies**, which, like other ethnic studies disciplines, has worked for over fifty years to provide a more accurate understanding of the political, cultural, historical, and social contexts that shape our current-day experiences of race, identity, community, and the disparities that plague our society. This work includes supporting the activism surrounding legislation to legally mandate that the past and present realities of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color communities and the contributions of historically marginalized groups are taught in schools through required ethnic studies courses in the general education curriculum for K-12 and college. The field has also contributed directly to activist campaigns and community projects that combat societal inequality and create more justice and opportunity for all.

This **Open Educational Resource (OER)** textbook aims to provide a comprehensive overview and introduction to key concepts, content, and overall work in this area, as well as the current state of the field. Open Educational Resources are instructional materials that are designed to be freely used, shared, and adapted. This textbook is licensed CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, which means that it can be directly used for any non-commercial purposes, as long as the material is fully attributed as the source and also uses the same type of open licenses, so the material you create can be shared the same way. Regardless of the license, you must always cite and attribute your sources.

To begin our journey in Chicanx and Latinx studies, this introductory chapter provides core information and context for learners to help guide you through this content. We focus on new directions in Chicanx and Latinx studies, which are the areas of scholarship being embraced and advanced by students and leaders in the field, including a transnational perspective that finds affinity with marginalized communities across the globe and is inclusive of work produced outside of the U.S., an intersectional approach that takes multiple identity categories and systems of power into account, and a relational perspective that embraces and utilizes comparative, interdisciplinary scholarship for the advancement of Chicanx and Latinx studies.

The overall intention of this textbook is to:

- Be utilized in courses that meet college-level general education requirements in ethnic studies.
- Introduce the field of Chicanx and Latinx studies, including historical debates and central topics, as well as emerging perspectives and issues.
- Provide the reader with a set of analytical tools, examples, and resources for inquiry, reflection, and action.

The Chicanx and Latinx studies discipline emerged from earlier versions of Chicano studies and Puerto Rican (Boricua) studies, in conjunction with other ethnic studies disciplines. This early work was directly inspired by the student activists in the East Los Angeles walkouts and the ethnic studies movements originating at Merritt College in Oakland, California, San Francisco State College (now San Francisco State University), and the University of California, Berkeley in the 1960s and 70s. Chicanx and Latinx studies is one of the five ethnic studies disciplines that emerged from this historic movement. The others are Native American/American Indian studies, Black/African American studies, Asian American and Pacific Islander studies, and comparative ethnic studies (sometimes also just called ethnic studies). The four historically defined core disciplines in ethnic studies have also developed in close relationship with other interdisciplinary fields focusing on social justice and liberation through activism and

applied scholarship, including women's studies, queer studies, and whiteness studies, among others.

This chapter is organized into four sections. The first section addresses the definition and purpose of Chicanx and Latinx studies. The second section addresses the historical roots of the discipline in relation to ethnic studies, how it began, and how it is expanding. In the third section, we discuss new directions in Chicanx and Latinx studies, which emphasize the importance of diversity, inclusion, and the need for more equitable representation. In the fourth section, you will learn more about the remainder of the textbook, Chapters 2 to 10.

Chicanx and Latinx Etymologies

Throughout this textbook, you will have multiple opportunities to learn about and explore key identity terms and labels, such as Chicanx, Latinx, Indigenous Chicanx/Latinx, Afro-Latinx, Chicana/Latina, and Jota/o/x, and others beginning with Chapter 2: Identities, along with Chapter 4: Indigeneities, Chapter 5: Feminisms, Chapter 6: Jotería Studies, Chapter 7: Social Movement Activity, and Chapter 8: Education and Activism. In this chapter, we provide a preliminary set of definitions that are a foundation for your exploration of the topics, concepts, and content in this textbook.

Chicana, Chicano, and Chicanx are social and political identity terms chosen by people of Mexican heritage living in the United States to signify their Indigenous ancestry to the greater Southwestern and Mesoamerican (also called Anahuac) regions. This identity term emerged as a direct response to the term "Mexican American" to focus greater attention on the political, social, and cultural position of people of Mexican heritage. **Chicana** is the feminine form and refers to women and girls, and Chicano is the masculine form, which refers to men and boys. When the term ends in an 'x,' it signifies a non-binary gender, either referring to all people regardless of gender or specifically referring to people of non-binary identities. Chicana/o/x is a chosen term, unlike **Hispanic,** which became popularized and is assigned by the United States Census and other government offices to emphasize Spanish influence and Spanish language communities.

Chicana/o/x is closely tied to the terms **Xicana, Xicano, and Xicanx** a term which emphasizes the heritage of families whose homelands in Mexico are tied to the cultural, linguistic, and social practices of Indigenous peoples. The use of the "X" instead of the "Ch" is to emphasize the spellings and pronunciations used in many Indigenous languages, compared to Spanish and European languages. Because Chicanx and Xicanx are also political labels, someone may identify as a supporter of the Chicanx community or the Chicanx movement, even if that is not their heritage. For example, someone born of Ecuadorian parents who grew up in East Los Angeles and is regularly involved in community-based efforts for social justice may have an enduring personal connection with Chicanx identity and community.

Latina, Latino, and Latinx are used to identify people with ancestry connected to anywhere in Latin America. Latinx differs from Latina/o as the "x" renders the term gender-neutral and more inclusive. **Indigenous Latinx** is used to identify Indigenous migrants from Latin America living in the United States who remain connected to their Indigenous languages, ceremonies, medicines, foodways, and ancestral lands. This topic is covered in more depth in Chapter 4: Indigeneities. Similarly, **Afro-Latinx** signifies a Latin American person of African heritage, with national or regional variations of the term, such as Afro-Mexican or Afro-Brazilian. These identity terms reflect the diverse experiences that Chicanx and Latinx studies attempts to represent and will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 2: Identities.

In this book, we pay close attention to the terms and labels used to identify groups of people. The terms Chicanx and Latinx are used as broad terms that include people of all genders. Depending on the context, we may refer to Chicanx communities specifically, Latinx communities in general, or Chicanx and Latinx communities as a whole (sometimes shortened to Chicanx/Latinx). Note that Latinx always includes Chicanx, as this is a broader category. In other instances, gendered terms like Chicana, Chicano, Latina, and Latino are used to refer to gendered communities of people.

Navigating this Textbook

This textbook is designed primarily in a digital format. If you are accessing this OER material online or using a web-enabled device, we encourage you take advantage of the links that include external content along with internal navigation to other portions of the textbook. While the textbook is structured so that you can progress through each chapter, you are encouraged to explore topics that are meaningful to you. Each chapter is designed to provide a foundation of core concepts, themes, and examples about major areas in the discipline of Chicanx and Latinx studies. We highly encourage learners and teachers to supplement their learning in this book with intentional inquiry on these topics that is relevant to your local context. For this reason, each chapter is about 20 pages, when exported to a PDF and printed. This allows instructors and students to engage with foundational and recent scholarship, including relevant case studies and current events.

Each chapter starts with an overview page that summarizes the content, like the current page does for Chapter 1. Through the chapter, you will find key terms that are indicated with bold emphasis and linked to the list of key terms on the chapter's conclusion page. As well, Chapter 11: Teacher and Learner Resource Guide contains ancillary learning materials for each chapter, including slides, media, discussion/writing prompts, and suggested activities. You are encouraged to access these resources to develop classroom learning experiences and independent engagement with the content. These materials include external links that are not maintained by the authors and may contain content that is not openly licensed or fully accessible and require alternative engagement. Section 11.11: Comprehensive Glossary includes all key words from the entire text.

Content Warnings

The content in this textbook deals with sensitive topics that may elicit strong emotional and/or psychological responses. Some of the readings, media, and images are explicit in their treatment of racial and gender violence, including discussions of suicide, depression, and death. Reading, viewing, and discussing these materials can be demanding and difficult in ways that are often unexpected. The authors encourage readers to grapple with difficult topics to the best of their ability and to take care of their well-being as they read. Specific content notices are provided where applicable, alerting readers to specific topics, accompanied by the ojo emojii (🧿), which in many Latinx cultures is a symbol of protection.

1.1: Introduction to Chicanx and Latinx Studies

1.2: Struggle and Protest for Chicanx and Latinx Studies

1.3: New Directions in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

1.4: Overview of the Textbook

1.5: Conclusion

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1.1: Introduction to Chicanx and Latinx Studies

Core Concepts in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

What is Chicanx and Latinx studies all about? Like the discipline of ethnic studies, Chicanx and Latinx studies is about representing self identity, stories of community, systems of oppression, social movements, and solidarity, with the goal of improving conditions for Chicanx and Latinx communities and creating greater opportunities for leadership and self-determination.[1] These are referred to as the five S's as proposed by ethnic studies scholars and teacher-trainers Theresa Montaño and Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales. In other words, to understand the lived experience of Chicanxs and Latinxs, we must consider in this order the complexity of self identity (one's personal story of their racialized intersectional identity), stories of ancestral community (counternarratives in the first person, understanding systems of oppression and domination, social movements of resistance to injustice, and solidarity between racialized ethnic groups and allies. One's identity informs their community's stories and vice versa. When systems of oppression have negatively impacted our status (i.e., social, cultural, political, and economic) and attacked our sense of identity, we can respond by organizing social movements (for example, labor strikes, revolutions, and civil rights marches). To sustain social movements we can build coalitions with members across marginalized and oppressed groups and their allies to aid in the resistance to forms of domination. The purpose of social movements and solidarity has been to move toward liberation for our communities, to generate a sense of empowerment and **rehumanization**, and to participate in a democratic multicultural society. Throughout this textbook, there are examples of each of the five S's relative to Chicanx and Latinx studies.

Chicanx and Latinx studies teaches that some of our familial and community **hxstories** have been shaped by four major historical eras including:

1. Indigenous or pre-colonial
2. European colonialism
3. cultural nationalisms, and
4. contemporary era.

Hxstories refers to the collective impact of past events, written from a more gender-inclusive perspective. The "x" is used to disrupt the often rigid gender binarist approach to telling history. Revolutionary movements take place throughout the four eras and have included people of all genders. Scholars have struggled against institutional and cultural biases to incorporate diverse voices in Chicanx and Latinx studies in an equitable way. For example, Indigenous Latinx peoples have consistently practiced forms of cultural preservation and collective resistance to colonialism. This work has fundamentally shaped the beliefs, values, norms, and policies that influence our day-to-day lives. However, these voices and perspectives have not always been recognized. Since the turn of the twenty-first century, Chicanx and Latinx studies scholars have observed a turn toward a hemispheric approach, which emphasizes the overlapping histories and experiences of people in North America, Central America, the Caribbean, and South America. These connections and tensions are explored and addressed as a significant area of inquiry throughout this book.

While Chicanx and Latinx studies directly address complex realities, which include oppression, violence, and inequity, the purpose is to present a clear and accurate understanding of the potential solutions and interventions that will advance equity, self-determination, and justice. For many students of Chicanx and Latinx studies, this is a way of learning to "read the world" in order to become more civically engaged toward a fair, inclusive society where everyone has opportunity and voice.[2] Learning Chicanx and Latinx studies inside and outside of classrooms means understanding that society is deeply influenced by structures of power and resistance to domination, including hope and self-determination. Chicanx and Latinx studies teaches the importance of decolonizing our minds and recognizing the many generations of resilient and powerful ancestors and relatives who have supported us on our journey to becoming educated persons. To explore more about education in the context of Chicanx and Latinx studies, visit Chapter 8: Education and Activism.

In this case, being educated means acknowledging that our families and communities hold valuable cultural knowledge of self and community, referred to as **cultural funds of knowledge and cultural wealth,** or *nuestra herencia* (our precious knowledge).[3,4] Through Chicanx and Latinx studies, we observe that the purpose of education is for social change, personal and social transformation, and community service.

Chicanx and Latinx studies, like ethnic studies, is a discipline created with the intention of being by and for the community––we are *in* but not *of* the "ivory tower" or academy. As you will learn, Chicanx and Latinx studies rose not from the university but from community demands and social movements. Today the field's emphasis is activist scholarship, personal and social transformation, resistance, healing, and collaboration. This includes the necessity of addressing both enduring and emergent collaboration and conflicts between groups and among diverse communities. Pan-African studies Professor Melina Abdullah reminds us that Black studies is the intellectual arm of the Black Power Movement.[5] Similarly, Chicanx and Latinx studies is the intellectual arm of Chicanx and Latinx social movements, providing the intellectual tools for liberation and freedom for our communities, emphasizing the importance of knowledge generated in our communities.

Footnotes

[1] Review Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium.

[2] This perspective is inspired by the foundational work of Brazilian educator and scholar, Paulo Freire in his seminal 1970 text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* which has been recently re-published as Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 50th Anniversary Edition*, 4th edition (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).

[3] Moll, Luis C., Cathy Amanti, Deborah Neff, and Norma Gonzalez. "Funds of Knowledge for Teaching: Using a Qualitative Approach to Connect Homes and Classrooms." *Theory Into Practice* 31, no. 2 (1992): 132–41.

[4] Yosso, Tara J. "Whose Culture Has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8, no. 1 (2005): 69–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006.

[5] Abdullah, Melina. "Institutions Didn't Birth Ethnic Studies, Movements Did: The Long Struggle for the Nation's Second College of Ethnic Studies." *Ethnic Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (March 22, 2020): 5–12. Pan-African Studies Professor Melina Abdullah reminds us that Black Studies is the intellectual arm of the Black Power Movement.

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1.2: Struggle and Protest for Chicanx and Latinx Studies

Historical Roots of Ethnic Studies

There is no singular origin of Chicanx/Latinx studies or a set of scholars who wrote the field into existence. But there are traces of beginnings and aspirations reflected in key documents like the Plan de Santa Bárbara published in 1969 by student activists in California, the Plan de Aztlán published by student activists at the first Chicano Youth Conference in Denver, Colorado, and the goals of the first Chicana/o studies programs in California and Puerto Rican (Boricua) studies programs on the East Coast. Civil rights and labor movements like the United Farm Workers of America, and high school Student Walkouts took place throughout the Greater Southwestern states before Chicanx studies appeared at colleges and universities. More about the history of Chicanx and Latinx studies will be addressed in Chapter 3: History and Historiography and Chapter 8: Education and Activism. Scholars sometimes associated with Chicanx and Latinx studies are Rudy Acuña, Sonia E. Alvarez, Gloria Anzaldúa, Yarimar Bonilla, Antonia Castañeda, Teresa Córdova, Adelaida Del Castillo, Juan Flores, Juan Gómez-Quiñones, Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez, Walter Mingolo, David Montejano, Cherríe Moraga, Sylvia Morales, Carlos Muñoz, Ana NietoGómez, Chon A. Noriega, Mary Pardo, Américo Paredes, Emma Pérez, Beatriz Pesquera, Aníbal Quijano, Adela Sosa Ridell, Mérida M. Rúa, Vicki L. Ruiz, Chela Sandoval, Rosaura Sanchez, Carmen Teresa Whalen, and Patricia Zavella, among others. While many Chicanx and Latinx studies intellectuals have worked as activist scholars with formal training, others have developed their scholarship as **organic intellectuals**, a concept that refers to individuals who gain advanced expertise through hands-on experience, working directly with community members. Collectively, this work offers an understanding of the world from the eyes of Chicana/o/xs and Latina/o/xs. Chicanx and Latinx studies emerged from the struggles and long histories of communities of color and Indigenous peoples who value education for its potential to transform lives, inspire change, raise awareness, and disrupt systems of power and exploitation. But how is Chicanx and Latinx studies connected to ethnic studies?

> Ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggalingan ay hindi makakarating sa paroroonan. (A person who does not look back to where he came from would not be able to reach his destination.) — Proverb by Dr. Jose P. Rizal, National Hero of the Philippines

This proverb is understood by ethnic studies educators to mean, "No history, no self. Know history, know self," and it reflects Dr. Jose Rizal's leadership in the Filipino Revolution against Spanish colonization. Although the statement was made halfway around the world away from the homelands of Chicanx and Latinx communities, it and the larger struggle for justice and **decolonization** resonate with the historical roots of Chicanx and Latinx studies, along with the larger field of ethnic studies. Decolonization refers to the various struggles led by Indigenous people for land, sovereignty, self-determination, and a transformation of the ongoing conditions of colonial power. Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island (a name for North and Central America used by some Indigenous peoples of the western hemisphere) have practiced educational pedagogies that center reciprocity, mutual respect, and interdependence long before the creation of Chicanx and Latinx studies as an academic field. **Traditional knowledge** that has been sustained and carried forward in the face of **settler colonialism** provides vital insight into the importance of activism and strategies of resistance against oppressive systems.[6] Settler-colonialism refers to the specific forms of colonialism in which outside powers attempt to eradicate and replace the living societies of Native people to establish and maintain settler societies. Importantly, settler-colonialism is a structure, not an event. This means that it is an ongoing system like racism and sexism, not a historical moment that is relegated to the past.

The introduction of **colonial education** led to the attempted erasure and genocide of Indigenous lifeways. For example, the missions in California, which were first established in 1769, served as central institutions of enslavement and labor for Catholic priests to coerce Indigenous peoples to adopt Christianized belief systems, traditions, and language. Missions disrupted Native American families and prevented family formation and transmission of cultural knowledge. Similarly, in 1869 the U.S. government and Christian churches began systematically kidnapping Native American children and trafficking students into government and church-run boarding schools, which were designed to forcefully strip students of their Native American beliefs and practices by imposing the English language, Christian religious customs, and colonized modes of dress, effectively destroying their tribal values, knowledge, and identity.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the United States greatly expanded the role of public education in daily life. This infrastructure was built up unequally, with schools actively segregated by race and socio-economic status. The separation of students by race helped to reinforce the existing racial hierarchy in the broader society, providing legitimacy and justification for prevailing dominant ideologies. In Chapter 8: Education and Activism, you will learn more about the history of activist and legal challenges to segregation and the relationship between this work and the field of Chicanx and Latinx studies. The roots of current-day ethnic studies are connected to the ongoing resistance to oppressive educational systems such as these.

Early Days: Ethnic Studies, Chicano Studies, and Chicana Studies

Throughout the 1960s, colleges, and universities were the sites of student-led protests for racial justice, environmental justice, gender liberation, and in opposition to the war in Vietnam. It is in this context that Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale met at Merritt College in Oakland, California, where they were inspired by the writings of the Black Martinican radical author Frantz Fanon. They began a student group called Soul Students Advisory Council and advocated for the first Black studies program before founding the Black Panther Party. At the same time, similar efforts were underway throughout California and across the country. The Black Student Union at San Francisco State College (SFSC) was started in 1963 by activists who had trained with the Black Panther Party and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which included Chicanx students. SNCC was a youth-led movement in support of racial justice and civil rights that regularly collaborated with other major leaders and groups working for civil rights and human rights. The organization supported the small minority of Black students at SFSC at the time and sought to increase enrollment. In 1966, Jimmy Garret from SNCC arrived on campus to mobilize and organize Black students. The earlier Freedom Rides in 1961 and the 1968 East L.A. Walkouts inspired many individuals to join these movements, as they both emphasized the importance of access to education in the larger context of racial justice and civil rights.[8] You will learn more about this history in the context of education in Chapter 8: Education and Activism.

At SFSC, some of the administration allowed students to teach each other courses not included in the traditional curriculum through the Experimental College. Students resisted any attempt to control the content of these courses, including control over who would be the invited speakers. The culture and operations of the Experimental College attracted radicalized Black students. Students, especially leaders in the Black Student Union, used the Experimental College to build the Black studies curriculum. By 1968, the Black studies curriculum covered history, social sciences, and the humanities, including courses like Sociology of Black Oppression, American Institutions, Culture in Cities, Composition, Modern African Thought and Literature, Recurrent Themes in Twentieth Century Afroamericano Thought, Creative Writing, Avant-Garde Jazz, Play Writing, and Black Improvisation.[9]

The Longest Student Strike

Content Warning: Physical Violence. Please note that this section includes discussion of physical violence, including police violence against people of color.

George Murray was a beloved English instructor at SFSC who was known for his vocal critiques of racism and the Vietnam War. He also served as the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party. After he was fired on November 1, 1968, student leaders from the Black Student Union (BSU) and **Third World Liberation Front (TWLF)** started a strike. The TWLF was a multi-ethnic coalition of students that were awoken to the fact that they were being taught in ways that were dominating and irrelevant to themselves.[10] It included a coalition of the BSU, Latin American Student Organization (LASO), Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA), Mexican American Student Confederation, Philippine (now Pilipino) American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), La Raza, Native American Students Union, and Asian American Political Alliance. Supporting this coalition were white students as well. These movements built on intergenerational traditions of protest and advocacy that informed the emergent groups that formed, established, and nurtured ethnic studies.[11] This led to the formation of a comprehensive list of demands to the college.[12] Penny Nakatsu was one of the strike's leaders at SFSC. Her speeches emphasized the importance of connecting student oppression with U.S. imperialism and militarism that creates adverse conditions throughout Third World countries. Nesbit Crutchfield was also a prominent leader in the organization and the first striker to be arrested. He spent over a year in jail and others were jailed too.

Police officers used militarized tactics on strikers, including directly assaulting students with batons, water hoses, and other weapons. SFSC's President at the beginning of the strike, Robert Smith, was sympathetic to students and interested in hearing out their demands. However, the administration quickly replaced President Smith with Samuel Ichiyé Hayakawa, who represented the interests of the predominantly white California State College Board of Trustees, along with then California Governor Ronald Reagan. The TWLF made a conscious choice in its organizing to center the leadership of students of color. However, the strike also garnered support from white students and community members, as well as the faculty union, a local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers. The strike lasted for nearly five months and at its peak, had halted nearly all classes and college operations. Although the protestors were met with hostility, resistance, arrests, and violence, they countered this with a strategy called the "War of the Flea," which focused on disruptive tactics that would pressure the administration to take action. For example, protestors checked out massive amounts of books from the library, disrupted classes to encourage students to join the strikes, and staged massive public demonstrations with music and chanting.[13]

Outcomes of the Strike

In the end, the strikers won nearly all of their demands, including the creation of a Black studies Department, the funding of 11.3 new full-time equivalent faculty positions, a new Associate Director of Financial Aid, the creation of an Economic Opportunity Program (EOP) with 108 students admitted for Spring 1969 in this program, as well as 500 seats committed for non-white students in the Fall of 1969 with 400 additional slots for EOP students, and a commitment to creating the School of Ethnic Studies.[14] The School of Ethnic Studies later became San Francisco State University's College of Ethnic Studies, which includes Africana studies, American Indian studies, Asian American studies, Latina/Latino studies, and Race and Resistance studies. The strikers' unmet demands included that Dr. Nathan Hare and George Murray be reinstated as faculty in the newly formed Black studies program. Despite these losses, to this day, the strike remains the longest student strike in U.S. history and is a testament to the power of student mobilization.[15]

The tenacity of the strikers inspired students at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB) to form their own Third World Liberation Front in January 1969, who began a separate strike for ethnic studies at UCB.[16] Strikers called for a Third World College, but the administration ultimately formed a Department of Ethnic Studies. Chicanas/os who were TWLF members included Lucha Corpi, Larry Trujillo, Francisco Hernandez, and others.

Throughout the country, racial justice and student activism were front and center, leading to a cascade of activism for ethnic studies programs, including the core disciplines of Black studies, Chicano studies, Asian American studies, and American Indian This momentum was built through grassroots movements, such as those created by the United Farm Workers of America (since 1962),[17] ethnic studies (1968), and Chicano Youth Conference (1969).[18] Building from this work, Chicana/o/x activists came together at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) and published **El Plan de Santa Barbara**, a document that united diverse activists from around the state of California and laid out a roadmap for Chicana/Chicano studies. Of equal importance to new areas of academic scholarship were programs to increase the retention, engagement, and success of students from minoritized backgrounds. Various chapters of Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA, now **Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanx de Aztlán**) advocated for equity and justice in higher education, such as the protestors in Figure 1.2.1, who are shown supporting Cesar Chavez College. In response to this type of student activism, UCSB created the first Chicano Studies Department in the University of California in 1970, now Chicana and Chicano Studies, and eventually formed the first Ph.D. program in the field in 2003. California State University, Los Angeles, was also a forerunner in this area, establishing a Mexican American studies program in 1968, which became the Department of Chicano Studies in 1971, and is now called the Department of Chicana(o) and Latina(o) Studies.



Figure 1.2.1: "Ayuda para colegio cesar chavez" (Support for Cesar Chavez College) by Movimiento, Remezcla is licensed CC BY 3.0.

Growth and Expansion of Chicanx/Latinx Studies

Scholarly Associations and Research

Scholarly associations are voluntary organizations of professional researchers who organize the exchange of ideas through activities like conferences where scholars present and share their work, newsletters, peer-reviewed publications, scholarships, and research grants. Within Chicanx/Latinx studies, multiple scholarly organizations exist that focus on specific disciplines and populations of scholars.[19]

The National Association for Chicano Social Scientists was formed in 1972 and renamed the National Association for Chicano Studies in 1973. To recognize the contributions of *mujeres* (women) it changed its name to the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) in 1995, which remains the name today. You can learn more about this history in Chapter 5: Feminisms. To address the diversity of identity politics and conditions, NACCS created various caucus groups. They include Chicana, Graduate Student, Jotería, Indigenous, Lesbian Bisexual Mujeres Transgender (LBMT), K-12, Student, Community, and Labor. A sister organization of NACCS that emerged called Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (MALCS), was founded in 1982. It focuses on Chicana/Latina and Indigenous feminist scholarship separately from what was known at the time of its founding as the National Association for Chicano Studies (now NACCS). Some MALCS members established the Society for the Study of Gloria Anzaldúa. Similarly, after years of collective work, organizing, and tension within various caucus groups focused on gender and sexuality within NACCS, in 2011, scholars formed an independent group called the Association for Jotería Arts, Activism, and Scholarship (AJAAS).This focuses on intersecting issues centered around sexuality, gender, and power and is discussed in more depth in Chapter 6: Jotería Studies. Even more recently, in 2014, the Latina/o Studies Association was also formed. This group focuses on the global community of scholars in Latina/o/x studies.

Academic associations encourage student participation and have specific opportunities and scholarships available to students in the field. There are also associations within other disciplines that utilize a racial justice lens or are focused on Chicanx and Latinx communities such as the Latino Caucus of the American Public Health Association, National Latino Behavioral Health Association, Society for Advancement of Chicanos/Hispanics and Native Americans in Science (SACNAS), and the American Sociological Association Section on Latino/a Sociology. Importantly, not all of these organizations and not all groups focused on Latin American and Latinx origin communities reflect the same values, principles, and methods of Chicanx and Latinx studies. For example, fields like Latin American studies and Central American studies focus on the distinctive societies, cultures, politics, and peoples of Latin America and Central America. These areas originally grew out of coordinated political work to counter liberation and self-determination movements in these regions. However, over time, younger scholars in the field have come to recognize and collaborate with progressive scholars and work in the community. This approach may appear in American studies and cultural studies, as well as in social sciences and humanities disciplines. This typically does not include a commitment to transformative social change through engaged scholarship and relevant pedagogies, which is a core principle of Chicanx/and Latinx studies, as well as ethnic studies.

Non-academic organizations that have been important to the scholarly associations and social movements, civil rights, and development of leadership associated with Chicanx and Latinx struggles have included Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), California Latino School Board Association, California Latino Legislative Caucus, and California Latino Caucus, and the bi-national organization Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB), which serves Indigenous Latinx migrant and non-migrant communities across California and Mexico. Chicano Latino Youth Leadership Project and Future Leaders of America are two youth-based organizations that have been involved with the work of Chicanx and Latinx studies.

Growth and Institutionalization

Chicanx and Latinx studies provide an excellent opportunity for students to deepen their knowledge and passion for meaningful topics related to their lives and communities for the purpose of social change. Research shows that Chicanx/Latinx studies classes, like other ethnic studies courses, have academic and social benefits for all students, as well as campus communities as a whole.[20]

In an urgent response to the ongoing miseducation and underrepresentation of historically racialially marginalized students in school curriculum, there have been calls to mandate an ethnic studies requirement in high schools and colleges. Legislative activism is evident in the passage of California Assembly Bill 101 and Assembly Bill 1460, Oregon House Bill 2845/2023, and Texas House Bill 1504-2021-22.

In California, faculty advocates and administrators established ethnic studies as a **general education graduation requirement** in California high schools, the California Community College (CCC), the California State University (CSU), and the University of California (UC) systems. Assemblymember Shirley Weber, the author of AB 1460, and faculty advocates are displayed in Figure 1.2.2. This bill was passed in 2020 and built on the work of Assemblyman Luis Alejo.



Figure 1.2.2: "Assembly Leader Shirley Weber, Black Lives Matter Leader Melina Abdullah, and Ethnic Studies/Chicanx Studies Faculty Melissa Moreno" by Melissa Moreno, Author is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

AB 1460 changed the general education curriculum to include ethnic studies as a graduation requirement for all 23 campuses in the CSU system, separate from any diversity or multiculturalism requirements. The CSU enrolls nearly half a million students (485,550 in 2022), and it is the largest public research university system in the world. AB 1460 acknowledges ethnic studies as made up of distinct academic fields, one of which is Chicanx and Latinx studies. The California Community College Ethnic Studies Faculty Council (CCCESFC) and allies followed their CSU colleagues by advocating for a CCC ethnic studies graduation requirement, resulting in changing the Title V legislative code. In addition, the UC Ethnic Studies Faculty Council with the system-wide Academic Council is in the process of establishing both an ethnic studies graduation requirement and an admission requirement for high school students planning to attend the UC.

Chicanx and Latinx studies curriculum has a long history in the K-12 educational context as well. In 2014, El Rancho Unified School District in Pico Rivera, California, created a high school requirement for ethnic studies. The Ethnic Studies Now Coalition helped to spread the movement to other high schools through advocacy and sharing resources. With more and more districts adopting ethnic studies, statewide advocates in California moved to formalize the curriculum and establish a framework for ethnic studies teachers, including Chicanx and Latinx studies. Further, in conjunction with the growth and institutionalization of ethnic studies, AB 1703 passed in 2022 in California to establish the California Indian Education Act and encourages school districts, county offices of education, and charter schools to form California Indian Education Task Forces with California tribes local to their regions or tribes historically located in the region, in order to develop model curricula related to Native American studies. This legislation is a reminder that ethnic studies cannot, and should not, be taught without advancing the present and past realities of Native American peoples.

Campus programs like the UCLA Center X / Teacher Education Program, Exito at UCSB, and professional development organizations like XITO (Xicanx Institute for Teaching and Organizing), Acosta Educational Partnership, and Liberated Ethnic Studies have started to train educators interested in working in this growing field. Likewise, Assembly Bill 1255, authored by Wendy Carrillo, calls for the creation of a statewide task force to provide a report on the creation of a single-subject credential in ethnic studies because it does not yet exist. Currently, the social science credential does not prepare teachers with the content and pedagogical training needed to teach ethnic studies. In May 2022, Assemblymember Jose Medina argued this very point to the California Department of Education teacher credential leadership. To augment this gap in California teacher credentialing, educators at Fullerton College have created an Ethnic Studies for Educators certificate program, which is the first of its kind in the community college system and will provide current and future teachers with disciplinary training in ethnic studies that can be applied to K-12 teaching.

This moment is an opportunity for educators at all levels to embrace, honor, and respect the contributions and social movements

led by Latinxs and other communities of color in the state and nation, along with other issues championed by diverse marginalized groups. Long before the beginning of ethnic studies as a formal discipline in the 1960s, communities have been calling for relevant, responsive education that communicates the truth of historical, political, social, and cultural systems. This has implications for early childhood education, K-12, and higher education. As of the writing of this book, these are pressing and current political-educational issues being addressed in California and throughout the country.

Threats Against Chicanx/Latinx Studies

While Chicanx and Latinx studies scholarship and curriculum have experienced substantial growth over 50 years, the field has always been threatened by counter-movements and institutional resistance. In 1998 in Tucson, Arizona, the school district established a Mexican American studies program that grew to 48 course offerings and was the largest ethnic studies program in any school district nationwide. The department offered student support and facilitated teachers' and parents' involvement in Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x student success, which directly increased graduation rates and grades in all classes. In 2010, state lawmakers passed Arizona House Bill 2281, which dismantled the program and banned a range of related books from any classes in the state. In response, activists in Arizona organized a book-ban caravan to California, inspiring California ethnic studies faculty and advocates from ethnic studies, forging greater solidarity across state lines. Figure 1.2.3 shows protesters in June 2011 supporting the Tucson Unified School District's Mexican-American Studies program. This protest cultivated the will for change and supported activists engaged in drawn-out legal battles over the legislation. Eventually, the ban was overturned in 2017, as it was deemed racist and unconstitutional.



Figure 1.2.3: "Arizona Ethnic Studies" by Arizona Community Press, Wikimedia Commons is licensed CC BY-SA 4.0

The anti-ethnic studies rhetoric from the Arizona law, which claimed to restrict teachers from promoting "resentment toward a race or class of people" or advocating "ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals," re-emerged in 2021 as conservative activists strategically conflated ethnic studies and Critical Race Theory. They falsely made it seem like they were interchangeable. **Critical Race Theory** is a legal perspective that examines the relationship between U.S. laws and systemic racism, with a particular emphasis on how to end racial bias. Ethnic studies, by contrast, is an interdisciplinary field of study that encompasses a wide range of topics, issues, and perspectives focused on the lived experiences of historically defined racialized groups. Legislators have passed statewide bans on Critical Race Theory to intimidate K-12 educators who discuss race and ethnicity in their classrooms in any format, including ethnic studies. Despite this political hostility and counter-mobilization, ethnic studies educators and others invested in student equity and success continue to work at the front lines to inspire students and ensure that the next generation has access to a relevant education.

As California continues to formalize and institutionalize ethnic studies, scholars and activists are contending with the boundaries of the field and its purpose for higher education and society. With the inclusion of ethnic studies in general education requirements, courses in Chicanx/Latinx studies will receive a greater amount of institutional oversight, and an increased number of students gaining from this content and pedagogy. However, this has created an incentive for faculty from outside disciplines with no training in Chicanx/Latinx studies or ongoing work in the field to enter the discipline as instructors or researchers. While many fields address topics related to ethnicity, race, politics, culture, and society, expertise in the traditions and practices of

Chicanx and Latinx studies is based on disciplinary training and a sustained commitment to racial justice through action.

Footnotes

[6] Michelle M. Jacob Leilani Sabzalian, Joana Jansen, Tary J. Tobin, Claudia G. Vincent, and Kelly M. LaChance, "The Gift of Education: How Indigenous Knowledges Can Transform the Future of Public Education," *International Journal of Multicultural Education* 20, no. 1 (2018): 157–85, https://doi.org/10.18251/ijme.v20i1.1534.

[7] For discussion about Missions from California Native read A Cross of Thorns: The Enslavement of California's Indians by the Spanish Missions by Elias Castillo and review https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dmarnR8sgNE&t=38s

[8] Ziza Joy Delgado, "The Longue Durée of Ethnic Studies: Race, Education and the Struggle for Self-Determination" (PhD Dissertation in Ethnic Studies, UC Berkeley, 2016), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/84n3f8kh.

[9] Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

[10] Daryl Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

[11] Delgado, "The Longue Durée of Ethnic Studies."

[12] List of demands from the BSU and TWLF can be found https://diva.sfsu.edu/collections/st...bundles/187915

[13] Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*.

[14] Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*.

[15] Delgado, "The Longue Durée of Ethnic Studies"; Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement*; Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*.

[16] Delgado, "The Longue Durée of Ethnic Studies."

[17] The UFW was established in 1962, long before Chicano Studies, by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta with the aid of Fred Ross, Marc Grossman, and Filipino farm worker leader like Itlong and Vera Cruz too. Chicanx and Latinx college students developed their leadership in the UFW and brought it to the Walkouts and call for Chicanx studies too.

[18] The first Chicana/o Youth Conference was held in 1969 after the Walk Outs and the Ethnic Studies Student Strike. https://www.kcet.org/history-society...nited%20States.

[19] Content in this section was adapted from "The Ongoing Struggle for Ethnic Studies" by Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick in *Introduction to Ethnic Studies* (LibreTexts), which is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

[20] Sleeter, Christine E. "The Academic and Social Value of Ethnic Studies." Washington, DC: National Educational Association (NEA), 2011.

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1.3: New Directions in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

Frameworks: Intersectional, Transnational, and Relational

Chicanx and Latinx studies is a dynamic field that has evolved over time. While this field is not constricted to a singular framework or paradigm, it is meant to be rooted in the relationship between activist movements for racial justice, liberation, and interdisciplinary academic inquiry. Within the field, multiple marginalized scholars have worked to center the diversity of Chicanxs and Latinxs, and more work is needed. As discussed in Chapter 2: Identities, feminist and queer scholars have advocated changing the name from Chicano studies, which implies masculinity and men's concerns as the norm, to Chicana studies, Chicana and Chicano studies, Chican@ studies, Chicanx studies, or other similar labels. These titles signal inclusion and respect for all genders and people, along with research guided by feminist praxis and jotería studies.

Similarly, Afro-Latinxs and Indigenous Latinx peoples have advocated having an expansive conceptualization of ethnicity and race that include complicating mestiza/o/x (multi-racial) identities, Indigenous cultures, traditions, tribal affiliation, and sovereignty, and diverse experiences of colorism, African/Black identity, and heritage. With an increasing Central American and Indigenous population in the United States, more representation of these communities is needed in Chicanx and Latinx studies, exemplified by the work being done at California State University, Northridge and University of California, Los Angeles in Chicanx and Central American Studies. With the growing number of Central American students in California, it is critical to also have their family and community realities represented with social action research. You will have the opportunity to explore specific intersectional topics further in Chapter 2: Identities, Chapter 4: Indigeneities, Chapter 5: Feminisms, and Chapter 6: Jotería Studies. In this book, we present the field of Chicanx and Latinx studies in a way that is inclusive as possible of these developments. We bring them together, along with other relevant scholarship in ethnic studies, through a framework that is intersectional, transnational, and relational. These frameworks are defined in the remainder of this section and explored in further detail in Chapter 3: History and Historiography.

This idea is visualized in the artwork presented in Figure 1.3.1, "Somxs Muchxs" ("We are the Many") by Fernando Martí. The poster demonstrates the unification of many diverse activists around a shared struggle, and it reminds us to consider the role of collective struggle.

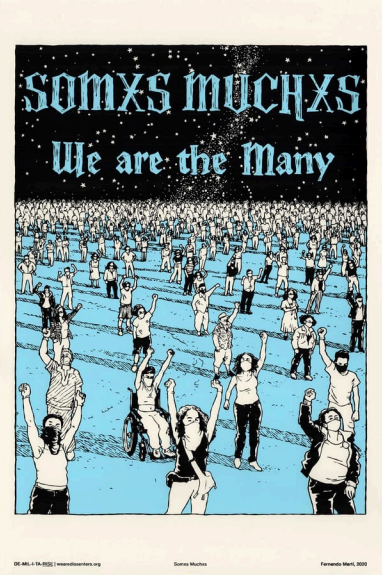


Figure 1.3.1: "Somxs Muchxs" by Fernando Martí, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

Intersectionality means analyzing the multiple identities and social systems that influence and shape individuals' and communities' experiences, including their relationship to power structures and institutions. In 1990 the term was coined by Black feminist legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw and represents the lived experiences of many women of color feminists and many generations of work that led to this intellectual term.[21] It is a conceptual lens that allows for identifying the role of gender, sexuality, immigration status, Indigeneity, socio-economic background, ability status, age, religion, and other factors, in addition

to race and ethnicity. This is also visualized in Figure 1.3.2, with a set of overlapping circles labeled with the numbers 1-12, which are listed as

1. Race
2. Ethnicity
3. Gender Identity
4. Class
5. Language
6. Religion
7. Ability
8. Sexuality
9. Mental Health
10. Age
11. Education
12. Body Size ... and many more ...

The caption reads, "Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it locks and intersects. It is the acknowledgment that everyone has their own unique experiences of discrimination and privilege - Kimberle Crenshaw."

Recognizing these realities helps us more clearly understand how societal disparities are created and affect different groups. Importantly, they also inform more effective interventions, campaigns, and social movements that can address longstanding inequities. Historically, multiple marginalized voices have been excluded from key positions of power and decision-making spaces. Throughout the textbook, you will find contributions of diverse Latinx scholars guiding the perspectives and examples provided. Further, we utilize this inclusive approach to shed light on the creative strategies used to combat systemic inequities, racism, and settler colonialism.[22]

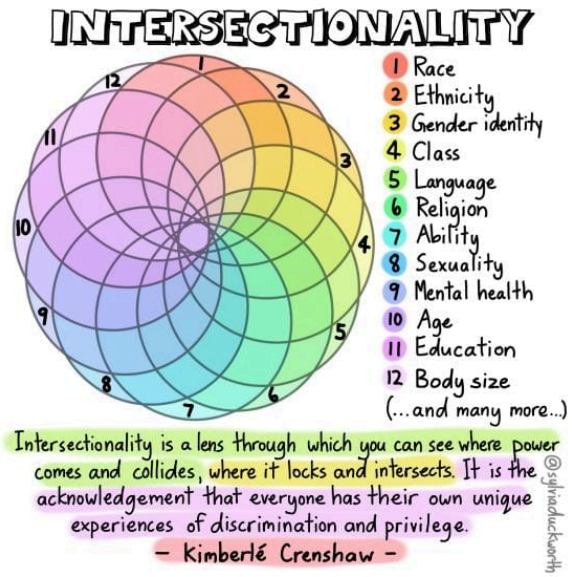


Figure 1.3.2: "Intersectionality" by Sylvia Duckworth, Flickr is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 2.0

The dynamics of transnational identities, formations, cultures, and politics are vital to the lives and experiences of Chicanxs and Latinxs. **Transnational** refers to social dynamics that exist beyond an individual community and nation-state. This deconstructs the importance of existing nations, borders, and paradigms of citizenship, instead focusing on how culture, society, and human life communicate identity and move across lands. Unlike international, global, or multinational, transnational focuses on ideas, activist campaigns, and solidarity efforts transcending nationalistic and colonial borders. Examining transnational dynamics allows us to explore the lives and cultures of migrant people and transnational families and communities.

Finally, our use of a **relational** framework draws from ethnic studies and Chicanx/Latinx studies to include both specific and broad perspectives that draw from diverse experiences and voices, described in detail in Chapter 3: History and Historiography. This affirms intersectional and transnational approaches, which make space for the diversity of what it means to be Chicanx and

Latinx. It also extends our analysis to include tools, examples, and scholarship from other ethnic studies fields. As discussed in the previous section, Chicanx studies emerged as part of the movement for ethnic studies. By attending to the experiences and perspectives of minoritized groups, we gain a depth of understanding of the dynamics of race, racialization, and Indigeneity, along with the strategies used to dismantle white supremacy, cisheteropatriarchy, and settler colonialism.

Footnotes

[21] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989 (1989): 139–68; Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99, https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039; Sumi Cho, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall, "Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38, no. 4 (June 2013): 785–810, https://doi.org/10.1086/669608.

[22] Aída Hurtado, *Intersectional Chicana Feminisms: Sitios y Lenguas*, Bilingual edition (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2020); Edna A. Viruell-Fuentes, Patricia Y. Miranda, and Sawsan Abdulrahim, "More than Culture: Structural Racism, Intersectionality Theory, and Immigrant Health," *Social Science & Medicine* 75, no. 12 (December 1, 2012): 2099–2106, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.12.037; Veronica Terriquez, "Intersectional Mobilization, Social Movement Spillover, and Queer Youth Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement," *Social Problems* 62, no. 3 (August 1, 2015): 343–62, https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spv010.

[23] Fox, Jonathan. "Unpacking Transnational Citizenship" 8 (May 3, 2005). https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=1830330.

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1.4: Overview of the Textbook

Chapter Organization

This textbook includes ten chapters representing cultural knowledge, lived experiences, key debates, paradigms, frameworks, theories, concepts, terms, and analytical tools from the discipline of Chicanx and Latinx studies. All are presented for the purpose of understanding the past to know the present and make a difference in the future. While we encourage you to utilize the textbook order in whatever order makes the most sense to your course and your own interests, the chapters can be divided into three parts.

Part 1: Foundations and New Directions

The first portion of the book, including this chapter by Melissa Moreno and Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, along with Chapter 2: Identities and Chapter 3: History and Historiography by Amber Rose González provide a foundation for understanding the social, political, and historical processes of identity formation and the importance of community stories in the context of Chicanx and Latinx studies.

Identity formation has been shaped by resistance movements for self-determination against systems of oppression to empower and rehumanize marginalized Chicanx and Latinx communities. Chapter 2: Identities discusses identity as socially constructed and embedded in a system of power and resistance. It outlines important identity labels and when and why they emerged. Chapter 2 also provides an examination of the current demographics that make up Chicanx and Latinx communities. Chapter 3: History and Historiography focuses on the purpose and meaning of history, and the various approaches, methods, and frameworks that can be used to study history in Chicanx and Latinx communities. González advances how Chicanx and Latinx studies serves as an intervention to the discipline of history and highlights the contributions of feminist and queer studies scholars in the field of Chicanx and Latinx history.

Part 2: Chicanx and Latinx Intersectionalities

The next portion of the book extends these perspectives by focusing on the intersection of Chicanx and Latinx identities with Indigeneity, gender, and sexuality. Chapter 4: Indigeneities by Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick and Melissa Moreno, Chapter 5: Feminisms by Amber Rose González, and Chapter 6: Jotería Studies by Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr. are focused on critical and intersectional perspectives, demonstrating how Indigeneity, language, citizenship, and sexuality are subjectivities that impact the social status and lived experiences of members of Chicanx and Latinx communities.[24]

Chapter 4: Indigeneities provides an overview of terminology associated with Indigeneity, Indigenous demographics in Latin America and México, and how peoples in the past and present have expressed their Indigenous identities. Chapter 5: Feminisms offers a genealogy of the emergence of Chicana and Latina feminisms including critical issues and key areas of activism. Chapter 6 provides an introduction to the emergence of jotería studies and the importance of self-naming, highlighting some of the cultural and scholarly activist contributions that this area of study has made in Chicanx and Latinx studies. This chapter also explores self-determination in queer and trans Chicanx and Latinx communities, emphasizing the importance of safety and healing spaces.

Part 3: Activism, Praxis, and Culture

The remaining four chapters build on these perspectives by exploring the social, political, and cultural dynamics impacting Chicanx and Latinx communities in the context of activism, education, health, and culture. Chapter 7: Social Movement Activity by Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, Chapter 8: Education and Activism by Lucha Arévalo, Chapter 9: Health by Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick and Melissa Moreno, and Chapter 10: Cultural Productions by Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick all reflect on Chicanx and Latinx studies in social and political action.

Chapter 7: Social Movement Activity focuses on 20th and 21st-century social and political movements. The chapter presents frameworks to assess resistance, racial and social justice, and solidarity among Chicanx and Latinx communities. Chapter 7 also identifies how Chicanx and Latinx organizations have enacted equity, self-determination, liberation, and anti-racism. It

highlights intersectional Chicanx and Latinx movements that address issues related to class, gender, sexuality, national origin, immigration status, and language. Chapter 8: Education and Activism examines historical educational policies and legal cases used for social change, providing concepts to critically understand key historical education debates, issues, and initiatives that impact Chicanx and Latinx communities today.

Chapter 9: Health centers issues surrounding institutional and traditional health, healing, and well-being in Chicanx and Latinx communities. This chapter identifies health conditions, public health disparities, behaviors, and outcomes of health influenced by the intersection of race and environmental racism as they relate to class, gender, sexuality, religion, spirituality, national origin, immigration status, ability, language, and age in Chicanx and Latinx communities. Chapter 10: Cultural Productions delves into concepts such as pop culture analysis, encoding, decoding, stereotypes, controlling images, tropicalism, disidentification, nationalism, image analysis, and artivism in the context of media and cultural productions. This chapter unpacks how representations and cultural meaning-making operate at the intersection of race and racism with class, gender, sexuality, immigration status, ability, and Indigeneity in Chicanx and Latinx communities.

Overall, the chapters are intended to offer readers an introduction to Chicanx/Latinx self identity, stories of community, systems of oppression, social movements, and solidarity efforts.

Footnote

[24] Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, 1st edition (Watertown, Mass: Persephone Press, 1981); Gloria Anzaldua, ed., *Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Feminists of Color*, 1st edition (San Francisco, Calif: Aunt Lute Books, 1990).

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1.5: Conclusion

Summary

In this introductory chapter, you had the opportunity to learn about the foundations of Chicanx and Latinx studies, including the historical, cultural, and institutional background and contexts of the discipline. In addition, we introduced some key concepts, labels, and perspectives that will be further developed throughout this book. We hope this book provides an entry point into the significant and timely issues that affect our communities today and the opportunities available for future generations.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.1: Chapter 1 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Chicanx and Latinx studies: A discipline that has worked for over fifty years to provide a more accurate understanding of the political, cultural, historical, and social contexts that shape our current-day experiences of race, identity, community, and the disparities that plague our society.

Open Educational Resources (OER): Instructional materials that are designed to be freely used, shared, and adapted.

Chicana, Chicano, and Chicanx: Social and political identity terms chosen by people of Mexican heritage living in the United States to signify their Indigenous ancestry to the greater Southwestern and Mesoamerican (also called Anahuac) regions. This identity term emerged as a direct response to the term "Mexican American" to focus greater attention on the political, social, and cultural position of people of Mexican heritage. When the term ends in an 'x,' it signifies a non-binary gender, either referring to all people regardless of gender or specifically referring to people of non-binary identities.

Chicana: The feminine form of Chicana, Chicano, and Chicanx and refers to women and girls, and Chicano is the masculine form, which refers to men and boys.

Hispanic A term that became popularized and is assigned by the United States Census and other government offices to emphasize Spanish influence.

Xicana, Xicano, and Xicanx: Those whose families originate from the homeland of [Me]xicana/os and Indigenous people.

Latina, Latino, and Latinx: People with ancestry connected to anywhere in Latin America. Latinx differs from Latina/o as the "x" renders the term gender-neutral and more inclusive.

Indigenous Latinx: Indigenous migrants from Latin America living in the United States who practice their Indigenous languages, ceremonies, medicines, foodways, and ancestral lands.

Afro-Latinx: People of African and Latin American heritage, and corresponds to national or regional variations of the term, such as Afro-Mexican or Afro-Brazilian.

Rehumanization: Conscious work done to combat systemic oppression so that people can participate in a civic society towards democracy in a multicultural society.

Hxstories: The collective impact of past events, avoiding the andro-centric and colonial association with the term history.

Cultural funds of knowledge and cultural wealth: Assets, information, wisdom, and expertise that exists within communities that have been neglected and disregarded by institutional systems of knowledge production.

Organic intellectuals: Individuals who gain advanced expertise through direct experience, working with community members directly, and engaging in hands-on work.

Decolonization: The diverse struggles led by Indigenous people for sovereignty, self-determination, and a transformation of the

ongoing conditions of colonial power.

Traditional knowledge: Forms of knowledge practiced by Indigenous groups provide both content expertise and communicate lifeways and intergenerational transfers of information and guided inquiry.

Settler-colonialism: Specific forms of colonialism in which outside powers attempt to eradicate and replace the living societies of Native people to establish and maintain settler societies.

Colonial education: Settler institutions that have attempted erasure and genocide of Indigenous lifeways, including the government and Church-run Boarding Schools in the United States and Canada.

Third World Liberation Front (TWLF): A multi-ethnic coalition of students that were awoken to the fact that they were being taught in ways that were dominating and irrelevant to themselves (Maeda, 2012), and included a coalition of the Black Student Union (BSU), Latin American Student Organization (LASO), Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA), Mexican American Student Confederation, Philippine (now Pilipino) American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), La Raza, Native American Students Union, and Asian American Political Alliance

El Plan de Santa Barbara: A document that united diverse activists from around the state of California and laid out a roadmap for Chicana/Chicano studies, as well as programs to increase the retention, engagement, and success of students from minoritized backgrounds.

Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanx de Aztlán (MEChA, formerly Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán): A national student organization with local chapters that advocate for equity and justice in higher education

General education graduation requirement: A type of course that all students are required to take as part of their educational requirements to earn a degree. In California, Ethnic studies has become a general education graduation requirement in all public high schools and colleges.

Critical Race Theory: A legal perspective put forward by scholars to identify the link between U.S. laws and the structure of racism, with the goal of better ending racial discrimination and disparities. This perspective has been misrepresented by conservative activists.

Intersectionality: A concept that emphasizes the importance of recognizing multiple identities when analyzing an individual or group's relationship to societal power structures and institutions.

Transnational: Social dynamics that exist beyond an individual community and nation-state. This deconstructs the importance of existing nations, borders, and paradigms of citizenship and instead focuses on how culture, society, and human life communicates identity and moves across lands.

Relational approaches: Frameworks that utilize dynamic comparisons between groups to yield greater knowledge, encourage solidarity, and find creative solutions to systemic problems.

Glossary of Ethnic Studies Terms

The following list of terms was adapted from the Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum.[25] Many of these terms are used throughout the book to demonstrate the methods, analysis, and content in Chicanx and Latinx Studies. This glossary is provided as a supplemental resource for learners to have more opportunities to develop confidence and understanding of the material.

Activism: Informed action or involvement as a means of achieving a political goal. Activism can manifest in the form of protests, demonstrations and direct actions, art and cultural production, lobbying, and advocacy work, fundraising, writing, educational discussions, and more.

Agency: The capacity of an individual to act freely and make independent choices in any given environment.

Accompliceship: The process of building relationships grounded in trust and accountability with marginalized people and groups. Being an accomplice involves attacking oppressive structures and ideas by using one's privilege and giving up power and position in solidarity with those on the social, political, religious, and economic margins of society. This is in contrast to the contested notion of allyship which is often performative, superficial, and disconnected from the struggles for justice .

Cisheteropatriarchy: A system of society in which cisgender people, men and heterosexuals (especially cisgender heterosexual men) are privileged, dominant, and hold power. Cisgender refers to people whose gender identity aligns with their sex assigned at birth, and is the opposite of transgender.

Citizenship: A status granted to a person that has been recognized by a particular country as being afforded all the benefits, rights, freedoms, and access as a member or citizen of the country. Citizenship is also the relationship a person maintains with the country or state they are loyal to. Thus, citizenship also includes how citizens engage their communities through both political and non-political processes for the betterment of their community, state, and nation.

Class: A category and identifier that denotes a person or group's economic or social status.

Classism: The systematic oppression of subordinated class groups to advantage and strengthen the dominant class groups.

Colonialism: A practice of domination whereby one country seizes control over another country or territory and its people via force, exploitation, and/or political control.

Community: A social group of any size whose members either reside in a specific locality, share government, and/or have a common cultural background, struggles, views, or history.

Culture: The characteristics, creations, and knowledge of a particular group of people, place, or time. These characteristics include, but are not limited to, beliefs, customs, art, music, language, traditions, and religion.

Dehumanization: When a person or group of people are deprived of human qualities. This process is often carried out when a dominant group abuses power and denies opportunities and rights from another group**.**

Eurocentric/Eurocentrism: A worldview that privileges and centers the thoughts, practices, knowledge, history, systems of beliefs, and customs of the western world and people of western European descent more specifically.

Federal recognition: A status granted to Native American tribes that have gone through the process of being recognized by the U.S. federal government and have been granted sovereignty. There are over 300 federally recognized tribes across the U.S.

Gender: Western culture has come to view gender as a binary concept, with two rigidly fixed options— men and women. Instead of the static binary model produced through a solely physical understanding of gender, a far richer tapestry of biology, gender expression, and gender identity intersect resulting in a multidimensional array of possibilities. Thus, gender can also be recognized as a spectrum that is inclusive of various gender identities.

Hegemony: The dominance or influence of one group over another, often supported by legitimating norms and ideas. Hegemony describes the dominant position of a particular set of ideas and their tendency to become commonsensical and intuitive, thereby inhibiting the dissemination or even the articulation of alternative ideas.

History, Herstory, and Hxrstory: History is the study of the past, including, but not limited to: events, people, cultures, art, languages, foreign affairs, and laws. Herstory is a term used to describe history written from a feminist or women's perspective. Herstory is also deployed when referring to counter narratives within history. The prefix "her" instead of "his" is used to disrupt the often androcentric nature of history. Hxrstory is pronounced the same as "herstory" and describes history written from a more gender inclusive perspective. The "x" is used to disrupt the often rigid gender binarist approach to telling history.

Identity: The qualities, expressions, beliefs, physical traits, cultures, and social statuses that comprise a person and/or group of people.

Ideology: A system of social, political, economic, and/or psychological beliefs, values, and ideals that characterize a particular culture, school of thought, organization, or people.

Imperialism: The extension of one nation's dominance, power, or rule over another via policy, ideology, influence (social, economic, religious, etc.), or military.

LGBTQIA2S+: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or questioning, intersex, asexual and/or ally, Two-Spirit. The plus signals "and other similar identities," recognizing that sexual and gender diversity extends far beyond any simple list.

Liberating: The state of freedom. Within the context of ethnic studies, liberation is often used to describe social movements whose aim is to achieve freedom through equal rights and justice.

Migration: The movement of people, voluntarily or involuntarily, from one region to another.

Oppression: Prolonged unjust and/or cruel exercise of authority or power over another person or group. Also, a sense of being weighed down in body, mind, or spirit. The four "I"s of oppression are: ideological oppression (an idea, concept, or theory whose qualities advocate for or can be interpreted as causing harm or upholding the views of a dominant group at the expense of others), institutional oppression (the belief that one group is superior to another and that the more dominant group should determine when and how those on the margins are incorporated into institutions within a society), interpersonal oppression (how oppression is played out between individuals), and internalized oppression (the internalization of the belief that one group is superior to another)

People of color; Black, Indigenous and People of Color: People of color refers to communities who are not white. People of color as a collective identity emerged as a response to systemic racism and to assert resistance and solidarity against white supremacy. People of color are a global majority. While Indigneous people are often in solidarity with people of color against white supremacy, the term "Indigenous" and/or "Native American," or "American Indian" are included separately from people of color. This draws attention to the unique forms of colonial domination that intersect with racial oppression. Further, Black is often placed first in the phrase "Black, Indigeinous, and People of Color," or BIPOC, which draws attention to anti-Blackness as a unique form of racism and centers Black experiences among minoritized populations.

Power: The ability or capacity to direct, influence, or determine behavior (social, political, economic, etc.) via authority and control.

Privilege: An unearned advantage or benefit not enjoyed by everyone. Within systems of power, privilege is often inherited and is informed by one's identity.

Race: A social construct created by European and American pseudo-scientists which sorts people by phenotype into global, social, and political hierarchies.

Racism: The belief in the superiority of one race over another. Racism manifests when power is used to deny access, rights, and/or opportunities to a particular group or person based on their racial background.

Resilience: The ability to recover and/or adapt in the face of extreme adversity, trauma, stress, and difficulty.

Self-determination: The process by which a person establishes agency and motivation with the hope of controlling their own life.

Social justice: The equitable distribution of resources (rights, money, food, housing, education, etc.) to every individual regardless of ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, language, or nationality.

Solidarity: Unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest; mutual support within a group.

Whiteness: A social construct that has served as the foundation for racialization in the United States. Whiteness is the antithesis of Blackness and is commonly associated with those that identify as white. However, Whiteness is much more than a racial identity marker, it separates those that are privileged from those that are not. Whiteness can manifest as a social, economic, political, and cultural behavior and power. For example, the "standard" or cultural "norm" are often always based on whiteness and by extension white culture, norms, and values.

White supremacy: The belief that white people are inherently superior and represent the dominant race. It is an operationalized form of racism that manifests globally, institutionally, and through systems of power.

Xenophobia: Prejudice and hatred, drawn from irrational fear, against people from a different country.

Footnote

[25] Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium (LESMCC). "Curriculum." LESMCC. https://www.liberatedethnicstudies.org/curriculum.html

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2: IDENTITIES

Learning Objectives

- Outline contemporary Chicanx and Latinx demographics and the factors that impact them.
- Evaluate the historical, political, and social processes that have shaped the racialization of Chicanxs and Latinxs.
- Summarize Chicanx/Latinx studies identity concepts, theories, and frameworks.

Introduction

What does it mean to be Latina/o/x/e and who gets to decide? What do the different word-endings––Latina, Latino, Latina/o, Latin@, Latinx, and Latine––mean? What is the difference between Latinx and Hispanic? Where did these labels come from? Is Latinx a **race** or an **ethnicity**? This chapter tackles these difficult questions and more in order to provide a general overview of the historical and contemporary meanings of Latinx identities to establish a foundation for understanding the communities that are the central focus of this book.

The labels that an individual uses to name their race, ethnicity, and other **social identities** is a personal choice, one that relies on shared understandings, imagined and/or real, of what it means to belong to that group. These meanings are **socially constructed**, that is, they are contextual and change over time and place as a result of social, political, and historical processes. While a person can choose to *identify* a particular way internally, they may also be *identified* externally by other people (usually arbitrarily based on phenotype and physiognomy), and by federal, state, and private agencies and organizations that collect demographic data such as the U.S. Census, the Department of Motor Vehicles, schools, universities, employers, and hospitals. The categories and labels assigned by these various entities may be at odds with or even contradict a person's self-identification. Put another way, "social identity is regarded as a constellation of different and often competing identifications or 'cultural negotiations.'"[1]

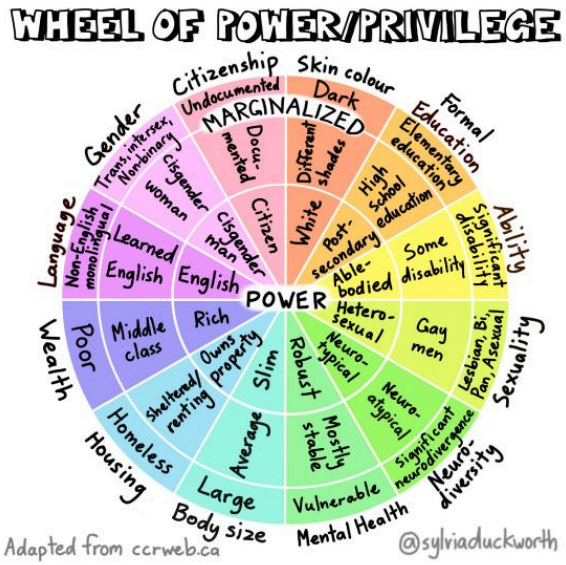


Figure 2.1: "Wheel of Power/Privilege," by Sylvia Duckworth, is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 2.0

In addition to examining race and ethnicity and how these social identities pertain to Latinxs, Chicanx and Latinx studies in general and this chapter, in particular, are concerned with the ways power structures (ideologies, discourses, institutions, systems) shape particular subject positions, experiences, access to resources, and life outcomes for Latinxs and how these vary based on the intersecting dynamics of gender, sexuality, class, language, religion, nationality, tribal affiliation, and immigration status. This mode of analysis––developed by feminists of color and popularized as **intersectionality** in the 1980s––is examined in detail in Chapter 5: Feminisms and illustrated in Figure 2.1 as a "Wheel of Power/Privilege." This chapter investigates the ways privilege

was cemented for a select few through the creation and maintenance of hierarchical identity categories across time and place and the ways that marginalized communities have resisted their oppressors' classifications.

Social identity categories' relationship to system of power, as shown in Figure 2.1

Social Identity	Marginalized identity, furthest from power	Identity between marginalized and power	Identity closest to power
Skin colour	Dark	Different shades	white
Formal education	Elementary education	High school education	Post-secondary
Ability	Significant disability	Some disability	Able-bodied
Sexuality	Lesbian, Bi, Pan, Asexual	Gay men	Heterosexual
Neurodiversity	Significant neurodivergence	Neuro-atypical	Neuro-typical
Mental health	Vulnerable	Mostly stable	Robust
Body size	Large	Average	Slim
Housing	Homeless	Sheltered/renting	Owns property
Wealth	Poor	Middle class	Rich
Language	Non-English monolingual	Learned English	English
Gender	Trans, intersex, non-binary	Cisgender woman	Cisgender man
Citizenship	Undocumented	Documented	Citizen

2.1: Defining Latinx Demographics

2.2: (Re)constructing Latinidad(es)

2.3: A Brief History of Latinx Racial Formation

2.4: Xicana Feminist Ontologies- Indigeneity, Spirituality, and Sexuality

2.5: Conclusion

Footnote

[1] Linda Martín Alcoff, “Who’s Afraid of Identity Politics?,” in *Reclaiming Identity: Realist Theory and the Predicament of Postmodernism*, eds. Paula M. L. Moya and Michael Hames-García (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 315, quoted in Carla Kaplan, “Identity” in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

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2.1: Defining Latinx Demographics

The Influence and Impact of the U.S. Census

This section provides a demographic portrait of Latinxs in the U.S. as defined by the U.S. Census. It also illustrates some of the tensions between how Latinxs identify and the ways the Census categorizes and counts peoples of Latinx origins, both historically and in the present. According to the Pew Research Center, the U.S. Hispanic population totaled 62.5 million in 2021, making up nearly one-in-five people in the U.S., up from 50.5 million in 2010.[2] People of Mexican origin accounted for nearly 60% (about 37.2 million people) of the total Hispanic population, however, their numbers increased by only 13% from 2010 to 2021, the smallest rate of increase among the largest Hispanic groups. Puerto Ricans, the second largest group, make up 9.3% of the Hispanic population with 5.8 million people on the mainland and another 3.1 million on the island. Salvadorans, Cubans, Dominicans, Guatemalans, Colombians, and Hondurans are the next largest groups, each comprised of one million or more people. Those with origins in Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, and Guatemala experienced the fastest population growth from 2010 to 2021.[3] These numbers are reflected in Table 2.1.1.

Table 2.1.1: *"Hispanic origin groups in the U.S., 2021," Pew Research Center, Washington D.C. (September 22, 2022). Permissions: Pew Research Center Terms of Use.*

Origin Group	Population	% among all Hispanics	% change 2010-2011
U.S. total	62,530,000	100%	23%
Mexican	37,235,000	59.5	13
Puerto Rican	5,800,000	9.3	24
Salvadoran	2,475,000	4.0	35
Cuban	2,400,000	3.8	28
Dominican	2,395,000	3.8	59
Guatemalan	1,770,000	2.8	53
Colombian	1,400,000	2.2	46
Honduran	1,150,000	1.8	57
Spaniard	995,000	1.6	43
Ecuadorian	815,000	1.3	25
Peruvian	720,000	1.2	20
Venezuelan	660,000	1.1	172
Nicaraguan	455,000	0.7	19
Argentinean	295,000	0.5	26
Panamanian	240,000	0.4	37
Costa Rican	190,000	0.3	44
Chilean	190,000	0.3	35
Bolivian	130,000	0.2	15
Uruguayan	65,000	0.1	9
Paraguayan	30,000	0.0	42
Other South American	40,0000	0.1	62
Other Central American	30,0000	0.0	1

Origin Group	Population	% among all Hispanics	% change 2010-2011
All other Latinos	3,050,000	4.9	96

California is the state with the largest Hispanic population in the United States.[4] Hispanics became the largest racial or ethnic group in the state in 2014, surpassing the non-Hispanic white population, whose numbers have been on the decline, reflecting a broader national trend.[5] In 2021 there were about 15.8 million Hispanics in California, accounting for 40% of the total population, which was up from 14.0 million in 2010. Figure 2.1.1 displays the numbers of Latinos in each of the 50 states, with Texas at more than 10 million, Washington, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Florida, New York, and others reporting 1 to 10 million, Oregon, Nevada, Michigan, and others reporting 500,000 to 1 million, Utah, Idaho, and many states in the South and Midwest reporting 100,000 to 149,000, and North and South Dakota, Maine, Vermont, and others reporting less than 100,000.

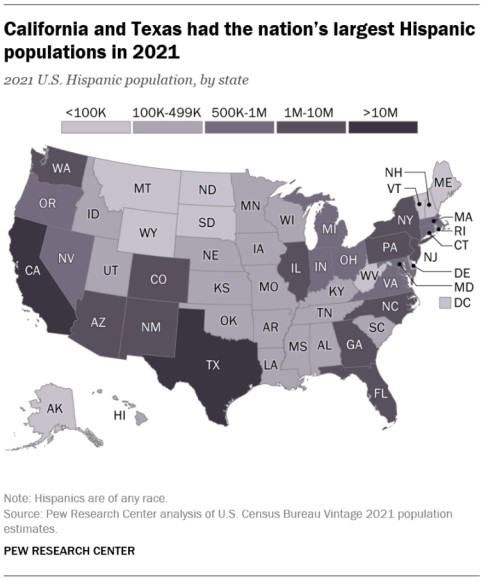


Figure 2.1.1: "California and Texas had the nation's largest Hispanic populations in 2021," *Pew Research Center*, Washington D.C. (September 22, 2022). Permissions: Pew Research Center Terms of Use

The demographic information that follows is largely based on data gathered by The United States Census Bureau (USCB) through their decennial census. To determine the racial and ethnic composition of the nation in 2020, the census included two separate questions--one for Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin and one for race. According to USCB, Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin is defined as a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.[6] In other words, USCB does not consider Hispanic or Latino to be a race, asserting that the categories "generally reflected social definitions in the U.S. and were not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically. We recognize that the race categories include racial and national origins and sociocultural groups."[7] In 2020 the census options for race included White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander, and Some Other Race.[8] All census respondents, including those who check Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin, are given the option to select one or more races to define themselves.

Pause and Reflect: How do You Identify?

Figure 2.1.2 features two census questions used to ask about race and ethnicity. Number 6 asks "Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?" The options for responses are:

- **No**, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- Yes, Puerto Rican
- Yes, Cuban
- Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin – Print, for example, Salvadoran, Dominican, Colombian, Guatemalan, Spaniard, Ecuadorian, etc.

Question 7 asks “What is your race?” with options to mark one or more boxes to identify your race and to fill in origin information within each category. The options for responses are:

- White – Print, for example, German, Irish, English, Italian, Lebanese, Egyptian, etc.
- Black or African Am. – Print for example, African American, Jamaican, Haitian, Nigerian, Ethiopian, Somali, etc.
- American Indian or Alaska Native – Print name of enrolled or principal tribe(s), for example, Navajo Nation, Blackfeet Tribe, Mayan, Aztec, Native Village of Barrow inupiaq Traditional Government, Nome Eskimo Community, etc.
- Chinese
- Vietnamese
- Native Hawaiian
- Filipino
- Korean
- Samoan
- Asian Indian
- Japanese
- Chamorro
- Other Asian – Print, for example, Pakistani, Cambodian, Hmong, etc.
- Other Pacific Islander – Print, for example, Tongan, Fijian, Marshallese, etc.
- Some other race – Print race or origin.

Take a few moments to review and respond to questions 6 and 7. When you are finished, think about why you made the selections you did. Do the options provided reflect how you self-identify? Would you change anything about the categorizations or the labels? How does this form compare to others that have asked for your race and ethnicity, such as school documents, employment applications, and medical forms?

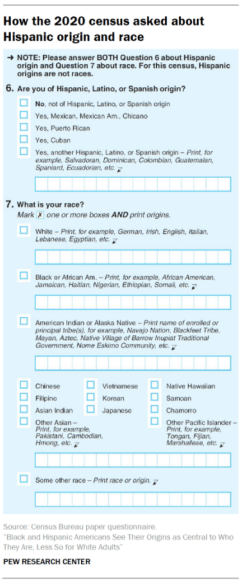


Figure 2.1.2: “How the 2020 census asked about Hispanic origin and race,” *Pew Research Center*, Washington D.C. (May 13, 2021). Permissions: Pew Research Center Terms of Use.

The results of the 2020 census indicated that 15.1% of the total population (about 49.9 million people) selected the Some Other Race box alone or in combination, making it the second-largest race group. Interestingly,

> [a]pproximately 45.3 million people of Hispanic or Latino origin were classified as Some Other Race either alone or in combination, compared with only 4.6 million people who were not of Hispanic or Latino origin. Nearly all of those who were classified as Some Other Race alone were of Hispanic or Latino origin (26.2 million out of 27.9 million, or 93.9%).[9]

According to USCB, “many Hispanic or Latino respondents answered the separate question on race by reporting their race as ‘Mexican,’ ‘Hispanic,’ ‘Latin American,’ ‘Puerto Rican,’ etc.,” similar to the 2010 Census.[10] Moreover, “[t]he number of Latinos who say they are multiracial has increased dramatically. Almost 28 million Latinos identified with more than one race in 2020, up from

just 3 million in 2010."[11] A January 2020 Pew Research Center survey revealed that "only about half of Americans said the census reflects how they see their own race and origin 'very well.'" When comparing Hispanic, Black, and white respondents, Hispanics were more likely to say the questions described them "not too well" or "not well at all," suggesting they found the categories as not providing relevant options.[12] In fact, a 2015 Pew Research Center survey found "...for two-thirds of Hispanics, their Hispanic background *is* a part of their racial background--not something separate. This suggests that Hispanics have a unique view of race that doesn't necessarily fit within the official U.S. definitions."[13]

Many people are confused by or dissatisfied with the census race and ethnicity questions, which have been solicited since the first census in 1790. This can be attributed to, at least in part, the questions, categories, and labels changing from one decade to the next, reflecting current politics, scholarship, public attitudes, cultural norms, and community advocacy, demonstrating the malleability of race in the U.S. Figure 2.1.3 displays the different race, ethnicity, and origin categories used in the census from 1790 to 2020 and the subsequent list points to the changing ways Hispanics have been identified over the years. It should be noted that "[t]hrough 1950, census-takers commonly determined the race of the people they counted. From 1960 on, Americans could choose their own race."[14]

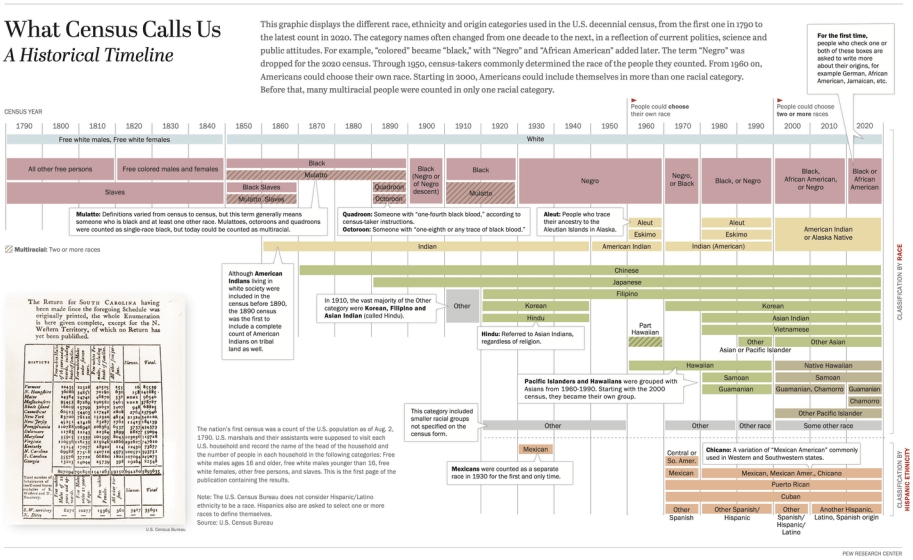


Figure 2.1.3: "What the Census Calls Us - A Historical Timeline," *Pew Research Center*, Washington D.C. (February 6, 2020). Permissions: Pew Research Center Terms of Use

The text in Figure 2.1.3 reads, "This graphic displays the different race, ethnicity, and origin categories used in the U.S. decennial census, from the first one in 1790 to the latest count in 2020. The category names often changed from one decade to the next, in a reflection of the current politics, science, and public attitudes. For example, "colored" became "black," with "Negro" and "African American" added later and Starting in 2000, Americans could include themselves in more than one racial category. Before that, many multiracial people were counted in only one racial category."

The timeline from 1790 to 2020 shows the ten-year cycle of Census dates and includes seven layers corresponding to six racial categories (White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Pacific Islander, and some other race), and one ethnic category (Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin). The categories in each group are listed here by the year they were first collected, with a note if they replaced a previously used category or were newly added.

- White: First included in 1790 as "Free white males, Free white males," replaced in 1850 with "White" until the present.
- Black or African American: First included in 1790 as "All other free persons" and "Slaves," which was replaced in 1820 with "Free colored males and females" and "Slaves." In 1850, all categories were replaced with "Black," "Mulatto," "Black Slaves," and "Mulatto Slaves." In 1870, both categories of enslaved people were removed, and enslaved people were accounted with other free Black and multiracial individuals categorized at the time as "Mulatto." In 1890, "Quadroon" and "Octoroon" were added. In 1900, the previous categories were replaced with "Black (Negro of Negro descent)," which was replaced in 1910 with "Black" and "Mulatto." Since 1930, a single category has been used, starting with "Negro," until it changed to "Negro or Black" in 1970, then "Black or Negro" in 1980 until 2000, when it became "Black African American, or Negro" and then "Black or African American" in 2020.
    - "Mulatto: Definitions varied from census to census, but this term generally means someone who is black and at least

one other race. Mulattoes, octoroons, and quadroons were counted as single-race black, but today could be counted as multiracial."
    - "Quadroon: Someone with 'one-fourth black blood,' according to census-taker instructions."
    - "Octoroon: Someone with 'one-eighth or any trace of black blood.'"
- American Indian or Alaska Native: The first category added on the Census beyond Black and white was "Indian" in 1860. "Although American Indians living in white society were included in the census before 1890, the 1890 census was the first to include a complete count of American Indians on tribal land as well." In 1860 the Census began by asking about "Indian" identity, which continued until 1950 when it was changed to "American Indian." In 1960, separate categories were added for Aleut and Eskimo. "Aleut: People who trace their ancestry to the Aleutian Islands in Alaska." In 1970, all three categories were replaced with "Indian (American)" and in 1980, Aluet and Eskimo were re-added. In 2000, these categories were combined into American Indian or Alaska Native.
- Asian: In 1870, the Census started counting Asian ancestry using the "Chinese" category. In 1890, Japanese was added, followed by "Other" in 1910. "In 1910, the vast majority of the Other category were Korean, Filipino and Asian Indian (called Hindu)." These groups were added in 1920. As an imposed term, "Hindu: Referred to Asian Indians, regardless of religion." In 1950, Korean and Hindu were removed from the options, leaving Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino. In 1960, the survey added Part Hawaiian and Hawaiian. "Pacific Islanders and Hawaiians were grouped with Asians from 1960-1990. Starting with the 2000 census, they became their own group." In 1970, the Census re-added Korean, and in 1980 added "Asian Indian" (formerly labeled "Hindu") and also added for the first time Vietnamese, Samoan, and Guamanian. In 1990, "Other Asian or Pacific Islander" was included as an option. For the next census, because Asian and Pacific Islander categories were separated, this category became "Other Asian."
- Pacific Islander: Three groups, Hawaiian, Samoan, and Guamanian were originally included with the "Asian" categories. In 2000, these were recognized as "Pacific Islander," Guamanian was changed to "Guamanian or Chamorro" and the option "Other Pacific Islander" was included. In 2020, Guamanian and Chamorro were separated.
- Other: The "Other" option was first included in 1910 and largely referred to people of Asian heritage. With the inclusion of other groups, this category came to include people of smaller groups and people of multiracial backgrounds who do not want to select just one race (until 2000 when the option to select multiple categories was added). Other was included until 1960 and then re-added in 1970. In 1990 the label was changed to "Other race" and in 2000 updated to "Some other race."

The events summarized in the section on Hispanic, Latino, and Spanish origin ethnicity are detailed in the following section.

The image also includes a rendering of a historical Census count from South Carolina with each group tabulated by state in hand-printed script. This is accompanied by the following explanatory note: "The nation's first census was a count of the U.S. population as of Aug. 2, 1790. U.S. marshals and their assistants were supposed to visit each U.S. household and record the name of the head of the household and the number of people in each household in the following categories: Free white males ages 16 and older, free white males younger than 16, free white females, other free persons, and slaves. This is the first page of the publication containing the results.

Note: The U.S. Census Bureau does not consider Hispanic/Latino ethnicity to be a race. Hispanics also are asked to select one or more races to define themselves." The categorization of Hispanics and Latinos is described in the following detailed timeline:

- 1930 - Mexicans were counted as a separate race (not an ethnicity or nationality) for the first and only time. Prior to this, they were categorized racially as white, dating back to the first time they were included in the census in 1850.
- 1940 - The Mexican racial category was removed and "persons of Mexican birth or ancestry who were not defined as Indian or some other nonwhite race" were once again deemed white, and marked as a Spanish-speaking population.[15]
- 1950 and 1960 - Mexicans were counted as "white persons of Spanish surname."
- 1970 - A question on "Origin or Descent" was added with an option to choose one of the following: Mexican; Puerto Rican; Cuban; Central or South American; Other Spanish. Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban origins were separately identified due to these groups being the largest estimated Hispanic populations in the U.S. at the time.
- 1980 - "Hispanic" and "not Hispanic" were deemed distinct and separated from race. According to the Census, individuals who are Hispanic may be of any race. The Mexican category was expanded to include "Mexican, Mexican-Amer[ican], Chicano."
- 1990 - For the Hispanic origin question, a list of examples and a write-in line were introduced that read, "Print one group, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on."
- 2000 - People could report more than one race for the first time. "Other Spanish/Hispanic" was changed to "Another Hispanic, Latino, Spanish origin," which introduced the Latino label.
- 2010 - "Another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin" category now provided examples of six Hispanic origin groups "(Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on)" and instructed respondents to "print origin."

- 2020 - The example Hispanic groups were revised to represent the largest Hispanic population groups and the geographic diversity of the Hispanic or Latino category.[16]

Despite the Census questions, categories, and labels changing over time, many Latinxs have clear opinions about their identities. According to studies from the Pew Research Center:

- **When it comes to describing their identity, most Hispanics prefer their family's country of origin over pan-ethnic terms.** In 2019, 47% of Hispanics reported most often describing themselves by their family's country of origin, using labels such as "Mexican" or "Cuban" or "Dominican," for example.[17]
- **Most Hispanics do not perceive a shared common culture among U.S. Hispanics.** According to a 2011 national survey of Latinos, nearly seven-in-ten (69%) say Hispanics in the U.S. have many different cultures, while 29% say Hispanics in the U.S. share a common culture.[18] Like the prior point, this statistic suggests that among Hispanics, national identities remain prevalent.
- **"Hispanic" or "Latino"? Most don't care—but among those who do, "Hispanic" is preferred.** More than half (54%) say they have no preference for either term. When a preference is expressed, "Hispanic" is preferred over "Latino"—27% versus 18%.[19]
- **Most Afro-Latinos identify as "Hispanic" or "Latino," but not all do.** About one in seven Afro-Latinos do not identify as Hispanic. As of 2020, there are about 6 million Afro-Latino adults in the U.S. (12% of the adult Latino population).[20]
- **The racial groups Afro-Latinos identify with can be varied and diverse.** When asked about their race on a Census Bureau-style question, about three in ten Afro-Latinos selected White as their race, 25% chose Black and 23% selected "some other race." An additional 16% selected multiple races, while just 1% said they were Asian. Afro-Latinos who did not identify as Latino were more likely than those who did identify this way to mark Black as their race (59% vs. 17%).[21]
- **Most Hispanics use Spanish, but the use of English rises through the generations.** The same 2011 survey found that 38% of all respondents are Spanish-dominant, 38% are bilingual, and 24% are English-dominant. Among U.S.-born Hispanics, more than half (51%) are English-dominant.
- **Hispanics also want future U.S. Hispanic generations to speak Spanish.** Fully 95% of Hispanics believe it is very important (75%) or somewhat important (20%) for future generations of Hispanics in the U.S. to be able to speak Spanish.

As you learned in this section, race, ethnicity, and different subgroups have been reclassified and redefined in the census. In "Gateway to Whiteness: The Census and Hispanic/Latino Identity," Gustavo Chacon Mendoza argues that the census is significant because it shapes national, group, and individual identity through its official classification system. He argues, "by narrowly defining ethnicity and restricting its availability as a census answer, the census will force people to identify themselves in groupings that do not match their social perception and standing."[22] However, the number of Hispanics/Latinos that selected "Some Other Race" swelled in the 2020 census--a selection that can be read as a protest to the current racial categorizations. The census, however, interprets this occurrence as confusion or failure to understand the race question, denying respondents agency. Caribbean scholar Jorge Duany notes, "The existence of a large and growing segment of the U.S. population that perceived itself ethnically as Hispanic or Latino, while avoiding the major accepted racial designations, is a politically explosive phenomenon."[23] In sum, there are major limitations with a government entity attempting to categorize a diverse group of people and impose meanings "from above." While census data can provide a glimpse into understanding Latinx communities, it is important to also examine the perspectives, stories, and contexts that surround the numbers, which is the goal of the following sections.

Footnotes

[2] Jens Manuel Krogstad, Jeffrey S. Passel, and Luis Noe-Bustamante, "Key Facts About U.S. Latinos For National Hispanic Heritage Month," *Pew Research Center*, Washington D.C., September 23, 2022. The term Hispanic is used to describe this population because this is the terminology used by the Census. An explanation of the differences between Hispanic and Latina/o/x/e will be explored in the following section.

[3] Krogstad et al., "Key Facts."

[4] Krogstad et al., "Key Facts."

[5] Javier Panzar, "It's official: Latinos now outnumber whites in California," *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 2015.

[6] U.S. Census, "Additional Instructions for Respondents."

[7] U.S. Census, "Additional Instructions for Respondents."

[8] For a detailed explanation of each category review "Additional Instructions."

[9] Nicholas Jones, Rachel Marks, Roberto Ramirez, and Merarys Ríos-Vargas, "2020 Census Illuminates Racial and Ethnic Composition of the Country," *U.S. Census*, August 12, 2021.

[10] Jones et al., "2020 Census Illuminates."

[11] Krogstad et al., "Key Facts."

[12] D'vera Cohn, Anna Brown And Mark Hugo Lopez, "Black and Hispanic Americans See Their Origins as Central to Who They Are, Less So for White Adults," *Pew Research Center,* Washington D.C., May 14, 2021.

[13] Ana Gonzalez-Barrera and Mark Hugo Lopez, "Is being Hispanic a matter of race, ethnicity or both?," *Pew Research Center*, Washington D.C., June 15, 2015.

[14] "What the Census Calls Us," *Pew Research Center*, Washington D.C., February 6, 2020.

[15] Tomás Almaguer, "Race, Racialization, and the Latino Populations in the United States," in *The New Latino Studies Reader: A Twenty-First-Century Perspective*, eds. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Tomás Almaguer (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 213.

[16] This list was compiled from "What the Census Calls Us" and "U.S. Decennial Census Measurement of Race and Ethnicity Across the Decades: 1790–2020." Additional details regarding historical racial formations will be explored in subsequent sections.

[17] Mark Hugo Lopez, Jens Manuel Krogstad And Jeffrey S. Passel, "Who is Hispanic?," *Pew Research Center*, Washington D.C., September 15, 2022.

[18] Paul Taylor, Mark Hugo Lopez, Jessica Martínez, and Gabriel Velasco, "When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity,"*Pew Research Center*, Washington D.C., April 4, 2012.

[19] Lopez et al., "Who is Hispanic?"

[20] Lopez et al., "Who is Hispanic?"

[21] Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, "About 6 million U.S. adults identify as Afro-Latino," *Pew Research Center*, Washington D.C., May 2, 2022.

[22] Gustavo Chacon Mendoza, "Gateway to Whiteness: The Census and Hispanic/Latino Identity," in *The Latin@ Condition*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 48-49.

[23] Jorge Duany, "Neither Black nor White," in *The New Latino Studies Reader: A Twenty-First-Century Perspective*, eds. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Tomás Almaguer (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 158.

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2.2: (Re)constucting Latinidad(es)

Hispanic or Latino: What's the Difference?

This section unpacks the questions: What is the difference between Hispanic and Latino and where did these labels come from? What does it mean to be Latinx and who gets to decide? These are key inquiries to better understand Latinx identities, the focus of this chapter.

The term **Hispanic** has been in English usage since the eighteenth century. In the 1940s it was mostly used by scholars to "describe the descendants of the original Spanish colonial territories that became part of the United States in the nineteenth century (Florida, New Mexico, Arizona, California), while '**Latino**' was more aptly used to describe immigrants from Latin America, of course, with some geographic and temporal exceptions."[24] Interestingly, the idea of Latin America was a mid-nineteenth-century invention, constructed by intellectuals from Spain's former colonies who sought to describe the new political order that arose in the aftermath of revolutions and independence movements across the Western hemisphere.

During the 1960s, in the context of anticolonial revolutions abroad and the Black power and American Indian movements at home, the **Chicano** and Puerto Rican (or **Boricua**) ethnic nationalist movements also emerged in the U.S. These movements identified with the Indigenous peoples of their respective homelands and oppressed peoples across the Third World, now referred to as the Global South. They used the concept of internal colonialism to analyze their historical, political, and economic circumstances in the U.S. as that of colonized minorities, rather than immigrants. It was in this context that the U.S. government began to use the term Hispanic. To some, especially in the Southwest, it was a term that tried to depoliticize their identity and erase the Indigenous and African origins of many Latin Americans. Hispanic was used in the Southwest by Spanish-origin elites to distinguish themselves from Mexicans of Indigenous and African heritage and many Chicanos found the term offensive. Puerto Ricans on the East Coast more readily accepted the term more readily because they linked it to their country's resistance to Anglicization by maintaining the Spanish language as an important part of their identity and ethnic pride.

Latinidad

Historically Hispanic and Latino have been used to describe groups of people and not used for the purposes of self-identification or collective action. That is, until a group of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans came together in Chicago, Illinois as Latinos, forging a collective **pan-ethnic** identity to demand their civil rights in the 1970s. This was one of the earliest moments that **Latinidad** was used strategically for political mobilization.

Key Term: Latinidad

"...A political project that cultivates a broad cultural sense of belonging to a grander community that is created through ancestral links to Latin America."[25] In other words, Latinidad suggests a shared subjectivity among disparate ethnic and national groups with shared attributes, experiences, and realities among its members. It should be noted, however, that similarities do not equal sameness. There is diversity within and among the grander community.

More Latin Americans from different parts of the continent began entering the U.S. in the 1970s and 1980s and people of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin were becoming more geographically dispersed. This resulted in the term Latino becoming common in the 1980s as an alternative to Hispanic, growing out of the same political consciousness as Chicano and Boricua. The term Latino expanded to all Latin Americans, acknowledging a shared complex historical experience of colonization and oppression. By 2000, the term Latino had lost much of its radical edge as the mainstream media began to adopt it and the census offered "Hispanic or Latino" as a category that same year. Eventually, corporations, government organizations, and dominant culture industries would come to understand Latinidad as an opportunity to advance their own agendas, often resulting in the homogenization and commodification of the rich diversity of Latinx communities.

Latinidades

At the same time, new ethnic enclaves were developing where Latinxs of diverse heritages resided side-by-side. "This social mosaic leads to new forms of interaction, affinities, and power dynamics between and among Latinas/os from various national groups," including "different forms of affiliations, solidarity, identifications, desire, and intermarriage among Latinas/os."[26] As reported in section 2.1, many Latinxs prefer to identify with their national identities, however, this statistic obscures the fact that this is not the only frame of reference for self-identification. Latina/o studies Professor Emerita Frances R. Aparicio argues that in fact, "national identities are restructured and reorganized as a result of these increasingly hybrid spaces. New **interlatino subjectivities** are emerging and we need to examine them at various levels."[27] For example, Latinxs are creating new cultural productions including music, food, clothing, and language practices that coalesce from the multiple cultures within their families and neighborhoods. Hybrid identifications are also emerging that fuse two or more ethnic, racial, national, or tribal labels such as Ticano (Costa Rican and Chicano), MexiRican (Mexicana and Puertorriqueña), BlaXican (Black and Xicanx), and Apachicana (Apache and Chicana) to name a few. These hybrid labels indicate a desire for terms that capture the complexities of individual identities that are not expressed with existing national identities or with the terms Chicana/o/x or Latina/o/x.

It is imperative to recognize the nuances, complexities, and heterogeneity of Latinidad if it is to be used for self and community empowerment. Aparicio urges Latinx studies scholars and students to consider the plural **Latinidades**, which refers to "the shared experiences of subordination, resistance, and agency of the various national groups of Latin America in the United States."[28] She describes Latinidades "as a conceptual framework" that can be used "to document, analyze, and theorize the processes by which diverse Latinas/os interact with, dominate, and transculturate each other."[29] This framework is aligned with the relational, transnational, and intersectional approaches found across this book because it calls for the examination of "power differences, conflicts, tensions, and affinities between and among Latinas/os of diverse national identities."[30]

Scholars and activists have taken up the call to consider the plural Latinidades through the development of three complementary frameworks: Critical Latinx Indigeneities, AfroLatinidad, and Queer Latinidad. These concepts reflect the realities, experiences, and histories that are not fully captured by the term Latinidad alone. Drawing on hemispheric and comparative Indigenous studies, **Critical Latinx Indigeneities** "emerges out of a need to examine how Indigenous migrants from Latin America are transforming notions of Latinidad and Indigeneity in the U.S."[31] The term **Indígena** has come into use as a pan-ethnic term of empowerment as have the variations Indigenous Latina/o/x and Indigenous Xicana/o/x (Xicana/o/x Indígena in Spanish), though most individuals prefer to self-identify with their specific tribal nation, pueblo, or community in their own language (for example, Yoeme, Wixárika, P'urhépecha, Kumeyaay, etc.). "This specificity generally affords respect for the vast differences among Indigenous peoples of the Americas, standing in marked contrast to references to *the* Indian, *the* Native American...."[32] For more on Latinx Indigeneities visit Chapter 4: Indigeneities. Another framework that expands notions of Latinidad is **AfroLatinidad**, which centers Blackness as an analytic, acknowledging the particularities of Latin American peoples of African descent, from their racialized experiences in their countries of origin to the shifting racial meanings in the U.S., as well as their experiences with colorism within the larger Latinx community. Critical Latinx Indigeneities and AfroLatinidad are important frameworks that complicate Latinx racial identity and provide nuance to understand the Latinx population boom.

Additionally, **Queer Latinidad** considers queer identity in relation to Latina/o/x subjectivity, engaging in modes of inquiry that center racialized genders and sexualities, while simultaneously challenging the construction and validity of normative identity categories. Just as countless neologisms merge two or more ethnic, racial, national, or tribal labels, others unite ethnic, gender, and/or sexual identity such as joto/a/x, Chicanx, Latine, and **translatina/o/x**, which combines trans/transgender and Latina/o/x, while also encapsulating Latin American and latinoamericana/o identities. Gay Puerto Rican author, scholar, and performer Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes notes that because the "prefix trans- is used to indicate individuals who might have migrated (or whose family histories might include migration) and who might have transnational connections, it acquires a double valance, referring to geography and physical displacement as much as to gender identity and expression."[33] In *Brown Trans Figurations: Rethinking Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Chicanx/Latinx Studies*, trans*fronterizo* scholar Francisco J. Galarte presents "brown trans figurations" as a theoretical frame to examine the nuances of racialized trans subjectivity, embodiment, politics, affect, and agency. Galarte looks to the possibilities of the coexistence of brownness and transness asserting, "both frames center modes of relationality" and have a "shared expansiveness and unboundness."[34] For more on Queer Latinidad and how this analytic has developed into a prominent subfield in Chicanx/Latinx studies, visit Chapter 6: Jotería Studies.

Sidebar: An Identity Label Timeline

This timeline[35] provides readers with a quick reference of the significant identity labels that Chicanxs and Latinxs use to refer to themselves as discussed in this chapter. Emphasis is placed on the mid-twentieth century to the present and the shifting spellings of terms and their associated meanings. Even though this is a timeline, it is not a linear chronology. Some terms circulated in specialized circles prior to their popularization, and the emergence of one label did not necessarily replace its antecedent. Typically, a segment of the population took up a new term that was not utilized, or even known or regarded, by everyone in the community. All of the labels included in this timeline are still in use today, albeit in different ways, despite their emergence and popularity in a given timeframe. Moreover, this is not an exhaustive list. Other national, regional, and personal racial and ethnic identity labels are not included. Finally, it is important to note that there are in-group critiques of and resistance to all of these labels, which are not covered here. A potential research project could expand on this timeline.

Chicano - late 1960s to 1980s

- Students and community activists resignified the once denigrated term **Chicano** into an empowering alternative to "Mexican," "Mexican American," "Hispanic," and "Spanish American."
- During the early decades of El Movimiento, Chicano--with the masculine "o" word ending--was often used to refer to a mixed-gender group, including women, which was, and in many ways still is, customary in the Spanish language.
- Androcentric naming was common during this era. Many organizations (e.g. National Association for Chicano Studies), publications (e.g. *Chicano Federation Newsletter*, *Chicano Liberation*), and programs and departments (e.g. Department of Chicano Studies at California State University, Los Angeles) all used "Chicano."
- Thus, the use of "Chicano" is both a temporal and ideological referent.
- Chicano is typically used today by politicized Mexican American men.

Chicana, Chicana/o - late 1960s to 1990s

- Chicanas (the "a" feminine word-ending referring to women) sought to challenge the colonially gendered Spanish language dichotomy by substituting Chicano for **Chicana, Chicana and Chicano, and Chicana/o** in various realms. Their advocacy is evidenced in the titles of numerous community, campus, and academic publications and in the renaming of NACS to National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) and the Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, for example.
- "Inserting this feminine form of the noun—ChicanA—into Chicano movement discourse demanded inclusion and challenged sexism in the movement, while at the same time refusing to negate community."[36]
- The editors of *Keywords for Latina/o Studies* (2017) comment on their decision to use the forward slash (/) claiming their use of "'Latina/o' is intended to honor interventions by feminist scholars to disrupt the Spanish-language masculine use of 'o' as a default in 'Latino.'" They understand "Latina/o" to be "a productive tension rather than reaffirming a gendered binary."[37]

Xicana, Xicano - 1980s to 2000s

- The use of the X at the beginning of **Xicana and Xicano** is a signal of reclaiming and reconnecting with Indigenous identity and ancestry.
- Some who utilize this label observe Chicano nationalist Indigenismo that drew on post-revolutionary Mexican Indigenismo and Aztec iconography, including the myth of Aztlán as the Chicano geographical and spiritual homeland. This deployment has been critiqued for being romanticized, masculinist, and heteropatriarchal. At the same time, the construction of Indigeneity during El Movimiento permitted Chicano/as to celebrate a previously denigrated and denied aspect of their identity.
- Decolonial theorist Roberto Hernández identifies different constituencies of "**Indigenous Xicanos**"--the "cultural nationalists" and the "**indigenistas**," who practice a transnational or hemispheric mode of Indigenous political solidarity.[38]
- Chicana feminists also intervened in Chicano nationalist constructions of Indigeneity by unsettling myths and binaries that were delineated during El Movimiento through **Xicanisma**, an embodied feminist philosophy and praxis, which is explored in detail in Section 2.4: Xicana Feminist Ontologies: Indigeneity, Spirituality, and Sexuality.

Chican@, Latin@ - 2000s to 2010s

- **Chican@ and Latin@** came into usage around the turn of the twenty-first century as a way to signify the fluidity of gender and to acknowledge a spectrum of identities and expressions rather than a rigid masculine/feminine binary.
- This intervention has been described as "part aesthetic response to the cumbersome punctuation of [Chicana and Chicano], part recognition of emergent digital identities, and part as an instance of queering or making queer."[39]
- In *Reading Chican@ Like a Queer: The De-Mastery of Desire* Sandra K. Soto describes her use of the technological ending as "a conscientious departure from certainty, mastery, and wholeness, while still announcing a politicized collectivity."[40] She claims the @ "disrupts our desire for intelligibility, our desire for a quick and certain visual register of a gendered body the split second we see or hear the term."[41]

Chicanx, Latinx - 2010s to 2020s

- Feminist and queer disruptions to the gender binary continue with the "x" word ending in **Chicanx and Latinx**, which "signifies fluidity and mobility, setting aside the conventions of ideological, philosophical, and medical binaries that assign humans to one gender identity out of two when they are born. The 'x' in 'Chicanx' is nonbinary; it acknowledges self-determinations that refuse immovable assignments of identity."[42]
- For more on queer Indigenous Xicanx and Latinx identity, see Section 4.4: Gender, Sexuality, Migration, and Indigeneity.

Latine - 2020s

- **Latine** has come into usage in Spanish-speaking countries through the work of feminist, nonbinary, and genderqueer activists and academics. Its proponents argue the pronunciation is natural and already exists for nouns in Spanish (e.g. estudiante).

The drastic growth of a diverse Latinx population––impacted by structural factors such as the end of segregation and anti-miscegenation laws, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 that ended racially discriminatory national quotas, and U.S. political, economic, and military interventions in Latin America––have contributed to a shift in the ways race and ethnicity are understood in the United States. Shifting racial meanings are ongoing and have a long history on this continent, which will be explored in the following sections.

Footnotes

[24] "Introduction," in *The New Latino Studies Reader: A Twenty-First-Century Perspective*, eds. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Tomás Almaguer (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 2.

[25] "Introduction," *The New Latino Studies Reader,* 1.

[26] Frances R. Aparicio, "(Re)constructing Latinidad: The Challenge of Latina/o Studies," in *The New Latino Studies Reader: A Twenty-First-Century Perspective*, eds. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Tomás Almaguer (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 59.

[27] Aparicio, "(Re)constructing Latinidad," 59.

[28] Frances R. Aparicio, "Latinidad/es," in *Keywords for Latina/o Studies*, eds. Deborah R. Vargas, Nancy Raquel Mirabal, and Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 115.

[29] Aparicio, "Latinidad/es," 115.

[30] Aparicio, "Latinidad/es," 115.

[31] Maylei Blackwell, Floridalma Boj Lopez, Luis Urrieta Jr. *Special issue: Critical Latinx indigeneities*, Macmillan Publishers (2017): 126.

[32] Robert Warrior, "Indian," in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, eds. Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler (New York: New

York University Press, 2020), 131.

[33] Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, "Translatinas/Os," *TSQ* 1 (May 2014): 237–241.

[34] Francisco J. Galarte, *Brown Trans Figurations: Rethinking Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Chicanx/Latinx Studies* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2021), 12-13.

[35] Much of the content in this Sidebar is drawn from Amber Rose González, "Where is Indigeneity in Chican@ Studies?" in *Another City is Possible: Mujeres de Maiz, Radical Indigenous Mestizaje and Activist Scholarship* (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2015), 51-73.

[36] Sheila Marie Contreras, "Chicana, Chicano, Chican@, Chicanx," in *Keywords for Latina/o Studies*, eds. Deborah R. Vargas, Nancy Raquel Mirabal, and Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 34.

[37] "Introduction," in *Keywords for Latina/o Studies*, eds. Deborah R. Vargas, Nancy Raquel Mirabal, and Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 1.

[38] Hernández, Roberto. "Running for Peace and Dignity: From Traditionally Radical Chicanos/as to Radically Traditional Xicanas/os," in *Latin@s in the World System: Decolonization Struggles in the 21st Century U.S. Empire* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), 123-137. Hernández elaborates on the ways in which a critical Indigenous Xican@ subjectivity, or those with an "indigenista perspective," has led to strategic coalitions with Native American activists since (and prior to) the 1960s. Raul Salinas and Carlos Cortéz Koyokuikatl are prime examples of Chicano movement activists with an "indigenista" consciousness.

[39] Contreras, "Chicana, Chicano, Chican@, Chicanx," 35.

[40] Sandra K. Soto, *Reading Chican@ Like a Queer: The De-Mastery of Desire* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 2.

[41] Soto, 2-3.

[42] Contreras, "Chicana, Chicano, Chican@, Chicanx," 35. For more on the "-x" see Alan Pelaez Lopez, "The X in Latinx is a Wound, Not a Trend," *Color Bloq,* September 2018; and Terry Blas, "You Say Latinx," *Vox,* October 23, 2019.

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2.3: A Brief History of Latinx Racial Formation

Spanish Conquest, Colonialism, and Mestizaje

> When national regimes categorize populations, the very act of naming gives them a living reality. ––Ramón A. Gutiérrez

This section explores the ways Spanish conquest and colonization and U.S. settler colonialism and imperialism have created hierarchical identity categories inherited by contemporary Chicanxs and Latinxs. While settler projects of racial domination have attempted to cement social, economic, political, and national boundaries, marginalized communities have always resisted and subverted these projects, including the ethnic and racial classifications imposed on them by their oppressors. For example, they "generate the names they use to refer to themselves as a collectivity, often in their own native language, thus underscoring their linguistic resistance to domination."[43] In this way, **race** is both an organizing principle and an identity, both individual and collective, that is unstable and evolves.

The conquest of the territory that would eventually become the United States began with the Spanish empire laying down permanent settlements in Saint Augustine, Florida in 1565, followed by the kingdom of New Mexico in 1598 (which included the current states of New Mexico and Arizona), and the provinces of Texas in 1691 and Alta California in 1769. All of these settlements were situated on Spain's northernmost frontier far away from major Spanish centers, mostly isolated from one another, and surrounded by diverse Indigenous nations, many who would remain unconquered.[44] These factors led to the creation of distinct regional hybrid subcultures and affinities that were developed along religious lines. "Identification with Spain's various regions persisted in the Americas into the nineteenth century, whether in Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, or Mexico. Residents of the kingdom of New Mexico called themselves *nuevo mexicanos* and *neomexicanos,* those in California referred to themselves as *californios*, and those in Texas as *tejanos*. Throughout Spanish America loyalty and sense of attachment to the *patria chica*, to one's natal place, persisted and remains strong even to this day."[45]

People from the Iberian Peninsula only began to understand themselves as *españoles* when they became colonists in the Americas––their identities developing in relation to diverse Indigenous peoples who they reduced to *indios,* a misnaming by Columbus who erroneously believed he had landed in India.

> Inventing Indians was to serve an important imperial end for Spain, for by calling the natives *indios*, the Spaniards erased and leveled the diverse and complex indigenous political and religious hierarchies they found. Where once there had been many ethnic groups stratified as native lords, warriors, crafts[people], hunters, farmers, and slaves, the power of imperial Spain was not only to vanquish but also to define, largely reducing peoples such as the mighty Aztecs into a defeated Indian class that soon bore the pain of subjugation as tribute-paying racialized subjects.[46]

These *españoles* created rigid social hierarchies and ranked people's *calidad,* or social standing, through an intricate classification system that appraised a person's religion, birthplace, property ownership, and occupation. Over time, race and color became central organizing factors laid out in the ***régimen de castas***, as racial mixing between Spaniards, Indigenous, and African peoples became more common by the mid-eighteenth century. For details about the categories constructed through the *castas* visit Section 4.1: Concepts for Understanding Chicanx and Latinx Indigeneities. This biological and cultural blending––a process referred to as **mestizaje**––often occurred through sexual violence and exploitation against Indigenous and African women, which was sanctioned by the colonial Catholic church.

The *casta* system of racial classification was not abolished until Mexico's independence in 1821, however racial and ethnic social stratification remained prevalent and echoed colonial conceptions of identity. For example, Professor Alicia Arrizón, author of *Queering Mestizaje: Transculturation and Performence* (2006) argues, "Before and after the independence wars in Latin American and Caribbean countries, nationalist regulations of mestizaje by the *criollo* elite (Europeans born in the Americas) served to eradicate not only Indigeneity but also African heritage. In addition, the effects of *blanqueamiento* (or whitening) were encouraged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to improve and 'purify' the race, meaning the general national racial composition or the Hispanic race."[47] Soon after Mexico's independence, its northern territories would contend with a new imperial power that would soon imprint its own hierarchical racial structure onto the peoples of that region.

Changing Racial Paradigms Under U.S. Imperialism

> Knowledge of the history of relations between the United States and Latin America and the Caribbean is indispensable to putting into focus the often forgotten events and circumstances that account for the Latino/a presence here. ––José Luis Morín

Racial Formation in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands

Beginning in the 1820s the fledgling U.S. nation-state sought to expand its empire through the invasion and annexation of Mexico's northern territories, culminating in the war of 1846-1848. Opponents of annexation, predominantly politicians, journalists, and businessmen, argued that the incorporation of a "mongrel race" would pollute U.S. democracy, which up to that point, had been built on Indian removal, land theft, genocide, and slavery. Senator John C. Calhoun, a prominent Southern Democratic said, "we have never dreamt of incorporating into our Union any but the Caucasian race––the free white race. To incorporate Mexico, would be the very first instance of the kind, of incorporating an Indian race... I protest such a union as that! Ours, sir, is the Government of a white race." Protests against annexation would go unheeded, but perspectives such as these would shape race relations in the decades to come.

Following the end of the war, The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo obliged Mexico to surrender more than 1 million square miles, nearly half of its territory, for 15 million dollars. The Treaty established social, legal, and political boundaries, which in effect, led to the incorporation of approximately 75,000-100,000 inhabitants who had been given the option to move south across the newly drawn geopolitical border or remain in the newly conquered territory and become U.S. citizens. The people absorbed were diverse and included Mexican mestizos, acculturated Indians, secularized mission Indians, as well as unconquered Indigenous nations such as the Apache, Comanche, and Diné, complicating the pledge of citizenship and incorporation into the social body. At the time, full citizenship rights were only conferred to free whites, making it feasible for legislators to "disenfranchise many Mexicans by arguing that such people were of Indian descent and therefore could not claim the political privileges of white citizens."[48] In "Chicano Indianism," social anthropologist and Chicana/o studies professor Martha Menchaca aptly describes how the existing white supremacist racial **paradigm** shaped the ways people identified as a survival tactic:

> Given the nature of the U.S. racial system and its laws, the conquered Mexican population learned that it was politically expedient to assert their Spanish ancestry; otherwise they were susceptible to being treated as American Indians (Padilla 1979). At the same time, it became politically expedient for American Indians to pass as Mexican mestizos if they wished to escape the full impact of the discriminatory Indian legislation (Forbes 1973).[49]

Key Term: Paradigm

"A paradigm is a shared set of understandings or premises which permits the definition, elaboration, and solution of a set of problems defined within the paradigm. It is an accepted model or pattern.... Paradigms of race shape our understanding and definition of racial problems."[50]

The term "Spanish American" rose in popularity, especially among *nuevomexicanos,* in response to heightened white supremacist violence and discrimination. By attempting to align themselves with their European ancestry, however remote, some Mexicans were able to assert their de jure racial whiteness which had been promised to them under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and by extension distance themselves from Indigeneity and Blackness, which continued to be denigrated under the U.S. racial paradigm as it had under Spanish rule. This option to "pass," however, was not available to most Mexicans who were predominantly of Indigenous and African ancestry. "Court and legislative records from 1848 to 1947 reveal that the skin color of Mexican-origin people strongly influenced whether they were treated by the legal system as white or as non-white," however, local governments found ways to segregate and otherwise discriminate against white Mexicans based on their Spanish-language backgrounds and other racialized markers of identity.[51]

The settlers who came to the U.S. Southwest defined themselves as Anglos and Anglo-Americans, "vaunting their superiority, establishing structures of domination, and asserting that their primacy was rooted in their Protestant God, in their laws and constabularies, in the purity of their whiteness, and in their very way of life."[52] Racial meanings would shift into the next century, but always with the underlying goals of protecting white property and power. "By the 1920s, an influential eugenics movement attempted to clothe such racism in the prestige of science, arguing that, as a mongrel race, Mexican mestizos threatened the

nation with racial degeneration."[53] For more on eugenics and segregation visit Section 8.2: The Struggle for Equality, 1900-1954.

Racial Formation in Puerto Rico

The United States continued its imperial wars of conquest through the nineteenth century resulting in the capture of several island nations including the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1893 and the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam after the Spanish American War of 1898, settled through the Treaty of Paris. The original inhabitants would have their social, political, economic, civil, and human rights repressed and their identities would now be constructed under the U.S. racial paradigm.

Congress followed and extended the precedent set in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo by exerting complete control over Puerto Rico and its inhabitants. The rationale for not granting statehood and political debates around citizenship rights were based on the white supremacist views of the inferiority of mixed-race people, particularly those of mixed African heritage, who were thought of as unable to govern themselves. Eventually, statutory citizenship was granted to Puerto Ricans, but it was merely "a way of showing that they were under U.S. control, rather than the purposes of inclusion."[54] In "A Separate and Inferior Race," legal scholar and Latinx/Latin American studies professor José Luis Morín points out how "a racialized vision of the peoples of the developing world also proved useful in the establishment of a framework for the unequal application of the law to Latinos/as in the United States."[55] He goes on to demonstrate how decisions over the rights of Puerto Ricans made by the Supreme Court were shaped by the "separate but equal" treatment applied to African Americans for more than half a century (for more on "Jim Crow" and "Juan Crow" visit Section 7.2: Chicanx and Latinx Civil Rights Activism). A major distinction is that *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) has since been overturned but the Puerto Rican *Insular Cases* (1901) have not, resulting in the present and ongoing colonial status of Puerto Rico and the oppression of its people.

Ethnic Nationalism, Ethnic Pride

Following the emergence of global decolonization movements in the 1940s, twentieth-century civil rights movements in the U.S., and part of a larger wave of militant ethnic nationalism, many Mexican American and Puerto Rican community activists, students, and faculty abandoned assimilationist forms of activism and adamantly rejected their racial, social, economic, and political marginalization and systemic violence their communities experienced for generations. The late 1960s and early 1970s marked a period of **Chicano** and **Boricua** cultural pride, empowerment, self-determination, and liberation. Chicana/o literary scholar Sheila Marie Contreras asserts, "To name oneself as 'Chicana' or 'Chicano' is to assert a gendered, racial, ethnic, class, and cultural identity in opposition to Anglo-American hegemony and state-sanctioned practices of representing people of Mexican descent in the United States. As it evokes the 'radical' politics of cultural nationalism, 'Chicano' stands against the institutionally normative 'Hispanic,' as well as the linguistically insistent 'Latino.'"[56] A result of these social movements, Chicano studies and Puerto Rican studies programs emerged in institutions of higher learning across the U.S., providing students a space to learn about and reconnect with their histories, philosophies, epistemologies, and intellectual traditions and to develop new politicized identities.

Both Chicanos and Boricuas opposed U.S. imperialism and refuted their association with whiteness, a tactic utilized by previous generations to secure civil rights. Many who took on these new labels found inspiration in the ideologies, strategies, and aesthetics of the Black Panther Party and the larger Black Power Movement. "Equally important to both Chicanos and Boricuas was their assault on racism in its material, psychic, and institutionalized forms. Heralding their personal beauty and pride, both movements affirmed the beauty of their art, language, culture, and skin color as a way to corrode the toxicity of racism," illustrated through the slogan "Brown and Proud" as displayed in Figure 2.3.1, which features two youth activists, one holding up a sign that reads "Brown and Proud I'm the Next Generation."[57] Similarly, Chicana feminists would go on to develop new theories—ones that centered gender, sexuality, Indigeneity, and spirituality, grounded in their embodied identities and experiences, which are explored further in the next section.



Figure 2.3.1: "Brown and Proud" by Thomas Hawk, Flickr is licensed CC BY-NC 2.0

Footnotes

[43] Ramón Gutiérrez, "What's in a Name: The History and Politics of Hispanic and Latino Panethnicities," in *The New Latino Studies Reader: A Twenty-First-Century Perspective*, eds. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Tomás Almaguer (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 19-20.

[44] Gutiérrez, "What's in a Name," 21.

[45] Gutiérrez, "What's in a Name," 22.

[46] Gutiérrez, "What's in a Name," 23.

[47] Alicia Arrizón, "Mestizaje," in *Keywords for Latina/o Studies*, eds. Deborah R. Vargas, Nancy Raquel Mirabal, and Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 133.

[48] Martha Menchaca, "Chicano Indianism," in *The Latin@ Condition*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 350-51.

[49] Menchaca, "Chicano Indianism," 354.

[50] Juan F. Perea, "The Black/White Binary Paradigm of Race," in *The Latin@ Condition*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 335.

[51] Menchaca, "Chicano Indianism," 355.

[52] Gutiérrez, "What's in a Name," 30.

[53] Curtis Marez, "Mestizo/a," in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, eds. Bruce Burgett and Glenn Hendler (New York: New York University Press, 2020).

[54] Juan F. Perea, "Tracing," 76.

[55] José Luis Morín, "A Separate and Inferior Race," in *The Latin@ Condition*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1998),

126.

[56] Contreras, “Chicana, Chicano, Chican@, Chicanx,” 32. See also, Ruben Salazar, “Who Is a Chicano? And What Is It the Chicanos Want?,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1970.

[57] Gutiérrez, “What’s in a Name,” 41.

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2.4: Xicana Feminist Ontologies- Indigeneity, Spirituality, and Sexuality

Mestiza Consciousness

In her seminal text *Borderlands La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987), Gloria Anzaldúa moves away from masculinist, heterosexist, nationalist, and biological notions of mestizaje attributing new meaning to identity construction through her concept of "mestiza consciousness"—one that emerges from life in the Borderlands (for more on Borderlands studies visit Section 3.1: What is Chicanx/Latinx History).[58] **Mestiza consciousness** is a cognitive decolonization process of racialized, gendered, and sexed subjects wherein la mestiza becomes aware of the Borderlands and makes conscious decisions regarding the construction of her multiple and often contradictory identities. Through mestiza consciousness––later conceptualized as "conocimiento"––la nueva mestiza rethinks her material, psychic, and spiritual existence as she negotiates contradictions and ambiguities as a subject-in-process who is constantly constructing provisional identities. AnaLouise Keating, feminist scholar and editor of Anzaldúa's work, succinctly describes Anzaldúa's theory of the new mestiza as "an innovative expansion of previous biologically based definitions of mestizaje. For Anzaldúa, new mestizas are people who inhabit multiple worlds because of their gender, sexuality, color, class, bodies, personality, spiritual beliefs, and/or other life experiences. This theory offers a new concept of personhood that synergistically combines apparently contradictory Euro-American and Indigenous traditions."[59]

Xicanisma

Chicana feminists continued to intervene in Chicano nationalist constructions of Indigeneity by unsettling myths and binaries that were delineated during El Movimiento through **Xicanisma**, an embodied feminist philosophy and praxis. "During the 1990s a cohort of Chicana feminists began replacing the *Ch* in 'Chicana' with a capital X (**Xicana**) in order to summon the lexical appearance––and sound––of Nahuatl, an ancient but still living Indigenous language. ...Contemporary Xicana feminist sonic, lexical, and political replacements of the *Ch* with an *X* are meant to point to Indigenous uprisings within and throughout Chicana, Chicano, and Chicanx identities. Today, the spoken and written grapheme *X* acts as a mobile signifier that points to identities-in-redefinition."[60]

Early deployments of the term Xicana include Ana Castillo's critical text *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma* (1994) and La Red Xicana Indígena, an organization founded in 1997. Castillo further complicates queer Indigeneity and mestizaje through her use of the term "mestiza/Mexic Amerindian" to assert a U.S. Indigenous, pre-colonial Olmec, Spanish, and Mexican lineage. The label Xicana, Castillo argues, affirms Indigenous ancestry, spirituality, and sexuality, and considers other multiple, crosscutting identities. She accounts for the Arab and North African racial mixing that shaped Iberian culture and the subsequent racial mixture with Indigenous peoples of the Americas during the Spanish conquest. Castillo critiques sexism prevalent within contemporary U.S. white supremacist culture, Mexican Catholicism, and some pre-conquest patriarchal Indigenous cultures, such as the Aztecs. She argues these multiple sites of sexism across time and space have led to the subordination of Indigenous womanhood and are a result of spiritual imbalance due to the omission of the "feminine principle."[61] Castillo refutes the Chicano propensity to glorify and romanticize male supremacist aspects of pre-conquest Aztec culture.

Castillo introduces the term Xicanisma, a retrofitted form of Chicana feminism intended to create an avenue for mestizas and detribalized Indigenous women to "not only reclaim our Indigenismo––but also to reinsert the forsaken feminine into our consciousness."[62] In order to heal from historical, institutional, and personal traumas, Castillo advocates acknowledging and honoring the feminine side of our complementary feminine/masculine duality. To do this, she writes, would restore spiritual balance. This restorative act challenges U.S. white supremacy, Chicano heteropatriarchy, and the Catholic Church––all rely on stringent dichotomies that repress women's spirituality and sexuality. For Castillo, Xicanisma is "an ever present consciousness of interdependency specifically rooted in our culture and history."[63] Xicanisma is a practical way for retribalizing peoples of any gender to express an Indigenous sensibility, reconnect spirituality with the body/sexuality, and to (re)claim and (re)construct their traditions in a way that serves their present needs.

Similarly, Xicana lesbian activist and playwright Cherríe Moraga explains her use of the X indicates "a reemerging política, especially among young people, grounded in Indigenous American belief systems and identities... [that] reflects the Indian identity that has been robbed from us through colonization... As many Raza may not know their specific Indigenous nation of

origin, the X links us as Native people in diaspora."[64] Moraga is co-founder of La Red Xicana Indígena, (The Indigenous Xicana Woman's Network), along with Celia Herrera Rodríguez, a collective of scholar- and community-activists who define themselves as

> a network actively involved in political, educational, and cultural work that serves to raise indigenous consciousness among our communities and supports the social justice struggles of people of indigenous American origins North and South. Our name...further signifies our alliance with all Red Nations of the Américas, including nations residing in the North. We are a pueblo made up of many indigenous nations in diaspora who through a five hundred year project of colonization, neocolonization, and de-indianization, have been forced economically from their place of origin, many ending up in the United States... [W]e stand with little legal entitlement to our claim as indigenous peoples within America; however, we come together on the belief that, with neither land base nor enrollment card––like so many urban Indians in the North, and so many displaced and undocumented migrants coming from the South, we have the right to "right" ourselves.[65]

The writers of this document further explain that **Xicana Indígena** politics re-envision "families apart from the Eurocentric model of the privatized patriarchal family," and seek to "draw examples from the tribal structure of...indigenous antecedents." Moraga, along with co-founder Celia Herrera Rodríguez, advocate for raising the consciousness of younger generations through alternative and creative learning environments that "closely reflect an indigenous point of view." In sum, mestiza consciousness and Xicanisma are Ch/Xican/x feminist ontologies––philosophical explorations of the nature of being––grounded in a decolonial and liberatory praxis.

Footnotes

[58] Section 2.4 is adapted from Amber Rose González, "Where is Indigeneity in Chican@ Studies?" in *Another City is Possible: Mujeres de Maiz, Radical Indigenous Mestizaje and Activist Scholarship* (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2015), 51-73.

[59] AnaLouise Keating, "Appendix 1. Glossary," in *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2009), 322.

[60] Chela Sandoval, Amber Rose González, and Felicia Montes, "Urban Xican/x-Indigenous Fashion Show ARTivism: Experimental Perform-Antics in Three Actos, in *meXicana Fashions: Politics, Self-Adornment, and Identity Construction,* eds. Aída Hurtado and Norma E. Cantú (Austin: University of Texas Press), 283-84.

[61] Ana Castillo, *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma* (1994), 11.

[62] Castillo, "Massacre," 12.

[63] Castillo, "Massacre," 226.

[64] Cherríe Moraga, *A Xicana Codex of Changing Consciousness: Writings, 2000-2010* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2011), xxi.

[65] La Red Xicana Indígena, "Our Purpose and Intention."

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2.5: Conclusion

Summary

> “Identity” is two-faced. It is used to represent both intrapsychic states and relational processes: It can be claimed to be both socially constructed and transhistorically essential, a being and a doing, ascribed and attained, made in language and exceeding language, simultaneously intensely private and biographical, a locus for political struggle, and the focus [of] state power. It is formed along multiple historically formed social vectors we call gender, class, race, sexuality, and so on, but it is also, simply, about one's own experience here and now. ––David Valentine

The epigraph above by cultural and linguistic anthropologist David Valentine, succinctly captures what identity is and what identity does, which has been the focus of this chapter.[66] Latinx demographics and the factors that impact them were reviewed, including various historical, political, and social processes. These processes have also shaped the racialization of Chicanxs and Latinxs impacting their experiences, life outcomes, and self-identification. This chapter also introduced Chicanx/Latinx studies identity concepts, theories, and frameworks, which provide a foundation for understanding the Chicanx/Latinx communities who are the subject of this textbook.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.2: Chapter 2 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Race: A social construct created by European colonists and revised by American pseudo-scientists which sorts people by phenotype into global, social, and political hierarchies. It is both an organizing principle and an identity, both individual and collective. Race is unstable and evolves due to social, historical, political, and legal processes, but is often misrecognized as natural and fixed.

Ethnicity: Meanings, values, practices, and expressions of a group that understands itself to be linked by a shared way of life. Ethnicity often involves fictive or actual bonds of kinship and/or a related widespread sense of common collective origin, ancestry, homeland, and history and may include a common language and cultural system or customs such as religion, mythology, ritual, food, dress, and style.

Social identities: The ways in which a person understands themselves as belonging to a social group. Examples of social identity categories include race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, socio-economic status, religion, and the like. The ways an individual self-identifies within these categories––the labels that one uses––is a personal choice and may shift depending on the context.

Social construct: When meaning is contextual and changes over time and place as a result of social, political, and historical processes.

Intersectionality: A mode of analysis developed by feminists of color that examines how power structures (ideologies, discourses, institutions, systems) shape particular subject positions, access to resources, experiences, and life outcomes and how these vary based on the intersecting dynamics of gender, class, language, religion, ability, sexuality, tribal affiliation, nationality, and immigration status.

Hispanic: People in the U.S. with heritage from Spanish-speaking countries. Federal, state, and private agencies and organizations that collect demographic data define Hispanic as an ethnicity, even though many who identify with this term define it as a race as well as an ethnicity, due to the fact that those who are understood as belonging to this group have been racialized.

Latino: People in the U.S. of Latin American descent, acknowledging a shared complex historical experience of colonization, oppression, and resistance.

Chicano: A once denigrated term, was resignified in the late 1960s and 1970s by students and community activists into an empowering alternative to “Mexican,” “Mexican American,” “Hispanic,” or “Spanish” as part of a larger cultural nationalist movement.

Boricua: A term derived from Borikén, the Indigenous Taíno name for the island of Puerto Rico. Boricua is an empowering group identification that people of Puerto Rican descent took on in the 1970s as a part of a larger cultural nationalist movement.

Panethnicities: "Confederations created when several distinct ethnic groups come together in alliance for social, economic, or cultural advantage, thereby augmenting their numeric power and influence around issues of common concern."[67]

Latinidad: A shared subjectivity among disparate Latin American ethnic and national groups with shared attributes, experiences, and realities among its members.

Interlatino subjectivities: The result of cultural contact and mixing between different Latinx national identity groups resulting in the creation of new hybrid cultural productions from music, food, clothing, aesthetics, and language that coalesce from the multiple cultures in their families and neighborhoods.

Latinidades: An extension beyond the singular Latinidad, referring to "the shared experiences of subordination, resistance, and agency of the various national groups of Latin American in the United States." It is "a conceptual framework" that can be used "to document, analyze, and theorize the processes by which diverse Latinas/os interact with, dominate, and transculturate each other." Latinidades also calls for the examination of "power differences, conflicts, tensions, and affinities between and among Latinas/os of diverse national identities."

Critical Latinx Indigeneities: A framework that emerges at the intersections of Latinx studies, Latin American studies, and Indigenous studies to examine how Indigenous migrants from Latin America are transforming notions of Latinidad and Indigeneity in the U.S.

Indígena: A pan-ethnic Spanish term of empowerment to refer to an Indigenous person from Latin America.

AfroLatinidad: A term that centers Blackness as an analytic, acknowledging the particularities of Latin American peoples of African descent, from their racialized experiences in their countries of origin to the shifting meanings in the U.S., as well as their experiences of colorism within the larger Latinx community.

Queer Latinidad: A concept that considers queer identity in relation to Latina/o/x subjectivity, questioning the construction and validity of normative identity categories.

Translatina/o/x: A neologism that combines trans/transgender and Latina/o/x, while also encapsulating Latin American and latinoamericana/o identities.

Chicana, Chicana/o: Terms that intentionally place the feminine word-ending "a" at the end of Chican- to challenge the colonially gendered Spanish language masculine/feminine dichotomy by substituting Chicano for Chicana, Chicana and Chicano, and Chicana/o.

Xicana/o, Xicana/o/x Indígena: Terms that replace the "Ch" in Chicana/o/x signaling a reclamation and reconnection with Indigenous ancestry and identity.

Indigenistas: A constituency of Indigenous Xicana/o/xs who practice a transnational or hemispheric mode of Indigenous political solidarity.

Xicanisma: A retrofitted form of Chicana feminism developed in the late 1980s and 1990s intended to create an avenue for mestizas and Indigenous women to "not only reclaim our Indigenismo––but also to reinsert the forsaken feminine into our consciousness." Xicanisma is a practical way for retribalizing peoples of any gender to express an Indigenous sensibility, reconnect spirituality with the body/sexuality, and to (re)claim and (re)construct their traditions in ways that serve their present needs.

Chican@, Latin@: Terms that came into usage around the turn of the twenty-first century as a way to signify the fluidity of gender and to acknowledge a spectrum of identities and expressions rather than a rigid masculine/feminine binary. The technological ending has been described as "part aesthetic response to the cumbersome punctuation of [Chicana and Chicano], part recognition of emergent digital identities, and part as an instance of queering or making queer."

Chicanx, Latinx: Terms that are another feminist and queer disruption to the gender binary. The "-x" "signifies fluidity and mobility, setting aside the conventions of ideological, philosophical, and medical binaries that assign humans to one gender identity out of two when they are born. The 'x' in 'Chicanx' is nonbinary; it acknowledges self-determinations that refuse

immovable assignments of identity."

Latine: A term that has come into usage in Spanish-speaking countries through the work of feminist, nonbinary, and genderqueer activists and academics. Advocates call attention to its uncomplicated pronunciation.

Régimen de castas: A system of racial classification laid out by Spanish settlers in the mid-eighteenth century to categorize the resultant mixing between Spaniards, Indigenous, and African peoples. The casta system was not abolished until Mexico's independence in 1821, however racial and ethnic social stratification remain prevalent even today, echoing colonial conceptions of identity.

Mestizaje: The term for the biological and cultural blending that often occurred through sexual violence and exploitation against Indigenous and African women in the colonial era.

Paradigm: "A shared set of understandings or premises which permits the definition, elaboration, and solution of a set of problems defined within the paradigm. It is an accepted model or pattern.... Paradigms of race shape our understanding and definition of racial problems." U.S. settler colonialism is built on Indigenous elimination and a black/white racial paradigm of white supremacy, intertwined with neoliberal capitalism and heteropatriarchy.

Mestiza consciousness: A framework developed by queer Chicana theorist Gloria Anzaldúa, which is a cognitive decolonization process of racialized, gendered, and sexed subjects wherein la mestiza becomes aware of the Borderlands and makes conscious decisions regarding the construction of her multiple and often contradictory identities.

Footnotes

[66] David Valentine, "Identity," *TSQ* 1 (May 2014): 103–106.

[67] Ramon Gutiérrez, "What's in a Name," 20.

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3: HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Learning Objectives

- Define the characteristics, features, methods, and approaches of Chicanx/Latinx history.
- Describe Chicanx/Latinx studies interventions in the discipline of history.
- Outline the contributions feminist and queer studies scholars have made to the field of Chicanx/Latinx history.

Introduction

> History is the story we tell ourselves about how the past explains our present, and the ways in which we tell the story are shaped by contemporary needs. ––Aurora Levins Morales, "The Historian as Curandera"

Every culture tells stories about its past, albeit in different forms and for different purposes. In modern Western institutions, including those in the United States, history is often portrayed as an objective recounting of the past using facts based on documentary evidence. Chronologically ordered dates are emphasized and the accomplishments of individual "great men" are highly regarded over complex social processes. This information is then pieced together in a written format. Despite this dominant approach, many other perspectives and methods exist concerning the production of history. Sometimes, these differences can produce very different accounts of the same time period or historical event. As mentioned in Section 1.2: Struggle and Protest for Chicanx and Latinx Studies, the production of history is not impartial. The stories we tell and retell about our society are important because they shape our collective historical consciousness and affect our contemporary understandings of social phenomena, as described in the epigraph by Aurora Levins Morales.

The study of the ways a group, culture, or discipline constructs its history is called **historiography.** Chicanx/Latinx history, like other subfields explored in this textbook, does not mean simply studying Chicanxs/Latinxs as a topic or theme, nor does it apply an additive model to an already existing discipline (for example including a one-page biography on Cesar Chavez in a U.S. history textbook). Chicanx/Latinx history is a subfield within Chicanx/Latinx studies, created by and for the community, and is comprised of its own critical approaches, perspectives, and methods, which you will be introduced to in this chapter. We begin by exploring what Chicanx/Latinx history is, how it differs from the dominant discipline of history, and the myriad ways Chicanx/Latinx studies scholars create, revise, and correct historical narratives.

3.1: What is Chicanx/Latinx History?
3.2: Writing Chicanas/Latinas Into History
3.3: Embodied Memories- Archival Movidas and Oral Hxstory
3.4: Literary Histories
3.5: Conclusion

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3.1: What is Chicanx/Latinx History?

Chicanx/Latinx Studies Disruptions in U.S. History

At the turn of the 21st century Joseph Rodríguez and Vicki L. Ruiz, two prominent Chicanx/Latinx studies historians, completed a comprehensive review of U.S. history textbooks, finding the representation of Latinxs to be lacking in both quantity and quality, particularly before 1985. In "At Loose Ends: Twentieth-Century Latinos in Current United States History Textbooks," they observed,

> While United States survey writers have infused their narratives with stories and actors from African American and women's history, Latinos are still too frequently reduced to numbers, faceless statistics who wander in and out of the text—nameless lost souls, seemingly at loose ends. Individual stories remain untold in these baseline narratives, especially with regard to women's aspirations and attainments.[1]

The authors found common issues across several U.S. history survey texts including the homogenization of diverse Latinx groups in terms of their national, ethnic, and racial identity as well as their immigration status and classed experiences; disconnected information across large swaths of time; omission of groups' histories in the U.S. before the 20th century; and an overall lack of context and nuance, particularly with regards to U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Many textbooks portray "the history of the United States and its culture as the direct and exclusive result of the ingenuity, initiative, and hard work of Anglo-Saxon settlers and their descendants. Almost unfailingly, when people of color were discussed at all in these books... they were portrayed as obstacles or threats that intrepid Anglos were forced to overcome."[2] In sum, U.S. history textbooks fall short in their representation of Latinxs. Latinx history also lacks representation in K-12 curricula and mass media (for more on this, visit Chapter 8: Education and Activism and Section 10.1: Chicanx and Latinx Identities and Culture, respectively), leaving students and the general public with large knowledge gaps on the subject.

The field of Latinx history emerged, at least in part, to disrupt dominant (mis)representations (including the omissions) of Chicanxs and Latinxs by revising, recasting, and correcting historical narratives from the vantage point of the colonized, the immigrant, the refugee, and the exile[3] and to demonstrate that Latinx history *is* U.S. history.

An Overview of Chicanx/Latinx History: Three Approaches

Chicano studies and Puerto Rican studies programs were founded beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and history emerged as a key subfield over the next three decades. In "Looking Back on Chicano History: A Generational Perspective," Chicano historian Albert M. Camarillo describes the foundational Chicano history literature that emerged as being "concerned with 'bottom up' approaches, working-class formations, racialized urban experiences, and group identities shaped by race, ethnic/cultural, and class factors."[4] In other words, the majority of first-generation scholars, many of whom were men, applied a race and class analysis to the Chicano past to understand present conditions, particularly their subordinate racial and socioeconomic status and political disenfranchisement. They also examined identity development, community formation, and civil rights advocacy.

While making important advances, early histories tended to be geographically limited to urban settings in Texas and California, were generally focused on a restricted chronology bookended by the U.S. War with Mexico and World War II, and they often disregarded women beyond their role as "producers (laborers) or reproducers (mothers)."[5] As the field matured in the 1980s and into the 1990s, emerging scholars greatly deepened and expanded the scope of the field, "both building on and challenging the field's foundational scholarship."[6] Particularly notable are the studies that centered gender and sexuality as analytical categories, which will be explored in detail in the following sections. Collectively, these early scholars were journeying into uncharted territory, building the road as they walked.

The 1990s also marked the emergence of Latino studies, including Cuban American, Central American, and Domincan American studies, which like Chicano and Puerto Rican studies, came about as a result of student and faculty activism, but this time the advocates were mostly comprised of so-called new Latinos. "The Communist Revolution in Cuba, the civil wars in Central America, the end of the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic, and the passage of the Hart-Cellar Act (1965) in the United States, to name a few events, prompted a rapid and dramatic increase in the number of migrants, exiles, and refugees arriving to the

United States during the late twentieth century."[7] These events drastically changed the national demographics and there were now sizable populations in the U.S. from over a dozen countries in Latin America who complicated "our understanding of Latino history, the Latino experience in the United States, and the ways race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality affect integration."[8]

Historians in Chicanx/Latinx studies continue to explore new ways to frame and teach history by posing questions such as:

- How do we center Latinx history in U.S. history?
- What interpretive frameworks and methodologies are best to accomplish that task?
- When does Latinx history begin and how are major time periods understood from that point forward?
- How do these time periods align with or depart from conventional U.S. history chronologies?
- Is periodization the most suitable mode of historical categorization? If not, what others exist and how do they compare?
- How is Chicanx/Latinx history being written and by whom?
- Who is Chicanx/Latinx written for?
- In what ways do U.S. history disciplinary orientations, textbooks, and curricula need to change?

Scholars worked to firmly establish Chicanx/Latinx history by interrogating these questions and more through cutting-edge scholarship and subsequent scholars would continue to push the boundaries of the field.[9]

As you learned in Chapter 2: Identities, Latinx is a heterogeneous ethnoracial category that encompasses a wide array of peoples and experiences, thus the field of Latinx history likely includes people who may not identify with this label. As a result, historians in Latinx studies have had to conceptualize ways to bring these differences together in an intelligible area of study. The answer for many is to utilize a **hemispheric approach**, that is, examining transnational histories of the Americas, beyond national, regional, or even continental borders, accounting for the ways that power structures race, culture, gender, sexuality, and resources across time and space. Put another way, students are taught to think beyond borders that contain the nation-state and expand the scope and frameworks many U.S. historians rely on. Professor of history, African American studies, and urban planning, Kelly Lytle Hernández says that this approach "may be a little unsettling for students trained in more traditional narratives with strict borders, familiar institutions, and constant westward expansion," but many find resonance with approaches that "dislocate national triumphs as a main historical theme, and instead highlight uneven, never complete power struggles" which provides a space for students to connect "past, present, and future."[10] A hemispheric lens also allows for an expansive examination of mobile commodities, ideas, and peoples in diaspora that flow across imperial geographies.

Author Spotlight: Gloria E. Anzaldúa

> The U.S-Mexican border es una herida abierta where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before a scab forms it hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country—a border culture.[11]

Using her birthplace of South Texas, her Chicana-Tejana identity, and her queerness as a source of theorizing, Gloria Anzaldúa's groundbreaking text *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987) quite literally shifted the terrain of Chicanx studies and greatly impacted the development of borderlands studies, which became foundational for subsequent scholarship that has taken a hemispheric approach. Expanding on W.E.B. Dubois' theory of double consciousness, Anzaldúa's **Borderlands theory** challenges imposed nation-state borders, provides new frames for understanding identity, hybridity, and the material realities of people who reside in the b/Borderlands, extending the notion of a geopolitical border in order to explore the boundaries of gender, sexuality, spirituality, language, and other social locations, dislocations, and encounters. An artist's rendition of Gloria Anzaldúa's portrait is displayed in Figure 3.1.1.



Figure 3.1.1: "Nothing happens in the 'real' world unless it first happens in the images in our heads." by dignidadrebelde, Flickr is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Activity: Life in the *Borderlands*

The following excerpt from Chapter 1 "The Homeland, Aztlán / *El otro México*" vividly illustrates Anzaldúa's poetic vision of life in the Borderlands. Similarly, Figure 3.1.2 "I Will Never Stop Reaching for You" by non-binary artist and poet Jess X. Snow emotionally captures the longing felt by loved ones separated by the U.S./México border. The three people featured in the image are adorned with the light of a million shining stars, who, according to the artist represent "the millions of mothers, fathers, and children throughout history who attempt to cross the border into the U.S. Migrants risk enormous loss in the optimism of securing family and community in a new country." The digital print depicts many images from Anzaldúa's poem, most notably, her portrayal of the ocean. Read the poem aloud and examine the image closely. Then discuss the concept of the Borderlands with a partner or in small groups. How is history represented using poetry and art? What other themes and topics are addressed?

Wind tugging at my sleeve
feet sinking into the sand
I stand at the edge where earth touches ocean
where the two overlap
a gentle coming together
at other times and places a violent clash.

Across the border in Mexico
  stark silhouette of houses gutted by waves,
    cliffs crumbling into the sea,
      silver waves marbled with spume
        gashing a hole under the border fence.

Miro el mar atacar
la cerca en Border Field Park
con sus buchones de agua
an Easter Sunday resurrection
of the brown blood in my veins.

Oigo el llorido del mar, el respire del aire,
my heart surges to the beat of the sea.
in the gray haze of the sun
the gulls' shrill cry of hunger,
the tangy smell of the sea seeping into me.

I walk through the hole in the fence
to the other side.
Under my fingers I feel the gritty wire
rusted by 139 years
of the salty breath of the sea.

Beneath the iron sky
Mexican children kick their soccer ball across,
run after it, entering the U.S.

I press my hand to the steel curtain—
chain link fence crowded with rolled barbed wire—
rippling from the sea where Tijuana touches San Diego
unrolling over mountains
and plains
and deserts,

this "Tortilla Curtain" turning into *el río Grande*
flowing down to the flatlands
of the Magic Valley of South Texas
its mouth emptying into the Gulf.

1,950 mile-long open wound
dividing a *pueblo*, a culture
running down the length of my body,
staking fence rods in my flesh,
splits me splits me
me raja *me raja*

This is my home
this thin edge of
barbwire.

But the skin of the earth is seamless.
The sea cannot be fenced,
el mar does not stop at the borders.
To show the white man what she thought of his
arrogance,
Yemayá blew that wire fence down.

This land was Mexican once,
was Indian always
and is.
And will be again



Figure 3.2: "I Will Never Stop Reaching For You" by Jess X. Snow, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

In addition to taking a hemispheric or transnational approach, many Latinx historians take a **thematic approach** to research and teaching, focusing on key concepts, topics, and themes such as empire, conquest, wars of expansion, and revolution; migration and nation-building; industrialization and labor; and civil rights and resistance movements, among others, from the perspective of Latinx populations.

Furthermore, some Chicanx/Latinx and ethnic studies historians take a **relational approach**, which is the study of how one racial group is affected by the ways another group is racialized through co-constitutive historical, social, and political processes. Rather than studying a racially marginalized group in contrast to white supremacist and colonial power structures exclusively, which is the dominant paradigm in social science and humanities literature, a relational approach moves beyond a white/nonwhite binary to examine racially subordinated groups in relation to one another.[12] In other words, "...it attends to how, when, where, and to what extent groups intersect. It recognizes that there are limits to examining racialized groups in isolation."[13] Chicana historian Natalia Molina asserts that we can better understand how racial categories are formed and how they function if we think about race relationally and "zoom out" as we research, write, and teach. A relational view does not advocate for simply comparing and contrasting groups' experiences, viewing them independently. Rather, groups are understood to be interdependent. Molina writes, we need to ask, "...who else is (or was) present in or near the communities we study—and what difference these groups' presence makes (or made)."[14] She continues, we must "consider how the lived experience of one group dramatically affected the experience of others."[15]

For those who plan to embark on a historical research project, choosing a research subject is usually the first task in the process. When doing so, Molina urges us to consider using an organizing principle other than solely race. For example, you can study the history of a neighborhood (and the different people in it) rather than focusing only on the experiences of Mexican Americans. Another option is to conduct research collaboratively with those who have different interests or areas of expertise. A third suggestion is to reconsider what you already know. Students do not need to discover a historical event or find new sources––they can take a known historical event or moment and reexamine it from a relational standpoint, perhaps applying a new lens. All three of these options are reflected in the following case study.

Sidebar: "Contemporary Peoples/Contested Places"

In 1994, Sarah Deutsch, George J. Sánchez, and Gary Y. Okihiro conducted a collaborative study of Japanese internment and its effects on Boyle Heights.[16] The study found that internment affected "Japanese and non-Japanese residents alike. The local high school lost one-third of its senior class due to internment. An English teacher at the school began a round-robin letter-writing campaign to encourage her students to write to their fellow classmates interned in the camps. In another notable case, a Mexican teenager went to live in the camps to demonstrate solidarity with his friends. These stories add a different experience to the prevailing ones of racism directed against the Japanese [communities] in the aftermath of Pearl

> Harbor. Perhaps the difference here is that these folks lived in the same neighborhood, went to the same schools, shared favorite family foods, and thus were able to form ties more readily in the face of adversity. Examples such as these are startling reminders that internment had profound reverberations beyond the Japanese community."[17]

Taking into consideration all three approaches discussed in this section, Latin American and U.S. Latino historian Gerald E. Poyo succinctly defines Latinx history in this way:

> [It] spans at least five centuries, challenges strictly drawn historiographic boundaries, and includes many common themes, as well as involving questions of historical methodology, incorporating interdisciplinary approaches, providing chronologies and historical timelines, and creating dialogue among pertinent and diverse historiographic traditions. Latina/o history includes Latin American history, U.S. Borderlands history, Mexican American history, Cuban American history, Puerto Rican history, and the history of many other national groups and, of course, the relationship and impact of Latinas/os on the general trajectory of United States history writ large, especially immigration and ethnic history.[18]

Footnotes

[1] Joseph A. Rodríguez and Vicki L. Ruiz, "At Loose Ends: Twentieth-Century Latinos in Current United States History Textbooks," *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 4 (Mar. 2000): 1690.

[2] David J. Leonard and Carmen R. Lugo-Lugo, eds. *Latino History and Culture: An Encyclopedia* (Milton Park, UK: Taylor and Frances, 2015), xxi.

[3] Adrian Burgos, Donna Gabaccia, María Cristina García, Matthew Garcia, Kelly Lytle Hernández, Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, María E. Montoya, George J. Sánchez, Virginia Sánchez Korrol, and Paul Spickard, "Latino History: An Interchange on Present Realities and Future Prospects," *The Journal of American History* 97, no. 2 (2010): 426.

[4] Albert M. Camarillo, "Looking Back on Chicano History: A Generational Perspective," *Pacific Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (Nov 2013): 500.

[5] Miroslava Chávez-García, "The Interdisciplinary Project of Chicana History: Looking Back, Moving Forward," *Pacific Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (Nov 2013): 543.

[6] Alexandra Minna Stern, "On the Road with Chicana/o History: From Aztlán to the Alamo and Back," *Pacific Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (Nov 2013): 581.

[7] "Introduction," In Keywords for Latino/a Studies, 3.

[8] Burgos et al., "Latino History," 428.

[9] Some of the pioneering scholars in Mexican American/Chicanx history include "Ernesto Galarza, George I. Sánchez, Carey McWilliams, Américo Paredes, Jovita González, Manuel Gamio, and Paul S. Taylor" (Camarillo, "Looking Back," 499). Chávez-García notes these folks were preceded by radical newspaper writers of the nineteenth century who documented the Mexican and Mexican American experience ("Interdisciplinary, 544).

[10] Burgos et al., "Latino History," 430.

[11] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza,* 4th ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012), 25.

[12] Daniel Martinez HoSang and Natalia Molina, "Introduction: Toward a Relational Consciousness of Race," in *Relational Formations of Race: Theory, Method, and Practice,* Natalia Molina, Daniel Martinez HoSang and Ramón A. Gutiérrez, eds. (Oakland: UC Press, 2019), 1-18.

[13] Natalia Molina, "Examining Chicana/o History through a Relational Lens," *Pacific Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (Nov 2013): 522.

[14] Molina, “Examining,” 522.

[15] Molina, “Examining,” 531.

[16] Sarah Deutsch, George J. Sánchez, and Gary Y. Okihiro, ‘‘Contemporary Peoples/Contested Places,’’ in *The Oxford History of the American West*, eds. Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O’Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York, 1994): 639-670.

[17] Molina, “Examining,” 531-32.

[18] Gerald E. Poyo, “History,” in *Keywords for Latina/o Studies*, eds. Deborah R. Vargas, Nancy Raquel Mirabal, and Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes (New York: New York University Press, 2017): 83.

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3.2: Writing Chicanas/Latinas Into History

Chicana/Latina Studies Disruptions in Chicano/Latino and Women's History

This section highlights the contributions of interdisciplinary feminist scholars whose work seeks to recover, reinterpret, and illuminate Chicana/Latina women's histories, particularly those that center gender and sexuality as analytical categories, thereby intervening in and expanding Chicanx/Latinx history and women's history. The field of Chicana studies provided the foundation for creating Chicana history as a unique area of study (for more on this visit Section 5.6 Activist Scholarship and Chicana and Latina Studies). Two central topics emerged early on––a class analysis of women's labor in the 19th and 20th centuries and the recuperation of the historical figure Malintzín Tenepal (for more on this visit Section 5.4 Cultural Activism), which extended the Chicano people's origins to the pre-colonial era. Chicana historians have always used a wide range of interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks, methods, and sources in their scholarship including oral histories, *testimonios*, literary sources, *teatro* and performance art, visual art, and personal archival materials such as letters and journals, often illegible to colonial and patriarchal historiography. This feminist historical complexity is depicted artistically in Figure 3.2.1, which features The MaestraPeace Mural painted on the Women's Building in San Francisco in 1994 by Juana Alicia, Miranda Bergman, Edythe Boone, Susan Kelk Cervantes, Meera Desai, Yvonne Littleton, Irene Perez, and many volunteers. Central to the ornate mural is K'iche' Guatemalan human rights activist, feminist, and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Rigoberta Menchu Tum who holds Mesoamerican earth mother goddess Coyolxauhqui in her left hand and Santería ocean mother goddess Yemaya in her right hand. The mural conveys many themes including the healing power of women's wisdom, the spiritual-physical connections between women, earth, and water, and women as important historical actors across time and place.



Figure 3.3: "San Francisco - Mission District: The Women's Building - MaestraPeace Mural" by Wally Gobetz is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.

The interdisciplinary nature of Chicana feminist scholarship "made it difficult for mainstream scholars to acknowledge and legitimize Chicana Studies, and Chicana history more specifically, as an academic field."[19] In addition, many Chicanas faced poverty and a lack of access to higher education into the 1980s, resulting in the slow development of Chicana history. However, by the late 1980s and 1990s, significant numbers of Chicanas and Latinas entered academia, earned doctorate degrees, and began publishing groundbreaking studies, including those that examined gender, sexuality, culture, and power.

La Cultura Cura: Medicinal Histories

One example is the seminal essay "The Historian as Curandera," by Puerto Rican Jewish writer, artist, historian, and healer Aurora Levins Morales. The essay is a *curandera* handbook for socially committed historians invested in disrupting **imperial**

histories, which she defines as manufactured official histories wielded by a colonizing power or repressive regime "to attack the sense of history of those they wish to dominate and attempt to take over and control people's relationship to their own past."[20] Imperial histories are created to justify and explain oppressive power imbalances by naturalizing them, making them seem inherent and permanent. This is accomplished by disrupting the transmission of intergenerational knowledge through the destruction of cultural traditions and records, thereby damaging the colonized group's sense of historical identity. To remedy the damage caused by imperial histories, a ***curandera* historian**,

> ...uses history, not so much to document the past as to restore to the dehistoricized a sense of identity and possibility. Such '**medicinal histories**' seek to re-establish the connections between peoples and their histories, to reveal the mechanisms of power, the steps by which their current condition of oppression was achieved, through a series of decisions made by real people to dispossess them; but also to reveal the multiplicity, creativity and persistence of resistance among the oppressed.[21]

Activity: Apply Your Knowledge

The following list is a summary of 15 characteristics and practices presented in "The Historian as Curandera" that student-scholars can use as a guide to begin a medicinal history research project. Review the list and discuss the questions listed and any others that come up with a partner or in a small group. The list can also be used to review scholarship to determine if it meets the criteria to be considered a medicinal history.

1. Tell Untold or Undertold Histories. Whose stories are missing or incomplete?
2. Centering Women Changes the Landscape. This does not mean taking an additive approach by including women in the story. "If women are assumed to be the most important people in the story, how will that change the questions we ask? How will it change our view of what events and processes are important? How will it change the answers that have already been asked?"[22]
3. Identify Strategic Pieces of Misinformation and Contradict Them. "We need to ask ourselves what aspects of imperial history do the most harm, and which lies are at the foundations of our colonized sense of the culture."[23]
4. Make Absences Visible. The purpose is to interrogate history, generate questions, and show inconsistencies just as much as it is to document history. If there is a lack of evidence, name and describe what is missing.
5. Asking Questions Can Be As Good As Answering Them.
6. What Constitutes Evidence? History as a discipline relies heavily on written evidence. Just because something is written down does not make it true. Ask yourself, what is missing if we only rely on written evidence? What other sources, other mechanisms of memory, exist?
7. Show Agency. Being oppressed does not equate to being a passive powerless victim. Resistance consists of a broad range of activities. What forms of agency can you identify?
8. Show Complexity and Embrace Ambiguity and Contradiction. We must work to show nuance and complex historical processes rather than relying on simplistic and decontextualized stories, which often rely on binary thinking (for example, good vs. evil).
9. Reveal Hidden Power Relationships. Work to uncover and denaturalize power imbalances, whether they are imposed by the settler/ruling class or from within the oppressed/colonized group itself. (Visit Chapter 5: Feminisms for a discussion of the ways Chicana and Latina feminists confronted patriarchy both externally and internally).
10. Personalize. Seek out the stories of everyday people as important historical actors, not simply exceptional personalities or icons.
11. Show Connections and Context. "Just as medicinal history must restore individuality to anonymous masses of people, it must also restore the social context to individuals singled out as the actors of history."[24]
12. Restore Global Context. This point is related to hemispheric/transnational and relational approaches discussed in the previous section. Medicinal histories restore connections to the experiences, lives, histories, and cultures of others beyond imposed imperial boundaries and borders.
13. Access and Digestibility. Medicinal histories must be made available to the people whose stories (or their ancestor's stories) are featured in our work. What is the historians' responsibility to the community they write about? How can you make your work accessible to the community?
14. Show Yourself in Your Work. What is your investment in the topic/project? How are you implicated in the history that you study? Explore your positionality and how it affects your interpretation of the topic and the evidence. What is at stake for you personally, emotionally, and intellectually? Be transparent by naming all of this in your work.
15. Cross Borders. Be open, be curious, and make all kinds of connections: disciplinary, temporal, and spatial.

An excellent example of a medicinal history is *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* by Emma Pérez (1999). Pérez confronts the expectation that historians must remain within the sanctioned boundaries of the discipline, work within the dominant systems of thought, and sustain official arguments. She argues that as a discipline, history relies on a **colonial imaginary**, which purports to be objective and able to provide definitive answers when in reality, it arranges time and space linearly emphasizing origins, categories, chronologies, and periodization. These prevalent approaches reinforce colonialist historiography, similar to what Levins Morales calls imperial history, and have been utilized by Chicano/a historians to construct a masculinist Chicano historiography that has omitted or obscured women, queer, and Indigenous peoples. Pérez interrogates the construction of accepted knowledges in general and examines the gaps in Chicano historical discourse in particular, marking a shift in Chicano/a historiography. To address her concerns, she deploys the **decolonial imaginary**, a new category, a political project, and "a theoretical tool for uncovering the hidden voices of Chicanas that have been relegated to silences, to passivity, to that third space where agency is enacted through third space feminism."[25] The decolonial imaginary allows us to "write a history that decolonizes otherness"[26] by "(en)gendering Chicano history"[27]––in other words, to write Chicanas into history. Pérez, like Levins Morales, is concerned with processes over origins, asking questions over declaring definitive answers, making interventions over documentation, and speaking self-reflectively from the margins to reconceptualize fragmented histories that center women and queer Chicanas.

Herstorical Recovery with Chicana Movidas

Other feminist historians provide additional tools for writing Chicanas/Latinas into history. *Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* by Maylei Blackwell (2011) is the first and only book-length study of women's involvement in the Chicano movement era to date. The text makes a critical historiographic intervention by looking to the gaps in colonial and patriarchal historical practices that continually silence and erase women. For instance, despite the historical evidence of Chicana feminist praxis (thought and activism), historians of the U.S. women's movement and the Chicano movement have expunged Chicana contributions from the historical record. The act of periodization in particular erases women of color from the 1960s and 1970s. The so-called waves model, foundational in women's studies, places women of color activism and writing as emerging in the third wave, denying their participation and contributions to the second wave.[28] Chicano movement history periodization claims the height of the movement took place in 1968-1975 and locates Chicana feminism as occurring afterward, with some historians arguing feminism contributed to its decline.

Consequently, these acts of ongoing erasure are reflected in women's studies and Chicano studies curricula. Moreover, the emphasis on the great man narrative in Chicano movement historiography "does a disservice to the historical memory of the majority of its participants and obscures the fact that the collective action and daily acts of courage of thousands of everyday people change the tide of history."[29] Utilizing the concept of **retrofitted memory**, Blackwell interrogates why certain stories remain untold, uncovering the ways power functions in the creation of truth regimes, in order to make space for women's (his)stories and their visions of liberation and transformation. Blackwell invites readers to "continue the historical excavation and analysis, to chart underground stories, and to develop a better understanding of the actors who have already been recognized."[30]

Continuing the tradition of historical recovery and destabilization of conventional social movement historical narratives that focus on iconic individual leaders, renowned organizations, and large-scale public events, **Chicana movidas** provides a lens to understand the everyday strategies, tactics, and relationships, often occurring within and between highly visible movements, as intentional and significant individual and collective liberatory maneuvers.[31] These movidas are organized using a technique called **mapping movidas**, which is

> a mode of historical analysis that allows us to chart the small-scale, intimate political moves, gestures, and collaborations that reflect the tactics women used to negotiate the internalities of power within broader social movements. It identifies how they tracked and negotiated multiple scales of power within their homes, communities, organizations, social movements, and dominant society. It recuperates both silenced memories and their documentary evidence to tell a story of the intimacies of struggle, challenging the knowledge/power system of traditional archival spaces and methodologies. It looks not only to marches, meetings, and conferences but also to alternative sites of collective action: the kitchens, hallways, and living rooms where Chicanas forged a praxis at the intersection of their identities.

By focusing on Chicana movidas, scholars are able to move beyond the confines of Chicano historiography, expanding the field's spatial and temporal boundaries by documenting movidas outside of the U.S. Southwest and outside of already documented major events and actions. Chicana movidas are not limited by dominant modes of historical periodization, and as a result, studies tend to be transgenerational. For example, Chicana lesbians such as Gloria Anzaldúa, Ana Castillo, Naomi Littlebear Moreno, and Cherríe Moraga, among many others, often organized for Chicana or women's rights in the 1970s and later produced Chicana

lesbian feminist scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s, acting as a bridge between Chicana movement spaces and phases.

Chicana and Latina historians have built a robust and dynamic field over the last five decades illuminating women's voice, agency, and material realities. They have provided us with new intersectional and interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological tools to read against the grain, recover subjugated knowledges, and center marginalized stories. While many important studies have been written, they are only scratching the surface––there are unlimited topics to explore and studies to produce in Chicana/Latina history. The next section introduces readers to two of the many decolonial-medicinal methods that have been developed by feminist and queer historians.

Footnotes

[19] Chávez-García, "Interdisciplinary," 549.

[20] Aurora Levins Morales, "The Historian as Curandera," Working Paper no. 40 (East Lansing: The Julian Samora Research Institute, Michigan State University, 1997): 1.

[21] Levins Morales, "The Historian," 1.

[22] Levins Morales, "The Historian," 2.

[23] Levins Morales, "The Historian," 3.

[24] Levins Morales, "The Historian," 7.

[25] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999): xvi.

[26] Pérez, *Decolonial Imaginary,* 6.

[27] Pérez, *Decolonial Imaginary,* 7.

[28] The waves model is generally constructed as suffragettes of the first wave (mid-19th century to 1920s), the (white) women's liberation movement of the second wave (1960s-1980s), women of color, riot grrrls, and intersectional feminism of the third wave (1990s-present), and anti-sexual harassment and violence/#metoo of the fourth wave (2010s-present). For an excellent critique of the waves model see Hokulani K. Aikau, Karla A. Erickson, and Jennifer L. Pierce, eds. *Feminist Waves, Feminist Generations: Life Stories from the Academy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

[29] Maylei Blackwell, "Spinning the Record: Historical Writing and Righting," in *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press: 2011), 28.

[30] Maylei Blackwell, "Introduction: The Telling is Political," in *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press: 2011), 9.

[31] María Cotera, Maylei Blackwell, and Dionne Espinoza, "Introduction: Movements, Movimientos, and Movidas," in *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era,* eds. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 1-30.

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3.3: Embodied Memories- Archival Movidas and Oral Hxstory

Archival Movidas

During the Chicano movement era, activists developed a robust print culture to publicize important issues, explore and debate ideas, and connect across regions. Many Chicanas published important essays and produced photojournalism, but were often not given credit. These "anonymous" sources are part of the Chicano movement archive, which scholars utilize to produce studies of the era. Coupled with colonialist and patriarchal historical practices, Chicana participation in El Movimiento is often written out of history.

> Such absences in the record replicate the invisibilization of Chicana labor in the 1960s and 1970s and reinforce the need for oral historians and researchers to talk directly to movement activists, explore extrainstitutional archives, and perhaps more importantly, ask the right questions of their sources. More often than not, excavations of Chicana memory have been undertaken from the ground up, with scholars tracking down sources, sifting through personal archives, and conducting lengthy interviews and oral histories.[32]

These **archival *movidas*** expand what is typically considered valid source material and documentary evidence by also including oral histories as a source of embodied knowledge, which is explored further in the remainder of this section.

In *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (2003), performance studies and Latin/o American studies scholar Diana Taylor calls attention to how colonial historiography creates a distance, a binary, and a hierarchy between "the archive of supposedly enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones) and the so-called ephemeral repertoire of embodied practice/knowledge (spoken language, dance, sports, ritual)."[33] The texts/objects that constitute archival memory are thought to be unmediated and remain unchanged, despite changing interpretations of them, and the repertoire is often restricted to the past. Taylor argues that the repertoire enacts embodied memory and requires people to be present and participate in the production and transmission of knowledge. She says that both the archive and the repertoire are mediated (people make choices about them) and they are both important sources of information that work in tandem.

María Cotera provides fresh understandings for engaging with the archive and the repertoire as embodied sources of memory and knowledge. Along with Linda Garcia Merchant, Cotera created the Chicana por mi Raza Digital Memory Project and Archive (CPMR) in 2009, collecting more than 100 oral histories of Chicana feminists from the movement era, one being her mother Marta Cotera, as well as 7,000 objects and materials from their personal archives such as "letters, photographs, meeting notes and agendas, conference programs, out-of-print books, journals, newspapers, flyers, posters, buttons, and even audio recordings and filmstrips," which were then digitized.[34] Cotera began the project as a daughter seeking to recuperate and preserve her mother's personal archive, which she notes is part of a "stunningly rich constellation of largely unexplored collections that collectively *haunt* the official archive of both the women's movement and the Chicano movement, a constellation that offers its own disruptive version of the past."[35]

She found that gathering a personal archive was a common practice among Chicana feminists, naming this phenomenon a **praxis of memory**, which provides "a model to critically reframe the relationship between the past and the present" and "new objects of inquiry and new methods of analysis."[36] Through her work building the CPMR, Cotera confronted the colonial emphasis on the so-called authority of the archivist and attempts to organize the objects into a single linear narrative focusing on the product rather than the process. She recalls,

> What we were collecting wasn't just bits and pieces of evidence of historical presence, but collections themselves, some small and carefully curated, some haphazard, some sprawling and wild, and others meticulously organized in rows of file cabinets and folders. Our developing archive was something more than a collection of documents––it was a collection of *collections* and *recollections,* a space where Chicana memory practices are both preserved and performed. [This work incited] … a series of theoretical and methodological questions about memory, knowledge production, and historical meaning-making. Is it possible to interrupt erasures of the archive/knowledge system, to decolonize the archive? Can we challenge the power relations between scholars and their objects of study that all too often render silent the multitude of voices and articulations that cannot be contained in a single coherent narrative? Can we create an archive that responds to the radical potential of the memory practices it documents? Can an archive become a site/*sitio* of *encuentro* and *conocimiento* rather than simply a repository––a place where new ways of producing and exchanging knowledge are

explored, where new modes of identity, affiliation, and memory are forged in the meeting place between present and past?[37]

Cotera addressed these questions first-hand, working with students to build the CPMR archive, noting that those who access the archival materials become historical practitioners, actively engaging with the past to critically theorize the present, moving through a path of **conocimiento**.

Key Term: Conocimiento

Conocimiento is an aspect of consciousness, a living theory, and a praxis laid out by Gloria E. Anzaldúa in her essay "now let us shift... the path of conocimiento... inner work, public acts."[38] It describes the journey one takes in the development of an embodied self-awareness, questioning reality and dominant paradigms, and experiencing shifts in perception. Building on her earlier theory of mestiza consciousness, Anzaldúa writes, "Her first step is to take inventory. *Despojando, desgranando, quitando paja.* ...She puts history through a sieve, winnows out the lies, looks at the forces that we as a race, as women, have been a part of. ...She reinterprets history and, using new symbols, she shapes new myths. She adopts new perspectives toward the darkskinned, women and queers. She strengthens her tolerance (and intolerance) for ambiguity. She is willing to share, to make herself vulnerable to foreign ways of seeing and thinking."[39] The task of the traveler, then, is to take inventory and sift through history in order to develop new insights about the self and the world and to act on this new consciousness, moving towards connection, liberation, and healing.

These acts of Chicana remembrance are a technology that can bridge the past and the present of Chicana feminist thought. As an alternative archive, the CPMR attends to the structured silences and colonial mechanisms of erasure, moving beyond seeking inclusion in official archives, questioning the collecting, documenting, and organizing logics of historical knowledge production.

Chicana feminist scholars have also become historical practitioners working with their own family archives. In "A Familial Legacy of meXicana Style," Chicana feminist literary and cultural studies scholar Domino Renee Perez longs for intergenerational family photos, saying that they are a "non-portable luxury" not afforded to her migrant family.[40] Despite this limitation, Perez was able to obtain three photos of her grandmother, which led her on a journey to piece together her life story, with many questions arising along the way. She also gathered photographs from her mother, aunts, and uncles to build an abundant collection of images, memories, and stories. Using auto-ethnography, Perez digs into her family's and communities' complex social history through the practices of dress and adornment, offering a historical and poetic recounting of her family's style and its influence on her own identity. Her non-linear narrative jumps back and forth in time from the story surrounding the photo to her own present-day interpretations and feelings about the *encuentros* with the photo and its surrounding memories. Perez presents the immigration history of her family, the class divisions among Latinas/os at the turn of the twentieth century, and the buying patterns of Latinas/os as they struggle with constructing identity through self-adornment and intersectional oppression through the impositions of social class, ethnicity, gender, and race.

Oral Hxstory

Through storytelling, *testimonios*, and oral history interviews conducted in the late 1990s with translatina singer, performance artist, and Bay Area, California icon Teresita la Campesina, queer Latino oral historian Horacio Roque Ramírez further expands our understandings of the archive. Ramírez documents Teresita's life history, which represents "a living archive of evidence that responds to both the whiteness of queer archiving practices and the heteronormativity of Latino historiography."[41] As a translatina elder who lived through the second half of the twentieth century (1940-2002), the later part of her life with AIDS, Teresita was, "Deeply committed to laying out a living historical record of queer desires," assuming "responsibility to pass on the stories and histories of the fallen, those who came before the current generations of queer Latina/o community builders."[42] Through the example of Teresita's communal and intergenerational narratives connected to the larger socio-political landscape of San Francisco, Ramírez challenges us to think about individual memories not merely as objects to collect, but as deeply social living testimony.

Ramírez was impacted by Teresita's presence as a queer Latinx historical anchor and a living archive of desire, meaning, the body itself holds memories, knowledge, "sexual consciousness, erotic desire, and gender expression."[43] He wrote about the profound exchange between them and his concerns as a queer oral historian, listener, and witness. Over time, they became collaborators who built a relationship based on trust. "That she trusted me in her final years of life also meant that she set a responsibility for me to do something with the archive she was revealing," Ramírez writes.[44] Maylei Blackwell contends that oral history can be

understood as an embodied knowledge practice for both the narrator and the witness/researcher. Expressions and interactions may not be captured in the transcript––connections and relationships are developed and additional meanings are conveyed "off tape." Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x feminist and queer oral historians often develop long-term collaborations with their narrators, which can grow into friendships and/or political commitments, leading to deeper knowledge and higher levels of accountability. That Ramírez was explicit about these intimate and vulnerable moments as a graduate student researcher provides a fruitful example for those of us who wish to use oral history and *testimonio* to gather stories from our beloved communities.

Ramírez's work is instrumental in the development of queer oral history methods and queer Latinx archives, particularly those that document the lives, embodied memories, and histories of those impacted by the AIDS epidemic. Like other scholars discussed in this chapter, Ramírez poses a set of questions in *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History* (2012), along with his co-author Nan Alamilla Boyd, that create additional openings in Chicanx/Latinx historiography:

> How has queer oral history evolved? Are queer methods different from other oral history methods? What has it meant for narrators to talk openly with researchers about queer life, especially when queer genders, sexualities, and desires have been protectively hidden or vowed to secrecy? What has it meant for researchers to focus their work on queer history?[45]

These questions can provide an important starting point for those who wish to collect queer Chicanx/Latinx oral hxstories and *testimonios,* which are critical acts of documentation and oppositional histories that "provide alternative perspectives to the course of history and its archives" that quite literally speak back to historical absences through the creation of new materials and new records.[46] While many queer oral history projects have been developed over the past decades, similar to Chicana/Latina feminist history, there is still much work to be done.

Footnotes

[32] Cotera, Blackwell, and Espinoza, "Introduction," 10.

[33] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 19.

[34] María Cotera, "Unpacking Our Mothers' Libraries: Practices of Chicana Memory before and after the Digital Turn," in *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era,* eds. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 305.

[35] Cotera, "Unpacking," 299.

[36] Cotera, "Unpacking," 301.

[37] Cotera, "Unpacking," 306-307.

[38] Gloria Anzaldúa, "now let us shift... the path of conocimiento... inner work, public acts," in *This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation*, eds. Gloria E. Anzaldúa and Analouise Keating (New York: Routledge, 2002), 540-578.

[39] Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*, 104.

[40] Domino Renee Perez, "A Familial Legacy of meXicana Style," in *meXicana Fashions: Politics, Self-Adornment, and Identity Construction*, eds. Aída Hurtado and Norma E. Cantú (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020), 109-133.

[41] Horacio Roque Ramírez, "A Living Archive of Desire: Teresita la Campesina and the Embodiment of Queer Latino Community Histories," in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and The Writing of History*, ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 113.

[42] Ramírez, "A Living Archive," 112.

[43] Nan Alamilla Boyd and Horacio Roque Ramírez, eds. *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History* (Oxford University

Press, 2012), 1.

[44] Ramírez, “A Living Archive,” 7.

[45] Alamilla Boyd and Ramírez, *Bodies of Evidence*, 1.

[46] Ramírez, “A Living Archive,” 120.

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3.4: Literary Histories

Chicanx and Latinx Literature as History

In *Literature as History: Autobiography, Testimonio, and the Novel in the Chicano and Latino Experience* (2016), Chicano historian Mario T. García proposes what the title of his book suggests––that Chicanx and Latinx literature is history, including fictional texts, autobiographies, testimonios (oral history) and novels, each possessing a "historical context and therefore speaking to their historical period."[47] Similarly, Louis Gerard Mendoza, professor of Latina/o literary and cultural studies, argues the literature of Mexican descent people in the U.S. has represented the past using fiction and non-fiction, pointing out that a polarity exists between history, which is understood as real/factual, and literature, which is understood as imagined/possible. According to Mendoza and García, Chicanx literature blurs these lines––a text can be both historical and literary. In other words, "...people of Mexican descent in the United States do not have simply a history on the one hand and a literature on the other; we also have that history expressed in literary form."[48] Moreover, "literature can offer imaginative reconstructions of possible events, occurrences, and interactions that are historically informed."[49] This means that Chicanx/Latinx literature can be examined as historical documents and read for insights into Chicanx/Latinx history. Mendoza addresses the following questions in his study––questions that would be productive if discussed in the classroom: "Can literature help in recovering the political/social history of Chicanas/os without distorting it or reducing it to 'mere fiction?' Can it render the past differently—that is, more complexly—than 'history' can? What can it add? Is it better able to capture the nuances of intercultural relations and intracultural conflict?"[50]

An important contribution to understanding and utilizing literature as history has been the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage project, which began in the 1990s to recover, digitize, and make accessible hundreds of thousands of Spanish literary texts and English-language texts written by Latinxs including novels, poetry, chronicles, memoirs, photographs, and essays as well as primary source documents and newspapers dating back to the earliest encounters between Hispanic and Indigenous peoples in what would become the United States. Editors of *The Routledge Companion to Latino/a Literature* (2013) Suzanne Bost and Frances R. Aparicio remark, "Recovery projects make available texts that were 'lost' due to lack of readership (or sometimes outright censorship) but have been 'found' and republished as Latino/a literature became increasingly popular in and after the 1980s."[51] According to the project's program director Nicolás Kanellos,

> Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage aspires to recover all written culture, not just literature, and it intends to restore to local and national institutions what was lost or suppressed during the ethnocentric and racial construction of the nation through such ideologies and practices as manifest destiny, slavery, segregation, and capitalist construction of the government and the economy. It recognizes that United States Latino culture has developed over a period of some five centuries––not counting the indigenous history that existed before the encounter with Europeans and became part of Latino culture.[52]

Commenting on the social and political implications of the project, Kanellos echoes the sentiments of other scholar-activists featured in this chapter, claiming,

> Studying ideologies of racial and cultural superiority like manifest destiny also helps us to understand why little care was taken to recognize and preserve an archive of Hispanic texts and knowledge as the United States expanded southward and westward and began receiving large waves of Spanish-speaking immigrants. Simply stated, and repeated many times in postcolonial studies, an empire does not and cannot acknowledge as civilized the peoples it has conquered or incorporated; most of the archives, libraries, museums, universities, and schools that were established in the newly incorporated lands and in the labor camps of the East, Midwest, Southwest, and Florida did not collect and preserve the written and oral culture––newspapers, books, documents, spoken word––of natives, immigrants, and refugees, for to do so would have destroyed the Anglo-Americans' claim of superiority and, thus, of the right to dominate Latinos while denying them theoretical and practical inclusion in their nation, as they defined it.[53]

As this section has demonstrated, the recovery, documentation, preservation, and dissemination of Chicanx/Latinx literature is an important component in the larger objective of Chicanx/Latinx history to revise, recast, and correct historical narratives that shape our present-day lives.

Sidebar: *Caballero: A Historical Novel*

Co-authored by Jovita González and Eve Raleigh (Margaret Eimer's pseudonym), *Caballero: A Historical Novel* was written in the 1930s and early 1940, but was not published until 1996. After early failed attempts to publish the manuscript and being lost for decades, the novel was rediscovered in the Jovita González and Edmundo E. Mireles papers that were archived at the Texas A&M University at Corpus Christi library in the early 1990s. The manuscript was identified by Professor José E. Limón who, with María Eugenia Cotera, edited the novel for publication. According to the publisher, *Caballero,* "centers on a mid-nineteenth-century Mexican landowner and his family living in the heart of southern Texas during a time of tumultuous change. After covering the American military occupation of South Texas, the story involves the reader in romances between young lovers from opposing sides during the military conflict of the U.S.-Mexico War. The young protagonists fall in love but face struggles with race, class, gender, and sexual contradictions. This work, long lost in a collection of private papers and unavailable until now, serves as a literary ethnography of South Texas-Mexican folklore customs and traditions as well as a feminist critique of rigid patriarchal culture."[54]

Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage project has recovered the works of women including Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Luisa Capetillo, Adina de Zavala, María Cristina Mena, Leonor Villegas de Magnón, and Jovita González. In a keynote speech titled "The Construction of Latina Agency in Early Southwest Literature," Dr. Rosaura Sánchez points to the ways these authors portray their women characters as having agency, but that agency is tied to being a wife or daughter of an upper-class ranchero. While *Caballero* and others like it are valuable texts, Sánchez cautions those of us searching for a past literary heritage to be aware of an author's positionality and not assume that a Spanish surname equates to being a supporter of marginalized members of one's community or critical of oppressive social structures and institutions. Sánchez asserts, "Recovery need not be uncritically celebratory; even archaeological digs run their recovered artifacts through sieves or filters to determine the artifact's authenticity or relevance. …Ours is in large measure a history of violence and dispossession and for that reason it is important to construct our past critically. Recover we must, but with a critical perspective to point to the spatial and discursive violence that has been and to some degree continues to characterize our histories."[55]

Footnotes

[47] Mario T. García*, Literature as History: Autobiography, Testimonio, and the Novel in the Chicano and Latino Experience* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 3.

[48] Louis Gerard Mendoza, *Historia: The Literary Making of Chicana & Chicano History* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), 28.

[49] Mendoza, *Historia*, 24.

[50] Mendoza, *Historia*, 28.

[51] Suzanne Bost and Frances R. Aparicio, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Latino/a Literature* (London: Routledge, 2013), 3.

[52] Nicolás Kanellos, "Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage," *PMLA* 127, no. 2 (March 2012): 372.

[53] Kanellos, "Recovering," 372.

[54] "Caballero: A Historical Novel," Texas A&M Press, accessed December 10, 2022.

[55] Rosaura Sánchez, "The Construction of Latina Agency in Early Southwest Literature" (keynote speech, XV Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Conference, Houston, Texas, February 21, 2020).

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3.5: Conclusion

Summary

In this chapter, we defined what Chicanx/Latinx history is and covered the ways the field disrupts dominant conventions in the discipline of history through the usage of anti-imperial, anti-racist, decolonial, and medicinal approaches and methods. The contributions of feminist and queer studies scholars were highlighted, along with other activist scholars, who are working to expand and deepen the field of Chicanx/Latinx history.

Many scholars express the need for Chicanx/Latinx history to be made available beyond the college classroom and shared with the wider public through K-12 curricula, public educational programs, mass media, and other venues of public history. One way this is taking place is through Chicanx/Latinx expressive oral culture, which has been a vital method of meaning-making and knowledge-sharing for centuries. Oral traditions such as storytelling, music (especially corridos), and *testimonio* are used to pass on familial and cultural histories across generations and geographies. Visual culture, murals in particular, have also been used as an accessible means to publicly document and exhibit Chicanx/Latinx history (visit Section 10.5: Cultural Productions in Practice for a discussion of this topic). As this chapter has demonstrated, there are still many stories to document and historical studies to conduct and we hope that you are inspired to engage in this important work.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.3: Chapter 3 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Historiography: The study of the ways a group, culture, or discipline constructs its history.

Hemispheric Approach: An approach used by scholars in the field of Chicanx/Latinx history to examine transnational histories of the Americas, beyond national, regional, or even continental borders, accounting for the ways that power structures race, culture, gender, sexuality, and resources across time and space. It emphasizes thinking beyond borders that contain the nation-state and expanding the scope and frameworks many U.S. historians rely on. A hemispheric lens also allows for an expansive examination of mobile commodities, ideas, and peoples in diaspora that flow across imperial geographies.

Borderlands Theory: This theory, developed by Gloria Anzaldúa, challenges imposed nation-state borders and provides new frames for understanding identity, hybridity, and the material realities of people who reside in the b/Borderlands, extending the notion of a geopolitical border in order to explore the boundaries of gender, sexuality, spirituality, language, and other social locations, dislocations, and encounters. This theory would become foundational for Chicanx/Latinx historians who utilize a hemispheric approach to history.

Thematic Approach: An approach to history that focuses on key concepts and themes such as empire, conquest, wars of expansion, and revolution; migration and nation-building; industrialization and labor; and civil rights and resistance movements, among others, from the perspective of Latinx populations.

Relational Approach: The study of how one racial group is affected by the ways another group is racialized through co-constitutive historical, social, and political processes. Rather than studying a racially marginalized group in contrast to white supremacist and colonial power structures exclusively, a relational approach moves beyond a white/nonwhite binary to examine racially subordinated groups in relation to one another. A relational view does not advocate for simply comparing and contrasting groups' experiences, viewing them independently. Rather, groups are understood to be interdependent.

Imperial Histories: Narratives manufactured official histories wielded by a colonizing power or repressive regime "to attack the sense of history of those they wish to dominate and attempt to take over and control people's relationship to their own past." Imperial histories are created to justify and explain oppressive power imbalances by naturalizing them, making them seem inherent and permanent.

Curandera Historian: A person who works to heal the damage caused by imperial histories. They work to restore the dehistoricized sense of identity and possibility of colonized and oppressed peoples.

Medicinal Histories: What curandera historians produce. Medicinal histories re-establish the connections between peoples and their histories, revealing the mechanisms of power by which their current condition of oppression was achieved as well as the multiplicity, creativity, and persistence of resistance among the oppressed.

Colonial Imaginary: The epistemology, or way of knowing, that the dominant discipline of history relies on. Time and space are arranged linearly and origins, categories, chronologies, and periodization is emphasized. These prevalent approaches reinforce a colonialist historiography, which have omitted or obscured women, queer, and Indigenous peoples' stories.

Decolonial Imaginary: A new category, a political project, and a theoretical tool developed by Emma Pérez to counter the colonial imaginary by writing Chicanas into the historical record.

Retrofitted Memory: A concept developed by Maylei Blackwell to interrogate why certain stories remain untold, uncovering the ways power functions in the creation of truth regimes, in order to make space for women's (his)stories and their visions of liberation and transformation.

Chicana Movidas: A lens to understand the everyday strategies, tactics, and relationships, often occurring within and between highly visible movements, as intentional and significant individual and collective liberatory maneuvers.

Mapping Movidas: The technique used to organize Chicana movidas. It is a mode of historical analysis that charts the small-scale, intimate political moves, gestures, and collaborations that reflect the tactics women used to negotiate multiple scales of power within their homes, communities, organizations, social movements, and dominant society.

Archival Movidas: Expand what is typically considered valid source material and documentary evidence by also including oral histories and extrainstitutional archives as a source of embodied knowledge.

Praxis of Memory: A term that describes the ways in which Chicana feminists compile a personal archive of personal objects and materials, creating a space where Chicana memory practices are both preserved and performed.

Conocimiento: An aspect of consciousness, a living theory, and a praxis laid out by Gloria E. Anzaldúa. It describes the journey one takes in the development of an embodied self-awareness, questioning reality and dominant paradigms, and experiencing shifts in perception.

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4: INDIGENEITIES

Learning Objectives

- Recognize theories and knowledge produced by Chicanx and Latinx Indigenous communities to describe critical events, histories, traditions, and social struggles, emphasizing agency and group affirmation.
- Identify and assess how struggle, resistance, racial and social justice, solidarity, and liberation among Chicanx and Latinx Indigenous folks of the Americas are relevant to current and structural issues such as immigration, settler-colonialism, multiculturalism, and language policies.
- Describe and actively engage with anti-racist and anti-colonial issues and the practices and movements in Chicanx and Latinx Indigenous communities to build a just and equitable society.

Introduction

Content Warning: Physical Violence and Sexual Violence. Please note that this chapter includes discussions of physical and sexual violence.

This chapter explores the themes of Indigeneity and migration as they affect social, cultural, and political intra-and-inter group dynamics among Chicanx and Indigenous Latinx communities native to the Americas and Indigenous to this hemisphere. By intra-and-inter-group dynamics, we mean between and across groups, which considers global political economies and social dynamics. This complexity requires the use of a transnational framework to look beyond rigid historical narratives of nation and Indigenous identity.

Chicanx and Indigenous Latinx peoples are affected by the legacy and ongoing violence of colonialism, attempted **genocide** against **Native Americans** by Europeans, contemporary issues of land displacement (especially in Central America and Mexico), harsh immigration policies, and militarized enforcement strategies. These systems intersect, and by examining them in-depth, we observe the tradition of people's movement across land and water, establishing contact between groups and navigating power relationships.

Each section in this chapter provides a closer look at the concepts, histories, intersections, and complexity of Chicanx and Latinx Indigeneities. In the first section, you will learn more about the conceptual frameworks, terms, and definitions that inform our understanding of Indigeneity, migration, and racialized ethnic identity. This foundation guides our next section, which more closely examines the historical and political background facing Chicanx and Indigenous Latinx peoples today. These perspectives cut across human experiences and intersect with gender, sexuality, and race. This topic is the subject of the third section. In the fourth section, you will learn more about how Chicanx and Latinx Indigenous experiences intersect with sexuality, gender, and migration, including the gendered treatment of Indigenous women and social norms facing lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, Two-Spirit, and similarly identified LGBTQ2S+ people.

This chapter provides a window into the social struggles that motivate activism among Chicanxs and Indigenous Latinxs for cultural sovereignty, racial justice, decolonization of knowledge, and the production of cultural affirmation, resilience, and strong communities in the face of external threats and systemic oppression. Understanding these lessons can help us realize more opportunities to stand up against injustice in our diverse communities.

Decolonization refers to the multiple processes of resistance that work to end the dynamics of colonialism and establish, restore, and defend Indigenous sovereignty. It is important to note that decolonization is a political process that refers specifically to Indigenous sovereignty. It is not a general term that captures all forms of social justice.

Poetry Spotlight: In Lak'ech

This poem, “In Lak’ech,” is a philosophy rooted in Indigenous worldviews emphasizing interconnectedness, love, and respect, acknowledging life and community in the **Anahuac** (Mesoamerica) region in the oral tradition of Mayan culture, which was written by Chicano playwright and activist Luis Valdez. It is sometimes used in teaching Chicanx and Latinx studies courses.

> Tú eres mi otro yo.
> (You are my other me.)
> Si te hago daño a ti,
> (If I do harm to you,)
> Me hago daño a mi mismo.
> (I do harm to myself.)
> Si te amo y respeto,
> (If I love and respect you,)
> Me amo y respeto yo.
> (I love and respect myself.)

4.1: Concepts for Understanding Chicanx and Latinx Indigeneities

4.2: Indigenous Histories, Wars, Imperialism, and Migration

4.3: Narratives, Representation, Epistemic Violence, and Healing

4.4: Gender, Sexuality, Migration, and Indigeneity

4.5: Conclusion

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4.1: Concepts for Understanding Chicanx and Latinx Indigeneities

Core Definitions: Chicanx and Latinx Indigeneities

Indigeneity is a broad term that refers to a sense of belonging and ongoing ties among people from a shared homeland that originated before colonization. It is essential to understand the distinctions between Chicanx, Xicanx, Indigenous Latinx, and Latinx Indigenites. **Indigenous Chicanx** is a self-defined identity category signifying Indigeneity and awareness of their historical roots in this hemisphere, including Anahuac (Mesoamerica). **Xicanx** is a preferred identity term among some Chicanxs involved in Indigenous movements. "Chi" produces the same sound as "Xi," but "Chi" is the Spanishpronunciation, and "Xi" is the Indigenous one.

Indigenous Latinx is an umbrella term for Indigenous migrants to the United States from South and Central America, the Caribbean, and Mexico (for example, Maya, Mixteco, Purépecha, Taino, Zapoteco, etc.). They are members of Indigenous pueblos or nations with traditional languages, customs, responsibilities to tribal communities, sensibilities, and dispositions. These identity labels were first introduced in Section 2.1: Defining Latinx Demographics.

To understand the lived experience of Indigenous Latinx peoples examined in this chapter, we rely on the work of Maylei Blackwell, Boj Lopez, and Luis Urrieta, who define **Critical Latinx Indigeneities (CLI)** as an analytic framework that addresses how Indigeneity is produced differentially by multiple colonialities present on Indigenous land, where different Indigenous diasporas exist in a shared space and is used to "critique enduring colonial logics and practices that operate from different localities of power as well as the physical, social, cultural, economic, and psychological violence that often targets Indigenous Latinx peoples, including forms of state and police violence, cultural appropriation, economic exploitation, gender violence, social exclusion, and psychological abuse."[1] CLI refuses the ways migration scholars overlook the ''receiving countries'' as Indigenous territories and nations. Thus, Critical Latinx Indigeneities works against the erasure of the Indigenous People. CLI examines mobility as a global Indigenous process of displacement and considers the shifts in racial formations and how Indigenous people are racialized differently across and between different settler states.

This perspective challenges Chicanx and Latinx studies to uproot ideologies in broader society, especially as they are reproduced through narrow definitions of Latinidad, as introduced in Section 2.1: Defining Latinx Demographics. For instance, Lopez and Urrieta say that the ideology of **Indigenismo** deployed during the Chicano movement is an "Aztec-centric celebration of the Indigenous past of the nation, which often serves to erase the present and future of the sixty-three Indigenous pueblos of Mexico" and the millions of Indigenous peoples living around the world.[2] Others, like Tomas Perez, Jennie Luna, and Susy Zepeda, dispute that Indigenismo is only tied to Aztec culture and instead consider Indigenismo as promoting the various Indigenous pueblos for a growing sense of empowerment. This was observed in the case of Mexican President Larezo Cardenas when he provided institutional support to promote the culture, art, and history of many Indigenous Mexican tribes during his administration, which was not limited to Mexica Aztec. The various approaches to Indigenous identity are the subject of inquiry for Indigenous Chicanx and Latinx scholars.

Organization Spotlight: Chicanx and Latinx Indigenous Scholars

The Indigenous Peoples/Indigenous Knowledges Caucus has been a part of the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) since the mid-1990s and was formed with much struggle to recognize Indigenous roots. The caucus was established in response to the Zapatista uprising and Indigenous social movements, reminding the world of the presence of Indigenous people in the Americas. Participating scholars have contributed to scholarship for understanding Chicanx and Latinx Indigeneities in relationship to identity, foodways, land displacement, social movements, and futurities across borders. It was founded by Roberto Cintli Rodríguez, Jennie Luna, Roberto Hernández, Patrisia Gonzales, Gabriel Estrada, and Steve Casanova, and then led by Ernesto Tlahuitollini Colín, Robert Muñoz, Devon Peña, Melissa Moreno, Susy Zepeda, and others. Some caucus members are displayed in Figure 4.1.1 at a NACCS conference.



Figure 4.1.1: "Indigenous Peoples/Indigenous Knowledge Members" by Melissa Moreno, Author is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Indigenous Roots in Chicanx and Latinx Communities

> Tienes el nopal en la frente (You have the cactus on your forehead) – dicho

This common and harmful saying means you are Indigenous or "look" Indigenous but are attempting to hide it. It is often used to refer to a self-hating person who appears to "clearly" look Indigenous but refuses to self-identify as Indigenous or with their Indigenous roots in any way. It is a saying that is commonly known among members of Indigenous Chicanx and Latinx communities. The common nature of this saying identifies how anti-Indigneous sentiments are part of sustained socio-cultural assumptions.

Like race and ethnicity, a sense of Indigeneity is constructed through cultural norms, shared group formations, communities, institutions, and families. Indigeneity is also often recognized and policed through phenotype, with individuals with darker skin and features associated with local Indigenous peoples being more likely to be visibly associated with stereotypes and cultural scripts about Indigenous people. However, Indigeneity is also constructed through systems of sovereignty, traditional knowledge, mutual recognition, and intergenerational kinship.

Indigenous peoples maintain and promote traditional languages, knowledge, and customs into the contemporary era. In the lands referred to as North America and Latin America, the Indigenous peoples have used names like Isla Tortuga / Turtle Island, referring to the North American continent; Abya Yala, referring to southern Mexico and Central America; and Pachamama, referring to South America. Indigenous people are also an active part of the culture, politics, and history of island societies in the Caribbean, such as the Arawak-speaking Taino people. These are regional solidarities that demonstrate the interconnected and globally conscious perspectives embedded in Indigenous communities.

In Figure 4.1.2, a visual representation is displayed with the percentage of Indigenous people living in Latin American countries today, which totals 46 million across the region and ranges from 0.2% in El Salvador to 62.2% in Bolivia. Guatemala follows this at 41%, Peru at 24%, and Mexico at 15.1%. There are over 800 recognized Indigenous groups in Latin America, with the most significant number of distinct Indigenous peoples residing in Brazil, with over 300 different Indigenous peoples represented. Scholars also estimate that 200 or more groups operate actively but do not seek state or federal recognition.



Figure 4.1.2: "Indigenous Peoples in Latin America" by Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), United Nations is licensed under free use

The labels on the chart read: Indigenous Peoples in Latin America. By the year 2010, an estimated 45 million Indigenous people lived in Latin America, accounting for 8.3 % of the region's population. The United Nations has championed the promotion of their rights by using different resources and special regulations for this purpose. At present, there are 826 Indigenous peoples. An additional 200 are estimated to be living in voluntary isolation.

In the chart, the countries are labeled by their name, percentage of Indigenous people out of the total population, and Total number of Indigenous population. They are Mexico, 15.1%, 17 million, Honduras 7%, 537,000, Panama 12.3%, 420,000, Colombia, 3.4%, 1.6 million, Venezuela, 2.7% 725,000, Brazil, 0.5%, 900,000, Bolivia, 62.2%, 6.2 million, Paraguay, 1.8%, 113,000, Uruguay, 2.4%, 77,000, Argentina, 2.4%, 955,000, Chile, 11%, 1.8 million, Peru, 24%, 7 million, Ecuador, 7%, 1 million, Costa Rica, 2.4%, 105,000, Nicaragua, 8.9%, 520,000, El Salvador, 0.2%, 14,500, Guatemala, 41%, 5.9 million.

Additionally, the captions included read: "The countries with the greatest number of Indigenous peoples are: Brazil, Colombia, 102, Peru 85, Mexico 78, Bolivia, 39." and "Many Indigenous peoples are in danger of physical or cultural disappearance: Brazil, 70, Colombia, 35, Bolivia, 13."

And the chart is summarized with the text, "ECLAC encourages the region's countries to put public policies in practice which: 1) are based on standards of Indigenous people's rights, 2) include their perspectives and contributions to the region's development, 3) consolidate improvements in their well-being and living conditions, political participation and territorial rights, 4) promote the construction of multicultural societies that benefit us all."

Indigenous Identities: Terminology and Definitions

Various creation stories are associated with distinct Indigenous peoples and nations and tribes of the Western Hemisphere, reflecting the diversity of the land and peoples. Some peoples whose homelands are now occupied by the United States include peoples the Haudenosaunee (Peoples of the Longhouse, also known as the Six Nations), Diné (also known as Navajo), Istichata (also known as Muskogee or Creek), and Siksikaitsitapi (also known as Blackfoot). In the lands now occupied by Latin America and the Caribbean, this includes groups like the Mexica Aztec Nation, Maya, Zapotec, Purépecha, Mixteco, Mapuche Peoples, Guarani Peoples, and many more across the Southwest, Southeast, Caribbean Basin, Amazon Basin. Indigenous people have distinct names and histories, which include contact, trade, conflict, and more. There are differences and diversity among these Indigenous groups, including traditions, language, religion, political organization, and more.[3] However, despite these differences, Indigenous groups across the western hemisphere share the experience of various European invasions and colonization, and resisting and adapting to preserve culture, heritage, and identity.[4]

As a label, the word **Indigenous** is "used to describe peoples who existed before colonization and can be used to describe the

Indigenous peoples of the Americas."[5] Always use the capital I: "Indigenous" to designate the term as a proper noun. By contrast, the word Indian by itself "connotes the history of settlers perpetuating genocide ... While there are many individuals who use the term "Indian" to describe themselves, particularly when among their own in-group, it is often seen as offensive for non-Native individuals to use this term."[6] "The terms "American Indian," "Native American," "First Nations," or simply "Native" are seen as more respectful."[7] Specifically, American Indian and Native American refer to Indigenous peoples of the lands currently occupied by the United States. First Nations is most frequently used by Indigenous people in Canada. Many individuals and communities primarily associate their identity with a specific tribal group or nation, like Chumash, Salinan, Purépecha, or Mixteco, rather than a general category.

For Chicanxs, in the 1960s, Aztlán was considered the name of a homeland in the area now known as the Greater Southwest in the United States. The claim to the Greater Southwest by Chicanxs in the 1960s is troubling because it overlooks the past and present existence of Native tribal nations living in the regions in these areas, who were colonized by the Spanish before becoming part of Mexico, and then the United States. The idea that Chicanxs had a rightful claim to the land is contradicted by the Nahua paradigm, which states that the meaning of Aztlán is not a physical homeland but rather a body of water that needs stewardship, from which ancestors of Chicanxs today migrated. This emphasizes the liberatory and transformative potential embedded in the idea of Aztlán, which is focused on antiracism, self-empowerment, and solidarity among Indigenous peoples. As well, many individuals and communities can trace their lineage to both Indigenous Latinx and Native American tribes, who had regular contact, trade, and cultural exchange in the region for centuries.

Historical Spotlight: Last Message on Education (August 12, 1521)

According to oral tradition, this is the last message by the Governing Council of Mexico Tenochtitlan, given by Cuauhtémoc as his last act of government on August 12, 1521. The message is about the importance of Indigenous parents teaching children traditions in the home, even during an invasion.

> Our Sun has gone down
>
> Our Sun has hidden its face
>
> and has left us in complete darkness
>
> But we know it will return again
>
> that it will rise again
>
> to light us anew
>
> But while it is there in
>
> the Mansion of Silence
>
> Very soon will we join together and embrace each other
>
> and in the very center of our being hide
>
> all that
>
> our hearts love
>
> and we know is the Great Treasure.
>
> We will destroy all of our temples to the Principal Creator,
>
> our schools, our sacred ball game
>
> our youth centers
>
> our houses of song and play

> Our streets will remain abandoned
>
> Our homes will enclose us
>
> until our New Sun rises.
>
> Most honorable fathers and mothers,
>
> may you never forget to guide your young
>
> and teach your children while you live
>
> how good it has been until now our beloved Anahuac
>
> sheltered and protected our destiny
>
> and for our great respect and good behavior
>
> confirmed by our ancestors
>
> and our parents enthusiastically received
>
> and seeded in our being.
>
> Now we will instruct our children
>
> how good it will be, they will raise themselves up
>
> and gain strength
>
> and how good it will be to achieve their great destiny
>
> in this, our beloved motherland of Anahuac.

Mestizaje and the Intersection of Indigeneity and Race

Stories of heritage among Chicanxs and Indigenous Latinxs vary on their past and present ties to their homelands. **Mestizas/os/xs** are a diverse population that has a combination of mixed heritage, often including Indigenous lineage, along with a combination of African and/or European backgrounds. Across these diverse groups, some have experienced contemporary forced acculturation, and others have been taught to believe they can assimilate and be invested in the dominant Spanish or Anglo-American cultural ways. The investment in whiteness is sometimes experienced through colorism when children are born, as they may be referred to as being a *güerita/o* or *morenita/o* if they have light or dark skin. Children's light skin may be celebrated guided by the belief that they may eventually pass as white, which leads to identity conflict and pressure throughout development. Even the term "mestiza" or "mestizo" is sometimes used to assert a hierarchy between individuals of mixed heritage compared to Indigenous peoples with no Europaean (or African) heritage.

The idea of **mestizaje,** or mixed-race identity, emphasizes the multiple lineages that not only shape individual identity, but also the communities, cultures, languages, and traditions that we practice. José Vasconcelos Calderón called mestizos *la raza cosmica* ("the cosmic race"). However, an overemphasis on the mixing of various groups in Latin America can be used to create a false sense of equality that is not reflected in the actual conditions of racialized groups in Latin America, the United States, and Canada. In particular, Mexico and Brazil have both promoted a sense of national unity that attempts to erase differences based on race, color, and Indigeneity.[8] For communities experiencing the effects of inter-generational oppression, segregation, and exploitation, the idea that all ethnic differences have fused in a **post-racial society** erases the realities of inequity and the importance of advocates calling for justice. For Indigenous peoples, reductive deployments of ethnic categorization can disrupt attempts for collective liberation.[9]

Marginalization continues through everyday stereotypes and myths about Indigenous people taught in various institutions, such as schools, mass media, and policy. As an example of anti-Indigenous oppression among Chicanx and Latinx people, we may

hear pejorative terms like “India Maria” and “Oaxaquita,” signifying a connotation of inferiority. Community responsive efforts, like in Ventura California, have included the *“No me llames Oaxaquita”* campaign, which translates into “do not call me little Oxacca.” This effort created greater awareness about how this harmful term can negatively impact young people and their communities, motivating people to question their own biases and assumptions. Social movements have always been important for responding to the marginalization and direct threats to the lives of Indigenous peoples. Movement mobilization includes calling for sovereignty, treaty rights, resistance to Columbus Day and triumphalist narratives in history, stopping environmental destruction, water rights, cultural revitalization, land acknowledgment, and more. A land acknowledgment is a formal statement recognizing and respecting Indigenous Peoples as traditional stewards of the land as well as the historical relationship between Indigenous Peoples and their traditional territories.

Latinidad has also been critiqued for the ways that it calls for an overriding unity between all Latinx, Latina, and Latino people. These generalizations tend to benefit the most privileged within this group, including cisgender, heterosexual, male, English-speaking, light-skinned or white, citizen Latinos. For this reason, some groups who are multiply marginalized within the Latinx community have called against using this term, or qualifying it.[10] Others have modified the term, including through the label, **Afro-Latinx**, which describes people from Latin America of African descent. For a refresher on Latinidad and Afro-Latinidad, you can return to Section 2.2: (Re)constructing Latinidades.

The histories and identities of Afro-descendant people and Indigenous peoples in the Americas have been interacting and intertwined for centuries. For example, the Garifuna people are of mixed African and Indigenous heritage from the island called St. Vincent. Members and descendants of this group exist across Central America, the Caribbean, and the United States, and are just one example of the strength and pride that has been built through solidarity with African and Indigenous heritage.

Afro-Latinxs are more likely to experience discrimination and policing in the United States than other Latinxs,[11] and also more likely to raise these issues within Latinx communities more broadly.[12] Within Latinx communities, dynamics of racism and colorism work to silence Afro-Latinx voices and discourage inclusive participation. Racial categorization in places like Brazil tends to be closely layered with colorism, leading to vastly different experiences of racial norms and consequences, even within biological families, based on one’s physical presentation of race.[13]

In the United States, self-identified Afro-Latinxs make up nearly 25% of the total Hispanic population.[14] This suggests that the concerns of Afro-Latinx people are more central to both Black and Latinx cultures than is typically represented in popular media or social movements. For example, Black feminism often credits the development of major theoretical traditions like intersectionality to African-American women in the United States. However, when considering transnational Black communities, there have been theoretical and conceptual developments in places like Brazil that serve as roots of contemporary intersectional feminist movements. Recognizing these mutual sources of inspiration and activist mobilization is an opportunity for transnational coalitions and mutual learning. For example, Angela Davis has made a practice of collaborating with Black feminist leaders in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, such as Preta Ferriera, Lélia Gonzalez, and Marielle Franco.

The formal categorization of individuals into sub-categories by race was constructed by the Spanish empire in the Americas through the system of *casta*. Casta sorted people based on their heritage, religion, property ownership, occupation, race, color, place, and legitimacy of birth. A painting of the casta designations can be found in Figure 4.3 displays sixteen different designations organized hierarchically, with Spanish descendant (Español or Española) individuals ranked at the highest positions and those with Black and Indigenous ancestry ranked at the bottom. Note that these are historical terms and are not positive identity labels used in contemporary society. The categories displayed in the painting are included in the following list:

1. Español con India, Mestizo
2. Mestizo con Española, Castizo
3. Castizo con Española, Español
4. Español con Mora, Mulato
5. Mulato con Española, Morisca
6. Morisco con Española, Chino
7. Chino con India, Salta atrás
8. Salta atras con Mulata, Lobo
9. Lobo con China, Gíbaro (Jíbaro)
10. Gíbaro con Mulata, Albarazado
11. Albarazado con Negra, Cambujo
12. Cambujo con India, Sambiaga (Zambiaga)
13. Sambiago con Loba, Calpamulato
14. Calpamulto con Cambuja, Tente en el aire

15. Tente en el aire con Mulata, No te entiendo
16. No te entiendo con India, Torna atrás.



Figure 4.1.3: "Las castas" by Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico, Wikimedia Commons is in the Public Domain, CC0.

While the hierarchies created by Spanish colonizers and other European groups advancing white supremacy and **settler-colonialism** still influence social standing today, there are many active groups in social movements, politics, research, and education who are working to cultivate a sense of pride, community, and positive identity among Afro-Latinxs. You can learn more about these topics in Chapter 1: Foundations and Contexts. In Mexico, there is one of the largest Afro-Latinx populations. In 2020, a survey identified over 2.5 million Mexican residents who identify as Afromexican.[15] As an optional exploration, you can learn more about some of the most recent research and scholarly books on the topic of Multiculturalism, Afro-Descendent Activism, and Ethnoracial Law and Policy in Latin America by visiting the Latin American Research Review website.

Footnotes

[1] Blackwell, Maylei, Floridalma Boj Lopez, and Luis Urrieta. "Special Issue: Critical Latinx Indigeneities." *Latino Studies* 15, no. 2 (July 1, 2017): 126–37. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41276-017-0064-0.

[2] Blackwell, Boj Lopez, and Urrieta, 131.

[3] M. Bianet Castellanos, Lourdes Gutiérrez Nájera, and Arturo J. Aldama, eds., *Comparative Indigeneities of the Américas: Toward a Hemispheric Approach* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2012), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1kz4hbt.

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[5] Lori Kido Lopez, ed., *Race and Media: Critical Approaches* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2020), ix.

[6] Lopez, ix.

[7] Lopez, ix.

[8] Edward Telles, *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America*, 1st ed. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[9] Gabriela Kovats Sánchez, "'If We Don't Do It, Nobody Is Going to Talk About It': Indigenous Students Disrupting Latinidad at

Hispanic-Serving Institutions," *AERA Open* 7 (January 1, 2021): 1-13, https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584211059194.

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[11] Luis Noe-Bustamante, Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, Khadijah Edwards, Lauren Mora, and Mark Hugo Lopez, "Majority of Latinos Say Skin Color Impacts Opportunity in America and Shapes Daily Life," *Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project* (blog), November 4, 2021, https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2021/11/04/majority-of-latinos-say-skin-color-impacts-opportunity-in-america-and-shapes-daily-life/.

[12] Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, "About 6 Million U.S. Adults Identify as Afro-Latino," *Pew Research Center* (blog), accessed October 18, 2022, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/05/02/about-6-million-u-s-adults-identify-as-afro-latino/.

[13] Telles, *Pigmentocracies*.

[14] Gonzalez-Barrera, "About 6 Million U.S. Adults Identify as Afro-Latino."

[15] Jazmin Aguilar Rangel, "Infographic: Afrodescendants in Mexico" (Wilson Center, July 29, 2022), https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/infographic-afrodescendants-mexico.

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4.2: Indigenous Histories, Wars, Imperialism, and Migration

Definitions and Theories of Migration and Indigeneity

Content Warning: Physical Violence. Please note that this section includes discussions of physical violence.

Indigenous people in Mexico and throughout Latin America impacted by invasions since 1492, imperialist wars, settler economies, and environmental destruction have had to engage in global migration in order to sustain their families and communities. Theories of migration and identity formation rooted in sociology, political science, and immigration studies have often tried to separate or misrepresent the realities of Indigenous people, including the presence and importance of Latinx Indigeneities.[16] Chicanx and Latinx studies scholars, especially Indigenous scholars, offer a more holistic and clear understanding of the historical and conceptual background for understanding conflict, war, and migration throughout history and today.

To understand the experience of Chicanx and Indigenous Latinx peoples, it is important to understand systems of colonization and settler colonialism**.** **Colonization** refers to the action of overtaking control of another group's territory by force using social, cultural, psychological and religious forms of domination. More specifically, the project of settler-colonialism refers to ongoing processes where the colonizing groups seek to eradicate and erase the people living in the territory they are colonizing and replace the Indigenous population with the settler population. For example, while European countries colonized parts of Asia and most of Africa, settler-colonialism is carried out in places like the Americas, Australia, South Africa, and Israel. One key aspect of settler colonialism is **attempted genocide**, which refers to a project trying to eradicate an entire population. This is accompanied by an ideologically rooted practice of dehumanization to justify and legitimize such actions. Multiple forms of genocide that Indigenous people have experienced have been identified by the United Nations.

Factors influencing an individual or community's likelihood to migrate away from their current residence can include things like the inability to get a job, fear of violence, environmental degradation, or loss of family, as well as the characteristics of the receiving country, which can include things like the demand for migrant labor and the presence of jobs and housing. In the context of Indigenous migrants' experiences, land displacement, deterritorialization, war, and colonization can separate families across national lines, leading to specific networks and pipelines that facilitate circular migration and enduring transnational ties. As well, Indigenous peoples construct complex transnational identities, which include critiques of settler and colonizer forces that operate through nationalism and federal governments.

Displacement can lead to **de-Indianization**, which refers to the processes of hegemony that disrupt the livelihood of Indigenous peoples, through assaults on foodways, herbal medical resources, and cultural sensibilities.[17] Systems of oppression by the dominant culture impact inter-and-intra-group relations as well this means affect their collaboration and conflict within and across groups. Also, de-Indianization can manifest in individuals being denied the opportunity to practice Indigenous heritages, languages, and traditions. This can also manifest in simple ways, like families hiding or ignoring their Indigenous heritage. It also results from historical, political, and transnational factors. For example, in some cases, major displacements of Indigenous Latinx communities took place during the 1842 US-Mexican Wars on both sides of the current border, the 1910 Mexican Revolution, the 1970s in Latin America, and in Central America during the 1980s as part of the US Cold War.

Imperialism, War, and Latinx Migrations

Content Warning: Physical Violence. Please note that this section includes discussions of physical violence.

In Mexico, Indigenous peoples have endured and resisted multiple waves of empire and colonization for hundreds of years. Prior to the arrival of Spanish colonizers, much of central and southern Mexico, along with central America, was claimed by the Aztec empire. Notably, the Purépecha people (whose land is located in the state of Michoacan, Mexico) were one of the only groups to successfully resist and expel Aztec domination. During the period of Spanish colonization, many Indigenous groups worked toward the goal of liberation and independence, including participating in the Mexican War of Independence, which ended in 1821.

Another form of resistance by Indigenous peoples and mestizos took place with the war against Spain from 1810-1821. The new Mexican nation built off of the culture and standing of the Aztecs by including the eagle in its flag and basing its name on the Mexica region and Mexico City, a seat of power for Aztec elites. However, throughout the 1800s, multiple Indigenous groups, such as the Comanche, Apache, Purépecha, Yaqui, and Maya, continued to engage in resistance against the nationalist project and the expansive powers of the federal Mexican government. This widespread violence prompted many communities to migrate from their homelands to new communities and settlements.

In 1845, the United States government annexed Texas, which was considered an act of war by the Mexican government. A year later, in 1846, the U.S. Congress formally declared war on Mexico, at the request of President Polk. The U.S. was motivated by a desire to expand its territory westward, under the ideology of "Manifest Destiny," which is the idea that the United States had a divine imperative to colonize the entire continent, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean.[18] Internal politics in the United States were also focused on the presence and expansion of slavery, with many of the northern states and the Northwestern territories outlawing slavery, while southern states defended the institution and sought to expand it into new areas like Texas.

The war between the United States and Mexico lasted two years. The U.S. military attacked and occupied major cities, starting at the periphery of the country and eventually moving forces deeper inland and capturing the capital, Mexico City. The war introduced American violence and colonialism into the lives of Mexican people and was ended by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. In this Treaty, Mexico ceded the land that now comprises the western United States, including all of California, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah, most of Arizona and Colorado, and parts of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Wyoming. Territory boundaries in Mexico prior to the US-Mexico War are displayed in Figure 4.2.1. Prior to the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, the territorial boundaries in the western United States and northern Mexico were significantly different from the present-day borders. The region was largely under Mexican control and included territories such as Alta California (present-day California), Nuevo México (present-day New Mexico), Tejas (present-day Texas), and parts of Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming. The border between Mexico and the United States was not clearly defined, and there were ongoing disputes and conflicts over the control of these territories.



Figure 4.2.1: "Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Méjico" by John Disturnell, Wikimedia Commons is in the Public Domain, CC0.

At the end of the 19th century, the United States furthered its imperialist military aggression during the Spanish-American War, which occurred during the spring and summer of 1898. The Spanish government's hold on its colonies in the Caribbean and Pacific Ocean was weakened by internal politics and growing resistance among the peoples living under colonial rule. The war began in Cuba, with the U.S. supporting the Cuban dissidents who were asserting their independence from Spain. The United States mobilized its Navy against the Spanish, however, this did not lead to independence for Cubans. Instead, Cuba was taken under U.S. control for a period of time.

The war between the U.S. and Spain also included Puerto Rico, which was converted from the Spanish colonizers to become a U.S. territory. And the war extended to the Pacific Ocean, with the U.S. taking over colonial control of the Philippines and capturing the territory of Guam. In all of these locations, including the Caribbean, the Spanish-American War created a new relationship of migration between the mainland U.S. and the peoples living in the Caribbean islands. By the 20th century, tens of thousands of

Cuban and Puerto Rican migrants had made their homes in the mainland United States.

At the same time, the social and cultural upheaval in Mexico led to the Mexican Revolution in 1910. This revolution elevated the political ideology Indigenismo which emphasizes celebrating Indigenous cultures and the Indigenous peoples are often the foundation of contemporary Mexican culture, politics, and society. Indigenous Leaders like Emiliano Zapata led the 1910 revolution calling for land reform (i.e., El Plan de Ayala) to redistribute land to the working class and break up the control and domination by the landowning elite (*hacienderos*). Zapata's Indigenous tribal community in Puebla was deeply tied to land and communal corn traditions. He actually carried the land grants of his tribe. This personal experience informed his commitment to fight for a degree of sovereignty.

Beyond economic concerns, the ideology of Indigenismo was also championed and represented by cultural figures like Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo. The recognition of cultural value led the post-revolutionary Mexican government, like Lazaro Cardenas' administration to support bilingual education in Spanish and Indigenous languages. Cardenas' commitment to Indigenous tribal communities throughout Mexico, led to some threats on his life. At one point the Indigenous people of Janitzio, Michocan, had to hide and protect his life for a period. Anti-Indian and racist sentiments of the *cientificos* (eugenics) of the 1940s attacked policy and efforts benefiting Indigenous people of Mexico. In many ways, Indigenous groups have cultivated energy and support to carry on their heritage by teaching traditional customs and practices in the face of threat and violence.[19]

In addition to the conditions in the "homeland" in the 20th century, the dynamics of U.S. Imperialism and militarism also negatively impacted the lives and migration patterns of Indigenous peoples in Latin America. Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the United States government directly and indirectly caused widespread political instability and supported the overthrow of standing governments throughout South and Central America, including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and Paraguay.

These actions were sponsored as part of the Cold War and politicians justified them by highlighting the antagonism between the U.S. and Communist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China. In the process, many Indigenous communities living in Latin America were subjected to violence, political corruption, and economic devastation. This led some Indigenous and mestizo groups to migrate to the United States, including entire communities and networks who brought with them Indigenous traditions of health and healing, languages, and customs of cultural wealth that they nurtured and passed on in their new homes. As a result, many communities in cities such as Los Angeles, Oxnard, Fresno, Bakersfield, and Santa Maria in California have substantial populations of Indigenous migrants from Mexico and Central America. They have created organizations of support as well, such as the Frente and others.

Footnotes

[16] Douglas S. Massey and Magaly R. Sanchez, *Brokered Boundaries: Immigrant Identity in Anti-Immigrant Times* (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010).

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[18] Osuna, Steven. "Securing Manifest Destiny." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 27, no. 1 (2021): 12–34, https://doi.org/10.5195/jwsr.2021.1023.

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4.3: Narratives, Representation, Epistemic Violence, and Healing

Dominant Narratives in the Representation of Native American and Indigenous Histories

When was the last time someone told you that you are important, your Indigenous ancestors matter, and that you can make a difference in your community? Worldwide Indigenous peoples have emphasized the value of community survivance. The reality of Indigenous peoples living and thriving in the contemporary global society while affirming their dignity and resisting neocolonial systems of oppression continues. In this section, you will learn more specifically about contested narratives of Native Americans and Indigenous Peoples. For example, this includes a recognition of the solidarity between Chicanx and Indigenous struggles such as in the 1992 protest of the 1994 Columbus Celebration in the U.S., the struggle against the PeaBody Coal Mining Industry in reservations, and more recently Standing Rock against the DAPL.

The saying "Indians are dead" is part of a **master narrative** that continues to circulate in schools and society. We refute that Indigenous people are dead or have disappeared. In the western hemisphere, Central America and the southern part of Mexico are home to the largest number of living Indigenous people today. In addition, people who self-identify as Chicana/o/x, Latina/o/x, Puerto Rican, Central American, and South American often have ancestors with Indigenous roots and they carry on their cultures, languages, traditions, and lifeways. Roberto "Cintli" Rodriguez and others have referred to members of this group as la Raza, which means people whose genetic matter has been in this hemisphere for thousands of years.

For many years, American and European scholars have presented the Bering Strait Theory to describe and categorize Native Americans as migrants to this country. This follows the logic of an "Out of Africa" hypothesis of human evolution, which postulates that modern human beings emerged from a single pair of genetic ancestors living in Africa, in an approximate location that would match the Bible's description of the Garden of Eden. This theory suggests that humans arrived in the Americas about 15,000 years ago by migrating from Asia over through the Bering Strait, a land bridge between what is today called Russia and Alaska. This area was passable by land at the time, although it is covered in the ocean today. Native Americans and Indigenous people do not describe themselves as migrants from another place but have scientific and cultural knowledge of originating in their homelands. As Indigenous scholar and activist Vine Deloria has argued, along with other scholars and critics, there are increasing amounts of archeological and scientific evidence that refute the Bering Strait Theory, suggesting that the Bering Strait was unpassable until about 12,600 years ago, which is after documented human life had spread throughout North and South America.[20]

The connection to the homeland is represented in creation stories. Each tribal community represents their ethics of stewardship and tending the land and culture in their stories. This is true and important for Indigenous people across the hemisphere, as noted in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. This historic document sets the precedent for international law and the need to recognize the collective rights and **sovereignty** of Indigenous peoples on their land. It is available online on the United Nations website. In specific tribal community contexts, creation stories refer to the ecology and often center on a significant relative in the region, such as ants, badgers, birds, condors, corn, eagles, ravens, serpents, turtles, whales, and specific mountains. Stories of Indigenous heritage are shared through oral history. These stories carry important values, beliefs, sensibilities, and dispositions on ecology, life, death, and regeneration. These stories reflect the diversity within Indigenous peoples, their land, and cultural pride.

Cultural Spotlight: Cahuilla Bird Songs

Bird Songs are a part of the California Native American traditions including the Cahuilla people located in southern California,. The practice of Bird Songs in celebrations, community gatherings, and ceremonies helps to communicate a continued cultural tradition that is rooted in ancestral knowledge. The documentary, "We Are Birds: A California Indian Story" by Albert Chacon, which is available on YouTube and licensed CC BY 3.0, demonstrates these practice real-time. The full documentary is one hour, seven minutes, and ten seconds.

Activity: Indigenous Land Website

Stories of Indigenous heritage are shaped by the specificity of each group's creation story or creation story reflecting traditions and responsibilities tied to their people's land, ecology, and/or sacred spaces. You can learn more about the Indigenous peoples of various lands throughout the world by visiting the Native Land map website. This is a secondary collection of territories and Indigenous peoples, which includes links to primary sources and information on Indigenous tribal lands. You can search by address, and one interesting place to start can be by exploring where you are currently residing or studying.

Struggles for Truth and Accountability in Cultural Narratives

Queer Chicana author Gloria Anzaldúa based her work on the knowledge of Native American studies scholars like Jack Forbes to represent the Indigenous realities of mestiza/o/x peoples. Her book *Borderlands/La Frontera* was first published in Spanglish and represents the sensibilities of mestizas, including topics like Indigeneity, Nepantla, Two-Spirit duality, and fluidity of gender, and colonial gendered morality. These areas of inquiry are carried on by young people and elders who work together to carry on their Indigenous traditions. Among the Indigenous cultural work Elder and Capitana of Danza Mexica Azteca Angelbertha Cobb, who is pictured in Figure 4.3.1. She posed in front of an artistic rendition of La Malinche, mother of the first mestizo, her same gesture and position. In Mexico City, Cobb was close friends with Frida Khalo and Diego Rivera and also directly benefited from the efforts of President Lazaro Cardenas, who recruited her as one of the best Indigenous dancers in the highland of Puebla. Cultural workers like her, and the work of other Indigenous cultural groups have helped to sustain and communicate traditional knowledge through art, dance, and dress.



Figure 4.3.1: "Elder Angelbertha Cobb, Mexica Danza Capitana, painted as La Malintzin Tenepal as known as La Malinche" by Melissa Moreno, Author is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

Solidarity across Indigenous and non-Indigenous people have been key to the survivance of Native peoples.[21] **Survivance** refers to the collective process of survival, which carries forward the culture, peoples, and land beyond the individual. For example, since the early 1970s, a segment of Chicanxs, aware of and attached to their Indigenous roots, have participated in and supported the United Nations Committee for Advancing Indigenous Peoples' Rights and Cultures Worldwide. Chicanxs and Latinxs people who support solidarity with Indigenous peoples have supported self-determination, cultures, and political resilience. Through the emergence of ethnic studies, Chicanx and Latinx studies, Native American studies, and the American Indian Movement (AIM), there has been an increase in awareness of various Indigenous movements. These movements share a commitment to **Indigenization**, supporting revitalization of Native languages, ancestral foodways, medical use, cultural burnings, midwifery traditions, dances, coming-of-age ceremonies, land acknowledgment, and more.

In order to effectively support decolonization, it is necessary to cultivate knowledge of diverse tribal groups. Awareness and education in the US of Indigenous and Native peoples, both past and present, can be attributed to the legacy and efforts of

the civil rights movement, the American Indian Movement, Native American studies, and Chicanx and Latinx studies, as well as global Indigenous movements. Some examples include Sandinistas, Zapatistas, and water protection.[22] In the context of the 1960s civil rights movement, there was a call to end institutional racism and colonization, to go beyond Eurocentric curriculum/knowledge, and for self-determination. With this came the emergence of ethnic studies and Native American studies at colleges and universities, which studied and deconstructed the colonial master narrative and connotation of triumphalist narratives of white supremacy and settler-colonialism, including holidays like Columbus Day.

For 500 years, the master narrative surrounding Columbus stood in the United States. Columbus Day became a federal holiday in the 1930s, however, several communities across the U.S. have come to realize and recognize the truth surrounding the violent domination and oppression that led to the slavery and genocide against Indigenous people in the Americas. Interestingly Indigenous Peoples Day, known as “Dia de La Raza” in Latin America and Mexico, has been recognized since World War I. In the United States, in many states and cities, Columbus Day has been replaced with Indigenous People’s Day, after many protests and efforts of advocacy. For a deeper exploration of this developing history, the next section goes into more depth on the timeline of these movements.

A Timeline of Solidarity between Chicanxs and North American Native Americans

Given the lack of California homeland education, in 1969 the California Indian Education Association established the Annual California Indian Conference to begin focusing on curriculum and educational issues impacting California Indian students and tribal communities.

- In 1973, the American Indian Movement members and their allies met and decided to form the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) to seek justice in the United Nations. In July 1990, Indigenous Chicanxs and Latinxs participated in the Indigenous Encuentro in Quito, Ecuador, where they had a seat at the table.
- In 1992 the IITC, which included Indigenous Chicanxs, stood strongly against the United States celebrating the 1492 invasion of Columbus. Indigenous people from across the Americas stood strongly in opposition, vowingnot tot celebrate the genocide of their ancestors through the proposed Columbus Day Celebration. The IITC and others raised awareness about the implications of genocide and the Doctrine of Discovery of Indigenous people. Political artists like Aztlan Underground and various Mexica Aztec Danza groups supported this movement as well.
- In 1994 the Zapatista uprising and social movement that Chicanx supported began in response to the oppression and domination by the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA altered the Mexican Constitution so that ejido plots of land could be sold to foreigners, where in the past it had been illegal.
- In 1995, some Chicanxs learned first-hand about resistance to environmental destruction by mining companies from the Diné Navajo Grandmothers. Chicanxs were invited to be a group of protectors for the Grandmothers from a coal mining company attempting to occupy their land. On the reservation, they learned about the historical resistance to genocide, toxic pollution in water, and nuclear waste to the environment.
- In 1998 California Native American Day was established and continues today to teach people of all ages about the tribal culture, histories, and heritage of California Native American tribes. In the same year, the State Board of Education adopted academic content standards for history-social studies but did not recognize the genocide of Native Americans. Then again in 2000, the California Department of Education did not recognize the genocide of Indigenous people in the model curriculum for human rights and genocide.
- In 2007 Josefina Medina and Rufina Juarez participated at the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues with La Red Xicana Indigena, an Indigenous women’s network, to present a Special Rapporteur on Migration Issues and food sovereignty.
- By 2007 the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP), supported by the IITC, was completed and signed by all member countries in the United Nations. The U.S. was the last to sign. UNDRIP recognizes the history and contemporary experience of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Article 14 recognized the right to education without discrimination and access to cultural knowledge.
- In 2012, the Idle No More movement was born out of resistance to policy surrounding land and water impacting First Peoples in Canada. Native Americans, Indigenous peoples of the Americas, and allies including Chicanxs supported this movement across contemporary settler borders. The conversation about genocide, land invasion and the importance of Indigenous cultural pride was highlighted throughout this movement, and continued into the United States
- In community gathering spaces formed within protest sites, from 2016 to 2017, the Standing Rock Sioux tribe, water protectors from several Native American tribes, and Indigenous Peoples from across the hemisphere -- including South and Central America and Mexico -- came together to resist the Dakota Access Pipeline. They provided lessons about resistance to environmental destruction, intergenerational trauma, and survivance. These understandings were shared with thousands

of families, allies, and media reporters for an entire year and beyond.

- In terms of cultural sovereignty and cultural revitalization, in the context of Indigenous Latinxs in California, we have observed a move toward bilingual and trilingual education, including English, Spanish, Mixteco, and other Indigenous languages. In 2017, First Nations launched the Native Language Immersion Initiative to support new generations of Native speakers and positive role models for young people. Some of these efforts are documented by the Oaxacalifornia Reporting Team.[23]
- In 2017, Maylei Blackwell, Floridalma Boj Lopez, and Luis Urrieta Jr. published a special issue on "Critical Latinx Indigeneities" in the academic journal, *Latino Studies*. This helped to establish the importance of considering the dynamics of Indigeneity more closely among Indigenous Latinx populations.
- In 2019, the California Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Advisory Committee convened at the California Department of Education in Sacramento and began with a land acknowledgment. The first draft of the high school curriculum was the first ever to recognize the genocide and survivance of California Indians and Indigenous people. Chicanx that served on the committee, originally included a lesson about land acknowledgment and protection of sacred sites, but they were phased out.
- By 2022 the Indigenous Mayan-inspired poem, In Lak'Ech, was removed from State Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum. Currently, the Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum is creating more Native American Studies lessons on topics such as environment, citizenship, and culture, compared to the State Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum for various grade levels.

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[22] Mariana Mora, *Kuxlejal Politics: Indigenous Autonomy, Race, and Decolonizing Research in Zapatista Communities* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2017).

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4.4: Gender, Sexuality, Migration, and Indigeneity

Gender, Migration, and Indigeneity

Content Warning

Physical and Sexual Violence. Please note that this section includes discussions of physical and sexual violence.

Critical Latinx Indigeneity emphasizes the complicated relationship between Indigenous peoples, historical traditions, and contemporary structures of governments across borders. For instance, Indigenous migrants can benefit from and participate in colonial political and economic structures, even while experiencing xenophobia and anti-immigrant exclusion.[24] Bringing together critical perspectives with cultural humility between various contexts can allow Indigenous communities to forge more effective solidarities and resist settler-colonial structures. Utilizing an intersectional perspective also helps to balance the complexity of Indigeneity with migration status, alongside gender, sexuality, and economic factors.

Gender and family dynamics are deeply influential in shaping both immigration policies and immigrant experiences. Labor demands are often constructed in binary gendered terms. For instance, the Bracero program from 1942 to 1964 solicited agricultural labor from Mexican nationals in the U.S., focusing on short-term visas offered to individual mestizo men. This was meant to restrict the formation of family and sustained communities and instead contribute to the exploitation of farmworkers.[25] Farm owners ignored labor laws, and often requested more visas and workers than they could employ at any time. This created a ready supply of unemployed migrants who were ineligible for virtually any other kind of legal employment. By contrast, domestic work and care industries often rely on migrant women laborers. However, a similar logic of family separation and isolation contributes to exploitation and poor working conditions. In particular, for workers who provide service directly in the home, such as nannies, housekeepers, cooks, and nurses, employers can leverage a workers' documentation status to exploit their time, provide substandard pay, and carry out sustained emotional manipulation.[26] These positions are more often occupied by Indigenous peoples, given that they are more likely to be low-income and/or undocumented.

Gender influences the multi-level factors that determine community wellbeing, including the disparate impact of gender norms on sexual health and private relationships[27] and the global dynamics of climate change and environmental crises caused by capitalist structures.[28] In the context of sustained political assaults on Indigenous Latinx family structures, sustaining kinship structures takes on personal, cultural, and social implications. However, both within and outside of our communities, it is sometimes misrepresented that Latinx communities are uniformly and traditionally repressive when it comes to gender and sexuality.[29] This narrative reflects the real implications of cis-heterosexist and patriarchal ideologies, including those upheld by certain aspects of the Catholic Church. However, it also erases the significance of historical and contemporary experiences of gender and sexual liberation within transnational Indigenous Latinx communities.

There are at least 65 Indigenous languages that have terms referring to non-binary gender identities.[30] These typically signified a position in the community that encompassed both sexuality and gender, such as individuals born male who take on women's social roles. In virtually all societies, they were understood as an included part of the community, often revered or eligible for advanced social standing. For example, Chumash tribes recognized "aqi" (Ventureño Chumash word for "third-gender people")[31] for thousands of years prior to the arrival of Europeans. The Chumash peoples are the stewards and Indigenous peoples of land that was previously Mexico and recolonized the United States. The previous Spanish, and sometimes Spanish Mexican, colonizers systemically assaulted the homes, lives, and lifeways of Native peoples. They made a particular target of the aqi. In Spanish, they renamed the third-gender people "joya" (or "olla") which means jewel, because of their prized status to the Native communities, and also vessel, eliciting a derogatory association and justifying practices of inhumane torture and murder. Chumash scholar Deborah Miranda named this system **gendercide** and it is a common tactic in settler-colonialism.[32]

Third-gender people play an important role in Chicanx, Indigenous Latinx, and Latinx communities throughout the United States and Latina America. Many Native communities have continued to operate their traditional customs, languages, and ways of knowing under the radar of colonizers.[33] The Zapotec people, who are Indigenous to lands in southern Mexico, presently known as the state of Oaxaca, recognize a third gender, Muxes. They are an important part of the community's traditions and culture.

Festivals and celebrations honoring Muxes have also contributed to a transnational identity for Zapotecs. Festivals honoring Muxes are held in Oaxaca and in large migrant communities in the United States, like Los Angeles. As well, *La Asociación Nacional de Comercio y Turismo LGBT* (Mexican LGBT National Association of Commerce and Tourism) created Ruta Istmo (Istmo Route), the first touristic route in Oaxaca to highlight the Muxe identity. These efforts work to support the contemporary Zapoteca community and their ways of life. One Muxe performer, Lukas Avendaño, is displayed in Figure 4.4.1, in a long, short-sleeve black and white dress, embroidered with red, purple, and yellow flowers. This is an example of the centrality of traditional culture and fashion to the practices of Muxes.



Figure 4.4.1: "Lukas Avendaño" by Mario Patinho, Wikimedia Commons is licensed CC BY-SA 4.0

Two-Spirit Identities and Pan-Indigenous Solidarity

Given that both Indigenous spirituality and non-gender binary ways were stolen upon European invasion, Indigenous people from various tribes have come together to reconnect and build connections between these communities and experiences. This process contributed to the development of the term **Two-Spirit** in 1990 by Native people to talk about sexual and gender identities across tribal contexts. It was developed in part as a response to the widespread use of the term "berdache," an adapted French word that was popularized by settler anthropologists and carries a dehumanizing stigma to imply a male prostitute (derived from the Arabic, "Bardaj," meaning "captive" or "slave"). Two-Spirit is not a translation of any specific tribal term, but rather a way to communicate within an English-speaking context about the common commitment to decolonization and liberation for all Indigenous people.

The term Two-Spirit should be understood as complementary to LGBTQ, within the context of Indigenous communities. It does not replace tribally-specific identity labels, nor does it replace sexual orientation and gender identities exactly. For example, Two-Spirit people may have one or more tribal affiliations and may also identify as one or more LGBTQ identities. LGBTQ Native Americans were looking for a way to remove themselves from a culture that emphasizes sexuality over spirituality and a way to reconnect with their own tribal communities. Adopting the Two-Spirit term was the answer. The term is sometimes referenced more abstractly to indicate two contrasting spirits, such as "Warrior and Clan Mother" or "Eagle and Coyote." Cherokee scholar, Qwo-Li Driskill describes his relationship between Two-Spiritedness, Queer and Trans Identity in his own tribal context:

> I find myself using both the words "Queer" and "Trans" to try to translate my gendered and sexual realities for those not familiar with Native traditions, but at heart, if there is a term that could possibly describe me in English, I simply consider myself a Two-Spirit person. The process of translating Two-Spiritness with terms in white communities becomes very complex. I'm not necessarily "Queer" in Cherokee contexts, because differences are not seen in the same light as they are in Euroamerican contexts. I'm not necessarily "Transgender" in Cherokee contexts, because I'm simply the gender I am. I'm not necessarily "Gay," because that word rests on the concept of men-loving-men, and ignores the complexity of my gender identity. It is only within the rigid gender regimes of white America that I become Trans or Queer.[34]

The embedded Video 4.4.1 discusses in further depth the complexity of perspective among queer Natives with respect to culture, tradition, and holidays like Thanksgiving. To watch the video in full is 17 minutes and 42 seconds. The video presents an interpretation and perspective from one voice, which reflects the range of factors that influence decision-making about everyday

activities for Native and Indigenous peoples. As you watch the video, please note the ways that Indigeneity impacts modern experiences.

Video: A Queer Native Thanksgiving

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

View this YouTube Video online

Video 4.4.1: "A Queer Native Thanksgiving" by TwinRabbit, YouTube is licensed CC BY 3.0.

Queer and Trans Migration Experiences

Content Warning

Physical and Sexual Violence. Please note that this section includes discussions of physical and sexual violence.

Gender and sexuality also profoundly shape the experiences of Indigenous Latinx and mestizo queer and trans migrants in the context of larger systems and structures.[35] For instance, Manuel Guzmán defined "**sexiles**" as "those queer migrants leaving home/nation as a result of their sexuality."[36] For example, individuals may be experiencing repressive conditions, external violence, or family rejection due to sexual stigma and seek new opportunities with communities. Individuals may also immigrate to seek medical treatment, such as for HIV, or gender-affirming therapies and surgical procedures. Queer and trans communities are characterized by differential access for immigrants and citizens to cultural fields, political inclusion, and collective membership.

Queer and trans immigrants asylum seekers and refugees face persistent exclusion and barriers to migration. Gays and lesbians have been explicitly barred from immigrating to the U.S. including the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which disallowed "sexual deviants," and remained in effect until 1990. Even after the outright ban was lifted, structural heterosexism continued to block queer and trans people. The ban on HIV-positive immigrants was in effect until 2010 and disparately affects queer and trans people. Similarly, until the federal Defense of Marriage Act was repealed in 2013, same-sex married couples were not recognized as families for immigration procedures. Today, LGBTQ people still face disparate barriers to adequate representation and may not have legal standing in their home countries to recognize important kinship ties.

Further, the violent and militarized system of U.S. immigration traumatizes and abuses asylum seekers, especially transgender migrants. Christina Madrazo sued the U.S. government for $15 million, due to being held in detention and allegedly raped by Lemar Smith twice in May of 2000. Because of a plea deal, his charges were reduced from felonies to misdemeanors, lowering his sentence from 42 years to 8 months.[37] Chicanx and Latinx communities experience distinct forms of oppression, prompting some scholars and activists to further adapt terminology to reflect these differences. For example, the term cuir (queer) "registers the geopolitical inflection towards the south and from the peripheries, in counterpoint to colonial epistemology and Anglo-American historiography."[38]

> Queer refers [..] to those who are able to evade interpretative unidirectionality, who are able to be unintelligible at first sight, those people outside of the simple models and frames of hegemonic representation, which is not very difficult to achieve in a g-local world that is presumed to be 'white' even though the majority of its inhabitants are not 'white'.[39]

You can review more about the complexity of queer and trans identities among Chicanx and Indigenous Latinx communities in Section 6.4: Jotería Frameworks and Scholarly Conversations. In Figure 4.4.2, a photo of London Pride is displayed with a group of activists holding a sign that says "Lesbian and Gay Immigration Group. Supporting LGBTI Asylum Seekers and Refugees," along with various national and pride flags in hand. These types of intersectional organizations address the unique needs related to migration, gender, and sexuality.



Figure 4.4.2: "Pride in London 2016" by KTC, Wikimedia is licensed CC BY-SA 4.0

Footnotes

[24] Maylei Blackwell, Floridalma Boj Lopez, and Luis Urrieta, "Special Issue: Critical Latinx Indigeneities," *Latino Studies* 15, no. 2 (July 1, 2017): 126–37, https://doi.org/10.1057/s41276-017-0064-0.

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*American Indian Literature*s 16, no. 2 (2004): 50–64, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/ail.2004.0020.

[35] Eithne Luibheid and Lionel Cantu Jr, eds., *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship, and Border Crossings*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

[36] Manuel Guzmán, "Pa'la Escuelita Con Mucho Cuida'oy Por La Orillita': A Journey through the Contested Terrains of the Nation and Sexual Orientation," in *Puerto Rican Jam: Rethinking Colonialism and Nationalism*, eds. Frances Negrón-Muntaner and Ramón Grosfugel. (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997): 209–28.

[37] Luibheid and Cantu Jr., *Queer Migrations*.

[38] Sayak Valencia Triana, "Teoría Transfeminista Para El Análisis de La Violencia Machista y La Reconstrucción No-Violenta Del Tejido Social En El México Contemporáneo," *Universitas Humanística*, no. 78 (2014): 65–88, https://dx.doi.org/10.11144/Javeriana.UH78.ttpa.

[39] Valencia Triana, "Teoría Transfeminista."

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4.5: Conclusion

Summary

In this chapter, we applied theories and knowledge produced by Chicanx and Indigenous Latinx communities to describe the critical events, histories, intellectual traditions, contributions, lived experiences and social struggles of groups with a particular emphasis on agency and group affirmation. We learned more deeply about how settler colonialism, mestizaje (or mixed-race identity), and the complex dynamics of Indigeneity and migration affect politics, social movements, and cultural productions.

We explained and assessed how struggle, resistance, racial and social justice, solidarity, and liberation, as experienced, enacted, and studied by Chicanx and Indigenous Latinx people of the Americas, are relevant to current and structural issues such as communal, national, international, and transnational politics as, for example, in immigration, settler-colonialism, multiculturalism, and language policies. Indigenous peoples have been leaders in various movements for social change, equity, justice, and inclusion that benefit all sectors of society.

Also, in this chapter, we described and learned skills to actively engage with anti-racist and anti-colonial issues and the practices and movements in Chicanx and Indigenous Latinx communities to build a just and equitable society. This includes a clear awareness of the intersecting dynamics of race, gender, and sexuality that impact both migrants and Indigenous peoples in distinct ways.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.4: Chapter 4 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Genocide: As defined by the United Nations, “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

1. Killing members of the group;
2. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
3. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
4. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
5. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”

Native American: A member of any of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, often used to refer to those from the continental United States, Alaska, and Canada. Native Americans are the original inhabitants of these regions and have diverse cultures, languages, and traditions that vary among different tribes and nations. They have a unique historical and cultural connection to the land and have faced a history of colonization, displacement, and ongoing struggles for recognition, rights, and self-determination.

Decolonization: The multiple processes of resistance that work to end the dynamics of colonialism and establish, restore, and defend Indigenous sovereignty. It is important to note that decolonization is a political process that refers specifically to Indigenous sovereignty, and it is not a general term that captures all forms of social justice.

Anahuac: The Nahua word for Mesoamerica. Also called Abya Yala.

Indigeneity: A broad term used to refer to a sense of belonging and ties prior to colonization among people from a shared homeland. It is important to understand the distinctions between Chicanx, Indigenous Latinx, and Latinx Indigenites.

Indigenous Chicanx: A term that signifies being Indigenous to Anahuac (Mesoamerica), It is a self-identity category used by people, unlike Hispanic or Latinx which emerged from western institutions.

Xicanx: A preferred identity term for Chicanx involved in Indigenous movements there is often a preference to use the term Xicanx and not Chicanx. The Chi is the same sound as Xi, but Chi is the Spanish pronunciation and the Xi is the Indigenous one.

Indigenous Latinx: An umbrella term used to refer to Indigenous migrants to the United States from South and Central America, the Caribbean, and Mexico (for example, Maya, Mixteco, Purépecha, Taino, Zapoteco, etc.).

Critical Latinx Indigeneity: A term defined by Maylei Blackwell and colleagues as a lens to "critique enduring colonial logics and practices that operate from different localities of power as well as the physical, social, cultural, economic, and psychological violence that often targets Indigenous Latinx peoples, including forms of state and police violence, cultural appropriation, economic exploitation, gender violence, social exclusion, and psychological abuse."

Indigenismo: A term that emphasizes a celebration of Indigenous cultures and that Indigenous peoples are the foundation of contemporary Mexican culture, politics, and society. This is often deployed as an Aztec-centric celebration of the Indigenous past of the nation, which often serves to erase the present and future of the sixty-three Indigenous pueblos of Mexico and the millions of Indigenous peoples living around the world.

Indigenous: A label used to describe peoples who existed before colonization, and can be used to describe the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Always use the capital I: "Indigenous" to designate the term as a proper noun.

Mestizas/os/xs: A diverse population that has a combination of mixed heritage, often including Indigenous lineage, along with a combination of African and/or European backgrounds.

Mestizaje (mixed-race identity): A term that emphasizes the multiple lineages that not only shape individual identity, but also the communities, cultures, languages, and traditions that we practice.

Post-racial society: The idea that all ethnic differences have fused, and it erases the realities of inequity and the importance of advocates calling for justice. For Indigenous peoples, reductive deployments of ethnic categorization can disrupt attempts for collective liberation.

Afro-Latinx: A term that describes people from Latin America of African descent.

Settler-colonialism: Instances of colonization where the colonizing groups seek to eradicate the people living in the territory they are colonizing and replace the Indigenous population with the settler population.

Colonization: The action of overtaking control of another group's territory by force.

Attempted genocide: A project of trying to eradicate an entire population. This is accompanied by an ideologically rooted practice of dehumanization to justify and legitimize such actions.

De-Indianization: The processes that disrupt the livelihood of Indigenous peoples, through assaults on foodways, herbal medical resources, and cultural sensibilities.

Master narratives: Culturally sanctioned stories that benefit the status quo and members of privileged groups.

Sovereignty: Not a metaphor but rather the capacity and ability to exercise collective self-determination to govern one's people and land. North American Indians are the only group in the United States whose sovereignty is recognized in the Constitution of the United States. In the context of Indigenous people, sovereignty has often been undermined and determined by settler-colonial constructs.

Survivance: A term coined by Anishinaabe scholar and writer, Gerald Vizenor, refers to the collective process of survival, which carries forward the culture, peoples, and land beyond the individual.

Indigenization: Efforts supporting revitalization of Native languages, ancestral foodways, medical use, cultural burnings, midwifery traditions, dances, coming-of-age ceremonies, land acknowledgment, and more

Gendercide: The systematic violence that targets non-binary individuals in the pursuit of settler-colonial goals. Chumash scholar Deborah Miranda coined this term in the context of Spanish assaults on the aqi.

Two-Spirit: A term that was developed by Indigenous peoples to describe the shared experience of third gender people. Two-Spirit should only be used in reference to Indigenous peoples, and whenever possible, in conjunction with a more tribally specific term.

Sexiles: Queer migrants leaving their home/nation as a result of their sexuality.

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5: FEMINISMS

Learning Objectives

- Outline the origins and history of Chicana/Latina feminist thought and activism.
- Explain the relationship between Chicana/Latina feminisms and U.S. Third World feminism.
- Summarize and evaluate Chicana/Latina feminist issues and movements.
- Outline the features of Chicana/Latina studies, including the field's origins and attributes.

Introduction

What or who do you imagine when you hear the word "feminism?" You might be surprised to learn that there are numerous strands of feminism even among racialized groups, which is why we use the plural "feminisms." In particular, Chicana/Latina feminisms constitute a multifaceted artistic, intellectual, and political project and movement invested in personal transformation *and* social change. First and foremost, Chicana/Latina feminists are committed to confronting and disrupting **patriarchy** as it intersects with multiple systems of oppression such as white supremacy, neoliberal capitalism, and imperialism- illustrated in Figure 5.1.

Key Term: Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a system of gender-based control and domination where women and gender non-conforming people are subordinated to men through legal and extralegal measures. Patriarchy "includes cultural ideas about men and women, the web of relationships that structure social life, and the unequal distribution of power, rewards, and resources that underlies privilege and oppression."[1]

These systems structure our everyday lives––from our intimate interpersonal relationships, the economic and educational resources we have access to, and even the ways knowledge is constructed. Chicana feminist and professor María Eugenia Cotera defines Latina feminism this way:

> Latina feminism offers an intersectional approach to understanding and combating the relations of domination and subordination that structurally disenfranchise Latina/o communities, broadly conceived. Like the Latinas who developed its primary conceptualizations, theories, and practices, Latina feminism has been shaped as much by experiences of colonization and U.S. imperialism and of diaspora and border-crossing, as it has been by day-to-day lived experiences of heterosexism, racism, and classism in the United States. Indeed, contemporary Latina feminists—from academics to community organizers—have charted a genealogy of praxis that reaches beyond national borders and deep into history, recuperating a set of feminist practices that articulate the complex intersections of identity and subjectivity.[2]

As you will learn, there are multiple ideologies, expressions, tactics, and modes of Chicana/Latina feminism that have been deployed since the late 1960s. These modes are regularly evaluated and debated wherever Chicana/Latina feminist discourse is taken up––in homes, grassroots community organizations, cultural production, and academia. In other words, Chicana/Latina feminisms are not static. They are constantly evolving, providing us with new knowledge, theories, and insights to this day. This chapter provides a primer on Chicana/Latina feminisms, introducing readers to the origins, early issues, ongoing movements, and activist causes, the founding of Chicana/Latina studies as an academic discipline, fundamental theories and major debates within the discipline, and tools and strategies Chicana/Latina feminisms offer those of us interested liberation and freedom.

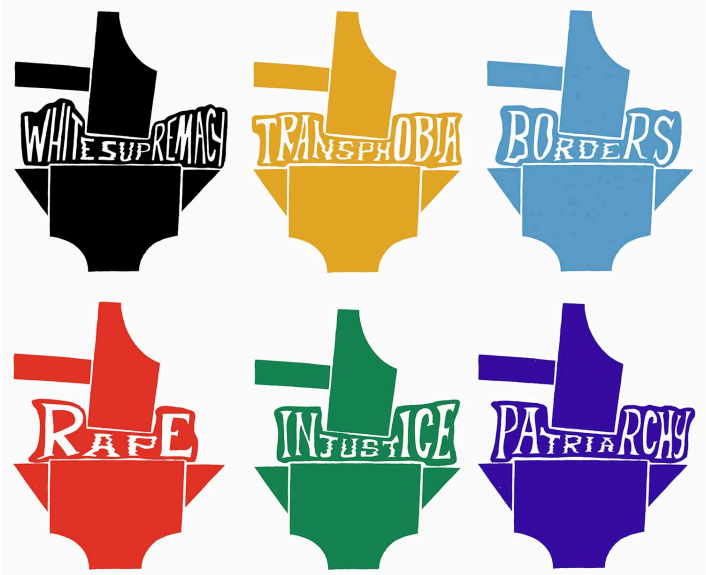


Figure 5.1: "Smash" by Josh MacPhee, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

5.1: The Roots and Routes of Chicana/Latina Feminisms

5.2: Fighting for Economic Justice

5.3: Reproductive Justice

5.4: Cultural Activism

5.5: Disrupting Sexism and Homophobia en La Familia

5.6: Activist Scholarship and Chicana and Latina Studies

5.7: Conclusion

Footnotes

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5.1: The Roots and Routes of Chicana/Latina Feminisms

A Rising Ethnic Feminist Consciousness

The emergence of what we now understand as Chicana/Latina feminisms can be traced back to ethnic nationalist movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. As Chicana/o/xs and Puerto Ricans challenged racism and economic oppression across the U.S., women faced an additional battle--**sexism**, that is, discrimination or devaluation based on their sex or gender. Through their activism, writing, and visual and performance art, Chicana/Latina feminists brought to light the ways that patriarchy unevenly structured gender roles in their intimate relationships, within their organizations, movements, and in U.S. institutions. As noted in Chapter 7: Social Movement Activity, various struggles with different leaders, agendas, organizational philosophies, strategies, and tactics, often regional in scope, collectively defined El Movimiento. Chicanas and Latinas were active within each movement and in every locale since the beginning, and they developed as cultural nationalists alongside their male counterparts who espoused ethnic pride and self-determination. As the women developed an ethnic and class consciousness, they also began to develop a feminist consciousness critical of *machismo*, as it was often referred to in their early writings. Despite their critiques, most feminists did not want to create a separate movement. Instead, they hoped that their perspectives and advocacy would transform and strengthen movement ideologies and agendas. In other words, "Chicana feminist thought reflected a historical struggle by women to overcome sexist oppression but still affirm a militant ethnic consciousness."[3] Figure 5.1.1 depicts a brown-skinned Xicana who has ethnic pride and a feminist consciousness, as suggested by the title, "Viva La Mujer." The hot pink background suggests inner strength, love, and rebelliousness.



Figure 5.1.1: "Viva La Mujer" by Jesus Barraza and Melanie Cervantes, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Chicana feminists organized regional and national conferences, seminars, workshops, caucuses, and consciousness-raising (CR) group meetings in the early 1970s that provided a collective space to develop their ideas and priorities.[4] In the seminal manifesto "New Voice of La Raza: Chicanas Speak Out" produced in 1971, Argentinian-born socialist feminist Mirta Vidal points out how Chicana feminists were "beginning to challenge every social institution which contributes to and is responsible for their oppression, from inequality on the job to their role in the home. They are questioning 'machismo,' discrimination in education, the double standard, the role of the Catholic Church, and all the backward ideology designed to keep women subjugated."[5] Vidal and other feminist writers in the early 1970s argued that Chicanas were subjugated based on their race, as workers, and as women, naming this phenomenon **triple oppression**.[6]

As Chicana feminists worked to introduce their concerns into their respective movement spaces, they faced resistance from Chicanos and Chicana **loyalists** who believed that race and class oppression should be the primary agenda and that feminism was divisive to the movement.[7] Historian Maylei Blackwell points out that the Chicano movement's rejection of feminism was due to its reliance on a *vendida* logic, that is, "a silencing mechanism used against dissident Chicana activists" by labeling them as:

1. *Agabachas* or *agringadas* (race traitors);
2. *Vendidas* or *malinchistas* (sell-outs) dividing the movement from the primary struggle;
3. *Marimachas* (sexual deviants or lesbians);
4. Inauthentic/outside of/antagonistic to Chicano culture.[8]

Guided by the ideology of Chicanismo, those resistant to Chicana feminist concerns glorified la familia and rigid gender roles that expected women to bear children, care for the household, and be subordinate to their husbands.[9] Men and women were also expected to maintain a gendered division of labor in the movement. Since women were disregarded as real political actors, they were expected to do things like cook, clean, and perform clerical work. Chicana feminists began calling attention to the fact that these gendered cultural expectations were first imposed by the colonial Catholic Church during the Spanish conquest and enforced through a **dichotomy** that constructed women as a 'mujer buena' or a 'mujer mala,' otherwise known as the **virgin/whore complex**.[10] On one side of the dichotomy is **marianismo**, the deep reverence for La Virgen de Guadalupe who is valued as the subservient all-suffering virgin mother. On the other side is the Indigenous woman **La Malinche**, known for being Hernan Cortes's concubine, translator, mediator, and fabled mother of the first mestizo. As a Native woman, she is characterized as sexually available, disposable, and condemned as a traitor for contributing to the downfall of the Aztec civilization. In modern times, these doctrines about Chicana womanhood reinforce patriarchy, obliging Chicanas to take on the contradictory roles of obedient wife and mother and to also be sexually available. But the lived reality of most Chicanas did not afford them the ability to be homemakers. Because many Chicanas were working class or lived in poverty and had limited access to educational opportunities, they were compelled to take on low-wage work outside of the home, typically in domestic service or the garment industry, in addition to their household obligations. Moreover, due to gender discrimination in the workplace, Chicanas tended to earn less than their Chicano counterparts.

Chicana lesbian feminists who sought to challenge homophobia in addition to sexism faced intense backlash and were often silenced. In the groundbreaking compilation *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings* (1997), feminist and immigration scholar Alma M. García points out that "in a political climate that viewed Chicana feminist ideology with suspicion and, often, disdain, Chicana feminist lesbians confronted even more strident political attacks."[11] However, as El Movimiento began to transform in the late 1970s and early 1980s, including the emergence of Chicano/a studies, the academic arm of the movement, Chicana lesbian feminist writing and cultural production flourished, further advancing Chicana feminist thought and activist priorities, which will be explored in Section 5.6: Activist Scholarship and Chicana and Latina Studies.

As El Movimiento was underway, so was the mainstream women's movement, which sought to secure equal rights and access for women.[12] Many Chicanas found the women's movement agenda to be insufficient as it centered white middle-class and upper-class feminist perspectives and excluded considerations of race and class oppression. They found conventional white feminist views to be limited for focusing too narrowly on all men as the enemy, whereas Chicanas felt that colonization and structural oppression were the real issues. Not only did Chicanas speak out against sexism, but they also spoke out against racism and elitism in the women's movement––what Angela Davis has called "bourgeois feminism." Many Chicana feminists found that these experiences mirrored those of other women of color in the U.S., which in part, facilitated the building of strategic coalitions. Their goal was not to establish a unified position, but rather, to develop an ability to dialogue across lines of difference and come together to address important issues.

Developing a U.S. Third World Feminist Consciousness and Praxis

Since the late 1960s, Latinas have constructed a feminist standpoint not only in resistance to patriarchal ethnic nationalism and U.S. hegemonic feminism, but also in solidarity with an emerging **U.S. Third World feminist** consciousness informed by global decolonial and anticolonial movements. As they critiqued and attempted to dismantle interlocking systems of oppression through racially specific feminist projects, feminists of color in the U.S. created a new cross-racial political subjectivity and oppositional **praxis**, that is, putting theory into action, that linked various struggles for social justice. María Cotera argues, "Because Latina feminists (like other women of color feminists) understand feminism in relationship to other struggles for liberation and decolonization, their approach to 'women's liberation' necessarily moves beyond gender, just as their commitment to end racism and colonialism moves beyond race and nation."[13] Figure 5.1.2, "Solidarity With All Movements," demonstrates the throughline of this standpoint by illustrating the work of Dissenters, a contemporary youth-led national anti-militarism movement organization that prioritizes solidarity with other liberatory grassroots movements. The sign in the image says "We work in solidarity with everyday people impacted by U.S. wars and militarism. We prioritize solidarity with the demands of grassroots liberatory movements wherever possible, not state powers." The caption in large bold letters reads "Solidarity with people and movements."



Figure 5.1.2: "Solidarity With All Movements" by Monica Trinidad, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Women of color developed new forms of consciousness characterized by critiques of capitalism, economic exploitation, imperialism, and war, grounded in international solidarity. Chicanas and Latinas in particular drew inspiration from 20th-century Latin American and Mexican feminisms and women's revolutionary participation. They also developed their praxis by traveling to international conferences such as the Indochinese Women's Conference in 1971 in Vancouver, Canada as part of the antiwar effort.[14] Also instrumental in the development of a U.S. Third World feminist consciousness and praxis were the multiracial multi-issue print communities, such as those established through Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, founded in 1980 by Black and Chicana lesbian feminists. Kitchen Table published several seminal texts including *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldá (1981), *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology* by Barbara Smith (1983), *I Am Your Sister: Black Women Organizing Across Sexualities* by Audre Lorde (1985), *Apartheid USA: Our Common Enemy, Our Common Cause: Freedom Organizing in the Eighties* by Audre Lorde and Merle Woo (1985), and *The Combahee River Collective Statement: Black Feminist Organizing in the Seventies and Eighties* (1986).

Emerging Movements and Ongoing Activism

While Chicana and Latina feminists share some commonalities, like their respective movements, they too had divergent ideologies, agendas, and priorities. García points out how:

> Chicana feminist thought evolved with several divergent, often competing, views. Chicana feminists confronted divisions based on social class, particularly the division between academic women and grass roots community women, sexual orientation, political strategies, political goals and objectives, the relationship between autonomous Chicana feminist organizations and white women's feminist organizations, and their relationships with Chicano organizations and Chicano men in general.[15]

Likewise, Blackwell notes that as political subjects with multiple identities, women of color organizing often takes on the following features: "(1) multiple issues in one movement, (2) an intersectional understanding of power and oppression, and (3) the tendency to work in and between movements."[16] Due to the complex nature and scale of Chicana/Latina activism, it would be impossible to cover every cause that Chicana and Latina feminists have participated in since the late 1960s. Therefore, four predominant and interrelated issues have been selected and will be introduced in the following sections. These include economic justice, reproductive justice, cultural activism, and family dynamics.

Artivist Spotlight: Mujeres de Maiz

Founded in 1997 Mujeres de Maiz (MdM), or women of the corn, is an unapologetic Xicana-Indígena led spiritual **artivist** (artist-activist) organization and movement by and for women and feminists of color whose mission is "to bring together and empower diverse women and girls through the creation of community spaces that provide holistic wellness through education, programming, exhibition, and publishing." Early on, founders and core members participated in the Encuentro Cultural Xicano Indígena por la Humanidad y Contra el Neo-liberalismo with the Indigenous Zapatista Mayan community of Oventic. As a result, Zapatista philosophy significantly influences their artivist praxis, particularly the emphasis on building alliances with exploited and marginalized communities around the world.

Every spring MdM publishes a new issue of *Flor y Canto,* their poetry and arts zine, which is released at the Live Art Show, an intercultural, intergenerational, multimedia event that combines elements of an art exhibit, live performances, and ritual ceremony featuring women of color musicians, dancers, visual artists, poets, actors, filmmakers, and spiritual healers. Other community events hosted by MdM include the *mujer mercado*, poetry night event, film screenings, women's ceremonies such as the monthly Coyolxauhqui full moon circle, and workshops, held in person and virtually, with topics ranging from art making, creative writing, gardening, self-defense, and women's health, often in collaboration with other feminist of color organizations and groups from the Eastside of Los Angeles such as Justice for my Sister, Af3irm, Hood Herbalism, and WE RISE LA, to name a few.[17]

Footnotes

[3] Alma M. García, "Introduction," in *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings,* ed. Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 1.

[4] One of the earliest Chicana workshops was held at the first National Youth Liberation Conference in 1969.

[5] Mirta Vidal, "New Voice of La Raza: Chicanas Speak Out," in *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*, ed. Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 21. The manifesto recognized the Plan de Aztlán but it took on additional concerns not addressed in El Plan producing resolutions on sex, marriage, and religion. It is important to note "While the Plan de Aztlán has retained its foundational status, the women's document never entered the Chicano archive at all" (Pratt, "Yo Soy La Malinche," 861).

[6] U.S. Third-World, Puerto Rican, and Black feminists were simultaneously theorizing and organizing around the convergence of multiple systems of oppression, drawing on an intergenerational feminist lineage dating back hundreds of years. Review Elizabeth 'Bettita' Martínez, *500 Years of Chicana Women's History/500 Años de la Mujer Chicana* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 2008).

[7] Anna NietoGomez, "La Feminista," in *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings,* ed. Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 87-88.

[8] Maylei Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 31.

[9] This ideology can understood through the lens of compulsory heterosexuality, a concept coined by Adrienne Rich, which illuminates the societal assumption that all people are straight and will be sexually attracted to and reproduce with the 'opposite' sex. Under Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. patriarchy, the nuclear family has been constructed as the cornerstone of society and social reproduction. Review "Compulsory Heterosexuality" by Adrienne Rich and "Heteropatriarchy" by Andrea Smith.

[10] Anna NietoGomez, "Chicana Feminism," in *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings,* ed. Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 57.

[11] García, *Chicana Feminist Thought*, 7.

[12] The mainstream women's movement of the late 1960s and 1970s has been defined as expressing at least three distinct

positions: liberal feminists who sought access to power and advanced social standing equal to men's, radical feminists who viewed men as having access to power and responsible for women's oppression, and liberation feminists who believed women's oppression was one of many oppressions tied up in the economic system, which must be understood and transformed to end all oppressions (NietoGomez, "Chicana Feminism," 55). In *Feminism is for Everybody,* bell hooks provides additional insight into divergent feminist activist modes, naming them revolutionary feminism, reformist feminism, and lifestyle feminism.

[13] Cotera, "Feminisms," 65.

[14] Dionne Espinoza, "La Raza in Canada: San Diego Chicana Activists, The Indichinese Women's Conference of 1971, and Third World Womanism," in *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era,* eds. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 261-275.

[15] García, "Introduction," 9.

[16] Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power!*, 27.

[17] Amber Rose González, "Todos Somos Mujeres de Maiz, An Introduction," in *Mujeres de Maiz en Movimiento: Spiritual ARTivism, Healing Justice, and Feminist Praxis*, eds. Amber Rose González, Felicia Montes, and Nadia Zepeda (Forthcoming, Tucson: University of Arizona Press).

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5.2: Fighting for Economic Justice

Labor Organizing

Chicanas and Latinas have an extensive history of working to improve the material conditions of their communities through their participation as both rank-and-file workers and leaders in the ongoing labor movement powerfully emerging in the 20th century. These historical efforts are presented in eight and a half minutes in Video 5.2.1 "Latinas in the Labor Movement."[18]

Video: Latinas in the Labor Movement

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

View this YouTube Video online

Video 5.2.1: "Latinas in the Labor Movement." *Youtube*, uploaded by TIME, January 28, 2021. Permissions: YouTube Terms of Service.

The fight for economic justice continued in May 1972 when 4,000 garment factory workers, predominantly Mexican American women, walked out of their jobs at Farah Manufacturing Company plants in Texas and Júarez, Mexico after six workers were illegally fired for union activity. In 1970 the majority of the workers voted to unionize with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) for higher wages, maternity leave, workplace safety, and an end to sexual harassment, but management refused to recognize their efforts. According to labor organizer and journalist Kim Kelly, "Immigrant women of color make up the bulk of the garment industry's workforce, both in the U.S. and globally, and are forced to bear the brunt of its dangerous conditions, low pay, and high-volume output. Through decades of organizing, strikes, and knock-down, drag-out fights, they have worked to change that status quo and push back against an industry that devalues their humanity and their labor in equal measure."[19]

The president of the company William 'Willie' Farah was a staunch anti-union employer who relied on Red Scare tactics in an attempt to denigrate and delegitimize union efforts by associating unionization with communism and firing union organizers, among other retaliatory union-busting tactics. The company went as far as running down strikers with their trucks and during the first week of the strike Farah management hired "private guards to harass the women on the picket line and menace them with unmuzzled dogs."[20]

Strikers were protesting exploitative working conditions including having their already low wages docked if they did not meet increasing quotas, being denied bathroom access to meet the quotas, which caused bladder and kidney infections, poor ventilation that resulted in a variety of respiratory illnesses, and generally hazardous conditions.[21] Because women did not have maternity leave and could not afford to go without pay, "women sometimes gave birth in the company clinic."[22] The racialized gendered oppression that Chicanas faced at Farah was also present within their union. Rank-and-file women workers often complained that the male leadership did not address their specific needs and demands as women. As the strike went on and their input ignored, women's disappointment grew, leading some Farah workers in El Paso to form *Unidad Para Siempre*, a separate caucus that promoted the movement in their vision.

Despite these obstacles, the Chicana strikers persisted.[22] With the support of religious leaders and major labor unions across the country, including the United Farm Workers, they called for a national boycott of Farah pants guided by the rallying cry, "Viva La Huelga––Don't Buy Farah Pants!" The boycott poster, demonstrated in Figure 5.2.1, featured Rosa Flores from San Antonio, Texas, one of the first Farah workers to sign a union card and publicly announce her pro-union stance on the factory floor. The boycott transformed the local strike into a national issue, resulting in a $20 million decline in Farah's annual revenue, putting immense pressure on the manufacturer.



Figure 5.2.1: "Viva la Huelga/Don't buy Farah pants!" by Philip and Jeff Foisie, Smithsonian is in the Public Domain, CC0.

The text on the poster reads, "Viva La Huelga. Don't Buy Farah Pants! Support the strike. Help give a taste of justice to thousands of Mexican-American workers at the giant Farah pants company in Texas and New Mexico. These people have lived too long with the bitter taste of injustice and oppression. The American dream should be theirs to share, too. Their employer, the Farah Company, makes the dream seem more like a nightmare. The U.S. Government has found Farah guilty of firing workers because they want to join a union. But the company continues to break the law. And the mammoth manufacturer has instigated the arrests of over 700 strikers. Many were taken from their homes in the middle of the night. All had to post exorbitant bail. Most of them are charged with standing too close together on the picket line in the first days of the strike. The strikers had been peaceful. In fact, the only threat of violence has come from the unmuzzled police dogs the armed Farah Company guards now use to patrol the plant (and to intimidate the strikers). Show the Farah workers America's heart is still in the right place. Show the world American consumers won't buy injustice. Don't buy Farah pants. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO."

After twenty-two months of striking and a successful national boycott, the strikers finally earned their right to unionize in 1974, becoming one of the first and only garment plants in the Southwest to be unionized.[23] The new contract came with increased wages, health benefits, job security, and seniority rights. The material success was short-lived, however, as the 1970s marked the onset of deindustrialization with numerous U.S. manufacturing plants, including Farah, closing shop and moving production overseas and across the border to Mexico where labor rights and environmental laws were even more lax. The lasting effects of the strike came in the form of women's empowerment.[24] In interviews following the strike, Chicanas expressed that the movement emboldened them to take a more politically active role in their communities and to challenge repressive gender norms both at work and at home.[25] The Chicana organizers of the **Farah Manufacturing Strike** contributed to the ongoing labor movement and unionization efforts that characterized the better part of the 20th century. Today, Latinas who work full time year-round earn 57 cents for every dollar earned by white, non-Hispanic men.[26] The struggle for economic justice continues.

Welfare Rights

Another arena where Chicanas and Latinas were actively involved in economic justice efforts was the movement for welfare rights. Deindustrialization led to an economic downturn in postwar Los Angeles characterized by high unemployment and poverty rates, particularly experienced by women of color, many of whom had previously migrated to Southern California for employment opportunities during the WWII industrial boom. Demographic shifts and policy changes that made it easier to qualify for aid in the 1950s and 1960s led to an increase in African American and Mexican American welfare recipients, which "was met by a racist backlash against families of color, cuts to welfare budgets, and punitive disciplinary measures to control the behavior of poor mothers."[27] Discriminatory laws and policies were rationalized through depictions of Latinas, Native American women, and Black women in the media and public policy discourse as dependent on the government, abusing welfare aid, and sexually promiscuous (For more on this topic visit "The Backlash and Disinvestment in Public Education" in Section 8.3: Re-imagining Education in an Era of Revolt, 1955-1975). Women of color faced systemic denial of services and unconstitutional practices such as warrantless home searches, being "compelled to answer caseworkers' intrusive questions about their sexuality and personal

behavior," pressure "to undergo sterilization or give up their babies for adoption," and having their children placed into foster care, limiting their reproductive choices, personal autonomy, and human rights.[28]

Despite this demeaning treatment, welfare recipients fought back. The Los Angeles County Welfare Rights Organization (LAWRO) developed from the collaborative efforts of Mexican American and African American women in the 1950s whose efforts grew into a "multiracial coalition of neighborhood-based AFDC recipient groups" who fought against economic marginalization in the 1960s and 1970s.[29] Many Welfare Rights Organizations formed across the nation and were brought together in June 1966 by the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), of which Black and Puerto Rican women were instrumental, for the first national day of action for welfare rights. People marched in Washington D.C., Baltimore, and New York City, as well as in Los Angeles where Mexican American, Puerto Rican, African American, and white women and children demanded job training, quality jobs, childcare, and dignity for families on public assistance. The women of LAWRO, inspired by the broader civil rights struggles and power movements around them, provided know-your-rights workshops in the community, demanded a voice in welfare policy, provided social support for one another, and organized countywide campaigns and mass public demonstrations.

In Los Angeles, Chicanas and Black women organized separate but akin organizations in their respective neighborhoods and came together to form a countywide alliance of various independent WRO groups. They built coalitions around poverty, welfare, and motherhood, forging a common Brown-Black movement that honored racial and ethnic autonomy while enabling cross-racial solidarity. Chicanas were important activists and leaders from the beginning of the welfare rights movement, including **Alicia Escalante**, a poor single mother of five who founded the prominent East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization (ELAWRO) in 1967, later known as the **Chicana Welfare Rights Organization (CWRO)**.

Activist Spotlight: Alicia Escalante

Alicia Escalante's story is exceptional but not uncommon. Born and raised in the 1930s and 1940s in El Chamizal, a Mexican barrio in El Paso, Texas, Escalante grew up in poverty with her abusive father. As a youth, she fled to California to be with her mother where she witnessed the cruelty of the welfare and medical systems firsthand. These formative experiences, coupled with the fact that as a teenager she needed to work to sustain her household, shaped her political consciousness, leading her to become an advocate for her mother and later for herself and her own family as well as members of her community. Ecalente's activism was rooted in an ethic of love and care for the people around her, eventually leading her to found the East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization in 1967 (later known as the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization) and *La Causa de Los Pobres*, the organization's newspaper. Characterized by her growing empowerment and personal sense of agency, "Escalante and the [ELAWRO] challenged the status quo of the welfare system by providing informational services to recipients, representation during fair hearings (meetings to appeal decisions made by the welfare department), and direct engagement with the local and state bureaucracy to ensure that recipients rights were respected and upheld."[30] The organization ran workshops on welfare policies, advocated for welfare forms in Spanish and additional local offices staffed with bilingual Mexican American caseworkers, and worked for humane public policy at the county, state, and federal levels. While advocating for recipients in East Los Angeles, Escalante frequently collaborated with Black women activists Johnnie Tillmon and Catherine Jermany on countywide campaigns. Escalante was also involved in other facets of the Chicano Movement, supporting and participating in the East Los Angeles high school blowouts, the anti-war movement, and the Poor People's Campaign in Washington D.C. A prolific writer and orator, Escalante demanded dignity for poor single Chicana mothers on welfare, a group relegated to the margins in both the Chicano movement and the welfare rights movement.[31]

Footnotes

[18] Some notable 20th century labor organizers include Luisa Capetillo, Luisa Moreno, Emma Tenayuca, and Dolores Huerta, as well as the hundreds of women who participated in the cannery strikes in California and Texas and the miner's strikes in New Mexico, documented in the work of Chicana historians Vicki L. Ruiz and Patricia Zavella and in the film *Salt of the Earth,* respectively.

[19] Kim Kelly, "The Farah Manufacturing Strike Was Led By Chicana Activist Rosa Flores," *Teen Vogue,* April 26, 2022.

[20] Kelly, "Farah Manufacturing Strike."

[21] Kim Kelly, “The Garment Workers,” in *Fight Like Hell: The Untold Story of American Labor* (New York: One Signal Publishers, 2022), 37.

[22] Jennifer R. Mata, “Farah Strike,” in *Latino History and Culture, An Encyclopedia,* eds. David J. Leonard and Carmen R. Lugo-Lugo (London: Routledge, 2010), 180.

[23] Emily Honig, “Women at Farah Revisited: Political Mobilization and Its Aftermath among Chicana Workers in El Paso, Texas, 1972-1992,” *Feminist Studies* 22, no. 2 (July 1, 1996): 425–52, doi:10.2307/3178422.

[24] Wins for social justice are typically not black and white and they are often impermanent. Progress is not linear––it is an ongoing negotiation of power and resistance requires creative maneuvering and persistent action.

[25] Honig, “Women at Farah.” In the introduction to *Las Obreras: Chicana Politics of Work and Family,* Chicana historian Vicki L. Ruiz argues, “Women bring attitudes from home to the workplace and from work to home. Empowerment and conflict exist side by side as women struggle to rationalize and integrate wage earning with domestic responsibilities” (2000, 5).

[26] “Latina Equal Pay Day 2022,” Equal Rights Advocates, accessed October 26, 2022.

[27] Alejandra Marchevsky, “Forging a Brown-Black Movement: Chicana and African American Women Organizing for Welfare Rights in Los Angeles,” in *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era,* eds. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 231.

[28] Marchevsky “Forging a Black-Brown Movement,” 232.

[29] Marchevsky “Forging a Black-Brown Movement,” 228.

[30] Rosie C. Bermudez, “La Causa de los Pobres: Alicia Escalante’s Lived Experiences of Poverty and the Struggle for Economic Justice,” in *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era,* eds. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 132.

[31] For more review Alicia Escalante in the Chicana Por Mi Raza Archive.

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5.3: Reproductive Justice

Our Bodies, Our Rights: Demanding Bodily Autonomy

In May 1971 at **La Conferencia de Mujeres por la Raza**, the first nationwide Chicana feminist conference, more than 500 Chicanas from across the country gathered in Houston, Texas to deliberate on their concerns and dreams of liberation. The majority of the attendees were college students between 18-23 years of age.[32] In fact, many Chicana feminists were youth, including high school students, college students, graduate students, and young community activists. Two resolutions emerged from the conference that "called for free, legal abortions and birth control for the Chicano community; controlled by Chicanas" and "24-hour childcare centers in Chicano communities," pointing out that "Chicana motherhood should not preclude educational, political, social and economic development."[33] Prior to the passage of *Roe v. Wade*, intense debates took place among Chicanas at major workshops and conferences on the topic of legal abortion. Despite their varying positions, many resolutions did pass in support, like the one mentioned previously, often calling for Chicana bodily autonomy and community-run clinics that could provide culturally relevant medical care, health education, birth control, and abortion services.

Chicanas, like other feminists of color, have long-expressed a wide range of concerns when it comes to reproductive health and justice including issues of "population control, sterilization abuse, unsafe contraceptives, welfare reform, the criminalization of women who use drugs and alcohol during pregnancy, and coercive and intrusive family planning programs and policies," attending to the ways that racism, disproportionate rates of poverty, and environmental inequities play a role in these issues.[34] Women of color's expansive standpoint on **reproductive justice**, beyond the pro-choice movement's singular commitment to legal abortion access, is illustrated in Figure 5.3.1. The image features a woman holding a baby wrapped in a blanket and bold text that reads, "Our bodies, our rights. Reproductive health is a human right. One in three women will have an abortion in their lifetime. Sixty-one percent of abortions are obtained by mothers." The mother's shirt is covered with the words, "We need safe and healthy communities including an elimination of stereotype-based services and culturally competent providers who speak our languages. HIV and STD and AIDS information and services. We need drug and alcohol treatment services for women who are incarcerated and reproductive care coverage on all health plans. We need access to reproductive resources including birth control methods to meet our individual needs and an end to population control methods of coercive sterilization. We need prenatal and postnatal care. We also need safe and accessible and affordable abortion and contraceptive services and teen pregnancy services and comprehensive sex education beyond abstinence only."

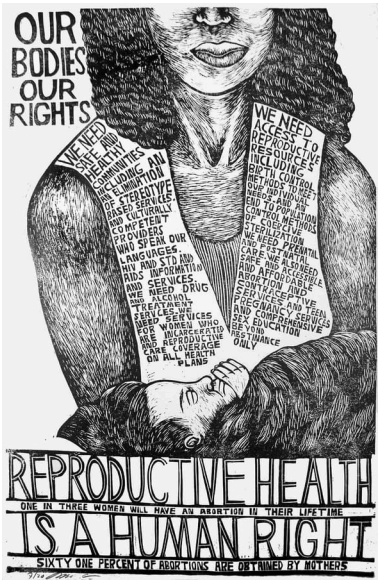


Figure 5.3.1: "Our Bodies Our Rights" by Meredith Stern, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

A Brief History of Reproductive (In)justice

Reproductive justice activism arises from resistance to a long history of systematic reproductive subjugation, particularly in Indigenous, Black, Latinx, poor, and disabled communities, dating back to the Spanish and English colonial eras and into the 20th century under U.S. eugenics laws, programs, and policies. Unfortunately, reproductive medical violence continues today, particularly among incarcerated and low-income communities of color.[35] One contemporary example is the forced sterilization of incarcerated immigrant women in 2020 at the privately operated Irwin County Detention Center (ICDC) in Georgia.[36]

For most of the 20th century, Mexican American and Puerto Rican women faced widespread forced and coercive sterilization and gynecological medical experimentation by the U.S. government and private doctors, who were often subsidized by the government. For example, the birth control pill was first tested on unconsenting poor women in Puerto Rico in the 1950s, resulting in three deaths, followed by decades of forced sterilization. As noted in Section 5.4: Cultural Activism, Chicanas and Latinas have been subjected to racist and sexist stereotypes about their sexuality and reproduction, which have served as justifications for discriminatory, often violent, policies and practices. This pervasive subjection to reproductive exploitation propelled Chicanas and Latinas into legal, legislative, and grassroots activism in the 1960s and 1970s.

As with other movements discussed in this chapter, Chicana and Puerto Rican women had to contend with the patriarchal ideologies that undergirded their nationalist movements as well as the racist and classist ideologies of the women's liberation movement. Within many ethnic-based nationalist ideologies, women were expected to bear many children in order to produce future revolutionaries for the movement and abortion was recognized as part of a larger state-sanctioned campaign of cultural genocide. While Puerto Rican and Chicano nationalists ultimately denounced reproductive abuses, two organizations took different positions on the issue of abortion. Puerto Rican women were able to integrate the struggle for reproductive rights into the Young Lords Party Platform, resulting in the establishment of community-run clinics in New York that offered a wide range of birth control options, including abortion services.[37] The Brown Berets also opened community clinics in Los Angeles, but the group was steadfast in their opposition to abortion, claiming that all forms of birth control were tools of genocide, leading Chicanas to form feminist caucuses within existing organizations as well as separate reproductive rights groups.

Reproductive Justice Organizations

Both Puerto Rican and Chicana activists joined with other Latinas and women of color across the country to wage legal battles in their fight for reproductive justice. Latinas on the East Coast formed the multi-ethnic coalition Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CSEA) in 1974 and in Los Angeles, Chicana and Mexicana activists filed a civil suit against the Los Angeles County Medical Center for involuntary sterilization practices, who subsequently turned to CSEA for assistance. Local grassroots efforts of the 1960s and 1970 developed into more formal national-level Latina and multi-racial organizations in the 1980s and 1990s such as the Latina Roundtable on Health and Reproductive Rights (LRHRR) founded in 1989 by mostly Puerto Rican and Dominican women, Amigas Latinas en Acción formed in the 1990s in Boston, the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health (NLIRH), and the Colorado Organization for Latina Opportunity and Reproductive Rights (COLOR).

Organization Spotlight: California Latinas for Reproductive Justice

Founded in 2004, California Latinas for Reproductive Justice (CLRJ) is a statewide organization committed to honoring the experiences of Latinas/xs to uphold our dignity, our bodies, sexuality, and families. We build Latinas'/xs' power and cultivate leadership through community education, policy advocacy, and community-informed research to achieve reproductive justice. At CLRJ we recognize that Latinas'/xs' reproductive health and rights cannot be viewed in isolation. So we do our work using the reproductive justice framework that emphasizes the intersection with other social, economic and community-based issues that promote the social justice and human rights of Latina/x women and girls and the Latinx community as a whole.

In other words, we recognize that Latinas/xs' access to culturally and linguistically appropriate health care, a living wage job, quality education, freedom from discrimination and violence, among many other issues that affect Latinas'/xs' daily lives, have a profound effect on Latinas' reproductive and sexual health, as well as our right to self-determination in all aspects of our lives.

> We advance our mission through four core strategies: 1) Policy Advocacy, 2) Community Engagement, 3) Community-Informed Research, and 4) Strategic Communications. In addition to these core strategies, an important value that permeates all aspects of CLRJ's work is that of working in collaboration with other allies who share our commitment toward promoting the health and justice of our communities, including grassroots activists, community leaders, and coalitions, policymakers, policy advocates and researchers.[38]

Footnotes

[32] Marta Cotera, "La Conferencia De Mujeres Por La Raza: Houston, Texas, 1971," in *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings,* ed. Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 155-157.

[33] Vidal, "New Voice," 21.

[34] Jael Silliman, Marlene Gerber Fried, Loretta Ross, and Elena R. Gutiérrez, "Women of Color and Their Struggle for Reproductive Justice," in *Undivided Rights: Women of Color Organize for Reproductive Justice*, eds. Jael Silliman, Marlene Gerber Fried, Loretta Ross, and Elena R. Gutiérrez (Cambridge: South End Press, 2004), 3.

[35] Nicole Guidotti-Hernández, "For Latinas, A Fine Line Between Reproductive Justice and Eugenics," *Ms.*, August 13, 2010.

[36] Brigitte Amiri, "Reproductive Abuse is Rampant in the Immigration Detention System," *ACLU*, September 23, 2020.

[37] "We Do Everything that the Brothers Do:" Women of the Young Lords," *New-York Historical Society Museum and Library,* October 14, 2020. An addition resource is "1968: The Young Lord's Organization/Party," *Library of Congress.*

[38] "About Us," California Latinas for Reproductive Justice (CLRJ), accessed August 1, 2022.

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5.4: Cultural Activism

Chicana Artivists Confront Disempowering Representations

Chicana feminist artists and scholars have long-challenged gender oppression during and since the Chicano Renaissance––the flowering of arts, literature, and cultural production alongside El Movimiento. Writers such as Lorna Dee Cervantes, Ana Castillo, Gloria Anzaldúa, and Cherríe Moraga, performance artists Patssi Valdez of ASCO and Patricia Valencia, and visual artists Ester Hernandez, Santa Barraza, and Yolanda López, among others, have confronted disempowering representations of racialized women and reenvisioned Mexican/Chicanx cultural archetypes through their cultural production. Two figures, in particular, La Virgen de Guadalupe and La Malinche have been reclaimed and redefined by Chicana feminists, challenging the patriarchal '*mujer buena/mujer mala*' dichotomy that structures women's and girl's everyday lives. These **artivists** (artist-activists) understood that mythologies and cultural stories transmit values, construct which traits are deemed desirable and undesirable, and shape behavior, making their work not merely art for its own sake, but deeply political.

Redefining Guadalupe

Many artists have transformed Guadalupe's image from a chaste, docile, martyr into an empowered feminist icon. One of the first revisionist images was an etching by San Francisco-based visual artist Ester Hernandez in 1975. "La Virgen de Guadalupe Defendiendo los Derechos de los Xicanos," displayed in Figure 5.4.1, features a young Guadalupe with an unwavering gaze framed by her long dark hair. She is dressed in a black belt karate uniform, her fists clenched, and one leg is powerfully kicking towards anyone or anything who would harm los Xicanos. Hernandez received praise and backlash for her artwork, including death threats, as did Los Angeles-based multimedia artist Alma López for the digital collage "Our Lady" created nearly 25 years later, displayed in Figure 5.4.2. Like Hernández, López portrayed the Catholic icon as a modern, familiar, corporeal woman. López's version is a poised brown-skinned Virgen adorned in roses and a Coyolxauhqui cape, with hands-on-hips and a gaze intently focused on the viewer. She stands barefoot on a black crescent moon held up by a bare-breasted female cherub with monarch butterfly wings. The print was part of the *CyberArte: Tradition Meets Technology* exhibition at the Museum of International Folk Art (MOIFA) in Santa Fe, New Mexico in 2001. Organized attempts to censor the image were led by Roman Catholic clergy and Chicano nationalists who claimed the piece was overtly sexual and therefore sacrilegious. News of the controversy spread online across the U.S. and Mexico, consequently making López and her apparition world-famous. Through artistic reimagining, López created a cultural sign of queer Chicana desire––an action that has been taken up by many other Chicana artists, which is often met with hostility.



Figure 5.4.1: "La Virgen de Guadalupe Defendiendo los Derechos de los Xicanos (Ester Hernandez)" by gozamos is licensed CC BY-SA 2.0.



Figure 5.4.2: "Our Lady (Alma Lopez)" by gozamos is licensed CC BY-SA 2.0.

Reenvisioning Malintzín

Another icon has been central in feminist cultural activism. The story of La Malinche, also known as Malintzín Tenepal, Malinalli, and Doña Marina, has been taken up in a number of essays, poems, and artwork in divergent ways. Chicana author and publisher Norma Alarcón points out that Chicano and Mexicano men's representation of La Malinche is vastly different than that of Chicana feminists. Men's patriarchal interpretations of Malinche tend to focus on her betrayal vis-à-vis her sexuality, assigning the role of servitude to Chicanas/Mexicanas, particularly those in heterosexual relationships. Embodied by La Malinche, betrayal itself is coded as female. Alarcón argues that Malintzín has become a "reference point not only for controlling, interpreting or visualizing women but also to wage a domestic battle of stifling proportions."[39] The impacts of this myth are vast. As the primary transmitters of culture, women are not exempt from reproducing misogynistic representations, which can manifest as self-hatred. If we are expected to love and emulate Guadalupe and her virtues, according to binary thinking we must hate and reject La Malinche and those aspects within ourselves that we share. These are the representations of La Malinche that Chicana feminists have sought to undo and revise.

In *Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature* Tey Diana Rebolledo and Eliana S. Rivero (1993) identify four themes that describe the work of Chicanas who have written about Malintzín. These include

1. Refusal to blame the victim. Malintzín was an Indigenous woman who was sold into slavery by her family and later taken captive by the conquistador Cortes. She was a victim of both historical and political circumstances.
2. Representative of the conquest of Indigenous Mexico. The revival of Malintzín as central to the process of mestizaje elevates her to the status of the cultural mother, a complex woman representing Chicanas/os Native roots.[40]
3. Translation and code-switching. Chicana writers identify parallels in their own experiences with those of Malinche as a translator and cultural intermediary. She too was caught between two worlds––her own culture and that of the dominant Spanish settler culture. Chicanas identify with acts of cultural and linguistic negotiation and interpretation.
4. Agency and survival. Chicana writers reinterpret Malintzín's story in a more nuanced way, pointing out that although she was young and enslaved, she was an active subject who made conscious decisions that shaped her own life and made history, not simply a passive victim of sexual conquest. In fact, "it is in her capacity as intercessor and helper that La Malinche takes on the attributes of the Virgin of Guadalupe."[41]

Two noteworthy poetic examples include "Como Duele" by Adalijza Sosa-Riddell and "La Malinche" by Carmen Tafolla, composed in 1973 and 1978 respectively. They are part of a larger body of work that emerged during El Movimiento that seek to reformulate Chicana identity, history, and cultural politics. In the post-movement years, La Virgen de Guadalupe and La Malinche continue to be powerful symbols of Chicana representation.

Sidebar: Poetry

“Como Duele” by Adalijza Sosa-Riddell[42]

Ese, vato, I saw you today [Hey, buddy]
en Los y Sacra
en Santa Barbara, Sanfra
and everywhere else.
You walked, Chicano chulo,
eagle on your jacket,
y “carnales y carnalas,” [brothers and sisters]
Y “Que Viva la Raza.”

But where were you when
I was looking for myself?
As if I didn't know.

Where the MAN and
all his pendejadas? [stupidity]
sent you,
To Dartmouth, Los Angeles City College,
Barbers School, La Pinta,
Korea, and Vietnam; too many of you
returned wrapped como enchiladas
in red, white, and blue.

A Chicano at Dartmouth?
I was at Berkeley, where,
there were too few of us
and even less of you.
I'm not even sure
that I really looked for you.

I heard from many rucos [old people]
that you
would never make it.
You would hold me back;
From What?
From what we are today?
“Y QUE VIVA”
Pinche, como duele ser Malinche. [How it hurts to be Malinche]

My name was changed, por la ley. [by the law]
Probrecitos, they believed in me,
That I was white enough
to stay forever,
that I would never find you again.

I found you, Chicano,
but only for a moment,
Never para siempre. [forever]
Temilotzin died the morning after,
Malinche.
It's too late.

The world does not wait
for indecision,
neither do Chicanos.

And mis pobres padres [my poor parents]
taught me
not to hurt
others too much,
Malinche, pinche,
forever with me;
I was born out of you,
I walk beside you,
bear my children with you,
for sure, I'll die
alone with you.
Perhaps I died before,
when I said good-bye
al barrio y al Cruiser.
He went to road camp,
por grifo y peleonero. [for drugs and fighting]
While I was saved--
for what?

Pinche, como duele ser Malinche.
Pero sabes, ese,
what keeps me from shattering
into a million fragments?
It's that sometimes,
you are el hijo de la Malinche, too.

"La Malinche" by Carmen Tafolla[43]

Yo soy la Malinche.

My people called me Malintzín Tenepal
the Spaniards called me Doña Marina

I came to be known as Malinche
and Malinche came to mean traitor.

they called me--*chingada*
Chingada.
(Ha--¡Chingada! ¡Screwed!)

Of noble ancestry, for whatever that means,
I was sold into slavery by MY ROYAL FAMILY--so
that my brother could get my inheritance.

...And then the omens began--a god, a new civi-
lization, the downfall of our empire.
And *you* came.
My dear Hernán Cortés, to share your "civi-

lization"--to play a god, . . . and I began to *dream*...
I saw
and I acted.

I saw our world
And I saw yours
And I saw--
another.

And *yes*––I helped you––against Emperor Moctezuma
Xocoyotzín himself.
I became Interpreter, Advisor, and lover.
They could not imagine me dealing on a level
with you––so they said I was raped, used
chingada
¡Chingada!

But I saw our world
and your world
and another.

No one else could see.
Beyond one world, none existed.
And you yourself cried the night
the city burned
and burned at your orders.
The most beautiful city on earth
in flames,
You cried broken tears the night you saw
your destruction.
My homeland ached within me
(but I saw *another*).

Another world––
a world yet to be born.
And our child was born...
and I was immortalized *Chingada*!

Years later, you took away my child (my sweet
mestizo new world child)
to raise him in your world
You *still* didn't see.
You *still* didn't see.
And history would call *me*
Chingada.

But Chingada I was not.
Not tricked, not screwed, not traitor.
For I was not traitor to myself––
I saw a dream
and I *reached* it.
Another world.....

la raza.
la raaaaa-zaaaaa.....

Footnotes

[39] Norma Alarcón, "Chicana's Feminist Literature: A Re-Vision Through Malintzin/or Malintzin: Putting Flesh Back on the Object," in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color,* 2nd edition, eds. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (New York: Kitchen Table Press, 1983), 182.

[40] For a nuanced discussion of this topic see Sheila Marie Contreras, "From La Malinche to Coatlicue: Chicana Indigenist Feminism and Mythic Native Women," in *Blood Lines: Myth, Indigenism, and Chicana/o Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 105-132.

[41] Tey Diana Rebolledo and Eliana S. Rivero, eds. *Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), 193.

[42] From Rebolledo and Rivero, *Infinite Divisions*, 213-215. Originally published in *El Grito* VII, no. 1 (September 1973): 76-78.

[43] From Rebolledo and Rivero, *Infinite Divisions*, 198-199. Originally published in *Canto al Pueblo: An Anthology of Experiences* (San Antonio, Texas: Penca Books).

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5.5: Disrupting Sexism and Homophobia en La Familia

Political Familism

While the ideological concept of *la familia* had some negative implications for Chicanas, one positive attribute was the call for total family participation in the struggle for racial justice. In her seminal 1975 sociological study, Chicana feminist Maxine Baca Zinn calls this fusion of cultural and political resistance **political familism**.[44] She challenges the sociological literature that, at the time, attributed burgeoning egalitarian Chicano family dynamics to assimilation, instead arguing that family activism in general and Chicana participation in movement activities, in particular, brought about dramatic shifts in gender roles while enabling Chicanos to maintain familial ties. In fact, Baca Zinn claims that historically, the family has been a source of protection and refuge for Chicanos/as in a hostile racist society and the maintenance of the extended family kinship system is in direct opposition to the dominant colonial nuclear family structure. In other words, women's participation in El Movimiento transformed their relationship to the family and to other's gendered expectations of them.

Expanding Notions of La Familia

Additionally, romanticized notions of la familia were further disrupted by the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization, whose activism centered poor single Chicana mothers on welfare, unsettling the idea that the Chicano family was constituted by a male head-of-household in a heterosexual partnership. Similarly, critiques of Chicano heterosexism were taking place in the political and creative work of Chicana feminist lesbians such as Gloria Anzaldúa, Ana Castillo, Naomi Littlebear Moreno, and Cherríe Moraga. In her groundbreaking essay "Queer Aztlán," Moraga calls for more expansive notions of *la familia*, expressing a desire for "a new nationalism in which la Chicana Indígena stands at the center, and heterosexism and homophobia are no longer the cultural order of the day."[45] While Chicanismo called for the involvement of *la familia* to challenge oppressive external conditions, Chicana feminists extended this view to include oppressive intracultural conditions, namely sexism and homophobia, within *la familia* itself, demonstrating the feminist principle that the "personal is political." Chicana feminists worked to expand and reframe the notion of *la familia* as an important unit that could collectively demand liberation for all its members. Writer and activist Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez put it this way: "look at each other as one large family. We must look at all of the children as belonging to all of us. We must strive for the fulfillment of all as equals, with the capacity and right to develop as humans."[46]

Footnotes

[44] Maxine Baca Zinn, "Political Familism: Toward Sex-Role Equality in Chicano Families," in *The Chicano Studies Reader, An Anthology of Aztlán, 1970-2015,* eds. Chon A. Noriega, Eric Avila, Karen Mary Davalos, Chela Sandoval, and Rafael Pérez-Torres (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press, 2006), 438-450. Baca Zinn provides a few examples of Chicano movement organizations that drew on the strength and power of the family to advance their agenda. These include the farmworker movement, the Chicano revolt against the Crystal City school district in 1969 and the subsequent formation of La Raza Unida Party, and El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, among others (441-442).

[45] Cherríe Moraga, "Queer Aztlán: the Reformation of the Chicano Tribe, in *The Last Generation: Prose and Poetry* (Boston: South End Press, 1993), 145-174.

[46] Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez, "The Women of La Raza," in *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings,* ed. Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 31.

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5.6: Activist Scholarship and Chicana and Latina Studies

Fighting for a Feminist Agenda in Chicano Studies

As noted throughout this chapter, Chicana/Latina feminist activism has taken place in homes, in the streets, at the workplace, and in cultural production. Chicana/Latina feminists have also been active in academia. As noted in Chapter 8: Education and Activism, the number of people of color entering higher education increased as a direct result of student and community activism in the 1960s and 1970s. Activists called for a more relevant education that highlighted their community's knowledge systems, histories, struggles, and contributions, leading to the formation of ethnic studies programs and departments across the country. The first Chicano studies programs that emerged out of El Movimiento were guided by the ideology of Chicanismo, often suppressing topics of gender and sexuality, leaving feminist and queer faculty and students to address the oppressive aspects of the burgeoning discipline. In this section, we explore stories of the trailblazing **activist scholars** who fought to include a feminist agenda within Chicano studies and establish the field of Chicana/Latina studies.[47]

At a joint Chicano studies/MEChA conference at California State University, Northridge in 1972, a resolution passed that called for all Chicano studies majors to take at least one course on "La Chicana" for graduation and in June 1973, the first Chicana curriculum was developed for colleges and universities (adaptable for high schools) at a Chicana workshop at the University of California, Los Angeles. During this time, activist-scholar and journalist Anna NietoGomez called for Chicana-specific classes to be developed that would provide Chicanas a space to develop a new empowered identity and facilitate others' understanding and acceptance of her new role in society. She would go on to teach one of the first courses on "The Chicana Experience" at California State University, Northridge and co-found the first Chicana feminist scholarly journal *Encuentro Femenil* with *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* in 1973.[48] From the onset, the founders worked with community leaders to document issues and struggles to build awareness and rally support. The journal provided a space for Chicana cultural production and activist scholarship, which were then moved into the classroom, along with manifestos and newspapers from different sectors of the movement and other anticolonial and socialist texts.

Post-Movement Feminist and Queer Interventions

After the height of the El Movimiento (1968-1975) and the formative years of Chicana studies, many feminist and queer activists and scholars "abandoned nationalist claims and nationalist imaginaries to create alternative ways of belonging."[49] The feminist struggle against sexism in Chicano studies, while operative since the inception of the field, was on full display at the National Association for Chicano Studies (NACS) conference in 1982 when Mujeres en Marcha, a group of Chicana scholars from UC Berkeley, organized a panel on gender inequality.[50] The Chicana Caucus of NACS was established the following year. The caucus focuses on gender equity, sexism, patriarchy, and the needs and interests of women, whether queer or straight, in the association and in everyday life. Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (MALCS), also formed in 1982, is a professional organization for Chicana/Latina/Indigenous women and gender-expansive academics and activists "dedicated to building bridges between community and university settings, transforming higher education, and promoting new paradigms and methods." MALCS flagship biannual publication, *Chicana/Latina Studies: The Journal of Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social*, "publishes groundbreaking interdisciplinary scholarship, creative works by and about Chicanas/Latinas and Indigenous women of the Americas, and is receptive to all scholarly methods and theoretical perspectives that examine, describe, analyze, or interpret our experiences."

Moreover, Chicana/x feminist lesbian writers began emerging in greater numbers in the 1980s and 1990s. Their work centered queer women's perspectives in both fiction and non-fiction, critiqued heterosexism and heteronormativity, and addressed the exclusion of gender and sexuality in the field of Chicano studies. Through and despite the resistance, queer caucuses were established at NACS in the early 1990s including the Lesbian Caucus (now Lesbian, BiMujeres, and Trans Caucus) and the Joto Caucus, consisting of men who are gay, bisexual, and trans. After decades of feminist and queer interventions, NACS finally changed its name from National Association of Chicano Studies to National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) in 1995 and numerous resolutions were passed in the 90s that addressed issues of gender, sexuality, sexism, and homophobia in the organization. Over the years, Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x gender and sexuality have become the fastest-growing areas of study within the field and scholarly and political explorations have become more complex and consequential. Visit Chapter 6: Jotería Studies for a history of Jotería studies and a discussion of the activist scholars who have expanded the Chicana/o/x studies canon. Since the 2000s, NACCS and MALCS have broadened their membership and missions as a result of interventions

by Indigenous Latinxs, Afro-Latinxs, and trans and gender-non-conforming Latinxs. In conclusion, a distinct feature of Chicana/Latina studies is its commitment to community-engaged activist scholarship that "links research to community concerns and social change," centering Chicana/xs Latina/xs as multifaceted agent-subjects.[51]

Footnotes

[47] Section 5.6 draws on a timeline by Wiliam Calvo-Quiros, *News From Nepantla,* University of California, Santa Barbara Chicana and Chicano Studies newsletter 7, (Fall 2012): 7, which was originally based on Antonia Castañeda's 2012 MALCS plenary presentation "MALCS' Decolonizing Work: Naming and Undoing Institutional Violence, from SB 1070 to Chicana/o Studies."

[48] Anna NietoGomez, "The Chicana––Perspectives for Education," in *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings,* ed. Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 130-131; Blackwell, *Chicana Power!*, 145. To learn more about and from NietoGomez, review "Interview of Anna NietoGomez," *Center for Oral History Research*, UCLA Library; and "Anna Nieto-Gomez," *Chicana Por Mi Raza*.

[49] Blackwell, *Chicana Power!,* 210.

[50] Blackwell, *Chicana Power!*, 204.

[51] Adela de la Torre and Beatríz M. Pesquera, eds., "Introduction," in *Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1.

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5.7: Conclusion

Summary

In this chapter we explored a variety of Chicana/Latina feminist political, social, artistic, and scholarly issues, movements, and practices that have taken shape in a variety of contexts. Chicana/Latina feminists draw inspiration from a long lineage of radical feminist praxis across the hemisphere and around the world, often building coalitions with other marginalized communities. Some key issues that were introduced include economic justice, reproductive justice, cultural activism, family dynamics, and scholarship. However, these are only a few of the many ongoing movements and causes that Chicana/Latina feminists participate in. Hopefully you complete this chapter informed and inspired taking with you new perspectives, tools, and strategies to utilize in your own advocacy work, whether that be in your home, community, school, or beyond.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.5: Chapter 5 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Patriarchy: A system of gender-based control and domination where women and gender non-conforming people are subordinated to men through legal and extralegal measures. Patriarchy "includes cultural ideas about men and women, the web of relationships that structure social life, and the unequal distribution of power, rewards, and resources that underlies privilege and oppression."

Sexism: Discrimination or devaluation of women, based on their sex or gender.

Triple Oppression: A phenomenon named by feminist writers in the early 1970s who argued that Chicanas were subjugated based on their race, as workers, and as women. U.S. Third-World, Puerto Rican, and Black feminists were simultaneously theorizing and organizing around the convergence of multiple systems of oppression, drawing on an intergenerational feminist lineage dating back hundreds of years.

Loyalists: A designation for Chicanas who were guided by the ideology of Chicanismo and believed that race and class oppression should be the primary agenda of El Movimiento and that feminism was divisive to the movement.

Dichotomy: A division between two things that are or are represented as being opposed or entirely different.

Virgin/Whore Complex: An example of a dichotomy that was first imposed by the colonial Catholic Church during the Spanish conquest that constructed women as a '*mujer buena*' or a '*mujer mala*.' In modern times, this gendered cultural expectation about Chicana womanhood reinforces patriarchy, obliging Chicanas to take on the contradictory roles of obedient wife and mother and to also be sexually available.

Marianismo: The narrative found on one side of the virgin/whore complex, which typifies the deep reverence for La Virgen de Guadalupe who is valued as the subservient all-suffering virgin mother.

La Malinche: The Indigenous woman on one side of the virgin/whore complex known for being Hernan Cortes's concubine, translator, mediator, and fabled mother of the first mestizo. As a Native woman, she is characterized as sexually available, disposable, and condemned as a traitor for contributing to the downfall of the Aztec civilization.

U.S. Third World Feminism: A transnational feminist standpoint developed in the late 1960s and informed by global decolonial and anticolonial movements. As they critiqued and attempted to dismantle interlocking systems of oppression through racially specific feminist projects, feminists of color in the U.S., including Chicanas and Latinas, co-created a new cross-racial political subjectivity and oppositional praxis that linked various struggles for social justice.

Praxis: The act of putting theory into action.

Farah Manufacturing Strike: An event that began in May 1972 when 4,000 garment factory workers, predominantly Mexican American women, walked out of their jobs at Farah Manufacturing Company plants in Texas and Júarez, Mexico. The strikers

demanded the right to unionize for higher wages, maternity leave, workplace safety, and an end to sexual harassment, which they won after twenty-two months of striking and a successful national boycott.

Alicia Escalante: A prominent Chicana welfare rights activist in the 1960s and leader in the larger welfare rights movement. Escalante was also involved in other facets of the Chicano Movement, supporting and participating in the East Los Angeles high school blowouts, the anti-war movement, and the Poor People's Campaign in Washington D.C.

Chicana Welfare Rights Organization: Originally the East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization (ELAWRO), this organization was founded in 1967 by Alicia Escalante. The organization ran workshops on welfare policies, advocated for welfare forms in Spanish and additional local offices staffed with bilingual Mexican American caseworkers, and worked for humane public policy at the county, state, and federal levels.

La Conferencia de Mujeres por la Raza: The first nationwide Chicana feminist conference held in 1971 in Houston, Texas.

Reproductive Justice: An expansive feminist of color standpoint at the intersections of reproductive health and social justice that goes beyond the pro-choice movement's singular commitment to legal abortion access. RJ advocates for the right to *not* have a child, the right to *have* a child, and the right to *parent* children in safe and healthy environments. It also demands sexual autonomy and gender freedom for all.

Artivist: A combination of the words artist and activist. Artivists create art not for its own sake, but to convey a political message in the service of social justice movements.

Political Familialism: A term coined by Chicana feminist sociologist Maxine Baca Zinn to describe the fusion of cultural and political resistance during the Chicano Movement demonstrated by the call for total family participation in the struggle for racial justice.

Activist-Scholar: A term used to describe academics who take an explicitly political standpoint in their work.

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6: JOTERÍA STUDIES

Learning Objectives

- Define the meanings of jotería and the importance of self-naming.
- Explain the genealogy of jotería studies by studying its origins and impact on Chicanx activism, cultural production, performance, identity, and scholarship.
- Describe the relationship between jotería studies and Chicanx studies.
- Demonstrate how jotería frameworks help to think critically about gender sexuality, race, and culture.

Introduction

When most students learn about jotería studies for the first time, they are surprised that it is even a thing. Often they say, "isn't jotería a negative or derogatory word?" Or they will say with some confusion that they have only ever heard joto used as a way to offend someone or call them gay. None of those responses are surprising or incorrect. Jotería, joto, and jota have been used, and continue to be used, in negative and derisive ways in the United States, Mexico, and other Latin American countries. However, like the word Chicano or queer, which were reclaimed as part of social justice activism, joto, jota, and **jotería**, have been reclaimed, redefined, and resignified as empowering terms for many people who find pride and strength in their queer, trans, Chicanx and Latinx identities.[1]

Not only have folks reclaimed these words, but there is an entire field of studies called jotería studies and a national organization called the Association for Jotería Arts, Activism, and Scholarship (AJAAS) created in the 2010s that has helped shape the field.[2] Courses are being taught in jotería studies at colleges and universities near you, you can find merchandise with the words jotx written on it, and students and activists are seeing themselves represented more in more and more spaces. None of this would have been possible, however, without the activism of trans and queer Chicanxs and Latinxs and other people of color who have fought for visibility, representation, and basic human rights.

In her 1987 book *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza,* Chicana lesbian author, philosopher, poet, and independent scholar, Gloria Anzaldúa wrote, "People listen to what your jotería is saying," meaning that cisgender heterosexual Chicanas and Chicanos needed to pay attention to what queer members of the Chicanx community were saying.[3] It has taken a long time, but folks are now paying attention. Privileging some of those jotería voices, this chapter traces the genealogy of jotería as an identity and epistemology (way of thinking and knowing) and of the field of jotería studies, which is indebted to Chicana feminisms, women of color feminists, Chicanx studies, ethnic studies, and activism for women's, queer, and trans rights. The chapter highlights topics such as jotería education, pedagogy, activism, art, nightlife, spirituality, sex, and others, and how jotería as a community and as an academic field have paved an innovative and transformative path for thinking about the intersections of gender, race, and sexuality in Chicanx and Latinx communities. This is only an introduction as there is so much more to cover than these pages permit. But we hope this sparks your interest and you continue to learn about jotería!

6.1: Reclaiming Jota/o/x and Jotería

6.2: Genealogy of Jotería Studies

6.3: Jotería Activism Past and Present

6.4: Jotería Frameworks and Scholarly Conversations

6.5: Jotería Aesthetics and Cultural Production

6.6: Conclusion

Footnotes

[1] Maricón is another derogatory word in the US, Mexico, Cuba, and other parts of Latin America, that has been reclaimed by many and has been used in art and literature as a banner of pride like Joteria See this article by Ernesto Cuba on the use of the word maricón. https://latinxtalk.org/2022/03/16/ma...se-of-maricon/

[2] As discussed later in the chapter, AJAAS was formed when members of the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS), Joto Caucus (Gay men's caucus) and Lesbian, Bi, Mujeres, Trans Caucus, and community members, decided to create their own organization.

[3] Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987), 107.

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6.1: Reclaiming Jota/o/x and Jotería

Etymology of Jota/o/x

> I remember being called a joto when I was a kid. It was painful when my cousins, family members who I loved, used that slur to belittle me and dehumanize me. I carried shame from that for many years. Today I have healed from those experiences. I am proud to be a joto and find beauty in my queerness.

The etymology and meaning of the terms joto/a/x and jotería are important to understand the shift from derogatory insults to terms of empowerment and the development of jotería studies as an interdisciplinary academic field of study. The term jotería derives from the colloquial Spanish language term joto (sissy, faggot) for gay men in Mexico and Mexican and Chicanx communities in the US.[4] The word derives from jota (Cell Block J) of the Lecumberri Federal Prison (1900-1976) in Mexico City where prison authorities kept effeminate men isolated from the rest of the prison population starting in the early part of the 20th century.[5] Prisoners in cellblock J were called jotos and the word became synonymous with homosexuality.[6] A colorful artistic representation of the term Joto is displayed in Figure 6.1.1.

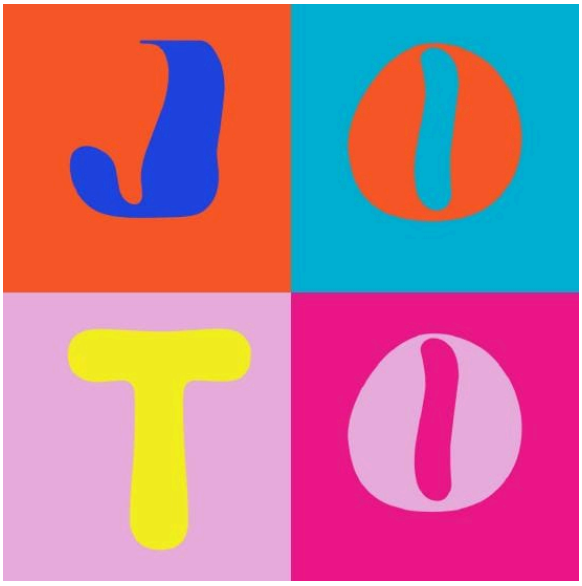


Figure 6.1.1: "Joto" by Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr, Flickr is licensed CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.

Reclaiming and Redefining Jotería

While "joto" and "jota" have been used as a hurtful slur that impacts one's sense of self, it has been reclaimed and resignified as a term of empowerment and beauty for many. This reclaiming as a "linguistic subversion may create new worlds in the present."[7] Juan Sebastian Ferrada argues that "through the reclaiming of jotería, Latinx communities resignify their own futures into existence."[8] In 2021 *The Los Angeles Times* printed the word jotería in a positive way in an article about a gay bar in downtown Los Angeles that was struggling to survive during COVID.[9] Based on an interview I did with the journalist, she cited my use of "jotería spaces" in talking about the importance of bars and clubs for jotería. This is a big deal because that word is not used often in journalistic material. This also shows it can be reclaimed and redefined in popular media and not just in-group usage. As the rest of this chapter shows, jotería has not only been reclaimed but has empowered many people to be their authentic selves while doing work to uplift their communities and heal from past traumas attached to homophobia and transphobia. Scholars, artists, and activists then have created a new discourse around what jotería means and what its liberatory praxis looks like. Ellie Hernandez underscores that we "have to start creating discourses" around these topics.[10]

Two examples of artists reclaiming the word joto or jota are Chicana lesbian playwright and performer Monica Palacios and queer Chicano poet and performer Yosimar Reyes. In 2015, Palacios wrote and performed along with two other artists Vanessa Terán

and Andrea Vargas, a show titled "Jota Love" at Highways Performance Space in Santa Monica, California. The performances consisted of different genres including comedy and dance by Latina/o artists in Los Angeles. The other example of artists reclaiming the world joto or jota are queer Chicano poet Yosimar Reyes and artivist (artist + activist) Julio Salgado, who in collaboration with the online creative expressions organization Dreamers Adrift (co-founded by Salgado), created a short video called "Behind the Image: Quiero Que Me Llames Joto" (I Want You to Call Me Joto), based on a poem by Reyes, which he recites as Salgado illustrates. "I want you to call me joto," he says in the poem, not as an insult or a joke but in a humanizing way. As the poem unfolds, and the poet resignifies (gives new meaning) the word joto, he confronts the pain the word has caused him but also affirms that he has learned to love himself. In the video, Reyes recites his poem, presumably written for a parent, there are scenes of Salgado in the process of creating an illustration of Reyes, and scenes of Reyes writing the poem. By the end of the video, there is the completed drawing of the poet, arms raised high with the words "Quiero que me llames joto" across his bare body, and Reyes' handwritten words from the poem on a bright pink background. Reyes' face emanates pleasure and peace. The juxtaposition of Salgado's sketching and Reyes' writing that lead to the finished product, the final illustration at the end of the poem, points to the process of self-integration, self-love, and wholeness, which Reyes suggests is possible through the reclaiming of a word like joto.

Over the years, the term jotería has developed multiple meanings. Many queer Chicanx and Latinx organizations, especially in the southwest have used jota, joto and joteria as empowering terms in their slogans or in posters they have used in protests, as you'll learn more about later in the chapter. On their website, the Association for Jotería Arts, Activism and Scholarship AJAAS, defines jotería as a noun: "queer Latina/o, Chicana/o Indigenous people; a reclaimed term of empowerment."[11] They also describe it as an adjective: "relating to or supporting queer Latina/o, Chicana/o, and Indigenous people" and "a decolonial queer feminist sensibility and politics, a mode of seeing, thinking, and feeling geared towards empowerment and social transformation." In alignment with the definitions put forward by AJAAS, communications scholar Robert M. Gutierrez-Perez defines jotería as "an identity category, a cultural practice, and a social process."[12] Luis M. Andrade argues that these definitions are an "interplay between individual and group processes and practices" showing "the productivity and complexity of the term."[13] We can observe these meanings manifested in the testimonios, or "jota-historias" of participants in José Manuel Santillan's research on La Jotería, a Chicanx Latinx queer student activist group at UCLA.[14] Alex, one of the participants in his study said that he embraced the word jotería because he saw himself as part of the community, "a community that I come from being queer, working class, Chicano, and [with] immigrant parents. Like many other jotas y jotos, I know its not that easy to separate our identity from our queerness and our jotería."[15] These examples of what jotería means to student activists are called "**jotería-historias**."[16] Jotería, albeit imperfect, is an inclusive term that spoke to both their queer and Chicanx identities and also encompassed their gender and other parts of their identities. While these moments of reclamation are important, Francisco Galarte reminds us that joteria studies and Chicanx studies must be inclusive of trans perspectives and that transgender as an identity and frame of analysis helps us think differently about rigid gender binaries embedded in Chicana/o scholarship even in recent queer Chicana/o scholarship.[17]

Footnotes

[4] Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr. and Jorge Estrada, "Joteria Studies," in *Global Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trsngender and Queer (LGBTQ) History*, eds. Howard Chiang, Anjali Arondekar, Marc Epprecht, Jennifer V. Evans, Ross G. Evans, Hannadi Al-Samman, Emily Skidmore, and Zeb Tortorici (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 2019), 863.

[5] Alvarez Jr. and Estrada, "Jotería Studies," 863.

[6] Robert Buffington, "Los Jotos [The Jotos]: Contested Visions of Homosexuality in Modern Mexico," in *Sex and Sexuality in Latin America*, ed. Daniel Balderston and Donna J. Guy (New York: New York University Press 1997), 118-132; Magalli Delgadillo, "El Palacio Negro que invento a los jotos" *El Universal*, January 6, 2016, https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/entrada-de-opinion/colaboracion/mochilazo-en-el-tiempo/nacion/sociedad/2016/06/1/el-palacio-negro.

[7] Juan Sebastian Ferrada, "Resignifications: Linguistic Resistance and Queer Expressions of Latinidad," in *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Sexuality*, eds. Kira Hall and Rusty Barret (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2018.

[8] Ferrada, "Resiginifications."

[9] Andrea Castillo, "A Lifeline for LGBTQ Latinos on the Brink of Closure," *Los Angeles Times*, February 15, 2021,

https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-02-15/a-lifeline-for-lgbtq-latinos-on-the-brink-of-closure

[10] Ellie Hernandez, Zoom, Epilogue Books, October 14, 2022

[11] "Jotería" Association for Joteria Arts Activism and Scholarship, accessed December 8, 2022, https://www.ajaas.com/joteria

[12] Robert M. Gutierrez-Perez, "Disruptive Ambiguities: The Potentiality of Joteria Critique in Communication Studies," *Kaleidoscope: A Graduate Journal of Qualitative Communication Research* 14, no. 2 (2015): 92.

[13] Luis M. Andrade, "Joteria Studies and/in Communication," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia* August 15, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.1200

[14] José Manuel Santillana, "Somos Jotería: UCLA Chicanx Latinx Student Activists Fighting for Social Justice," in *Transmovimientos: Latinx Queer Migrations, Bodies and Spaces*, eds. Ellie Hernandez, Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr., and Magda García (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 2021), 34.

[15] Santillana, "Somos Jotería," 40.

[16] Anita Tijerina Revilla and José Manuel Santillana, "Joteria Identity and Consciousness," *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 39, no.1 (Spring 2016): 167.

[17] Francisco J. Galarte, "Trans* Chican@; Amor, Justicia, y Dignidad" *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 39, no.1 (Spring 2014), 229-234.

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6.2: Genealogy of Jotería Studies

Intersectional Feminist, Queer, and Trans Genealogies

> "Yes, there is a jotería movement! Although it hasn't been explicit, Cherríe and Gloria have fought for it. It has been an ongoing movement." Lupe from UCLA student activist group La Joteria[18]

Although its name, jotería studies, is relatively new, the field has a long interconnected genealogy. The trajectory of jotería thinking, writing, performing, and engaging in activism is woven together like a carefully crafted braid of hair or like sequined fabric, sequins stitched together, creating a luminous tapestry.[19] Jotería studies can be traced back to early work of ethnic studies and Chicanx studies and gay, lesbian, gender non-conforming, and trans artists, activists, and scholars of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, including Chicana feminists, third world (women of color) feminists, Chicana lesbian feminists, and trans *feministas*. (For more on this, review Chapter 5). Collectives of lesbian and queer Chicanas have been at the forefront of these movements and shifts in consciousness. Like Gloria Anzaldua, Osa Hidalgo de La Riva is an important filmmaker and activist who laid the foundation for much of the creative and philosophical thinking. She is shown in Figure 6.2.1. When asked about her participation in the Chicano movement, Hidalgo De La Riva says, "Well, we were all active, as a family. My brother Louis did Chicano murals and he was always painting. When we organized events like a poetry reading or a Chicano art show, we would always have family and a large mix of people."[20] De La Riva's comment reminds us that joteria were also part of the Chicano movement if those voices have often been excluded from the historical record.



Figure 6.2.1: "Osa Hidalgo De La Riva" by Melissa Moreno, Flickr is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.

Jotería studies also has **muxerista** foundations. According to Anita Tijerina Revilla, a "muxerista is a person whose identity is rooted in a Chicana Latina feminist version for social change, committed to ending all forms of oppression including but not limited to classism, racism, sexism, homophobia, and citizen ism. Its definition is rooted in the scholarship and activism of Chicanos and feminists of color, but it's extended by the work experience and theoretical understandings of the members of Raza Womyn," an organization at UCLA in the late 1990s.[21] Anita Tijerina Revilla, Joanna Nuñez, José Manuel Santillana, and Sergio A. Gonzalez remind us of this concept and its history, expanding it and arguing for a jotería-muxerista approach, a radical queer, gender expansive feminist perspective anchored in multidimensional and intersectional struggle, love, social justice, accountability, friendship, and healing.[22] The historical, theoretical, and spiritual connections to women of color feminisms are particularly important to discuss in relation to the liberatory epistemologies that have shaped the critical work we do. Tracing the influence of women of color feminisms on queer of color theories and jotería studies demonstrates the interconnectedness of the diasporic, transnational, hemispheric, decolonial, and antiracist frameworks central to jotería studies, this chapter, and this whole book, and to the larger project of autonomy and self-determination for colonized peoples.

Jotería studies builds on the activism and writings of lesbian feminists of color such as the *Combahee River Collective Statement, This Bridge Called My Back: Writing by Radical Women of Color, Borderlands: La Frontera/The New Mestiza*, *Zami* by Audre Lorde, and more.[23]

In *This Bridge Called My Back,* edited by Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga, the collection of essays and poems were **theories in the flesh**, meaning they were creating theories from their lived experiences.[24] For example, Gloria Anzaldúa's concept of **"el mundo zurdo"** (left-handed world) referred to those of us on the margins, outside of the dominant world, because of our multiple intersection identities such as queer folks, immigrants, disabled, and others, and the potential among us to create solidarity and social change.[25] For the Combahee River Collective, race was inseparable from gender. Emma Pérez developed the concept *sitio y lengua*, which is about the empowerment of women, specifically Chicana lesbians, based on shared language and space, and how this bonding and nurturing makes it possible to embark upon struggles for social change."[26] Chela Sandoval's concept of **differential consciousness** is the shifting modes in thinking (and action), involved in navigating systems of power, in turn leading to action. These early contributions, concepts, and theories by feminist lesbians of color and the different namings of their identities point to interconnectedness, power in difference, solidarity, and what Anzaldúa called spiritual activism, and have been instrumental to understanding the interconnected nature of race, class, gender, sexuality, nation, and the idea that "the personal is political," which is central to jotería identity. See Chapter 5: Feminisms for more details on this.

In his essay, "Queer Theory Revisited" Micheal Hames-García, like other queer scholars of color, critiques the erasure of queer people of color from writings on the development of the field of queer studies.[27] Hames-Garcia offers an alternative timeline that includes lesbian, gay, and queer of color writers such as Gloria Anzaldúa, James Baldwin, Audre Lorde, and Cherríe Moraga. Theorizing from the flesh, jotería studies is influenced by and part of what we understand as queer of color theories, which emerged as a response to the whiteness of queer theory, its tepid inclusion of race, and its overemphasis on high theory.

Scholar Spotlight: Horacio N. Roque Ramírez

An award-winning scholar, archivist, and oral historian, Horacio N. Roque Ramírez, featured in Figure 6.2.2, was one of the leading scholars in queer Latinx studies and Central American studies in the United States. He was an immigrant from El Salvador who received a Ph.D. in ethnic studies from UC Berkeley. His research focused on gay Latino San Francisco 1990s, AIDS and HIV, queer oral history, queer migrations, and transgender Latina studies. His essays on Teresita la Campesina were instrumental to current work on trans studies and jotería studies. For more on this, review Section 3.3: Embodied Memories: Archival *Movidas* and Oral History. He was also an expert witness in political asylum cases for queer and trans folks. Ramírez often used the term "centroMaricón" to refer to his intersectional identity as Central American, Salvadoran, gay, and immigrant.[28]



Figure 6.2.2: "Horacio Roque Ramírez" by Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr., Author is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Ramírez passed away on December 25, 2015 from complications of alcoholism. His legacy lives on in the students he mentored at the University of California, Santa Barbara and elsewhere and in his research, which has heavily impacted what we know today as jotería studies and trans Latinx studies. Memorials and tributes for him after his death remember him for loving dancing and partying, for his sassiness, and for his commitment to queer Latina/o histories. Dr. Roque Ramirez warned his graduate students of the dangers of not taking care of oneself in academia and recognized the damage it had done to him. Unfortunately, the interconnected wounds he experienced in his life, took a toll on him. One of his collaborators,

> also a queer feminist Central American oral historian, Nan Alamilla Boyd, wrote in a memorial to him: "He did this work from the heart because he believed that people on the margins—queers, trans immigrants, and people of color—have important stories to tell."[29]

NACCS Joto Caucus

As noted, the Association for Jotería Arts, Activism, and Scholarship (AJAAS), came out of NACCS. In the early 1990s, a gay men's group within the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) named themselves the Joto Caucus.[30] Raúl Coronado recounts that at his first NACCS in San Antonio, he called for a meeting of "Chicano jotos." Initially calling themselves NALGA, they changed it to the Joto Caucus officially in 1993. Coronado cites that he soon learned that not all MEChAs (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan) were as queer as the University of Texas, Austin MEChA. Move and cite the homophobia of MECHas but how others have been intersectional such as the University of Nevada Las Vegas MEChA. The Joto Caucus would play a pivotal part in AJAAS as described later in this chapter.

In 2007, the NACCS Joto Caucus hosted a quinceañera to celebrate fifteen years of existence. This event was hosted in collaboration with ALLGO, an Austin-based queer people of color organization. To honor the intersectional feminist genealogies discussed earlier in this chapter, especially Chicana lesbian feminists, the event organizers decided to honor Chicana lesbians as madrinas as a form of expressing solidarity with them.[31]

Association for Jotería Arts, Activism, and Scholarship (AJAAS)

Pinpointing the exact moment when a field of study started can be difficult, but often there is an event, a publication, or a debate that is associated with its beginnings. In the case of jotería studies, the development in 2011 of the organization AJAAS, its first conference in 2012, and the publication of the 2014 Joteria Dossier in *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* is that string of moments. The Association for Jotería Arts, Activism, and Scholarship (AJAAS) has been instrumental in the development of jotería studies as a discipline and field of study. The conferences organized by AJAAS have brought together folks doing critical work in the classroom, organizing spaces, and in the arts and have served as spaces of community building and creative and scholarly partnerships, as well as spaces where friendships have started and romantic relationships have blossomed among jotería. The conversations and experiences have nurtured scholarship in Chicanx studies and young scholars who are now faculty members teaching jotería studies courses and mentoring a new generation of jotería. There have been many challenges along the way, including painful moments of wounding among and within the organization, but there have also been dedicated moments for healing and reconciliation. This section focuses on the importance and critical role of AJAAS in the field providing a timeline of the gestation of the organization to the present moment.

In 2011, AJAAS was founded by queer Chicanx and Latinx artists, activists, and scholars. Members of the Joto Caucus and Lesbian Bi Mujeres Trans (LBMT) caucuses of the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) came together because of a need for their own space feeling that while NACCS was an important space, they needed to expand and create their own organization. They had also grown frustrated with moments of cisheteropatriarchy, homophobia, and transphobia in the organization and challenges with representation within the organization. Still, as part of NACCS, the Joto and LBMT caucuses organized conferences in Las Vegas (2007), Los Angeles (2008), and Oregon (2010) where many young queer and trans Chicanx and Latinx folks were coming together for the first time seeing themselves reflected in a conference and feeling in community.

The 2008 conference in Los Angeles was held at California State University, Los Angeles (CSULA) organized by Adilia Torres, Emmanuel Santillan and José Aguilar Hernandez. This conference brought jotería across different generations and hosted important conversations such as the need for jotería studies curriculum at CSU. Horacio Roque Ramirez, Peter Garcia were among the panelists talking about this topic. The keynote speaker was Cherríe Moraga and some of the panels were on fat shaming within the Chicanx Latinx community, jotería activism, and more. As with most of the conferences and jotería events, many of the participants who attended the conference felt empowered by the conversations they witnessed. One of the attendees was Zoraida Ale Reyes (at the time she went only by Ale), a trans Mexicana activist and student at University of California, Santa Barbara. In an email Ale sent a few weeks after the conference to a group of people (including me) whom she met there, she wrote, "Compañeros y compañeras. I'm glad I can write to people from across the U.S. and from North to South...I was deeply moved by Cherrie Moraga's conversation[s]. Now, as we go back to our personal space, it's good to work with our experiences and to share them just [as] I'm doing. Thank you for becoming part of the sacred space that grows with each of us wherever we are."[32] Al Reyes' message marks an important historical moment for joteria but also speaks to the importance of joteria being in community with each other and of building a "sacred space" together as she emphasized in her email.

At the first conference at University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV) in 2007 youth from UNLV MEChA expressed that the conference felt like a queer version of the Denver Youth Conference of 1969. This was a groundbreaking moment for jotería studies because young jotería started to see themselves reflected in their own history. After these successful and empowering conferences organized by the caucus still under NACCS, and after many conversations, they felt it was time to form their own organization. Activists, scholars, and artists met for several long meetings at University of California, Berkeley, the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and University of California, Los Angeles, finally coming up with the name and structure for the organization, although not without contention and disagreements about what the organization should be. Their conferences took place in Albuquerque at the University of New Mexico in 2012, at Arizona State University and Pueblo in Phoenix in 2014, University of Minneapolis and El Colegio Charter School in 2017, and Portland State University in 2019. The 2021 conference was supposed to be held at University of Nevada, Reno but due to the COVID pandemic, instead AJAAS held a series of online symposia on Zoom on activism and jotería scholarship.

The Jotería Studies *Aztlán* Dossier

Edited by Michael Hames-Garcia, the collection of essays in *Aztlán* put jotería studies on the map and is regarded by scholars and educators as foundational to the field.[33] The essays focused on topics ranging from activism to trans identity, spirituality, identity, aesthetics, and pedagogy and served as an entry into the field, providing room for others to continue to define and reimagine its contours and themes. Garcia wrote, “The essays in the dossier are gestures toward elaborating this emergent formation, whatever it might finally become.”[34]

The dossier gave a name to this emerging field as it honored the work up to that point that had allowed for jotería studies to exist, like women of color and lesbian feminists of color as described in the section earlier in this chapter. The editor’s introduction essay, “Jotería Studies, or the Political is Personal” situates jotería studies in a genealogy of past scholarship, activism, and art by, about, and among queer Chicanxs and Latinxs and also highlights the importance of the personal experiences and auto-historias as central to jotería theorizing. Hames-Garcias shares that his jotería consciousness came not just from reading books or taking classes but also from his romantic encounters and sexual experiences.

As the dossier reminded us, many writers, scholars, and artists across different fields and different generations within Chicanx studies and Latinx studies during the 1990s-2000s, whose work addressed the intersections of history, colonialism, Chicanidad, Latinindad, and gender and sexuality, opened the path to talk about jotería as an identity, a politic, and a theoretical framework. Among these writers and artists are Ana Castillo, Arturo Islas, Gil Cuadros, Carla Trujillo, and scholars like Catriona Rueda Esquibel, Horacio N. Roque Ramírez, Juana María Rodríguez, Tomás Almaguer, Richard T. Rodríguez, Sandra K. Soto, David Román, Deborah Vargas, Larry LaFountain Stokes, and Carlos Decena, who have been instrumental in developing the field of jotería studies.[35] Some of these earlier works are part of this genealogy but don’t necessarily use the word jotería to refer to themselves, or communities or theories they write about.

Footnotes

[18] Santillana, “Somos Jotería,” 53.

[19] Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr., “Finding Sequins in the Rubble: Stitching Together an Archive of Trans Latina Los Angeles,” *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 3, no.3-4 (November 2016): 618-627.

[20] Osa Hidalgo De La Riva and Maylei Blackwell, “Visions of Utopía While Living in Occupied Aztlán,” in Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era, eds. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, Maylei Blackwell (Austin: University of Texas Press 2018), 212.

[21] Anita Tijerina-Revilla, “Are All Raza Womyn Queer?:An Exploration of Sexual Identities in a Chicana/Latina Student Organization,” *NWSA Journal* 21, no. 3 (2009): 49.

[22] Anita Tijerina Revilla, Joanna Nuñez, José Manuel Santillana, and Sergio A. Gonzalez, “Radical Jotería-Muxerista Love in the Classroom: Brown Queer Feminist Strategies for Social Transformation,” in *Handbook of Latinos and Education: Theory, Research and Practice,* eds. Enrique G. Murillo, Dolores Delgado Bernal, Socorro Morales, Luis Urrieta Jr., Eric Ruiz Bybee, Juan Sanchez Muñoz, Victor Saenz, Daniel Villanueva, Margarita Machado-Casas, Katherine Espinoza (New York: Routledge 2022), 22-34.

[23] The Combahee River Collective. “A Black Feminist Statement,” in *All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women’s Studies*, eds. Akasha (Gloria T.) Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith (New York: The Feminist Press, 1982), 13-22.

[24] Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (New York: SUNY Press, 2015).

[25] Gloria Anzaldúa, The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader, ed. Ana Louise Keating (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 322.

[26] Emma Pérez, “Irigaray’s Female Symbolic in the Making of Chicana Lesbian Sitios y Lenguas (Sites and Discourses),” in *Living Chicana Theory*, ed. Karla Trujillo (Berkeley: Third Woman Press, 1997), 98.

[27] Michael Hames-García, “Queer Theory Revisited,” in *Gay Latino Studies*, ed. Michael Hames-García and Ernesto Javier Martinez, (Raleigh: Duke University Press, 2011).

[28] José M. Aguilar Hernández and Cindy Cruz, “ Grounding Emerging Scholarship on Queer/Trans* Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x Pedagogies,” *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal* 14, no. 2 (2020): 18.

[29] Nan Alamilla Boyd, “Memorial,” *Outhistory*, https://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/roque-ramirez/memorial.

[30] Raúl Coronado, “Bringing it Back Home: Desire, Jotos, and Men,” in *The Chicana/o Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Angie Chabram-Dernersesian (New York: Routledge, 2006), 234.

[31] In the past gay Chicanos had not always shown support for *lesbianas* despite them being there for them, especially during the AIDS crisis. Catriona and Luz essay

[32] Ale Reyes, Email message to author, October 23, 2008. Text was edited for clarity.

[33] Alvarez and Estrada, “Jotería Studies,” 863.

[34] Michael Hames-García, “Jotería Studies, or the Political is Personal,” *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 39, no.1 (Spring 2014), 138.

[35] Juana María Rodríguez, *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces* (New York: NYU Press, 2003). This book was a central book to help understand queer Latina/o identity and how identity practices are situational.

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6.3: Jotería Activism Past and Present

Building on Previous Struggles

The activism discussed in the symposium in the previous section is part of a continuum of activism from the Chicana/o movement to the present. AJAAS and other organizations have been possible due to the work of previous organizations such as Latino Lesbian and Gay Organiåtion (LLEGO), Gay Latino Alliance (GALA), Gay and Lesbian Latinos Unidos (GLLU), La Jotería de UCLA, and other queer and trans Chicanx and Latinx organizations from the 1960s to the present, including those that engaged in AIDS activism. These are all part of the legacy of jotería activism and this section provides historical and contemporary examples.

First, jotería are in every movement from reproductive rights, to housing, to sex worker rights, to immigrant rights and transgender rights, to recent mobilizations for Black Lives Matter––jotería are doing organizing work across racial lines and within diverse movements. Art, activism, and scholarship have always been interconnected. While people are writing and creating art and theorizing from the flesh, on-the-ground activism has also utilized a jotería approach: unapologetic, reclaiming language, and disinvesting in respectability politics.[36] One organization that has done important work is Familia Trans Queer Liberation founded by Jennicet Gutierrez, Jorge Gutierrez, Zoraida Reyes, and others in Santa Ana, California. This organization merged immigrant rights with queer rights. Some of their programs have included Jotas vs ICE, an initiative to strategize, mobilize, and do campaign work in 2020 and LGBTQ Border Project a 2019 collaboration with the Transgender Law Center, LA LGBT Center, San Diego LGBT Center, Black LGBTQ+ Migrant Project, National Immigrant Justice Center, Arcoiris, Jardin and others, to support LGBTQ asylum seekers with humanitarian, legal, and medical support and build long-term advocacy and grassroots organizing infrastructure along the US-Mexico border.[37]

The immigrant rights marches in 2006 were in response to HR 4437, the Sensenbrenner Bill which criminalized undocumented immigrants. Immigrants and their allies took to the streets en masse in cities across the United States. In Los Angeles, the marches which took place on March 25th and May 1st were among the largest mass demonstrations ever in the city. Workers, students, families, activists, and members of immigrant rights and worker rights organizations marched in downtown Los Angeles to make their voices heard. Among the protestors in the Los Angeles march on May 1st, was a group of students and professors from CSUN. Some of these students were members of La Familia de CSUN. The group, carrying posters they had made the night before, took the Red Line Metro train from North Hollywood to downtown. One of the protestors carried a sign that read “La Jotería Unida Jamas Sera Vencida.”

Footnotes

[36] The idea of respectability politics, first coined by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham as “politics of respectability,” has been used to police Black women and Black people generally, who according to Jalina Joseph and Roades remain hypervisible and under surveillance. Through this lens Black folk have had to perform respectability at the expense of radical or transgressive practices. For example, Rosa Parks has been considered a respectable Black woman. Other ethnic and racial and sexual communities like Joteria also navigate this concept. https://www.aaihs.org/black-women-an...-introduction/

[37] Familia Trans Queer Liberation Movement

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6.4: Jotería Frameworks and Scholarly Conversations

Jotería Identity and Consciousness

Jotería studies encompasses various areas of study from a jotería lens. This section is a brief introduction to the various modes of thinking, disciplinary offshoots, movements, and intersecting conversions within the broad field of jotería studies. As a reminder, none of these are in an academic vacuum as they are interconnected to daily responses by jotería to multiple forms of dehumanization in the streets, in our homes, in our communities, and institutions. The concepts and ideas that spring forward are described earlier as theories in the flesh that come from lived experiences. From jotería consciousness to health and healing including spirituality, to higher education, to communications and sound studies, science, and the environment, jotería has been imagining new ways to understand the world, writing about it, creating art, and giving names to those processes. These are only a few examples of the way jotería consciousness has impacted different fields of study and branches of thought. We encourage readers to do further research to learn other areas where jotería is shifting ways of thinking.

Jotería is more than just a word. Jotería studies is more than just the study of queer and trans Chicanx and Latinx communities, although that is part of it. It is a way of knowing––what we call an epistemology, a sensibility, a politic. When we say jotería there is an implied notion of these radical tenets of social justice, not just about gender and sexuality, but rather an intersectional lens. Anita Revilla and Jose Manuel Santillana define jotería identity consciousness through eleven characteristics.[38] According to the authors, **jotería identity/consciousness**:

1. Is rooted in fun laughter and radical queer love.
2. Is embedded in Mexican Latin American Indigenous ness and African diasporic past and present,
3. Is derived from the terms *Jota* and *Joto* and has been reclaimed as an identity consciousness of empowerment,
4. Is based on queer Latina/o Chicana/o and gender non-conforming realities or lived experiences,
5. Is committed to multidimensional social justice and activism,
6. Values gender and sexual fluidity and expressions,
7. Values the exploration of identities individually and collectively.
8. Rejects homophobia, heteronormativity, racism, patriarchy, xenophobia, gender discrimination, classism, colonization, citizenism, and any other form of subordination,
9. Claims and is aligned with a feminist/muxerista pedagogy and praxis
10. Claims and immigrant and working-class background/ origin
11. Claims a queer Latina/o and Chicana/o ancestry, and
12. Supports community members and family and their efforts to avoid and heal from multi dimensional battle fatigue.

Jotería consciousness is a journey. Anita Tijerina Revilla and José Manuel Santillana's essay on jotería consciousness was the first to provide a working definition of what this consciousness might look and feel like. Other scholars have built on their essay, which appeared in the Joteria Studies Dossier in 2014. For Tijerina Revilla

Sergio Gonzalez, building on Anita Revillas's work, applied this to his research on students in higher education.[39]

Jotería Health and Healing

As part of radical self-care, health and healing are important to jotería. Rooted in the intersectional perspectives discussed, health is understood through antiracist, decolonial, holistic, and ancestral lenses. Given the racist history of the medical industrial complex, eugenics movements, racist practices of sterilization, and the rampant homophobia of the inaction towards the AIDS crisis, jotería imagined alternative community-based ways to be healthy and heal, that don't always mean resorting to mainstream medicine. Spirituality, reclamation of our bodies, holistic thinking about our bodies and healing, sex positivity, mental health, resisting fatphobic narratives are all important aspect of joteria health and healing. In the book *Voices from the Ancestors Xicanx and Latinx Spiritual Expressions and Healing Practices*, edited by Lara Medina and Marta Gonzales, the editors assemble a collection of songs, prayers, poems and essays that speak to how Chicanx and Latinx communities approach healing and sacredness. Several examples in the book are by jotería and demonstrate specific ways that we use everyday practices to heal. From example, Berenice Dimas, In my poem, "Un rezo pa' los mariconxs," I underscore the sacredness of our joteria communities, of my own body and the sacredness found within my queerness.

Recognizing the spiritual, sacred, and ancestral within us is critical to jotería consciousness. While not everyone who identifies as jotería may consider themselves spiritual, this holistic thinking, the connection behind the body-mind-spirit matrix is central to jotería ways of knowing or epistemologies. Robert Gutierrez-Perez writes that "our spiritual practices as Jotería energy out of our deep and personal investigations into the very bodies and locations we inhabit.[40]

Reclaiming the Body

One way that this reclamation of the body has happened has been through art, for example, the art of Laura Aguilar. Like Aguilar, whose images of her nude body have inspired many, reconnecting with our bodies has been a way that jotería have engaged in healing and reclamation of their bodies. After the culmination of the 2018 AJAAS Board Retreat in Reno, Nevada, members of the executive board who attended in person planned a day at Lake Tahoe. They decided to hang out at a secluded part of the lake, a cove, that was known for nude bathing. While some of the members were shy about it at first, eventually they eased into it and had a great time. It was liberating to be in the water with people we loved and to rid ourselves of the stigmas placed on our bodies and existence, to reconnect with nature. This was our way of reconnecting with nature, being in unison with the local outdoors near Reno, and to be in community. Other organizations like Latino Outdoors and Wild Diversity aim to reclaim the outdoors for Latinx and other people of color. One of the swim guides for Wild Diversity states, "we reflected on the ways that water has affected our lives and our ancestors' lives. Some participants spoke of how colonization has disconnected us from waterways as well as our ancestors."[41] These practices are part of healing journeys for jotería and other QTBIPOC but can also be considered to be part of jotería environmentalists as described in the next section.

OJO: Within this consciousness sex-positivity is integral. **Sex-positive** approaches allow us to think beyond the socially constructed norms of what is considered normal, sinful, and appropriate behavior in terms of sexuality, masculinities, femininities, and desire. In a general sense, sex-positivity is about "having positive attitudes about sex and feeling comfortable with one's own sexual identity and with the sexual behaviors of others."[42] Jotería artists, activists, scholars, and practitioners work to decolonize colonial, heteronormative, and demonizing views on sex and sexuality. Sex workers have taught us greatly about the intricate positions of power, sex, our bodies, and the need for bodily autonomy. Check out this episode on La Jotería Podcast for some fun, sex-positive stories. Another podcast that talks about putería is Latinxperts, the official podcast of the Latino Studies Department at the University of Texas at Austin. In their episode on the changing dynamic of language and specifically on expletives or bad words,

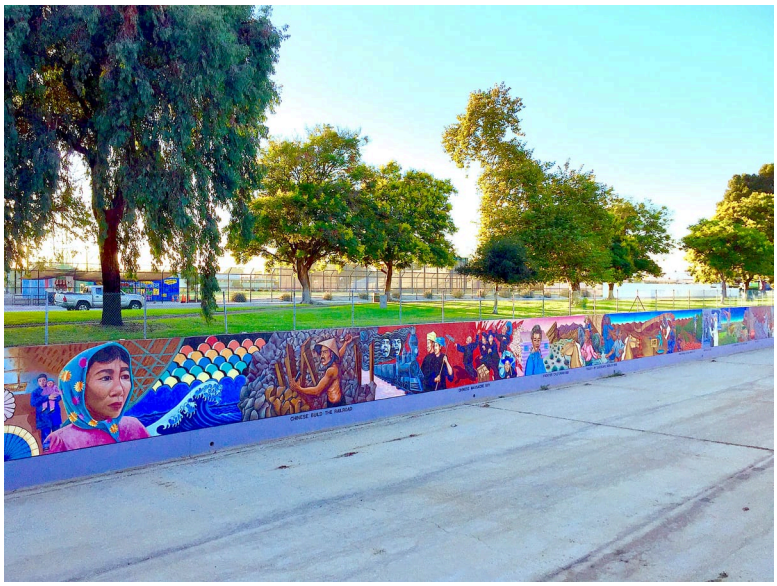


Figure 6.4.1: "Great Wall of Los Angeles" by BillyBobJoe20, Wikimedia Commons is licensed CC BY-SA 4.0.

Jotería Environmentalisms

Chicanx and Latinx folks have always been environmentalists even if they haven't always labeled themselves as such. The concerns of the Chicano activists during El Movimiento had environmental dimensions from farmworker rights to land sovereignty. These were depicted in the artwork of artists and writers Santa Barraza and Judy Baca. One example of Judy Baca's work is the Great

Wall of Los Angeles, which is monument of cultural pride for Chicanx peoples. A portion of this wall is displayed in Figure 6.4.1. The mural is on the wall of an empty concrete river. Above the mural are grass and trees and in the distance, fences and cars.

Similarly, writers like Cherríe Moraga, Helena María Viramontes, and Gloria Anzaldúa have incorporated environmental questions in their writing. Many of these writers, however, do not associate with the mainstream environmental movement for its whiteness and elite perspective and focus on beautiful landscapes or outdoors at the expense of people and other organisms. For jotería, environmental issues are part of the intersectional struggle. Emerging scholars such as Stephanie Martinez, José Manuel Santillana, and Oscar Gutierrez are addressing these issues in their scholarship.

These perspectives fit into what Maria DeGuzman refers to as **"queer trans Latinx environmentalisms,"** which is about our relationship to the environment and a lens that looks at intersectionality from a queer, trans Latinx perspective and the environment. This can also be observed in cultural production such as zines. Jotería Cientifica Zine, for example, was created by graduate students Catalina Camacho and Chris Sandoval at the University of Texas A&M, as a way to fight back against racism in STEM fields but also as a

> stance against the popular conception of science as all-knowing, objective, or ethical. It is a resistance tool, a grassroots space for a theory and praxis of indigenizing science and medicine. It is a loud rejection of the scientific "progress" narrative, a myth that extends and excuses colonialism to oppress, blame and control us. We oppose science's basis in colonial violence, genocide, and disenfranchisement. And we call out the mass land theft and fundamental disrespect for Indigenous sovereignty and culture, which so often manifests in scientific "research," resource extraction, or so-called efficiency.[43]

Jotería Pedagogies and Higher Education Interventions

Higher education and jotería studies scholarship has flourished in recent times. Journal articles and special issues, presentations, panels, and social media conversations are addressing jotería studies recognizing the need to learn about jotería in their drive to be more equitable and serve students better. For example, in 2021, I delivered an invited talk on jotería and higher education for the American Association for Hispanics in Higher Education (AAHEE). In 2020, José Aguilar Hernández, one of the founders of AJAAS, and Cindy Cruz edited a special issue on gender and sexuality in higher education in the *Journal of Mexican American Educators*. Many of the papers engaged with jotería studies in particular. This shift is evident in the work by Chicanx graduate students and early career scholars who are engaging with Jotería and publishing important work such as Roberto Orozco's essay on jotería in higher education and epistemological shifts, Sergio Gonzalez's research on jotería consciousness and college students, and Omi Salas-SantaCruz's writings on trans Chicanx folks and the concept of *terquedad* as a strategy of resistance.[44] Terquedad means stubbornness but in Salas-SantaCruz's version of terquedad, inspired by her childhood memories of being terca, and by Anzaldua's writing, the stubbornness functions as a way to resist the violence of society's imposition of binary gender ideologies. Terqueded is a survival strategy and is composed of "creative acts in accordance with the worlds we may inhabit."[45]

An important dialogue about joteria studies took place on social media, specifically on Twitter. Sergio Gonzalez, a member of the board of AJAAS, organized a Twitter conversation on Jotería studies in partnership with The Samuel DeWitt Proctor Institute at Rutgers University. This social media dialogue was fruitful and allowed folks to learn through this platform as well as engage in the topic. Another example of young scholars expanding the conversation in Joteria studies is Olga Estrada, a doctoral student at University of Texas, El Paso, who in 2022 presented their work on *sucia* theory and reclaiming joy in academia at National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) conference. Some of these publications and presentations are path-breaking because they have initiated conversations, brought visibility to jotería or called in homophobia and transphobia, and the erasure of jotería within higher education research.

Jotería Language, Communications, and Media

In his essay on shared authority, Horacio Roque Ramírez, writes, "What language do we use to remember things that, historically, are outside language? How do we put into words experiences that are so meaningful or so painful that they can't be spoken?" He is speaking about language in relation to memory and history. Speaking on language, Juan Sebastian Ferrada has written about linguistics and language from a jotería perspective. One outlet where language is experimented with is the media. Social media is one avenue where jotería are using media and communication to share ideas, build community, and create change. Robert Gutierrez-Perez and Luis Manuel Andrade have made interventions into the field of Communication studies by introducing jotería perspectives in the realm of communication studies. In his book, *Joteria Communication Studies: Narrating Theories of*

Resistance, Gutierrez-Perez shares that jotería approaches to communications, like storytelling, *chisme*, *testimonios*, *consejos*, among others, function as alternative, "borderlands" communication modes forms of resistance.[46] While in the past jotería activists like Pedro Zamora used his time on the Real World to send his message about the AIDS epidemic or Chicanx activists using newsletter or news media to send their message, social media has changed how messages and community building and activism happens. During the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic many jota/o/xs used social media and virtual meeting platforms like Zoom to bring people together such as the comedy shows curated by Cuban-American lesbain artist Marga Gomez, conversations of La Botanica Azul's Adilia Elena Torres with healers on Facebook live, and the DJ Sizzle Cumbiatón on Instagram and Twitch events, Maya Chinchilla's event with Central American poets and artists, and more. These events were generative and brought jotería together despite the isolation caused by the pandemic.

Footnotes

[38] Anita Tijerina Revilla and José Manuel Santillana, "Jotería Identity and Consciousness" *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 39, no.1 (Spring 2014), 174-175.

[39] Sergio Gonzalez, Joteria Identity and Consciousness: Pláticas of Co-Creation with Undergraduate Queer Latinx Students," (New Brunswick, 2021, Samuel DeWitt Proctor Institute), 2-12.

[40] Robert Gutierrez-Perez, *Joteria Communication Studies: Narrating Theories of Resistance* (New York: Peter Lang, 2021), 64.

[41] "Home," Wild Diversity, accessed November 12, 2022, https://wilddiversity.com/

[42] "What Does Sex Positive Mean," International Society for Sexual Medicine, accessed November 21, 2022, https://www.issm.info/sexual-health-qa/what-does-sex-positive-mean/

[43] Jotería Cientifca, "Queer Scientists Decolonize the Field One Zine at a Time" *Brokenpencil*, January 8, 2021, https://brokenpencil.com/news/queer-scientists-decolonize-the-field-one-zine-at-a-time/.

[44] Omi Salas-SantaCruz, "Terca, pero no pendeja:Terquedad as Theory and Praxis of Transformative Gestures in Higher Education," *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal* 14, no. 2 (2020): 21-43.

[45] Salas-SantaCruz, "Terca pero no pendeja," 32

[46] Robert Gutierrez-Perez, *Joteria Communication Studies: Narrating Theories of Resistance* (New York: Peter Lang, 2021), 70-71.

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6.5: Jotería Aesthetics and Cultural Production

Jotería Creative Expressions

Jotería cultural production (visual art, literature, film, social media) have been an integral part of the development of jotería studies. Artists and cultural producers have used visual and literary language to subvert norms and resist homophobic, transphobic, and gender exclusionary narratives and iconography.[47] According to William Calvo-Quiros, jotería cultural texts use a certain aesthetic that creates "new spaces and ruptures" and is about imagining a world where we are not dehumanized and fully embrace difference.[48] These aesthetics, rooted in the Chicano artistic sensibility called rasquachismo, are composed of elements that represent jotería consciousness in a visual, sonic, and gestural manner. Calvo-Quiros mentions examples like drag shows, quinceañeras, altars, and more.

Jotería cultural texts or cultural production have created space to create the worlds Calvo-Quiros talks about. For example, Rita Urquijo-Ruiz, in her essay in the Jotería Studies Dossier, mentions how when she went to see a play, "Men on the Verge of a His-panic Breakdown," by Guillermo Reyes at UC Riverside when she was an undergraduate student while she was still in process of coming out as a lesbian. She laughed at all the queer jokes. pretending she didn't know what her friends were talking about. Later they had a conversation and she was able to finally feel at home. This is an example of how a jotería cultural text, a play, could open the space to feel seen and also create the space of vulnerability to open up to your friends.

Other plays include Cherrie Moraga's *Giving Up the Ghost*, Luis Alfaro's one man show, Monica Palacios, I Kissed Frida, the theater works of VIVA. Ellie Hernandez has written about how films like *La Mission* (2009), starring Peruvian-American actor Benjamin Bratt, and *Mosquita y Mari* (2013) directed by queer Chicana Aurora Guerrero, are examples of this.[49] Most recently shows like Vida on FX, "Gentefied" on Netflix, and Los Spooky's on HBO are examples of jotería frameworks and or aesthetics guiding television projects. Performance artists Adelina Anthonly, the collective Tragic Bitches, the Maricolectiva are all performers or groups that deploy what Calvo calls a jotería aesthetic through their performances.

Jotería Sound Studies

Another area where jotería studies is in conversation is with sound studies. Sound studies is a field that, according to Joseph Salem, studies the role of sound in culture. Through this lens we aim to understand and analyze what sound can tell us about history, the environment, politics, urban space, more. Scholars of color and jotería studies focus on how sound, gender, race, and sexuality work together. For example, Casillas looks at radio and immigrants, Alexa Vasquez looks at Cuban music, Jennifer Lynn Stoever looks at the sonic color line. Deb Varags looks at the sounds of Texana music, Wanda Alarcon at how literature can be sonic, and how Chicana literature is filled with sonic. Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr. builds on these authors and the work of jotería studies scholars mentioned here to develop a concept called **jotería listening** which is about how jotería listen collectively and what meaning they make of music, sounds, memories.[50] What are jotería sounds? For more on sound studies visit "Thinking Sounds," which provides an introduction to sound studies.

Future Directions

Growth and change are important and inevitable in any academic field as they are in life. As we have discussed here, jotería studies, although a relatively young field, stands on the legacy of ancestors who have shaped our thinking and fought hard for our voices to be heard. The future of jotería studies is already being shaped by folks who are expanding the conversation to include more conversations around self care, pleasure, hidden archives, and transnational perspectives. More and more jotería studies is making its way into the curriculum in college classrooms. Francisco Galarte words about trans in joteria studies remain an ongoing challenge. As more trans and non-binary voices contribute to the field and cisgender folks pay attention, as we listen, the emancipatory possibilities of the work of joteria studies becomes even more possible, and ensures no one is left behind as in past movements. This book you are reading is evidence of the future of jotería studies in relationship, and because of, Chicanx and Latinx studies and social movement activism, and art.

Footnotes

[47] Daniel Enrique Pérez, *Rethinking Chicana/o and Latina/o Popular Culture*, (London: Pallgrave Macmillan, 2009)

[48] William Calvo-Quiros, "The Aesthetics of Healing and Love: An Epistemic Genealogy of Jota/o Aesthetic Traditions," *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 39, no.1 (Spring 2014), 183-184.

[49] Ellie D. Hernandez, "Cultura Joteria: The Ins and Outs of Latina/o Popular Culture" in *The Routledge Companion to Latina/o Popular Culture, ed.* Frederick Luis Aldama (London: Routledge, 2016), 298-299. https://doi-org.lib-proxy.fullerton.edu/10.4324/9781315637495

[50] Eddy Francisco Alvarez Jr., "Embodied Collective Choreographies: Listening to Arena Nightclub's Jotería Sonic Memories," Sound Acts Part 2, Receiving and Reflecting Vibration, *Performance Matters* 8, no. 1 (2022): 109-124.

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6.6: Conclusion

Summary

In this chapter, you learned the multiple meanings of jotería and the relationship and contributions of joteria studies to Chicanx studies and ethnic studies. You have learned the importance of self-naming through the genealogy of jotería studies by studying its origins and impact on Chicanx activism, cultural production, performance, identity, and scholarship.

The chapter has demonstrated how jotería frameworks help to think critically about gender sexuality, race, and culture. Through the testimonios of young people finding themselves in jotería studies, we can recognize the importance of jotería studies to present and future studies on gender and sexuality within Chicanx studies. This chapter has covered the legacy of past Chicanx studies scholars and women of color feminists who paved the way for jotería studies to exist. What do we gain from having a jotería studies lens? This is an invitation for more work to fill in those gaps and more conversations within jotería studies.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.6: Chapter 6 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Jotería identity and consciousness: a way of thinking and being based on a journey of self-discovery and collective healing, guided by eleven tenets that include a commitment to multidimensional social justice, values gender fluidity and self-expression, is rooted in laughter, fun and radical queer love.

Jotería-historias: Individual and collective histories that embrace the contradictions and beauty of being queer and Chicanx and Latinx and recognize the need for interweaving personal experiences in our telling of history

Muxerista: is a person whose identity is rooted in a Chicana Latina feminist version for social change, committed to ending all forms of oppression including but not limited to classism, racism, sexism, homophobia, and citizenism. Its definition is rooted in the scholarship and activism of Chicanos and feminists of color, but it's extended by the work experience and theoretical understandings of the members of Raza Womyn

Theories in the flesh: woman of color feminist and queer theories created from lived experiences

El mundo zurdo: (left-handed world) refers to those of us on the margins, outside of the dominant world, because of our multiple intersection identities such as queer folks, immigrants, disabled, and others, and the potential among us to create solidarity and social change

Differential consciousness: Shifting modes in thinking (and action), involved in navigating systems of power, in turn leading to action. This is based on early contributions, concepts, and theories by feminist lesbians of color and the different namings of their identities point to interconnectedness, power in difference, and solidarity.

Sex-positive: Having positive attitudes about sex and sexuality and recognizing how colonialist and white supremaist ideologies led to stigmatization of sexuality, especially queer of color sexualities.

Queer trans environmentalisms: Relates to our relationship to the environment and a lens that looks at intersectionality from a queer, trans Latinx perspective and the environment

AJAAS: Association for Joteria Arts, Activism, and Scholarship, an organization central to the development of joteria studies and the nurturing of joteria voices an expressions

Joteria listening: A sonic approach to the world that describes how jotería listen collectively and what meaning they make of music, sounds, memories.

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7: SOCIAL MOVEMENT ACTIVITY

Learning Objectives

- Explain and assess struggle, resistance, racial and social justice, solidarity, and liberation among Chicanx and Latinx communities.
- Identify how historical and contemporary Chicanx and Latinx movements have enacted equity, self-determination, liberation, decolonization, sovereignty, and anti-racism as analyzed.
- Critically analyze the uses and application of intersectionality among Chicanx and Latinx communities, including understanding movements that address class, gender, sexuality, national origin, immigration status, sovereignty, and language.
- Describe the importance of collective action to anti-racism and decolonial practices.

Introduction

In Chicanx and Latinx Studies, activists, scholars, and political figures have worked to not only educate communities and themselves, but to affect change through policy advocacy and grassroots resistance. Social movements may operate in different ways depending on their context, goals, and supporters. However, they can be analyzed through common theoretical frameworks for change, which identify groups and communities that coordinate sustained action to challenge (or defend) existing structures of power and social organization. Three frameworks will be explored in this chapter: Chicana movidas, Chicanismo, and reform, revolutionary, and reactionary movements. In Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x communities, struggles for justice and equity ("la lucha") may centrally focus on racial justice and decolonization, intersectional issues like gender justice and sexual liberation, or issues like education and health. For more on these topics, visit Chapter 8: Education and Activism and Chapter 9: Health, respectively. This chapter demonstrates the strategies and tactics used by Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x groups to advocate for political change and mobilize social movements.

This spirit of resistance is shown in Figure 7.1, which depicts a striking worker created for the Yakima Valley Fruit Workers strike in 2020.



Figure 7.1: "Yakima Valley Fruit Workers Strike! Huelga!" by William Estrada, Justseeds is licensed CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

7.1: Theoretical Frameworks

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7.3: Queer and Feminist Chicanx Movements
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7.1: Theoretical Frameworks

Concepts for Analyzing Chicanx and Latinx Social Movements

In order to effectively analyze social movements and political activity, we can use existing theoretical frameworks that have been developed by Chicanx and Latinx scholars and activists. These conceptual frameworks help us to organize the key patterns and differences that influence how and when people mobilize for change, and how successful these efforts are. Specifically, in this section, you will learn the definitions of Chicana Movidas, Chicanismo, and the differences between reform, revolutionary, and reactionary movements.

Chicana Movidas

Chicana Movidas, or Movidas, are new *politicas* (politics) "at the intersection of race, class, gender, and sexuality, [that] developed innovative concepts, tactics, and methodologies that in turn generated new theories, art forms, organizational spaces, and strategies of alliance," as well as policy change.[1] This includes aspects of social movement organizing that are typically considered by scholars and activists, like marches, protests, demonstrations, advocacy, lobbying, and labor organizing. It also emphasizes creative and innovative strategies that build on cultural traditions, like teatro, storytelling, murals, altars, testimonios, filmmaking, performance, and more. Chicana movidas highlight the role of drawing from cultural, familial, traditional, and spiritual strengths to develop collective resources. They also respond to the patriarchal biases embedded in the ideology of "Chicanismo," which dominated some early mobilizations for Chicana/o/x liberation.

Chicanismo

Chicanismo is a form of political consciousness calling for "Chicano liberation" that was widely mobilized in the 1960s in response to "economic inequality, everyday and institutional racism, and the increasingly militant struggle to end the Vietnam war."[2] Chicanismo amplified the voices of Chicano men, in particular, as advocates for fairness and justice. This galvanized large numbers of Mexican Americans, Latinas/os/xs, and supporters from other racial and ethnic groups to adopt a political identity as Chicano or Chicana, and contributed to a larger project of racial justice, anti-war activism, and economic liberation. However, in both implicit and explicit ways, Chicanismo often erased Chicanas, feminist concerns, and issues related to gender and sexuality. While Chicanas were on the frontlines of these movements, they were often sidelined both within El Movimiento and by politicians and the media. Using *movidas*, Chicana feminists name oppressions that are ignored, subordinated, or not perceived and identify and challenge the marginalization of their communities by outlining the ways in which gender, race, class, and sexuality are mutually constituted.

Reform, Revolutionary, and Reactionary Movements

Using the framework of Chicana movidas, we can examine social movements and advocacy in terms of the intersectional dynamics that inform communities' identities and relationships to structures of power. It is also helpful to analyze movements in terms of both ideology and strategy.[3] **Reform movements** seek to change a specific policy, either at the organizational or political level. These movements work within existing structures to improve the distribution of resources or practices of a group. **Revolutionary movements** transform society and bring about new ways of life. Advocates work to end policies that cause inequities and establish systems that are organized around collective values. For example, the early 20th-century anarchist movement in southern California worked toward transforming social institutions, including major figures like Ricardo Flores Magón and his brother Enrique Magón.[4] From a broader Latin American context, revolutionary movements include the Zapatista movements in Chiapas, Mexico that organized for self-determination and governance over their lands. A mural of Zapatista women caring for their children is shown in Figure 7.1.1. As well, the Purépecha people in Michoacán, Mexico continue their revolutionary resistance against oppressive structures, including in 2011, organizing what is known as Cheran's *levantamiento* (uprising) against Mexico's militarized police force. Finally, **reactionary movements** exist to oppose and counter other movements. When two or more movements persistently work against each other over time, they can take on unique dynamics as opposing movements. For example, this is the case for anti-immigrant and immigrant justice movements.



Figure 7.1.1: "Zapatista en mural" by Padaguan, Wikimedia is licensed CC BY-SA 4.0.

Each of these three frameworks provides us tools for analyzing social movements and political activity. In the following sections of this chapter, we will explore specific examples and campaigns led by social movement activists, using these conceptual frameworks to guide and shape our analysis.

Footnotes

1 María Cotera, Maylei Blackwell, and Dionne Espinoza, "Movements, Movimientos, and Movidas," in *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2018), 3.

2 Cotera, Blackwell, and Espinoza, "Movements," 1.

3 Roberto Regalado, *Latin America at the Crossroads: Domination, Crisis, Popular Movements, and Political Alternatives* (Melbourne; New York, NY: Ocean Press, 2006).

4 Yesenia Barragan and Mark Bray, "Ricardo Flores Magón and the Anarchist Movement in Southern California," *KCET*, May 29, 2014, https://www.kcet.org/history-society/ricardo-flores-magon-and-the-anarchist-movement-in-southern-california.

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7.2: Chicanx and Latinx Civil Rights Activism

Roots of Contemporary Chicanx and Latinx Advocacy

Chicanx and Latinx communities have played an important role in the development of civil rights frameworks and policies in the United States. While these contributions are often overlooked, Chicanx and Latinx advocates have helped to establish principles of non-discrimination, mount legal struggles against racist policies, and mobilize multiracial coalitions for social and economic justice. This work has been carried out by generations of activists and made a lasting impact on U.S. and transnational legal structures.

For example in 1903, Mexican and Japanese farmworkers formed the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association (JMLA) and won a strike against the agricultural industry in Oxnard, California. The farm owners typically used workers' ethnic or cultural backgrounds to encourage mistrust and competition, leading to lower wages and poor working conditions. The JMLA created a sense of unity and pride among Mexican workers in solidarity with Japanese communities. After tireless activism, including the death of one protestor, this group won better pay and ended the subcontracting system that was exploiting workers. After winning these victories, organizers of the JMLA attempted to join the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and continue as a labor union, but they were blocked by the AFL organizers, who said that members of Asian origin would not be allowed in the group. The JMLA organizers refused to accept this discriminatory policy and went on to continue their work and local organizing.

Juan Crow Racism

Content Warning: Physical Violence. Please note that this section includes discussion of physical violence.

Throughout the early 20th Century, The United States was in an era of **Jim Crow and Juan Crow** Laws, which legally enforced racist segregation policies that separated facilities and services for white people and excluded communities of color. Official segregation policies were matched by virulent racism and violence. The simultaneous dehumanization of both Black and Latinx communities can be seen in public signs that read, "No Dogs, No Negroes, No Mexicans," as shown in Figure 7.2.1. One brutal instance of coordinated white supremacist terrorism occurred in Los Angeles in 1943, in what historians call the Zoot Suit Riots. During World War II, the deployment of massive numbers of working-age men into war created vacancies in the domestic labor force. This contributed to a range of social changes, including the entry of people of color and white women into industries recently dominated by white men. The deficit of labor in the agricultural industry also led the federal government to sponsor the Bracero program in 1942, allowing Mexican citizens to work in the U.S. temporarily. The growing Mexican and Mexican-American community in places like Los Angeles caused anxiety for elites in power interested in maintaining the status quo racial hierarchy. Media accounts used exaggerated and misleading language to spread fear and produce stereotypes of Black and Latino men as violent criminals. Latinas and Black women were also targeted for policing, although the stereotypes constructed threat primarily through hypersexualization.



Figure 7.2.1: "No Dogs-Negroes-Mexicans - Racist Sign from Deep South - National Civil Rights Museum - Downtown Memphis - Tennessee - USA" by Adam Jones, Flickr is licensed CC-BY 2.0.

Historical Spotlight: Analyzing the Zoot Suit Riots

The Zoot Suit Riots were an example of communities coming together to defend themselves and fight back against racism and violence affecting Latinx communities. This event responded to the pervasive violence that characterized the Jim Crow era, and it is an important backdrop for understanding the development of civil rights and legal advocacy strategies among Chicanx and Latinx communities. While reform strategies gained a lot of attention in the 1940s and 1950s, this was not the only approach to advocacy.

Zoot suits are outfits characterized by oversized wool coats that were popular among Black, Latino, and Filipino communities and inspired by the styles worn in Harlem, New York. The use of extra wool fabric to create large, baggy outfits was a symbol of status and prosperity, especially given the strain on fabric supplies during the war. *Pachucos* were especially known for their zoot suits and jazz music. In Figure 7.2.2, the image shows a group of young Mexican American boys who were rounded up and detained simply because of their zoot suit style. In Figure 7.2.3, the image shows a positive depiction and celebration of the zoot suit style as part of a stage performance in Mexico in 2010.



Figure 7.2.2: "Mexican American youths detained for questioning" by UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library Department of Special Collections, UCLA Library Digital Collections is licensed CC BY 4.0.

In 1943 in Los Angeles, white American sailors claimed that they were taunted by Pachucos, and proceeded to take cabs across town to East Los Angeles, a predominantly Mexican-American area, and start attacking any Latino wearing a zoot suit on the street. When the police arrived, they arrested the victims of these crimes rather than the assailants. Media spread word about these racist attacks, often mirroring the same beliefs as the police officers and blaming the folx wearing zoot suits for being attacked. On June 3, 1943, 50 servicemembers from the U.S. Navy marched through the streets of Los Angeles with clubs, beating Latinos wearing zoot suits or similar clothing.



Figure 7.2.3: "Zoot Suit - Centro Cultural Universitario" by Fernando Messino, Flickr is licensed CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.

Thousands more white military service members, off-duty police officers, and civilians were emboldened to violence over the following days. They beat and publicly stripped men wearing zoot suits, attacked and cut the hair of those with non-white hairstyles, like a ducktail, and rampaged throughout the city, unleashing violence on communities of color. The spread of violence can be attributed to the widespread racist ideologies of the assailants as well as the cultural and institutional response. Media messages reinforced racialized narratives, while law enforcement openly sanctioned the attacks, and the city government failed to intervene effectively. Eventually, all service members were banned from Los Angeles and the military police were brought in to stop the violence.

Sidebar: White Supremacy Repeats Itself

Retaliation by white supremacist groups is a common theme in the United States, and we can see examples of this today. For instance, in recent years, we have seen a rise in violent, mass shootings that target communities of color. In 2015, a white supremacist assailant traveled to a Charleston Church and murdered nine people. His statements online prior to the shooting, confession to the police, and statements after being tried and prosecuted all indicated that he was motivated by a racist ideology and felt no remorse for his actions. Similar to the attacks on people wearing zoot suits, the killer traveled away from his residence to encroach on a community of color's space with the explicit goal of inciting violence and harm.

In 2019, another violent assailant in El Paso, Texas attacked nearly 50 people, killing 23, and then publicly stated to the police that he was motivated by a desire to kill as many Mexicans as possible. In 2022, different white supremacists killed ten people in a mass shooting targeting Black people at a grocery store in a Black neighborhood in Buffalo, New York and 21 people, including 19 children, at an elementary school in Uvalde, Texas. Unfortunately, these are just a few of many examples of racially motivated violence against communities of color in the United States. For a more holistic picture of the status of hate crimes and violent extremist groups in the United States, you can explore the Statista website linked here.

The experience of violence across different groups has also inspired solidarity among the people taking action to end racism and white supremacy. For example, in Figure 7.2.4, there is a poster that reads, "Raza en Defensa de Las Vidas Negras" ("La Raza in Defense of Black Lives") with two Latinas protesting for Ahmaud Arbery, George Floyd, and Black Lives Matter.



Figure 7.2.4: "Raza en Defensa de Las Vidas Negras" by Nicole Marroquin, Justseeds is licensed CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Civil Rights and Legal Advocacy

Content Warning: Physical Violence. Please note that this section includes discussion of physical violence.

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was a frontrunner in the struggle for civil rights, as it was formed in 1929. This group advocates for civil rights and has helped contribute to social, policy, and legal change. For example, members were involved in *Hernandez v. Texas*, which dealt with the exclusion of Mexican-American people from jury service. The *Hernandez* case began because an all-white jury convicted Pete Hernandez of the murder of Joe Espinoza. Hernandez's attorney sought to invalidate this verdict on the basis of the jury, as Mexican Americans were formally excluded from jury service. A lower court denied Hernandez's case and claimed that people of Mexican origin are not included in the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution because the Census legally classifies Mexican Americans as white. In its unanimous decision, the Supreme Court affirmed in 1954 that equal protection does in fact apply to Mexican-origin people, as well as multiple racial groups who have experienced historical marginalization and systemic oppression. This is just one of the many struggles that took place to dismantle racist legal structures affecting Chicanxs, Latinxs, and other people of color in the United States. In Section 8.2: The Struggle for Equality, 1900-1954, you will learn more about the 1947 *Mendez v. Westminster* case which was a landmark decision for desegregation in public schools and paved the way for the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision at the federal level.

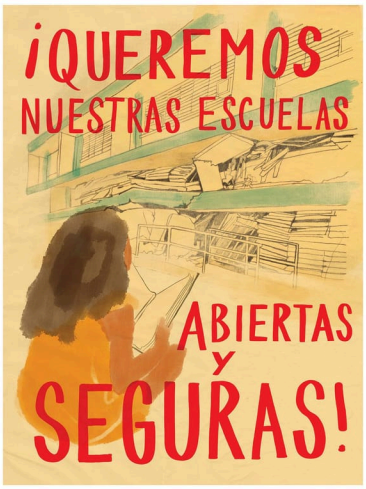


Figure 7.2.5: "Queremos nuestras escuelas abiertas y seguras" by Estefanía Rivera, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Even as the legal structures of racial segregation began to falter, Latinx communities still experienced exclusion and discrimination in all arenas of life. In Figure 7.2.5, there is a poster that reads, "Queremos Nuestras Escuelas Abiertas y Seguras" (We want our schools to be open, secure, and safe.") Public schools were failing Chicanx and Latinx communities. Students were receiving sub-par educational preparation, resulting in the lowest reading rates and graduation rates of any racial or ethnic group. Teachers did not represent their community and the curriculum rarely incorporated any culturally or historically relevant content. Students were being pushed out of school and tracked into vocational career pathways, meaning that not many Chicanx and Latinx folx had the opportunity to attend college. This also contributed to Chicano and Latino men being drafted in disparate numbers for the Vietnam War. Local police were constantly surveilling and profiling Mexican-origin and Latinx communities. Negative stereotypes of Chicano and Latino males as gang members and drug dealers created stigma in their daily lives and have long-term negative implications. American labor markets restricted opportunities to well-paid jobs and representation in unions, forcing Chicanx and Latinx people into underpaid employment with poor working conditions. In the 1960s, the growing momentum of civil rights advocacy, along with opposition to the Vietnam War, the growing agricultural labor economy, and federal Native American relocation policies contributed to the collective feelings of unrest and resistance.

Identity Politics and Chicanismo

In Section 2.1: Defining Latinx Demographics, you learned about the various labels and identities associated with Chicanas, Chicanxs, Chicanos, and Latinas, Latinos, and Latinxs. In the context of social movements, Chicana/o/x identities began to emerge in the 1960s, led by Mexican-origin communities in response to the gains of Mexican American groups, as well as critiques of the integrationist and assimilationist perspectives in the reform-focused advocacy of the 1940s and 1950s. Access to mainstream institutions did not yield the gains promised by previous generations.[5]

The term Chicano emerged to cultivate a sense of cultural and ethnic pride and mobilize community members to commit to revolutionary change and re-organizing societal institutions around inclusion and justice. The Chicano movement originated as a set of diverse local and regional struggles for social justice, civil rights, and political representation throughout the U.S. Southwest and Midwest. Activists, men and women, young and old, demanded equal rights under the law, an overhaul of the educational system, access to decent housing, community-run healthcare, and an end to police brutality and the Vietnam War. There was no singular origin point of the movement, and scholars still debate the histories of how the Chicano identity formed and spread among multiple groups. However, most agree that the late 1960s and early 1970s, especially 1969-1973, were characterized by a surge of Chicano activism and high rates of mobilization throughout the U.S. While local groups often had specific, tangible goals that they were working to achieve, the shared mission uniting these efforts was "to construct a new political subject for the world stage—the Chicano—who sought to transform his subjugation as an ethnic Mexican living in the United States into a persona much more powerful and respected in daily life."[6]

A simplistic definition of Chicano / Chicana / Chicanx is that these are simply a replacement for the term Mexican-American. For example, Oxford Learner's Dictionary defines Chicano as "a person living in the US whose family came from Mexico." From this

point of view, Chicano can be derived from “Mexicano.” By removing the “Me” at the beginning, the word shortens to “Xicano.” In Spanish, the X is pronounced like “Ch” in English, so the term becomes “Chicano,” and Chicana and Chicanx then form the feminine and gender-neutral versions of the word. While the term is sometimes used this way, the simplistic definition hides the more complex history and political significance of the word as a collective identity-based in social movement advocacy, which you first learned about in Chapter 2: Identities.

First and foremost, the term Chicano was used first as a derogatory term against Mexican American communities, and activists reclaimed the term to give it a positive meaning associated with self-determination. Some groups retain the X at the beginning of the word: Xicano, Xicana, and Xicanx, in part to signal this association. By using the X, groups intentionally amplify the Spanish spelling of the word, affirming the cultural identities of bilingual communities as valid and valuable members of our cultures and societies on their own terms, rather than within the boundaries and expectations of the Anglo, English-speaking dominant group. This mirrors some of the policy demands of grassroots movement organizing, including protections against discrimination based on language use, and access to bilingual services and materials.

As Ana Castillo asserted in 1994, Xicana/o/x is “a political identity that emphasizes decolonization, rejection of cultural convention, and activism over origin or language.”[7] In particular, by emphasizing “activism over origin or language” this recognizes that Xicanas, Xicanos, and Xicanxs may or may not speak Spanish, and may or may or may not have direct family lineage to Mexico or Latin America. In this sense, one is Xicana/o/x as a direct correlation to their ongoing contributions to activism for equity and justice for La Raza (all people of Latinx descent and their families).

The broad identity created by Chicano activists was able to bring together large groups to accomplish a shared goal. It also meant that the label can mean different things to different people, including contradictory perspectives on social movement tactics and strategies. For instance, some Chicanxs emphasized taking pride in their cultural roots and Indigenous heritage, while others sought to enact political revolution and create an autonomous nation-state. However, many Chicanos in the 1960s and 1970s were disconnected from Mexican lands, cultures, languages, and traditions by decades of immigration policy and because there were no educational opportunities in the school systems to learn about their own heritage. For more on the relationships between Latinxs and Indigeneity, you can review Chapter 4: Indigeneities.

Students Lead the Way: El Movimiento

A major influence on Chicanxs mobilizing in California took place on March 5, 1968, when 22,000 students walked out of their classes at Garfield, Roosevelt, Lincoln, Belmont, and Wilson High Schools in East Los Angeles. Also known as the East L.A. Blowouts, this demonstration brought attention to 26 demands, including changes in academics, administration, and facilities, as well as recognition of students’ rights and humanity. Students’ peaceful protests were met with police violence, and they were arrested and locked behind gates. The Board refused the students’ demands, and the police held a local teacher, Sal Castro, on charges of conspiring to disturb the peace for months. After round-the-clock protests at the School Board Office, Mr. Castro was released. However, the schools continued to resist structural changes, and activists became entrenched in a decades-long struggle to reform and transform L.A. schools. In Chapter 8: Education and Activism, you can go more in-depth into Chicanx and Latinx experiences in education and the formation of Chicanx and Latinx Studies fields.

Students and activists were also inspired by **El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán** during the 1969 Chicano Youth Conference hosted by Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzalez in Denver, Colorado. This document focused on translating the spirit of protest into organizational principles that can sustain action over time. The seven goals laid out in the plan pertain to unity, economy, education, institutions, self-defense, cultural values, and political liberation. The 1,500 young people at this conference shared these ideas with their communities and continued to mobilize toward specific action items and policy goals. The term Chicanismo was born at this event, and it emphasized the need to come together as Chicanos to make unified claims for racial liberation.

One major issue affecting the Chicanx community, especially Chicano men, was the disparate rate of being drafted into dangerous military service to wage war in Vietnam. The National Chicano Moratorium Committee Against the Vietnam War (or simply, **The Chicano Moratorium**) was a movement of anti-war activists. These efforts emphasized resistance to the war effort, both because the costly war was depleting resources needed to deal with social and economic issues facing communities living in the U.S. and because Mexican-Americans made up 20% of all casualties in the war, when they only accounted for 10% of the U.S. population at the time. In 1970, the group mobilized a demonstration of 30,000 people in East Los Angeles, which was the largest anti-war protest organized by any single ethnic group in the United States. News coverage of the Chicano Moratorium, including images of the protestors is shown in Figure 7.2.6.



Figure 7.2.6: "ELA Chicano Moratorium, El Gallo" by Ernesto B. Vigil, Wikimedia is in the Public Domain, CC0.

Activist Spotlight: Corky Gonzalez

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales was born on June 18, 1928. He was a boxer, writer, and Chicano activist. He worked on voter registration for John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign and successfully registered more Mexican Americans than at any other time in Colorado's history. Gonzales founded Crusade for Justice in 1967, which was a militant organization of high school and college students who sought to increase educational opportunities and equity for Latinx students. He inspired the Chicano movement with his organizing and the poem, "I am Joaquín." You can read the poem in English and Spanish on the Chicano History and Culture website linked here. A photo of Corky is shown in Figure 7.2.7.

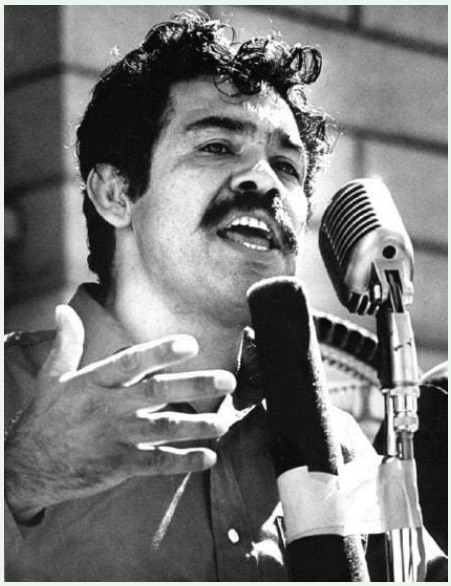


Figure 7.2.7: "Corky Gonzales" by Webb Canyon Chronicle, Penny's poetry pages Wiki is licensed CC BY-SA 2.0.

Footnotes

[5] Vilma Ortiz and Edward Telles, "Racial Identity and Racial Treatment of Mexican Americans," *Race and Social Problems:* 4, no. 1 (April 2012): 41–56, http://dx.doi.org.proxygw.wrlc.org/10.1007/s12552-012-9064-8.

[6] Francisco A. Lomelí, Denise A. Segura, and Elyette Benjamin-Labarthe, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Chicana/o Studies*, 1st edition (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018).

[7] Ana Castillo, *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma*, First Printing edition (New York, NY: Plume, 1995).

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7.3: Queer and Feminist Chicanx Movements

Confronting Patriarchy and Heterosexism in Chicanismo

Content Warning: Physical and Sexual Violence. Please note that this section includes discussion of physical and sexual violence.

Chicano identity and Chicanismo have a history of hyper-masculinity, sexism, and homophobia. These dynamics have been systematically challenged, and some of the success can be seen in the names of academic and activist groups that reflect greater gender inclusion, such as “Chicana and Chicano Studies” or “Chican@ Studies” and “Chicanx Studies.” Beyond naming, however, the structures of patriarchy and heterosexism influence movement organizations, protests, and advocacy campaigns. Men leaders often called for unity on behalf of Chicanos or La Raza, while prioritizing issues that centrally concerned men, like the draft, job discrimination, access to political power, entry into educational institutions, and community autonomy.

While these issues also affect women, other concerns like birth control, ending forced sterilization, welfare rights, protecting against domestic violence, and women’s sexual liberation were ignored or actively resisted by organizational leadership. “La Nueva Chicana” (The New Chicana Woman) was determined to bring these concerns together and simultaneously address systems of subordination based on both race and gender. In Figure 7.3.1, an artist has rendered a group of women marching to two drums, with their reflection showing beneath, over the words “La Memoria es Feminista" (Memory is feminist). Text on the image reads, “La Memoria es Feminista” (Memory is feminist) and one of the reflections is holding a sign that says, “Dónde están nuestros hijos” (Where are our children). This message connects current struggles for gender equality to previous ones, and also reminds us that feminism has a long history. Feminism creates new opportunities for women, and it also builds on Indigenous traditions that include matriarchal systems and other traditional ways of maintaining gender equality.



Figure 7.3.1: “La Memoria Es Feminista" by Pilar Emitxin, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Chicana feminisms engage in political struggles for liberation and create knowledges that build coalitions across difference to mobilize consciousness and transform systems. Chicana writers and feminists reinterpreted the world for Chicanas to draw connections and develop their identities in a society that devalues women, especially women of color. This draws on distinct solidarities with Chicano men, Indigenous peoples, people of color, white women, and gender non-binary people. For instance, white feminism provides tools to discuss and analyze sexual violence and sexual pleasure, topics that are often silenced. However, Chicana experiences have to be understood and interpreted from their own **intersectional standpoint**. Chicanas have written about and amplified their experiences in “Chicana- and Chicano-generated newspapers, journals, and, later, anthologies, such as *Aztlán*, *El Grito del Norte*, *Encuentro Feminil*, and *Regeneración*.”[8]

Opposing Movement Dynamics among Chicana Women

Not all Chicanas agreed with Chicana feminists' view that achieving gender justice was an important part of Chicanx communities' liberation from white supremacy. Chicana "loyalists" were women in the Chicano movement that believed their place was to support Chicano men in their struggle against racialized oppression, not women's liberation. The women often joined men in ridiculing women who sought positions of power, calling them terms like malinchistas (race traitors), and marimachas (lesbians). Leaders tried to dissuade women from voicing feminist concerns by framing the struggle as "Chicano primero," (Chicano identity first) pitting their movement for cultural and racial heritage ("la causa") against calls for women's liberation.

When nearly 600 Chicana activists gathered in Houston on May 28-30, 1971 for the first National Chicana conference, La Conferencia de Mujeres Por La Raza, "loyalist" women walked out of the conference in protest over differences in political identity and goals. Ultimately, this confrontation elevated discussion about women's issues and inspired Chicana activists to critique patriarchy and homophobia. This led to the formation of new organizations and campaigns. Adelaida del Castillo and Anna NietoGómez founded and edited the journal *Encuentro Feminil* at California State University, Long Beach. This became one hub of knowledge that centers the voices and perspectives of Chicana scholars and researchers. For a more in-depth exploration of these topics, visit Chapter 5: Feminisms.

Advocating for change requires sacrifice and collective support and incurs costs for those involved. Organizational structures within social movements help to fortify activists, recruit new members, train emergent leaders, and generate resources for mobilization. In particular, Chicanas and Latinas have led efforts to form and grow organizations and link social movement advocacy to existing kinship networks, family structures, and friend groups that nurture and sustain advocacy. For example, in 1970, the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional (CFMN, National Mexican Women's Coalition) was formed to address the needs of Chicanas and the issues facing women, children, families, and communities that had gone overlooked. This group was determined to provide women with the social and political capital necessary to produce social change. This led to the formation of the Chicana Service Action Center (CSAC) in 1972, as well as the Centro de Niños and League of Mexican American Women, both in 1973. These groups reflect the wide breadth of activity included under calls for "Chicana Power," a rallying cry that's shown in Figure 7.3.2.



Figure 7.3.2: "Chicana Power" by gwen, Flickr is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.

Activist Spotlight: Francisca Flores

Francisca Flores is a key figure for understanding Chicanx activism. She supported and inspired Chicana feminist organizers to create organizations that focused on the intersection of race and gender. Her work helped to create new opportunities for the recognition and celebration of women's voices. This commitment to collective effort helped mobilize Chicanas and Latinas to develop leadership consciousness and fend off the barriers created by patriarchy and sexism.

She was involved at all levels of civil rights work. As an activist in the California Independent Progressive Party and the National Progressive Party, she amplified the experiences and perspectives of Chicanas in social and economic policy debates. She was also a member of Mexican American civil rights organizations such as the Sleepy Lagoon Barrio Defense Committee in 1942; Asociación Nacional México Americana, founded in 1949; the Community Service Organization (CSO), formed in 1947; and the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), created in 1960. Seeing that women leaders were often central to the functioning and success of these groups, she brought together other Chicanas and Latinas and they established many organizations focused on women.

Queer Latinxs Resisting Oppression

Rampant homophobia in both Chicano and Chicana activism creates a unique experience of isolation and exclusion for queer folxs, especially Chicanas. Queer Chicanas engaged in women's liberation and queer activist spaces to build solidarities across racial lines and build community around an analysis of gender and sexuality. This included developing allies within queer communities to advance intersectional justice. Despite white, middle-class domination of these spaces, their experiences inspired intersectional mobilization and solidarity with Black queer women and other queer POC communities. Connecting with diverse queer people of color allows queer Chicanxs to work in solidarity, rather than in isolation. Queer scholars and leaders in particular used poetry and writing to influence and transform heteronormative Chicana and Chicano movements.

Gloria E. Anzaldúa was a queer Chicana poet, writer, and feminist theorist. Her poems and essays explore the anger and isolation of occupying the margins of culture and collective identity. For example, this quote from *Borderlands* shows her poetic interpretation of the collective identities of mexicanos:

> *Nosotros* los Chicanos straddle the borderlands. On one side of us, we are constantly exposed to the Spanish of the Mexicans, on the other side we hear the Anglos' incessant clamoring so that we forget our language. Among ourselves we don't say nosotros los americanos, o nosotros los españoles, o nosotros los hispanos. We say nosotros los mexicanos (by mexicanos we do not mean citizens of Mexico; we do not mean a national identity, but a racial one). We distinguish between mexicanos del otro lado and mexicanos de este lado. Deep in our hearts we believe that being Mexican has nothing to do with which country one lives in. Being Mexican is a state of soul not one of mind, not one of citizenship. Neither eagle nor serpent, but both. And like the ocean, neither animal respects borders.[9]

While her perspective was rooted in an inclusive queer Chicana sensibility, the wisdom of her words extended far beyond this specific experience. Anzaldúa has been awarded the Lambda Lesbian Small Book Press Award, a Sappho Award of Distinction, and an National Endowment for the Arts Fiction Award, among others. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* by Gloria Anzaldúa emphasized indigeneity and mestiza identities. Similarly, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa "critiqued sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia in communities of color and in the larger society."[10] A picture of Anzaldua is shown in Figure 7.3.3.



Figure 7.3.3: "Gloria Anzaldua" by K. Kendall, Flickr is licensed CC BY 2.0.

While early calls for Chicano liberation operated from a narrow view of patriarchal nationalism, Chicanas and Chicanxs have challenged and transformed this project. Chicana/o/x Power is a movement and political identity that emphasizes decolonization, rejection of cultural convention, and activism over origin or language. There is no one right way to achieve liberation, but communities can work in solidarity and through organized movements to bring about justice.

Today's movements have been deeply informed by the alliances and bridges formed by these forward-thinking activists. For example, the undocumented immigrant youth movement "borrowed" the cultural schema of "coming out" and joined it with "out of the shadows" for successful mobilization. Undocumented queer leaders were key in amplifying this framing and forging the connection between the different experiences of being socially constrained by the heteronormative expectations of "the closet" and the structural violence that places undocumented children in fear of having their immigration status used against them or their families. You can explore more topics related to queer and trans experiences and activsm in Chapter 6: Jotería Studies.

Footnotes

[8] Miroslava Chávez-García, "A Genealogy of Chicana History, the Chicana Movement, and Chicana Studies," in *Routledge Handbook of Chicana/o Studies*, eds. Francisco A. Lomelí, Denise A. Segura, and Elyette Benjamin-Labarthe (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 68.

[9] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books, 1987), 62.

[10] Chávez-García, "A Genealogy of Chicana History," 73.

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7.4: Labor, Farmworker, and Immigrant Movements

The United Farm Workers

Dolores Huerta co-founded the **United Farm Workers (UFW)** with Cesar Chavez in order to organize for labor rights and win recognition of poor working conditions and pay. The UFW was successful because it incorporated cultural strategies to mobilize immigrant and Indigenous communities. Huerta's leadership was especially instrumental, although she was often overlooked when compared to Chavez. Despite this, her leadership was vital to the movement and mobilized 17 million people to boycott grapes in solidarity with farm workers. She is also credited with popularizing the phrase "¡Si se puede!" (Yes we can!), which was also a rallying cry during the Obama presidential campaign and continues to be used in social movement advocacy today. She continues to have an impact through the Dolores Huerta Foundation and was recognized by President Barack Obama with the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2011 for her contributions to social and economic justice.

Working on behalf of communities that have been socially and economically exploited regularly brings Chicanx and Latinx movements into solidarity with other ethnic groups and immigrant communities.[11] In California especially, struggles for worker justice have often been conducted in larger coalitions, including Asian Americans, Black communities, and Indigenous peoples. Immigrants have been a consistent part of the agricultural labor force, with employers exploiting the communities' precarious legal and economic status by providing poor working conditions and low wages. While employers benefit from encouraging racial animosity between groups, social movements have used cross-ethnic solidarity to inspire successful collective mobilization. For instance, the UFW built from the successful mobilization in Filipinx communities, with leaders like Larry Itliong coming together with Latinx communities and migrants.

Labor and Farmworker Movements Today

While the UFW continues to operate today, it has become a centerpiece within a much broader movement for farmworkers and labor rights in agricultural industries. For example, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers sponsors campaigns for fair food industries, as well as against slavery within the agriculture industry, especially in the southeastern United States. In California, Santa Maria farmworkers organized a month-long campaign in 2021 to have local berry farms raise the wage for farmworkers who harvest strawberries. After collecting over 60,000 signatures nationwide, the growers agreed to a new rate of $2.10 compensation per box of strawberries. Organizers risked their jobs and their safety to protest the low wages, but they ultimately won in court and received a settlement from their employers and a commitment to have the management trained in workers' rights.[12]

Farmworkers have been a frontrunner in the labor rights movement, inspiring changes that are later taken up by unions and through employee advocacy. However, workers in this industry also face disparate barriers to union representation and labor rights legislation. California Assembly Bill 2183, the California Agricultural Labor Relations Voting Choice Act, was proposed in 2022 to make it easier for farm workers to join or form a union by providing more options and protections when voting in a union election. Multiple unions have come together to support this because it would establish and affirm a strong standard for individuals' right to collective representation in employment matters.

Beyond direct advocacy, farmworker movements also work to fill in the gaps left by current structures of exclusion. For example, in addition to the Dolores Huerta Foundation, the UFW Foundation, and other major organizations sponsor programs to provide farmworkers with food assistance, legal aid, housing support, educational opportunities, and other social services that are often restricted to citizens, or underutilized by migrant communities. During the COVID-19 pandemic, immigrants were excluded from federal stimulus programs, which prompted some community groups to fundraise and provide direct aid to undocumented peoples.

While labor rights issues and immigration issues are often handled by different policies, the movements that advocate around these topics share resources, cultural narratives, cross-ethnic solidarities, and leaders, including within Chicanx and Latinx communities. In Figure 7.4.1, the image shows a march sponsored by the UFW for immigration reform in northern California. The larger patterns in immigration policies contribute to many of the underlying factors of inequity in labor rights. Activists recognize this and work to support the mutually reinforcing goals of immigrant rights and labor rights to ensure fair treatment of all communities.



Figure 7.4.1: "United Farmworkers 3-mile march for #immigration reform in #Salinas" by Steve Rhodes, Flickr is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.

Immigrant Rights Movements

When examining migration from Latin America, it is important to recognize that the term "immigrants" often also refers to Latin American Indigenous peoples. For example, immigrants from Oaxaca, Mexico may also identify as Indígena (Indigenous) and speak a native language, such as Mixteco, Zapotec, Mazatec, Chinatec, or Mixé. Although **immigrant and immigration policy** sound alike, they each play different roles in shaping the ways immigrants experience life in the United States. Immigration policy is about the laws and policies that determine the process and number of people who can immigrate in various ways, whereas immigrant policy refers to the laws and regulations that impact immigrants currently residing in the country. For example, immigration policy reflects systems such as visa lotteries and temporary worker programs, whereas immigrant policy is enforced by federal institutions such as Immigration Customs and Enforcement (ICE). While some policies attempt to curtail migration by restricting access, the economic and military policies of the United States continue to encourage migration, including through dangerous and unauthorized migration.

In the United States, early immigration acts (e.g., the Immigration Act of 1875, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, and the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act) enforced racial and ethnic (national) quotas on immigrants coming to the United States and, ironically, called for the removal of Native Americans. The use of quotas creates a baseline expectation that migration to the United States will be carefully limited and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship will be restricted. While the U.S. uses a logic of restriction and exclusion, it has also created specific policies to recruit migrants to work in industries where the domestic labor supply is failing. For example, the Bracero Program (1942-1965) encouraged a pattern of cyclical migration by legalizing migration for individual men working seasonally on farms. In 1965, the program was ended and the amended Immigration and Nationality Act removed all country-of-origin quotas, which led to an increase in the number of migrants coming from Latin American countries. At the same time, the U.S. government has continued to encourage the flow of migration by facilitating military and economic campaigns that destabilize Central and Latin American countries. Widespread corruption, crime, and violence are exacerbated by continuous external interference, resulting in vulnerable individuals and communities seeking out new opportunities and protection in the United States.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 was a major shift for immigrant communities, as it offered amnesty to millions of undocumented Mexican migrants living in the U.S. It also promised more punitive policies and restrictions for immigration moving forward. Since then, policymakers have not made any structural changes to immigration policy that facilitate pathways to citizenship or offer amnesty to undocumented workers living in the United States. Instead, politicians have focused on encouraging immigration among educated and professional immigrants, also known as "brain drain," while providing more punitive and militarized immigrant policies, like border patrol, deportation, immigrant detention, and family separation. Pervasive immigration and anti-immigrant policies at both state and federal levels perpetuate nativist discourses of "us" versus "them," where Latina/o/x immigrants are overwhelmingly portrayed by the media as criminals, invaders, and terrorists. This leads to an illegalized identity that can have serious ramifications. The image in 7.4.2 highlights that these ramifications are often fatal, as it memorializes the names of 215 people who died in immigration detention between 2003-2020. Hegemonic institutions, like ICE, instill fear among migrants by threatening their livelihood and family life. Further, racial profiling in immigration enforcement

extends this fear to Latinx communities and people of color.

The caption on the text reads, “Immigration detention is deadly. Since 2003, 215 people have died in immigrant detention. The past four years (2016-2020) mark an unprecedented increase in deaths in Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) custody, their names are shown here. COVID-19 has exacerbated the catastrophe of ICE detention – a system well-known for widespread abuse, fatal medical neglect, horrific conditions, and a lack of due process rights. People in detention are bravely protesting and speaking out against ICE abuses, demanding to be released immediately. Since March of 2020 there have been at least 42 confirmed hunger strikes across the country in 24 ICE detention centers. The 24 birds represent those facilities. Both 19 month old Mariee Juárez and 42 year old Oscar Lopez Acosta died soon after being released from ICE custody. Oscar had tested positive for COVID-19. Data provided by the Detention Watch Network (DWN).”

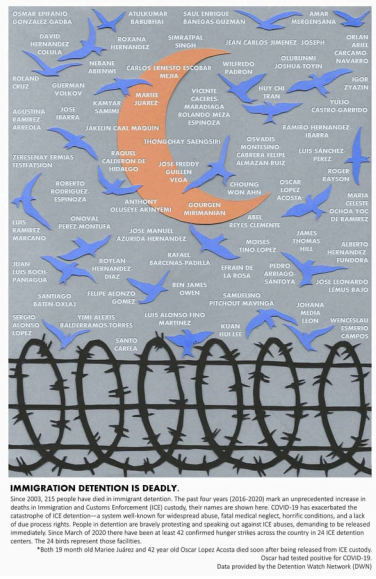


Figure 7.4.2: “Immigration Detention is Deadly" by Madhuri Shukla, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 3.0.

Advocates focused on immigration have used creative strategies to advance policy goals for groups who are formally excluded from political representation and legal rights in the United States. Immigrant justice movements mobilize around a range of issues that include, but are not limited to, legal reforms around immigrant rights. This takes into account the heterogeneity of immigrant communities whose concerns also include dignity, health, economic justice, and connections with mixed-status family members. While activism focused on legal rights emphasizes the state’s control over citizenship, immigrant communities also include Indigenous peoples from Latin America and advocates focused on sovereignty and cultural preservation. The range of concerns present among Latinx immigrant and Indigenous communities leads to movements that combine direct action with community support and policy change at every level (local, state, and federal).

One common issue facing both immigrant and Indigenous communities is language barriers and access. For Latinx migrant communities, access to multilingual translation and interpretation facilitates inclusion for Spanish speakers and Indigenous language speakers within Latinx communities. In California, the Mixteco/Indígena Community Organizing Project (MICOP) centralizes language interpretation in their work and lifts up Indigenous language access within networks of immigrant and health advocates. The group launched Radio Indígena in 2014, a local FM station with over 40 hours of weekly live programming, featuring at least seven Mixteco languages, Zapoteco, and Purépecha. This service provides information and entertainment that is relevant to Indigenous farm working communities, such as support for low-income individuals to receive rental assistance, energy payment programs, and family-paid leave.[13] These groups put into practice a human rights framework for providing holistic support to communities. In Figure 7.4.3, an artist has depicted a family traveling in a pick-up truck accompanied by the phrase “Freedom of Movement and Family Unity are Human Rights.”



Figure 7.4.3: "Freedom of Movement and Family Unity are Human Rights" by Kim Dinh, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

This platform served a crucial role in spreading vital public health information during the COVID-19 pandemic. They quickly expanded to include Facebook Live broadcasts to supplement radio programming and demonstrate visually how testing works and show images of how others have participated in testing. These events are interpreted in at least one Indigenous language, often through consecutive interpretation. In engaging the audience, the speakers use a conversational style. The interpreter does not just repeat the words translated from Spanish, but rather, they have coordinated in advance to share the message in a relevant way for a heterogeneous audience. For further accessibility, the videos include visual aids and photographs to guide individuals through practical steps for how to access transportation and where to arrive for testing. This visual demonstration helps to work against stigma and decrease fear of health services. The group emphasized overall health and well-being to encourage maximum prevention and safety when information about transmission was limited.

Footnotes

[11] Ruth Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro, eds., *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*, *Working for Justice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801459054.

[12] Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, "Movement Pandemic Adaptability: Health Inequity and Advocacy among Latinx Immigrant and Indigenous Peoples," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 19, no. 15 (2022): 8981.

[13] Espinoza-Kulick, "Movement Pandemic Adaptability."

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7.5: Chicanx and Latinx Political Representation

Formal Politics in Chicanx and Latinx Communities

Political representation of Latinx communities creates opportunities to advocate for better policies and new reforms. In the U.S., trailblazing leaders have crossed barriers for Chicanx and Latinx communities, opening new doors for others to continue the work of equity and justice for all. However, Latinx people remain under-represented in nearly all aspects of government and politics. In 2018, Latinx people were only 1% of all local and federal elected officials, according to the NALEO Educational Fund.[14] In 2022, that number is similar, with only four U.S. Senators and 40 U.S. Representatives. Women are underrepresented among Latinx elected officials, being only 1 Senator and 12 House Representatives. On the website from Rutgers University, you can explore more statistics about women of color in politics and elected positions.

Some of the leaders for Latinx communities in politics include the U.S. Congressperson Romualdo Pacheco who was first elected in 1879 as a Representative from California. Pacheco had previously served as the first Mexican American governor of California in 1875. Even in states that include a high number of Latinx people and voters, such as California, researchers have identified a pattern of underrepresentation, including in appointed and elected positions in state government, county supervisors, school board members, and city-level positions. Groups like the California Latino School Boards Association have emerged to address some of these specific issues of representation and political power. You can learn more about the California Latino School Boards Association on their website.

Federal Representation of Latinx and Hispanic People

At the federal level, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus represents the interests of Hispanic Congresspeople and it includes over 30 members including many Latinx representatives and their allies. Some Latinx Congresspeople are not members of the Caucus, in part due to partisan divides between Republicans and Democrats. In the Senate, U.S. Senator Octaviano Larrazlo from New Mexico was the first Latino and Mexican-American Senator in 1928. Despite gains for representation won in states with high proportions of Latino people, it took decades of additional advocacy before major federal and judicial positions were held by Latinos. For example, there has never been a Latinx President of the United States, Vice President, or Secretary of State. It was not until 1988 that Lauro Cazavos became the Secretary of Education and the first Latinx or Hispanic person to serve in the U.S. Cabinet. On the U.S. Supreme Court, when Justice Sonia Sotomayor was confirmed to her position in 2009, she became the first Latinx person and the third woman to be confirmed to the Supreme Court. In Figure 7.5.1, there is a photo of Justice Sotomayor fulfilling one of her duties on the Supreme Court by swearing in Kamala Harris as Vice President, who is another woman who broke barriers as the first Black person, first Asian person, first multiracial person, and first woman to serve as Vice President of the United States.



Figure 7.5.1: "Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor swears in Vice President Kamala Harris into office during the 59th Presidential Inauguration ceremony in Washington, Jan. 20, 2021" by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Flickr is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, popularly known as AOC, has been a major figure for Latinx representation in politics. This is in part because she actively embraces her connection to the Latinx community, foregrounding her status as a young Latina woman living in New York City, who recently paid the bills by bartending. Her continued and unapologetic presentation of herself positions her as a capable and strong advocate for diverse people living in the United States, including immigrants, women, and people of color. In Figure 7.5.2, she appears in a photograph, speaking passionately in front of a crowd of people.



Figure 7.5.2: "Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez" by Miki Jordan, Flickr is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.

Her passion and tenacity represent a commitment to social change and a critical lens that is relatable for many Latinx people as well as her wide range of supporters. The video included in Video 7.5.1 describes what AOC has accomplished as a leading Latinx political figure in her own terms. The video is 4 minutes and 44 seconds long, and it demonstrates the way that Latinx politicians have made a considerable impact on their field and on our broader society.

Video: What has AOC (Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez) accomplished?

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

View this YouTube Video online

Video 7.5.1: "What has AOC (Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez) accomplished?" by Political Hub International, YouTube is licensed CC BY 3.0.

Politics and Liberation

Many members of Latinx communities are disengaged from formal political processes, including voting and representation. This is in part due to the exclusion of immigrants from voting, which prevents families from engaging in a shared practice of voting and being represented. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has had a significant impact on Latino people and their political participation in the United States. Prior to the Act, many Latinos faced barriers and discriminatory practices that limited their access to the voting booth, such as poll taxes, literacy tests, and intimidation tactics. The Act aimed to combat these obstacles and ensure equal voting rights for all citizens, regardless of their race or ethnicity.

The Voting Rights Act has helped empower Latino communities by prohibiting discriminatory practices and ensuring their political representation. It has led to increased voter registration and turnout among Latinos, enabling them to elect candidates of their choice and have a stronger voice in the political process. By eliminating discriminatory voting practices, the Act has paved the way for greater political engagement and representation for Latino individuals and communities.

The Raza Unida party, founded in the late 1960s, emerged as a political movement that sought to address the issues and concerns of Mexican Americans and other Latino groups. The party advocated for self-determination, civil rights, and political empowerment for the Latino community. It aimed to challenge the existing two-party system and provide an alternative political platform for Latino voters. While the Raza Unida party made significant strides in mobilizing and organizing Latino communities, its influence and success were relatively short-lived. The party faced internal divisions and external challenges, including legal battles and limited resources. However, it played a crucial role in raising awareness about the issues faced by Latinos and fostering a sense of political empowerment among the community.

Overall, the Voting Rights Act has been instrumental in expanding political rights and opportunities for Latino individuals and communities, while the Raza Unida party served as a catalyst for political mobilization and empowerment during a crucial period in Latino political history. However, in recent years, there have been changes that have weakened the effectiveness of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. One significant development was the Supreme Court case Shelby County v. Holder in 2013. In this case, the Court struck down a key provision of the Act, namely Section 4(b), which established a formula for identifying jurisdictions with a history of voting discrimination that were required to obtain federal preclearance before making changes to their voting laws.

The Court's decision effectively invalidated the formula used to determine which jurisdictions were subject to preclearance, arguing that it was based on outdated data and no longer reflective of current conditions. As a result, the preclearance requirement was effectively nullified unless Congress could enact a new formula. This ruling has had implications for Latino voters, among others, as it removed a critical safeguard against discriminatory voting laws and practices. In the absence of preclearance, jurisdictions have been able to implement changes to voting laws without prior federal approval, potentially leading to the adoption of laws that disproportionately impact minority communities, including Latinos.

Since the Shelby County decision, there have been concerns about the rise of voter suppression efforts, including the adoption of stricter voter identification laws, reductions in early voting periods, purging of voter rolls, and gerrymandering. These measures can disproportionately affect marginalized communities, including Latinos, by making it more difficult for them to exercise their right to vote and diminishing their political representation.

Efforts to restore and strengthen the Voting Rights Act have been made in Congress, such as the proposed John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act. This legislation seeks to update the coverage formula and restore the preclearance requirement, aiming to address the challenges created by the Shelby County decision. However, the act's passage has faced obstacles and partisan divisions, resulting in ongoing debates about voting rights and protections for historically marginalized communities, including

Latino voters.

Beyond that, many Latinx people also share the critical perspective that the U.S. government itself and U.S. society are built around principles of division, exclusion, and exploitation and must be critically examined and transformed. Under this view, participation in the system only serves to encourage people to believe in the possibility of reform, while ultimately failing to address the root causes of racism, xenophobia, and intersectional oppression. Among Native American and Latinx Indigenous peoples, this sentiment can be accompanied by a commitment to tribal sovereignty and the creation of modern systems rooted in traditional and sacred relationships with the land.



Figure 7.5.3: "Puerto Rican Flag in Old San Juan" by Lorie Shaull, Wikimedia is licensed CC BY 2.0.

The contradictions of political representation can also be seen in Puerto Rico, which is a U.S. territory. Although the people of Puerto Rico bear many of the responsibilities of U.S. citizenship, including paying taxes, being drafted, and following the laws created by the government, they are not politically represented at the federal level. You can see a Puerto Rican flag hanging in Old San Juan in Figure 7.5.3, showing the people's pride in their island. More recently, this lack of representation has had devastating effects in the face of increased hurricanes in the region and the larger dynamics of climate change. While Puerto Ricans are clearly not represented equally in the U.S. governmental system, the people of the island remain persistently divided as to whether to pursue statehood or independence. The Puerto Rico Statehood Admission Act, also known as H.R. 4901 and later reintroduced as H.R. 1522, is a bill that was presented during the 116th and 117th sessions of the United States Congress. Its purpose is to enable Puerto Rico, an unincorporated territory of the United States, to become a state within the Union. The bill was initially introduced in the 116th Congress and reintroduced in the 117th Congress as H.R. 1522 on March 2, 2021. The continued debate over statehood efforts shows how diversity of perspective within Latinx communities and in solidarity with other racial and ethnic groups ultimately contributes to the use of multiple strategies in advocacy and politics. This creates opportunities for future generations to continue the struggle and find new solutions to long-standing systems of white supremacy, xenophobia, and settler colonialism.

Footnote

[14] National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Educational Fund, "National Directory of Latino Elected Officials." (Los Angeles, CA: National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Educational Fund, 2021).

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7.6: Conclusion

Summary

In this chapter, we explained the dynamics of struggle, resistance, racial and social justice, solidarity, and liberation among Chicanx and Latinx communities. Exploring these topics showed us the various focus areas among Chicanx and Latinx social movements and advocacy groups, including things like civil rights, Indigenous sovereignty, solidarity, queer, feminist, and intersectional issues, labor rights, and political mobilization and representation.

This chapter also explored how historical and contemporary Chicanx and Latinx movements have enacted equity, self-determination, liberation, decolonization, sovereignty, and anti-racism. Movements have been successful in raising awareness about issues, creating opportunities for communities to take charge of their own destiny, and confronting and changing policies that oppress Chicanx and Latinx peoples. At the same time, these movements have navigated substantial barriers, which impede their goals and allow for systemic racism and settler-colonialism to continuously operate. Only through sustained collective action can individual acts of advocacy lead to a larger change.

Finally, throughout this chapter, we critically analyzed the uses of intersectionality among Chicanx and Latinx communities to understand how movements address class, gender, sexuality, national origin, immigration status, sovereignty, and language. Together, these learning tools can prepare you to take action in your own community, in solidarity with existing and new groups that are working to make change. There are also many more topics to explore and learn about, which is always an important first step for all activists and social movement groups.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.7: Chapter 7 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Chicana Movidas: A political framework that is rooted in an intersectional perspective, acknowledging the uniquely racialized and gendered experiences of Chicanas, as well as the value of using transformative and innovative approaches to build coalitions and advocate for social change.

Chicanismo: A political framework that calls for justice and liberation for Chicano communities, which was widely mobilized in the 1960s as a response to pervasive social, economic, and racial issues in the United States, especially the Vietnam War, segregation, and discrimination.

Reform movements: Movements that involve advocacy and mobilization to accomplish focused, limited goals that change laws, regulations, and policies within existing organizations and institutions. These movements respond directly to the needs of groups that are currently being harmed.

Revolutionary movements: Movements that advocate for transformative changes in society that include abolishing, replacing, and fundamentally challenging the institutions that exist. These movements work to address the root causes of inequality.

Reactionary movements: Movements that work against other movements, often through direct opposition or by countering their activity. Reactionary movements are often politically conservative and form in response to the gains of historically marginalized groups.

Jim Crow and Juan Crow: An era of legal segregation that focused on maintaining social and structural separations between white people and Black and Brown people. These specific laws were most prominent in the late 1800s, as a response to the end of slavery, and they maintained this form until the middle of the 1900s when they were challenged by civil rights movements.

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán: A document that inspired and motivated Chicanx activists to pursue liberation and justice, especially in education. This document was published during the 1969 Chicano Youth Conference hosted by Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzalez in Denver, Colorado. The seven goals laid out in the plan focus on unity, economy, education, institutions, self-defense, cultural values, and political liberation.

The Chicano Moratorium (The National Chicano Moratorium Committee Against the Vietnam War): A movement of anti-war activists opposed to the U.S. military's role in Vietnam. The protest emphasized how the war was disproportionately impacting Chicano and Chicanx communities.

Intersectional standpoint: The unique knowledge and perspective developed based on the combination of one's multiple identities, especially race and gender, as well as sexuality, immigration status, ability, age, religion, and other social categories.

United Farm Workers (UFW): A labor rights and social movement organization that was founded by Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez in central California. This group represented the predominantly migrant labor force in the fields and built solidarities between Mexican origin communities and Filipinxs. The UFW still operates today to advocate for labor rights and has inspired the formation and mobilization of multiple organizations that serve, represent, and advocate for farmworkers.

Immigrant and immigration policy: Laws that influence immigrant experiences and the rates of immigration in a country. Whereas immigrant policy regulates the experiences of people who have already immigrated to the country, immigration policy refers to the processes and practices that influence the process of migration itself.

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8: EDUCATION AND ACTIVISM

Learning Objectives

- Explore concepts to critically understand key education debates, issues, and initiatives.
- Identify historical and contemporary issues, policies, and laws in public education that have impacted Chicanx/Latinx communities.
- Describe the practices, tactics, strategies, and movements that emerge from Chicanx/Latinx communities to reform and transform the educational landscape.

Introduction

This chapter explores public education in California as a site of struggle, resilience, and transformation for students, caregivers, families, and communities of Latin American heritage. Schools do not exist outside of the historical context that informs them nor do they exist outside of the society they are situated in. Therefore, the struggle for education is also a struggle that intersects with the struggle for justice in housing, employment, health, immigrant/human rights, and self-determination. This chapter provides a historical overview that is not meant to be comprehensive, but rather provides historical snapshots into the ways Latinx communities have been shaped by and have shaped public education.

As education remains a site of politics and power, each generation builds upon the legacy of those that came before them. The struggle for educational self-determination is multifaceted––at times it can look like families arguing in courts about the constitutionality of laws, students walking out of their schools, or community leaders creating autonomous schools. All of these efforts were effective in acquiring and enacting people power and doing so in solidarity with other historically minoritized communities. Collectively, these struggles have transformed the educational landscape and it is the activist legacy on which we continue to build upon.

8.1: The Crisis and Hope in Education

8.2: The Struggle for Equality, 1900-1954

8.3: Re-imagining Education in an Era of Revolt, 1955-1975

8.4: When Ganas is not Enough, 1976-2000

8.5: Aquí Estamos y No Nos Vamos, 2001-2012

8.6: Conclusion

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8.1: The Crisis and Hope in Education

Community Cultural Wealth as a Tool for Social Justice

Today Latinx students make up 54% of the student population in California K-12 schools, yet they remain a numerical minority when it comes to educational attainment in all of the critical transitions between elementary school, high school, college, and graduate school.[1] In fact, according to the Chicano Studies Research Center 2015 report "Still Falling Through the Cracks: Revisiting the Latina/o Educational Pipeline," the Latinx student population is falling behind all other major racial/ethnic groups in the U.S.[2] What attributes to the cracks causing Latinx students to "leak out of" the educational pipeline? Patricia Gandara and Frances Contreras tackled this question in their book, *The Latino Education Crisis* pointing to failed social policies that position Latinx children at a disadvantage, even before they enter school.[3] The authors point to the need for comprehensive support in health care, quality school facilities, enriched curriculum, qualified teachers, language support, and intervention/support programs. Furthermore, they point to poverty, segregation, and the lack of a sense of belonging that students and their families experience in schools.

The American public educational system from its inception was inherently violent for Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC), and immigrants. Referring to the educational experiences of Black children, Bettina Love (2016) builds upon critical race and legal scholar, Patricia Williams (1991), articulation of "spirit murder" within the school context, noting it "is the denial of inclusion, protection, safety, nurturance, and acceptance because of fixed, yet fluid and moldable, structures of racism."[4] The everyday attempts to kill the aspirations and spirits of BIPOC in education occurs methodically through systemic, institutionalized, state-sanctioned violence built on racism and colonization. Education has never been able to fully humanize our existence, recognize our intellectual brilliance, and offer a place of protection. Instead, the educational system has historically been informed by **deficit-based discourses** that communicate a particular view of Latinx cultures, histories, and traditions as backward, inferior, deficient, and an impediment to educational success.[5]

Pause and Reflect

Muxerista and joteria activist-scholar and professor Anita Tierina Revilla (2021) defines spirit protectors and spirit restorers "as people, places, organizations, beliefs, and/or practices (they can also be art, poetry, books, music, and dance) that give marginalized people the strength to reject and survive attempted spirit murder and/or restore our wounded spirits, especially in the face of repeated attacks and woundings both inside and outside of institutions of education."[6] While it is important to name and identify the trauma inflicted violence caused by education, we must equally make space to ask, "Who are your spirit protectors and your spirit restorers?"

Critical Race Theory scholars have challenged dominant orientations of education with asset-based discourses, noting that working-class Latinx students in particular come from communities with extensive **funds of knowledge** (i.e. skills, abilities, ideas, practices) that schools do not reflect or honor.[7] Funds of knowledge view households and communities as essential educational settings where learning takes place and knowledge is generated, transmitted, and preserved, providing a form of non-monetary educational capital or value that is either unrecognized and when it is, is devalued in mainstream education.

Chicana education scholar Tara Yosso contributes to this understanding of educational capital, adding that students possess six forms of cultural capital, which she identified as **community cultural wealth** (aspirational, familial, social, navigational, resistant, linguistic).[8] From this standpoint, Latinx cultures are an asset not a detriment to student educational success and achievement. Taking it one step further, Yosso and Burciaga remind us that a focus on the cultural wealth of Latinx communities is foundational to locating how communities acquire and enact power in the educational landscape. The community cultural wealth of marginalized groups strengthens their survival and resistance to racism and other forms of oppression. This theoretical orientation allows us to observe what we may miss otherwise due to active projects of erasure, co-optation, marginalization, and re-writing of our histories.[9]

Theory Spotlight: Tara Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth Framework

- Aspirational capital refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers.
- Linguistic capital includes the intellectual and social skills attained through communication in multiple languages and/or language styles (including communication through art, music, poetry, theater, and dance)
- Social capital can be understood as networks of people and community resources.
- Navigational capital refers to skills in maneuvering through social institutions. Historically, this implies the ability to maneuver through institutions not created with Communities of Color in mind.
- Familial capital refers to cultural knowledges nurtured among *familia* (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory, and cultural intuition.
- Resistant capital refers to those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenge inequality.[10]

"As we consider the generations of communities who have preserved and passed down cultural wealth despite harsh conditions, let us be fierce visionaries for generating opportunities to cultivate community cultural wealth as a tool of reclamation––a tool for social justice."[11] The act of reclaiming our stories is a tool for social justice. This chapter presents historical snapshots in which Latinx communities activated change in education and society, employing and expanding their community cultural wealth in the process of doing so.[12] It is through these activist traditions that Latinx communities continue to maintain hope and possibility to activate change today.

Footnotes

[1] Latinos are 54% of the student population, followed by White (24%), Asian (9%), African American (6%), Filipino (3%), two or more races (3%), non reported, American Indian or Alaskan Native, and Pacific Islander (2%). Manuel Buenrostro, "Latino Students in California's K-12 Public Schools," *CSBA FactSheet* (October 2016): 1–5.

[2] Lindsay Huber Pérez, Maria C. Malagón, Brianna R. Ramirez, Lorena Camargo Gonzalez, Alberto Jimenez, and Verónica N. Vélez, "Still Falling Through The Cracks: Revisiting the Latina/o Education Pipeline," *Chicano Studies Research Center*, No. 19 (November 2015): 1–23.

[3] Patricia Gandara and Frances Contreras, *The Latino Education Crisis: The Consequences of Failed Social Policies,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

[4] Bettina L. Love, "Anti-Black State Violence, Classroom Edition: The Spirit Murdering of Black Children," *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy,* Vol. 12, No. 1 (2016): 22–25; Bettina L. Love, "I see Trayvon Martin": What teachers can learn from the tragic death of a young black male, *The Urban Review* Vol. 45, No. 3 (2013): 1–15; Patricia J. Williams. *The Alchemy of Race and Rights,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

[5] Richard Valencia, ed. *The Evolution of Deficit Thinking: Educational Thought and Practice*. (New York and London: Routledge, 1997).

[6] Anita Tijerina Revilla, "Attempted Spirit Murder: Who Are Your Spirit Protectors and Your Spirit Restorers?," *The Journal of Educational Foundations*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2021): 36.

[7] Luis C. Moll, Cathay Amanti, Deborah Neff, and Norma Gonzalez, "Funds of Knowledge for Teaching: Using a Qualitative Approach to Connect Homes and Classrooms," *Theory into Practice* Vol. XXXI, No. 2, (Spring 1992): 132–141; Norma González, Luis C. Moll, Cathy Amanti, eds. *Funds of Knowledge: Theorizing Practices in Households, Communities, and Classrooms*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2006).

[8] Tara J. Yosso, "Whose Culture Has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth," *Race Ethnicity and Education,* Vol. 8, No. 1 (2005): 69–91.

[9] I am reminded here of mythical claims of reverse racism where the idea of a post-racial America enables white Americans among others to make claims of racial victimhood that give credence to proclamations such as "White lives matter". Also, the way Dr. Martin Luther King's work is used to propel narratives of individualism and colorblindness, stripping away his more radical orientations rooted in a socialist, anti-imperialist, and anti-racist worldview.

[10] Tara J. Yosso and Rebeca Burciaga, "Reclaiming Our Histories, Recovering Community Cultural Wealth" *Center for Critical Race Studies at UCLA,* No. 5 (June 2016): 1–4.

[11] Yosso and Burciaga, "Reclaiming Our Histories" pg 2.

[12] As Tara Yosso reminded me when I was her student at UC Santa Barbara, *history matters*.

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8.2: The Struggle for Equality, 1900-1954

Education for Social Control

The educational system was historically created to sustain and perpetuate notions that equate whiteness and American as synonymous. For people of Mexican descent, the question of race has always been a complicated one. When the peace treaty that ended the U.S. invasion of Mexico was signed and the U.S. annexed ⅓ of Mexico, in exchange, Mexicans in the newly conquered territories were granted federal U.S. citizenship and racially categorized as white (Review Chapter 2: Identities). The racial re-designation of Mexicans under American colonization held no power in everyday life, especially in educational institutions as the practice of segregation of Mexican children is dated back to as early as the 1880s. Education is often perceived as a benevolent system and a gateway to social mobility, however, tracing it's history allows us to see education as a site used to maintain racialized hierarchies and power. Figure 8.2.1 captures this sentiment today, reading, fight poverty not the poor. This is particularly significant for Latinx communities that continue to endure the historical legacy of colonization, white supremacy, racism, assimilation, xenophobia, and discrimination in schools.

At the turn of the 20th century, the 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* ruled that racial segregation was constitutional so long as it was equal. This historic ruling justified an era of segregation at a time when the U.S. also experienced the first major immigration wave of Latinxs, that is, 1.5 million Mexicans entered from 1900-1930 due to the Mexican Revolution.[13] The ruling also came at a time when a Chinese family successfully won against the San Francisco Board of Education when their child was denied entry in school. The California Supreme Court decision in *Tape v. Hurley* (1885) effectively ruled that all minority children, including immigrants, were entitled to attend public schools in California. While anti-Asian hatred found new ways of creating "separate but equal" schools for Asian children,[14] the question of whether children of Mexican descent could legally be separated would become central in this time period.

Mexican and Mexican American families lived in segregated *colonias* and *barrios* that often lacked basic necessities such as plumbing and electricity.[15] **Overt racism** through signage read, for example, "We serve Whites only. No Spanish or Mexicans" was common in restaurants, theaters, bowling alleys, parks, and swimming pools (Review Section 7.2: Chicanx and Latinx Civil Rights Activism). When not visible, such as in schools, the practices of exclusion and discrimination were present. Unlike Native American and Asian American students that endured education codes that granted schools the right to legally segregate them, the practice of segregating Mexican American students prevailed despite their white racial categorization.

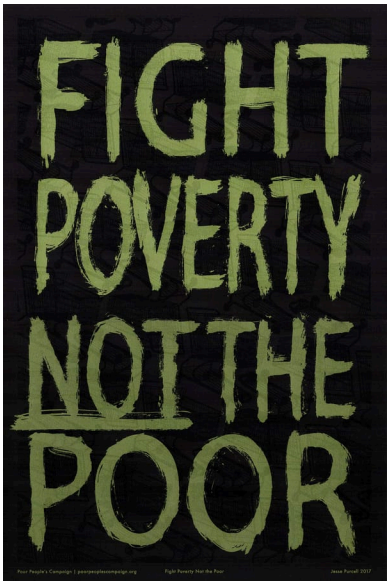


Figure 8.2.1: "Fight Poverty Not The Poor" by Jesse Purcell, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 3.0.

Americanization and Eugenics

For children of Mexican descent, the denial of access to equal quality educational opportunities given to Anglo students was justified through Americanization efforts.[16] The Americanization movement of the early 20th century was intended to help new immigrants assimilate into America's civic culture and skilled workforce. Americanization aimed to change Mexican students who were characterized as dirty, un-Christian, and lacking social morals and etiquette. Central to this was **assimilation**, the process whereby a historically marginalized person or group voluntarily or involuntarily adopt the social, psychological, cultural, and political characteristics of a dominant group. As Chicano historian Gilbert Gonzalez noted, the first segregated school for Mexican children was established in Orange County, California in 1919 and by 1930, there were 15 Mexican schools throughout the county.[17] Yet, not all children of Mexican descent were equally discriminated against. A study of Oxnard's segregated school system in the early 1900s exposed how school officials used race, class, hygiene, and skin tone to identify "a few of the brightest, cleanest Mexican children."[18]

Schools became one of the main functions of the Americanization movement, and for children of Mexican heritage, efforts instilled that their Mexican culture impeded their academic success. Language was often the target of these efforts and special classes were designed so as not to impede the education of their Anglo peers. Mexican children were often placed into lower-level courses or placed into segregated "Mexican schools" altogether.

In addition to Americanization, **eugenics** was a popular ideology that informed ideas of race and intelligence. Eugenics ideology is rooted in the belief that the white Anglo race is genetically superior and to maintain this group's racial purity, it informed social policies, programs, and practices set out to control "undesirable" populations. For a review on this topic, you can also review Chapter 2. As noted by Valencia, Menchaca, and Donato (2002), "Historically, the rationale used to socially segregate Mexicans was based on the racial perspective that Mexicans were 'Indian,' or at best 'half-breed savages' who were not suited to interact with Whites."[19]

Mexican American students were regarded as intellectually inferior, culturally backward, and linguistically deprived. One of the key instruments to determine a person's intelligence prominently used in schools was the Intelligence Quotient (IQ) test, a standardized test that supported the racialized view that students of color were intellectually inferior to whites because they scored a lower IQ score. This institutionalization of racism systematically tracked students in lower-level courses, and vocational trade training, and deprived them of opportunities to succeed.[20] Although Mexican children were classified as white, they "were by far the most segregated group in California public education by the end of the 1920s."[21]

The Lemon Grove Case

School segregation was met with resistance from families throughout the Southwest. On July 23, 1930, the all-white school board members of the Lemon Grove School District decided to place all students of Mexican descent attending the elementary school in an inferior quality, two-room building near the Mexican *colonia* of Lemon Grove, California. The school board members cited concerns with overcrowding, sanitation, social morals, and language as justification for the separation. Essentially, the school board argued that white students were held back when teachers needed to cater to the needs of Mexican students. The concerns of the school board, along with the all-white Parent Teacher Associated that began the effort and the Chamber of Commerce who supported the move, relied on coded language. **Coded language** is a practice long used in policy in which race-neutral terms are used to disguise the racist motives that maintain power structures meant to sustain white supremacy. Citing clogged toilets and student overpopulation are euphemisms for race without stating race explicitly. Video 8.2.1 is of Luis Alvarez, grandchild of the plaintiffs in the Lemon Grove case, recounting how his familial history inspired him to become a historian.

Video: The Lemon Grove Incident and the Making of a History Professor with Luis Alvarez

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View this YouTube Video online

Video 8.2.1: "The Lemon Grove Incident and the Making of a History Professor with Luis Alvarez" YouTube, uploaded by University of California Television (UCTV), November 30, 2021, https://youtu.be/1vsM9Ep06EM. Permissions: YouTube Terms of Service.
In this 10 minute video, Luis Alvarez shares how the story of his grandparents when they were students at the segregated school in Lemon Grove inspired him to become a historian.

Chicano historian Luis Alvarez, whose grandparents, Roberto and Mary Alvarez, were students in Lemon Grove during that time, recounts the political context of that era in the following way.

> This is an important chapter in the history of Chicanx and Latinx San Diego and not just because they won, the Mexican community in Lemon Grove took a stand against fierce odds. They challenged the white power brokers in their community that ran the school board. They risked losing their jobs amid the Great Depression. They faced the prospect of deportation during what was a nationwide repatriation campaign that saw more than 600,000 Mexicans returned to Mexico, including countless numbers of Mexican American-born children. And yet they came together, in the tradition of immigrant *mutualistas* to form the Lemon Grove Neighborhood Association and fight.[22]

Responding to oppressive conditions with the aid of *mutualistas* was essential. ***Mutualistas*** are community-based mutual aid societies created by Mexican immigrants to connect them with a network that links their homeland and new home with resources, support, and a community. The Mexican parents drew upon their social networks and organized to boycott what they referred to as a *caballeriza (horse stable or animal farm)*. With assistance from the Mexican embassy and newly formed organizations such as LULAC,[23] they won what became the first successful school desegregation case in *Alvarez vs. The Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove School District* (1931). To learn more about the founding of LULAC, review Section 7.2: Chicanx and Latinx Civil Rights Activism). The court ruled that children of Mexican heritage were unlawfully segregated because Mexicans are racially considered Caucasian, therefore, schools cannot segregate Caucasian students from other Caucasian students.[24]

Film Spotlight

The Lemon Grove Incident (1986) The 1986 documentary film, *The Lemon Grove Incident*, provides a glimpse into historical footage of the time, oral histories, and re-enacted scenes to take viewers back to life in Lemon Grove, CA during the first successful school desegregation case in the state. Explore San Diego. *The Lemon Grove Incident* (1986). PBS.

Pause and Reflect

Mutualista (mutual-aid) societies are used by many communities of color to survive economic hardship and provide a support network for newly arrived (im)migrants. Have you witnessed any *mutualista* practices in your school, community, and/or family?

In California, the case against the Lemon Grove School District helped to defeat growing political attempts such as the 1931 Bliss Bill that was introduced by Assemblyman George R. Bliss of Carpinteria to re-categorize Mexicans as "Indian" rather than "white." A legal redefinition of Mexican children as "Indian children whether born in the United States or not" would have justified segregation as was done with Black, Asian, and Native American students.[25] The Lemon Grove case is noted as the first successful legal challenge to school segregation in the U.S.[26] While victorious for the local Mexican families of Lemon Grove, resistance to segregated schools continued across California and the Southwest.

The Mendez et. al. Case

In California, ***de jure***, the legal practice of segregation ended as a result of the class-action lawsuit, *Mendez, et. al v. Westminster School District* (1947).[27] (For further reading on the Mendez case, review Section 7.2 Chicanx and Latinx Civil Rights Activism). At the height of WWII, when Japanese American families were forcibly evacuated and relocated to internment camps, among them was the Munemitsus family of Westminster. The Mendez family moved to Westminster from Santa Ana because an opportunity opened to lease and run a 40 acre asparagus farm that belonged to the Munemitsus family.[28] The Mendez family managed this farm that was labored by Mexican Braceros. To learn more about the Bracero program, review Section 7.4: Labor, Farmworker, and Immigrant Movements, or Section 4.4: Gender, Sexuality, Migration, and Indigeneity.

Video: Mendez v. Westminster: For All the Children

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View this YouTube Video online

Video 8.2.2: "Mendez v. Westminster: For All the Children" YouTube, uploaded by Sandra Robbie, July 9, 2020, https://youtu.be/F46Mlzt2tFc. Permissions: YouTube Terms of Service.
This 33 minute video details the historic case *Mendez vs. Westminster* and features Sylvia Mendez.

In 1944, Gonzalo and Felicita Mendez's Mexican-Puerto Rican children were denied enrollment into their neighborhood school, the same school where their nieces attended. In an attempt to enroll their children, their aunt went to the school. The Mendez daughter, Sylvia, remembered that moment as an adult in Video 8.2.2, which is Sandra Robbie's documentary, "Mendez v. Westminster: For All the Children." A picture of Sylvia Mendez is shown in Figure 8.2.2.

> So when we got to the school they told her, "Mrs. Vidarri, you can leave your kids here but your brother's kids will have to go to the Mexican school. The Mexicans are segregated here in Westminster. They have to go to the Mexican school."[29]

Since her Mexican American aunt married a French man with the last name Vidaurri and their children were light-skinned, easily passing as white, they were allowed to enroll in the "white" neighborhood school. The **colorism**, that is, the prejudice or discrimination based on dark skin color, enacted by the school demonstrates the complexity and proximity of whiteness available to some in the Mexican community and not to others.



Figure 8.2.2: "Sylvia Mendez" by Duke University, Wikimedia Commons is in the Public Domain, CC0.

In this scenario, we learn that whiteness was not necessarily available to all Mexicans, including the Mendez family who despite their higher class standing from operating a farm and owning a *cantina* (bar) business in Santa Ana, they remained unsuccessful in accessing the "white" school because their skin was much darker than that of their relatives.[30] What their class standing did give them, however, was the financial means to fight segregation legally in court. Ultimately, the Mendez case was successful it but did not go unchallenged in the Court of Appeals. The Mendez case received an outpour of support from organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), and American Jewish Congress (AJC) that all submitted briefs in support of their case. In their brief, AJC mentioned, "We believe, indeed, that the Jewish interests are inseparable from those of justice and that Jewish interests are threatened whenever persecution, discrimination, or humiliation is inflicted upon any human being because of his race, creed, color, language, or ancestry."[31]

The solidarity of all the organizations and community leaders who were able to recognize that while they may be racialized differently, there are shared interests in challenging racism. They were able to prove that separate schools violated the equal protection clauses of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution, not on grounds of racial discrimination, but national origin because after all, no one contested whether the children were white, but rather, that discrimination was based on their Mexican and Latin national origin.[32] As a result of growing state-wide political momentum in support of desegregation, state Governor Earl Warren signed legislation in the state to repeal state law segregating American Indians and Asian Americans, effectively outlawing state-sanctioned *de jure* segregation.[33] Figure 8.2.3 showcases the first issue stamp released in 2007 celebrating 60 years after the *Mendez vs. Westminster School District* case.



Figure 8.2.3: "20140924-DM-RBN-0539" by U.S. Department of Agriculture's Photostream, Flickr is licensed CC-BY 2.0.

Nationally, segregation was legal until it was challenged with the Supreme Court decision with *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka* (1954).[34] Chicana sociologist and lawyer Marisela Martinez-Cola argues, the success of *Brown* was in part due to the over 100 legal challenges to segregation in state and federal courts, among them the victories led by Latinx families.[35]

Education has historically been an issue over civil rights denied, the right to a free public education. In this section we learned that Latinx families struggled for civil rights in education, paving the way for future movements in education. While segregated schools were now ruled unconstitutional, it is important to remember that white supremacist ideologies that inform a person's racialized worldview and maintain divides do not change overnight. Latinx families continued to endure discrimination in housing, employment, and schools. The growth of urbanization and suburbanization across California would contribute to *de facto* segregation in housing and schools, introducing a new era of social change.

Footnotes

[13] The Mexican Revolution represented the rise against the regime of Mexican President Porfirio Diaz, a regime that maintained a widening gap between the rich and poor. For more information of this time, review George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[14] In response to the success of this state case, AB 268 was passed to establish separate schools for students of "Mongolian or Chinese" descent.

[15] For further reading on what life was like, review "A Tale of Two Schools" Learning for Justice. August 7, 2017. To read about how segregated life allowed Mexican American families to preserve their heritage and cultivate community and traditions, review Jennifer R. Nájera, *Borderlands of Race: Mexican Segregation in a South Texas Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015). You can also engage with the interactive map on redlining in America, "Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America," Digital Scholarship Lab and Julius Wilm, University of Richmond, Accessed July 20, 2022.

[16] Eastern and Southern European immigrants were also included in Americanization efforts.

[17] Sandra Robbie “Mendez v. Westminster: For All the Children” YouTube, 2003.

[18] David G. Garcia, Tara J. Yosso, and Frank P. Barajas, “‘A Few of the Brightest, Cleanest Mexican Children’: School Segregation as a Form of Mundane Racism in Oxnard, California, 1900-1940,” *Harvard Educational Review* Vol. 82, No. 1 (2012): 1–25.

[19] Richard R. Valencia, Martha Menchaca, Ruben Donato, “Segregation, Desegregation, and Interation of Chicano Students: An Overview of Schooling Conditions and Outcomes” in *Chicano School Failure and Success: Past, Present and Future*, 2nd Edition, Richard R. Valencia, editor (New York and London: Routledge, 2002); Martha Menchaca, “Chicano Indianism: A Historical Account of Racial Repression in the United States” *American Ethnologist,* Vol. 20, No. 3 (1993): 583–603.

[20] The Whittier State School was a model for how to reform deficient and youth of color perceived as delinquent. For more on the history of race and science in California’s juvenile justice system, review Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, *States of Delinquency: Race and Science in the Making of California’s Juvenile Justice System*. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2012). Also, Martha Menchaca and Richard R. Valencia, “Anglo-Saxon Ideologies in the 1920s-1930s: Their Impact on the Segregation of Mexican Students in California” *Anthropology and Education,* Vol. 21, No. 3 (1990): 222–249.

[21] As referenced in David G. Garcia, Tara J. Yosso, and Frank P. Barajas “A Few of the Brightest, Cleanest Mexican Children”: School Segregation as a Form of Mundane Racism in Oxnard, California, 1900-1940” *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 82, No. 1 (2012): 1–25.

[22] “The Lemon Grove Incident and the Making of a History Professor with Luis Alvarez,” YouTube video, 10 minutes, University of California Television, November 30, 2021.

[23] LULAC was first formed in Texas in 1927 for the purpose of ending discrimination. During this era, LULAC was instrumental in fighting school segregation cases. While many scholars have regarded LULAC as an assimilationist, anti-immigrant, anti-working class organization, Cynthia E. Orozco offers a re-reading of LULAC’s history in *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed: The Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009).

[24] The 1930 Census classified “Mexican American” as a race, receiving an outpour of backlash from the newly established organization, LULAC, to classify Mexicans as white. In 1940, there was a reclassification of Mexicans as white in U.S. Census as a protection mechanism in light of internment of Japanese Americans, which used Census data to locate Japanese-Americans. To learn more, read “On the Census, Who Checks ‘Hispanic,’ Who Checks ‘White,’ and Why,” *Code Switch*, NPR, June 16, 2014.

[25] The Bliss bill called for an amendment to section 3.3 of the California school code which provided local school districts with “the power to establish separate schools for Indian children, and children of Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian ancestry.” Assemblyman Bliss wanted the section dealing with Indian children modified to read “Indian children whether born in the United States or not” to give schools the authority to separate Mexican and Mexican American students from their Anglo counterparts on the grounds that “la raza children were Indians.” To read more about efforts to re-define Mexicans as “Indian” to justify legal segregation in schools, review Francisco E. Balderrama *In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community,1929 to 1936* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2018).

[26] Roberto R. Alvarez Jr., “The Lemon Grove Incident” *The Journal of San Diego History,* Vol. 32, No. 2 (1986)

[27] It is worth noting that while the Mendez family is often highlighted in this case, it was a class-action case that involved other families, including Thomas Estrada, William Guzman, Frank Palomino and Lorenzo Ramirez who joined as co-plaintiffs against school segregation in Santa Ana, Garden Grove, and Orange.

[28] Janice Munemitsu, *The Kindness of Color: The Story of Two Families and Mendez, et al v. Westminster, the 1947 Desegregation of California Public Schools* (Janice Munemitsu, 2021); Luis Alvarez and Daniel Widener, ‘‘A History of Black and Brown: Chicana/o African-American Cultural and Political Relations,’’ *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Spring 2008), 147. This history is also captured in the children’s book by Duncan Tonatiuh, *Separate is Never Equal: Sylvia Mendez and Her Family's Fight for Desegregation* (Harry N. Abrams, 2014).

[29] Sandra Robbie, “Mendez v. Westminster: For All The Children” (2003) Youtube. 33 minutes.

[30] For an in-depth discussion that complicates Mexicans proximity to whiteness and recognizes that they were part of the full racial spectrum, review Marisela Martinez-Cola, *The Bricks Before Brown: The Chinese American, Native American, and Mexican Americans' Struggle for Educational Equality* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2022).

[31] Reproduced from Natalia Molina, "Brief for the American Jewish Congress as Amicus Curiae," Westminster School District of Orange County, et al. vs. Gonzalo Mendez, (U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals 9th Cir. Oct. 28, 1946), p. 1.

[32] The 1954 *Hernandez v. Texas* case validated that Mexicans, while racially white, were in fact treated as "a class apart" from whites.

[33] The Governor signed the Anderson Bill which specifically repealed Section 8003 and 8004 of the California Education Code.

[34] The leading attorney, Thurgood Marshall cited the Mendez ruling as a precedent during deliberations.

[35] Martinez-Cola, *The Bricks Before Brown*.

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8.3: Re-imagining Education in an Era of Revolt, 1955-1975

Education for Liberation

Education has always been a central function of colonization and oppression, but when reclaimed by oppressed people it can be a key function for liberation struggles. As the struggle for civil rights continued into a new era of social change, it created opportunities for students, families, and activists to re-imagine their local schools and education in general. While today it may be easy to take for granted the existence of ethnic studies classes such as the one you are in, it is important to know that the field was created and sustained as a result of political pressure by social movements. Before the formation of ethnic studies, communities that were historically marginalized took education into their own hands, such as offering political education and presenting counter cultures, such as art, murals, *teatro*, and music to uphold values and norms contrary to mainstream society (Visit Chapter 10: Cultural Productions). These non-traditional forms of education are among the many ways that history is recorded, disseminated, and preserved.

The Chicano movement (Review Chapter 7: Social Movement Activity for a history of the Chicano movement), and other movements of the time, such as the antiwar and women's rights movements, collectively are examples of different communities taking more militant approaches to generating political power. During these times, younger generations of Mexican Americans also redefined their identity to include radical political identities such as Chicana and Chicano that extended beyond their ethnicity and united in solidarity with peoples of the "third world" to create change (Review Chapter 1: Foundations and Contexts and Section 7.2: Chicanx and Latinx Civil Rights Activism). The education that occurred in and out of schools, ignited and sustained generations of activists working to transform their high schools, colleges, and universities. During this time, the struggle was no longer merely about access to education, but questioning the function and responsibility of educational institutions altogether.

Little School of the 400

The absence of effective schools to address the discrimination Mexican American children experienced, led to the formation of schools that were run by Mexican Americans. In 1957, one such school was spearheaded by LULAC. The **Little School of the 400 (LS400)** was a preschool program that was first created in Texas to teach Spanish-speaking children to be bilingual by teaching them 400 English words. These preschool classes would help children build their English vocabulary, giving them the academic confidence to succeed in school. The LS400 was an initiative to Americanize children of Mexican heritage, but unlike Americanization efforts led by whites, this school did not instill a sense of inferiority.[36] Instead, it was a school that instilled cultural pride and empowered children to be embrace their Mexican and American culture.

These classes were taught by Mexican American women, such as Isabel Verner, who was the first to pilot the program in Ganado, Texas.[37] The success of the LS400 schools in Texas served as a model for the nationally sponsored Head Start Program that emerged during the "War on Poverty" initiatives by President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration.

The East LA School Blowouts

In March of 1968 in East Los Angeles, California the country witnessed a series of walkouts across high schools like never before. According to *La Raza Newspaper*, "The first 15 days of March of the year 1968 will be known in the 'new' history of the Southwest as the days of the BLOWOUT. Chicano Students define Blowout as 'high school students walking out for a better education.'"[38] An estimated 15,000 students walked out of classes from seven high schools, what became known as the East LA blowouts. The students gathered the results from surveys they created and compiled a list of 26 student demands that addressed a range of issues with academics, administration, facilities, and student rights. In their demands, students called for culturally relevant and responsive education, critiqued the lack of college preparatory courses, and the punitive school culture. The list of demands was presented to the LA Board of Education on March 28, 1968 only to be denied in front of the more than 1,200 community members present.

Sidebar

To view the proposals presented by the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee (EICC) to the Los Angeles Board of Education on March 28, 1968 visit Latinopia.com (March 6, 2010).

The walkouts were made possible because the students had the support of their community. Salvador "Sal" Castro, a teacher at Lincoln High School, who extended his support to the students, recruited students to attend the Chicano Youth Leadership Conference,[39] a space that was critical to nurturing political identities among Chicana/o youth of the time. Among those students was Moctesuma Esparza, a student of Mr. Castro at Lincoln High School. Moctesuma remembered those pivotal years for a PBS documentary titled, "Civic Leader Moctesuma Esparza: Educational Equity"

> A group of young Chicano students, we were 10th graders, 11th graders, formed an organization called Young Citizens for Community Action. And we would get together on weekends and we would talk about what was wrong, what was wrong in our schools, what was wrong in our lives and our community? Why was it that our teachers were not encouraging us to go to college? We had plenty of shop classes at Lincoln but almost no honors classes. We were being trained to be laborers. The schools were like prisons. We couldn't use the restrooms. We were punished. We were spanked for speaking Spanish. And all of the students were unhappy about that. We talked about what we could do to make a difference? 'All right, we need to take a lesson from what's going on in the rest of the world.' The plan was, we walk out.[40]

Young Citizens for Community Action initially formed in 1965, while Moctesuma was in high school, and eventually evolved into the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) and Brown Berets while he was a student at the University of California Los Angeles. Moctesuma recounts the role of university students in mentoring local high school students stating,

> They wanted to be organized. They wanted to do something, and so what we did at that point as college students was provide them context and assist them. And they made all of their decisions. It was an extremely democratic movement. The high school students were very jealous of their own prerogatives and of their own independence. And what we did as college students was to provide a safety net for them once they did decide to walk out, to act as monitors and as security for the movement, and provide resources and the community support system to then begin to reach out to parents and to labor movements and to the clergy. So we went about it very methodically. It took us a couple of years.[41]

The students in East LA had support from their parents, political organizations, and former students. By offering the community independent forms of communication through newspapers such as *La Raza*, *Inside Eastside*, and *The Chicano Student*, activists in East LA were able to control the narrative and inform the community, galvanizing their support, which was crucial to their success.

The movement that was forming around the walkouts was actively repressed by school administrators and law enforcement agencies. High school seniors who were recipients of scholarships were threatened with having their scholarships taken away. Students and their supporters were brutalized by the Los Angeles Police Department and arrested. The LAPD issued an arrest to 13 Chicano men for "disturbing the peace" and conspiracy charges. Those arrested were better known to the community as the East LA 13, and among the youngest was Moctesuma who was only 19 years old at the time.[42] Mr. Castro was also among the arrestees and consequently fired as a result. The decision to fire Mr. Castro was reversed after the community demanded he be reinstated and occupied the school board room until he was. The political repression of activists at this time was part of the systemic counter insurgency efforts of law enforcement, most notably, the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) that targeted political organizations, surveilled their activities, infiltrated their efforts, and ultimately used that intelligence to incarcerate an entire generation of activists leaders.

The 60s was a crucial time for youth to develop their political identities and exercise their freedom of speech in efforts to change their schools and society. The walkouts, like other sit-ins and marches of the era, used **non-violent resistance** to protest systemic racism. Crucial to creating an alternative educational system as was proposed by the students in their demands and in the aftermath of the walkouts, was the need for greater control over the decision-making process in schools and the district. While the students did not achieve all of their demands, they were successful for bringing generations together and laying a foundation to their own political trajectory.

The Formation of Chicano Studies and Ethnic Studies

During the civil rights movement, there were many alternative models to mainstream education that emerged from historically minoritized communities, most prominently within the Black community, from the Citizenship Schools (1945-1965) that were a response to the racist literacy tests that disenfranchised Black voters to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's (SNCC) Freedom Schools that began in the summer of 1964 to encourage Black Mississippians to think independently and act creatively. Not to mention in 1969, the Black Panther Party (BPP) launched Liberation Schools that offered a political education to resist power structures.

Within traditional institutions of higher education, BIPOC as minority groups on college campuses all across the state supported each other and united in their demands for change. In the Bay Area, the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), a coalition of multiracial and ethnic groups of students and organizations at San Francisco College and University of California, Berkeley, spearheaded a movement for ethic studies. TWLF specifically employed the term "third world" as a radical identity that positioned itself as anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and anti-racist.[43] From the beginning of its formation, ethnic studies recognized distinct histories in the U.S., and proposed an internationalist connection of solidarity to liberation struggles in the Global South, in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific Islands. Led by the Black Student Union, the TWLF joined together to form two strikes that began in 1968 and presented a list of 15 demands, among the list was to create a School of Ethnic Studies. It was in these times that ethnic studies was defined as groups of the Third World, Chicano/Latino studies, African American studies, Asian American studies, and Native American studies. As noted by Ziza Delgado, ethnic studies emerged within a radical political framework that included elements of culturally relevant education, but were not limited to only the study of culture.[44]

Globally there were revolutionary struggles against colonialism, imperialism, racism, white supremacy, and capitalism. In the midst of these movements, there was the return of WWII Chicano veterans who gained access to higher education unlike ever before as a result of the GI Bill and the American GI Forum that ensured veteran rights were respected. These veteran students among others gave way for the formation and growth of activist student organizations such as United Mexican-American Students (UMAS). The population of students of color at the University of California, Santa Barbara was severely low, and there were only about 50 Chicano/Latino students. At UC Santa Barbara, students from UMAS joined in solidarity with the Black Student Union (BSU) and the mostly all-white Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) under what they called United Front to take over and occupy the University Center. They called for a free-student run university that incorporated instruction on revolutionary movements, global capitalism, and Marxism.

That same year at UC Santa Barbara, Chicana/os across the states came together under the newly formed Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education to create a blueprint for the formation of Chicano studies. The result was a 155-page manifesto titled, *El Plan de Santa Barbara: A Chicano Plan for Higher Education* ("*El Plan*") that outlined the three-fold function of the university: teaching, research, and public service.[45] The blueprint opened with a quote from Jose Vasconcelos, former Secretary of Public Education of Mexico, that captured the sentiment of the time. "At this moment we do not come to work for the university, but to demand that the university work for our people." *El Plan* outlined the importance of the newly established student support program, Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) and the need for a unified national student-led organization, which became Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano Aztlan (MEChA). It called for the formation of research centers and the institutionalization of Chicano Studies departments.

While *El Plan* and the Chicano movement in general were instrumental in paving new directions for the Chicano community, they were not absolved of critique. In "Sexism in Chicano Studies and the Chicano Community" Cynthia Orozco identifies the sexist ideologies that made gender a secondary issue to race and class.[46] Orozco offered a sobering critique of Chicano studies as an academic discipline, citing the first edition of Rodulfo Acuña's *Occupied America* (1972) and its failure to incorporate Chicana history, leadership, and contributions. Orozco even pointed out how "La Chicana" was a tokenized course, often the only course in that interrogated issues of gender, patriarchy, and what feminists of color at the time articulated as "triple oppression" and ultimately intersectionality. In Orozco's view, *El Plan* was truly a "man-ifesto" that lacked a feminist vision. Instead, Orozco provides a Chicana feminist revision of *El Plan* renaming it to, "El Plan de Santa y Barbara" and that parts with the words of Señora Josefa Vasconcelos, "At this moment we do not come to work for Chicano studies and the community, but to demand that Chicano studies and the community work for our liberation too."[47] The feminist critiques of *El Plan,* Chicano studies, the Chicano movement, and the community at large gave way to Chicana studies and Chicana-led organizations (Review Chapter 5: Feminisms and Chapter 7: Social Movement Activity for more on this topic). Similarly, critiques over the lack of an interrogation of sexuality gave way to Jotería studies (Review Chapter 6: Jotería Studies). Figure 8.3.1 is from a history and cultural museum in Los Angeles that featured an exhibit on Chicana women leaders and activists.

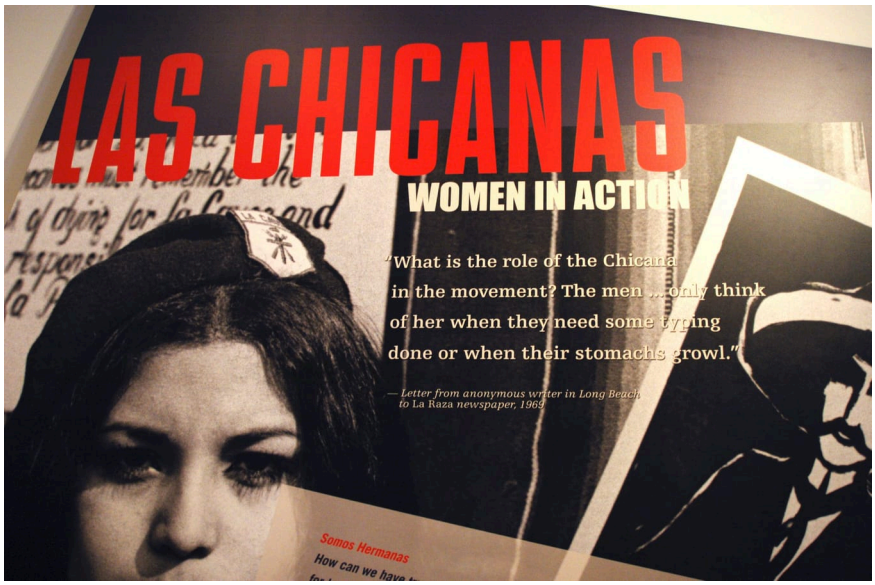


Figure 8.3.1: "Las Chicanas" by Neon Tommy, Flickr is licensed CC BY-SA 2.0.

By this point, there was not a formalized ethnic studies field, but that's not to say that the scholarship that emerged from traditional academic fields such as sociology, anthropology, history, along with other disciplines did not contribute to the development of ethnic studies. We can take for example, Chicana/o historians such as Vicky Ruiz and George Sanchez or Chicana/o sociologists such as Mary Pardo and Alfredo Mirande who emerged from traditional disciplines, but are regarded as foundational to the field. Furthermore, the role of public intellectuals outside of the academy were instrumental in carving new trajectories and uplifting political movements, such as anarchist journalist Ricardo Flores Magon and civil rights activist Adela Sloss Vento. From the beginning, ethnic studies redefined traditional notions of scholarship, intellectualism, and what we consider to be texts. The work of these scholars built a foundation for future generations of BIPOC scholars to build upon.

Unlike all other academic disciplines, Chicano studies, like ethnic studies, is more than just an academic discipline. Ethnic studies is a political project born out of struggle and critique of the institution it emerges within and education in general. It was not meant to conform to the status quo of these institutions, rather to serve as a powerhouse of change. From the beginning, ethnic studies was a community-driven project. And unlike other academic disciplines that make claims of objectivity and to present in unbiased or impartial ways, ethnic studies stands firmly against oppression of any form. Paulo Freire in *The Politics of Education* (1985) wrote about the impossibility of neutrality in the face of oppression stating, "Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral."[48] Ethnic studies does not only study oppression, it directly engages with struggles for liberation that go beyond education.

The Backlash and Disinvestment in Public Education

As urban schools and cities experienced the changes of deindustrialization and disinvestment, the racialization of the welfare state through popular cultural deprivation theories continued to gain traction. Ronald Reagan's deployment of the racialized and gendered trope of the so-called "welfare queen" throughout his 1976 presidential campaign trail demonstrated the growing binary of white "taxpayer" versus Black "tax-recipient." Martha Escobar argues that the perceived threat of Black mothers as "breeders" of deviancy, criminality, and poverty is transposed onto Latina mothers, immigrant Latina mothers especially, who are viewed as unworthy and undeserving of social welfare services, including health and education.[49] This growing fear over financing of Black and Latinx communities, along with the economic insecurities fueled the racialized tax revolts of the late 70s and 80s.

This white backlash enabled California laws such as Proposition 13 to pass, signaling a critical turning point for the finance of public education.[50] Prior to 1978, public schools collected as much funding as was needed from local property taxes. This meant that neighborhoods with higher property taxes could collect more money for per pupil spending. Prop 13 set a 1% property tax limit across the state, where the assessed value could not grow more than 2% a year. The state, however, was either not financially able or willing to supply the needed local financing of schools that was not supplied through local property taxes. As a consequence, the most impacted were school budgets that cut nurses, counselors, librarians, vocational education, music and art programs, adult education, summer and after-school programming, and anything viewed as excess to the core academic curriculum such as elective courses.

Sidebar

In 1965, California had one of the highest rates of per-pupil spending in the U.S. Today, it is one of the lowest. This is the legacy of Prop 13. How much wealthier are white school districts in comparison to nonwhite ones? $23 billion.

The disinvestment in public education fueled by the racialized tax revolts of the late 70s and 80s made school districts heavily dependent on state budgets. These changes came at a time when civil rights victories fought to desegregate schools and students of color were redefining the role of education. In the 70s, desegregation efforts were often circumvented, like the case in Houston, Texas, when a school district claimed their district integrated Mexican "white" students with Black students, maintaining white schools intact.[51] In other cases, white families fled to surrounding suburbs with LAUSD experiencing a drop of 20,000 white students after busing programs were introduced.[52] This was part of the larger pattern of white flight in cities such as Los Angeles as suburbanization gave white families an opportunity to sell their home, maintain their wealth, and escape into the suburbs.

This issues have spurred activist responses. Figure 8.3.2 demonstrates critiques of criminalization and incarceration as responses to social problems. The poster reads, "Building strong communities not prisons and jails! The prison crisis in California is not over. People are organizing and fighting back!" Californians United for a Responsible Budget (CURB) is a broad-based coalition of over 70 organizations seeking to CURB prison spending by reducing the number of people in prison and the number of prisons in California. Similarly, Figure 8.3.3 is a 2008 poster that reads, "Abolish the prison industrial complex. Missing: 2.3 million Americans from their family, friends, and community."



Figure 8.3.2: "Communities United for a Responsible Budget" by Melanie Cervantes, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

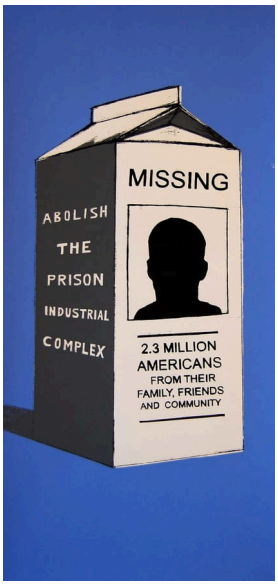


Figure 8.3.3: "Missing: 2.3 Million Americans" by Nicolas Lampert, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Footnotes

[36] In Texas, Mexican families preferred sending their children to church schools or private schools known as *colegios*. *El Colegio Altamirano* was taught in Spanish so that Mexican children would preserve their culture.

[37] For further reading on the LS400, review Erasmo Vázquez Ríos, "The Little School of the 400: A Mexican-American Fight for Equal Access and its Impact on State Policy," (Master's Thesis, University of Nebraska, 2013).

[38] *La Raza Newspaper*, Vol. 1, No. 2. (March 31, 1968). La Raza Publication Records, 1001. Chicano Studies Research Center, University of California, Los Angeles.

[39] This camp was intended to tackle the most pressing issues affecting Mexican American youth, such as gangs, access to college, and school dropout rates.

[40] "Civic Leader Moctesuma Esparza: Educational Equity," Youth Stand Up, PBS Learning Media, Accessed September 9, 2022.

[41] Democracy Now! "Walkout: The True Story of the Historic 1968 Chicano Student Walkout in East L.A." March 29, 2006.

[42] The arrestees were Sal Castro, Moctesuma Esparza, La Raza newspaper editors Eliezer Risco, 31, and Joe Razo, 29, Brown Beret "ministers" Carlos Montes, David Sanchez, Ralph Ramirez, and Fred Lopez (ages 18 to 20), Carlos Muñoz Jr., 20, Gilberto Olmeda, 23, Richard Vigil, 27, Henry Gomez, 20 and Juan Sanchez, 41.

[43] Jason Michael Ferreira, "All Power to the People: A Comparative History of Third World Radicalism in San Francisco, 1968-1974," Ph.D. Dissertation (University of California Berkeley, 2003)

[44] Ziza Joy Delgado, "The Longue Durée of Ethnic Studies: Race, Education and the Struggle for Self-Determination," Ph.D. Dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 2016).

[45] As remembered by Fernando Negochea for the article by Armando Carmona, "El Plan de Santa Barbara: Beyond Studying Politics, a Legacy of Activism" UC Santa Barbara Alumni, *Coastlines*, Spring 2019. Accessed October 25, 2022.

[46] Cynthia Orozco, "Sexism in Chicano Studies and the Chicano Community" (1984) NAACCS Annual Conference Proceedings. 5.

[47] Orozco, "Sexism in Chicano Studies", pg. 15

[48] Paulo Freire. *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation* (Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1985) pp. 122

[49] Martha Escobar, *Captivity Beyond Prisons: Criminalization Experiences of Latina (Im)migrants*. (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2016)

50 Daniel Martinez HoSang, *Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California*, (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2010)

51 Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., *Brown, Not White: School Integration and The Chicano Movement* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005)

[52] "The Busing Controversy in Los Angeles as of 1980" CBS News. October 22, 1980.

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8.4: When Ganas is not Enough, 1976-2000

Public Schools as Scapegoats

By the 1980s, an era obsessed with academic "excellence" was introduced. This was evidenced in the report *A Nation at Risk* (1983), which cautioned over a "rising tide in mediocrity" and sustained a discourse that advocated for higher standards in public schools. It is no coincidence that this report emerged at a time when the rise in foreign-born populations from Latin America and Asia gave rise to xenophobic fears and an English Only movement. At the center of these debates was the *Plyler v. Doe* (1975) Supreme Court case filed by the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF). Decided in 1983, it involved the state of Texas changing an Education Code to allow schools to withhold admission or charged tuition to undocumented children. The court ruled that every young person, regardless of their immigration status, has a right to attend a free public school in grades K-12. This historic case was essential for combating early efforts to create a **school-to-deportation pipeline**, that is, school policies and practices that effectuate the removal of undocumented immigrant youth from schools and ultimately the U.S.

While the removal of undocumented immigrant children in schools remained unsuccessful, language in schools continued to be a political battleground that enabled the continuance of segregation and Americanization efforts previously employed to discriminate and exclude non-native English speakers, including Latinx children. In 1986, Proposition 63 passed, which made English the official language of California.[53] The xenophobic fears of the time were among many other social fears attached to crime and poverty that targeted the most vulnerable student populations in our schools.

Mr. Escalante's Math Enrichment Program

Mainstream portrayals of urban schools as pathological, deficient, decaying, and failing were captured through popular media productions such as the iconic films, *Stand and Deliver* (1988) and *Lean on Me* (1989), which were both based on true stories. For example, *Stand and Deliver* focuses on Bolivian American math teacher, Jaime Escalante, from Garfield High School in East Los Angeles, who raised expectations and instilled the *ganas* (spirit of motivation, willpower, grit, and resilience) in his students.[54] The film credits his ethic of care and strict pedagogy to the success of 18 of his students who passed their AP Calculus exams in 1982. The Educational Testing Service accused the students of cheating, made them retake the exam, and when they did they passed with even higher scores, and proved to the nation that inner city kids were teachable. While the film sheds light on the importance of educators that extend an ethic of care to their students, the truth is these students were successful because they had years of preparation and support.

The failure of Hollywood films such as these are that they do not give credit to the real source of student success. Escalante, with the support of his principal, built a math enrichment program that partnered with local feeder schools to replace basic math with algebra, giving students the opportunity to enter high school on a higher level of math. The program also partnered with the local community college to provide a 7-week intense math training course in the summer, allowing students to either get ahead or practice their skills.[55] Escalante practiced an open enrollment policy for his classes, meaning anyone who was interested could take his classes, as he did not approve of gifted, honors, tracking, or the need for qualifying exams to prove they were ready. "The only thing you need to have for my program––and you must bring it every day ––is *ganas*."[56] The program also ensured students were provided with tutoring before and after school, and even offered paid opportunities for previous students to provide tutoring. Essentially, Escalante's students were successful because he disrupted the status quo, created a new academic pipeline in math, and provided the support students needed to succeed.

Stand and Deliver, like many films of the time, does not accurately show why students were successful and instead credited a tough, punitive approach to schooling. Mr. Escalante knew that students needed more than *ganas* to succeed academically, hence he went beyond his role in the classroom to create educational opportunities that would have been absent otherwise. In an under-resourced school such as Garfield High School, Escalante went out of his way to create a pipeline of hope for student's to succeed.

Films such as *Stand and Deliver* and *Lean on Me* gave mainstream audiences a glimpse into "urban schools" for the first time, or perhaps more correctly, schools where the majority of the student demographic was of color. The **dominant narrative** was that these urban schools were failing because they were ungovernable and out of control, not because they were overcrowded, inadequately resourced, and segregated. Change for these schools was only possible with the presence of an unrelenting

patriarchal figure, whether it was Mr. Escalante's unwillingness to give up on his students or the more punitive approach depicted in the film *Lean on Me* where the new principal, Mr. Clark, infamously expelled hundreds of "troublemakers" in a school assembly for their misconduct. After doing so Mr. Clark declares to the rest of the student body, "My motto is simple. If you do not succeed in life, I do not want you to blame your parents. I don't want you to blame the white man. I want you to blame yourselves. The responsibility is yours."[57] The **bootstraps narrative** captured in this statement, that is, the idea that educational success is attainable through personal initiative, hard work, responsibility, and drive, is a common narrative in schools. Students are expected to beat the institutional odds set up against them as if individual effort was all that was necessary to overcome them.

Moreover, films of this time served to fuel the media hysteria over violent youth perceived as "super-predators" and implement **zero tolerance policies**, that is, punitive school measures that push out "problem students" through practices such as expulsion and suspension regardless of the severity of a student's behavior. In the next decades, these types of practices and policies would become the norm for inner city schools, coalescing with what scholars identify as the **school-to-prison pipeline**––the school practices and policies that disproportionately place students of color into the juvenile and adult criminal justice system. The most under-resourced schools have the most resources funneled into creating prison-like school environments by implementing random locker and person searches, metal detectors, security cameras, security guards, and police presence. The disinvestment in the quality of life and educational opportunities for children of color in poverty, with the investment in the criminalization and surveillance efforts both in and out of school, effectively strengthen a pipeline from schools to prisons.

Sidebar

Latinx and Black youth are the most impacted by zero-tolerance policies and practices, accounting for the majority of school suspension and expulsion rates.

Pause and Reflect

In your opinion, what can schools do better or differently to challenge the school-to-prison pipeline?

The Latinx Threat in Schools

By the 1990s, it was clear that future immigrants were not coming from European countries nor were they Anglo-Protestants. The demographic changes were of concern to many political and academic conservatives who cautioned that future immigrants would be from Spanish-speaking countries, immigrants that once they arrived did not assimilate to American culture and life.[58] In fact, demographers predicted that by 2025, Latinos would become the largest ethnic group in California. These concerns coincided with the economic recession in the early 1990s and growing civil unrest evidenced by the Los Angeles Rebellion of 1992. In communities with an absence of a large white population, narratives of racial conflict among children of immigrants and more established populations were repeatedly portrayed in the media. Most notably, Fox News coverage on what was commonly referred to as "Black and Mexican conflict" in schools. These type of stories sensationalized racial conflict and tension, grew concerns over crime and violence, and emerged at a time when California relied on undocumented immigrants as a scapegoat to be blamed.

Theory Spotlight: Leo Chavez's The Latino Threat Narrative

The xenophobic concerns of the time are best summarized by Latino anthropologist, Leo Chavez, in what he identifies as the Latino threat narrative––a dominant narrative reproduced in society:

1. Latinos are a reproductive threat, altering the demographic makeup of the nation.
2. Latinos are unable or unwilling to learn English.
3. Latinos are unable or unwilling to integrate into the larger society; they live apart from the larger society, not integrating socially.

4. Latinos are unchanging and immutable; they are not subject to history and transforming social forces around them; they reproduce their own cultural world.
5. Latinos, especially Americans of Mexican origin, are part of a conspiracy to reconquer the southwestern United States, returning the land to Mexico's control. This is why they remain apart and unintegrated in the larger society.[59]

While there are many ways in which the narratives that Latinxs are a threat to society manifest, in California, there were two key propositions that captured how education became a site for policy makers to ease xenophobic fears, Proposition 187 and Proposition 227.

Proposition 187

In 1994, Proposition 187 was an initiative that, as its title indicated, attempted to "Save Our State." The title alone invoked the idea that in the public's imagination, California was a non-immigrant state that needed to be saved from undocumented immigrants, commonly racialized as "illegal aliens." Governor Wilson made undocumented immigrants the focus of his political re-election campaign, endorsing Prop 187 and advertising a commercial that depicted undocumented immigrants running across the border from Mexico, warning viewers, "They keep coming. Two million illegal immigrants in California. The federal government won't stop them at the border, yet requires us to pay billions to take care of them."[60] The proposition was passed with nearly 59% of voters approving the creation of a state-run citizenship screening system meant to deny undocumented immigrants state public social services, including access to public education and non-emergency health care. Moreover, the proposition would have deputized anyone that served or assisted an undocumented immigrant, including teachers and doctors. Essentially, employees of schools and hospitals would operate as immigration enforcement officers. It was estimated that 300,000 undocumented children were to be denied public education if enacted. However, the proposition was never enacted due to the successful legal challenge by MALDEF, ACLU, Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), and AAAJ (Asian Americans Advancing Justice), among others, that argued it was unconstitutional and violated *Plyler v. Doe*.

Film Spotlight: *Fear and Learning at Hoover Elementary* (1997)

The 1997 film, *Fear and Learning at Hoover Elementary*, directed by teacher-turned-filmmaker Laura Simons, takes us into Hoover Street Elementary to expose how Proposition 187 directly impacted the lives of students in one of the most diverse areas of Los Angeles.

The fight against Prop 187 was a true testament of communities rising up in solidarity. As African American high school student Annette Wells, co-founder of South Central Youth Empowered Thru Action (SCYEA), shouted to a crowd of 70,000 in Los Angeles, "This racist unjust government that we live in, finds some way to break us down. We need to join together in unity. It is about time we have peace within our community. Join us! Join us! We need to fight for voter education. Fight for voter registration, *orale*!"[61] On November 2, only days before election day, over 10,000 youth across the state walked out in opposition to Prop 187. College students and labor unions, all united against the proposition. There was a strong presence and organized effort from Asian, Black, and white communities. The opposition to Prop 187 served to increase voter turnout among the Latinx community and created a generation of activists.[62] Figure 8.4.1 and Figure 8.4.2 are from two demonstrations against Prop 187, the first in Fresno and the second in Los Angeles.



Figure 8.4.1: "March Against Prop 187 in Fresno California 1994" by David Prasad, Flickr is licensed CC BY-SA 2.0.



Figure 8.4.2: "Proposition 187 protest 1994-10-16" by Korean Resource Center, Flickr is licensed CC BY-ND 2.0.

Proposition 227

Furthermore, xenophobic fears gave way for Califonia voters to approve the 1998 Proposition 227**,** "English Language in Public Schools," which effectively eliminated bilingual education in public schools and weakened language equity gains of the 1970s. Specifically, in regard to the Supreme Court decision in *Lau vs. Nichols* (1974) in which Chinese parents in San Francisco Unified School District filed a class-action lawsuit. The lawsuit emerged when Chinese, Filipino, and Latina/o children failed in school due to not being able to understand the lessons in English. The families essentially argued for language equity, that is, a bilingual curriculum that allowed students to comprehend and succeed. The school district counter-argued that all students were offered the same curriculum, therefore, it offered an equal education. In other words, the district asserted that offering a distinct curriculum was discriminatory as it catered to students based on their national-origin. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the parents citing that the district was in violation of the Civil Rights Act (Title IV), which meant that schools were required to create a distinct curriculum that catered to English language learners, essentially supporting bilingual education. Figure 8.4.3 illustrates the difference between equality and equity. As the image states, "1. Equality: is giving people the same thing/s. 2. Equity: is fairness in every situation."

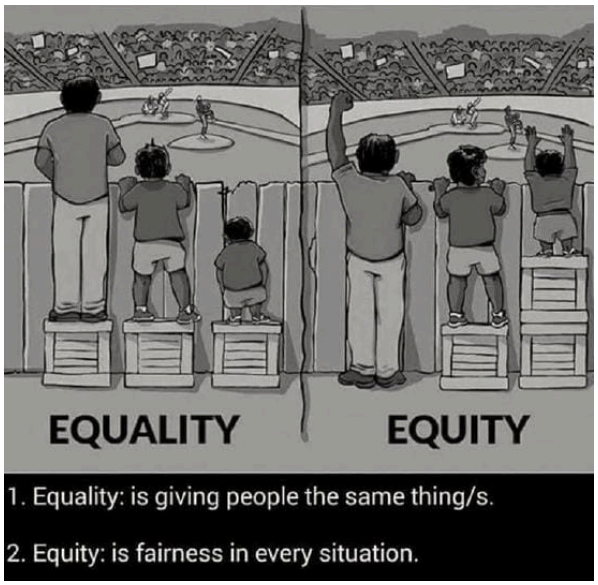


Figure 8.4.3: "#equality but I still don't know what banks mean by #equity" by Leigh Blackall, Flickr is licensed CC BY 2.0.

The ruling in *Lau vs. Nichols* is an example of why there needs to be a differentiation of **equality versus equity** in education. Whereas equality means that each individual or group of people are given the exact same resources and opportunities, equity recognizes that equal outcomes cannot be produced without catering to the specific needs. In this case, bilingual education was meant to address a specific need for English language learners to master the English language while retaining their native language. However, not everyone viewed bilingual education as a way for students to succeed academically. After Jaime Escalante successfully eliminated most of Garfield High School's bilingual education classes because he believed they held students back, he served as Honorary Chairperson of the "English for the Children" campaign that sponsored Prop 227. By this time, Escalante was the most prominent Latino teacher in the state due to the appraisal of the film *Stand and Deliver* (1988). Escalante, like many supporters of Prop 227, argued that since language immersion programs would not exceed one year, students would master the English language faster.

However, opponents argued that Prop 227 destroys local control over language instruction for English language learners and effectively positions students to fail as they are fast-tracked to learn English in one year before transitioning to English-only classrooms. Fernando Alberto, a senior at Roosevelt High School who walked out with thousands of students across the state to protest the approval of the proposition, expressed the same sentiment exclaiming, "I don't know where I would be if I didn't have those classes," referring to the bilingual classes he was placed in after emigrating from Honduras. "It's ridiculous for them to think everyone is going to make it in just one year."[63]

Sidebar

Generations of students were severely impacted by the aftermath of Prop 227. Not until 2016, did 73% of voters overturn the almost 20 year ban on bilingual instruction with Proposition 58. Today, research demonstrates that students in dual-language immersion and bilingual education students outperform traditional English-only students. California accounts for 60% of dual language programs in the U.S.

Proposition 209

The 90s was an era that blatantly attacked the Latinx community, whether it was efforts to deny undocumented students from receiving a public education or eliminate bilingual education altogether. In this era, Californian's also witnessed institutions of higher education impacted by the Proposition 209 "California Civil Rights Initiative" (1996), which prohibits affirmative action, or granting preferential treatment based on race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin in operating public employment, public education, or public contracting.

Affirmative action programs were essential for providing equal opportunity and diversifying colleges and universities in regard to hiring of faculty and staff, but also admissions of students. This is particularly important for underrepresented Latinx and Black

students who have the lowest number of enrollment in colleges and universities. In fact, the backlash with affirmative action was a direct result of a civil rights gain in the the Supreme Court ruling of *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, which ruled in favor of university affirmative action programs, deciding that race can be one of several factors in admissions policies, but not the use of quotas. In that case, Allan Bakke was a 35-year-old white male who was denied admissions twice to the UC Davis Medical School. Bakke claimed that the special admissions reserved for minority groups excluded him based on his race. Essentially, Bakke made claims of reverse discrimination, that is, when members of dominant or privileged groups make claims of discrimination based on the rights (or in this case access) given to historically minoritized groups. Bakke claimed to be a victim of affirmative action programs designed to level the playing field for minoritized groups. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of affirmative action, but would set the waves of backlash that culminated with Prop 209.

Pause and Reflect

In 2020, Proposition 16 was placed on the ballot to repeal Proposition 209, but Californian voted against it. Do you think affirmative action programs are necessary today to provide equal opportunity in employment and education?

Starving For Justice

In the 90s, university campuses in California were called into question by the courageous leadership of BIPOC students who employed **hunger strikes**, literally starvation and the risk of death, as a political tactic to create social and institutional change. The hunger strikes, though not in unison or at all at once, emerged at a time when all universities experienced severe budget cuts and fee hikes, making it more challenging for BIPOC to gain access to the university and for programs such as ethnic studies to be sustained. Chicana/o Studies professor Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval's book, *Starving for Justice* (2017) provides an in-depth documentation of three hunger strikes led by students at UC Los Angeles (May 24-June 7, 1993), UC Santa Barbara (April 27-May 5, 1994), and Stanford University (May 4 - 6, 1994).[64] Certainly the hunger strikes were a last resort to further pressure university administrators to implement their demands for change.

In the 1990s, nearly every university campus engaged in countless protests against higher fees, budget cuts, and the university's failure to invest in BIPOC recruitment and retention of both faculty and students. At UCSB, for example, students went on a hunger strike in 1989 and when the demands were left unmet, hunger striked again in 1994. While there were many similarities across the hunger strikes, each campus has their unique history, struggles, and set of demands. It is important to note that while the establishment and expansion of ethnic studies departments was a central concern across all of the hunger strikes, it was not the only one. In reference to the hunger strikes at UCLA, UCSB, and Stanford, professor of Chican/o studies, Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval notes, "Chicana/o studies was critical, but so were obtaining better wages and working conditions for farm workers; creating safe spaces where students and low-income immigrant families could organize and mobilize to stop budget cuts, deportations, and unscrupulous landlords; lowering student fees; and establishing a more diverse student body and faculty."[65]

The strength in student power was effective because multiracial/ethnic coalitions were formed across student organizations. Students were supported by faculty who were actively engaged in the strikes, risking their own positions in doing so. The hunger strikes were effective across all of the universities in getting the administration's attention and their commitment to implement changes. While each campus created their distinct set of demands, the self-sacrifice of hunger strikers and the communities that supported them halted the systemic demise of ethnic studies, paved the way for the university to commit to hire more faculty of color, and institutionalized the financial support for the recruitment efforts of students of color. The image in Figure 8.4.4 depicts the Third World Liberation Front 2016 hunger strikers at San Francisco State College.



Figure 8.4.4: "The Fight for Ethnic Studies_13" by Melissa Minton, Flickr is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Sidebar

The Third World Liberation Front 2016 at San Francisco State College organized a 10-day hunger strike with a list of 10 demands. To meet the demands, the collective called for the university's investment of $8 million. As a result, there is now a Pacific Island Studies minor and faculty, two positions in Africana Studies were restored, Race and Resistance Studies was departmentalized, funding was restored to the College of Ethnic Studies, and many support programs and services for students were put into place for future generations to come.

Pause and Reflect

Why do you think students historically and today continue to take such drastic measures such as a hunger strike to enact social and institutional change?

Footnotes

[53] Prop 63 was never enforced through state legislation, thereby making it unenforceable. In spite of this, the fact that 73% of voters approved the proposition is itself telling of the time.

[54] For a reinterpretation of ganas as a framework see, Rebeca Mireles-Rios, Victor Rios, Bertin Solis, Jose Gutierez, "Ganas as a Praxis: Cultural Responsiveness in Latinx/a/o Higher Education Success" *Studying Latinx/a/o Students in Higher Education: A critical analysis of concepts, theory, and methodologies* (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Frances Group, 2021), pp 91–105.

[55] Jerry Jesness, "Stand and Delivery Revisited," *Reason*, July 2002. Last accessed October 25, 2022.

[56] Jaime Escalante and Jack Dirmann, "The Jaime Escalante Math Program." *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 59, No. 3, (1990): 407–423.

[57] John G. Avildsen, *Lean on Me*. (United States: Warner Bros, 1989.)

[58] Samuel P. Huntington, "Hispanic Challenge" *Foreign Policy* Vol. 141 (2004): 30–45

[59] Leo R. Chavez, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (Redwood City, California: Stanford University Press, 2008) pg. 53

[60] Otto Santa Ana, *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2002)

[61] Thirteen, "Chapter 3: Taking Action" *187: The Rise of the Latino Vote*. October 6, 2020. Last accessed October 25, 2022.

[62] Erick Galindo, "Brown People 25 Years Ago Created a New Generation of Activist," LAist, November 8, 2019. Last accessed October 25, 2022.

[63] James Rainey, "500 Students March Against Prop. 227," *Los Angeles Times* (June 12, 1998).

[64] Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval, *Starving for Justice: Hunger Strikes, Spectacular Speech, and the Struggle for Dignity* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 2017). Hunger strikes also took place at UC Irvine (October 17 - 1995), UC Berkeley (April 29-May 7, 1999), and University of Colorado, Boulder (April 19-25 1994) and Northwestern University (April 12-26 1995).

[65] Armbruster-Sandoval, *Starving for Justice*, pg 8.

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8.5: Aquí Estamos y No Nos Vamos, 2001-2012

No Child Left Behind

In 2002, Republicans and Democrats came together to pass the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), a reauthorization of The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, a cornerstone of the Lyndon B. Johnson administration's efforts to carry the "War on Poverty" efforts, but this time through education. Essentially, the ESEA allows states to manage federal funds in an effort to provide an equal quality education to children in poverty. While NCLB was not the first reauthorization of the ESEA, it was different.

NCLB was a law that introduced an era of standardization and accountability in K-12 education unlike ever before. The act made the federal government's role in education greater than ever, while allowing for schools to have local control and for parents to exercise school choice. Each public school entity was required to show adequate yearly progress (AYP) based on state-set standardized tests, with the goal that by 2014, all schools and its students were expected to perform at grade-level. The law provided federal financial support to under-resourced schools or schools classified as Title I, schools with high numbers or high percentages of low-income families, in exchange for greater accountability. In essence, the schools with the most need would get greater assistance, and all schools were expected to demonstrate AYP.

It did not take long for the results of NCLB to confirm what many critics cautioned, which is that NCLB's unrealistic expectations will set up schools and school districts that serve historically marginalized communities to fail. In fact, a 2006 study revealed that schools that did not meet AYP in California and Illinois served 75-85% minority students, meanwhile schools that met AYP enrolled less than 40% minority students.[66] Furthermore, critics stressed that state defined academic content standards and predefined achievement standards in reading/language arts and math left behind the most marginalized students, such as students with learning disabilities and English language learners, who were expected to perform at the same level of "proficiency" predetermined by the state.

The NCLB Act greatly impacted entire school cultures and school communities as they were essentially punished when they did not improve their academic performance on standardized tests. Lower performing schools prioritized teaching to the test, often with scripted lessons, and made subjects like art and history secondary as students were not tested in them.[67] As a high school student in the city of Compton during this time, I recall our principal bringing a few of the AP and honors courses together to teach us how to take a test. I was blown away at how I could answer test questions for the language arts portion without actually reading the literary passage. The strategies he taught us had nothing to do with reading comprehension and more to do with test-taking skills. Our principal was willing to do what it took to excite students about the yearly testing season. He often rode a bicycle around the campus with a bubble machine to remind us, "Make sure to fill in all of the bubbles" on the test. We had pizza parties and jumpers after a long morning of testing to incentivize and reward students for attending school. While at the time I did not understand the repercussions for attending a school deemed as "failing" and "in need of improvement," I knew that we had lost our accreditation and with it, most of our student population. These are the stories of many school communities across the U.S.

NCLB introduced an era of accountability that consequently fueled the push out of students, teachers, and in some cases, enabled the closure of public schools. What a narrow focus on standardized test outputs revealed was that the achievement gap is truly an **opportunity gap** that extends beyond the scope of increasing federal funds in schools. The opportunity gap refers to life chances that are determined by the lack of opportunities, which are inherently influenced by factors such as race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and ZIP code, among other social and structural conditions that prevent student readiness and better educational outcomes. None of these factors should matter, but they do. There will always be success stories of individual students that beat the odds, educators that go above and beyond, parents that become fierce advocates, community leaders that pose creative solutions, but these stories are not the norm for most students.

Militarization of Schools

A provision of the NCLB act was for military recruiters to have access to school facilities and, upon request, the contact information of each student. In other words, schools that did not comply with this provision of the federal law jeopardize receiving federal aid. Parents were given the option to opt their children out. This provision was highly criticized by students and parents alike. It opened up the question: does a military presence belong in schools? Military recruiters on school campuses are known

to establish rapport with students, often serving as coaches, substitutes, and filling in where needed. Military recruitment takes place through class presentations, lunch time, and some campuses even provide a permanent office space for military recruiters to meet with students. Writing on a campaign to remove a military recruiter, Roberto Camacho summarizes:

> In 2018, Truth In Recruitment helped spearhead a movement to remove a noncommissioned California National Guard recruiter who actually had an office on Santa Maria High School's campus. Although the recruiter was officially listed as a "volunteer" who was supposed to facilitate an anti-bullying and holistic "rehabilitation" program, the office essentially served as a de facto recruitment center. Literature, pamphlets, and banners for the California National Guard were plastered both inside and outside of the recruiter's office. A California Public Records Act request revealed that school policy dictated that volunteers could not use campus space to promote another business, and the recruiter was eventually removed. The school's principal, however, was not happy and subsequently banned Truth in Recruitment from participating in career day events or giving presentations to students on campus.[68]

Educational campaigns such as those brought forth by Truth In Recruitment in Santa Maria are necessary for school communities to be self-determined in creating learning environments that reflect how they wish to experience their schools.

Many critics of military recruiters in working-class schools state that they exploit the financial and social insecurity of working-class students with the promise of a career through the military and scholarships for college. There are also issues over students' privacy and whether the military should have access to all of a students' contact information, especially in cases where students experience heightened military recruitment but insufficient college recruitment.

The provision in the law sparked controversy, especially because it emerged after 9/11 and the U.S. invasion of Iraq, giving way to an anti-war movement. The anti-war sentiment was strong among Santa Cruz High School students, who, at the height of the war, 300-500 students participated in a walkout in protest. This is why it was no surprise when in 2003, Santa Cruz high school students launched a campaign to adopt an opt-in policy.[69] There were concerns that parents are often unaware that their child's information was automatically shared with military recruiters. Rather than leaving the burden of opting out to parents, parents now had to opt-in to have their child's information shared with military recruiters. The successful campaigning of students led to the district adopting this change, however, it never took effect as that summer the Department of Education and Department of Defense joined in a letter to inform all school superintendents that the "opt-in" policy is in violation of the NCLB law.

The promises offered by military recruiters is very enticing for youth who are uncertain about their future after high school. Undocumented youth, for example, are encouraged to enlist with the promise of citizenship, even though the military does not and cannot grant citizenship to its undocumented members. In fact, to enlist one needs to be a permanent resident ("green card" holder). There are, on average, 8,000 permanent residents that enlist annually. Enlisting does not guarantee a pathway to citizenship, but the military can assist its members with completing paperwork to effectuate the process. At a time when undocumented students are presented with the challenge of college affordability and access, enlisting in the military may present itself as more promising and realistic. Figure 8.5.1 displays an activist poster that reads, "Defund militarism. Reclaim our resources." It was produced in 2020 as part of the De-mil-i-ta-rise movement to reclaim resources from the war industry, reinvest in life-giving institutions, and repair collaborative relationships with the earth and people around the world..

Sidebar

The presence of military recruiters is only one of the ways schools have become more militarized. Today, the rise of gun violence in schools has opened up the conversation on whether a stronger police presence in school is needed and some have even called for the arming of teachers and staff with guns.

Pause and Reflect

What is your opinion on military recruitment in schools and the overall militarization of schools? How do we increase campus safety?

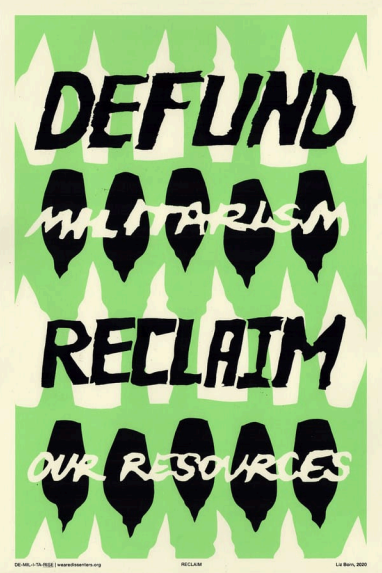


Figure 8.5.1: "Reclaim" by Liz Born, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Undocumented and Unafraid

In 2001, the first version of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act was first introduced to Congress. In short, the DREAM Act is targeted to protect current, future, and former undocumented high school graduates or GED recipients who emigrated to the U.S. as children by providing them a pathway to citizenship through college, work, or military service. For the past two decades, there have been over 10 versions of this act proposed, each time failing to garner sufficient Congressional votes to pass. In consequence, the undocumented population of over 2 million that is eligible is left deportable.

Sidebar

Annually, households that include Dreamers generate $15.5 billion in federal taxes and $8.5 billion in state and local taxes, and they hold $66.4 billion in spending power. Collectively, Dreamers own 144,000 homes and pay $1.5 billion each year in mortgage payments.[70] In California, Assembly Bill 540 passed in 2001 allowing eligible undocumented students to pay in-state tuition at public colleges and universities. Since then, there have been other bills passed (AB 2000 and SB 68) that expand the scope of undocumented students eligible for in-state tuition in spite of not having resident status. While paying for in-state tuition is a great first step, it is not enough for undocumented students if they are ineligible for financial aid to assist them in paying for a higher education. In 2011, AB 130 and AB 131 were signed allowing for undocumented students designated under AB 540/AB 2000 to apply for state financial aid and state funded scholarships under the California Dream Act Application (CADAA). These reforms are critical as they allow for undocumented students financial need to be served and for them to have a sense of belonging.

Sidebar

Approximately 98,000 undocumented students graduate from U.S. high schools every year. 27,000 of those students graduate from California's high schools.[71]

None of these reforms would be possible without the social unrest of undocumented students who have led and provided new directions to the (im)migrant rights movement, engaged in acts of civil disobedience, and risked arrest, detention, and deportation. Early on, the term "DREAM-er" was employed by undocumented student activists, also referred to as the 1.5 generation who emigrated to the U.S. as children. This generation identifies as American, attended and graduated from American schools, and yet are faced with institutional barriers that serve as reminders that they do not belong. Video 8.5.1 provides a glimpse into the work of Julio Salgado, an undocumented and queer (undocuqueer) activist who continues to play a pivotal role in the immigration rights movement.

Video: My Name is Julio: A Short Film By His Best Friend Jesús Iñiguez

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

View this YouTube Video online

Video 8.5.1: "My Name is Julio: A Short Film By His Best Friend Jesús Iñiguez" YouTube, uploaded by Dreamers Adrift, February 25, 2021, https://youtu.be/v9sQTMJ5axc. Permissions: YouTube Terms of Service.
This 12 minute video provides a 10 year retrospective of Julio Salgado's artwork.

The creative genius of the undocumented student activist community was instrumental in creating awareness and mobilizing support to create change. Students wore caps and gowns and performed mock graduation ceremonies as tactics to raise awareness and redefine negative images of undocumented immigrants that depict them as criminals and unassimilated. Immigrant youth boldly affirmed they were "coming out of the shadows" and proclaiming themselves as "undocumented and unafraid." The courage of undocumented student activists encouraged others to do the same, especially those who grew up with the understanding that no one should ever know your unauthorized immigration status. Students continue to lead reforms, such as the student organization Students for Quality Education (SQE), the signing of AB 21 in 2017, a bill to protect the information of undocumented students on CSU campuses, and to create a protocol in the event that federal immigration enforcement enters the campus.

Many colleges and universities now have a Dream Center, annual undocumented student programming, and undocumented student organizations. In spite of the gains, the fear of detention and deportation continues to be a possible reality for "DREAM-ers" and their families as none of the reforms mentioned enable a pathway to U.S. citizenship, permanent residency, nor do they assist undocumented immigrant populations that entered the U.S. as adults.

Walkouts Against HR 4437

Content Warning: Self-Harm. Please note that this section includes discussion of self-harm.

The "Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act" (HR 4437) passed the House of Representatives in December 2005 and if signed into law, it would have criminalized any undocumented immigrant without authorization to be in the U.S.. making it a felony charge. Returning from winter break, students across schools and universities expressed their opposition and organized through MySpace, text messaging, chat rooms, and email. What we collectively witnessed were nation-wide youth walkouts in hundreds of schools.

Unlike the East LA walkouts of 1968, the students who walked out in 2006 were not organizing to reform their schools from within, but to change society. Wayne Yang observed that in the Bay area, "There was no clear single leader in the student strikes, nor was there a vanguard youth organization."[72] This was true across many schools and is testament to the role that social media began to play in grassroots, organic, bottom-up youth organizing––a fast type of organizing that did not require political leadership or formal organizations. This is not to say that some schools did not have leadership, or that leaders did not emerge from the organizing.

Similar to the 1968 East LA walkouts, students were quickly reprimanded by administrators and threatened with suspension and lock downs to prevent them from walking out. At DeAnza Middle School, eight-grade student Anthony Soltero was punished for walking out by his Vice Principal, only to commit suicide later that day. As reported, the Vice Principal "terrorized" Anthony with threats of three years of prison time, forbade him from attending his 8th grade graduation ceremony, and mentioned truancy penalties his parents would have to pay for walking out.[73] Anthony was already on probation for a previous offense (bringing a pen knife to school). The punitive approach taken by an administrator added unnecessary pressure to a child who was in the beginning stages of developing their own political consciousness and becoming civically engaged. It was not uncommon for students to be threatened with losing their scholarships or not being able to participate in graduation ceremonies to prevent the walkouts from continuing. Afterall, schools lose per-pupil funding when a student is marked absent and are therefore incentivized to keep

students in schools. Figure 8.5.2 depicts people holding signs that honor and commemorate the life of Anthony Soltero during an anti-HR4437 demonstration, clearly conveying that these two events are connected.



Figure 8.5.2: "Continue the Struggle in Anthony's Name" by Jim Winstead, Flickr is licensed CC BY 2.0.

What the country collectively witnessed in the spring of 2006, were a series of school walkouts to collectively express opposition to HR 4437 and support for comprehensive immigration reform and amnesty. *Aquí estamos y no nos vamos* (Here we are and we are not leaving) was a rallying cry across nationwide demonstrations. Students engaged in walkouts, teach-ins, and collaborated with other youth across schools and districts. Entire families participated in marches such as "A Day Without Immigrants" or The Great American Boycott, that promoted "no work, no school, no shopping" for society and industries to recognize the economic value of immigrant labor and their contributions to society. In downtown LA, we witnessed the mega-marches unlike ever before.[74] Many proclaimed that the "sleeping giant" was finally awakened. The mass mobilization efforts against HR 4437 effectively prevented it from becoming law and an entire generation of students learned the collective power they have when they unite in defense of their communities.

Somos Semillas: Re-Igniting an Ethnic Studies Movement

In 2006, Dolores Huerta was invited to deliver a talk to students at Tucson Magnet High School after the nation-wide walkouts against HR4437. Upon the request of school administrators, Huerta encouraged students to explore alternate ways to create social change, such as to identify and write to their Congressional representatives and question them on why "Republicans hate Latinos." Afterall, the anti-immigrant bills were spearheaded by the Republican party. She motivated students to continue their engagement in activism by exploring other forms of political power. This remark set off a wave of backlash by conservative Republican legislators, including Arizona's Superintendent of Instruction of the time, Tom Horne who began probing into the school.

In "An Open Letter to the Citizens of Tucson" released in 2007, Horne began to make his case against the Mexican American Studies (MAS) program, MEChA, ethnic studies textbooks, and made a call to action for citizens to pressure the Tucson Unified School District (TUSD) to terminate ethnic studies.[75] Horne's initial strategy of mobilizing community members against the school was ineffective, and on the contrary, the entire school community along with other supporters, unified to defend what rapidly became an attack against ethnic studies in general. Horne, along with other key players, were able to get a newly elected Latino Republican state legislator, Steve Montenegro, who emigrated from El Salvador as a child, to sponsor the House Bill (HB) 2281 (2010), a revision to statute 15-112(A), which effectively sought to terminate ethnic studies.

In spring of 2010, the MAS program effectively became the target of HB 2281, which prohibited a school district or charter school from including in its program of instruction any courses or classes that:

1. Promote the overthrow of the United States government.
2. Promote resentment toward a race or class of people.

3. Are designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group.
4. Advocate ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals.

This bill was passed to dismantle and ban ethnic studies programs, courses, and literature. School districts then set out to expand the list of banned books used in ethnic studies classrooms, preventing teachers from integrating ethnic studies texts into their courses.

Pause and Reflect

Examine the fourth point under Arizona's HB 2281. In your opinion, why do you think "ethnic solidarity" was presented negatively and used to justify the elimination of ethnic studies?

The Mexican American Studies program emerged as a community-driven initiative in the late 1990s. There was a concern that Mexican American students needed a curriculum that incorporated their background and identities as a means for improving student academic achievement.[76] Perhaps what was most unique about this ethnic studies program was the centering of Indigenous ancestral knowledge, epistemologies (ways of knowing), and pedagogies. The decolonial approach to learning posed a threat to the daily operation of schools and learning, as summarized by award-winning MAS literature teacher, Curtis Acosta in "Dangerous Minds in Tucson,"

> Our Mexican American Studies classes were pedagogically forged to combat the passivity and acquiescence of student experiences within the status quo of public schools. Specifically, in my Latin@ Literature classes, I intentionally created educational experiences that provided spaces and time for students to reflect upon their world through the lens of the literature we studied in class. This practice, which was based upon indigenous epistemologies from our local community and cultural context, provided the foundation to build, not only an authentic classroom curriculum and climate where the students could analyze the experiences in their world, but also an immediately disrupted traditional school hierarchy through the organic injection of student voice as the initial step toward the rigorous study of literature. Through weekly journaling, casual classroom sharing, as well as formal presentations and discussions, student voice was consistently valued and normalized in the educational experiences of MAS classes.[77]

The program was a proven success. MAS students outperformed students not in the program when it came to reading, writing, and graduation rates. In spite of the program's success, the state of Arizona spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to discredit and eliminate it. The state went so far as to contract Cambium Learning Incorporated to conduct an independent curriculum audit in the spring of 2011. The results of the audit only served to reinforce the effectiveness of the program and proved that the curriculum was not in violation of Arizona's revised statutes 15-112(A). Furthermore, during this time Christine E. Sleeter (2011) documented an extensive research overview on the academic and social value of ethnic studies in schools and universities.[78] As the movement in support of ethnic studies grew, so did the role for research in ethnic studies at every level of education and in the areas of curriculum, pedagogy, and policy. In spite of the extensive research positively supporing why ethnic studies is beneficial to all students, especially students of color, Arizona moved forward with the implementation of HB 2281.[79]

It is no coincidence that the same year HB 2281 presented its attack against ethnic studies, Arizona's Governor Jan Brewer signed another controversial bill, Senate Bill 1070 "The Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act." This policy was the strictest anti-immigration law in contemporary history, calling for the implementation of legal racial profiling in Arizona allowing law enforcement to question the immigration status of anyone stopped, detained, or arrested for a possible state violation. It criminalized any undocumented immigrant who could not provide the appropriate documentation with a misdemeanor crime and criminalized seeking employment without authorization. While SB 1070 and HB 2281 were ultimately ruled unconstitutional in court, the devastation caused by these attacks on Arizona's youth in regard to mental health and communities altogether cannot be underestimated.

Sidebar

In 2017, a federal district judge ruled HB 2281 unconstitutional, arguing that the law was enacted with "racial animus" and used "discriminatory ends in order to make political gains." The ban on ethnic studies in Arizona sparked a movement for ethnic studies in California.

California activists, including many educators and students, protested against Arizona's SB 1070 and HB 2281. Across campuses,

students organized demonstrations of all types– whether they were teach-ins, marches, boycotts, even caravans to Arizona– this outpour of solidarity was powerful. For many involved in these protests, including myself, it served as a reminder that while we were fighting to save ethnic studies in Arizona, in California, the number of ethnic studies courses available to high school students was small and in most cases non-existent. The sense of defeat from Arizona's racist and xenophobic laws were transformed into an opportunity to re-ignite the fight for ethnic studies in California. In the aftermath, the formation of conferences, summits, campaigns, and institutes devoted to teaching and organizing ethnic studies grew stronger each year. The movement for ethnic studies in California continues to be a force to be reckoned with. For an overview of the growth and institutionalization of ethnic studies, review Section 1.2: Struggles and Protest for Chicanx and Latinx Studies. What we are witnessing today is the contemporary civil rights movement in education, and the enduring fight for ethnic studies is at the forefront. As the Mexican *dicho* (saying) reminds us, "*Quisieron enterrarnos, pero se les olvido que somos semillas*" (They tried to bury us. They didn't know we were seeds). Like the students of yesterday, the students of today will continue to pave the way for generations to come.

Pause and Reflect

What is the state of ethnic studies today? What new laws, policies, and practices do you observe in support of and/or against ethnic studies? What is the state of ethnic studies on your campus?

Footnotes

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[74] Alfonso Gonzalez, *Reform without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*, (Oxford University Press, 2013)

[75] Tom Horne, "An Open Letter to the Citizens of Tucson," *State of Arizona Department of Education*, June 11, 2007.

[76] To read more about the formation of the program, see Conrado Gomez and Margarita Jimenez-Silva, "Mexican American Studies: The Historical Legitimacy of an Educational Program" *Association of Mexican-American Educators (AMAE) Journal* Vol. 6, No. 1 (2012): 15–23.

[77] Curtis Acosta, "Dangerous Minds in Tucson: The Banning of Mexican American Studies and Critical Thinking in Arizona," *Journal of Educational Controversy,* Vol. 8, No. 1, Article 9 (2012): pg. 9.

[78] Christine E. Sleeter, “The Academic and Social Value of Ethnic Studies: A Research Review,” Washington, DC: National Education Association, 2011.

[79] For an introduction to curriculum, pedagogy, and research in ethnic studies see, Christine E. Sleeter and Miguel Zavala, *Transformative Ethnic Studies in Schools: Curriculum, Pedagogy, and Research,* (Teachers College Press, 2020).

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8.6: Conclusion

Summary

Brazilian education philosopher, Paulo Freire wrote about **praxis**––ongoing cycles of theory, reflection, and action––as a practice of freedom stating,

> Authentic liberation - the process of humanization - is not another deposit to be made in [people]. Liberation is praxis: the action and reflection of [people] upon their world in order to transform it.[80]

This chapter presented historical moments in which communities engaged in praxis to effectively build collective power; in effect, they transformed themselves and the educational landscape. There are many ways one can study, reflect upon, and work to reform education. This chapter presented some of the major issues that have shaped and been shaped by historically marginalized communities. This chapter explored concepts to critically understand key debates, issues, and education initiatives. It provided and overview of historical and contemporary laws in public education that have impacted and been shaped by Chicanx/Latinx communities. Lastly, extra effort was placed to highlight the practices, tactics, strategies, and movements that emerge from Chicanx/Latinx communities to reform and transform the educational landscape. While it is impossible to present a comprehensive history of everything, it is a reminder that there is a long legacy of activism we carry with us as we strive for change today. As students-teachers-scholars, we must be equally invested in engaging in social justice work as we are in studying it. The legacy of activism in education is one we inherit and will continue to build upon. This is embodied in the image in Figure 8.6.1. The poster was created for the Poor People's Campaign, a grassroots movement fighting to end poverty, racism, militarism, and environmental destruction. The 2018 poster reads, "Learn as we lead, walk as we talk, teach as we fight."

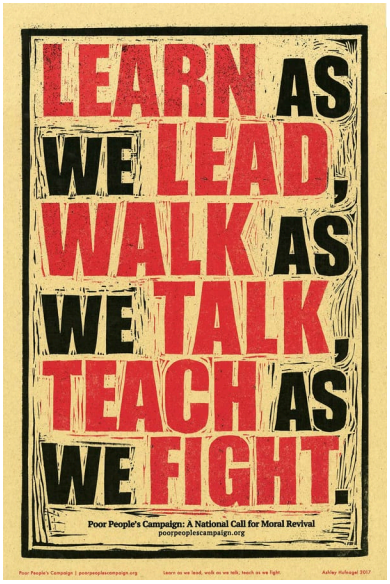


Figure 8.6.1: "Learn as we lead, walk as we talk, teach as we fight" by Ashley Hufnagel, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.8: Chapter 8 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Deficit-based discourses: Thoughts, language, practices, and representations that communicate deficiencies and failures. Deficit-based discourses such as the labeling of minoritized youth as "at-risk" in schools are disempowering as it is fixated on an individual's traits rather than the oppressive structures that cause failure.

Funds of knowledge: Collections of knowledge based in cultural practices that are a part of families' inner culture, work

experience, or their daily routine. It is the knowledge and expertise that students and their family members have because of their roles in their families, communities, and culture. In schools, this is an asset-based approach to the knowledge, skills, ideas, practices and overall cultural contributions students bring with them into the classroom.

Community cultural wealth: A framework that recognizes six forms of cultural capital (aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial and resistant capital) that minoritized groups possess. This framework affirms that marginalized groups posses an array of knowledge, skills, abilities, and networks to survive and resist racism and other forms of oppression.

Overt racism: Conscious, purposeful and deliberate racial hatred that includes speech, ideas, attitudes and behaviours rooted in white supremacy and directed at racially marginalized groups. More often, racial discrimination that is disguised and subtle, rather than public or obvious (covert racism).

Assimilation: The process whereby a historically marginalized person or group voluntarily or involuntarily adopts the social, psychological, cultural, and political characteristics of a dominant group.

Eugenics: An ideology rooted in the belief that the white Anglo race is genetically superior and to maintain this group's racial purity, it informed social policies, programs, and practices set out to control "undesirable" populations often characterized by their race, gender, intelligence, physical ability, low socioeconomic status, among other characteristics.

Coded language: A practice long used in policy in which race-neutral terms are used to disguise the racist motives that maintain power structures meant to sustain white supremacy.

Mutualistas: Community-based mutual aid societies created by Mexican immigrants to connect them with a network that links their homeland and new home with resources, support, and a community.

De jure: The legal practice. In contrast, de facto describes situations that exist in practice, even if not legally recognized.

Colorism: Prejudice or discrimination based on dark skin color.

Little School of the 400 (LS400): A preschool program that was first created in Texas to teach Spanish-speaking children to be bilingual by teaching them 400 English words.

Non-violent resistance: A strategy to achieve social change through tactics such as protests, boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and other forms of civil disobedience that do not promote violence.

School-to-deportation pipeline: School policies and practices that effectuate the removal of undocumented immigrant youth from schools and ultimately the U.S.

Dominant narratives: The stories we tell ourselves, learn, or share with others- whether consciousl or unconsciously- that are told in service of the dominant social group's interest and ideologies. The dominant narrative serves to uphold power dynamics that serve the dominant culture and groups. These narratives are told at the expense of marginalized groups who are demonized and blamed (i.e. scapegoat) for society's social ills.

Bootstraps narratives: The stories told that educational success is attainable through personal initiative, hard work, responsibility, and drive. Hence, all students need to do is "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" to succeed in school and society. The danger of these narratives are that they begin with the premise that students are lazy if they underachieve or fail, focus on individual will rather than institutional barriers, and fail to recognize that not all students have an equal playing field.

Zero tolerance policies: Punitive school measures that push out "problem students" through practices such as expulsion and suspension regardless of the severity of a student's behavior.

School-to-prison pipeline: The school practices and policies that disproportionately place students of color into the juvenile and adult criminal justice system.

Equality versus equity: Whereas equality means that each individual or group of people are given the exact same resources and opportunities, equity recognizes that equal outcomes cannot be produced without catering to the specific needs. This differentiation is essential to create fairness and achieve justice.

Hunger strikes: The literal starvation and the risk of death, as a political tactic to create social and institutional change.

Opportunity gap: Life chances that are determined by the lack of opportunities, which are inherently influenced by factors such as race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and ZIP code, among other social and structural conditions that prevent student readiness and better educational outcomes.

Praxis: The ongoing cycles of theory, reflection, and action––as a practice of freedom.

Footnote

[80] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York, New York: Continuum, 1994): pg. 79.

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9: HEALTH

Learning Objectives

- Apply theory and knowledge produced by Chicanx and Latinx communities to describe the critical events, histories, cultures, intellectual traditions, contributions, lived experiences, and social struggles of those groups with a particular emphasis in the realm of health and health policy.
- Critically analyze how health conditions, behaviors, and outcomes are influenced by the intersection of race and racism as they relate to class, gender, sexuality, religion, spirituality, national origin, immigration status, ability, language, and/or age in Chicanx and Latinx communities.
- Explain and assess how struggle, resistance, racial and social justice, solidarity, and liberation, as experienced, enacted, and studied by Chicanx and Latinx communities are relevant to current and structural issues such as communal, national, and transnational politics, for example, public health disparities, environmental justice, and workers' rights.

Introduction

In this chapter, you will learn about the factors, conditions, and cultural contexts that influence Chicanx and Latinx health. This includes health outcomes and behaviors that occur at the individual level, like disease, illness, and well-being. It also includes the collective realities of communities, organizations, politics, and social constructions that influence patterns of health disparities and inequalities. Many negative factors like attempted genocide, settler-colonialism, systemic racism, xenophobia, and intersectional oppression create distinct risks for negative health in Chicanx and Latinx communities. However, we'll also explore the many factors that promote health, strength, resilience, and tenacity among the diverse communities (i.e., Mexican, Mestizxs, Indigenous Mexican, Central American, Chicanxs, Latinx, South American, Indigenous Latinx, etc.) that make up these populations.

In the first section, you will have the opportunity to explore these broader factors and understand the conceptual frameworks for analyzing health. This includes a discussion of institutional health, traditional health, and processes that affect migrant communities and people of color, like acculturation. This also emphasizes the importance of an intersectional perspective, including feminist and queer contributions to the promotion of Chicanx and Latinx health. Then, you will have an opportunity to explore these concepts in the realm of mental health, learning about some of the documented disparities in this area. While Latinx people suffer many risk factors, the "Latino Health Paradox" has been noted by health researchers, as Latinx people fare better with respect to some health outcomes, especially among first-generation immigrants, compared to non-Hispanic whites and other communities of color.

In the final section, we will be broadening the scope to look at the environments that influence health, including the relationships between human societies and the natural world, as well as the environments where Latinx people live and work. These topics have become discussed more widely in recent years, thanks to the activism of social movement leaders. For example, the globally recognized Indigenous-led struggles to stop and prevent pipeline projects in the U.S. and Canada have elevated conversations about the importance of protecting healthy water supplies for humans. As well, the COVID-19 pandemic has brought to society's attention the working conditions that influence health among many working-class communities, including industries that disproportionately employ Latinxs, including agriculture, retail, logistics, construction, maintenance, and sanitation.

9.1: Frameworks for Analyzing Chicanx and Latinx Health

9.2: Mental Health

9.3: Environmental Justice and Health

9.4: Workplace Health

9.5: Conclusion

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9.1: Frameworks for Analyzing Chicanx and Latinx Health

Conceptual Tools for Understanding Chicanx and Latinx Community Health

There is much health and healing of body, mind, and spirit to do given our Chicanx and Latinx history of genocide, colonization, violence, acculturation, sterilization, hazardous working conditions, environmental toxins, diabetes, intergeneration trauma, abuses, and more. Views of health are shaped by one's culture, and culture is informed by nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, language, and dis/ability.[1] At the same time, health access and health resources are historically and negatively impacted by a history of anti-Indianness, racism, classism, undocumented status, and region.[2] The implications of wealth, or net worth (what you own minus what you owe) by race, home ownership, and neighborhood income is apparent in the health inequality and lack of health access. There are often better health facilities and well-trained doctors and fully staffed medical facilities in more affluent communities compared to poor ones. For this reason, the emergence of community-based clinics has been critical to racialized ethnic communities, especially in California Chicanx and Latinx communities.[3]

Think about your own experience with health and healing and that of your parents and grandparents. Where have they received most of their health and healing information? Both institutional and traditional health care are key to our communities. **Institutional health care** has to do with health care provided by hospitals and with doctors, physicians, prescribed medications, surgical procedures, and psychiatric appointments, which typically involve insurance. **Traditional health care** has to do with Indigenous ways of health and healing of *cuerpo y alma* (body and soul) mediated through *curanderas/os* (healers) or other specialists, like *parteras* (midwifes) and involves *remedios* (medicinal herbs), ceremonies, *limpias* (spiritual cleansings), *sobaradoras/os* or *sobadas* (massage therapist or massage), *huezeras/os* (bone setter), informal counseling for *bilis* (rage), *susto* (fright), or *envido* (envy), ancestral foodways, and referrals to medical doctors if needed.[4] Traditional health care has been in existence since before colonization and requires skilled and experienced healers.

There are a number of pathways that influence the relationship between settler-colonialism, white supremacy and health. These include the types of foods we eat and what kinds of foods are available for consumption, as well as the environments in which communities live, work, and raise families. These examples show how settler colonialism and white supremacy operate to reproduce health disparities and the ways that communities contest these systems through resilient communities and collective resistance.

Traditional Health Practices and Perspectives

In recent years, with an alarming rate of cancer and research on the connection between our gut and minds, there has been an attempt to move away from processed foods and move towards decolonizing diets and cultivating gardens.[5] This means moving towards the use of ancestral foodways, which includes Mesoamerican (Anaucan) super foods like corn, beans, squash, *nopales* (cactus), chiles, amaranth, and chia and regarding food as an essential part of health and healing rather than only for consumption. However, Chicanx and Latinx communities are more likely to have a hard time accessing fresh fruits and vegetables. In many low-income and immigrant communities, few stores and markets sell fresh items compared to alcohol and processed foods within approximate distance to homes. This can result from zoning processes that place low-income residences and immigrant worker housing in areas far away from central commercial areas and restaurants. Chicanx and Latinx farmworker families who work in the food industry and provide sustenance for communities around the globe are often directly impacted by these disparities.

In terms of abortion, there are various understandings and stances in Latinx communities. Historically among some Chicana/x and Latina/x Indigenous women, there is an awareness of herbs (*ruda*, etc.) and teas that are believed to terminate a pregnancy under the direction of a healer and seriously considering the context of a woman. Given the understanding of the importance of body, mind, and spirit and deep connection to cosmology, abortion is viewed by some healers as a sacred decision that can only be made with much prayer or meditation for permission from the cosmos or divine universe. In a traditional approach, the decision to undergo an abortion requires healing and asking for forgiveness specifically of the uterus because it is viewed as the living organ in which the spirit of the aborted needs to be acknowledged before letting go. There is the healing of the uterus as well as the emotional healing for mental health. A ceremony of healing for loss is needed, requiring prayers in a circle of women who understand life, death, and regeneration, as well as the connection of body, mind, and spirit. On the other hand,

the conversation and practice of abortion for Chicanas/xs and Latinas/xs in the context of Christian and Catholic households is sometimes filled with stigma, shame, and embarrassment. Making the decision and undergoing the medicalization of abortion in isolation or secrecy, without the support of mothers or family members, sometimes poses challenges to health and healing in the body, mind, and spirit.

In "To Valerse Por Si Misma between Race, Capitalism, and Patriarchy: Latina Mother-Daughter Pedagogies in North Carolina," Sofia Villenas and Melissa Moreno examined the narratives or conversations and oral life histories of a group of Latina mothers focusing on the teaching and learning that occurs between mothers and daughters on gender and sexuality through *consejos* (advice), *cuentos* (stories) and *la experiencia* (experience), which are filled with tensions and contradictions yet open with spaces of possibility. Latinas evoked patriarchal ideologies about being a *mujer de hogar* (woman of the home), while simultaneously negotiating these in discourses about knowing how to *valerse por si misma* (to be self-reliant). Mothers teach daughters to be submissive, rebellious, and conforming, all at the same time, as they maneuver between race, patriarchy, and capitalism in the United States.[6]

Traditional health through an Indigenous framework acknowledges the connection and health between body, mind, and spirit. Another example of Indigenous health practices is in the realm of birthing, which is typically regarded as a ceremony, where mothering is considered to be a state of reverence and sacredness as mothers bring life into the world.[7] The guidance of a midwife and doula is valued. You can learn more about the diverse perspectives of midwives of color at this blog site. Indigenous labor practices can involve birthing while squatting, holding on to someone, or using a *rebozo* (traditional shawl) to be held up rather than laying on a bed. Postpartum, the healing after birthing, is thought to require *la cuarentena*, forty days of rest to restore body, mind, and spirit. Specifically restoring the uterus from birthing the child is important. This can include the use of eating and drinking only warm food elements for one's body and steady milk production. It can also include using a *rebozo* or *faja* (girdle) around the abdomen for support and receiving proper and gentle massages. In terms of connection, there is a family ritual of burying the umbilical cord in a special place where a child can return for a sense of connection and belonging when and if needed in their cycles of life. During newborn stages, the baby is swaddled tightly in the hope of providing comfort similar to in-utero and slow integration into the outside world.

Although there are generations of scientific, religious, and cultural knowledge embedded in traditional health practices, these perspectives are often disregarded in the face of dominant western healthcare. The positive value of these practices depends on the continued health and vitality of the communities that carry them forward.

Healthcare Access and Institutional Health

Traditional *remedios* or medicinal herbs and ancestral foodways for the people connected to land have been impacted by invasion and colonization by the Spanish and European Americans beginning 500 years ago to 150 years ago, depending on the region in this hemisphere, and continuing to today through the structure of settler-colonial governments.[8] When people are de-territorialized or displaced, they lose their land and access to *remedios* (medicine) and ancestral foodways. In combination with settler-colonialism, industrialized capitalism has led to the increased production and sale of processed foods. When you lack access to ancestral food and shift to more processed foods, the increase in sugar, lard, and other chemicals leads to an increase in diabetes and other related health conditions. Diabetes, in some cases, is caused by the experience of being torn from ancestral food and shifting into colonized foodways.[9]

Acculturation refers to the process of adapting to and adopting cultural practices of a new environment, which can include both individual change and community and cultural change. In the context of Chicanx and Latinx health, acculturation is often measured through the number of generations one's family has lived in the United States. Acculturation is associated with many important health outcomes, including diabetes, obesity, negative birth outcomes, and substance abuse.[10] This can be attributed to the stress that occurs for Chicanx and Latinx families, which includes systemic barriers in housing, education, and employment, as well as bias and discrimination against immigrants. This can impact health outcomes at the community, individual, physiological, and cellular levels.[11]

Institutional health care has contributed to a range of injustices and health disparities. For Chicana/x and Latina/x, Native American, and Black women there is a history of reproducing injustice dating back to colonization and slavery.[12] In the early 1900s, the Eugenics Movement mobilized racist theories of intelligence that also enabled the practice of forced sterilization. For more details on this topic, you can review Section 5.3 on Reproductive Justice. It impacted family formation and served as a form of population control. This history of medical violence experienced by women of color, including Chicanas/xs, Puertorriqueñas/xs, and Latinas/xs continues to cause harm in the lives of people who were not able to have children and entire communities

who avoid or delay care due to mistrust of medical providers.[13] In Figure 9.1.1, there is an activist poster from the Women's Conference in Houston, Texas which leads with the popular reproductive rights framing, "My Body. My Choice," along with the statements, "Fight for Reproductive Justice" and "Real Feminism Includes Trans Women" around a brown woman sitting in a meditative position.

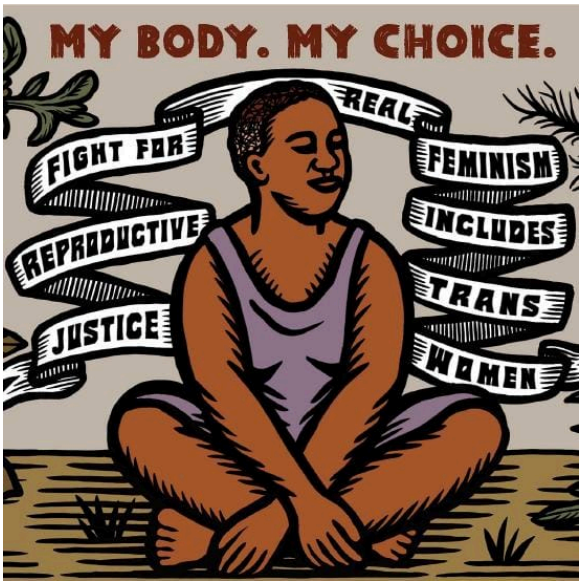


Figure 9.1.1: "My Body. My Choice" by Kill Joy, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Accessing institutional health requires health insurance or large out-of-pocket payments. Both of these can be prohibitive for low-income communities, immigrants, and communities of color like Chicanxs and Latinxs. As well, language barriers can play a role in the struggle for health access. In some Latinx communities, bilingual or Spanish-speaking *promotoras* are essential to helping community members navigate the health system and receive care.[14] ***Promotoras*** are health workers who have received specialized training to provide basic health education in the community, who have been key mediators for Chicanx and Latinx communities to gain health access. You can learn more about how *promotoras* have been part of saving lives and caring for communities with HIV/AIDS in Chapter 6.

The lack of clean and safe water and toxic pollutants used on crops compounds health issues and avoidable illnesses. The impacts of contemporary food systems on our bodies, minds, and spirit have been detrimental. Historically groups like the United Farmworkers, American Indian Movement, Black Panther Party and the South Central Los Angeles Farm have raised awareness about this reality concerning food access and insecurity in Chicanx, Latinx, and Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) communities. Food is ultimately important to forming healthy families and communities. In response, more and more farmers' markets are emerging in low-income working-class communities, aided by the ability to accept EBT payments (food stamps).

Oftentimes, traditional food and food cultures of people of color are characterized as unhealthy, without regard to their place in spiritual, physical, and social processes. For example, outside observers may not understand that certain dishes are meant for holidays, special occasions, and family gatherings. While they may build from the same staple ingredients within the diet, daily dishes are often more modest. In the most extreme distortions, Americanized versions of Chicanx and Latinx foods with processed ingredients, extreme portion sizes, and unhealthy additives are taken to stand in for traditional foods.

In some contexts, researchers have observed a pattern that can be described as the **Latino Health Paradox**. This means that immigrant Mexican and Latinx people report better health and longer life expectancy compared to their acculturated Mexican origin and Latinx counterparts as well as European Americans, includcing those of higher class statuses. Despite experiencing discrimination and institutional exclusion, which are typically risk factors that exacerbate bad health, recent migrants carry forward strong traditions of resilience and well-being. Traditional diet and lifestyle play a major role in the Latino Health Paradox theory. Fewer years of processed foods, more walking, and less drug and substance abuse by immigrants make a difference in everyday health and overall longevity.

Institutional health has been structured around the role of doctors exclusively tending to the physical body. This perspective is supported by western medicine and, in the U.S. context, involved with the for-profit pharmaceutical and health insurance industries. However, there has also been a movement towards holistic medicine that has found supporters in hospitals and

clinics, including formal partnerships with traditional healthcare providers. For example, certified midwives have only recently been accepted to work in hospital settings in the state of California since 2010. Nursing and breast milk have recently been valued compared to the once popular formula and commercialized milk. Some hospitals have an option for birthing in water. Some physicians have improved care for transgender and other vulnerable communities. For supplemental exploration on this topic, explore this short post from UC Davis on the topic of transgender care.

Holistic health practitioners and traditional health perspectives recognize the need to radically shift the current medical system of health services to a commitment to healthcare for all. The image displayed in Figure 9.1.2 visualizes the activist call for "Health Care For All!"



Figure 9.1.2: "Healthcare for All" by Josh MacPhee, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

Disability Justice among Chicanx and Latinx Communities

Disability justice and the health of the Chicanx and Latinx community are interconnected in several ways. The principles of disability justice emphasize the rights and inclusion of individuals with disabilities, recognizing that disability is not solely an individual issue but a result of societal barriers and systemic oppression. In the context of the Chicanx and Latinx community, this means acknowledging and addressing the unique health challenges faced by individuals with disabilities within these communities.

Chicanx and Latinx communities often faces disparities in access to healthcare, which can further impact individuals with disabilities. Limited resources, language barriers, and cultural factors can hinder their ability to receive adequate healthcare services and support. Disability justice advocates for a comprehensive approach to health that addresses these barriers and ensures that healthcare systems are inclusive, culturally sensitive, and accessible to individuals with disabilities within the Chicanx and Latinx community. This includes promoting awareness and education about disability rights, advocating for equal healthcare access, and creating support networks that prioritize the well-being and needs of individuals with disabilities in these communities. By integrating disability justice into Chicanx and Latinx community health initiatives, we can work towards a more equitable and inclusive healthcare system that promotes the overall well-being of all community members.

Footnotes

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9.2: Mental Health

Prevalence of Mental Health Conditions

Content Warning: Self-Harm and Physical Violence. Please note that this section includes discussion of self-harm and physical violence.

Latinxs demonstrate variability in the prevalence of mental health disorders.[15] In 2018, 8.6 million Latinx adults had a mental health or substance use disorder.[16] While this is a substantial burden of mental health issues, evidence also suggests that Latinx individuals experience a lower risk of most mental health disorders compared with non-Latinx white individuals, which means that we can learn about important protective factors by examining the practices of Chicanx and Latinx groups. However, U.S.-born Latinxs report higher rates for most psychiatric disorders compared with Latinx immigrants.[17] Latinxs may identify with different racial categories, immigration experiences, languages spoken, and more, but all Latinxs share a common experience of family origin in Latin America.[18]

Latinx youth are at particular risk of mental health disorders: among Latinx high school students, 18.9% had seriously considered attempting suicide, 15.7% had made a plan to attempt suicide, 11.3% had attempted suicide, and 4.1% had made a suicide attempt that required medical attention.[19] Furthermore, Latinx youth report a higher prevalence of illicit substance use and initiation of alcohol or cigarette use in the past year relative to youth belonging to other racial/ethnic groups.[20]

Factors Impacting Chicanx and Latinx Mental Health

Content Warning: Physical and Sexual Violence. Please note that this section includes discussions of physical and sexual violence.

Several mutually constitutive and overlapping factors contribute to the development of mental health disorders in Latinxs. Latinxs, particularly those who have migrated to the U.S., report high rates of trauma. Migration, or transnational mobility, entails multiple vulnerabilities, including violence and economic precarity in one's country of origin; threats or risks of physical and sexual violence, dehydration, kidnapping, and exploitation during border crossings; family separation; and detention and deportation.[21] Experiences are particularly harrowing for women, who may confront rape, forced prostitution, trafficking, and physical violence.[22] Reports of trauma exposure are extremely high among Latina migrant women, with prevalence rates around 75%.[23] In addition, many Latinxs carry historical trauma relating to European colonization, enslavement, sexual violence, and genocide of Indigenous peoples of the Americas.[24] Such reproductive and genocidal violence continues with reports of recently coerced hysterectomies on (im)migrant women detained in Georgia.[25]

Discrimination, Exclusion, Violence, and Health

Content Warning: Physical Violence. Please note that this section includes discussions of physical violence, including violence against people of color by police and immigration enforcement.

Latinx migrants and their descendants experience discrimination. Both acculturative stress and discrimination have been shown to impact physical health through the mediating effects of anxiety.[26] For example, greater experiences of discrimination moderate the effect of harsh working conditions, increasing symptoms of anxiety and depression among migrant farmworkers in the rural Midwest.[27]

Restrictive immigration policies and enforcement contribute to psychosocial stress among Latinxs. Increased immigration

enforcement is associated with higher mental distress and decreased self-reported health.[28] There are consistent associations between restrictive immigration policies and outcomes including depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).[29] Similarly, citizen children who worry about losing a caregiver suffer from higher rates of depression, anxiety, emotional distress, and hypervigilance.[30] Among pregnant women, fear of deportation and fear of a family member being deported are associated with higher prenatal and postpartum anxiety.[31] For example, following the implementation of **287(g) agreements**, which permit the cooperation of federal immigration authorities with local police, pregnant Latina women sought prenatal care later and had inadequate care when compared with non-Latina women.[32] One study found that a 1% increase in a state's immigration arrest rate was significantly associated with multiple mental health morbidity outcomes.[33] In the wake of immigration raids and mass deportations, (im)migrants and Latinxs in particular report greater stress and fear and worse health.[34] Many activists have worked to actively contest these fears. One example of this is shown in Figure 9.2.1, which displays an image of two Latina activists, holding a sign that reads, "End SB 1070 and Family Separation," referring to to Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 that authorized widespread racial profiling against Latinxs and immigrants. The scene is accompanied by the words, "Nos Tienen Miedo" and "Porque No Tenemos Miedo," which translates into English as "They are afraid of us, because we are not afraid."



Figure 9.2.1: "Nos tienen miedo porque no tenemos miedo" by Jesus Barraza, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

These latter findings are particularly relevant amid intensifying anti-immigrant sentiment and increased deportation in recent years. In 2016, within days of his inauguration, former President Trump signed Executive Order 13768 entitled "Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States," which expanded deportation priorities to effectively include every undocumented (im)migrant, promoted increased use of state and local police to enforce federal immigration law through section 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (i.e., 287(g) agreements), and directed the hiring of 10,000 Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers.[35] Following this order, an additional 52 jurisdictions signed 287(g) agreements. In addition, the Trump administration attempted to revoke temporary protected status from individuals who emigrated from Nicaragua, Haiti, and El Salvador; however, this effort was stymied by the Ramos, et al. vs. Nielsen, et al. decision of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California.[36] The administration also enacted a Zero Tolerance Policy with respect to unauthorized immigration, prosecuting (im)migrants as criminals, detaining them in *hieleras* (ice-cold cells) and separating children from their parents at the border. The subsequent Biden administration has begun to counter some of these policies; however, even by their own admission, this is a lengthy political process. Beyond that, the harsh policies enacted by the Trump administration have a lasting impact, even as they are dismantled at the federal level. State and local activists have also continued to mobilize around similar policies, including the building of a border wall in Texas.

Structural Vulnerability and Health Disparities

Structural vulnerability—or an individual's "location in their society's multiple overlapping and mutually reinforcing power hierarchies (e.g., socioeconomic, racial, cultural) and institutional and policy-level statuses (e.g., immigration status, labor

force participation)"[37]—conditions mental distress and inadequate access to care. Among migrant farmworkers, harsh working conditions significantly predict symptoms of anxiety and depression.[38] Under the **Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA)**, permanent residents are ineligible for public assistance during their first five years in the U.S. The **public charge rule**, a broader interpretation of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) § 212(a)(4), states that individuals are inadmissible to the U.S. if they are "likely at any time to become a public charge" and has discouraged noncitizens from pursuing needed benefits prior to regulating their status.[39] Although the Biden administration has repealed the changes to this policy made during the Trump administration, fear persists among immigrants who are eligible to access services. In addition, due to their explicit exclusion from the Affordable Care Act, undocumented (im)migrants have almost no access to public health insurance as well as limited options for employer-based or private insurance.[40]

This structural vulnerability contributes to barriers in accessing mental health care. Nationally, Latinxs have the highest uninsurance rate of any racial/ethnic group, at 29.7%.[41] Only 1 in 10 Latinxs with a mental disorder receive mental health services from a general healthcare provider, and just 1 in 20 receive treatment from a mental health specialist.[42] Latinx youth are half as likely as white youth to receive antidepressant or stimulant treatment for depression and anxiety or attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and attention deficit disorder (ADD), respectively.[43] In addition to fears of deportation, experiences of discrimination and mistrust of the healthcare system contribute to patterns of healthcare avoidance and non-adherence to recommended treatments.[44]

Many of the barriers to mental health care are rooted in the same factors that drive disparities in negative health conditions. For instance, immigration policies are often designed to explicitly and systematically exclude immigrant communities, especially undocumented individuals. Further, even when immigrants do access services, they face discrimination that can further activate mental health trauma. The provision of services in English only also creates major barriers for communities that speak Spanish or any number of non-English and Indigenous languages. Beyond that, Latinx migrant communities are often economically exploited and therefore face barriers at disparately high rates, including the cost of services themselves, access to childcare, transportation, and the inability to take time off from work. While these barriers are well-documented, more attention is needed to connect these disparities with potential solutions that can close equity gaps. In the face of nearly insurmountable odds, many Latinxs cultivate positive mental health and access services as needed.

Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick and Jessica Cerdeña proposed a comprehensive model for mental health services for Latinx (im)migrant communities, modified from the World Health Organization Optimal Mix of Services Pyramid, which is shown in Figure 9.2.2. From bottom to top, the base layer is green and labeled, "Self-care and expansion of public health insurance to undocumented individuals." The second layer is a lighter green and labelled, "Promotorxs and community health workers." The third layer is yellow and labelled, "Primary care mental health services." The fourth layer is labelled, "Advanced health providers in general hospitals and community mental health." The top layer is labelled, "Specialist psychiatric services." The second through fifth layers are labelled, "Multilingual and structurally competent." The fourth and fifth layers are also labelled "Trauma-informed."

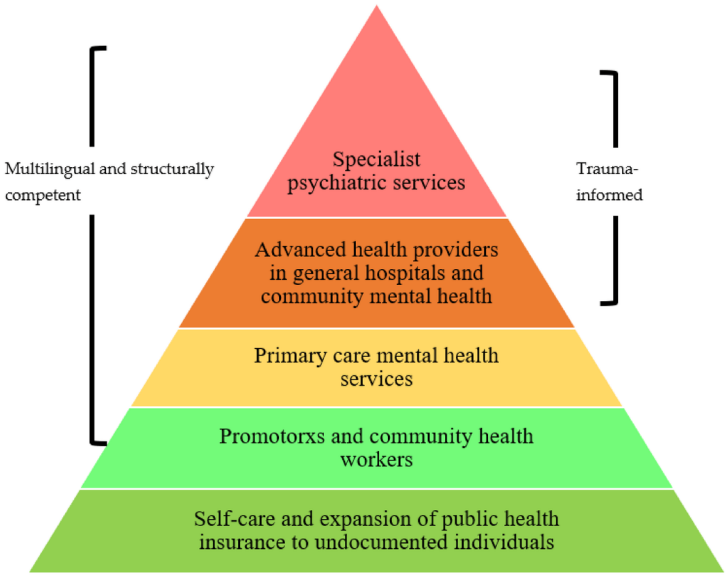


Figure 9.2.2: "Mental Health Services Pyramid for Latinx (Im)migrant Communities" by Mario Alberto V. Espinoza-Kulick and Jessica P. Cerdeña, *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* is licensed CC BY 4.0.

This model provides a starting point for providers and evaluators to identify the gaps and next steps in solving the inequities in mental healthcare for Chicanxs and Latinxs. Fundamental to addressing the mental health needs of the widest group of individuals is to expand public health insurance programs, including undocumented individuals of all ages. Further, additional funding and resources are needed to increase access points for service delivery, which often begins with community health workers. Starting from this point, it is vital to ensure accessibility by providing multilingual interpretation services for individuals seeking care. Increasing capacity for these preventative measures can reduce the strain on general and specialty care providers and provide more effective care for all. However, even for those who do need more intensive forms of mental health care, communities would benefit from more providers who are structurally competent, meaning that they can assess how environmental and social factors may be influencing the individual health of their patients. Related, at every level of care, paid interpreters can ensure multilingual services. Lastly, effective advanced health providers and specialty psychiatric services benefit from utilizing a trauma-informed approach, to identify and address the potentially traumatic events influencing individuals' high mental health burden.

Sidebar: LGBTQ2S+ Chicanx and Latinx Youth Mental Health

Mental health issues within Chicanx and Latinx communities can be especially challenging for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, Two-Spirit, and similarly identified young people.[45] Chicanx and Latinx LGBTQ2S+ youth may experience additional distress due to homophobia and transphobia, as well as heterosexism and cissexism. Part of the reason is the stress-related stigma, discrimination, and difficulties expressing gender and sexual identity, which many LGBTQ2S+ people of color face. (See Chapter 6 for more on this topic). In addition, Chicanx and Latinx youth may face particular barriers related to their immigration status, family, and language accessibility. Coming out as LGBTQ2S+ may increase an individual's risk of family rejection. Cultural messages in society in general and among Chicanx and Latinx communities about LGBTQ2S+ people communicate denigration and stigma. Further, existing resources and supportive communities for LGBTQ2S+ people tend to exclude Latinxs, oftentimes are not accessible in Spanish, and tend to take an individual approach that does not address the root causes of family rejection or social exclusion.

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9.3: Environmental Justice and Health

Interdependence and the Environment

Indigenous traditions tend to view aspects of the environment as relational rather than as being separated from human society and communities.[46] This perspective underscores the importance of environmental factors to both individual and community health. For example, pollutants in the air and water affect individual health and can also increase a community's risk for various diseases like cancer, heart disease, cholera, hepatitis, dysentery, respiratory diseases, and much more. Further, the denigration of natural environments also harms plants and animals, which can affect food supplies, water cycles, and natural recreation areas. In Figure 9.3.1, this idea is represented through the image of a child looking into the water to see the outlines of adult figures, which is captioned with the sentence, "What we do to water, we do to ourselves."



Figure 9.3.1: "What We Do To Water, We Do To Ourselves" by Bec Young, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Structural Inequalities and the Built Environment

Structural inequalities in society mean that unhealthy environments tend to disproportionately impact communities of color, low-income areas, and immigrants. Chicanx and Latinx communities are more likely to live in areas that have air pollution by industrial factories and large-scale agriculture. This can lead to high rates of preventable illnesses like asthma. In the context of climate change and global warming, the risks to the environment have become more pronounced and severe. This can be observed in places like Puerto Rico, which has suffered an onslaught of devastating natural disasters, including hurricanes and earthquakes. The negative impacts of these events on everyday residents' health and well-being are made much worse by the prevailing U.S. political and economic interests that operate on the island.[47]

As a U.S. territory, Puerto Rico is politically vulnerable. While the U.S. is responsible for the island, there are no elected officials who have the authority to hold the government accountable for its response at the federal level. After Hurricane Maria in 2017, the sitting U.S. President downplayed the effects of the hurricane on the island, delayed federal aid, and turned the event into a political sideshow. The island is also threatened by inadequate infrastructure. In 2022, after Hurricane Fiona, nearly a million residents remained in an extended power outage, despite paying some of the highest electricity rates in the country. The existence of laws like **Act 22**, which allows individuals to operate in Puerto Rico without paying any capital gains taxes, encourages predatory capitalism that has left the island in a constant cycle of exploitation.

These same dynamics that are present in Puerto Rico are reflected in Chicanx and Latinx communities throughout the U.S. and Latin America. For example, critical infrastructure and conservation projects in Latin America are threatened by widespread corruption and political instability, which has been encouraged by decades of U.S. intervention in Latin American elections,

especially through the CIA and organizations like the School of the Americas. In the United States, Chicanx and Latinx communities are disproportionately excluded from political representation through the disenfranchisement of individuals with a criminal record and the fact that immigrants cannot vote in U.S. elections. This means that Latinx communities are much less likely to receive funding for neighborhood improvement projects, the development of public parks, and environmental protection efforts.

Environmental Justice Advocacy and Activism

An environmental justice perspectives takes into account the interwoven social, cultural, geographic, and systemic factors that influence who has access to safe, healthy, productive, and sustainable environments. **Environmental justice** refers to addressing environmental concerns in conjunction with other aspects of exploitation and oppression, including white supremacy, capitalism, cisheteropatriarchy, and settler-colonialism. Chicanx and Latinx communities often suffer the direct effects of pollution and industrialization, with power plants, chemical refineries, and factories located in disparate proximity to housing.[48]

For example, in Oxnard, California, the group Central Coast Alliance United for a Sustainable Economy (CAUSE) successfully advocated against the building of a new large fossil fuel power plant in 2018 called the Puente Project.[49] This required four years of advocacy, which was driven forward by grassroots mobilization led by Latina women in their local neighborhoods. The concentration of agricultural business and infrastructure in the city has led to stark rates of health disparities for this majority people of color and heavily immigrant community. While people have long felt the effects of these disparities, CAUSE was able to lead a campaign that prevented the supposedly inevitable growth of the power plants and industrial pollution. Through a combination of raising political support and taking direct, creative public actions, everyday people led by Latina/x activists were able to prevent the Puente project and create a platform for clean energy, which benefits the people of the city and all of the surrounding communities.

Footnotes

[46] Medina and Gonzales, eds., *Voices from the Ancestors*; Rodríguez, *Our Sacred Maíz Is Our Mother*.

[47] Jason Cortés, “Puerto Rico: Hurricane Maria and the Promise of Disposability,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism* (Taylor and Francis, 2018); Carmen D. Zorrilla, “The View from Puerto Rico—Hurricane Maria and Its Aftermath,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 377, no. 19 (2017): 1801–3.

[48] Anguiano, Claudia, Tema Milstein, Iliana De Larkin, Yea-Wen Chen, and Jennifer Sandoval. “Connecting Community Voices: Using a Latino/a Critical Race Theory Lens on Environmental Justice Advocacy.” *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 5, no. 2 (May 2012): 124–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2012.661445

[49] Khan, Sabithulla. “Puente Power Plant Crisis: Lessons in Planning for Local Administration.” In *SAGE Business Cases*. SAGE Publications: SAGE Business Cases Originals, 2019.

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9.4: Workplace Health

Factors Influencing Workplace Health

The impacts of external factors on health also deeply influence community health in the context of workplaces. Chicanx and Latinx people are over-represented in industries that include a high risk of workplace exposure to toxic chemicals, such as agriculture, gardening, cleaning, construction, and food service. Vulnerability to this exposure is made worse by language barriers and exploitation of legal and immigration status. Required safety procedures, training, and materials are often provided in English and not translated or interpreted into other languages. Further, even when the dangers of poor working conditions are well known and understood, employers may refuse to provide proper safety equipment or adjust the workplace setting and instead threaten the workers' legal status to coerce compliance. You can review more about the advocacy around workers' rights and health in Chapter 7: Social Movement Activity.

COVID-19 and Chicanx and Latinx Workers' Health

During the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the topic of workers' health and safety became a question of national discussion and policymaking. Employers and politicians constructed the category of **essential work** to describe the people whose jobs contribute directly to the daily basic functioning of society, most of whom would be categorized as low-income and working-class workers, including agricultural workers, retail clerks in grocery stores, pharmacies, and supply stores, and maintenance workers. These individuals were asked to continue to work and expose themselves to a potentially lethal disease in order to ensure the ongoing comfort and stability of society as a whole. The image in Figure 9.4.1 shows the representation of Black and Brown workers in retail, farmwork, logistics, sanitation, and office work who were deemed "essential" and continued working during the most dangerous parts of the pandemic. The image includes the words, "My heart overflows with gratitude for the workers giving us life."



Figure 9.4.1: "Solidarity with Essential Workers" by Melanie Cervantes, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Corporations sought to frame these workers as "heroes" in order to place a symbolic value on this sacrifice without providing any policy or economic redress. However, labor unions, workers' organizations, and liberal politicians advocated for employers to be required to provide safety equipment, paid sick time, and protections for workers who exercised their rights. However, despite these efforts, Chicanx and Latinx communities were still disproportionately impacted by COVID-19 infection rates. Migrant communities, who were already more likely to be exposed to chemicals and working conditions that deteriorate respiratory health, were put into the position of risking infection and their own health and that of their families to continue feeding the world. In Figure 9.4.2, an activist artist has crafted an image of recognition and gratitude, with a Latina farmworker carrying a box of tomatoes surrounded by palm fronds and the words "Migrant Womxn Feed the World" written across the produce box.



Figure 9.4.2: "Migrant Women Feed the World" by Gabriela Aleman, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

The **COVID-19** pandemic also reflected many recurring and long-term barriers to healthcare, including a lack of healthcare providers in Chicanx and Latinx communities, skepticism of physicians, and the exclusion of immigrants and non-English speakers from health resources.[50] This has led to not only higher rates of COVID-19 infection among Chicanx and Latinx communities but also increased risk of hospitalization, serious symptoms, and death. Even after the virus has been declared endemic by the CDC, these overall barriers have continued to disparately impact Chicanx and Latinx communities, who are more likely to live and work in densely populated environments and be subjected to continuous controls like mandated mask-wearing in retail, food service, cleaning, and healthcare settings.

Footnote

[50] Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, “Movement Pandemic Adaptability: Health Inequity and Advocacy among Latinx Immigrant and Indigenous Peoples,” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 19, no. 15 (2022): 8981.

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9.5: Conclusion

Summary

The health and well-being of Chicanx and Latinx communities are influenced by many factors. Throughout this chapter, we learned about and analyzed aspects of traditional health and healing that have been degraded by generations of settler-colonial structures and the enforcement of western medicine. These larger structures have influenced health disparities for Chicanx and Latinx communities, including individual-level indicators like physical health and mental health. Institutional healthcare has failed to address the wellbeing of Chicanx and Latinx communities, ranging from direct violence at the hands of medical practitioners to exclusions in health policy and bias and discrimination in the delivery of healthcare.

Yet, communities, healthcare providers, and activists have continued to sustain traditional practices of health and healing for the present and future generations. This work addresses the disparities and gaps created in the dominant western medical system, and creates opportunities for collaboration to invest in holistic health, community wellbeing and healthcare for all. With a sustained effort grounded in education, families, and creating spaces of belonging, we heal from the physical, mental and spiritual struggles of the body, mind, and spirit.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.9: Chapter 9 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Institutional health care: Health care provided by hospitals and with doctors, physicians, prescribed medications, surgical procedures, and psychiatric appointments, which typically involve insurance.

Traditional health care: Indigenous ways of health and healing of *cuerpo y alma* (body and soul) mediated through *curanderas/os* (healers) or other specialists, like *parteras* (midwifes) and involves *remedios* (medicinal herbs), ceremonies, *limpias* (spiritual cleansings), *sobaradoras/os sobadas* (massage therapist or massage), *huezera/o* (bone setter), informal counseling for *bilis* (rage), *susto* (fright), or *envido* (envy), and ancestral foodways.

Acculturation: The process over time of adapting to and adopting cultural practices of a new environment, which can include both individual change and community and cultural change.

Latino Health Paradox: The pattern of immigrant Mexican and Latinx people report better health and longer life expectancy compared to their acculturated Mexican origin and Latinx counterparts and European Americans of higher class statuses.

Promotoras: Health workers who have received specialized training to provide basic health education in the community, who have been key mediators for Chicanx and Latinx communities to gain health access.

287(g) agreements: Policies that permit the cooperation of federal immigration authorities with local police and have increased the use of invasive and violent strategies in deportation and other immigration enforcement activities.

Structural vulnerability: Someone's status in society's multiple overlapping and mutually reinforcing power hierarchies.

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA): Law that made permanent residents are ineligible for public assistance during their first five years in the U.S.

Public charge rule: A policy based on the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) § 212(a)(4), which states that individuals are inadmissible to the U.S. if they are "likely at any time to become a public charge", and discouraged noncitizens from pursuing needed benefits prior to regulating their status

Act 22: Law that allows individuals to operate in Puerto Rico without paying any capital gains taxes, which encourages predatory capitalism that has left the island in a constant cycle of exploitation.

Environmental justice: Addressing environmental concerns in conjunction with other aspects of exploitation and oppression,

including white supremacy, capitalism, cisheteropatriarchy, and settler-colonialism.

Essential work: A phrase that describes people whose jobs contribute directly to the daily basic functioning of society, most of whom would be categorized as low-income and working-class workers, including agricultural workers, retail clerks in grocery stores, pharmacies, and supply stores, and maintenance workers.

COVID-19: A pandemic that reflects many recurring and long-term barriers to healthcare, including a lack of healthcare providers in Chicanx and Latinx communities, skepticism of physicians, and the exclusion of immigrants and non-English speakers from health resources.

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10: CULTURAL PRODUCTIONS

Learning Objectives

- Analyze and articulate concepts such as pop cultura analysis, encoding, decoding, stereotypes, controlling images, tropicalism, disidentification, nationalism, image analysis, and artivism as used by Chicanx and Latinx studies scholars to analyze the context of media and cultural productions.
- Critically analyze how representation and cultural meaning-making operate at the intersection of race and racism with class, gender, sexuality, immigration status, ability, and Indigeneity in Chicanx and Latinx communities.
- Describe the role of cultural productions in reinforcing systemic violence in contemporary society based on racial categorization and racism.
- Review how struggle, resistance, racial and social justice, solidarity, and liberation, as experienced and enacted by Chicanx and Latinx communities are relevant to current and structural issues such as communal, national, international, and transnational politics and culture.
- Investigate how culture contributes to anti-racist and decolonial efforts for liberation, social justice, and equity.

Introduction

This chapter explores the production, distribution, and reception of culture among Chicanx and Latinx communities. We will begin by operating conceptualizations of identity, community, and social movements in the context of culture and performance. Culture travels far and wide, and the transnational Latin American music scene is deeply influential for Chicanx and Latinx communities as well as cultures around the world. In this chapter, we will learn from artists and producers in places like Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, and more. Cultural productions include all kinds of items, events, and activities, such as news, radio, art, music, television, film, video games, clothing, and theater. All of these activities communicate values, narratives, and beliefs that sustain cultural practices. Further, with the widespread use of social media, culture and content are created and distributed in wide-spanning networks.

Cultural productions (e.g. news, radio, art, music, tv, film, etc.) and social movements will be analyzed to understand how they are reflective of Latina/o/x ethnic identity. Special attention will also be paid to how gender, race, immigration, and sexuality are embedded in cultural attitudes and expressions.

10.1: Chicanx and Latinx Identities and Culture
10.2: Chicanx and Latinx Storytelling
10.3: National and Transnational Rhythmic Formations
10.4: Television and Film
10.5: Cultural Productions in Practice
10.6: Conclusion

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10.1: Chicanx and Latinx Identities and Culture

Frameworks for Cultural Analysis

Culture is a system of shared meaning. This includes the narratives, beliefs, behaviors, norms, and customs that establish a group and interact with identity, political structures, and social life. Some examples of culture are language, art, music, food, religion, ceremonies, and more. Within this broad understanding of culture, the "media" is a significant institution that includes various groups who professionally create content. Similarly, **pop culture** (or "popular culture") refers to those cultural practices that are produced and distributed for mass audiences. Historically, studies of culture and society have focused within rigid boundaries, such as focusing only on the elite culture of "high culture." However, this ignores critical components of cultural practices and the people who carry them out.

In the context of Chicanx and Latinx studies, Frederick Aldama defines **pop cultura analysis** in terms of "our everyday lives, scholarly inquiry, and knowledge dissemination. Not all pop culture is made equally—especially when it comes to matters of race, sexuality, gender, and differently abled subjects and experiences."[1] Chicanx and Latinx communities often find and claim representation in pop culture, as it creates opportunities to identify with individual experiences. Through representation, communities create their own sense of self and agency and are better equipped to resist the oppressive narratives imposed on them by the dominant culture.

Given the prevailing norms of white supremacy and settler-colonialism present in dominant media, engagement in pop culture can bring about challenges to one's perceived authenticity. This is especially true with respect to Indigenous identity and a connection to one's cultural heritage. For example, Mintzi Auanda Martinez-Rivera notes, "Many scholars and the general public consider that Indigenous persons cease to be Indigenous if they partake in modernity (broadly construed). In this regard, popular culture, as a product of modernity, commodification, consumption, and mass media, is often considered antithetical to the experiences of Indigenous peoples."[2] However, rather than focusing on false distinctions between high and low culture, we can follow, "the Gramscian approach, [in which] popular culture is a 'site of struggle between the 'resistance' of subordinate groups and the forces of 'incorporation' operating in the interests of the dominant groups.'"[3]

In addition to engagement with mainstream culture, Chicanx and Latinx communities have resisted exploitation and exclusion by creating unique cultural forms and content. In the 1960s, this was the main focus of the Chicano Renaissance, an era of cultural flourishing that corresponded to the movements for justice, equity, and civil rights that were central to the political climate of the era. This time included the celebration of the unique cultural strengths of Chicanx communities, including melding English and Spanish (Spanglish), bold artistic styles, and literary themes that explored the complexity of Mexican American identities.

This chapter builds from a broad conceptualization of culture to take a broad approach to Chicanx and Latinx Cultural Productions. This includes works that are by Chicanx and Latinx artists and creators, regardless of the specific subject matter. Content producers range from large-scale films, television programs, radio shows, and performances to the everyday work of Chicanx and Latinx people to create meaning and carry on traditions through daily tasks. Chicanx and Latinx cultural productions also include work that is intended for or claimed by Chicanx and Latinx audiences. Marketing professionals have been emphasizing the benefits of dual-language marketing, including the existence of over 60 million Latinxs, with a median household income of $55,658.[4] Media catered to Latinxs have a wide reach into mainstream audiences, including *Selena* (film), *The George Lopez Show*, *American Family*, and *Dora the Explorer*. Finally, Chicanx and Latinx cultural productions also include media produced about Chicanx and Latinx groups, characters, and stories.

Encoding and Decoding

Black cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall developed a framework for cultural analysis that focuses on the processes of encoding and decoding.[5] Encoding and decoding is an information transmission process that creates frameworks of knowledge. This includes interpersonal and institutional processes that produce a nuanced relationship between subjects and their perspective and interpretation of the world around them. **Encoding** refers to the process of constructing meaning in creating culture. This refers to the producers, writers, artists, performers, and others who showcase narratives and cultural

scripts. **Decoding** is the process by which people view, understand, and interpret these stories. Both processes contribute to the "programme as meaningful discourse" and carry with them frameworks of knowledge, relations of production, and technical infrastructure. This is visualized in Figure 10.1.1.

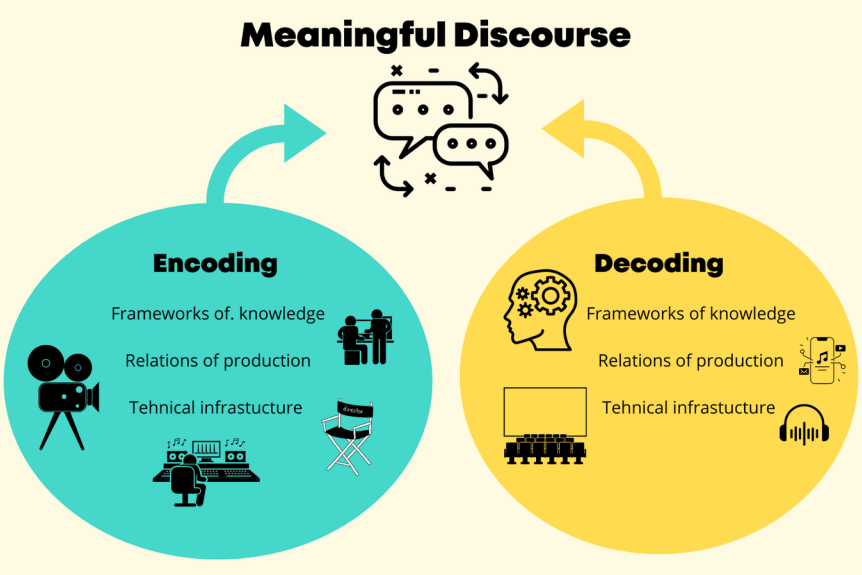


Figure 10.1.1: "Meaningful Discourse" by Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, Author is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0. Content is adapted from Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Media and Cultural Studies: Keyworks*, ed. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas Kellner, Rev. ed, Keyworks in Cultural Studies 2 (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 163–73.

Media Analysis in Practice in Ethnic Studies

By examining culture, we can understand and interpret how narratives and meanings impact all aspects of life, including prevailing inequities and opportunities for resistance and justice. One key component of media representation is the creation of **stereotypes**. These are limited representations of individuals that reduce someone to a negative association with their group status. As stated by Debra Merskin, "stereotypes go beyond obvious manifestations such as name-calling or facile characterizations, rather they drive Latina educational challenges and disparities, contribute to disparate levels of domestic violence, depression, internalized oppression, as well as distressing legal and societal treatment. Hence, understanding media-engendered stereotypical images are, at least in part, responsible for the denial of opportunity for Latinas in their struggle for identity."[6]

Controlling Images

Building from the notion of stereotypes, Patricia Hill Collins coined the term **controlling images** to describe the ways that common narratives about Black women are used to reinforce exploitative and racist systems. For Chicanx and Latinx communities, specific stereotypes have been constructed in response to social, political, economic, and cultural systems. For example, **tropicalism** is a negative trope that homogenizes Latinx people by focusing on a fixed set of shared traits: bright colors, rhythmic dancing, and darker skin suited to an "exotic" locale. Audiences internalize these images and some resist them, creating a social system that responds to the prevailing constrictions on identity and representation.

A common controlling image used in the media is the Latin Lover. The **Latin Lover** stereotype is a construction of Latinos as aggressively sexual and exotic. The trope was developed by white actors like Rudolf Valentino, who played Latin characters with a vague accent and no specific cultural or familial ties. In his times during the 1900s, this construction supported the idea of Mexico as a wild place, which legitimized the prevailing policy of the time, incluiding the recent annexation of Texas (1845) and colonization of Northern Mexico. Now, the image remains and creates a set of expectations and biases against Chicanx and Latinx peoples.

Similarly, G. D. Keller identified the range of stereotypes deployed to represent Latinas as love interests to white male

protagonists. First, the **cantina girl** is characterized by "Great sexual allure," teasing, dancing, and "behaving in an alluring fashion." These are hallmark characteristics of this stereotype. This is also a form of sexual objectification, and the narrative of a "naughty lady of easy virtue." While the cantina girl is most often presented physically as an available sexual object, the **vamp** is a trope of an individual who uses their intellectual and devious sexual wiles to get what they want. This poses a threat, counterbalanced by the draw of charisma. The vamp is a psychological menace to anyone who is ill-equipped to handle them. By contrast, the faithful, **self-sacrificing señorita** is a woman who usually starts out good but goes bad over time. This character realizes she has gone wrong and is willing to protect her love interest by placing her body between the threat intended for him, ultimately becoming a martyr.[7]

Repeated exposure to these controlling images can create internal distress for Latinxs, leading to mental health challenges, body dysmorphia, low self-esteem, and impaired cognitive performance. They also promote predatory behaviors in the form of dating violence and sexual harassment.[8] Similarly, la doméstica (the Latina/o/x maid/nanny) is a persistent media representation and stereotype of Latinas.[9] Represented in productions like *Devious Maids*, *Casa de Flores*, *Down and Out in Beverly Hills*, *As Good as it Gets*, *Babel, Spanglish, Will and Grace, Dirt, I Married Dora, Dharma and Greg, Veronica, Closet, My Name is Earl, El Norte, Clueless, The End of Violence, Storytelling, #blackAF*, and *Family Guy*. For example, on the show, *Will and Grace*, Rosario, played by Shelley Morrison, is a character who raises comical relief and reflects narratives around social class and occupational distinctions. While the reality of Latinas in domestic work is a social reality and an important part of cultural storytelling, the representation in terms of stereotypes is limiting and reproduces systemic inequality. By contrast, on *Dirt*, Dolores, played by Julieta Ortiz, is an undocumented immigrant from El Salvador who works as a maid for wealthy New Yorkers. As the protagonist, she is politicized and contends with the hegemonic systems that exploit domestic workers. This interrupts the prevailing assumption of marginality among Chicanxs and Latinxs.

Concept Spotlight: Disidentifications

Among the many narratives promoted through the media, culture also consists of the ways that people understand, interpret, critique, and recreate those narratives. The term disidentification comes from the book, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* by José Esteban Muñoz.[10] **Disidentification** refers to the process of situating oneself within a broader cultural narrative while also existing in opposition to that narrative. For example, queer of color subjects may identify with heroic characters in pop culture that have typically been portrayed by white, heterosexual men, but defy and resist associations with patriarchy, white supremacy, and U.S. nationalism. This process reflects the stakes of both survival and resistance for minoritized subjects.

Due to wide-standing biases in media, it is impossible for some minoritized subjects to fully identify with available images and narratives. Disidentification provides an alternative solution. When disidentification is used in performances, it can also expose and critique the problematic dynamics embedded in existing systems of power and control. This approach recognizes and analyzes the importance of race, ethnicity, Indigeneity, gender, and sexuality in understanding social and cultural relations. Queer of color critiques is associated with scholars and critics like Roderick Ferguson, José Esteban Muñoz, Audre Lorde, and Gloria Anzaldúa who have opened up new fields of inquiry through their research and writing on topics affecting Black and Latinx people within the LGBTQ community.

Footnotes

[1] Frederick Aldama, "Foreword: Assembling an Intersectional Pop Cultural Analytical Lens," in *Race and Cultural Practice in Popular Culture*, ed. Domino Renee Perez and Rachel González-Martin (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2019), ix–xii.

[2] Mintzi Auanda Martínez-Rivera, "(Re)Imagining Indigenous Popular Culture," in *Race and Cultural Practice in Popular Culture*, ed. Domino Renee Perez and Rachel González-Martin (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2019), 91.

[3] Martínez-Rivera, "(Re)Imagining Indigenous Popular Culture," 95.

[4] The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office of Minority Health. "Profile: Hispanic/Latino Americans." HHS.Gov. 2022. https://minorityhealth.hhs.gov/omh/browse.aspx?lvl=3&lvlid=64.

[5] Stuart Hall, “Encoding/Decoding,” in *Media and Cultural Studies: Keyworks*, ed. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas Kellner, Rev. ed, Keyworks in Cultural Studies 2 (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 163–73.

[6] Debra Merskin, “Three Faces of Eva: Perpetuation of The Hot-Latina Stereotype in Desperate Housewives,” *Howard Journal of Communications* 18, no. 2 (April 2007): 133–51, https://doi.org/10.1080/10646170701309890.

[7] Gary D. Keller, “Bilingualism, Biculturalism, and the Cisco Kid Cycle,” *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe* 28, no. 3 (2004): 195–231.

[8] Lori Kido Lopez, “Racism and Mainstream Media,” in *Race and Media: Critical Approaches*, ed. Lori Kido Lopez (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2020).

[9] Yajaira M. Padilla, “Domesticating Rosario: Conflicting Representations of the Latina Maid in U.S. Media,” *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 13 (2009): 41–59.

[10] José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

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10.2: Chicanx and Latinx Storytelling

Narratives and Identity

Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) communities have always used cultural tools, including storytelling and self-produced media, to build a sense of shared community and pride in one's identity. Prior to written stories, oral traditions have communicated tales of tradition, culture, and meaning from generation to generation, evolving and growing with the times. This has led to the cultural scripts that form today's literary contributions, ranging from bilingual children's literature and stories for young adults to novellas and epic volumes. For example, in 2008, Junot Díaz won a Pulitzer Prize for his book, *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*, which explores the experiences and identity of Dominican communities. Stories form the basis of shared identities and influence the meanings of day-to-day life.

Radio, Podcast, and News

U.S. Latinx/a/o newsmaking can be analyzed as far back as 1848 when Mexicans were made immigrants on their own land by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The traditional forms of Latinx newsmaking were corridos (story-based ballads) that originated in the U.S.-Texas borderlands prior to this time. By the early 1900s, Latina/o/x newspapers that emerged, like El Heraldo de México, El Fronterizo, Arizona Citizen, and El Clamor Público (Public Clamor or Shouting). Most of these newspapers exposed injustices and demanded public services, all the while urging their readers to mobilize against the mistreatment of Mexicans in the United States.[11]

The largest of the Los Angeles Spanish language newspapers (circulation of 4,000) was El Heraldo de Mexico (1916-1920), which billed itself as the "Defender of Mexicans in the United States." Its primary mission was combating discrimination and exploitation of Mexican immigrants. Headlines such as "The Exploiters Beware! Mexicans Beware!" illustrate calls for collective action, as do testimonials such as this one:

> Excuse the molestation I bring in the name of more than 30 Mexicans who find ourselves here in the desert... They brought us with the hoax that we were going to camp at Salt Lake... A number of comrades have died on the road. The contractors promised us a wage of $ 1.75 daily, but it is a lie... Do me a favor and publish these words... so that they serve as a warning to other fellow countrymen: [that they] not allow themselves to be tricked.[12]

Today, Spanish-language radio targets Latinx audiences through niche marketing. Advertising campaigns on Spanish-language radio are often developed with the ethnic groups in mind, such as Mexicans in Los Angeles or Cubans in Miami, each of whom has a unique set of Spanish words and cultural customs.[13]

Media Spotlight: Tune In! Spanish Radio Stations

You can find various radio stations, including Spanish-language stations, using the website Radio Locator. Some examples of local Spanish radio stations are listed here:

- Radio Nueva Vida (Camarillo, CA)
- La Buena (Santa Maria, CA)
- La Mejor Network (Oxnard/Bakersfield/Santa Rosa)
- La Bonita (Porterville, CA)
- Radio Bilingue (Fresno, CA)
- Radio Sin Fronteras (Somerton, AZ)

Spanish International network (SIN), now known as Univisión, launched Noticiero Nacional in 1981 as the inaugural Spanish language news program. The first Noticiero National broadcast on June 1, 1981, opened with a dedication from President Ronald Reagan (sitting before the U.S. flag, his words translated to Spanish with subtitles):

> Buenas tardes. I want to say how happy I am to help inaugurate the first national news program carried in Spanish... I

> recognize the growing influence of Hispanic citizens in our communities and throughout the nation... The Supreme Court once wrote that a free press stands as one of the great interpreters between the government and the people. The medium of television, in particular in a Special language newscast, is such an interpreter... Muchas gracias and buenas noches.[14]

Two popular news sites that Latina/o/x viewers prefer today are Univision and Telemundo. As shown in Figure 10.2.1, Univision is an established institution in the community, supporting local events and celebrations, such as the Dominican Day Parade, celebrating the ethnic and cultural heritage of Dominican origin people.



Figure 10.2.1: "Univision Float at the 2009 Dominican Day Parade" by André Natta, Wikimedia Commons, is licensed CC BY 2.0.

In recent years, there has been massive consolidations between media conglomerates. The 2002 merger between the largest Spanish language television and radio station networks (Univisión and Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation) in a 3-billion-dollar deal consolidated a range of diverse viewers under a single network's influence.[15] This was possible, in part due to the 1996 Telecommunications Act that passed to allow for increased competition, lower prices and higher quality telecommunication products. The Telecommunications Act virtually deregulated radio, which enabled it to become more privatized. Companies were now allowed to own as many radio stations as they wanted because there were no longer caps that prevented them from doing so.

As of 2017, 699 Spanish-language radio stations existed in the U.S., out of 11,231 stations total (6%). These stations are widely utilized, with over 90% of self-identified Hispanics listening to the radio weekly. However, this is also an under-representation compared to the U.S. population, which was approximately 18% Latinx/Hispanic in 2017.[16] Some Spanish Language radio networks emerge out of a need to keep the community entertained and informed (e.g., news and policy); as well as to benefit from the "untapped' Latina/o/x consumer market. Latinx news producers assert that their audiences have needs and interests that are distinct from that of the general market news audience--and that it is their professional responsibility as journalists to address those particular concerns.[17]

Community Spotlight: Radio Indígena

Radio stations may also be inclusive of Indigenous Languages from Latin America. For example, Radio Indigena was started as an online-only access station in 2014 by the Mixteco Indigena Community Organizing Project (MICOP). By 2017, the station had raised enough funds to set up an FM station, which currently broadcasts to the greater Oxnard area on 94.1 FM. The station meets the needs of predominantly farm working, Latinx Indigenous migrant communities. The content is culturally appropriate and broadcasted in multiple Indigenous languages, including Mixetco, Zapoteco, and Purepecha. The programs feature health, relationships, Indigenous language, culture, and music. Listeners around the country and the world can listen live from the station's app or a broadcast-by-phone number: 605-475-0090. For more information, including links to the apps for Android and Apple, as well as the station's schedule, visit the MICOP webpage.

With the emergence of independent and DIY media platforms, podcasts have become a popular venue for Latina/o/x audio productions and audiences. Show hosts and producers use platforms like National Public Radio (NPR), Apple Podcasts, Anchor FM, and Spotify to broadcast/stream to the public. Podcasts enable artists, journalists, and community members to resist the mainstream industry's hegemonic culture. Shows like Chicas Politicas, Afro-Latinas, and Maria Hinojosa's Latino USA utilize this platform to inform their audiences of local, state, and national politics, Latinx life, art, stories, and culture.

Latinx newsmaking produces symbolic systems by capturing and sharing the reality that places Latina/o/x peoples everywhere: as presidential candidates, first responders, essential workers, etc. Latino journalism provides a prism through which to analyze Latino political culture. However, we should recognize the limitations and constraints on Latinx newsmaking as well. Like other media, Latinx news must attract and maintain an audience that can be sold to advertisers through the mediation of audience measurement rating systems.

Latinx news is also a site of participation in the U.S. political process. Univision and CNN Español are prime sites for electoral news, including debates, polls, and relevant U.S. and Latin American policies. Nationalisms are explicitly pronounced in the process. Contemporary Latinx newsmaking, and conceptualizations of race, language, and class, are evolving social, political and cultural processes.[18] Latina/o/x news makers understand the complexity of U.S. Latinx Identity and often highlight the interconnectedness between American and Latin American culture and society.

Sidebar: Maria Hinojosa, Futuro Media, and *Latino USA*

Maria Hinojosa established her own award-winning studio, Futuro Media, to deliver culturally relevant content to Latina/o/x audiences. As a Latina journalist, Hinojosa has overcome and resisted the tokenization of her identity as the first Latina woman to be hired at National Public Radio (NPR). Hinojosa is known for hosting her show, Latino USA, which is aired on NPR. She helped to start the show in 1992, became the Executive Producer in 2000, and founded Futuro Media Group to take over production in 2010. She has been widely recognized for her reporting and impact on the field of journalism and is the recipient of a Pulitzer Prize 2022, four Emmy Awards, and an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from DePaul University in 2010. Her work covers important social issues, including a frequent focus on communities of color, Latinx people, and immigrants. She is shown in Figure 10.2.2.



Figure 10.2.2: "Maria Hinojosa" by United Church of Christ, Wikimedia Commons is licensed CC BY-SA 2.0.

Video Games and Social Media

While video games are sometimes left out of broader conversations about media, their importance and role in culture are undeniable. Video games make up a $100 billion industry with millions of users. Games offer an interactive site for storytelling, cultural production, and critique. However, stereotypes are often reinforced and perpetuated by production and writing teams that are not representative of the stories they are telling. Further, in multiplayer and online games, virtual communities can perpetuate bullying, racism, discrimination, white supremacy culture, sexism, settler-colonialism, and other forms of systemic

marginalization.

The disparities in gaming culture are reflected in the industry that produces games. There are major opportunity gaps within the game industry, which exclude communities of color. Only 5% of game developers are Latinx, 2% are Arab/Middle Eastern, 2% are Aboriginal or Indigenous, and 1% are Black. Hardcore gamers are the imagined audience for many producers, with white cisgender males as the stereotypical expectation. Disregarding and diminishing casual gamers delegitimizes women and people of color, who are less likely to fit the cultural script of a hardcore gamer.[19] Indie gaming industries have emerged to contest these dynamics and cultivate diverse narratives within games. However, they tend to have a much smaller reach than mainstream games with massive production and distribution budgets. Organized gatherings, like the Game Devs of Color Expo cultivate the positive representation of communities of color within gaming communities.

Latinxs make up a proportional segment of the gaming community and are more likely to identify as a "Gamer" (19%), compared to the general population.[20] However, Latinxs make up only 4% of game producers, and games widely include negative stereotypes of Chicanx and Latinx people. For example, Ubisoft's Tom Clancy's Ghost Recon: Wildlands falsely places a narrative of Mexican drug cartels in Bolivia, producing a harmful generalization of Latinos as "bad hombres" Gamers and producers are coming together to combat the bias in the mainstream industry and misrepresentation of Latinx gamers and characters, like the Latinx in Gaming initiative and Latinx Games Festival.

Historically underrepresented groups in video games have used new media and increased access to technology to resist racism and intersectional oppression in the gaming industry. For example, interactive platforms like Twitch, Twitter, and YouTube allow gamers to create supportive spaces for communities of color to exist and game together. Expos, non-profits, and professional associations help support people of color throughout the gaming industry. Transforming the culture of oppression in gaming will require challenging long-held assumptions about who makes and who plays games.

Relatedly, the widespread use of new media technologies has fundamentally shifted the dynamics of pop culture and storytelling. In some ways, new technologies lead to greater opportunities for historically underserved groups to gain recognition and produce cultural narratives. Changes in the industry create openings for new voices and encourage diversity and inclusion. Many of these changes are then sustained to retain viewers and gain new followers. New technologies can also reproduce existing dynamics, especially of racism, sexism, and capitalist exploitation. For example, while YouTube lowers the barriers to entry for contemporary artists, the DIY approach contributes to reproducing the status quo because the platform does not specifically invest in artists of color.

Footnotes

[11] América Rodriguez, “Local Latino News: Los Angeles and Miami,” in *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1999), 107–30, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452233345.

[12] América Rodriguez, *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Thousand Oaks, California, 1999), 62, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452233345.

[13] Mari Castaneda Paredes, “The Transformation of Spanish-Language Radio in the U.S,” *Journal of Radio Studies* 10, no. 1 (June 2003): 5–16.

[14] Rodriguez, *Making Latino News,* 79.

[15] Paredes, “The Transformation of Spanish-Language Radio in the U.S.”

[16] Paredes.

[17] América Rodriguez, “Nationhood, Nationalism, and Ethnicity in the Making of U.S. Latino News,” in *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1999), 75–106, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452233345.

[18] Rodriguez, “Nationhood, Nationalism, and Ethnicity in the Making of U.S. Latino News.”

[19] Jacqueline Land. “Indigenous Video Games.” In Race and Media: Critical Approaches, edited by Lori Kido Lopez, 92–100. New

York, NY: New York University Press, 2020.

[20] Spectr Gaming. *Latinx Characters in Video Games: Where Are They?*, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Zy56YGixbY.

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10.3: National and Transnational Rhythmic Formations

Regional and Local Styles

One of the common themes in Chicanx and Latinx music and dance is the use of regionally specific instruments, rhythms, melodies, and themes to showcase pride in one's identity and heritage. These songs are as diverse as the people who created them and represent distinct styles, sensibilities, and messages. And, to varying degrees, these songs reflect and reproduce existing socio-political realities like national identity, borders, and more.

Music played an important role in the development of Chicano identity and political movements. Groups like Chicano Batman and Las Cafeteras from Los Angeles and Califanes from Mexico City reflect the transnational character of Chicanx communities' experiences, which reflects the distinctive combination of Indigenous, Mexican, Spanish, and American traditions into something wholly new. Similarly, **Tejano music**, sometimes called Tex-Mex, is known for its use of vocal melodies that mirror traditional Mexican musical styles, combined with instruments and rhythms with American and European influences. This genre exploded in popularity in the 1990s with the rise of crossover pop star, Selena. It is also both geographically and musically similar to the **Norteño** style, which is popular in northern Mexico and what is now the southwestern United States, and reflects a cultural blend of musical instruments and moving narrative ballads.[21]

Within Mexico, various musical styles are used to promote regional and national cultures. For example, **rancheras** are songs that focus on love, beauty, and nature, as well as regional and national pride. They tend to take on a local character, with references to specific places and activities that resonate with audiences in that region, as well as form a symbolic connection to individuals who have personal or family ties to these other regions. Another common style is **corridos**, which use complex narrative to tell stories through song. This genre inspired American country music, which utilizes similar narrative formats and styles. In addition, **boleros** are songs with a slow or moderate tempo and a repeating rhythm that supports a strong melody by the lead singer. These are rooted in Cuban and Spanish influences that were reinvented by Mexican composers.[22]

Artist Spotlight: Selena Quintanilla

Selena Quintanilla, more commonly known as Selena, was born on April 16, 1971, in Lake Jackson, Texas. Selena grew up speaking English, but her father taught her to sing in Spanish so she could resonate with the Latinx community and have a broader appeal as a recording artist. Known as the "Queen of Tejano Music," Selena Quintanilla was a beloved Latin recording artist who was killed by the president of her fan club, Yolanda Saldivar, on the 31st of March of 1995 at age 23. In addition to the significance of her music, she was an important figure in representing Tejana culture. Related to this, Frances Aparicio stated:

> Selena reaffirmed a Tejana identity through her repertoire, her fashion and style, and her persona... her musical selections, arrangements, and hybrid fusion of tejano music with other musical forms, allowed Selena to create a larger, Latin American and Latino/a audience that identified with her.[23]

After her untimely death, Selena has continued to be a central cultural figure for Tejanx, U.S. and Latinx cultures. As shown in Figure 10.3.1, a mural by Alan Calvo depicts Selena in the now iconic purple jumpsuit she wore during her last concert before her death.

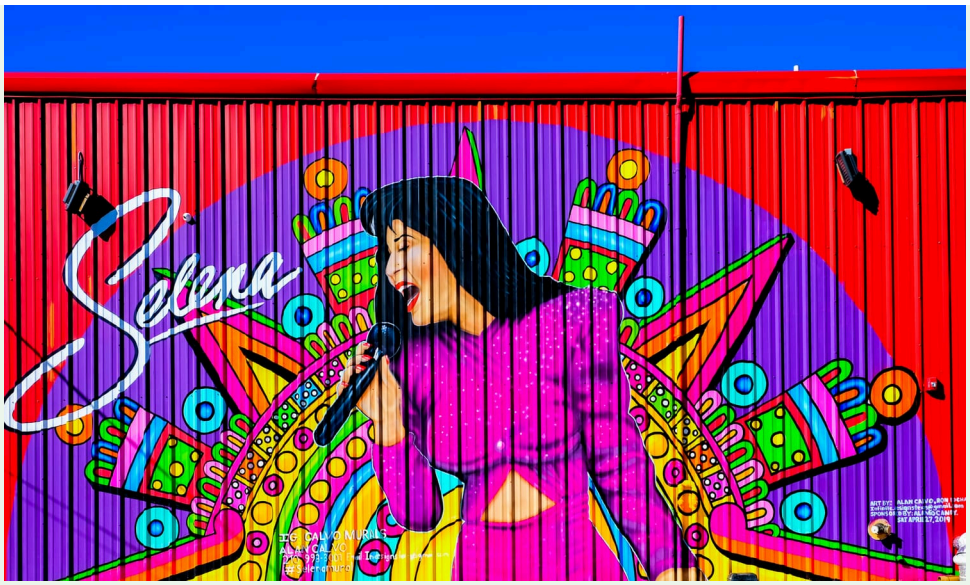


Figure 10.3.1: "Selena at Alamo Candy" by Alan Calvo via NoNo Joe, Flickr is licensed CC BY-NC 2.0.

Other styles represent the history and identity of the places they are from. For example, **bachata** grew out of the fusion of European and African influences with Indigenous Taino sounds, reflecting the rich and diverse culture of the Dominican Republic. Similarly, **cumbia** comes out of Colombia and reflects the unique combination of European, African, and Indigenous influences of the Colombian peoples. Other styles, like **reggaeton**, have developed with a more regional and global character. While the genre originated in Panama, it spread to Puerto Rico and rose to prominence there and brought together Afro-descendent styles from Panama, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and the United States (particularly, Afro-Latinx communities in New York City).

Folk Dances

In 1952, Amalia Hernandez established the Ballet Folklórico de México, which synthesized local folk dances and Indigenous traditions into a nationalistic dance style. This effort was supported by the government, who encouraged the celebration of folk dance to promote a positive national identity, encourage tourism, and cultivate local economic development. The style of **ballet folklórico** has become popular in the United States, with local groups and schools sponsoring dance groups and holding lessons for children, adolescents, and adults. Figure 10.3.2 shows an example of a ballet folklórico performance.



Figure 10.3.2: "Ballet Folklorico Imagenes Mexicanas" by Benny Mazur, Wikimedia Commons is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Before Ballet Folklorico emerged, **danza** existed. In addition to the nationalistic style that celebrates the general tradition of Indigenous cultures in Mexico, communities also carry on specific dance forms and performances. For example, in Michoacan, the **Danza de los Viejitos** (Tharep' Hiti Huarar'i in Purépecha) has dancers who dress in traditional attire with masks of old men and women. The dancers use canes and play at being hunched over and feeble throughout the dance. The early origins of this dance are thought to reflect narratives about aging and humor. After European and Spanish colonization, the dance changed somewhat, and now includes elements of poking fun at elderly Spanish men who have exerted colonial power. An example of this dance in Pátzcuaro, Michoácan, México is displayed in Figure 10.3.3



Figure 10.3.3: "Pátzcuaro Viejitos" by LBM1948, Wikimedia Commons is licensed CC BY-SA 4.0.

Other local dances that are still carried on today include the Danza del Diablo in Oaxaca, Danza Azteca (Mi'totiliztli), and Danza del Venado (Maaso Yiihua).

Nationalism, Race, and Indigeneity in Cultural Productions

Nationalism is a social construction, which then takes on its own authority and power to implement policies. While we often take borders for granted, it takes continual efforts to create and maintain a sense of national identity, which justifies and legitimates the actions of elected officials and government agencies. Nationalism exists based on the perception of the people who are part of that nation, and the symbolic connection between a seemingly unified political body.[24] Nationalism often constructs and reproduces racial and ethnic hierarchies to enforce boundaries and uphold a sense of national identity.

Nations are primarily and fundamentally constructed through the creation and distribution of shared cultural narratives, images, and symbols. Contrary to some common conceptions, cultural narratives (e.g., music, fashion, television and more) are not the opposite of politics, but rather a different expression of societal systems and structures. For example, in a classical study of self-identity among Mexican Americans published in 1987, Roger Batra identified four key practices that aligned individuals with a collective sense of "Lo Mexicano":

- Shout the lyrics to José Alfredo Jiménez's "El rey"
- Whistle during ballet folklórico performances
- Purchase Frida Kahlo prints
- Visit Rivera's Siqueiros, or Orozco's murals[25]

The artists and pieces that centralize Mexican identity change over time, but the use of shared cultural legacies continues.

In Mexico, nationalistic cultural styles emphasize the commonalities and unifying symbols that can bring together diverse populations across the country. For example, **mariachi** are bandas (bands) that typically wear full charro/charra attire, signaling a post revolutionary Mexican aesthetic. This historical reference is important, because this signals an emphasis on the political efforts to unify the Mexican people to overthrow colonial control and re-establish a locally governed system. The politics of

mariachi are also gendered. Historically mariachi are often, but not always, male-dominated. However, key figures like Aida Cuevas have broken barriers for women to perform in this style as respected lead vocalists. As shown in Figure 10.3.4, groups like the Mariachi Divas highlight women artists and performers.



Figure 10.3.4: Mariachi Divas by Richard Sandoval, Flickr is licensed CC BY-SA 2.0.

Performing National Identity in *La Tequilera*

In the Chicanx and Latinx music worlds, it is very common for popular artists to cover both new and traditional songs by others, sometimes changing the style and tone in their adapted version. For example, the song *La Tequilera* (The tequila girl) was popularized by Lucha Reyes in the 1930s. In her original version, the telling followed the ranchera style and signaling the soldadera (soldier) imagery of women in the Mexican Revolution. Since then, the song has been performed by countless women, including Selena, Jenni Rivera, and Alicia Villaseñor, both reprising this story and infusing it with new meaning.

Astrid Hadad is a Mexican singer of mixed Mayan and Lebanese heritage. In her performances of *La Tequilera*, she utilizes the imagery of armed Mexican revolutionary women to signal the original Lucha Reyes version of the song. She also embeds aspects of rock and roll to bring the song into a more modern era, focusing on current issues related to gender equality and women's agency.[26] This signals the ongoing revolution against patriarchy and interlocking systems of domination. For example, in her concerts, when Hadad sings "Como Buena mexicana sufriré el dolor tranquila" (Like a good Mexican woman, I will suffer in silence), she whips herself, emphasizing how women have been socialized into their own marginalization in the name of cultural and national identity.[27] This is an example of disidentification, as Hadad is both deploying Mexican national identity through *ranchera* style, a traditionally male-dominated genre, as a way to critique patriarchal gender roles and patriarchy.

Lila Downs is a globally recognized signer from Oaxaca, Mexico and is shown in Figure 10.3.5. When she has performed the same song, she shifts the musical style to a norteña, both increasing the tempo and adding elements like the accordion. Because norteño music is associated with northern Mexico, Texas, California, the U.S. Southwest, and Mexican migrant communities around the world, this gives the song a transnational character and invites a global Latinx audience. Following this global-facing Mexican identity, Downs melds the s*oldadera* style with dress that reflects both traditional Oaxacan styles, as well as the Mexican nationalistic aesthetic style of ballet folklorico.[28] This flips the significance of the narrative in the song from being about reflecting Mexican identity within a nationalistic community to representing Mexicanidad to a Latinx and global audience. Links to publicly available, copyrighted recordings of Hadad's and Downs's recordings of *La Tequilera* are included in the supplemental resources for this chapter.



Figure 10.3.5: Lila Downs by mario, Flickr is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Indigenous Rock

Indigenous identities, cultural practices, musical traditions, and dress are all key parts of Chicanx and Latinx music and dance. These are celebrated through traditional ceremonies, festivals, and rituals, along with day-to-day culture. For example, **Pirekua** is music "that expresses the thought, feelings and pride of the P'urhépecha people from Michoácan, México, where creators (composers) and the pirericha (performers) manifest all their talent, their creativity and their most profound feelings."[29] While this genre grows out of a long tradition, each generation has adapted and transformed the music to reflect the changing times and their modern identities.

For example, Hamac Caziim is a Comcáac punk group from Punta Chueca, Sonora that seeks to help young people find pride in their culture and language. They have also helped to encourage self-expression by helping new rock and punk groups form and organizing the Festival Xepe an Cöicoos to celebrate Comcáac communities. Similarly, Sak Tzevul is a Tzotzil progressive rock group from Zinacantán, Chiapas. They originally struggled for recognition especially among their Indigenous peoples but won over fans and support who were able to recognize the authentic connection of rock music to their cultures and values.[30]

Afro-Latinx Music

People of African descent have been widely influential in the creation of all types of culture in Latin America, despite being under-recognized in political, social, and cultural domains. For example, rhythms, instruments, melodies, and styles rooted in African traditions are embedded throughout styles like meringue, bachata, and cumbia. Further, prominent Afro-Latinx artists have operated through different contemporary genres like R&B (e.g., Cristiana Milian), reggaeton (e.g., Amara La Negra), and rap (e.g., Princess Nokia). These artists provide representation and cultural narratives that respond to the specific and diverse experiences of people of Afro-Latinx descent.

Artist Spotlight: Celia Cruz

Celia Cruz, in full Úrsula Hilaria Celia Caridad Cruz Alfonso, was born on October 21, 1925 in Havana, Cuba, and she died July 16, 2003 in Fort Lee, New Jersey, in the United States. She was a Cuban-American singer who reigned for decades as the "Queen of Salsa Music," electrifying audiences with her wide-ranging soulful voice and rhythmically compelling style. She was exiled from Cuba for her outspoken political and cultural commentary and her fame as an Afro-Latina singer. Even though the Cuban government had tried to erase her from its history, her fans still living in Cuba commemorated her death by chalking slogans that read "Azucar! Celia, Cuba te ama!" ("Azucar! Celia, Cuba loves you!") on walls throughout the island.[31]

Cubanidad can be understood as a Cuban-specific expression of Latinidad, particularly among the Cuban exile and diaspora community. Celia Cruz contests the homogenization of Latinidad by affirming her Cubanness and Blackness through musical style and performance. Cruz embedded political speech and acts into her concerts using the Spanish language as well as direct political claims, like "Bring Down Fidel Castro."[32] As stated by one commentator, the complexity of Celia Cruz can be understood in terms of "the image of 'azúcar negra'... as Celia's Black body, Afro-Cuban rhythms and voice together indexed the cultural survival of slaves in Cuba while she simultaneously vocalized the discourse of a pro-capitalist, white Cuban bourgeoisie while embodying colonial desire with her blonde wig."[33] An artistic rendition of Celia singing in her iconic blond wig is shown in Figure 10.3.6.



Figure 10.3.6: "Portrait of Celia Cruz" by Phillip Pessar, Flickr is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Footnotes

[21] Angelique K. Dwyer, "Performing Nation Diva Style in Lila Downs and Astrid Hadad's La Tequilera," in *Race and Cultural Practice in Popular Culture*, ed. Domino Renee Perez and Rachel González-Martin (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2019), 132–51.

[22] Dwyer. "Performing Nation Diva Style."; Martínez-Rivera. "(Re)Imagining Indigenous Popular Culture."

[23] Frances R Aparicio, "Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in Media and Popular Culture," *Latino Studies* 1, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 97, https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.lst.8600016.

[24] Dwyer. "Performing Nation Diva Style."

[25] Roger Bartra. *La Jaula de La Melancolía. Identidad y Metamorfosis Del Mexicano*. México: Grijalbo, 1987.

[26] Dwyer. "Performing Nation Diva Style."

[27] Dwyer.

[28] Dwyer.

[29] Martínez-Rivera, "(Re)Imagining Indigenous Popular Culture," 103.

[30] Martínez-Rivera.

[31] Christina D. Abreu, “Celebrity, ‘Crossover,’ and Cubanidad: Celia Cruz as ‘La Reina de Salsa,’ 1971-2003,” *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 28, no. 1 (2007): 94–124.

[32] Abreu.

[33] Abreu, 130.

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10.4: Television and Film

Chicanx and Latinx Representation on Screen

When considering the role of Chicanx and Latinx representations on television and in films, Mary Bletrán offers us the concept of image analysis. **Image analysis** is an approach that is complementary to a variety of research methodologies, and "can illuminate a great deal about a media text's racial politics, as well as its implied ideological messages about ethnic and racial groups and race relations."[34] To undertake image analysis, we go through the following steps:

1. Describe a TV/film character(s) in terms of their most obvious, external representation. How are they presented?
2. Identify the meanings, ideologies, and myths associated with those external traits. What does the character mean to the audience?
3. Inquire about the narrative significance of this character. Whose story is being told? Which characters are fully developed? And, what is the balance of power between characters?

For example, TV westerns in the 1950s typically displayed Latinxs as one-dimensional stereotypes (for example, Zorro and Tanto). In these performances, Latinx characters were often played by white actors, and they were signified by speaking broken English, being uneducated, and working in a low-paying job. These representations activated myths about the racial status quo and the assumed superiority of whites. In the overall narrative structure, Latinxs were typically not central figures in the storyline, showed little personal development, and were in positions of subservience.

An important counter-example is *The Cisco Kid*, which ran from 1950-1956, and featured a Latino main character, similar to the other TV cowboys of the era. However, upon further examination, Cisco is still characterized by the racial ideology of the time, with the sidekick character, "Pancho," who is also Latino, has darker skin, more Indigenous features, and his character is portrayed as less intelligent and important than Cisco. Further, because Cisco was played by Duncan Renaldo (Romanian born American) and Pancho was played by Leo Carrillo (Californian/Spanish), this reinforced the audience's perception of racial hierarchy through the dynamics of colorism. One of the promotional images for an adaptation of *The Cisco Kid* is shown in Figure 10.4.1, with the description that reads: "The first outdoor talking feature in Old Arizona, was just a sample of the vigorous outdoor action and panorama of scenery which only the technically perfected Fox Movietone can capture on film. Here the Cisco Kid, played by Warner Baxter, attempts to outwit Serjeant Mickey Dunn, as played by Edmund Lowe. Audiences are already waiting for this one.



Figure 10.4.1: "The Cisco Kid ad in The Film Daily, Jan-Jun 1929" by New York, Wid's Films and Film Folks, Inc., Wikimedia Commons is in the Public Domain, CC0.

Since the days of *Cisco*, we have witnessed many changes in the representation of Latinxs, including new cultural scripts and narratives that Latinx actors and content creators have to navigate. **Latina icons** are highly recognized Latinas who have achieved

a high-level celebrity status. The significance of these individuals for our society can be understood both in terms of their commodification of ethnic authenticity, as well as the symbolic resistance in ensuring representation while still working toward larger goals.[35] For example, this is communicated through pop culture figures as diverse as like Salma Hayek, Frida Kahlo, and Jennifer Lopez, as well as characters like Dora the Explorer.

Jennifer Lopez is a recognized film sensation, earning $13 million per movie and drawing huge crowds and audiences to her films. This puts her in a league of elite actors like Salma Hayek, Penelope Cruz, Halle Berry, and Angela Bassett. She has navigated the public perception of her racial and ethnic identity by both emphasizing her identity as a Latina and at times, her proximity to whiteness. Her success as an entertainer in both music and film has given her the opportunity to also take control of her own image and star power, through the clothing, lingerie, and perfume industries and by starting her own production company, Nuyorican Films.[36] Figure 10.4.2 shows her singing at the 59th Presidential Inauguration, signaling her esteemed place in American culture and society.

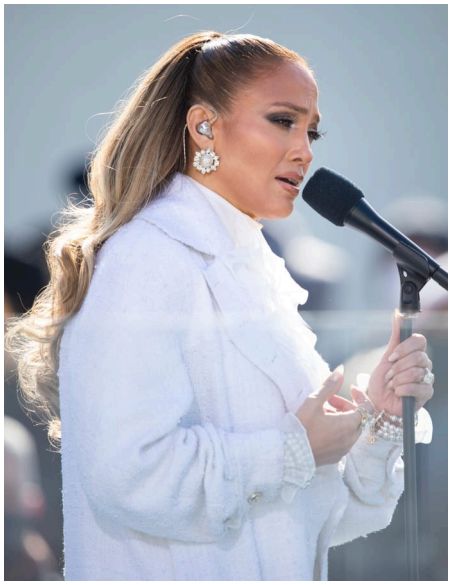


Figure 10.4.2: "Jennifer Lopez during the 59th Presidential Inauguration ceremony in Washington, 2021" by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Wikimedia Commons is licensed CC BY 2.0.

Unlike the New York-born Jennifer Lopez, Salma Hayek gained crossover success in American markets, after establishing her career in Mexican telenovelas. Hayek has played various leading and supporting roles in Hollywood films but has often been limited to roles that are defined by her accent and identity as a Latina.[37] In response to the negative pressure she has faced in the industry, Hayek has produced her own films through the company Ventanarosa, which translates from Spanish to English as pink window. Ventanarosa has produced feature films like *Frida* (2002) and *In the Time of Butterflies* (2001) and was instrumental in adapting the Colombian novela, *Yo Soy Betty La Fea* (*Ugly Betty*) which ran on ABC for 4 seasons (2006-2010). In Figure 10.4.3, Hayek is shown at San Diego Comic Con in 2014.



Figure 10.4.3: "Salma Hayek" by Gage Skidmore, Wikimedia Commons is licensed CC BY 2.0.

An undeniable example of a Latina icon is Frida Kahlo. Her image and artistry are widely recognized in the United States and around the world. While she was an activist and artist throughout her life, her fame expanded greatly after her death, not unlike other iconic Latina figures like Evita, Selena, and Celia Cruz. Now, images of Frida and her self-portraits appear on "stationery, posters, jewelry, hair clips, autobiographies, cookbooks, biographical books, chronological art books, refrigerator magnets, painting kits, wall hangings, and wrapping paper, to mention a few of the items in bookstores and novelty stores throughout the U.S., Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Spain."[38] A photograph of Kahlo is shown in Figure 10.4.4.

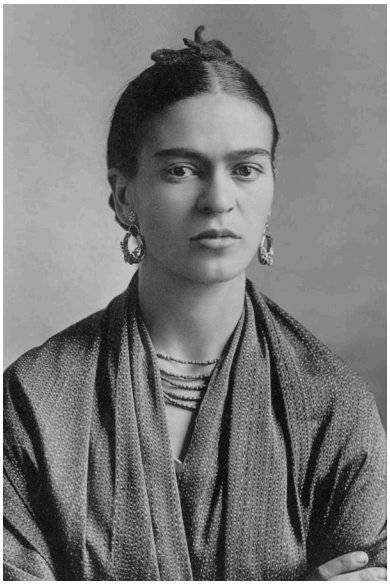


Figure 10.4.4: "Frida Kahlo" by Guillermo Kahlo, Wikmedia Commons is in the Public Domain, CC0.

Sidebar: Dora the Explorer

Dora the Explorer debuted with wild success on the Nickelodeon children's television network on August 14, 2000. Dora, an animated seven-year-old Latina girl, is the main character in a bilingual cartoon. She has light brown skin, dark brown eyes, and a voice bounding with endless enthusiasm. She wears orange shorts, a pink t-shirt, and pink-and-white tennis shoes, and carries a talking backpack and a map that help guide her adventures.[39] As published in the *Chicago Tribune*:

> In its first year, 'Dora the Explorer,' averaged 1.1 million viewers ages 2 to 5 and 2 million total viewers, according to Nielsen Co. These days, 'Dora' delivers an average of 1.4 million viewers ages 2 to 5 and 2.9 million total viewers, beating out competitors 'Curious George' and 'Sid the Science Kid' on PBS and Disney's 'Mickey Mouse Clubhouse.' Over the years, the show has won a Peabody award for excellence, an NAACP Image award and Parents' Choice awards, among others, and has received 16 Daytime Emmy nominations," and won 2 Emmy Awards, including Outstanding Children's Animated Program.[40]

Nicole Guidotti-Hernández argues that elements of Afro-Latinidad were present in an episode called "Dora, La Música" that features **parranda** and **comparsa**.[41] These originate from righteously indignant Afro-Latina/o/x communities practicing self-determination by expressing oneself creatively and with music. The comparsa has a contested history because it is a distinctly Afro-Cuban practice that reflects African cultural retention and resistance to colonization.[42] Comparsa music also has an oppositional quality because the European-origin majority characterized it as a barbaric African form of cultural expression located in the past. By highlighting these aspects of Latinx culture, Dora brings in age appropriate lessons that encourage cultural appreciation and knowledge.

Telenovelas, Nationalism, Gender and Sexuality

Telenovelas, sometimes just called novelas, are the most popular form of Latin American primetime television and cultural productions that can influence social life, capitalism, identity, and communicate learning moments of contemporary social problems (e.g. sexism, homophobia, domestic violence, etc.). Their plots usually center on love stories and family life and can represent political conflict, corruption, and other moral dilemmas.[43] To this day, telenovelas are the most viewed television format in Mexico and across Latin America; produced by networks like Televisa, Telemundo, and TV Azteca.[44] They are typically broadcasted 5 days a week, an hour per show, and can typically run for a year or more.

Telenovelas have been used to target consumers with messages intended to curb or in some way alter behavior and attitudes.[45] Many telenovelas are inspired by a design by Miguel Sabido, a Mexican Telenovela writer, director and producer. He created a novela named, *Simplemente María*, that aired between 1969-1971. This novela was a catalyst for social change and economic production. It was found that *Simplemente María* contributed to an increase in Singer sewing machines and rising awareness of the working conditions of domestic workers in Latin America. Such changes in mindset yielded real changes for maids, including better treatment by employers and, in some cases, more flexible work schedules that allowed them to pursue their education in the evenings.[46] Novelas are powerful storytelling platforms. Through fictional narratives, "lessons" are communicated through microcosms encoded with prosocial and antisocial behavior (e.g. villainous, innocent, professional, etc.)

Scholars credit Sabido as a pioneer of entertainment-education (E-E), which is the process of purposefully designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, and change overt behavior.[47] Novelas like María la del Barrio, La Rosa de Guadalupe and Rebelde (RBD); are only a few that resemble this design. Novelas create and resemble Latinindades in many ways. Brazilian novelas, like *O Bem-Amado* (*The Beloved*) in 1973 by Dias Gomes, represent politics and identify new social processes and forces that shaped socioeconomic and political life in Brazil during the 1970s, including urbanization, modernization, the 'new' middle class, and a more assertive press.[48]

Traditionally understood as feminine cultural productions, telenovelas now attract audiences of all genders, ages, sexuality and social classes. With expanding audiences, we have also seen increased representation of topics related to gender diversity and sexual orientation in novelas. In many novelas, gender identity and sexuality have been understood primarily in binaristic terms in which feminine/flamboyant behavior is prescribed to cis-women and gay men, while macho/masculine behavior and caricatures are exclusive to cis-heterosexual men and masculine gay or bi men in novelas. This leads to feminine and passive gay men being the most stigmatized character in novelas.[49] Tate describes further in the following quotation:

> These polarized and farcical gender performances manifest themselves in the limited characterizations of male characters as either macho men or locas (a derogatory term used to denote extremely effeminate, presumably homosexual men). Consequently, for almost the entirety of the past century, the available gender narratives did not admit the existence of masculine homosexuals, nor effeminate heterosexuals, and telenovelas were no exception to this rule.[50]

The concepts of stereotypes and controlling images can explain how media representations exert power and influence over

individuals' identities and perceptions of others. However, greater representation and authentic storytelling can break down the barriers and dismantle controlling images that create restrictions on identity.

Footnotes

[34] Mary Beltrán. "Image Analysis and Televisual Latinos." In *Race and Media: Critical Approaches*, edited by Lori Kido Lopez, 27. New York, NY: New York University Press, 2020.

[35] Isabel Molina Guzmán and Angharad N. Valdivia. "Brain, Brow, and Booty: Latina Iconicity in U.S. Popular Culture." *The Communication Review* 7, no. 2 (April 1, 2004): 205–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714420490448723.

[36] Guzmán and Valdivia, "Brain, Brow, and Booty," 209.

[37] Guzmán and Valdivia, 210.

[38] Guzmán and Valdivia, 210-211.

[39] Nicole M Guidotti-Hernández, "Dora The Explorer, Constructing 'LATINIDADES' and The Politics of Global Citizenship," *Latino Studies* 5, no. 2 (July 2007): 210, https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.lst.8600254.

[40] Yvonne Villarreal, "'Dora' Turns 10," *Chicagotribune.Com*, August 15, 2010, sec. Tribune Newspapers, https://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/ct-xpm-2010-08-15-sc-tv-0811-dora-explorer-20100815-story.html.

[41] Guidotti-Hernández, "Dora The Explorer."

[42] Guidotti-Hernández, 223.

[43] Mauro Porto. "Telenovelas and Representations of National Identity in Brazil." *Media, Culture & Society* 33, no. 1 (January 1, 2011): 53–69. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443710385500; Viviana Rojas. "The Gender of Latinidad: Latinas Speak About Hispanic Television." *Communication Review* 7, no. 2 (June 2004): 125–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714420490448688; Julee Tate. "Laughing All the Way to Tolerance? Mexican Comedic Telenovelas as Vehicles for Lessons Against Homophobia." *The Latin Americanist* 58, no. 3 (2014): 51–65. https://doi.org/10.1111/tla.12036.

[44] Antonio C La Pastina, "The Centrality of Telenovelas in Latin America's Everyday Life:," *Global Media Journal* 2, no. 2 (2003): 16.

[45] Tate, "Laughing All the Way to Tolerance?" 51.

[46] Arvind Singhal, Rafael Obregon, and Everett M. Rogers, "Reconstructing the Story of Simplemente Maria, the Most Popular Telenovela in Latin America of All Time," *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)* 54, no. 1 (1995): 2.

[47] Singhal et al., "Reconstructing the Story of Simplemente Maria."

[48] Porto. "Telenovelas and Representations of National Identity in Brazil."

[49] Tate. "Laughing All the Way to Tolerance?"

[50] Julee Tate, "Redefining Mexican Masculinity in Twenty-First Century Telenovelas," *Hispanic Research Journal* 14, no. 6 (December 2013): 541, https://doi.org/10.1179/1468273713Z.00000000068.

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10.5: Cultural Productions in Practice

Cultural Influence on Politics and Society

In addition to shaping our cultural narratives, shared meanings, identities, and practices, cultural productions are also a material part of our world and activist movements for social change. There are many ways that Chicanx and Latinx communities use culture to advocate for change, like performance, theater, poetry, lectures, education, and more. As we have learned throughout this chapter, there have been many examples of how culture matters for politics. In this section, we will focus on some specifically activist forms of culture.

Artivism and Politics

Successful mobilization of social movements or movidas depend on the availability of symbolically powerful and relevant cultural schemas, also known as symbolic resource mobilization.[51] These need to resonate with various audiences, including the supporters of the movement, as well as the targets. Crafting creative, compelling messages is a skill that is honed through practice and artistic expertise. Art plays a key role in activist movements by communicating demands, claims, and critiques to a range of audiences. **Artivism** refers to the combination of art and activism, and the ways in which art is a vehicle for advocating for social change.

The website Justseeds is an activist movement that curates and distributes art for activist groups and their allies. The site includes paid artwork that can be ordered and downloaded, which directly supports movement artists and provides opportunities to raise awareness in one's home, workplace, or other shared location. Further, the website also offers a database of Graphics that have been licensed with Creative Commons license so that they can be freely distributed and reproduced in their original format, as long as they are not sold for money and the artist is attributed. Prominent Latina artists like Favianna Rodriguez and Melanie Cervantes contribute to the site, along with people from a range of sectors invested in racial justice, decolonization, and liberation. Providing artistic resources help movements mobilize campaigns and raise awareness about social problems. In Figure 10.5.1, it shows a graphic activist poster that emphasizes, "Brown and Proud. Todos Somos Arizona" (We are all Arizona).

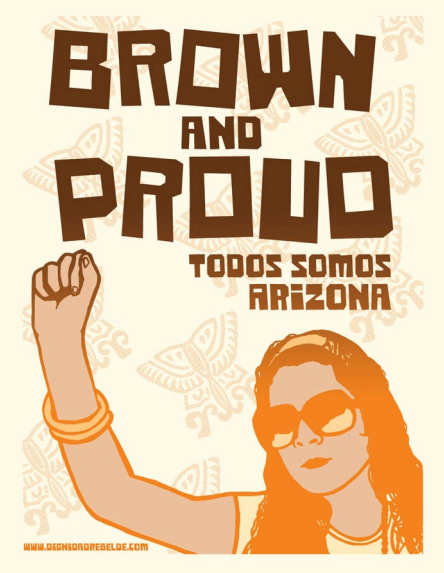


Figure 10.5.1: "Brown and Proud: Todos Somos Arizona" by Melanie Cervantes, Justseeds is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Activist Spotlight: Zines

Zines are another example of pop culture used for both enjoyment and political resistance. A zine can be a physical or digital piece that typically includes images and texts. It is often created by cutting and pasting magazine items or using a digital style that mimics this aesthetic. They are also usually formatted to be printed and folded. This is to make them easy to share in discreet ways, for example by folding them up and holding them in your pocket, or tucking them into another book. The format in this instance, responds directly to the need to be able to subtly distribute information to large groups of people. For example, zines can be used in schools, workplaces, prisons, and other institutions to share grassroots information. Many groups have used and adapted zines for their own cultural context and political goals. For example: Muchacha Fanzine, Black feminist queer radical zines, and Accomplices Not Allies: Abolishing the Ally Industrial Complex.

Muralismo

A common practice of activist artwork for activism is the painting of large murals in shared public spaces. For Chicanx and Latinx communities, this is often referred to as **muralismo**. These murals communicate narratives, cultural pride, and a strong sense of shared space. In the context of being denied political representation, in the case of immigrants, and cultural and social representation, which impacts all Chicanx and Latinx people, artwork becomes a way of positively exercising self-determination and collective decision-making.

The roots of muralismo can be observed in the practice of mural drawing in Mexico and throughout Latin America, including the Mexican mural movement. Three prominent figures in this movement in the early 20th century were David Alfaro Siqueiros, Diego Rivera, and José Clemente Orozco, sometimes referred to as "los tres grandes." The style can be witnessed in places like San Diego's "Chicano Park," where dozens of large-scale murals transform a park tucked under a freeway overpass into a cultural destination and hub for families and community members. One example of the murals in Chicano Park is shown in Figure 10.5.2. This piece has the text "Nacimiento del Parque Chicano 22 abril 1970, which translates in English to "Birth of Chicano Park: April 22, 1970" and commemorates the historical significance of the space.



Figure 10.5.2: "Chicano Park Mural" by Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, Author is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

Over time, murals have been utilized by Chicanxs and Latinxs of varying backgrounds. In Los Angeles, Judy Baca is renowned for her mural work, including the Great Wall of Los Angeles, which showcases the Latinx experience and history in LA. Figure 10.5.3 shows Judy Baca restoring the mural in 2011, ensuring that the quality and image are maintained. In spaces where these murals have been put up, there are appreciable differences in people's relationship to the space, including both a general sense of pride, as well as a specific improvement in the safety, upkeep, and liveability of surrounding areas. Because of these documented benefits, local agencies and government bodies have begun working directly with artists and art collectives to establish, maintain, and preserve murals and other forms of public art.



Figure 10.5.3: "Great Wall of Los Angeles Restoration 2011" by The City Project, Flickr is licensed CC BY-NC-SA 2.0

Footnote

[51] Laura E Enriquez and Abigail C Saguy, "Coming out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (February 2016): 107–30, https://doi.org/10.1057/ajcs.2015.6.

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10.6: Conclusion

Summary

In this chapter, our study of Chicanx and Latinx cultural productions offered a rich and complex framework for understanding the intersection of race, racism, and other forms of oppression with culture and media. Throughout this chapter, we have explored a range of concepts and topics, including pop culture analysis, stereotypes, encoding and decoding, controlling images, tropicalism, disidentification, nationalism, and artivism.

One of the key takeaways from our exploration of Chicanx and Latinx cultural productions is the critical importance of analyzing representation and cultural meaning-making in relation to intersecting systems of power and oppression. By examining how cultural productions operate at the intersection of race and racism with class, gender, sexuality, immigration status, ability, and Indigeneity, we can better understand how these productions both reinforce systemic violence and offer opportunities for struggle, resistance, and liberation.

Furthermore, we have observed how cultural productions have played a crucial role in the struggle for racial and social justice in Chicanx and Latinx communities, both historically and in the present day. From muralismo to artivism, from telenovelas to zines, Chicanx and Latinx cultural producers have used their creativity to challenge dominant narratives and offer alternative visions of the world. By investing in anti-racist and decolonial efforts for liberation, social justice, and equity, we can harness the power of culture to promote solidarity and transformative change.

Ancillary materials for this chapter are located in Section 11.10: Chapter 10 Resource Guide, which includes slides, media, writing and discussion prompts, and suggested assignments and activities.

Key Terms

Pop culture (or "popular culture"): Cultural practices that are produced and distributed for mass audiences

Pop cultura analysis: A framework that examines day-to-day experiences in combination with academic analysis and structured knowledge sharing. This pays close attention to the dynamics of race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, and ability.

Encoding: The process of constructing meaning in creating culture. This refers to the producers, writers, artists, performers, and others who showcase narratives and cultural scripts. It is the complementary process to decoding.

Decoding: The process by which people view, understand, and interpret stories. It is the complementary process to encoding.

Stereotypes: Limited representations of individuals that reduce someone to a negative association with their group status.

Controlling images: A concept that describes the ways that common narratives about Black women are used to reinforce exploitative and racist systems. These include: The Mammy, The Matriarch, The Welfare Mother, The Black Lady, and The Jezebel. For Chicanx and Latinx communities, specific stereotypes have been constructed in response to social, political, economic, and cultural systems.

Tropicalism: A negative trope that homogenizes Latinx people by focusing on a fixed set of shared traits: bright colors, rhythmic dancing, and darker skin suited to an "exotic" locale.

Latin Lover: A stereotype Latinos as aggressively sexual and exotic. The trope was developed by white actors who played Latin characters with a vague accent and no specific cultural or familial ties.

Cantina girl: A stereotype characterized by great sexual allure, teasing, and dancing. These are hallmark characteristics of this stereotype. This is also a form of sexual objectification, and the narrative of a "naughty lady of easy virtue."

Vamp: A trope of an individual who uses their intellectual and devious sexual wiles to get what they want. This poses a threat, counterbalanced by the draw of charisma. The vamp is a psychological menace to anyone who is ill-equipped to handle them.

Self-sacrificing señorita: A woman who usually starts out good but goes bad over time. In this narrative, the woman realizes she has gone wrong and is willing to protect her love interest by placing her body between the threat intended for him, ultimately becoming a martyr.

Disidentification: The process of situating oneself within a broader cultural narrative while also existing in opposition to that narrative.

Tejano music: Sometimes called Tex-Mex, this style is known for its use of vocal melodies that mirror traditional Mexican musical styles, combined with instruments and rhythms with American and European influences.

Norteño: A style popular in northern Mexico and what is now the southwestern United States, and reflects a cultural blend of musical instruments and moving narrative ballads.

Rancheras: Songs that focus on love, beauty, and nature, as well as regional and national pride. They tend to take on a local character, with references to specific places and activities that resonate with audiences in that region, as well as form a symbolic connection to individuals who have personal or family ties to these other regions.

Corridos: Songs that use complex narrative to tell stories through song. This genre inspired American country music, which utilizes similar narrative formats and styles.

Boleros: Songs with a slow or moderate tempo and a repeating rhythm that supports a strong melody by the lead singer. These are rooted in Cuban and Spanish influences that were reinvented by Mexican composers.

Bachata: A style that grew out of the fusion of European and African influences with Indigenous Taino sounds, reflecting the rich and diverse culture of the Dominican Republic.

Cumbia: A style that comes out of Colombia and reflects the unique combination of European, African, and Indigenous influences of the Colombian peoples.

Reggaeton: A style that developed with a regional and global character. While the genre originated in Panama, it spread to Puerto Rico and rose to prominence there and brought together Afro-descendent styles from Panama, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and the United States (particularly, Afro-Latinx communities in New York City).

Ballet folklórico: A nationalized version of Mexican folk dancing, which has also become popular in the United States, with local groups and schools sponsoring dance groups and holding lessons for children, adolescents, and adults.

Danza: Folk dances that communities carry on through specific dance forms and performances among Indigenous peoples.

Danza de los Viejitos (Tharep' Hiti Huarar'i in Purépecha): A style with dancers who dress in traditional attire with masks of old men and women. The dancers use canes and play at being hunched over and feeble throughout the dance. The early origins of this dance are thought to reflect narratives about aging and humor. After European and Spanish colonization, the dance changed somewhat, and now includes elements of poking fun at elderly Spanish men who have exerted colonial power.

Nationalism: A social construction, which takes on authority and power to implement policies. While we often take borders for granted, it takes continual efforts to create and maintain a sense of national identity, which justifies and legitimates the actions of elected officials and government agencies. Nationalism exists based on the perception of the people who are part of that nation, and the symbolic connection between a seemingly unified political body.

Mariachi: *Bandas* (bands) that typically wear full charro/charra attire, signaling a post revolutionary Mexican aesthetic. This historical reference is important, because this signals an emphasis on the political efforts to unify the Mexican people to overthrow colonial control and re-establish a locally governed system.

Pirekua: Music that expresses the thought, feelings and pride of the P'urhépecha people from Michoácan, México, where creators (composers) and the pirericha (performers) manifest all their talent, their creativity and their most profound feelings."

Image analysis: An approach that is complementary to a variety of research methodologies, and can illuminate a great deal about a media text's racial politics, as well as its implied ideological messages about ethnic and racial groups and race relations.

Latina icons: Highly recognized Latinas who have achieved a high-level celebrity status. The significance of these individuals for our society can be understood both in terms of their commodification of ethnic authenticity, as well as the symbolic resistance in

ensuring representation while still working toward larger goals.

Parranda: A style with a contested history because it is a distinctly Afro-Cuban practice that reflects African cultural retention and resistance to colonization.

Comparsa: Music with a quality of resistance because the European-origin majority characterized it as a barbaric African form of cultural expression located in the past.

Telenovelas (novelas): The most popular form of Latin American primetime television and cultural productions that can influence social life, capitalism, identity, and communicate learning moments of contemporary social problems (e.g. sexism, homophobia, domestic violence, etc.). Their plots usually center on love stories and family life and can represent political conflict, corruption, and other moral dilemmas. They are typically broadcasted 5 days a week, an hour per show, and can typically run for a year or more.

Artivism: The combination of art and activism, and the ways in which art is a vehicle for advocating for social change.

Zines: A physical or digital piece that typically includes images and texts. It is often created by cutting and pasting magazine items or using a digital style that mimics this aesthetic. They are also usually formatted to be printed and folded. This is to make them easy to share in discreet ways, for example by folding them up and holding them in your pocket, or tucking them into another book.

Muralismo: A practice of mural making that communicates narratives, cultural pride, and a strong sense of shared space. In the context of being denied political representation, in the case of immigrants, and cultural and social representation, which impacts all Chicanx and Latinx people, artwork becomes a way of positively exercising self-determination and collective decision-making.

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11: TEACHER AND LEARNER RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview

The materials listed in this section are supplemental for learners and teachers to engage with each chapter's content through overview slides, media, prompts, and activities. The links in this chapter may include external sources that are not maintained by the authors and may include content that is not fully accessible and openly licensed. You may wish to explore different topics or search for similarly titled materials that are relevant to your own context and area.

11.1: Chapter 1 Resource Guide

11.1.1: Slides

11.1.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.1.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.1.4: Assignments and Activities

11.2: Chapter 2 Resource Guide

11.2.1: Slides

11.2.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.2.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.2.4: Assignments and Activities

11.3: Chapter 3 Resource Guide

11.3.1: Slides

11.3.2: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.3.3: Assignments and Activities

11.4: Chapter 4 Resource Guide

11.4.1: Slides

11.4.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.4.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.4.4: Assignments and Activities

11.5: Chapter 5 Resource Guide

11.5.1: Slides

11.5.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.5.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.5.4: Assignments and Activities

11.6: Chapter 6 Resource Guide

11.6.1: Slides

11.6.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.6.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.6.4: Assignments and Activities

11.7: Chapter 7 Resource Guide

11.7.1: Slides
11.7.2: Films, Videos, and Media
11.7.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts
11.7.4: Assignments and Activities

11.8: Chapter 8 Resource Guide
11.8.1: Slides
11.8.2: Films, Videos, and Media
11.8.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts
11.8.4: Assignments and Activities

11.9: Chapter 9 Resource Guide
11.9.1: Slides
11.9.2: Films, Videos, and Media
11.9.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts
11.9.4: Assignments and Activities

11.10: Chapter 10 Resource Guide
11.10.1: Slides
11.10.2: Films, Videos, and Media
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11.1: CHAPTER 1 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

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11.1.1: Slides

11.1.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.1.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.1.4: Assignments and Activities

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11.1.1: Slides

Chapter 1 Slides

Slides are provided for instructors and learners to engage with summary information from each chapter. These are meant to be used, adapted, and extended to create interactive course sessions. You can access the slides for this chapter by downloading the PowerPoint file available at the following link.

- Chapter 1 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.1.2: Films, Videos, and Media

Chapter 1 Films, Videos, and Media

Media are available to supplement the course content in this chapter. These can be used to spur classroom discussions in-person or online, or communicate supplemental learning for depth and exploration.

- "From Aztecas to Chicanos to Hispanics to Latinos: What's in a Name?" by ISU Library is licensed CC BY 3.0 (Run-time: 56:07)
- "My Mother, the Painter: Storytelling in Central American Studies" by UC Berkeley Events is licensed CC BY 3.0 (Run-time: 1:29:26)
- "Palabras del Cielo- An Exploration of Latinx Theatre for Young Audiences Book Session" by HowlRound Theatre Commons is licensed CC BY 3.0 (Run-time: 1:21:54)
- "Decolonizing Nuestra Lengua" by Witliff Collections is licensed CC BY 3.0 (Run-time: 1:29:58)

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11.1.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 1 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. When did you first hear about Chicanx and Latinx studies? What did you hear? In what ways do you relate or find striking about it? What are the myths and realities about Chicanx and Latinx studies?
2. The field of Chicanx and Latinx studies is deeply rooted in activist traditions. This has included linking the work happening in classrooms and through education to the diverse struggles of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color groups. Reflecting on the students, families, and individuals that you learned about in this chapter, what are some strategies that lead to social change? Consider how these strategies relate to your own life or the things you have witnessed around you. For a more focused exercise, consider directing the prompt to a specific activist group. For example, you may want to focus on the San Francisco State College Strikes for ethnic studies in 1968-1969. You can access more primary documents and digital recordings from the Strike from the SFSU Diva Archive and SF State College Strike Collection at the SFSU Library. To review the full Black studies Curriculum from Spring 1968, you can visit the SFSU Digital Collections.
3. Chicanx Latinx studies is about representation. In what ways is Chicanx Latinx studies knowledge, people, or culture represented at your college, community, city, state, and nation? Give examples?
4. Educational institutions can promote freedom, self-determination, and justice, but they have also been places of elite domination, white supremacy, and settler-colonialism. Considering the schools you attended and where you have lived, what patterns have you witnessed? You may want to focus on examples of barriers and exclusion, positive work for inclusion and equity, or both. Be sure to verify assumptions about the demographics of a school or neighborhood. For colleges and universities, you can find racial demographic information on websites like College Factual or by searching your school's website. You can look up information about demographics in a specific place by using the US Census website.
5. What is cultural wealth? What are some forms of cultural wealth in your family or community? How does it affirm your identity or community? You can review and research community cultural wealth for my information on this writing prompt. You may want to explore the links listed here for guidance: Summary of Yosso's Cultural Wealth Model and Cultural Wealth In Higher Education: Putting Assets-based Perspectives Into Practice - Every Learner Everywhere
6. Review some of the demands made by Chicanx and Latinx student activists. Do any of these resonate with your experience on our own campus? What demands would you make of your administration? How would you modify or update these demands for your own context?
7. Chicanx and Latinx studies as a field has grown in tandem with ethnic studies and other constituent disciplines. What are the advantages of focusing on specific community formations, such as in Black studies, Chicanx and Latinx studies, Native American and Indigenous studies, Arab American studies, or Asian American and Pacific Islander studies? What are the advantages of a comparative ethnic studies perspective?

Note

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11.1.4: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 1 Assignments and Activities

The prompts on this page are ideas for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. These can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

Role Play Discussion: Strategizing for Social Change

- For this activity, you will divide the class into three groups. Each group will represent a different constituency in the strike for ethnic studies at San Francisco State College: the Third World Liberation Front, the faculty union, and the anti-war groups who supported the strike.
- In these groups, the class will address a series of scenarios that mirror the experiences of the strikers and the college.
- Students should situate their responses to the circumstance based on their understanding of the text and historical examples referenced in the chapter and course material. Consider priorities, tactics, and context.

Example Scenario

> A local newspaper ran coverage of a demonstration where a number of strikers were arrested. In the description of the events, they negatively characterized the students that were arrested and consistently called the strikers violent. Another demonstration is planned for the next day, and many student activists want to respond to the newspaper directly. Others have suggested focusing on focusing the demonstration on more peaceful tactics to avoid arrests and being called violent again. Your three groups are tasked with how to move everyone forward. What options would you consider? How would you decide who will do what? Take into account that there is limited time to communicate messages to your supporters.

The instructor may adapt to emergent conditions based on what the groups decide to do. For example, this might include introducing external factors like additional repressive responses, political pressure, or resistance from other stakeholders.

Suggested Format

- Provide the instructions, divide everyone into groups, and review the scenario with everyone. Answer any questions that come up in the full group.
- Give each group a few minutes to discuss amongst themselves how they want to represent their interests in the discussion. Each group should also identify one or more people who will represent their group in the larger discussions. Others may contribute as well, but this will help to facilitate a flowing conversation.
- Return the large group, review the scenario once more, and provide each group an opportunity to provide their initial remarks. Facilitate discussion among the groups to achieve a dynamic and unified response to the outlined scenario.
- This would be well suited for a face-to-face modality or a synchronous online discussion using video chat technology and breakout rooms (e.g., Zoom). You could also adapt this to be a guided discussion board or multi-part online discussion in groups.

Activity: Chicanx and Latinx Studies is...

Each student will provide a creative response to the prompt, “Chicanx and Latinx studies is...” that is rooted in what you have learned from this chapter and the class. The response should be brief, about one sentence, and may highlight a definition of Chicanx and Latinx studies, or what Chicanx and Latinx studies means to that individual.

This could take on different formats for different learners and styles. For example, using an Online Discussion board in an online course, students could post their short replies to the prompt and have an opportunity to view one another's. You can also have students provide their brief reply with a video recording or by completing a template image.

Based on the format option(s) that individuals can submit, the group’s collective responses should be compiled and made available for discussion.

Note

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11.2: CHAPTER 2 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

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11.2.1: Slides

11.2.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.2.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.2.4: Assignments and Activities

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11.2.1: Slides

Chapter 2 Slides

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- Chapter 2 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.2.2: Films, Videos, and Media

Chapter 2 Films, Videos, and Media

Media are available to supplement the course content in this chapter. These can be used to spur classroom discussions in-person or online, or communicate supplemental learning for depth and exploration.

- "Author: Laura E. Gómez, Inventing Latinos: A New Story of American Racism," *San Francisco Public Library,* October 5, 2021, YouTube video, 1:01:41.
- "What's with the X in Latinx?," April 2, 2017, YouTube video, 3:02.
- "What Does It Mean To Be Latino?: The 'Light-Skinned Privilege' Edition, *Code Switch*, July 14, 2021, Podcast episode, 37:56.
- "Are Hispanics White?," *Decoded | MTV News*, Aug 24, 2016, YouTube video, 5:58.
- *The Latino Americans series* (2013; PBS).

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11.2.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 2 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. Describe the potential benefits as well as the pitfalls of relying on the U.S. Census to understand race and ethnicity in general and Latino/Hispanic populations in particular.
2. What is Latinidad and what interventions have been made to complicate and expand this concept?
3. What is the difference between Latinx and Hispanic? Where did these labels come from and how have they evolved?
4. Compare and contrast the Spanish colonial and U.S. imperial racial paradigms. What are some examples of the ways that these paradigms manifest in the present day?
5. How have Chicanx and Latinx scholars and activists intervened in hierarchical racial paradigms? In other words, how have they fought back against repressive identifications to create their own empowering understandings of self and community?

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11.2.4: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 2 Assignments and Activities

The prompts on this page are ideas for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. These can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

Two Census Questions

Students will have an opportunity to explore how they identify racially and ethnically by reviewing the two census questions as seen in Figure 2.1.2. Take a few moments to review and respond to questions 6 and 7 on the U.S. census. When you are finished, think about why you made the selections you did.

- Do the options provided reflect how you self-identify?
- Would you change anything about the categorizations or the labels?
- How does this form compare to others that have asked for your race and ethnicity, such as school documents, employment applications, and medical forms?

Wheel of Power/Privilege

Students will be given an opportunity to build on the "Two Census Questions" activity by applying an intersectional analysis to their own lives by considering how power structures (ideologies, discourses, institutions, systems) shape their particular subject position, access to resources, experiences, and life outcomes. An option is to have students complete this activity before reading Chapter 2: Identities and then revisit it after reading the chapter to determine how their knowledge deepened as a result of completing the reading.

1. To prepare for this activity, print copies of the "Wheel of Power/Privilege" by Sylvia Duckworth (Figure 2.1) and distribute them in class or have students in online sections download the digital version. There may be additional social identity categories not listed in the image that you may want to add or come up with additional categories with students.

2. Ask students to reflect on the ways they identify within each social identity category and circle the label closest to their identity or experience for each, understanding that the labels they use may not be provided exactly in the wheel. Students can write in another label and determine its placement. Students should also think about which of these categories are most salient to their everyday lives and highlight them. They should also think about which categories/identities are less salient and why.

3. After completing this activity, students can journal independently or form small groups to discuss where their identities lie. Where do they experience marginalization and where do they experience privilege? Which social identity intersections produce particular experiences? Consider how privilege is cemented for a select few through the creation and maintenance of hierarchical social identity categories across time and place and the ways that marginalized communities have resisted their oppressors' classifications. Students should be given an opportunity to draw from their own experiences and make personal connections to Chapter 2: Identities.

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11.3: CHAPTER 3 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

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11.3.1: Slides

11.3.2: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.3.3: Assignments and Activities

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11.3.1: Slides

Chapter 3 Slides

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- Chapter 3 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.3.2: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 3 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. What events and people are considered part of the official historical record and why? Whose perspectives are prioritized, omitted, or distorted?
2. How do worldviews shape the construction of history? For example, in what ways could binary thinking or viewing time as linear construct a particular view of history?
3. What counts as valid historical evidence and to whom? Can multiple, perhaps contradictory histories exist simultaneously?
4. How has your ethnic, cultural, and/or racial group's history been represented in textbooks, the media, and the popular imagination?
5. What is the relationship between imperial histories and the colonial imaginary? Between medicinal histories and the decolonial imaginary?
6. What are Chicana movidas and how do they help us expand our thinking of the history of social movements?
7. What is the relationship between Chicanx/Latinx literature and history?
8. Who are the historians, knowledge keepers, *chismosa/o/xs*, or storytellers in your local community and/or in your family? What strategies do they utilize (eg. collecting photographs, telling stories during family gatherings, sharing *dichos* or songs, etc)?

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11.3.3: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 3 Assignments and Activities

The prompts on this page are ideas for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. These can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

Assignment 1 Oral History Project

This assignment option is written as a major project that takes approximately 4-5 weeks to complete. It includes additional suggested assigned readings on oral history methods and three scaffolded assignments, including the final project.

Step 1 Preparation

Read up on oral history research methods and discuss in class. The following are suggestions:

- “The Historian as Curandera” by Aurora Levins Morales
- The Smithsonian Folklife and Oral History Interviewing Guide
- UCLA Library Center for Oral History Research
- Baylor University Institute for Oral History Resources

Step 2: Interview Proposal

Students will select someone to interview, schedule the interview, and submit the interview proposal assignment, which should include the following:

- The full name of your interviewee and their relationship to you;
- The scheduled date, time, and location of the interview (indicate if the interview will take place in person, via phone or video chat);
- Three or more sentences about why you want to interview this particular individual;
- Three or more sentences about what you think you know and what you would like to learn about your interviewee;
- A list of 10 or more open-ended interview questions to serve as your guide. Frame your questions around themes you want to focus on. Include questions about historical eras and important locations (hometown, current residence, etc.).

Step 3: Time-Subject Index, Selected Themes, and Project Proposal

After conducting their interview, students will closely analyze the recorded audio/video. This will require you to playback and review the recording at least two to four times, listening for dates, geographic locations, subjects, and themes. On a sheet of paper, notate the *time* in the interview a particular theme, event, and/or place was mentioned on the left margin, and to the right, write down the *theme, event, and/or place*, along with a brief description. This process is called time-subject indexing. Index by obvious breaks in the topic or by time (every five minutes, for example). Once you have done this for the entire interview, you will review your time-subject index and decide on the important themes, events, and/or places from the interview to focus on for your final project. This option is less time-consuming than producing a full transcript, which is an option, depending on the course and instructor’s preference. Students will submit their time-subject index (or transcript) along with a paragraph describing their selected themes, and the final project format that they think will best showcase their work. Options are provided in Step 4.

Step 4: Final Project

Possible formats include, but are not limited to the following list and specific parameters should be determined by the instructor:

- Narrative essay;
- Mini-documentary;

- An original painting, drawing, or mixed media visual art project with an artist statement;
- Original short story or children's book (can be mixed genre, fiction and nonfiction);
- Another format proposed by the student.

Assignment 2 Chicana Por Mi Raza Digital Memory Project

There are many ways for instructors to partner with CPMR—from developing courses and assignment structures using our materials, to creating content for our public website, to undertaking a local oral history/archival collection project as part of the class. The Chicana por mi Raza Digital Collective has developed a host of teaching materials to assist educators including course syllabi, reading lists, assignment structures, and guidelines for scanning, cataloging, and working with the Medici System (our database). If you would like to use materials from our digital repository in your class, or even undertake a community history project, and are interested in working with us to make it happen, please contact the Project Director Dr. Maria Cotera at mcotera@umich.edu

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11.4: CHAPTER 4 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

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11.4.1: Slides

11.4.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.4.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.4.4: Assignments and Activities

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11.4.1: Slides

Chapter 4 Slides

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- Chapter 4 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.4.2: Films, Videos, and Media

Chapter 4 Films, Videos, and Media

Media are available to supplement the course content in this chapter. These can be used to spur classroom discussions in-person or online, or communicate supplemental learning for depth and exploration.

- "We Are Birds, A California Indian story" by Albert Chacon, YouTube is licensed CC BY 3.0.
- "A Queer Native Thanksgiving" by TwinRabbit, YouTube is licensed CC BY 3.0.

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11.4.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 4 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. Many states, cities, and communities across the United States now recognize Indigenous People's Day on the second Monday of October, in place of the Columbus Day holiday. How does celebrating Indigenous People's Day challenge existing cultural norms?
2. Indigenous perspectives and western knowledge have conflicted over the beginning of human life on this planet, reflecting distinct standpoints. Recent evidence has demonstrated that the hypothesis that humans in the western hemisphere migrated from Asia over a land bridge is not supported. Indigenous perspectives center a relationship with the land since time immemorial. How do stories about where we come from shape our sense of self? How do these perspectives reflect a different understanding of the relationship between people and the land?
3. Chicanx and Latinx communities in the U.S. and around the world are diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, Indigeneity, nationality, in addition to other intersecting identities. In your essay, identify a specific Chicanx and Latinx community, and describe how diversity within that community is reflected in terms of a cultural, social, or political norm.
4. Social movements and policy advocates have worked to create change at the local, national, and global levels that make society more inclusive and respectful of Indigenous peoples. In your essay, identify a social movement that is working against racism and settler-colonialism that affects Chicanx and Latinx Indigenous peoples and/or migrants. Clearly explain their goals, and evaluate how they work toward these goals. How have they been successful? What barriers have they faced?

Supplemental Resources

You can supplement the discussion of the above prompts with specific articles on the topic, especially if these debates have happened locally in your own communities. For example, visit the websites for more information and perspective on this topic:

- Columbus Day Or Indigenous Peoples' Day? : NPR
- 3. RESISTANCE 500 and the first Berkeley Indigenous Peoples Day 1991-1992
- The Death of the Bering Strait Theory - ICT
- Scientists in Chile have found a 15,000-year-old footprint, the earliest sign of humans' presence in the Americas | CNN Travel
- 68 VOCES (Español with English description available at Cinema Tropical: Watch Mexican Indigenous Tales in Their Native Language in 68 VOICES, 68 HEARTS)
- Indigenous Diversities: Each Nation Is Different - ICT.
- Are Mexicans Indigenous?
- 'Mestizo' and 'mulatto': Mixed-race identities among U.S. Hispanics | Pew Research Center.
- Indigenous Peoples in Latin America | Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
- Black in Latin America | PBS
- "No me llames Oaxaquita" campaign | View From Casita Colibrí
- The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Turns 14 | Cultural Survival
- "Danza Mexica: Indigenous Identity, Spirituality, Activism, and Perform" by Jennie Marie Luna
- Mining and Resistance in Dinétah - The Laura Flanders Show
- United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)
- UNPFIP Network: Declaration of Quito, 1990

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11.4.4: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 4 Assignments and Activities

The prompt on this page is an idea for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. This can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

Native Land activity

For this assignment, you will learn more about a specific group of Indigenous peoples. You can visit the Native Land website to find out more about a specific location.

- Begin by identifying a place that you will investigate. You can search for a place where you live, work, or study, a place of personal or family significance, or another location of your choice.
- Use the search bar on the interactive Native Land website to find a location that is meaningful to you.
- Identify which Indigenous land it is situated on and use the links provided to find more information.

Take notes on the following:

- What location did you choose and why?
- Whose land is this?
- What is one current priority for the Indigenous peoples of this land?

For an individual assignment, you can turn in these notes. For a group assignment, you can have individuals use a shared mapping tool like Padlet or Google My Maps.

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11.5: CHAPTER 5 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

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11.5.1: Slides

11.5.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.5.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.5.4: Assignments and Activities

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11.5.1: Slides

Chapter 5 Slides

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- Chapter 5 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.5.2: Films, Videos, and Media

Chapter 5 Films, Videos, and Media

Media are available to supplement the course content in this chapter. These can be used to spur classroom discussions in-person or online, or communicate supplemental learning for depth and exploration.

- *Salt of the Earth*, directed by Herbert Biberman (1954; Independent Production Company).
- "Latinas in the Labor Movement." *Youtube,* uploaded by TIME, January 28, 2021. Permissions: YouTube Terms of Service.
- *Real Women Have Curves*, directed by Patricia Cardoso (2002; Newmarket Films), DVD.
- *Made in LA*, directed by Almudena Carracedo (2007; Independent Television Service).
  - The film is available to rent or purchase on Amazon Prime.
  - Discussion guide, lesson plan, and action guide are available online.
- *No Más Bébes*, directed by Renee Tajima-Peña (2015; PBS), DVD.
  - The film is available to rent on Vimeo.
- *La Operación, directed by Ana María García (1982; Latin American Film Project), DVD.*
- *I Love Lupe*, directed by Alma López (2009; Prod. Co), DVD.

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11.5.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 5 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. Define Chicana feminisms and its relationship to U.S. Third World feminisms.
2. How did Chicanas and Latinas challenge patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia in their ethnic nationalist movements and in the larger society?
3. What are some of the key issues and movements that Chicana and Latina feminists have been involved in? What specific strategies did they utilize in their advocacy work?
4. What are the history, characteristics, and contributions of Chicana/Latina studies?
5. What are some ways you've seen patriarchy or machismo play out in your household? How have you negotiated family/cultural gender expectations? What about in the workplace?

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11.5.4: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 5 Assignments and Activities

The prompts on this page are ideas for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. These can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

1. Before reading the chapter, have students get out a blank sheet of paper and write the word “Feminism” in large font. Have them spend 5-10 minutes creating a mind map or freewrite about the issues, characteristics, images, words, and phrases that they associate with the term. Set the activity aside, and then return to it after reading the chapter. Have students reflect on the knowledge (and perhaps biases and stereotypes) they began with, and how they now define feminism after reading Chapter 5.
2. Assign the primary documents “Chicanas Speak Out” and “El Plan de Aztlán.” What issues did the Chicana manifesto take up that were not addressed in El Plan? Why do you think “El Plan” reached foundational status, while “Chicanas Speak Out” did not enter the Chicano archive? Discuss the relevance of the documents today. What issues are still relevant?
3. Read aloud and collectively analyze the poems “Como Duele” and “La Malinche” in class, emphasizing the importance of Chicanx oral expressive culture. Additional analysis may be drawn from the relevant sources in the footnotes and bibliography including “Yo Soy Malinche” and *Infinite Divisions*.
4. Research the roots of Chicana/Latina labor radicalism by profiling an organization or activist such as the Liga Femenil Mexicanista, Sara Estela Ramírez, Luisa Moreno, Josefina Fierro de Bright, Emma Tenayuca, Lucy Parsons, Luisa Capetillo, Dolores Huerta, or Manuela Solis Sager. An excellent source is the “Chicana Por Mi Raza” archive created by the Chicana por mi Raza Digital Memory Collective, a group of researchers, educators, students, archivists, and technologists dedicated to preserving imperiled Chicanx and Latinx histories of the long Civil Rights Era. The archive contains hundreds of hours of oral histories with notable Chicanas, Latinas, and allies and has digitized personal archives for preservation and access. The overarching objective of the project is to provide broad-based public access to oral histories, material culture, correspondence, and rare out-of-print publications for use in both scholarly research and the classroom.
5. Students can present their research findings by creating a public campaign to share what they learned in an accessible format such as a zine, pamphlet, infographic, or an ofrenda (table display) for Day of the Dead.
6. Assign the play “Real Women Have Curves” by Josefina López (Woodstock, IL: Dramatic Publishing, 1990) and do a table reading of a scene or the entire play. The play centers around a family of women and covers Chicana feminist issues including female relationships, body image, labor (garment industry), immigration, education, and more. The play was adapted as a feature-length film (Directed by Patricia Cardoso, 2002) that can be screened in class.

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11.6: CHAPTER 6 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

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11.6.1: Slides

11.6.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.6.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.6.4: Assignments and Activities

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11.6.1: Slides

Chapter 6 Slides

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- Chapter 6 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.6.2: Films, Videos, and Media

Chapter 6 Films, Videos, and Media

Media are available to supplement the course content in this chapter. These can be used to spur classroom discussions in-person or online, or communicate supplemental learning for depth and exploration.

- “Mind If I Call You Sir” Dir. Karla Rosales
- “La Serenata” by Ernesto Martinez and Adelina Anthony
- Sylvia Rivera: Pushing Boundaries by Taína Caragol
- "Communal Selves: Gendering and Ungendering" by PJ DiPietro

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11.6.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 6 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. Define jotería and how that term has changed over time.
2. How have jotería artists, activists, and scholars challenged homophobia, transphobia and other dehumanizing attitudes, laws, policies?
3. Describe some key events or concepts described in the chapter which help you understand the relevance of jotería studies.
4. How would you define jotería studies as a field?
5. What is the relationship between women of color feminisms and jotería studies?
6. What has been the role of AJAAS in the development of jotería studies?

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11.6.4: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 6 Assignments and Activities

The prompts on this page are ideas for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. These can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

1. Before reading the chapter, write down the term jotería on the board or have students get out a blank sheet of paper and write the word "jotería" in large font. Ask the students what they know about this word and its meanings. Have they ever heard of it? What associations do they make with the term? Set the activity aside, and then return to it after reading the chapter. Have students reflect on the knowledge (and perhaps biases and stereotypes) they began with, and how they now define jotería after reading chapter 6.
2. Collectively watch the video "Quiero Que Llames Joto" and have a discussion emphasizing the importance of poetry and cultural production in jotería identity. What language does Yosimar Reyes use to reclaim and resignify the word joto? What positive associations does he conjure with the word?
3. As follow up to the chapter, assign Chapter 7 of *Borderlands/La Frontera: the New Mestiza* by Gloria Anzaldúa. This is the often cited chapter that contains the line, "People, listen to what your jotería is saying." After reading this chapter and Anzaldúa's do you think as a collective we are "listening to jotería"? Have we taken Anzaldúa's request seriously? Provide examples from the text or other sources or life experiences to support your answer.
4. Have students read Raul Coronado article "Bringing it Back Home: Desire, Jotos and Men." He mentions how queer the chapter of University of Texas, Austin MECHA was in the 1990s when he was a member. What has been the relationship of MECHA with LGBTQ or jotería members? How has MEChA changed over the years in terms of gender and sexuality? What chapters of MECHA have been leaders in inclusion of jotería?
5. Research the student organizations Gay and Lesbian Latinos Unidos (GLLU), La Familia, and La Jotería at UCLA (Univeristy of California Los Angeles), La Familia de CSUN (California State University, Northridge, or ?Y Que? at Univesity of California, Berkeley, and the impact they had on their campuses and the community. What are some of the causes they organized for? What other campuses had chapters (if any) of these organizations? How did these organizations contribute to joteria studies?
6. Carefully peruse the website Jotería: Documenting Queer Latinx in Los Angeles created by the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center. This website highlights and provides an introduction to the different collections of jotería archives housed by the center and which researchers can access. Some of these archives are the LGBT Mujeres Initiative, the VIVA Records, the Gronk papers, and more. The website can inspire ideas for further research. This is a great resource.
7. Review the concept of sex positivity with students. How do they understand this concept? Did they grow up in a sex-positive environment? Where do these ideas come from? How do they understand sex-positivity in their everyday world? Provide examples. This can be a discussion in small or large groups or a writing assignment.
8. Read the poems and essays by Gil Cuadros in City of God, Claudia Rodriguez's book *Everybody's Bread* or Maya Chinchilla's *The Cha-Cha Files: A Chapina Poetica*.[1] Have a discussion about the themes in the writings in the book.. How do they speak to some of the topics they learned about in the class? Did the chapter help them think differently about these topics? Have students write their own poems or do a visual representation of the poems.

Footnote

[1] Gil Cuadros, *City of God*, (San Francisco: City Lights Publishers, 2000).; Claudia Rodriguez, *Everybody's Bread*, (San Francisco: Korima Press, 2015); Maya Chinchilla, *The Cha-Cha Files: A Chapina Poetica* (San Francisco: Korima Press, 2014).

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11.7: CHAPTER 7 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

The materials listed in this section are supplemental for learners and teachers to engage with the chapter's content through overview slides, media, prompts, and activities. The links in this section may include external sources that are not maintained by the authors and may include content that is not fully accessible and openly licensed. You may wish to explore different topics or search for similarly titled materials that are relevant to your own context and area.

11.7.1: Slides

11.7.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.7.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.7.4: Assignments and Activities

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11.7.1: Slides

Chapter 7 Slides

Slides are provided for instructors and learners to engage with summary information from each chapter. These are meant to be used, adapted, and extended to create interactive course sessions. You can access the slides for this chapter by downloading the PowerPoint file available at the following link.

- Chapter 7 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.7.2: Films, Videos, and Media

Chapter 7 Films, Videos, and Media

Media are available to supplement the course content in this chapter. These can be used to spur classroom discussions in-person or online, or communicate supplemental learning for depth and exploration.

- “What has AOC (Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez) accomplished?" (CC BY 3.0; Political Hub International via YouTube)
- “History of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Movement (UFW).” (CC BY 3.0; PeaceVoice TV via YouTube)
- Chicano Newspapers and Periodicals, 1966-1979 is published by the University of Washington
- A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States is published by the Library of Congress

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11.7.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 7 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. Students have been a major part of Chicanx and Latinx social movements. This includes advocacy around education and schools specifically, as well as broader movements for justice and liberation. Why are students uniquely situated to advocate for their communities?
2. Individuals who break through barriers are often celebrated for being the first of their kind, such as Sonia Sotomayor being appointed to be the first Latinx person on the U.S. Supreme Court. These figures become role models, or what some call "possibility models." Why does it matter that people see others like them represented? How does this representation affect communities as a whole?
3. Chicanx and Latinx social movements have used strategies that focus on reform by changing laws and regulations within existing institutions. Movements have also used radical strategies that seek to transform social institutions and cultural norms. In an essay, describe and compare two movements, one that uses a reform strategy and one that uses a radical strategy. Evaluate how the movements were successful in meeting their goals and in creating change in society.
4. Intersectionality plays a key role in shaping people's identities and experiences, including among Chicanx and Latinx social movements. For this essay, select an advocacy campaign or a social movement organization that is focused on Chicanx or Latinx communities. Clearly identify the issue and its goals, and then use an intersectional framework to show the complexity of that issue based on two (or more) identity categories. This could include, but is not limited to, gender, sexuality, Indigeneity, immigration status, ability, age, or religion.

Supplemental Resources

You can help guide this discussion by providing some examples of student advocacy as a jumping-off point. The websites linked in this list include just a few examples of student activism in Chicanx and Latinx social movements.

- 1968: East Los Angeles Walkouts - A Latinx Resource Guide: Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States
- UWM Latino Activism | UWM Libraries Digital Collections
- 10 Young Latinx Activists You Should Know | DoSomething.org
- The Student Protest That Heralded the Chicano Movement
- Student and Youth Protest – Chicano and Latino History Project
- Famous Firsts by Hispanic Americans
- Sonia Sotomayor and 9 Other Latina Pioneers of the 19th, 20th, and 21st Centuries - Biography
- 10 Inspiring Latinas Who've Made History — Google Arts & Culture
- The Origins of Contemporary Chicana/o Anarchism | The Anarchist Library
- Brief Historical Background to the Zapatista Movement
- Congressional Hispanic Caucus
- Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
- Undocuqueer
- California Latinas for Reproductive Justice
- Immigrant Women | National Latina Institute for Reproductive Justice
- Mixteco Indigena Community Organizing Project

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11.7.4: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 7 Assignments and Activities

The prompt on this page includes ideas for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. This can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

Power Map Activity

All advocacy is tailored toward a specific audience. The technique of “power mapping” can be used to identify potential viable targets for a social movement. As illustrated in Figure 11.7.1, the basic structure of power mapping is to create a chart. In this chart, the vertical axis is based on influence. At the top of the chart, you will place individuals and organizations that are the most influential with respect to your defined outcome. As you go down the chart, you will place individuals who are less influential. At the same time, the horizontal axis represents support or opposition, with the leftmost part of the chart being the most opposition, and the rightmost part of the chart being the most support.

To complete the activity, create your own power map.

1. First start by clearly defining an objective, which should be specifically defined. This might be a policy, or working to eliminate a concrete disparity, like improving high school graduation rates among Chicanxs and Latinxs, or addressing a specific health disparity within your city, county, or state.

2. Then, begin filling out the chart relative to that issue by identifying individuals and organizations and estimating their amount of influence and support to place them on the chart.

3. You can start with the folx you are most familiar with. You may want to also look up elected officials or policymakers, such as legislators, mayors, or appointed representatives. Some of these people and organizations will be listed in news articles on your topic.

4. To complete the chart, identify the four groups that you have mapped: Champions (High Influence and High Support), Supporters (Low Influence and High Support), Targets (High Influence and Low Support), Opponents (Low Influence and Low Support)

5. Finally, reflect on what you have learned from this process in a short written response (250-500 words), focusing on the question: how can the identified champions and supporters of your issue work to influence the targets and opponents? Note that successful social movements do not always win over all of their targets and opponents to become in favor of the objective. Sometimes the most effective way to meet an outcome is to move Targets from opposition to neutrality. And Opponents may continue to work against your objective, but this is not always impactful if they do not have influence.

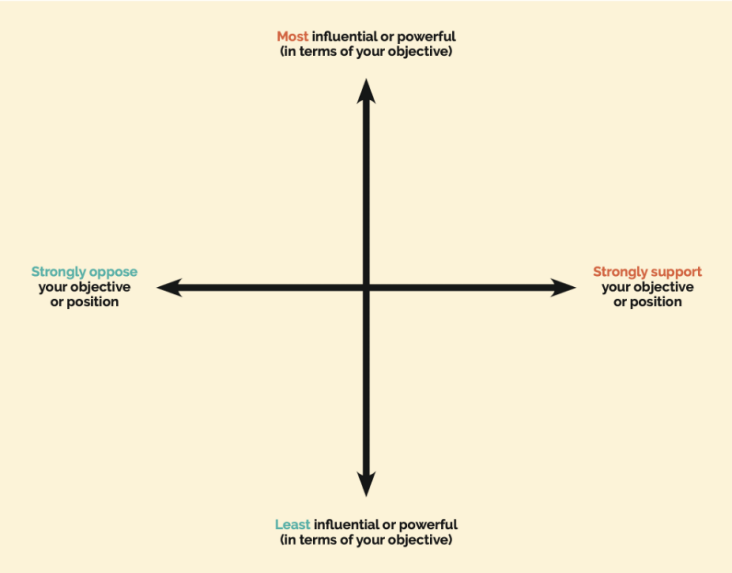


Figure 11.7.4.1: "Power Mapping" by Mario Alberto Viveros Espinoza-Kulick, Author is licensed CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

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11.8: CHAPTER 8 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

The materials listed in this section are supplemental for learners and teachers to engage with the chapter's content through overview slides, media, prompts, and activities. The links in this section may include external sources that are not maintained by the authors and may include content that is not fully accessible and openly licensed. You may wish to explore different topics or search for similarly titled materials that are relevant to your own context and area.

11.8.1: Slides

11.8.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.8.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.8.4: Assignments and Activities

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11.8.1: Slides

Chapter 8 Slides

Slides are provided for instructors and learners to engage with summary information from each chapter. These are meant to be used, adapted, and extended to create interactive course sessions. You can access the slides for this chapter by downloading the PowerPoint file available at the following link.

- Chapter 8 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.8.2: Films, Videos, and Media

Chapter 8 Films, Videos, and Media

Media are available to supplement the course content in this chapter. These can be used to spur classroom discussions in-person or online, or communicate supplemental learning for depth and exploration.

- "The Lemon Grove Incident and the Making of a History Professor with Luis Alvarez."
- "*The Lemon Grove Incident* (1985) PBS Explore San Diego."
- "Sandra Robbie's 'Mendez v. Westminster: For All the Children'"
- *Walkout* (2006) HBO
- *Stand and Deliver* (1988)
- *Fear and Learning at Hoover Elementary (1997)*
- My Name is Julio: A Short Film By His Best Friend Jesús Iñiguez

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11.8.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 8 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. What is the purpose of education?
2. *Mutualista* (mutual-aid) societies are used by many communities of color to survive economic hardship and provide a support network for newly arrived (im)migrants. Have you witnessed any *mutualista* practices in your school, community, and/or family?
3. In your opinion, what can schools do better or differently to challenge the school-to-prison pipeline?
4. In 2020, Proposition 16 was placed on the ballot to repeal Proposition 209, but Californian voted against it. Do you think affirmative action programs are necessary today to provide equal opportunity in employment and education? Provide concrete examples to support your position.
5. In your opinion, why do you think students historically and today continue to take such drastic measures such as a hunger strike to enact social and institutional change?
6. What is your opinion on military recruitment in schools and the overall militarization of schools? How do we increase campus safety?
7. Examine the fourth point under Arizona's HB 2281. In your opinion, why do you think "ethnic solidarity" was presented negatively and used to justify the elimination of ethnic studies?
8. What is the state of ethnic studies today? What new laws, policies, and practices do you observe in support of and/or against ethnic studies? What is the state of ethnic studies on your campus?
9. After reading the chapter, reflect on your own educational journey. What factors have contributed to your educational success? For this writing exercise, you should be able to name specific programs, policies, people, and/or organizations (minimal research may be required).
10. Write a letter to your 5-year-old self. What would you caution, highlight, and what words did your 5-year-old self need to hear about the educational trajectory you were about to embark upon?
11. Conduct your own research on one of the issues discussed in this chapter or another educational issue that was not covered. Create a campaign to share what you learned with the public in an accessible format such as a zine, pamphlet, infographic, or opinion editorial.

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11.8.4: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 8 Assignments and Activities

The prompts on this page are ideas for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. These can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

1. In groups, create a list of demands that reflect the most pressing issues and concerns in your educational institution. Who would these demands be directed to to ensure they are met? Create a plan of action to educate, publicize, and amplify your demands.
2. In groups, identify a contemporary educational campaign that interest you. What are the goals of this campaign and why? Create a presentation, zine, pamphlet, or infographic, or using a social media platform, come up with creative ways to help this campaign mobilize and amplify its cause.

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11.9: CHAPTER 9 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

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11.9.1: Slides

11.9.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.9.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.9.4: Assignments and Activities

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11.9.1: Slides

Chapter 9 Slides

Slides are provided for instructors and learners to engage with summary information from each chapter. These are meant to be used, adapted, and extended to create interactive course sessions. You can access the slides for this chapter by downloading the PowerPoint file available at the following link.

- Chapter 9 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.9.2: Films, Videos, and Media

Chapter 9 Films, Videos, and Media

Media are available to supplement the course content in this chapter. These can be used to spur classroom discussions in-person or online, or communicate supplemental learning for depth and exploration.

- "Working with Latino Children and Their Families - Fabiola Ekleberry" (CC BY 3.0) Culturally Competent Mental Health Practice with Hispanic Clients, Hogg Foundation for Mental Health via YouTube
- "A Brief History of Environmental Justice" (CC BY 3.0) ProPublica via YouTube
- "El Apagón" (Copyrighted Material) Bad Bunny via YouTube and you can access the lyrics online.

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11.9.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 9 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. The perspectives of Institutional Health Care and Traditional Health Care have often been at odds, because Institutional Health developed out of a context that systematically targets Indigenous people and Latinx communities. Given the history of mistrust between Chicanx and Latinx communities, what are some strategies that healthcare providers can use to build strong relationships?
2. The COVID-19 pandemic brought to the forefront of public attention a number of long term issues in healthcare access, like language barriers and disparities in health insurance. During the time of the pandemic, government officials funded public health programs to provide community education, testing, vaccines, and treatment at free or low-cost to all people. What other health issues would benefit from this type of approach? How would this look similar or different to the response to COVID-19?
3. There are shared patterns of environmental health disparities across different communities, including by race, immigration status, and socio-economic status. However, in practice, environmental health concerns are always influenced by dynamics at the local level that shape one's relationship to their broader surroundings. In a short essay, identify one major factor that contributes to positive health and one major factor that contributes to negative heath in your local community. Then, analyze who has the most direct access to their factors.
4. Mental health affects communities in disparate ways, and it can be affected by a number of social, cultural, and environmental factors. In your essay, identify a specific aspect of mental health (such as healthy relationships, anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, self-esteem, or another related topic) and analyze how multiple factors may affect Latinx or Chicanx communities with respect to this aspect of mental health. You are encouraged to use an intersectional framework that emphasizes how identities such as gender, sexuality, immigration status, and more would be relevant to mental health. To ground your analysis in evidence-based research, you may want to locate research sources for this topic.

Supplemental Resources

To help generate ideas and creative thinking about your own local context, you may want to explore the listed sources:

- Citizen scientists, Latino residents to track air quality in East Las Vegas - Nevada Current
- Latinos often lack access to healthcare and have poor health outcomes. Here's how we can change that - Brookings Institute
- Hispanic Federation: Healthy Parks: Healthy Latinos
- Physical Activity in Latino Communities - National Academy of Medicine
- Latino Health Disparities - League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
- Disparities in the Impact of Air Pollution | American Lung Association - American Lung Association
- Immigrant Trauma and Mental Health Outcomes Among Latino Youth - PMC
- Mental Health Needs of an Emerging Latino Community | SpringerLink
- Latino Adults' Access to Mental Health Care - PMC
- PTSD Treatment-Seeking Among Rural Latino Combat Veterans: A Review of the Literature - PMC
- PTSD in Latino Patients: Illness Beliefs, Treatment Preferences, and Implications for Care
- Predicting Adolescent Self-Esteem From Participation in School Sports Among Latino Subgroups - PMC

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11.9.4: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 9 Assignments and Activities

The prompts on this page are ideas for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. These can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

Group Blog Assignment

Demonstrate your interpretation of and engagement with a topic of your choice related to Chicanx and Latinx Health. This may be based on an activist movement, advocacy campaign, healthcare issue, illness or disease, environmental justice, or more.

Address the following general prompts:

- How does the topic you chose to research relate to Chicanx and Latinx communities?
- What is the relationship between your topic and Chicanx and Latinx identities, along with intersectional factors?

You should use multiple sources to inform your contribution, such as written text, images, music, videos, and more.

For an individual assignment, you can complete this independently. It can also be completed as a group, either by having each student complete an individual assignment and sharing it in a group format (e.g., Canvas discussion, free blog site, online Jamboard), or by having people work in groups to formulate and execute their blog contributions.

You can specify the format or a range of options for format to make the blog post assignment more engaging. For example, instead of a traditional blog post, students can make Instagram stories or short videos.

Food Access Activity

For this assignment, you will explore the Food Access Research Atlas provided by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) to learn more about the food access in your local areas. Follow the steps listed to complete the assignment:

1. Visit the USDA Food Access Research Atlas website
2. Use the interactive Atlas tool to identify whether the geographic areas where you live and where you attend college are considered low food access areas or not. You can use the "Food Access Research Atlas" tool and "Atlas Map" to access the data you need.
3. Once you have identified the food access status of your local areas, write a short summary and reflection of at least 500 words on what you learned from this exercise.

Your reflection should address the following points:

- What did you learn about the food access in your local areas?
- How does the food access status of your local areas compare to other parts of the country?
- What are some potential reasons for why your local areas have the food access status that they do?
- How might the food access status of your local areas impact the health and well-being of individuals and communities?

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11.10: CHAPTER 10 RESOURCE GUIDE

Overview of Ancillary Materials

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11.10.1: Slides

11.10.2: Films, Videos, and Media

11.10.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

11.10.4: Assignments and Activities

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11.10.1: Slides

Chapter 10 Slides

Slides are provided for instructors and learners to engage with summary information from each chapter. These are meant to be used, adapted, and extended to create interactive course sessions. You can access the slides for this chapter by downloading the PowerPoint file available at the following link.

- Chapter 10 - NDCLS Slides.pptx

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11.10.2: Films, Videos, and Media

Chapter 10 Films, Videos, and Media

Media are available to supplement the course content in this chapter. These can be used to spur classroom discussions in-person or online, or communicate supplemental learning for depth and exploration.

- Comparsa en La Habana Vieja, Cuba. Note that there are no captions because there is no spoken audio on this video. The audio track includes comparsa-style music.
- Astrid Haddad - La Tequilera with lyrics available
- Lila Downs - La Tequilera with lyrics available
- Lila Downs "La Tequilera" @ Greek Theatre L.A. 9-22-13 with lyrics available
- Lila Downs - Zapata Se Queda (Video Oficial) with lyrics available

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11.10.3: Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Chapter 10 Discussion Questions and Writing Prompts

Prompts for discussion and writing assignments are included to spur collective inquiry, reflection, and engagement with the chapter's materials. You are encouraged to use these for class sessions, assignments, reflective studying, and more.

1. How do Chicanx and Latinx cultural productions challenge dominant narratives and promote alternative visions of the world?
2. How do intersecting systems of power and oppression shape representation and cultural meaning-making in Chicanx and Latinx cultural productions?
3. How have Chicanx and Latinx cultural productions evolved over time, and what are some of the most significant trends or shifts that have occurred?
4. What role do cultural productions play in struggles for social justice and liberation, both historically and in the present day?
5. Choose a particular cultural production (e.g., a film, TV show, music video, or artwork) that you believe exemplifies the themes and concepts covered in this chapter. Analyze how the production engages with issues of race, racism, and intersectionality, and evaluate its effectiveness in promoting social justice and equity.
6. Reflect on your own experiences with cultural productions from Chicanx and Latinx communities. How have these productions influenced your understanding of race, identity, and culture, and how do they connect to broader social and political issues?
7. Write a comparative analysis of two or more cultural productions from different historical periods or geographic regions. How do these productions reflect different cultural, political, and social contexts, and what can we learn from comparing and contrasting them?

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11.10.4: Assignments and Activities

Chapter 10 Assignments and Activities

The prompts on this page are ideas for interactive assignments and/or activities used to extend learning from this chapter. These can be used to further understanding, retention, and ownership of learner content.

Multimedia Presentation

Research and create a visual or multimedia presentation on a particular form of Chicanx or Latinx cultural production (e.g., muralismo, telenovelas, or zines). Analyze how the production engages with themes of race, racism, and intersectionality, and evaluate its potential for promoting social justice and equity.

Group Cultural Production

Work with a group to create an original cultural production that engages with issues of race, racism, and intersectionality. This could be a film, TV show, music video, artwork, or other creative work. Use the concepts and themes covered in this chapter to guide your analysis and production.

Create a Zine on an Activist Tradition in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

In this assignment, you will create a zine that explores an activist tradition relevant to Chicanx and Latinx Studies. Your zine should use a combination of text, images, and other visual elements to convey your message and engage your audience. You may choose to focus on a particular activist or movement, or you may explore the broader historical and cultural contexts that have shaped Chicanx and Latinx activism.

1. Choose an activist tradition that you are interested in exploring. This could be a particular person or movement, or it could be a broader theme or concept, such as environmental justice or immigrant rights.
2. Plan out your zine by sketching out the layout and content of each page. Think about how you will use text, images, and other visual elements to convey your message and engage your audience.
3. Create your zine using whatever materials and tools you prefer. You may use digital tools such as Canva or InDesign, or you may create a physical zine using paper, markers, and other materials.
4. Once you have completed your zine, share it with your classmates or community by distributing copies or posting it online.

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Open Educational Resources in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

OER Materials in Chicanx and Latinx Studies

The Open Educational Resources (OER) movement provides free educational resources and promotes the open exchange of ideas, data, and content. We hope that this book encourages more scholars, students, and community members to use, create, and adapt OER for your own purposes. There are more OER materials available for ethnic studies and related disciplines, which are highlighted on the Academic Senate for the California Community Colleges (ASCCC) OER Initiative discipline page for ethnic studies. The materials relevant to Chicanx and Latinx studies are also included on this page.

Texts in English

- Environmentalisms in Latinx Studies: Latinx Talk Mini-Reader #2 (Jiménez and Delgadillo, 2022) (CC BY-NC-ND) A collection of essays that includes essential Latinx ideas, perspectives, and practices to promote environmental sustainability written by a variety of researchers, writers, and poets.
- Latinx Media: An Open-Access Textbook (Navitski and Marsh, University of Georgia) is a copyrighted, open-access textbook. This open-access textbook explores multiple forms of media and unpacks the relationship between media and identity, history, and culture in the context of Latinx communities.
- The Chicanos: As We See Ourselves (Trejo et al., 1979) (CC BY-NC-ND) Thirteen Chicanx scholars draw upon their personal experiences and expertise to paint a vivid, colorful portrait of what it means to be Chicanx, including political experiences, bicultural education, and history. The book provides a detailed account and definition of the Chicano Movement in 1979.

Texts in Spanish

These texts may be appropriate for an Introduction to Latina and Latino Studies section for Spanish speakers or one where Spanish is a prerequisite for the course.

- Latin American History and Culture (Anadeli Bencomo, 2022) (CC BY-NC-SA) This book contains content on colonialism, regional variations in Latin America, revolution, and ethnic identity development.
- Conocimientos Ancestrales: Descolonizando el Conocimiento Dentro de las Tradiciones Afro-Indígenas (Reyes-Santos and Lara) is a copyrighted, open access text. This comprehensive investigation into decolonization among Afro-Indigenous populations examines the lives and practices of healers as well as the medicinal benefits of these traditions.

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GLOSSARY

Comprehensive Glossary of Key Terms

The list included on this page contains a comprehensive glossary of key terms used throughout this OER textbook. Terms marked with an asterisk * are adapted from the Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum.[1]

287(g) agreements: Policies that permit the cooperation of federal immigration authorities with local police and have increased the use of invasive and violent strategies in deportation and other immigration enforcement activities.

Accompliceship*: The process of building relationships grounded in trust and accountability with marginalized people and groups. Being an accomplice involves attacking oppressive structures and ideas by using one's privilege and giving up power and position in solidarity with those on the social, political, religious, and economic margins of society. This is in contrast to the contested notion of allyship which is often performative, superficial, and disconnected from the struggles for justice.

Acculturation: The process over time of adapting to and adopting cultural practices of a new environment, which can include both individual change and community and cultural change.

Act 22: Law that allows individuals to operate in Puerto Rico without paying any capital gains taxes, which encourages predatory capitalism that has left the island in a constant cycle of exploitation.

Activism*: Informed action or involvement as a means of achieving a political goal. Activism can manifest in the form of protests, demonstrations and direct actions, art and cultural production, lobbying, and advocacy work, fundraising, writing, educational discussions, and more.

Activist-Scholar: A term used to describe academics who take an explicitly political standpoint in their work.

Afro-Latinx: A term that describes people from Latin America of African descent. Also defined as people of African and Latin American heritage, and corresponds to national or regional variations of the term, such as Afro-Mexican or Afro-Brazilian.

AfroLatinidad: A term that centers Blackness as an analytic, acknowledging the particularities of Latin American peoples of African descent, from their racialized experiences in their countries of origin to the shifting meanings in the U.S., as well as their experiences of colorism within the larger Latinx community.

Agency*: The capacity of an individual to act freely and make independent choices in any given environment.

AJAAS: Association for Joteria Arts, Activism, and Scholarship, an organization central to the development of joteria studies and the nurturing of joteria voices an expressions

Alicia Escalante: A prominent Chicanas welfare rights activist in the 1960s and leader in the larger welfare rights movement. Escalante was also involved in other facets of the Chicano Movement, supporting and participating in the East Los Angeles high school blowouts, the anti-war movement, and the Poor People's Campaign in Washington D.C.

Anahuac: The Nahua word for Mesoamerica. Also called Abya Yala.

Archival Movidas: Expand what is typically considered valid source material and documentary evidence by also including oral histories and extrainstitutional archives as a source of embodied knowledge.

Artivism: The combination of art and activism, and the ways in which art is a vehicle for advocating for social change.

Artivist: A combination of the words artist and activist. Artivists create art not for its own sake, but to convey a political message in the service of social justice movements.

Assimilation: The process whereby a historically marginalized person or group voluntarily or involuntarily adopts the social, psychological, cultural, and political characteristics of a dominant group.

Attempted genocide: A project of trying to eradicate an entire population. This is accompanied by an ideologically rooted practice of dehumanization to justify and legitimize such actions.

Bachata: A style that grew out of the fusion of European and African influences with Indigenous Taino sounds, reflecting the rich and diverse culture of the Dominican Republic.

Ballet folklórico: A nationalized version of Mexican folk dancing, which has also become popular in the United States, with local groups and schools sponsoring dance groups and holding lessons for children, adolescents, and adults.

Boleros: Songs with a slow or moderate tempo and a repeating rhythm that supports a strong melody by the lead singer. These are rooted in Cuban and Spanish influences that were reinvented by Mexican composers.

Bootstraps narratives: The stories told that educational success is attainable through personal initiative, hard work, responsibility, and drive. Hence, all students need to do is "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" to succeed in school and society. The danger of these narratives are that they begin with the premise that students are lazy if they underachieve or fail, focus on individual will rather than institutional barriers, and fail to recognize that not all students have an equal playing field.

Borderlands Theory: This theory, developed by Gloria Anzaldúa, challenges imposed nation-state borders and provides new frames for understanding identity, hybridity, and the material realities of people who reside in the b/Borderlands, extending the notion of a geopolitical border in order to explore the boundaries of gender, sexuality, spirituality, language, and other social locations, dislocations, and encounters. This theory would become foundational for Chicanx/Latinx historians who utilize a hemispheric approach to history.

Boricua: A term derived from Borikén, the Indigenous Taíno name for the island of Puerto Rico. Boricua is an empowering group identification that people of Puerto Rican descent took on in the 1970s as a part of a larger cultural nationalist movement.

Cantina girl: A stereotype characterized by great sexual allure, teasing, and dancing. These are hallmark characteristics of this stereotype. This is also a form of sexual objectification, and the narrative of a ‘‘naughty lady of easy virtue."

Chican@, Latin@: Terms that came into usage around the turn of the twenty-first century as a way to signify the fluidity of gender and to acknowledge a spectrum of identities and expressions rather than a rigid masculine/feminine binary. The technological ending has been described as "part aesthetic response to the cumbersome punctuation of [Chicana and Chicano], part recognition of emergent digital identities, and part as an instance of queering or making queer."

Chicana Movidas: A lens to understand the everyday strategies, tactics, and relationships, often occurring within and between highly visible movements, as intentional and significant individual and collective liberatory maneuvers. Also defined as a political framework that is rooted in an intersectional perspective, acknowledging the uniquely racialized and gendered experiences of Chicanas, as well as the value of using transformative and innovative approaches to build coalitions and advocate for social change.

Chicana Welfare Rights Organization: Originally the East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization (ELAWRO), this organization was founded in 1967 by Alicia Escalante. The organization ran workshops on welfare policies, advocated for welfare forms in Spanish and additional local offices staffed with bilingual Mexican American caseworkers, and worked for humane public policy at the county, state, and federal levels.

Chicana, Chicana/o: Terms that intentionally place the feminine word-ending "a" at the end of Chican- to challenge the colonially gendered Spanish language masculine/feminine dichotomy by substituting Chicano for Chicana, Chicana and Chicano, and Chicana/o.

Chicana, Chicano, and Chicanx: Social and political identity terms chosen by people of Mexican heritage living in the United States to signify their Indigenous ancestry to the greater Southwestern and Mesoamerican (also called Anahuac) regions. This identity term emerged as a direct response to the term "Mexican American" to focus greater attention on the political, social, and cultural position of people of Mexican heritage. When the term ends in an 'x,' it signifies a non-binary gender, either referring to all people regardless of gender or specifically referring to people of non-binary identities.

Chicana: The feminine form of Chicana, Chicano, and Chicanx and refers to women and girls, and Chicano is the masculine form, which refers to men and boys.

Chicanismo: A political framework that calls for justice and liberation for Chicano communities, which was widely mobilized in the 1960s as a response to pervasive social, economic, and racial issues in the United States, especially the Vietnam War,

segregation, and discrimination.

Chicano: A once denigrated term, was resignified in the late 1960s and 1970s by students and community activists into an empowering alternative to “Mexican,” “Mexican American,” “Hispanic,” or “Spanish” as part of a larger cultural nationalist movement.

Chicanx and Latinx studies: A discipline that has worked for over fifty years to provide a more accurate understanding of the political, cultural, historical, and social contexts that shape our current-day experiences of race, identity, community, and the disparities that plague our society.

Chicanx, Latinx: Terms that are another feminist and queer disruption to the gender binary. The “-x” “signifies fluidity and mobility, setting aside the conventions of ideological, philosophical, and medical binaries that assign humans to one gender identity out of two when they are born. The ‘x’ in ‘Chicanx’ is nonbinary; it acknowledges self-determinations that refuse immovable assignments of identity.”

Cisheteropatriarchy*: A system of society in which cisgender people, men and heterosexuals (especially cisgender heterosexual men) are privileged, dominant, and hold power. Cisgender refers to people whose gender identity aligns with their sex assigned at birth, and is the opposite of transgender.

Citizenship*: A status granted to a person that has been recognized by a particular country as being afforded all the benefits, rights, freedoms, and access as a member or citizen of the country. Citizenship is also the relationship a person maintains with the country or state they are loyal to. Thus, citizenship also includes how citizens engage their communities through both political and non-political processes for the betterment of their community, state, and nation.

Class*: A category and identifier that denotes a person or group’s economic or social status.

Classism*: The systematic oppression of subordinated class groups to advantage and strengthen the dominant class groups.

Coded language: A practice long used in policy in which race-neutral terms are used to disguise the racist motives that maintain power structures meant to sustain white supremacy.

Colonial education: Settler institutions that have attempted erasure and genocide of Indigenous lifeways, including the government and Church-run Boarding Schools in the United States and Canada.

Colonial Imaginary: The epistemology, or way of knowing, that the dominant discipline of history relies on. Time and space are arranged linearly and origins, categories, chronologies, and periodization is emphasized. These prevalent approaches reinforce a colonialist historiography, which have omitted or obscured women, queer, and Indigenous peoples’ stories.

Colonialism*: A practice of domination whereby one country seizes control over another country or territory and its people via force, exploitation, and/or political control.

Colonization: The action of overtaking control of another group’s territory by force.

Colorism: Prejudice or discrimination based on dark skin color.

Community cultural wealth: A framework that recognizes six forms of cultural capital (aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial and resistant capital) that minoritized groups possess. This framework affirms that marginalized groups posses an array of knowledge, skills, abilities, and networks to survive and resist racism and other forms of oppression.

Community*: A social group of any size whose members either reside in a specific locality, share government, and/or have a common cultural background, struggles, views, or history.

Comparsa: Music with a quality of resistance because the European-origin majority characterized it as a barbaric African form of cultural expression located in the past.

Conocimiento: An aspect of consciousness, a living theory, and a praxis laid out by Gloria E. Anzaldúa. It describes the journey one takes in the development of an embodied self-awareness, questioning reality and dominant paradigms, and experiencing shifts in perception.

Controlling images: A concept that describes the ways that common narratives about Black women are used to reinforce

exploitative and racist systems. These include: The Mammy, The Matriarch, The Welfare Mother, The Black Lady, and The Jezebel. For Chicanx and Latinx communities, specific stereotypes have been constructed in response to social, political, economic, and cultural systems.

Corridos: Songs that use complex narrative to tell stories through song. This genre inspired American country music, which utilizes similar narrative formats and styles.

COVID-19: A pandemic that reflects many recurring and long-term barriers to healthcare, including a lack of healthcare providers in Chicanx and Latinx communities, skepticism of physicians, and the exclusion of immigrants and non-English speakers from health resources.

Critical Latinx Indigeneities: A framework that emerges at the intersections of Latinx studies, Latin American studies, and Indigenous studies to examine how Indigenous migrants from Latin America are transforming notions of Latinidad and Indigeneity in the U.S. Also defined by Maylei Blackwell and colleagues as a lens to "critique enduring colonial logics and practices that operate from different localities of power as well as the physical, social, cultural, economic, and psychological violence that often targets Indigenous Latinx peoples, including forms of state and police violence, cultural appropriation, economic exploitation, gender violence, social exclusion, and psychological abuse."

Critical Race Theory: A legal perspective put forward by scholars to identify the link between U.S. laws and the structure of racism, with the goal of better ending racial discrimination and disparities. This perspective has been misrepresented by conservative activists.

Cultural funds of knowledge and cultural wealth: Assets, information, wisdom, and expertise that exists within communities that have been neglected and disregarded by institutional systems of knowledge production.

Culture*: The characteristics, creations, and knowledge of a particular group of people, place, or time. These characteristics include, but are not limited to, beliefs, customs, art, music, language, traditions, and religion.

Cumbia: A style that comes out of Colombia and reflects the unique combination of European, African, and Indigenous influences of the Colombian peoples.

Curandera Historian: A person who works to heal the damage caused by imperial histories. They work to restore the dehistoricized sense of identity and possibility of colonized and oppressed peoples.

Danza de los Viejitos (Tharep' Hiti Huarar'i in Purépecha): A style with dancers who dress in traditional attire with masks of old men and women. The dancers use canes and play at being hunched over and feeble throughout the dance. The early origins of this dance are thought to reflect narratives about aging and humor. After European and Spanish colonization, the dance changed somewhat, and now includes elements of poking fun at elderly Spanish men who have exerted colonial power.

Danza: Folk dances that communities carry on through specific dance forms and performances among Indigenous peoples.

De jure: The legal practice. In contrast, de facto describes situations that exist in practice, even if not legally recognized.

De-Indianization: The processes that disrupt the livelihood of Indigenous peoples, through assaults on foodways, herbal medical resources, and cultural sensibilities.

Decoding: The process by which people view, understand, and interpret stories. It is the complementary process to encoding.

Decolonial Imaginary: A new category, a political project, and a theoretical tool developed by Emma Pérez to counter the colonial imaginary by writing Chicanas into the historical record.

Decolonization: The diverse struggles led by Indigenous people for sovereignty, self-determination, and a transformation of the ongoing conditions of colonial power. Also defined as the multiple processes of resistance that work to end the dynamics of colonialism and establish, restore, and defend Indigenous sovereignty. It is important to note that decolonization is a political process that refers specifically to Indigenous sovereignty, and it is not a general term that captures all forms of social justice.

Deficit-based discourses: Thoughts, language, practices, and representations that communicate deficiencies and failures. Deficit-based discourses such as the labeling of minoritized youth as "at-risk" in schools are disempowering as it is fixated on an individual's traits rather than the oppressive structures that cause failure.

Dehumanization*: When a person or group of people are deprived of human qualities. This process is often carried out when a dominant group abuses power and denies opportunities and rights from another group**.**

Dichotomy: A division between two things that are or are represented as being opposed or entirely different.

Differential consciousness: Shifting modes in thinking (and action), involved in navigating systems of power, in turn leading to action. This is based on early contributions, concepts, and theories by feminist lesbians of color and the different namings of their identities point to interconnectedness, power in difference, and solidarity.

Disidentification: The process of situating oneself within a broader cultural narrative while also existing in opposition to that narrative.

Dominant narratives: The stories we tell ourselves, learn, or share with others- whether consciousl or unconsciously- that are told in service of the dominant social group's interest and ideologies. The dominant narrative serves to uphold power dynamics that serve the dominant culture and groups. These narratives are told at the expense of marginalized groups who are demonized and blamed (i.e. scapegoat) for society's social ills.

El mundo zurdo: (left-handed world) refers to those of us on the margins, outside of the dominant world, because of our multiple intersection identities such as queer folks, immigrants, disabled, and others, and the potential among us to create solidarity and social change

El Plan de Santa Barbara: A document that united diverse activists from around the state of California and laid out a roadmap for Chicana/Chicano studies, as well as programs to increase the retention, engagement, and success of students from minoritized backgrounds.

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán: A document that inspired and motivated Chicanx activists to pursue liberation and justice, especially in education. This document was published during the 1969 Chicano Youth Conference hosted by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez in Denver, Colorado. The seven goals laid out in the plan focus on unity, economy, education, institutions, self-defense, cultural values, and political liberation.

Encoding: The process of constructing meaning in creating culture. This refers to the producers, writers, artists, performers, and others who showcase narratives and cultural scripts. It is the complementary process to decoding.

Environmental justice: Addressing environmental concerns in conjunction with other aspects of exploitation and oppression, including white supremacy, capitalism, cisheteropatriarchy, and settler-colonialism.

Equality versus equity: Whereas equality means that each individual or group of people are given the exact same resources and opportunities, equity recognizes that equal outcomes cannot be produced without catering to the specific needs. This differentiation is essential to create fairness and achieve justice.

Essential work: A phrase that describes people whose jobs contribute directly to the daily basic functioning of society, most of whom would be categorized as low-income and working-class workers, including agricultural workers, retail clerks in grocery stores, pharmacies, and supply stores, and maintenance workers.

Ethnicity: Meanings, values, practices, and expressions of a group that understands itself to be linked by a shared way of life. Ethnicity often involves fictive or actual bonds of kinship and/or a related widespread sense of common collective origin, ancestry, homeland, and history and may include a common language and cultural system or customs such as religion, mythology, ritual, food, dress, and style.

Eugenics: An ideology rooted in the belief that the white Anglo race is genetically superior and to maintain this group's racial purity, it informed social policies, programs, and practices set out to control "undesirable" populations often characterized by their race, gender, intelligence, physical ability, low socioeconomic status, among other characteristics.

Eurocentric/Eurocentrism*: A worldview that privileges and centers the thoughts, practices, knowledge, history, systems of beliefs, and customs of the western world and people of western European descent more specifically.

Farah Manufacturing Strike: An event that began in May 1972 when 4,000 garment factory workers, predominantly Mexican American women, walked out of their jobs at Farah Manufacturing Company plants in Texas and Júarez, Mexico. The strikers demanded the right to unionize for higher wages, maternity leave, workplace safety, and an end to sexual harassment, which they won after twenty-two months of striking and a successful national boycott.

Federal recognition*: A status granted to Native American tribes that have gone through the process of being recognized by the U.S. federal government and have been granted sovereignty. There are over 300 federally recognized tribes across the U.S.

Funds of knowledge: Collections of knowledge based in cultural practices that are a part of families' inner culture, work experience, or their daily routine. It is the knowledge and expertise that students and their family members have because of their roles in their families, communities, and culture. In schools, this is an asset-based approach to the knowledge, skills, ideas, practices and overall cultural contributions students bring with them into the classroom.

Gender*: Western culture has come to view gender as a binary concept, with two rigidly fixed options— men and women. Instead of the static binary model produced through a solely physical understanding of gender, a far richer tapestry of biology, gender expression, and gender identity intersect resulting in a multidimensional array of possibilities. Thus, gender can also be recognized as a spectrum that is inclusive of various gender identities.

Gendercide: The systematic violence that targets non-binary individuals in the pursuit of settler-colonial goals. Chumash scholar Deborah Miranda coined this term in the context of Spanish assaults on the aqi.

General education graduation requirement: A type of course that all students are required to take as part of their educational requirements to earn a degree. In California, Ethnic studies has become a general education graduation requirement in all public high schools and colleges.

Genocide: As defined by the United Nations, "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

1. Killing members of the group;
2. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
3. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
4. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
5. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Hegemony*: The dominance or influence of one group over another, often supported by legitimating norms and ideas. Hegemony describes the dominant position of a particular set of ideas and their tendency to become commonsensical and intuitive, thereby inhibiting the dissemination or even the articulation of alternative ideas.

Hemispheric Approach: An approach used by scholars in the field of Chicanx/Latinx history to examine transnational histories of the Americas, beyond national, regional, or even continental borders, accounting for the ways that power structures race, culture, gender, sexuality, and resources across time and space. It emphasizes thinking beyond borders that contain the nation-state and expanding the scope and frameworks many U.S. historians rely on. A hemispheric lens also allows for an expansive examination of mobile commodities, ideas, and peoples in diaspora that flow across imperial geographies.

Hispanic A term that became popularized and is assigned by the United States Census and other government offices to emphasize Spanish influence. Also defined as people in the U.S. with heritage from Spanish-speaking countries. Federal, state, and private agencies and organizations that collect demographic data define Hispanic as an ethnicity, even though many who identify with this term define it as a race as well as an ethnicity, due to the fact that those who are understood as belonging to this group have been racialized.

Historiography: The study of the ways a group, culture, or discipline constructs its history.

History, Herstory, and Hxrstory*: History is the study of the past, including, but not limited to: events, people, cultures, art, languages, foreign affairs, and laws. Herstory is a term used to describe history written from a feminist or women's perspective. Herstory is also deployed when referring to counter narratives within history. The prefix "her" instead of "his" is used to disrupt the often androcentric nature of history. Hxrstory is pronounced the same as "herstory" and describes history written from a more gender inclusive perspective. The "x" is used to disrupt the often rigid gender binarist approach to telling history.

Hunger strikes: The literal starvation and the risk of death, as a political tactic to create social and institutional change.

Hxstories: The collective impact of past events, avoiding the andro-centric and colonial association with the term history.

Identity*: The qualities, expressions, beliefs, physical traits, cultures, and social statuses that comprise a person and/or group of people.

Ideology*: A system of social, political, economic, and/or psychological beliefs, values, and ideals that characterize a particular culture, school of thought, organization, or people.

Image analysis: An approach that is complementary to a variety of research methodologies, and can illuminate a great deal about a media text's racial politics, as well as its implied ideological messages about ethnic and racial groups and race relations.

Immigrant and immigration policy: Laws that influence immigrant experiences and the rates of immigration in a country. Whereas immigrant policy regulates the experiences of people who have already immigrated to the country, immigration policy refers to the processes and practices that influence the process of migration itself.

Imperial Histories: Narratives manufactured official histories wielded by a colonizing power or repressive regime "to attack the sense of history of those they wish to dominate and attempt to take over and control people's relationship to their own past." Imperial histories are created to justify and explain oppressive power imbalances by naturalizing them, making them seem inherent and permanent.

Imperialism*: The extension of one nation's dominance, power, or rule over another via policy, ideology, influence (social, economic, religious, etc.), or military.

Indígena: A pan-ethnic Spanish term of empowerment to refer to an Indigenous person from Latin America.

Indigeneity: A broad term used to refer to a sense of belonging and ties prior to colonization among people from a shared homeland. It is important to understand the distinctions between Chicanx, Indigenous Latinx, and Latinx Indigenites.

Indigenismo: A term that emphasizes a celebration of Indigenous cultures and that Indigenous peoples are the foundation of contemporary Mexican culture, politics, and society. This is often deployed as an Aztec-centric celebration of the Indigenous past of the nation, which often serves to erase the present and future of the sixty-three Indigenous pueblos of Mexico and the millions of Indigenous peoples living around the world.

Indigenistas: A constituency of Indigenous Xicana/o/xs who practice a transnational or hemispheric mode of Indigenous political solidarity.

Indigenization: Efforts supporting revitalization of Native languages, ancestral foodways, medical use, cultural burnings, midwifery traditions, dances, coming-of-age ceremonies, land acknowledgment, and more

Indigenous Chicanx: A term that signifies being Indigenous to Anahuac (Mesoamerica), It is a self-identity category used by people, unlike Hispanic or Latinx which emerged from western institutions.

Indigenous Latinx: An umbrella term used to refer to Indigenous migrants to the United States from South and Central America, the Caribbean, and Mexico (for example, Maya, Mixteco, Purépecha, Taino, Zapoteco, etc.). Also defined as Indigenous migrants from Latin America living in the United States who practice their Indigenous languages, ceremonies, medicines, foodways, and ancestral lands.

Indigenous: A label used to describe peoples who existed before colonization, and can be used to describe the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Always use the capital I: "Indigenous" to designate the term as a proper noun.

Institutional health care: Health care provided by hospitals and with doctors, physicians, prescribed medications, surgical procedures, and psychiatric appointments, which typically involve insurance.

Interlatino subjectivities: The result of cultural contact and mixing between different Latinx national identity groups resulting in the creation of new hybrid cultural productions from music, food, clothing, aesthetics, and language that coalesce from the multiple cultures in their families and neighborhoods.

Intersectional standpoint: The unique knowledge and perspective developed based on the combination of one's multiple identities, especially race and gender, as well as sexuality, immigration status, ability, age, religion, and other social categories.

Intersectionality: A concept that emphasizes the importance of recognizing multiple identities when analyzing an individual or group's relationship to societal power structures and institutions. Also defined as a mode of analysis developed by feminists

of color that examines how power structures (ideologies, discourses, institutions, systems) shape particular subject positions, access to resources, experiences, and life outcomes and how these vary based on the intersecting dynamics of gender, class, language, religion, ability, sexuality, tribal affiliation, nationality, and immigration status.

Jim Crow and Juan Crow: An era of legal segregation that focused on maintaining social and structural separations between white people and Black and Brown people. These specific laws were most prominent in the late 1800s, as a response to the end of slavery, and they maintained this form until the middle of the 1900s when they were challenged by civil rights movements.

Jotería identity and consciousness: a way of thinking and being based on a journey of self-discovery and collective healing, guided by eleven tenets that include a commitment to multidimensional social justice, values gender fluidity and self-expression, is rooted in laughter, fun and radical queer love.

Joteria listening: A sonic approach to the world that describes how jotería listen collectively and what meaning they make of music, sounds, memories.

Jotería-historias: Individual and collective histories that embrace the contradictions and beauty of being queer and Chicanx and Latinx and recognize the need for interweaving personal experiences in our telling of history

La Conferencia de Mujeres por la Raza: The first nationwide Chicana feminist conference held in 1971 in Houston, Texas.

La Malinche: The Indigenous woman on one side of the virgin/whore complex known for being Hernan Cortes's concubine, translator, mediator, and fabled mother of the first mestizo. As a Native woman, she is characterized as sexually available, disposable, and condemned as a traitor for contributing to the downfall of the Aztec civilization.

Latin Lover: A stereotype Latinos as aggressively sexual and exotic. The trope was developed by white actors who played Latin characters with a vague accent and no specific cultural or familial ties.

Latina icons: Highly recognized Latinas who have achieved a high-level celebrity status. The significance of these individuals for our society can be understood both in terms of their commodification of ethnic authenticity, as well as the symbolic resistance in ensuring representation while still working toward larger goals.

Latina, Latino, and Latinx: People with ancestry connected to anywhere in Latin America. Latinx differs from Latina/o as the "x" renders the term gender-neutral and more inclusive.

Latine: A term that has come into usage in Spanish-speaking countries through the work of feminist, nonbinary, and genderqueer activists and academics. Advocates call attention to its uncomplicated pronunciation.

Latinidad: A shared subjectivity among disparate Latin American ethnic and national groups with shared attributes, experiences, and realities among its members.

Latinidades: An extension beyond the singular Latinidad, referring to "the shared experiences of subordination, resistance, and agency of the various national groups of Latin American in the United States." It is "a conceptual framework" that can be used "to document, analyze, and theorize the processes by which diverse Latinas/os interact with, dominate, and transculturate each other." Latinidades also calls for the examination of "power differences, conflicts, tensions, and affinities between and among Latinas/os of diverse national identities."

Latino Health Paradox: The pattern of immigrant Mexican and Latinx people report better health and longer life expectancy compared to their acculturated Mexican origin and Latinx counterparts and European Americans of higher class statuses.

Latino: People in the U.S. of Latin American descent, acknowledging a shared complex historical experience of colonization, oppression, and resistance.

LGBTQIA2S+*: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or questioning, intersex, asexual and/or ally, Two-Spirit. The plus signals "and other similar identities," recognizing that sexual and gender diversity extends far beyond any simple list.

Liberating*: The state of freedom. Within the context of ethnic studies, liberation is often used to describe social movements whose aim is to achieve freedom through equal rights and justice.

Little School of the 400 (LS400): A preschool program that was first created in Texas to teach Spanish-speaking children to be bilingual by teaching them 400 English words.

Loyalists: A designation for Chicanas who were guided by the ideology of Chicanismo and believed that race and class oppression should be the primary agenda of El Movimiento and that feminism was divisive to the movement.

Mapping Movidas: The technique used to organize Chicana movidas. It is a mode of historical analysis that charts the small-scale, intimate political moves, gestures, and collaborations that reflect the tactics women used to negotiate multiple scales of power within their homes, communities, organizations, social movements, and dominant society.

Mariachi: *Bandas* (bands) that typically wear full charro/charra attire, signaling a post revolutionary Mexican aesthetic. This historical reference is important, because this signals an emphasis on the political efforts to unify the Mexican people to overthrow colonial control and re-establish a locally governed system.

Marianismo: The narrative found on one side of the virgin/whore complex, which typifies the deep reverence for La Virgen de Guadalupe who is valued as the subservient all-suffering virgin mother.

Master narratives: Culturally sanctioned stories that benefit the status quo and members of privileged groups.

Medicinal Histories: What curandera historians produce. Medicinal histories re-establish the connections between peoples and their histories, revealing the mechanisms of power by which their current condition of oppression was achieved as well as the multiplicity, creativity, and persistence of resistance among the oppressed.

Mestiza consciousness: A framework developed by queer Chicana theorist Gloria Anzaldúa, which is a cognitive decolonization process of racialized, gendered, and sexed subjects wherein la mestiza becomes aware of the Borderlands and makes conscious decisions regarding the construction of her multiple and often contradictory identities.

Mestizaje (mixed-race identity): A term that emphasizes the multiple lineages that not only shape individual identity, but also the communities, cultures, languages, and traditions that we practice. Also defined as the term for the biological and cultural blending that often occurred through sexual violence and exploitation against Indigenous and African women in the colonial era.

Mestizas/os/xs: A diverse population that has a combination of mixed heritage, often including Indigenous lineage, along with a combination of African and/or European backgrounds.

Migration*: The movement of people, voluntarily or involuntarily, from one region to another.

Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanx de Aztlán (MEChA, formerly Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán): A national student organization with local chapters that advocate for equity and justice in higher education

Muralismo: A practice of mural making that communicates narratives, cultural pride, and a strong sense of shared space. In the context of being denied political representation, in the case of immigrants, and cultural and social representation, which impacts all Chicanx and Latinx people, artwork becomes a way of positively exercising self-determination and collective decision-making.

Mutualistas: Community-based mutual aid societies created by Mexican immigrants to connect them with a network that links their homeland and new home with resources, support, and a community.

Muxerista: is a person whose identity is rooted in a Chicana Latina feminist version for social change, committed to ending all forms of oppression including but not limited to classism, racism, sexism, homophobia, and citizenism. Its definition is rooted in the scholarship and activism of Chicanos and feminists of color, but it's extended by the work experience and theoretical understandings of the members of Raza Womyn

Nationalism: A social construction, which takes on authority and power to implement policies. While we often take borders for granted, it takes continual efforts to create and maintain a sense of national identity, which justifies and legitimates the actions of elected officials and government agencies. Nationalism exists based on the perception of the people who are part of that nation, and the symbolic connection between a seemingly unified political body.

Native American: A member of any of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, often used to refer to those from the continental United States, Alaska, and Canada. Native Americans are the original inhabitants of these regions and have diverse cultures, languages, and traditions that vary among different tribes and nations. They have a unique historical and cultural connection to the land and have faced a history of colonization, displacement, and ongoing struggles for recognition, rights, and self-determination.

Non-violent resistance: A strategy to achieve social change through tactics such as protests, boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and other forms of civil disobedience that do not promote violence.

Norteño: A style popular in northern Mexico and what is now the southwestern United States, and reflects a cultural blend of musical instruments and moving narrative ballads.

Open Educational Resources (OER): Instructional materials that are designed to be freely used, shared, and adapted.

Opportunity gap: Life chances that are determined by the lack of opportunities, which are inherently influenced by factors such as race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and ZIP code, among other social and structural conditions that prevent student readiness and better educational outcomes.

Oppression*: Prolonged unjust and/or cruel exercise of authority or power over another person or group. Also, a sense of being weighed down in body, mind, or spirit. The four "I"s of oppression are: ideological oppression (an idea, concept, or theory whose qualities advocate for or can be interpreted as causing harm or upholding the views of a dominant group at the expense of others), institutional oppression (the belief that one group is superior to another and that the more dominant group should determine when and how those on the margins are incorporated into institutions within a society), interpersonal oppression (how oppression is played out between individuals), and internalized oppression (the internalization of the belief that one group is superior to another)

Organic intellectuals: Individuals who gain advanced expertise through direct experience, working with community members directly, and engaging in hands-on work.

Overt racism: Conscious, purposeful and deliberate racial hatred that includes speech, ideas, attitudes and behaviours rooted in white supremacy and directed at racially marginalized groups. More often, racial discrimination that is disguised and subtle, rather than public or obvious (covert racism).

Panethnicities: "Confederations created when several distinct ethnic groups come together in alliance for social, economic, or cultural advantage, thereby augmenting their numeric power and influence around issues of common concern."67

Paradigm: "A shared set of understandings or premises which permits the definition, elaboration, and solution of a set of problems defined within the paradigm. It is an accepted model or pattern.... Paradigms of race shape our understanding and definition of racial problems." U.S. settler colonialism is built on a Black/white racial paradigm.

Parranda: A style with a contested history because it is a distinctly Afro-Cuban practice that reflects African cultural retention and resistance to colonization.

Patriarchy: A system of gender-based control and domination where women and gender non-conforming people are subordinated to men through legal and extralegal measures. Patriarchy "includes cultural ideas about men and women, the web of relationships that structure social life, and the unequal distribution of power, rewards, and resources that underlies privilege and oppression."

People of color; Black, Indigenous and People of Color*: People of color refers to communities who are not white. People of color as a collective identity emerged as a response to systemic racism and to assert resistance and solidarity against white supremacy. People of color are a global majority. While Indigneous people are often in solidarity with people of color against white supremacy, the term "Indigenous" and/or "Native American," or "American Indian" are included separately from people of color. This draws attention to the unique forms of colonial domination that intersect with racial oppression. Further, Black is often placed first in the phrase "Black, Indigeinous, and People of Color," or BIPOC, which draws attention to anti-Blackness as a unique form of racism and centers Black experiences among minoritized populations.

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA): Law that made permanent residents are ineligible for public assistance during their first five years in the U.S.

Pirekua: Music that expresses the thought, feelings and pride of the P'urhépecha people from Michoácan, México, where creators (composers) and the pirericha (performers) manifest all their talent, their creativity and their most profound feelings."

Political Familialism: A term coined by Chicana feminist sociologist Maxine Baca Zinn to describe the fusion of cultural and political resistance during the Chicano Movement demonstrated by the call for total family participation in the struggle for racial justice.

Pop cultura analysis: A framework that examines day-to-day experiences in combination with academic analysis and structured knowledge sharing. This pays close attention to the dynamics of race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, and ability.

Pop culture (or "popular culture"): Cultural practices that are produced and distributed for mass audiences

Post-racial society: The idea that all ethnic differences have fused, and it erases the realities of inequity and the importance of advocates calling for justice. For Indigenous peoples, reductive deployments of ethnic categorization can disrupt attempts for collective liberation.

Power*: The ability or capacity to direct, influence, or determine behavior (social, political, economic, etc.) via authority and control.

Praxis of Memory: A term that describes the ways in which Chicana feminists compile a personal archive of personal objects and materials, creating a space where Chicana memory practices are both preserved and performed.

Praxis: The act of putting theory into action. Also defined as the ongoing cycles of theory, reflection, and action––as a practice of freedom.

Privilege*: An unearned advantage or benefit not enjoyed by everyone. Within systems of power, privilege is often inherited and is informed by one's identity.

Promotoras: Health workers who have received specialized training to provide basic health education in the community, who have been key mediators for Chicanx and Latinx communities to gain health access.

Public charge rule: A policy based on the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) § 212(a)(4), which states that individuals are inadmissible to the U.S. if they are "likely at any time to become a public charge", and discouraged noncitizens from pursuing needed benefits prior to regulating their status

Queer Latinidad: A concept that considers queer identity in relation to Latina/o/x subjectivity, questioning the construction and validity of normative identity categories.

Queer trans environmentalisms: Relates to our relationship to the environment and a lens that looks at intersectionality from a queer, trans Latinx perspective and the environment

Race: is both an organizing principle and an identity, both individual and collective. It is unstable and evolves due to social, historical, political, and legal processes, meaning it is socially constructed, but is often misrecognized as natural and fixed. Also defined* as a social construct created by European and American pseudo-scientists which sorts people by phenotype into global, social, and political hierarchies.

Racism*: The belief in the superiority of one race over another. Racism manifests when power is used to deny access, rights, and/or opportunities to a particular group or person based on their racial background.

Rancheras: Songs that focus on love, beauty, and nature, as well as regional and national pride. They tend to take on a local character, with references to specific places and activities that resonate with audiences in that region, as well as form a symbolic connection to individuals who have personal or family ties to these other regions.

Reactionary movements: Movements that work against other movements, often through direct opposition or by countering their activity. Reactionary movements are often politically conservative and form in response to the gains of historically marginalized groups.

Reform movements: Movements that involve advocacy and mobilization to accomplish focused, limited goals that change laws, regulations, and policies within existing organizations and institutions. These movements respond directly to the needs of groups that are currently being harmed.

Reggaeton: A style that developed with a regional and global character. While the genre originated in Panama, it spread to Puerto Rico and rose to prominence there and brought together Afro-descendent styles from Panama, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and the United States (particularly, Afro-Latinx communities in New York City).

Régimen de castas: A system of racial classification laid out by Spanish settlers in the mid-eighteenth century to categorize the resultant mixing between Spaniards, Indigenous, and African peoples. The casta system was not abolished until Mexico's independence in 1821, however racial and ethnic social stratification remain prevalent even today, echoing colonial conceptions of identity.

Rehumanization: Conscious work done to combat systemic oppression so that people can participate in a civic society towards democracy in a multicultural society.

Relational Approach: The study of how one racial group is affected by the ways another group is racialized through co-constitutive historical, social, and political processes. Rather than studying a racially marginalized group in contrast to white supremacist and colonial power structures exclusively, a relational approach moves beyond a white/nonwhite binary to examine racially subordinated groups in relation to one another. A relational view does not advocate for simply comparing and contrasting groups' experiences, viewing them independently. Rather, groups are understood to be interdependent. Also defined as frameworks that utilize dynamic comparisons between groups to yield greater knowledge, encourage solidarity, and find creative solutions to systemic problems.

Reproductive Justice: An expansive feminist of color standpoint at the intersections of reproductive health and social justice that goes beyond the pro-choice movement's singular commitment to legal abortion access. RJ advocates for the right to *not* have a child, the right to *have* a child, and the right to *parent* children in safe and healthy environments. It also demands sexual autonomy and gender freedom for all.

Resilience*: The ability to recover and/or adapt in the face of extreme adversity, trauma, stress, and difficulty.

Retrofitted Memory: A concept developed by Maylei Blackwell to interrogate why certain stories remain untold, uncovering the ways power functions in the creation of truth regimes, in order to make space for women's (his)stories and their visions of liberation and transformation.

Revolutionary movements: Movements that advocate for transformative changes in society that include abolishing, replacing, and fundamentally challenging the institutions that exist. These movements work to address the root causes of inequality.

School-to-deportation pipeline: School policies and practices that effectuate the removal of undocumented immigrant youth from schools and ultimately the U.S.

School-to-prison pipeline: The school practices and policies that disproportionately place students of color into the juvenile and adult criminal justice system.

Self-determination*: The process by which a person establishes agency and motivation with the hope of controlling their own life.

Self-sacrificing señorita: A woman who usually starts out good but goes bad over time. In this narrative, the woman realizes she has gone wrong and is willing to protect her love interest by placing her body between the threat intended for him, ultimately becoming a martyr.

Settler-colonialism: Instances of colonization where the colonizing groups seek to eradicate the people living in the territory they are colonizing and replace the Indigenous population with the settler population. Also defined as specific forms of colonialism in which outside powers attempt to eradicate and replace the living societies of Native people to establish and maintain settler societies.

Sex-positive: Having positive attitudes about sex and sexuality and recognizing how colonialist and white supremaist ideologies led to stigmatization of sexuality, especially queer of color sexualities.

Sexiles: Queer migrants leaving their home/nation as a result of their sexuality.

Sexism: Discrimination or devaluation of women, based on their sex or gender.

Social construct: When meaning is contextual and changes over time and place as a result of social, political, and historical processes.

Social identities: The ways in which a person understands themselves as belonging to a social group. Examples of social identity categories include race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, socio-economic status, religion, and the like. The ways an individual self-identifies within these categories––the labels that one uses––is a personal choice and may shift depending on the context.

Social justice: The equitable distribution of resources (rights, money, food, housing, education, etc.) to every individual regardless of ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, language, or nationality.

Solidarity: Unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest; mutual support within a group.

Sovereignty: Not a metaphor but rather the capacity and ability to exercise collective self-determination to govern one's people and land. North American Indians are the only group in the United States whose sovereignty is recognized in the Constitution of the United States. In the context of Indigenous people, sovereignty has often been undermined and determined by settler-colonial constructs.

Stereotypes: Limited representations of individuals that reduce someone to a negative association with their group status.

Structural vulnerability: Someone's status in society's multiple overlapping and mutually reinforcing power hierarchies.

Survivance: A term coined by Anishinaabe scholar and writer, Gerald Vizenor, refers to the collective process of survival, which carries forward the culture, peoples, and land beyond the individual.

Tejano music: Sometimes called Tex-Mex, this style is known for its use of vocal melodies that mirror traditional Mexican musical styles, combined with instruments and rhythms with American and European influences.

Telenovelas (novelas): The most popular form of Latin American primetime television and cultural productions that can influence social life, capitalism, identity, and communicate learning moments of contemporary social problems (e.g. sexism, homophobia, domestic violence, etc.). Their plots usually center on love stories and family life and can represent political conflict, corruption, and other moral dilemmas. They are typically broadcasted 5 days a week, an hour per show, and can typically run for a year or more.

The Chicano Moratorium (The National Chicano Moratorium Committee Against the Vietnam War): A movement of anti-war activists opposed to the U.S. military's role in Vietnam. The protest emphasized how the war was disproportionately impacting Chicano and Chicanx communities.

Thematic Approach: An approach to history that focuses on key concepts and themes such as empire, conquest, wars of expansion, and revolution; migration and nation-building; industrialization and labor; and civil rights and resistance movements, among others, from the perspective of Latinx populations.

Theories in the flesh: woman of color feminist and queer theories created from lived experiences

Third World Liberation Front (TWLF): A multi-ethnic coalition of students that were awoken to the fact that they were being taught in ways that were dominating and irrelevant to themselves (Maeda, 2012), and included a coalition of the Black Student Union (BSU), Latin American Student Organization (LASO), Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA), Mexican American Student Confederation, Philippine (now Pilipino) American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), La Raza, Native American Students Union, and Asian American Political Alliance

Traditional health care: Indigenous ways of health and healing of *cuerpo y alma* (body and soul) mediated through *curanderas/os* (healers) or other specialists, like *parteras* (midwifes) and involves *remedios* (medicinal herbs), ceremonies, *limpias* (spiritual cleansings), *sobaradoras/os sobadas* (massage therapist or massage), *huezera/o* (bone setter), informal counseling for *bilis* (rage), *susto* (fright), or *envido* (envy), and ancestral foodways.

Traditional knowledge: Forms of knowledge practiced by Indigenous groups provide both content expertise and communicate lifeways and intergenerational transfers of information and guided inquiry.

Translatina/o/x: A neologism that combines trans/transgender and Latina/o/x, while also encapsulating Latin American and latinoamericana/o identities.

Transnational: Social dynamics that exist beyond an individual community and nation-state. This deconstructs the importance of existing nations, borders, and paradigms of citizenship and instead focuses on how culture, society, and human life communicates identity and moves across lands.

Triple Oppression: A phenomenon named by feminist writers in the early 1970s who argued that Chicanas were subjugated based on their race, as workers, and as women. U.S. Third-World, Puerto Rican, and Black feminists were simultaneously theorizing and organizing around the convergence of multiple systems of oppression, drawing on an intergenerational feminist lineage dating back hundreds of years.

Tropicalism: A negative trope that homogenizes Latinx people by focusing on a fixed set of shared traits: bright colors, rhythmic dancing, and darker skin suited to an "exotic" locale.

Two-Spirit: A term that was developed by Indigenous peoples to describe the shared experience of third gender people. Two-Spirit should only be used in reference to Indigenous peoples, and whenever possible, in conjunction with a more tribally specific term.

U.S. Third World Feminism: A transnational feminist standpoint developed in the late 1960s and informed by global decolonial and anticolonial movements. As they critiqued and attempted to dismantle interlocking systems of oppression through racially specific feminist projects, feminists of color in the U.S., including Chicanas and Latinas, co-created a new cross-racial political subjectivity and oppositional praxis that linked various struggles for social justice.

United Farm Workers (UFW): A labor rights and social movement organization that was founded by Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez in central California. This group represented the predominantly migrant labor force in the fields and built solidarities between Mexican origin communities and Filipinxs. The UFW still operates today to advocate for labor rights and has inspired the formation and mobilization of multiple organizations that serve, represent, and advocate for farmworkers.

Vamp: A trope of an individual who uses their intellectual and devious sexual wiles to get what they want. This poses a threat, counterbalanced by the draw of charisma. The vamp is a psychological menace to anyone who is ill-equipped to handle them.

Virgin/Whore Complex: An example of a dichotomy that was first imposed by the colonial Catholic Church during the Spanish conquest that constructed women as a '*mujer buena*' or a *'mujer mala.*' In modern times, this gendered cultural expectation about Chicana womanhood reinforces patriarchy, obliging Chicanas to take on the contradictory roles of obedient wife and mother and to also be sexually available.

White supremacy: The belief that white people are inherently superior and represent the dominant race. It is an operationalized form of racism that manifests globally, institutionally, and through systems of power.

Whiteness: A social construct that has served as the foundation for racialization in the United States. Whiteness is the antithesis of Blackness and is commonly associated with those that identify as white. However, Whiteness is much more than a racial identity marker, it separates those that are privileged from those that are not. Whiteness can manifest as a social, economic, political, and cultural behavior and power. For example, the "standard" or cultural "norm" are often always based on whiteness and by extension white culture, norms, and values.

Xenophobia: Prejudice and hatred, drawn from irrational fear, against people from a different country.

Xicana, Xicano, and Xicanx: Those whose families originate from the homeland of [Me]xicana/os and Indigenous people.

Xicana/o, Xicana/o/x Indígena: Terms that replace the "Ch" in Chicana/o/x signaling a reclamation and reconnection with Indigenous ancestry and identity.

Xicanisma: A retrofitted form of Chicana feminism developed in the late 1980s and 1990s intended to create an avenue for mestizas and Indigenous women to "not only reclaim our Indigenismo––but also to reinsert the forsaken feminine into our consciousness." Xicanisma is a practical way for retribalizing peoples of any gender to express an Indigenous sensibility, reconnect spirituality with the body/sexuality, and to (re)claim and (re)construct their traditions in ways that serve their present needs.

Xicanx: A preferred identity term for Chicanx involved in Indigenous movements there is often a preference to use the term Xicanx and not Chicanx. The Chi is the same sound as Xi, but Chi is the Spanish pronunciation and the Xi is the Indigenous one.

Zero tolerance policies: Punitive school measures that push out "problem students" through practices such as expulsion and suspension regardless of the severity of a student's behavior.

Zines: A physical or digital piece that typically includes images and texts. It is often created by cutting and pasting magazine items or using a digital style that mimics this aesthetic. They are also usually formatted to be printed and folded. This is to make them easy to share in discreet ways, for example by folding them up and holding them in your pocket, or tucking them into another book.

Footnote

[1] Liberated Ethnic Studies Model Curriculum Consortium (LESMCC). “Curriculum.” LESMCC. https://www.liberatedethnicstudies.org/curriculum.html

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