Summer 8-3-2022

Building on Historical Chicana and Chicano Movement Pedagogies to Teach New Mexican Manita and Manito Epistemologies to Knowledge and Power Curators

Keith E. Sanchez
ksanchez@rfkcharter.us

Keith E. Sánchez.
Candidate

Chicana and Chicano Studies
Department

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved-by-the-Thesis-Committee:

Dr. Irene Vásquez, Chairperson

Dr. Michelle Kells

Professor Levi Romero

BUILDING ON HISTORICAL CHICANA AND CHICANO MOVEMENT PEDAGOGIES TO TEACH NEW MEXICAN MANITA AND MANITO EPISTEMOLOGIES TO KNOWLEDGE AND POWER CURATORS

BY

KEITH E. SÁNCHEZ

BACHELOR OF ARTS SECONDARY EDUCATION-COMMUNICATIVE ARTS

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

CHICANA AND CHICANO STUDIES

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque New Mexico

August 2022

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my beloved and brilliant partner in life, Ana Maria Romero. Without her vision, innovation, and undying support, none of this work would have been possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I thank my beautiful little familia, Ana, Tobias, and Ella, for filling me with the inspiration to fight for the sacred gift of higher education, and the ability to help secure a life filled with abundant knowledge, wonderment, adventure, and a Papá and husband that makes them proud; I love you so much. A soulful thank you to my chair, mentor, and heart friend, Dr. Irene Vasquez. Without your mentorship, support, and boundless pool of knowledge, my dream of a graduate education would have never been realized. Your vision and action of community education has helped spark the torch for community service that I will carry with me for the rest of my life. Thank you Profe y Mano Levi Romero. You've helped me exhume and fall back in love with my querida Querencia Nuevo Mexicana. Your writing, mentorship, knowledge sharing, and friendship have helped inspire the crux of my thesis, and the work for my Manita/o gente, in which I will engage for the rest of my life. Dr. Michelle Kells, the wealth of what I've learned in our Resolana and writing sessions is immesurable, thank you for your passion for community, your mentorship, and your wonderful friendship. To all my professors, facilitators, and fellow Students in Chicana/o Studies and the College of Education at UNM. To mention just a few, Dr. Adan Ávalos, Gabino Noriega, Howard Griego, Chantel Trujillo, Dr. Patricia Covarrubias, Dr. Laura Haniford, Dr. Veronica Moore, Antoinette Rael, Rebecca Martinez-Baca, and Posthumous gratitude to Dr. Tomás Atencio and Fernando Llort, you are more than colleagues, you are familia!

BUILDING ON HISTORICAL CHICANA/O MOVEMENT PEDAGOGIES TO TEACH NEW MEXICAN MANITA/O EPISTEMOLOGIES TO KNOWLEDGE AND POWER CURATORS

By

Keith E. Sánchez

B.A., Secondary Education, University of New Mexico, 2018
M.A., Chicana and Chicano Studies, University of New Mexico, 2022

ABSTRACT

Through the examination of historical place-based, culturally relevant, and responsive Chicana/o pedagogies, as exemplified in the formative 1969 El Plan de Santa Barbara, The Crusade for Justice, and la Academia de la Nueva Raza, the purpose of this project is to create a curricular sketch considering contemporary environmental and economic challenges facing Manita/o/Hispanic/Chicana/o student populations of New Mexico. If its ideals are to be generationally galvanized and sustained, every social movement must establish a semblance of *Paideia*, a space of grassroots educational initiative, where a marginalized community's epistemologies are exhumed, reinvigorated, and passed to the next generation. This project draws from, then reimagines historical Chicana/o pedagogies of the Civil Rights Era. Its objective is the creation of experiential curricula and community programming designed to attune educators and policymakers to the kinetic cultural space and realities of the Manita/o expression of chicanismo in the village and urbanized cultural ecologies of New Mexico.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS……**vi, vii, viii**

LIST OF FIGURES & TABLES…….....**ix, x, xi**

INTRODUCTION……**1**

CHAPTER 1: Reimagining Historic Chicana/o Movement Pedagogies……...**1**

Shedding Dominant Cultural Paradigms……1

Theoretical Framework……3

CCM Paideia……4

Cultural Ecologies……6

CHAPTER 2: El Plan de Santa Barbara…….....**9**

Californio Foundations……9

PSB and COINTELPRO……13

Reagan's California……...15

California Chicanas and Educational Reform……17

Legacies of Segregation……21

Educational Principles of PSB……22

Inserting indigeneity into western education……24

The Ethos of El Plan de Santa Barbara……..26

Foundations of a Chicana/o Pedagogy……...29

Curriculum Development……...30

PSB Educating Knowledge Curators of California……...35

Conclusion……37

CHAPTER 3: The Crusade for Justice…….....**40**

Regional Histories of Manita/o Cultures of Colorado……...42

Push and Pull Factors of the Late 19th and 20th Centuries…….46

Mexicana/o Braceros and the Advent of a Rocky Mountain Metropolis……..47

The Urbanized Mexicana/o of Denver……...50

Power Dynamics and Political Economies of Denver……...53

Corky's Vision……...60

The Crusade for Justice…….62

COINTELPRO Comes to Denver…….64

The National Youth Liberation Conference and El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán….66

Chicanas on the Rise…….70

La Escuela Tlatelolco Centro de Estudios…….73

Tlatelolco's Philosophical Objective…….77

I Am Joaquin (excerpt)……..77

Conclusion…….81

CHAPTER 4: Teaching Manita/o Epistemologies to Knowledge and Power Curators……**84**

Introduction……84

ingenuity from scarcity……..86

Northern new Mexican Foundations…….92

Structural Foundations of La Academia de La Nueva Raza……..96

Pedagogical processes of La Academia…….99

The Purpose for Culturally Responsive Curricula……...102

Building a Curriculum based on CCM models……103

Culturally Responsive Manita/o Curricular Sketches……..108

Section 1: Experiential Excursions……..108

Section2: Manita/o Origins, Historiographies, and epistemologies…….113

Section3: Sample lesson Plans…….117

CHAPTER 5: Conclusion…….**127**

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Community Demands presented to LA Unified Schoolboard by LA Student Walkouts, 1968, source*: Blowouts* by Mario T. Garcia…….19

Figure 2. Ten-Point Manifesto of the Brown Berets, 1968, source: *Notes from Aztlan*, notesfromaztlan.tumbir.com……..20

Figure 3. Students walk out from Garfield High during LA School,1968, source: Grand Rapids Institute for Information Democracy…….21

Figure 4. "Por Mi Raza Habla el Espirito" (for my race the spirit speaks), opening of PSB Manifesto/foundational document, 1969, source: *El Plan de Santa Barbara*……...25

Figure 5. PSB activists in front of Campbell Hall in solidarity- UCSB, 1969, source: *El Gaucho Newspaper*……26

Figure 6. Preamble and Closing Statement-PBS Manifesto,1969, source: *El Plan de Santa Barbara*…….27

Figure 7. Recommendations for a universally cohesive establishment of a Collegiate CCS Discipline,1969, source: *El Plan de Santa* Barbara…….29*,*30

Figure 8. PSB/CCS Undergraduate curricula/course list sample,1969, source: *El Plan de Santa Barbara*……35

Figure 9. The Mexican American and The Schools-cultural knowledge sharing with educators,1969, source: *El Plan de Santa Barbara*……...37

Figure 10. Map Hispanic Population of 1850-demonstrating majority being in New Mexico (encompassing Southern Colorado at the time), source: *The changing geography of US Hispanics*…….46

Figure 11 bracero workers on a bus for Lupton Colorado, 1959, source: Denver Public Library Special Collection…….49

Figure 12. Residential Security Map of Denver, 1939, source: *Nuestras Historias*…….52

Figure 13. The Aztlan Theater, 1973, source: Cinematreasures.org……56

Figure 14. (Excerpt) interview given by Gonzales for El Gallo Newspaper, 1972, source: *Message to Aztlán-selected writings*……..61

Figure 15. headquarters for CFJ 1968-1973, Colfax and Downing St. Denver, 1968, source: Latino History Project……...63

Figure 16. Founders of Crusade for Justice, 1968, source: *Latino History Project*…….66

Figure 17. Original Document of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, 1970, source: ICAA-Documents of Latino Art……...68

Figure 18. Ballet Chicano de Aztlán troop portraying "Las Adelitas", women revolutionaries during the Mexican Revolution, 1970, source: Latino History Project…76

Figure 19. Mental Health Field Program, San Antonio Tx., 1969, source: Barrios Unidos……94

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Agricultural roles reported by South Valley farmers, source: *The South Valley-a look at small farm practices and objectives near Albuquerque*……...112

Table 20. Annual agricultural gross sales south valley farmers, source: *The South Valley-a look at small farm practices and objectives near Albuquerque*……...113

Table 3. Locations/outlets where South Valley farmers sell their products, source: *The South Valley-a look at small farm practices and objectives near Albuquerque*…….113

CHAPTER 1: Reimagining Chicana/Chicano Movement Pedagogies

Introduction

In my life I have had the good fortune of being able to travel and traverse the soil and collective philosophies of many countries, cultures, and spaces. I've taken pieces of momentous experiences and the minutia of daily struggles and unfurled them into a kaleidoscopic of hybridity that acts as an observant companion who constantly informs and simultaneously challenges my worldview. Yet through these many travels and observations, what has taught me the most about the many places and cultures I've known, and in turn my original New Mexican Manito querencia, are the collective experiences engendered by the interdisciplinary field of Chicana/o Studies. As a high school working in the South Valley this project seeks to contribute to educational transformation in New Mexico.

Shedding Dominant Cultural Paradigms

The civil rights era in the United States sparked an emergent fervor for social transformation unparalleled in its history. Steeped in mounting casualties of the Vietnam war, disproportionately high amongst Latinos, and haunted by the post-colonial specters of slavery, the decimation and assimilation of tens of millions of Indigenous peoples, Jim and Juan Crow apartheid ideation, and endemic classism, the baby boomer generation was poised for political and cultural upheaval. In the context of Mexican American struggles for human dignity, land, living wages, and educational equity, Gómez-Quiñones and Vásquez define the Chicana and Chicano Movement as "a broad series of interrelated multiorganizational and multifield activities and movements that sought to secure basic equities for Mexican Americans in various aspects of life in the United States." (Gómez

&Vasquez 2004). The grassroots youth movements within the body-politic of the era sought, in essence, a new American renaissance and attempted to assert an existential sense of place contrary to the dominant Eurocentric and puritanical worldviews rooted in the dominant American paradigm. Preceded by activist emergences such as that of the UFWA unions in 1962, La Alianza's siege of the Courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, 1967, and the EEOC Walk-outs in Albuquerque, and El Paso Hearings in 1967, led by Corky Gonzales, the year 1968 saw a distinct rhetorical shift as Chicana and Chicano grassroots community movements both espoused and rejected various paideia precedents initiated by LULAC[1] in 1929, then AGIF[2] in 1948. Amongst the many mobilizations for justice and spatial assertion by 1968, not all coalesced into cohesive and durable organizations of note. Those that did created political and social frameworks forged in the fields, universities, and urban research centers throughout the Borderlands. The diversity of contexts, beyond California, where the youth movements had already sprouted, were the barrios in Denver, Colorado, San Antonio, Texas, and in the rural enclaves of northern New Mexico. Chicana and Chicano grassroots mobilizations were manifested in the formation of unions, rural and urban youth movements, and attempts at organizing independent political parties resulting in declarative manifestos. Upon these founding pillars were inked mission statements, nationalistic and internationalistic empowerment in identity amongst marginalized peoples, political platforms, empowering identity axioms, and although often underemphasized, the manifestation of culturally relative

[1] LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) is the largest and oldest Hispanic advocacy organization in the United States founded in 1929.

[2] AGIF (American GI Forum) is a congressionally chartered Hispanic veterans and civil rights organization founded in 1948.

educational models that attempted to supplant the conventions of western-centric curricula. The fundamental objective of this project is to conduct a rhetorical analyses of Chicana/o Movement primary sources such as manifestos, cultural productions, and mobilizing discourses and expressions, but its fulcrum is the examination of precedent regional and organizational pedagogies.

Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework is predicated on the idea that to develop culturally relevant and responsive education, it is vital to know what a culturally relevant and responsive pedagogy looks like. In this vein, I utilize three conceptual pillars.
The first being *critical pedagogy* which draws on Paulo Freire's work positing that "teaching should challenge learners to examine power structures and patterns of inequality with the status quo." (Freire, 1970). The second is culturally relevant, responsive, and experiential pedagogies based on the idea that a "uniquely valuable source for learning—especially in the realm of human behavior on the individual and group level—lies in the experience of everyday life and the conceptualization and reflection on it." (Stein 2004). A culturally relevant, responsive, and experiential education can be traced back through, and prior to, the evolution of CCM (Chicana/o movement) and the development of community and academy manifestos such as the conceptualization of *El Plan de Santa Barbara, The Crusade for Justice's* founding of *Escuela Tlatleloclo,* and the establishment of *La Academia de La Nueva Raza*. Inspired offshoots from these primary CCM pedagogies were schools such as *Colegio Jacinto Treviño* founded in Mercedes, Tx, in 1969, and *Escuela Padre Martinez* In Las Vegas, New Mexico in the early 1970's. A resulting foundational architecture emerged during

the advent and growth of Chicana/o alternative educational paradigms that were, "relative to our people through: history, culture, bilingual education contributions, community control of our schools, our teachers, our administrators, our counselors, and our programs" (El plan de Aztlán, 1969). The third pillar is Nuevo Mexicana/o space-based learning, which for purposes of this study, will espouse the concept of *Resolana*, asserted by Raúl Yzaguirre (2009) in his introduction to *Resolana: Emerging Chicano Dialogues on Community and Globalization* (Montiel, Atencio, Mares), as being, both a "place and a process, a noun and a verb. Referring to a gathering place where serious dialogue about weighty subjects is encouraged, where knowledge is allowed to flourish...also connoting a process of understanding the world at a higher level." (p vii) This is a space where traditional, land-based knowledge, cultural values, and manita/o world views are transferred from the older generations to the new. My theoretical framework intertwines theorems of critical pedagogy, culturally relevant and responsive education based on life experience, and *Resolana* as a space where epistemological knowledge flourishes within a New Mexico context.

CCM Paideia

Born from the cries for justice, the reestablishment of a cohesive imagined nation from a weary diaspora, and the ontological, space-based perspective of Aztlán, three regional convergent youth summits emerged in 1969: *El Plan de Santa Barbara* in Southern California, *The Crusade for Justice* in Denver, Colorado, and finally *La Academia de La Nueva Raza,* in Dixon (Embudo), northern New Mexico. Drawing from these three *gritos por la justicia* (yells for justice), I will triangulate the historic Chicana/o Movement's (CCM) development of paideia and community organizing into a

reimagined pedagogy and philosophy of learning. In his book *Conscientization,* Paolo Friere (1972) calls education, "an exercise in freedom and an act of knowing, a critical approach to reality." (p.21). This critical approach to the realities of educational marginalization of Chicana/o communities, drove CCM's trajectory towards a paideia of cultural recovery. In invoking the Athenian rhetorical principle of paideia, as developed by Aristotle and Isocrates, I am referencing the concept that education, from literature to ethics, should embody a symbiotic relationship with the community in which it is taking place, and in turn it should be created and practiced as means to recapture and reimagine cultural paradigms that have been syphoned away through assimilative colonial and post-colonial phenomena. Just as it was a concept that Greek educators, poets, artists, and philosophers strived towards, so too was this ideal present in the formulation of pedagogical principles amongst CCM community organizations as community education for, by, and of Chicanas and Chicanos. In the context of historical CCM, these were efforts of cultural recovery from a social and educational system which had decimated cultural, linguistic, and land-based practices, pushing Chicana/o peoples into the margins of society. In essence, an effort to reimagine a Chicana/o paideia based on indigenous, mestiza/o, and mulata/o paradigms. In a forward for Devon Peña's book *Chicano Culture, Ecology, Politics-Subversive Kin,* Vandana Shiva (2017) describes these countervailing pedagogies as "subversive kin", as an expression of an emergent politics of diversity that subverts the structures of dominant power and paradigms based on the idea of dispensability of diverse peoples." (p. vii) In this countercultural spirit, the objective of this project is to develop a reimagined Paideia which may contribute to a more visceral knowledge of the marginalized microcosm of the Manita/o expression of

Chicanisma/o (Chicanoism) in New Mexico amongst educators and policymakers. To achieve this objective, it is vital that a thorough understanding of educational models, previously developed in the Chicana/o Movement (CCM) and in a Chicana and Chicano Studies (CCS) context is developed.

Cultural Ecologies

In this analysis, it is important to consider how varied regional factors affected the cultural and rhetorical ecologies that helped foster different movements and educational models in different expressions of CCM. Although in any human microcosm there are myriad variables that may affect its cultural ecology, for the purpose of this project I focus primarily on four: unique regional histories and their effect on Chicana/o populations; asymmetric power dynamics and political economies affecting civil rights and equitable education; frameworks and declarative manifestos of specific groups in the CCM; and separate educational models and pedagogies developed by varied expressions of CCM during the Civil Rights Era. Rhetorician Michelle Kells defines cultural rhetorical ecologies as "energy systems that vitalize social, cultural, political, and linguistic action and that, ultimately condition rhetorical situations." (Kells, 2018). This dynamic notion of an "energy system" which vitalizes "social, cultural, political, and linguistic action, best encapsulates the dynamism existent in any given cultural microcosm which formulates its "rhetorical situations", including those of social upheaval and pedagogical practices. Sociologist Devon Peña (1998) describes the advent of postmodern environmental intersection as, "ecologies that are an unstable, ever-shifting mosaic of naturally and humanly disturbed landscapes"(p.4) This conceptualization of an "unstable, and ever shifting" mosaic brought to bear on a

marginalized population, such as Chicanas and Chicanos in the Borderlands, adds the complex dimension of colonial and post-colonial chaos to the reality and imaginary of an oppressed peoples' post-modern paradigm. Drawing on cultural and rhetorical ecologies such as these, a new pedagogy, built on historical CCM, and linked to Manita/o/Indo-Hispano epistemologies, informs my analyses and curricula development in Chapter 4. Although each regional expression of CCM inscribes its own character on the annals of the civil rights movement, they are by no means esoteric in scope. They are interwoven through solidarity in *La Causa* (The cause) and many shared cultural commonalities. Within this context, their regional variables inform different approaches to community action and education prefaced on local needs and interests, embedded within local cultural and rhetorical ecologies. Differentiated paideia found in three separate models of CCM, can help bridge different community-based knowledge and curricula systems with teaching historic and living New Mexican "Manita/o" epistemologies that can benefit power and knowledge curators tasked with passing the torch of knowledge and leadership to the next generation.

In building on historic CCM pedagogies, Chapter Two examines regional Californian cultural ecologies, and pedagogical productions formulated therein by the *Coordination Council on Higher Education,* a.k.a. *El Plan de Santa Barbara* founded in April of 1969. This iteration of CCM rooted itself in creating a Chicana/o discipline within the academies of higher education and its curricula are foundational to modern Chicana and Chicano Studies. Chapter Three examines the cultural ecologies of Denver Colorado and the founding of *The Crusade for Justice*, in specific, *La Escuela Tlatelolco,* in March of 1969. This was a full-fledged school from elementary through secondary

age. The grassroots model of *Escuela Tlatelolco* created an exemplar, culturally responsive charter model, that drew its curricula from Chicana/o community needs, passions, hopes, and indigenous paradigms. Chapter Four will examine the cultural ecologies of Manita/o New Mexico and the educational model of *La Academia de La Nueva Raza* developed therein. Its conclusionary section will then formulate a brief synthesis of examined pedagogical models of CCM and a sketch of culturally responsive, experiential curricula concepts built on foundational CCM pedagogies. It is built to inform *power and knowledge curators* working within the Manita/o expression of the Chicana/o diaspora. The objective of this project's synthesis is to create an infrastructural guide for further study and development of pedagogy. These curricula should be designed not only to teach and inspire professors, teachers, and public-policy makers to truly know their students and constituents, but to help rekindle knowledge sharing systems and agency amongst the very New Mexican Chicana/o community it is tasked to serve.

CHAPTER 2: El Plan de Santa Barbara

Californio Foundations

As with any regional expression of the Chicana/o Movement, to unpack the formulation and educational productions of the *Coordination Council on Higher Education,* a.k.a. *El Plan de Santa Barbara* in April of 1969*,* it is vital to first paint a portrait of the "cultural ecology" within which it was developed and evolved. In examining California's regional history and cultural ecology, it's vital to first understand the enduring sociological legacy affecting Chicana/o peoples of California from what's known as the "Pastoral age." This era runs from the colonizing missionary expeditions of Gaspar de Portolá and Fray Junípero Serra in 1769, to the arrival of the California Gold Rush in1848. Like much of Latin America, the juxtaposition of indigenous, Mulata/o, and Mestiza/o communal ejidos[3] and ancestral lands with feudalistic rancho and mission latifundios[4], created an intersectionality of many cultural and socioeconomic dynamics that still played a role, albeit obfuscated in urban modernity, in post-modern power dynamics California of the civil rights' era and today. Borderland historian Carlos Manuel Salomon (2011) asserts, "…as in any region destined to make up a borderland, competing forces pulled in contrasting directions…borders are formed in such ways and are often the result of generations of cultural and political contention." (p. 4) Different than Borderland regions such as New Mexico and Texas, who's terms "Manito", "Nuevo

[3] A tract of land held in common and farmed cooperatively or individually. Modern versions still exist in Mexico and are often corrupted by hierarchical power systems and state interference.

[4] Latifundios are large landholdings in Latin America which originated as imperial grants to settlers from the Spanish crown. With the incorporation of that continent into the world economy they slowly evolved from a form of feudalism into capitalist estates producing meat, hides, and crops for export.

Mexicano" and "Tejano", still "define a segment of the population whose culture developed during the Spanish and Mexican colonial periods, and still remains vibrant today, Salomon describes California's Mexican past as having "moved into the realm of fable, and that although California is home to more Mexicans than anywhere else in the United States, its massive population boom came after the heyday of the Californios[5]" (2011). This social dynamic within the cultural ecology of California is important to take into consideration when cross comparing expressions of Civil Rights Era CCM and its paideia with different Chicana/o microcosms throughout the Borderlands. If for example the concept of ancestral models of education were developed through syndicate programs of *El Plan de Santa Barba,* in which indigenous worldviews were reflected. The settler populations of mixed-race mestiza/os and mulata/os migration north mixed with local Californian Indigenous populations. Influences from Mexicana paradigms of peoples varying, but not nearly limited to, Cochimí and Guycura of Baja California, and Mexica, Mixteca, Tarahumara, Tepehuno, or Yaqui or Zapotec likely influenced organizing of the Chicana/o Movement.

By the mid Nineteenth Century, the dominant Anglo-American power structures took root in California. "…To try to make that destiny more certain there were many blatant annexationists eager to cut the tie of Mexican sovereignty and complete another Texas cycle". (Chamberlin 1951). Although Chamberlin describes the inevitability of an

[5] The term Californio is somewhat ambiguous. It denotes as is the name given to prominent landed and wealthy families that were at the top of the hierarchical latifundio feudalistic rancho system during the Pastoral Age, however it often connotes as the Mestiza, Africana, and indigenous communities that were present in California before the arrival of American annexation and massive immigration from Mexico and other regions of the world.

impending American power structure, local knowledge systems continued, even under yoke of a new colonialism.

More than the military conquest of the Mexican American War, the "Texas cycle", as was being carried out in California, involved mass migration of Anglo-Americans and power structures that not only supplanted, but ironically, further entrenched racial hierarchies that reflected "casta"[6] systems of colonial New Spain but also the racial hierarchies of the deep South. Digging deeply into the historic cultural ecologies of California's Pastoral Age leading up to the end of the Mexican American war and the "gold rush", it's important to note that the preeminence of the Rancho-Latifundio system was not always the case. There were always, coexistent, formidable elements of an ejido communal land system, even amongst many poor Euro-American squatters. As mestiza/o, mulata/o, and indigenous peoples had engaged in communal agrarian practices for centuries, the fruits of these scattered ejidos germinated seeds for resistance later, as seen throughout the postcolonial Southwest. Opposing the notion of a vanquished people, an early iteration of a Chicana/o culture of resistance thrived and grew in mid-Nineteenth century California. Creeping draconian laws and tax codes, aimed primarily at Mexicans and other Latina/os, were passed, and land having been held since1635, was seized or appropriated. Land dispossession also affected those born in California before 1848, ostensibly to be protected under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexicana/o people were treated like second class citizens. Even structural resistance of Old "Californio" powerbrokers such as Pico Pío, of mixed Indigenous,

[6] The Casta System was created in colonial times to explain mixed race families to those back in Spain, but this racial hierarchy remained in place long after the Spanish crown was driven out of Latin America.

African, and European descent, saw the "Americanos" as an impending threat, yet simultaneously, a tool to maintain systemic latifundio power structures. In this sense, the old land-owning class were "both the benefactors and targets of racist policies." (Salomon 2002) Although the "Americano" supplanted most power and land structures, in many aspects, it further entrenched the mythologized peninsular versus poor peasant hierarchies, only now in place of the Spanish-speaking "patrones", Anglo-American claimants to land and feudalistic power hierarchies began to replace and superimpose ranch systems on native Mexican populations. "American control of California and the discovery of gold created a demand for land, the most desirable of which was in private land claims in the coastal valleys and along the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers. Containing nearly 15,000,000 acres…the need for land for crops and for cities, and the likelihood of swiftly rising prices, there was a scramble for land that sent prices to levels that promised large returns to speculators." (Gates 1971) In this context it can be stated that it was California's mineral, natural resource, and coastal access wealth that drove American settlement and eventual annexation at a blinding pace. In the span of one decade, between1850 and 1860, California's population, with gross underrepresentation of Native populations, grew from approximately 92, 597 residents, to 560,000. I posit that this fervor for stakes in the last frontier, as opposed to minimal exploitable resource benefits such as were extracted from isolated microcosms such as that of New Mexico, wrought a crushing blow on the early Spanish-speaking population's ability to preserve a thriving cultural ecology. Yet in the face of this ubiquitous conquest of the latifundio or ejido "Californio", as seen in the symbolic rebellion of Joaquin Murrieta in 1852, then over a hundred years later in actions such as the *Walk to Sacramento,* the *Chicano*

Moratorium, El Plan de Santa Barbara, or the *Immigrant's Rights March of 2006,* a fierce spirit of rebellion was born, and an intergenerational culture of resistance enshrined amongst Chicana/o peoples of California.

PSB and COINTELPRO

Although draconian actions, such as those taken by Chicago Police and J. Edgar Hoover's FBI in the assassination of Fred Hampton, were not overtly enacted with this level of murderous impunity on the Chicana/o Movement of the Civil Rights era, it was the repeated victim of counterintelligence measures. COINTELPRO policies aimed at surveillance, sabotage, and undermining the reputations of activists throughout its chapters, syndicates, and efforts throughout the country; California being the center of the movement, bore the brunt of this oppression. The duress under which CCM organizations operated during the Civil Rights Era must have at times been harrowing, considering personal risk undertaken by members and how young most of the participants in these movements were. The average age of the *Brown Berets*, for instance, was only twenty-one. Despite J. Edgar Hoover's declaration to "counteract domestic terrorism and conduct investigations of individuals and organizations who threatened terrorist violence." (Caban 2005), at the heart of the Chicana/o Movement, active California youth never recoiled. Groups such as the *Centro de Acción Social Autónoma* (CASA) put their community action hats in the ring in 1968 by providing legal and housing services to undocumented Mexicanos. As the organization flourished, and its "militant internationalism, and radical critique of capitalism" grew, it was infiltrated on the grounds that "its activities could violate federal statutes prohibiting seditious conspiracy and advocating the overthrow of the government." (p. 367).

Surveillance occurred throughout different organizations of CCM. Hoover's FBI infiltrated the ranks of the flagship union of CCM, *The United Farmworkers Union* "generating field reports to discredit the organization and sought to link it with Mexican Communist organizations. It also shared information with the growers and purposefully failed to investigate the criminal actions of the growers against the union and its impoverished members." (2005 p. 368). Working in the trenches of this tumultuous and dangerous political environment the organizers of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* set up their tent for educational justice. Discerning a political climate hostile to student and grassroots movements in California a UCSB academic advisor, and one of the pivotal inceptors of *El Plan de Santa Barbara,* Fernando Negochea said, "In the year 68, a lot of things were going on. The strike at Berkeley, the strike at San Francisco State, the anti-war protests. We just had the walkouts in East LA. There was burgeoning Chicano Student movement that helped create a context for this key document. There was common purpose, but also a lot of rivalries." (Carmona, 2012). From an introspective view, both the "common purpose" and the "rivalries" provide symbiotic roles in the sociological dynamics of any political movement. The common purpose unties the organization around common rallying objectives, and rivalries can serve a contradicting dichotomy. Rivalries can foster new ideas through healthy competition and a drive towards action. However, during COINTELPRO, "an acronym for covert action programs indented to surveil, infiltrate, and discredit American political organizations." (Wolf, 2001), rivalries could be used to divide movements and create irreparable animas and the decimation of organizations from within. "The vast majority of, if not all, prominent Chicano and Chicana civil rights and political organizations were subject to

FBI surveillance…directed primarily against those organizations that advocated militant cultural nationalism and national liberation." (Caban, 2005). Amidst the pressure of these and other Federal counterinsurgency and state policing measures, CCM youth, including organizers of PSB, were forced to dream, create, and fight.

Reagan's California

The educational objectives PSB focused on creating Chicana/o Studies curricula in post-secondary higher education, primarily within the University of California system. In this context, it is imperative to comprehend the political climate affecting Chicana/o university students, faculty, and California power brokers of the decade. When analyzing power dynamics and political economies systemically hostile towards progressive minority movements, deductive reasoning might point to right-leaning, populist political movements of the Berry Goldwater ilk. In Civil Rights era California, this hostility was embodied by the campaign of Ronald Reagan who took the reins of gubernatorial power on January 2, 1967. However, it is important to consider that even his "liberal" Democratic predecessor, Governor Edmond G. Brown, enacted draconian counter measures such as the arrests of over eight hundred student demonstrators at the University of California, Berkeley campus in December of 1964. After Brown lost in a landslide defeat to Ronald Reagan, student protest actions erupted throughout the University of California system, and as the nation's involvement in Vietnam deepened, the Chicana/o civil rights movements exploded and began to garner national attention. Ensuing student protest actions erupted throughout the University of California system. In the gubernatorial election of 1966, Reagan promised that if elected, "he would appoint John McCone, the former chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, to head a commission

to investigate why the campus has become a rallying point for Communism and a center of sexual misconduct, he further vowed to implement a puritanical "code of conduct that would force [faculty] to serve as examples of good behavior and decency." (De Groot, 1996).

At the time of the Chicana/o Movement, California colleges and universities had begun to see small increases of Latino enrollment. Although “federal and state grants, combined with special minority admissions programs enabled thousands of Latinos to enter college throughout California,” (Castañeda 2014) during Reagan’s ascendancy in 1967, Chicanas and Chicanos remained “shut out of the larger colleges and universities and instead attended two-year community colleges. As late as 1965, UCLA had fewer than 100 Latino students out of 25,000 total; that same year, only seven Latinos attended Cal State Northridge.” (2014 p.109). In an environment wherein school districts serving predominantly Mexicana/o barrios practiced de facto and overt segregation of Mexican students and provided sub-standard education and crowded classrooms, the urban-centered Chicana/o student movement began to take foot. This moment of “enormous change inspired Mexican Americans to challenge the politics, assumptions, and principles of the established social order.” (Donato, 1996). The small growth of Mexican students in graduate programs offered a foundation for critical analyses of their social conditions and opportunities for Mexican Americans in the U.S. Historian Juan Gómez-Quiñones, described it, as a moment when political activists “became increasingly concerned with understanding how economic class exploitation and racism had shaped the Mexican American experience in the United States.” (Donato, 1996). In facing the realities of the role that generational class exploitation and racism had played in their own lives, and

cyclically in the lives of their ancestors, Chicana/o activists took the mantle of resistance, rolled up their sleeves, and got to work.

California Chicanas and Educational Reform

Aside from the forbearing movements in the fields of Central California, the clarion for justice was first blown by courageous, young East Angelino Chicana/os, some as young as 12 years old. On March 6, 1968, over 15,000 LA Unified students from, Junior High through High School, walked out of their classrooms protesting run-down facilities, overcrowded schools, underqualified teachers, and curriculum offered in primarily Mexican American barrio schools that pushed domestic and vocational training instead academic tracks. Like the *Birmingham Children's Crusade* of 1963 in which thousands of young African Americans turned the tide against segregation and Jim Crow, the kids of the LA Student Walkouts/Blowouts of 1968 helped shift LA Unified School District and the City of Los Angeles' policies towards educational reform for underserved populations. Key to CCM's trajectory and as espoused later by PSB, the *LA Blowouts* also helped to center educational reform as a key issue. At the heart of these walkouts was leadership by young Chicana women. Author and CCS scholar Delores Delgado Bernal (1998) posits, "In exploring how and when women participated in the Blowouts, it is important to outline a reconceptualization of leadership that places women at the center of analysis and does not separate the task of organizing from leading." (p. 126). Young Chicanas helped spearhead and write organizational manifestos and newspapers such as *Inside Eastside* and *La Raza*, organize meetings, design flyers and promotional pieces, and walk at the tip of the proverbial spear during the Blowouts. Many young Chicanas that Bernal interviewed, such as Vickie Castro, Paula Crisostomo, and Rachel Ochoa

Cervera, took up community issues prior to the Blowouts. They helped form and lead organizations such as YCCA (Young Citizens for Community Action), which eventually morphed into the Brown Berets. The initiation of the "Community Demands" manifesto as the fulcrum of the *Blowouts'* objective, was based on a questionnaire/survey process conducted by Vickie Castro. She describes the process and significance of the survey to the LA student movement in an interview she gave to Delores Delgado Bernal: "we even had like a questionnaire that we had made…We wanted to compile complaints and I guess we were trying to develop, even in our simple perspective, like a needs assessment…we compiled quite a bit of complaints and that's where during the walkouts when you hear about the demands, a lot of that was based on these complaints." (p. 126) The Los Angles Student walkouts (aka, *Blowouts),* found their spokesman in Sal Castro[7], a high school teacher, and 15,000 brave souls who defied threats of firing, expulsion, arrest, physical brutality, and even death. Yet even as founding PBS member Fernando Negochea cited, "…we just had the walkouts in East LA," emerging iterations of educational reform within CCM, including *El Plan de Santa Barbara,* drew their inspiration and built their vision of a CCM Paideia, in great part, on the foundational bedrock laid down by the young women, still in high school, who envisioned and manifested a better future for their people. These were young Chicanas asserting their space and voice. They compiled a cohesive manifesto and list of community demands which read:

1. No student or teacher will be reprimanded or suspended for participating in any efforts which are executed for the purpose of improving or furthering the educational quality in our schools.

[7] One of the leaders of the walkouts was Cal State LA alumnus Sal Castro, who was a social studies teacher at Lincoln High School when the *LA Blowouts took place* in March of 1968. Castro was fired from his position as a teacher causing a community uproar which prompted sit/sleep-ins, and his eventual reinstatement.

2. Bilingual-bicultural education will be compulsory for Mexican Americans in Los Angeles City School system where there is a majority of Mexican American students. This program will be open to all other students on a voluntary basis.
3. Administrators and teachers who show any form of prejudice toward Mexican or Mexican American students, including failure to recognize, understand, and appreciate Mexican culture and heritage, will be removed from East Los Angeles Schools.
4. Textbooks and curriculum will be developed to show Mexican and Mexican American contribution to the U.S. society and to show the injustices that Mexicans have suffered as a culture of that society. Textbooks should concentrate on Mexican folklore rather than English folklore.
5. All administrators where schools have a majority of Mexican American descent shall be of Mexican American descent. If necessary, training programs should be instituted to provide a cadre of Mexican American administrators.
6. Every teacher's ratio of failure per student in his classroom shall be made available to community groups and students. Any teacher having a particularly high percentage of the total school dropouts in his classes shall be rated by the citizens review board.

Figure 21 Community Demands presented to LA Unified Schoolboard by LA Student Walkouts/ EICC on March 28, 1968, source: Blowout by Mario T. García. Public Domain.

The inception of CCM educational reform began at the little Piranya Coffee shop in Lincoln Heights, LA, California with founders Vickie Castro, Paula Crisostomo, Rachel Ochoa Cervera, Sal Castro, and often cited as the sole founder, David Sánchez. After the *Blowouts* YCCA (Young Citizens for Community Action), in emulative adaptation of more militant iterations of civil rights groups such as the *Black Panthers,* emerged the *Brown Berets* in 1966. Their *Ten Points Program* manifesto demonstrates a universality of demands for social justice in the context of the California Chicana/o community at large. Three months after Seven Brown Beret members were ironically arrested for "conspiracy to disrupt the educational system" that they were attempting to reform, the following declaration was written:

1. Unity of all our people, regardless of age, income, or political philosophy.
2. The right to bilingual education as guaranteed under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
3. We demand a Civilian Police Review Board, made up of people who live in our community, to screen all police officers, before they are assigned to our communities.
4. We demand that the true history of the Mexican American be taught in all schools in the five Southwestern States.
5. We demand that all officers in Mexican American communities must live in the community and speak Spanish.
6. We want an end to "Urban Renewal Programs" that replace our barrios with high rent homes for middle-class people.
7. We demand a guaranteed annual income of $8,000 for all Mexican American families.

8. We demand that the right to vote be extended to all of our people regardless of the ability to speak the English language.
9. We demand that all Mexican Americans be tried by juries consisting of only Mexican Americans.
10. We demand the right to keep and bear arms to defend our communities against racist police, as guaranteed under the Second Amendment of the United States Constitution.

Figure 22 Ten-Point Manifesto of the Brown Berets 1968, Source: Notes from Aztlan, notesfromaztlan.tumbir.com. Public Domain.

These demands signified that Mexican American youth was wide awake in the face of their marginalization and would no longer remain silent nor passive on matters of their education and community. This was a demand for equity in education and community well-being. The *LA Student Walkout* manifesto naturally focused on demands directed at the LA Unified School systems. From securing the right to protest or engaging in work to protect and improve their own schools, receiving bilingual and culturally relevant education, to holding ineffective teachers who showed prejudicial tendencies or apathy towards Mexican American students, accountable. These demands signify that education should not only be held to a higher standard but should be delivered in more culturally relevant and engaging manner. It also suggests implementing alternative models of education that communities can engage in and help to formulate. The demands of the Brown Berets, although containing several similar demands in the arena of culturally relevant education, focused more on the LA Chicana/o community at large. From requiring that police officers live in the communities they served to demands for a livable wage, the Brown Berets set out a Ten-Point program that would also affect the delivery of education because it signified that barrio Chicana/os were to be empowered to make autonomous decisions on what would best serve their children and promote a high quality of life in their communities.

Figure 23 Students walk out from Garfield High during LA School Walkouts-March 3, 1968, source: Grand Rapids Institute for Information Democracy. Copyright 2013.

Legacies of Segregation

The Chicana/o activists and founders of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (PSB) were primarily the daughters and sons of the World War II era, or the children of immigrant parents, of whom only a small minority had access to higher education. Jeanett Castellanos (2003) deems this as the "Third Era" or "slipping in the gates stage" (p.17) lasting approximately two decades, from the 1920 to 1950. She cites "philanthropical organizations and the GI Bill to explain the first generation of working-class Latino college students who entered higher education." (p.17). Students and Professors active in the move towards higher education in California were part of "El Movimiento" in Higher Education from 1960-1980, an era when Latino youth were demanding their education". (p.17) The path to this watershed moment for the entrance of Chicana/o students into the folds of the higher education academy, was a long and arduous one. In the early part of the Twentieth Century, as more Mexican Americans moved into Anglo enclaves and towns, a separation for schools was called for on the premise that "the Mexican is a menace to the health and morals of the rest of the community." (Camarillo, 1968) Large

districts such as LA Unified found creative methods towards de facto segregation through the formulation of calculated “attendance zones” that kept Mexican and White students separate from Elementary through High School age students. By 1935, the state codified such practices when it “classified Mexicans, identified as part Indian, as eligible for legal segregation in the state education code” (Sánchez, 1995) All Mexican American contributions to the community and greater society were omitted from state-wide school curricula, and as Albert Camarillo (1975) wrote “these programs did not reckon with undesirable effects: cultural clashes between what was taught at school and what was learned at home, breeding of inferiority complexes, and beginning a legacy of school failure. (p. 44). The initiation of the educational mission of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* was, at its core, based on the idea of seizing and shifting this legacy of school failure into a thriving pathway to higher education for Chicanas and Chicanos throughout the Californian diaspora.

Educational principles of PSB

The etymology of the word of Paideia denotes in Greco linguistics as the upbringing or education of the youth, but connotes, in the case of pedagogy, as the incalculable side-effect which accrues to a person as he or she selflessly participates in a common work. One of the primary objectives of *PSB,* and other regional chapters of the CCM was to shift educational programming often typified by dominant cultural narratives in the U.S. These new paideia models, as analyzed by CCS Historian Jose Luis Nájera-Serrano (2014), were “within the context of anti-colonial thought, not possible without conscious CCM leaders who understood the importance of employing a method

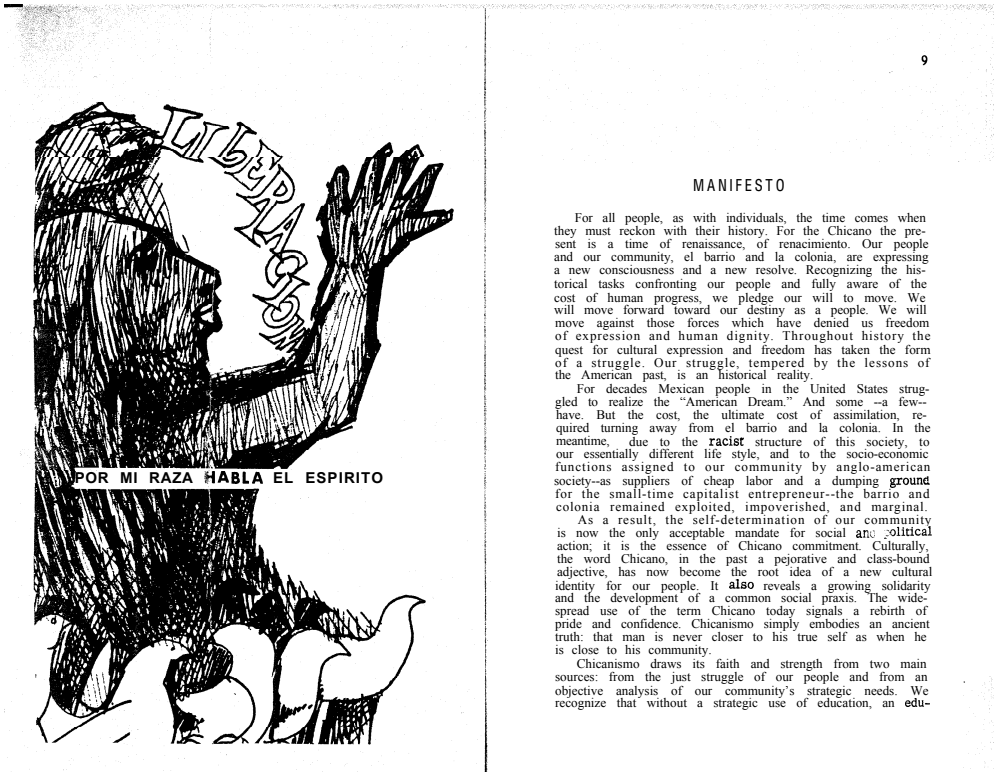
of teaching to inspire critical dialogue. This dialogue helped students' questioning of self and the world and helped educators develop a varied curriculum." (p.29)

Although much of CCM's curricular development joined existing western academic arenas, such as the founding of ethnic studies programs at the post-secondary level, it is the concept of grassroots, community based and created educational models that provide a visceral and experiential lens to Chicana/o epistemologies. Serrano describes this process "by which individuals relate aspects to indigenous knowledge as a means to find alternatives to western hegemonic thought." (2014, p.28) Although it was within the zeitgeist of a new American Renaissance that the many iterations of the Chicana/o movement (CCM) were born, an element of shared introspection and exhumation of indigenous roots linked them to the soil of Aztlán beneath their very feet. This ancient link to a pre-contact space, set CCM apart from other civil-rights organizations. Aztlán represents more to Chicana/o peoples of the Southwest than a physical region or lands coopted under the yoke of Manifest Destiny. It is the existential heart of a people rendered nearly invisible in their own homeland continent, a cosmic mother that bore the genesis of their ancestors and their ever-evolving, post-modern essence in its triumph and tragedy. Capturing this unbridled essence Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales decries in his didactic *I Am Joaquin*, "and now! I must choose between the paradox of victory of the spirit, despite physical hunger, or to exist in the grasp of American social neurosis, sterilization of the soul and a full stomach." (Gonzales 1967). In this vein, PSB espoused a curriculum that had no qualms in utilizing the western academy and curricular structure as its forum, but its underlying objective was to reanimate indigenous epistemologies.

Inserting indigeneity into western education

Although the origins of pioneering Chicana/o organizations such as LULAC and Raza Unida Party were in Texas, if there is a regional path one can deem foundational for the politicization of the Chicana/o Movement of the Civil Rights era, all roads lead to California. Beginning in 1962, Dolores Huerta, Cesar Chavez, Gilbert Padilla, the United Farmworkers, and their "sindicatos" and boycotts, set the proverbial conflagration to brush parched for justice. From the Castro in San Francisco to Delano, the San Joaquin Valley, East Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, and Chicano Park San Diego, rife with exhaustion in the fields and menial labor in the barrios, Chicana/o farm and menial laborers, students, brown berets, artists, citizens, and undocumented immigrants, rose in solidarity from the fields to the urban centers. Within this context, *El Plan de Santa Barbara* was born. Its essence was Chicana/o youth's real politic vision of bucking the system within the dominant society's institutions such as that of the academy. In the U.S., spaces such as these have been systemically exclusionary of people of color since their inception. The pragmatism of working within established institutions converged with the ontological vision of a transcendent Aztlan. This concept encapsulates the duality of a real and ontologically mythical motherland that draws from indigenous worldviews, while simultaneously reinventing a postmodern vision of cultural legitimacy and continuity within the subaltern. Centering the spiritual heart of Chicana/o youth movements around Aztlan "reveals how important—and contested—texts and scriptures could become as a utopian practice of fashioning mobile centers, making place, building community, and reinventing knowledge." (Hidalgo, 2016). In her assessment Hidalgo is not using the term scripture in its classical connotation, instead she's emphasizing,

"Minoritized communities finding ways to negotiate life within that no place gap because they have been displaced and emplaced in certain ways" (p. 5). Hidalgo's use of the term scripture does not limit itself to Christianity, "but instead focuses on what the Chicanx community elevates as holy texts", (p. 6) an example being indigenous spirituality created as a precursory blessing to *El Plan de Santa Barbara's* manifesto, the opening statement being, "por mi raza habla el espírito." (For my race the spirit speaks). Culturally juxtaposing western pragmatist symbology, this acts as an undergirding statement that the following manifesto and organizational document is not merely the declarative voice of a marginalized cultural group, but its content and implications are sacrosanct. The following artwork opens PSB's foundational document, preceding its manifesto:



9

MANIFESTO

For all people, as with individuals, the time comes when they must reckon with their history. For the Chicano the present is a time of renaissance, of renacimiento. Our people and our community, el barrio and la colonia, are expressing a new consciousness and a new resolve. Recognizing the historical tasks confronting our people and fully aware of the cost of human progress, we pledge our will to move. We will move forward toward our destiny as a people. We will move against those forces which have denied us freedom of expression and human dignity. Throughout history the quest for cultural expression and freedom has taken the form of a struggle. Our struggle, tempered by the lessons of the American past, is an historical reality.

For decades Mexican people in the United States struggled to realize the "American Dream." And some --a few-- have. But the cost, the ultimate cost of assimilation, required turning away from el barrio and la colonia. In the meantime, due to the racist structure of this society, to our essentially different life style, and to the socio-economic functions assigned to our community by anglo-american society--as suppliers of cheap labor and a dumping ground for the small-time capitalist entrepreneur--the barrio and colonia remained exploited, impoverished, and marginal.

As a result, the self-determination of our community is now the only acceptable mandate for social and political action; it is the essence of Chicano commitment. Culturally, the word Chicano, in the past a pejorative and class-bound adjective, has now become the root idea of a new cultural identity for our people. It also reveals a growing solidarity and the development of a common social praxis. The widespread use of the term Chicano today signals a rebirth of pride and confidence. Chicanismo simply embodies an ancient truth: that man is never closer to his true self as when he is close to his community.

Chicanismo draws its faith and strength from two main sources: from the just struggle of our people and from an objective analysis of our community's strategic needs. We recognize that without a strategic use of education, an edu-

Figure 24 "Por Mi Raza Habla el Espirito" (for my race the spirit speaks) opening of PSB Manifesto/foundational document, source: El Plan de Santa Barbara. Copyright 1970.

The Ethos of El Plan de Santa Barbara

In mid-April 1969, Chicanas and Chicanos from throughout the State of California gathered to do nothing short of transform their material conditions through educational reform. In the words of the document's drafters, "over one-hundred Chicano Students, faculty, administrators, and community delegates representing the northern, central, and southern regions of La Alta California, Aztlan. Away from the sensationalism of the mass media, and from the alarms of self-seeking politicians, we set out to formulate a Chicano plan for higher education." (1969, PSB). Different than the Paideia of more grassroots, community-based models of education being formulated in CCM throughout the borderlands at this time, the *Coordinating Council on Higher Education,* a.k.a. *El Plan de Santa Barbara* set out to create a model of community-based education to be utilized at the university level.

Figure 25 PSB activists in front of Campbell Hall in solidarity- UCSB, 1969, source: A.S Living History Project. Copyright 2020.

PSB bloomed into what Los Angeles Times staff writer, Antonio Olivio (1999) deemed as the "blueprint for what has evolved into more than 50 college Chicano studies programs in California, enrolling thousands and helping to shape some of the state's most influential Latino leaders." (p. 10). Although the first "Chicano Studies" program was founded at California State College at Los Angeles in 1967, PSB acted as a pioneering influence, thorough curricula writer for "Chicana/o/Ethnic Studies" programs upon which the foundational model was built throughout the Borderlands and the United States. Acting in the spirit of a Chicana/o Renaissance, the following is the preamble and closing statement to *El Plan de Santa Barbara's* Manifesto:

> For all people, as with individuals, the time comes when they must reckon with their history. For the Chicano the present is a time of renaissance, of renacimiento. Our people and our community, el barrio and la colonia, are expressing a new consciousness and a new resolve. Recognizing the historical tasks confronting our people and fully aware of the cost of human progress, we pledge our will to move. We will move forward toward our destiny as a people. We will move against those forces which have denied us freedom of expression and human dignity. Throughout history the quest for cultural expression and freedom has taken the form of a struggle. Our struggle, tempered by the lessons of the American past, is an historical reality.
>
> "At this moment WE do not come to
> work for the university, but to demand that the university work for our
> people."

Figure 26 Preamble and Closing Statement-PBS Manifesto 1969

This statement reflects a growing sentiment that public education had to serve people. The denial of quality education and lack of recognition of Mexican American communities as civic contributors, denied them of human dignity. Moreover, the organizers of PSB critiqued assimilation as a tool of colonialism and erasure of the Indigenous and Mexican presence and experience. In expressing a "new consciousness and resolve…against those forces which have denied freedom of expression and human dignity," Chicana/o Students, faculty, and community representatives made a clear

distinction that the objectives for which they had gathered would be accomplished on their accords and within the purview of a Chicana/o paradigm and vision divorced from the racist and derogatory implications of public education. In their final manifesto statement, "At this moment WE do not come to work for the University, but to demand that the University work for our people," a purposeful capitalization of WE brings to bear an unshakable ethos of solidarity. In its mandate that the University act only in service of the people, a sharp critique of the historical *knowledge and power brokerage* system that has traditionally served regents, donors, and the most privileged segments of society, in its patriarchal and Eurocentric pedagogies, curricula, and systemic cultural biases, also rings clear. Although PSB, in its highly nationalistic inception, theoretically espoused "internal colonialism," that "all chicanos were colonized whether workers of middle-class businessmen, and all whites were colonial exploiters," (García, 1981) The reality reflected an advanced understanding of racialized capitalism as a force of subjugation that compromised the quality of life and dignity of the Mexican American community. PSB advocated for a pragmatist approach of working within the infrastructure of the "exploiter's" academy, set the precedent for programming that would eventually be legitimized, albeit assigned an inferior position in the academy at large. In this pragmatism and growing embrace of Marxist-informed theory, in spite of its nationalistic foundations, PSB's drafters seem to innately understand what CCS writer Mario Barrera later would call, "ascriptive class segmentation." This is the idea that Chicanas and Chicanos are "exploited on the basis of race and class." (p.194) The unified force PSB created in the face of being rendered invisible as a generational underclass and racial group, established an enduring critique and curricular alternative to an educational system

that provided only minute passageways for Mexican Americans into the hallways of higher learning, economic mobility, and cultural affirmation beyond proletarianization.

Foundations of a Chicana/o Pedagogy

In its opening chapter, *Organizing and Instituting Chicano Programs on-campus,* PSB highlights the discrepancies between "rhetorical liberalism*",* "omnipresent in higher education," and the "contradictions between rhetoric and realities." (1969, p.13). With the real politic of the University system being a mere cyclical reflection of the dominant culture's, centuries-old, implementation of disciplines deemed acceptable and vital to the western academy. *Plan de Santa Barbara's* objective was self-evident, "the institutionalization of Chicano programs is the realization of Chicano power on campus. The key to this power is found in the application of the principles of self-determination and self-liberation. These principles are defined and practiced in the areas of control, autonomy, flexibility, and participation;" participation being the key. Essentially PSB's proposed modus operandi was the creation of Chicana/o Studies programs within the University system created, as the adage reads, for and by Chicanas and Chicanos.
The following is a "recommendations" outline defining the framework by which future needs of a Chicana/o Studies Discipline could operate in tandem with University of California guidelines, helping to provide the scope of an "institutionalized" study for the original peoples of Aztlán:

> Recommendations:
>
> 1. The establishment of a central information bank on course descriptions, proposals, programs, and personnel.
>
> 2. Directory of potential and current students, and faculty,
> available for distribution.
>
> 3. Design and financing of an in-service training And

support program for graduate students to enable them simultaneously to obtain higher degrees while filling teaching and staff positions in the programs.

4. Priority in hiring for program positions be given to graduates of Chicano student groups and those Chicanos who have a record of community service.

5. The possible recruitment of Mexican Nationals for faculty positions to fill special temporary needs, provided they have the necessary orientate and commitment.

6. Chicano departments, centers, colleges, etc., as they. become operational mutually support each other by the sharing of resources and the development of joint programs.

7. A just number of student slots in "Study Abroad" programs be secured for 'Chicano students and that these be nominated by the student organizations.

8. Chicano student and faculty exchange programs be implemented.

9. The various students' groups, MAYA, MASC, UMAS, etc. adopt a unified name as symbol and promise, such as Causa (Chicano Alliance for United Student Action) or MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan).

10. That Chicano authored, or sponsored publications be given preference as course materials. That Chicanos publish through Chicano journals. That Chicano publishing-houses be established,

11. That Chicano students, faculty, staff organize a united statewide association for the advancement of La Causa in the colleges and universities.

Figure 27 Recommendations for a universally cohesive establishment of a Collegiate CCS Discipline, source Plan de Santa Barbara. Public Domain.

The recommendations reflect a move toward autonomy and sovereignty through the construction of an education developed by Chicana/os and for Chicana/os. They also reflect the need for unity and collaboration throughout university systems in and beyond The Borderlands can be seen. Examples being the formulation of different groups such as MAYA, MASC, UMAS, into one united "causa" umbrella seen in organizations such as MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan). Or the idea that Chicana/o "authored or sponsored publications be given preference as course materials," (1969, p.22) an axiom still espoused in CCS departmental, instructional, and syllabi verbiage and practice to this day.

Curriculum Development

The development of pedagogical practice and curricula writing of, for, and by Chicana/os, as envisioned by *El Plan de Santa Barbara,* was based on the premise that, "The University of California, Santa Barbara, now faces the challenge of addressing itself to the education of ethnic minority students that it has never before confronted. Chicano students are entering UCSB where the societal and academic orientation is almost exclusively middle-class Anglo-American. The palpable result has been the alienation of these students…thus the prevailing cry of Chicano students is one of relevance." (p.47). In this cry for relevance, and a space carved out by and for California Chicanas and Chicanos in higher education, PSB wrote associates, undergraduate, and some graduate university curriculum maps that gave rise to foundational academic programming. Although a critical pedagogy of women's, LGBTQ, and Afro-Mexicana/o studies, to name a scant few, was nearly vacuous, PSB encapsulated a rich and thorough starting block from which the discipline of Chicana/o Studies could jump into the unexplored and murky waters of Critical Ethnic Studies in the North American western academy. Much of this initial thematic framework is still relevant and utilized widely in CCS programs throughout the United States and beyond. Two pioneering courses laid out by PSB were:

1. *History of the Chicano* that PSB described in syllabi form, "this course is not only an attempt to teach a new subject matter but is also an attempt to bring new methods of learning onto the college campus. Chicano history is a new subject matter: it is not that Chicanos have little or no history, it is rather that Chicanos have been the least known minority." (p. 140).

In teaching the "history of the Chicana/o", PSB was trotting on unmapped territory. Though, Mexican American history had been tenuously included to some extent in Secondary Ed. Social Studies programs, no thorough curricula had yet been written that addressed the sociology and mestiza/o, Mulata/o history of the Chicana/o in the United States. As a pedagogical approach, their course design PSB describes a more interactive style of learning in which professorial lecture is limited and interactive group work amongst students, and experiential research within their communities is encouraged.

2. *Contemporary Politics of the Southwest* by which PSB described in syllabi form, "the main thrust of this course will be an analysis of the political system in the Southwest as it has affected the Mexican American people." (p.144)

This course examined sociological topics of interest to the Chicana/o diaspora such as the Socioeconomic conditions in the Southwest that played a role in the social institutions of Mexican Americans or learning about contemporary socio-political phenomena concerning Chicana/os in the barrios and the fields. Organizations such as UFWA, MAPA, Raza Unida Party, LULAC and the GI Forum were featured.

The analysis of populations of the Chicana/o diaspora throughout the Southwest, naturally found its western disciplinary emphasis viewed through the lens of Sociology. PSB expressed that it was, at that time, impossible to develop "even the blueprints for a full-blown program, inasmuch as no one in sociology has yet had any extensive experience in such an endeavor." (p.148) In order to fill this void in Chicana/o disciplinary development, three areas identified by PSB as most crucial to developing an enduring CCS Sociology program were, first *Personnel and Administrative Relationships,* which as per qualifications, had to be fully competent in the fields they

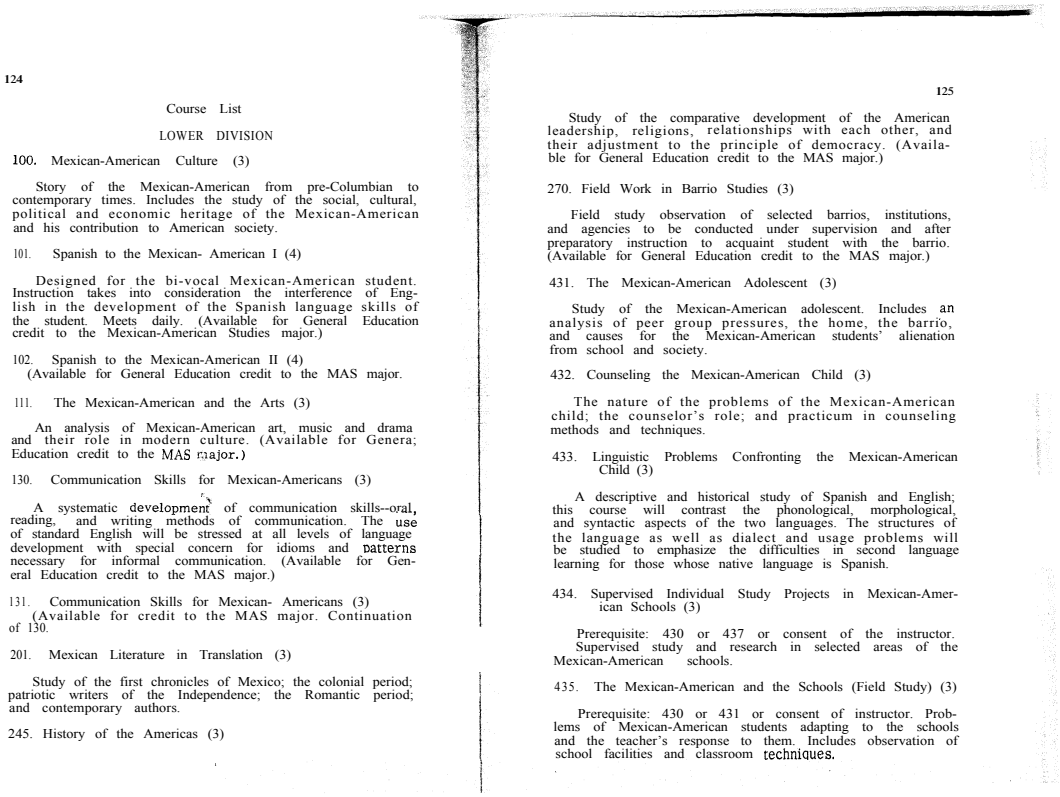
were teaching. Of secondary, but important consideration was their actual department experience, and ethnic background. Including the language of "ethnic background" as perquisite criteria for teaching positions in CCS programs is now, not only taboo, but a violation of fairness statutes. However, the theoretical thinking behind chicana/o values and epistemologies being taught by those stemming from the culture, was well founded in that "culturally relevant education" from PSB's perspective of indigeneity, means the visceral elements of the culture can only be conveyed by those who were raised in it. The discipline has since shifted to more universality, such as the incorporation of global comparative studies and non-chicana/o professors and educators brining their cultural perspectives to the table. It's important to note, however that the more nationalistic stance in the inaugural era of CCS/CCM established an important set of protective measures that proved essential in the face of a university and state system that was at best dismissive, and at worst, strategically hostile to self-established agency amongst Chicana/o peoples, all people of color, and impoverished sectors of the society in general, including poor Euro-Americans. Some vital disciplines for PSB's programming were anthropology and sociology of Mexico and Spain. A primary pedagogical principal espoused by PSB was also the need for high level coursework to be presented in Spanish and the recruitment of personnel drawn as visiting scholars from both Mexico and Spain. This set an early precedent for bilingual education.

In terms of development of graduate level curricula, PSB described the importance of *Scope, Present Status, and Level of Courses,* that a student is "likely to be more productive if he already brings with him training in a discipline, such as sociology, political science,' history, etc., the skills of which he can bring to the area of studies and

in which he can make his own unique contribution." (p.151) Although the linguistics of the era were, for the most part masculine-centric in their syntax, in phrasing such as "…likely to be more productive if he already brings…", we see here again the inadvertent exclusion of women as potential candidates for higher education.

linking the Chicana/o diaspora with the peoples and societal phenomena of Mexico, south of the border, PSB creates a space of learning that exhumes origins and roots from Aztlán to Chiapas and beyond. Its goal is fostering knowledge of origins that are vital to the young Chicana/o becoming self-aware, rekindling ancient knowledge systems, and discovering agency through pride in one's own cultural epistemologies and histories. The following are sample course list and curricular pieces developed by PSB for "Lower Division", or Undergrad CCS students:

1. Social Change in Modern Mexico, entailing the examination of "major social changes taking place in Mexico under the impact of industrialization, urbanization, modernization, and population growth."
2. Seminar in Mexican American Sociology which was penned as "an intensive study of some phase of Mexican American Sociology to be developed by the instructor with his class."
3. Sociology of Rural Mexico, which was examining the social structure of Mexican peasant communities and of the changes brought about in rural Mexico by the Mexican Revolution, the movement, and the introduction of large scale, modern agricultural methods. (p.152)



124

Course List

LOWER DIVISION

100. Mexican-American Culture (3)

Story of the Mexican-American from pre-Columbian to contemporary times. Includes the study of the social, cultural, political and economic heritage of the Mexican-American and his contribution to American society.

101. Spanish to the Mexican- American I (4)

Designed for the bi-vocal Mexican-American student. Instruction takes into consideration the interference of English in the development of the Spanish language skills of the student. Meets daily. (Available for General Education credit to the Mexican-American Studies major.)

102. Spanish to the Mexican-American II (4)
(Available for General Education credit to the MAS major.

111. The Mexican-American and the Arts (3)

An analysis of Mexican-American art, music and drama and their role in modern culture. (Available for Genera; Education credit to the MAS major.)

130. Communication Skills for Mexican-Americans (3)

A systematic development of communication skills--oral, reading, and writing methods of communication. The use of standard English will be stressed at all levels of language development with special concern for idioms and patterns necessary for informal communication. (Available for General Education credit to the MAS major.)

131. Communication Skills for Mexican- Americans (3)
(Available for credit to the MAS major. Continuation of 130.

201. Mexican Literature in Translation (3)

Study of the first chronicles of Mexico; the colonial period; patriotic writers of the Independence; the Romantic period; and contemporary authors.

245. History of the Americas (3)

125

Study of the comparative development of the American leadership, religions, relationships with each other, and their adjustment to the principle of democracy. (Available for General Education credit to the MAS major.)

270. Field Work in Barrio Studies (3)

Field study observation of selected barrios, institutions, and agencies to be conducted under supervision and after preparatory instruction to acquaint student with the barrio. (Available for General Education credit to the MAS major.)

431. The Mexican-American Adolescent (3)

Study of the Mexican-American adolescent. Includes an analysis of peer group pressures, the home, the barrio, and causes for the Mexican-American students' alienation from school and society.

432. Counseling the Mexican-American Child (3)

The nature of the problems of the Mexican-American child; the counselor's role; and practicum in counseling methods and techniques.

433. Linguistic Problems Confronting the Mexican-American Child (3)

A descriptive and historical study of Spanish and English; this course will contrast the phonological, morphological, and syntactic aspects of the two languages. The structures of the language as well as dialect and usage problems will be studied to emphasize the difficulties in second language learning for those whose native language is Spanish.

434. Supervised Individual Study Projects in Mexican-American Schools (3)

Prerequisite: 430 or 437 or consent of the instructor. Supervised study and research in selected areas of the Mexican-American schools.

435. The Mexican-American and the Schools (Field Study) (3)

Prerequisite: 430 or 431 or consent of instructor. Problems of Mexican-American students adapting to the schools and the teacher's response to them. Includes observation of school facilities and classroom techniques.

Figure 28 PSB/CCS Undergraduate curricula/course list sample-1969

Not only do these courses teach young Chicana/o students about topics from pre-Colombian indigeneity, arts and folklore of Chicana/o peoples, field work in the barrios, and linguistic issues "confronting the Mexican-American child," (p125) but they develop English language, communicative skills, and collegiate writing skills for Mexican American students, many of whom are English Language Learners (ELL's). In pedagogies such as these, PSB demonstrates its foundational, full-throated commitment to the success of its students from backgrounds in Chicana/o communities that are not traditionally included in the trajectory towards post-secondary education.

PSB Educating Knowledge Curators of California

Vital to this study's objective of building on Historical CCM Educational Programming to teach localized cultural epistemologies to Knowledge and Power

Curators, is the concept developed within the folds of *El Plan de Santa Barbara's* mission of passing the torch of Chicana/o epistemologies on to the next generation of high school and college educators. An important curricula piece, developed by PSB, is entitled *The Mexican American and the Schools.* Its objective is to "help prospective teachers and administrators acquire an understanding of the values and characteristics of people of Mexican descent residing in the United States." (p.133). Some of the methodologies proposed to achieve this objective included gathering students, educators, parents, and administrators from Mexican American meccas such as East Los Angeles to participate in "panel discussions, lectures, films, and small group discussions," in order that they may participate in the formulation of curriculum, bring forward community issues and needs. The program also provided essential reading in articles such as *Preparing Teachers for Mexican American Children,* by Thomas P. Carter of New Mexico State University, and *Bilingual Education Now,* by Armando Rodriguez of the US Office of Education, books such as *La Raza: Forgotten Americans* by Julian Samora, and Chicana/o News publications such as *El Grito,* and *La Vida Nueva.* In combining grassroots, community publications with scholarly works, PSB established a space of convening and communal sharing of knowledge and stories, a space, as Tomás Atencio deems *Resolana.* He describes it as both a "place and process, a noun and a verb…a gathering place where serious dialogue about weighty subjects is encouraged, where knowledge is allowed to flourish." (Atencio 2009). Though phrased and enacted in differing expressions, depending on the microcosm and cultural ecology from whence it originates, this place where community knowledge systems are shared becomes a guiding

principle permeating the early development of Chicana/o Studies and the Chicana/o Movement of the Civil Rights' Era.

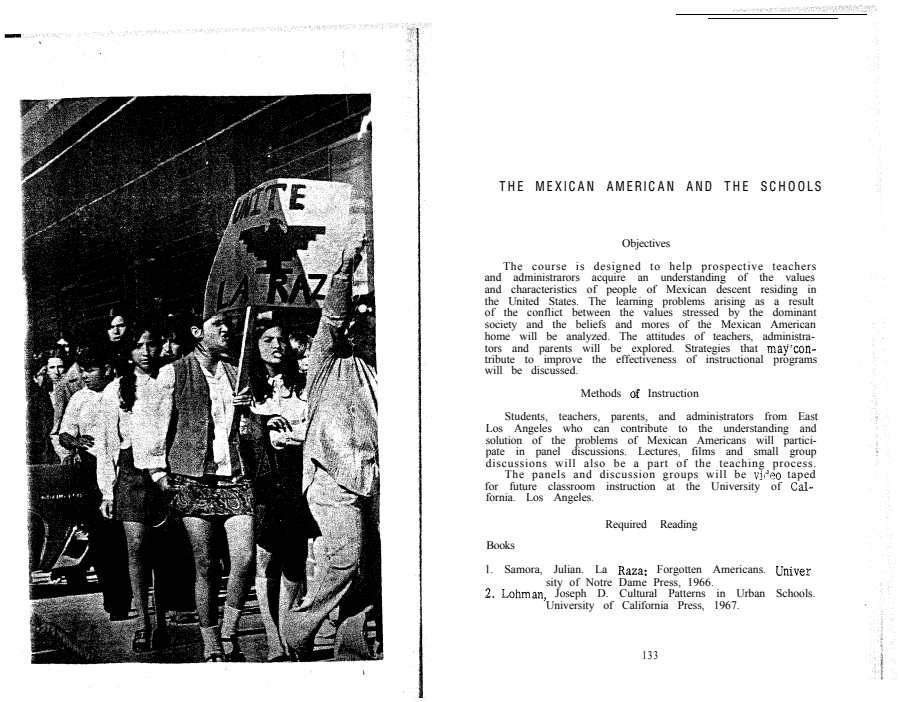


Figure 29 The Mexican American and The Schools-cultural knowledge sharing with educators-PBS 1969, source: El Plan de Santa Barbara. Copyright 1970

Conclusion

From the Pastoral age of semi-feudalistic latifundios juxtaposing indigenous and mestiza ejidos, to the Reagan gubernatorial era of Chicana/o upheaval in the fields and urban centers, a unique cultural ecology evolved amongst the Chicana/os of California. Against the backdrop of this rich cultural tapestry, The *Coordinating Council on Higher Education,* a.k.a. *El Plan de Santa Barbara,* helped solidify a new era of Chicana/o empowerment through higher education. In combining the fire and zeal of young Chicana/o student activists and community members with the institutional prowess of

university professorial scholars, *El Plan de Santa Barbara* symbolically etched the foundations of Chicana and Chicano Studies into the stone of the Eurocentric western academy. In the pursuit of building on the historical CCM/CCS Educational programming of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* to teach Manita/o/Nuevo Mexicana/o Epistemologies to Knowledge and Power Curators, I've established three key elements as findings in my research. First, in using the existent infrastructure of the system to change it from within, PSB helped create the novel concept of an entire interdisciplinary paideia created through the lens of indigenous, Mestiza, and Africana peoples. Its mission declarative affirming: "at this moment WE do not come to work for the university, but to demand that the university work for our people." (p.10) Secondly, they wove ontological foundations, through Mesoamerican indigenous axioms and practices, into the very fabric of the discipline of Chicana/o Studies. Be it the opening declaration, "por mi raza habla el espirito" (for my race the spirit speaks), practices such as honoring the four winds, and burning copal to convene gatherings and meetings, or deep dives into pre-Columbian histories and epistemologies, mestisaje and indigeneity became essential to the essence of CCS and CCM as a discipline, a movement, and a new paradigm. Finally, the crux of PSB's educational and disciplinary programming is centered on community empowerment, activism, and involvement as not only a founding principal, but a primary requirement for students and faculty alike. Service to the community is one of its founding principles and raison d'etrê. As a stated philosophy, PSB asserts, "the critical dialectics of Chicano Studies are the individual and culture which produces identity and new culture; the individual and community which produces social action and change. Chicano Studies means, in the final analysis, the rediscovery and the re-conquest of the

self and of the community by Chicanos. (p.39) The formulation of a dream by the students, professors, and Chicana/o community members of *El Plan de Santa Barbara*, over fifty-three years ago, helped to establish an enduring and sacred space in the American western academy for Chicanas and Chicanos. Its contemporary iteration has grown into thriving interdisciplinary CCS departments and coursework programs throughout North America and even regions of Europe and Asia. Its programming naturally bears the axioms and objectives of CCM and "La Causa", and conversely, the perennial scars of marginalization and isolation by university and educational systems, often hostile to the recalcitrant, resilient, and enduring idea of academic agency for CCS and ethnic studies, and a pedagogy developed en nombre de la gente, in the name of the people.

CHAPTER 3: The Crusade for Justice

Introduction

I recall a man who we called Tio Lalo, who was an old family friend not my actual "Tio". He always had a particular irreverent and passionate way of talking. I remember him sitting over coffee and biscochitos[8] at my grandma's house speaking on the "pobre Mexicano" getting the bad end of the stick, and how the "cabrones"[9] were "taking away our land". Being very young I couldn't quite comprehend what the heck he was talking about, although my family was political, and die-hard "Hispano democrats", he was the only one who spoke that way. I loved how his voice sounded, and how skillfully he could tell a story. One, in particular, I remember him regaling some primos and I with, is the story of when he wrapped up some T-shirts and "chones[10]" in a paño[11] and headed from Belen to the big city, "alli en Roosevelt Park," where "la Plebe"[12]used to gather, as he would say. He told us he jumped on a bus that UNM students had chartered "pa Denver" (headed to Denver) to go to the big "conferencia" (conference) where thousands of Chicanos were coming together to "fight for justice." I don't recall many details after this, but I've since learned that my Tio Lalo participated in an historic convergence that would forever provide a voice and a platform to the "pobre Mexicano", as he would say. In March of 1969, young Chicanas and Chicanos, such as my Tio Lalo,

---

[8] Manita/o New Mexico cinnamon, anise, sugar, shortbread cookies.
[9] Cabrones denotes as "big old goats", but it has many connotations, in this case, it is the equivalent of "bastard" in English.
[10] Chones connotes as underwear in New Mexico/Chicana/o slang
[11] Paño is a bandana, generally with the paisley design, often used in Pachuca/o culture to symbolize indigeneity/mestisaje.
[12] "La Plebe" denotes as "plebes", or commoners, but it connotes here as Chicana/o manita/o people.

gathered from throughout the diaspora to place their passions, dreams, and revolutionary spirit onto the altar of communal accord.

The *First National Youth Liberation Conference* (NYLC), hosted by the *Crusade for Justice* (CFJ) among other cornerstone cultural productions such as the epic poem *I Am Joaquin* by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales*,* rendered the quintessential Chicana/o nationalist document, *El Plan Espitual de Aztlàn.* Its preamble decries to the four winds, "In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage but also of the brutal "Gringo" invasion of our territories: We, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlan from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny." (Alurista, 1969). In utilizing terminology such as "consecration", this statement takes on an ontological, ancient land-based, sense of genesis, purpose, and destiny that rings as clear as a mexica warrior's battle prayer. Likewise, a clear nationalist theme emerges as Euro-Americans are named in the pejorative "Gringo invader", and Chicana/o peoples are given the enduring moniker "People of the Sun." Built on these and other axioms, *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, a.k.a El Plan de Aztlán* (PDA), ushered forth a powerful sense of diasporic nationhood, once lost in the throes of Manifest Destiny, now reincarnated as the motherland of Chicanas and Chicanos throughout the Borderlands. In examining the cultural ecology from which the *Crusade for Justice* and *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* emerged, similar to Chapter one's brief study of *El Plan de Santa Barbara,* I will analyze unique regional histories and their effect on localized identities, including amongst CCM groups, power dynamics and political economies affecting civil rights and equitable

education, frameworks and declarative manifestos of specific groups in the *Crusade for Justice*, and most importantly, the emergent educational models developed by CFJ in from 1968 to 1973.

Regional Histories of Manita/o Cultures of Colorado

The Chicana/o peoples of Colorado, predominantly in its southern regions in and around the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, carry in their worldview, similar cultural practices, mores, and productions as those of the "Manita/o" peoples of Nuevo Mexico. This worldview cannot be separated from that of the original sedentary inhabitant peoples of the region, tracing large pieces of their ancestral Puebloan origins to the majestic cathedrals of the towering pine mountains and high desert red copper plateaus and canyons of Southern Colorado. The cultural mestisaje amongst Nuevo poblador[13] and Puebloan people, rife with colonial anguish as it initially was, eventually progenerated a land-based Chicana/o, mestiza/o, manita/o diaspora that stretched throughout Southern and parts of Central regions of Colorado, then reaching downward past Socorro New Mexico. This expression of the Chicana/o diaspora provides a vital authorial hand in the cultural ecological story of Chicana/o Colorado from antiquity through the Civil Rights Era, and in perpetuity into the present digital age. The migration of "Manita/o" peoples began with the first Spanish Crown expedition into, what initial explorers and Franciscan missionaries deemed, La Tierra Adentro (The Interior Land), in present day New Mexico. This settlement journey enshrined in annals of history as *La Jornada*, was headed by the infamous "conquistador" Juan de Oñate. Beginning their journey in Santa Barbara in

[13] I use the term Nuevo Poblador in reference to the primarily poor farmer, early inhabitants, progenitors to the "Manita/o" cultures of Southern Colorado and New Mexico, settling after "La Jornada" primarily from the Zacatecas region of colonial New Spain in the late 16th and early 17th Centuries.

present-day Chihuahua Mexico, over 600 men, women, and children, Franciscan friars, and thousands of heads of livestock traversed unforgiving terrain and the ancestral lands of Puebloan peoples, leery at best, of these invaders from the south bearing foreign animals, languages, and symbols, including the Roman Catholic cross of the Inquisition. In 1787 Juan Bautista de Anza established an early settlement near present-day Pueblo Colorado, but this attempt failed. Although Colorado, as part of the province of Santa Fe de Nuevo Mexico and the Comercio Comanchero (Comanche Trade), was initially more of a Spanish colonial outpost than an established territory, its importance as part of the acequia headwaters' region brought it into the fold of the chicana/o homeland before the Mexican American War of 1846, and well before Yankee settlements of significant note in the region. The cultural evolution of manita/o peoples of New Mexico, and later Colorado, as with any migratory process and blending of cultural paradigms, is unfathomably complex, thus it will receive a much more thorough analysis as part of *Manito Epistemologies* of Chapter 3. Borderlands scholar Arturo Aldama (2009) describes migration patterns of Manita/o peoples from Northern New Mexico to Southern Colorado of the mid 19th Century as, "early Hispano settlers in what was northern New Mexico and is now southern Colorado were subjects first of the Spanish Crown and later of Mexico, after it gained independence in 1821. Between 1833 and 1843, the governor of New Mexico gave immense land grants that covered thousands of miles and are now entire counties in the state of Colorado to encourage families to move north, farm, herd their sheep, and continue the cultural and religious traditions of their ancestors." (p.22). Essentially land holdings covering hundreds of thousands of acres in Southern, and parts of Central Colorado, belonged to Chicana/o peoples practicing centuries-old acequia

farming technique, the syncretism of penitente[14] and culturally Puebloan Catholicism, and indelible connections to the land. This, as is the case in regions of South Texas, and Eastern Arizona, infers a land-based people, still very-much part of Colorado's cultural fabric during CCM in the Civil Rights' era as linked to the passions and objectives of the CFJ founded in 1966 and PDA in 1969.

After Polk's Mexican/American war ended with the signing of the *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* in1848, the ceding of over 55% of Mexico's territory to the United States, and in specific, the shredding of article VII, thereafter, became a major point of animas, contention, and American coopted land int the eyes of Chicana/o peoples throughout the Borderland regions of North America. Article IIV clearly states, "Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever." (Meyer, 2004). As placed into context by Marion Rohrleitner (2017), "the multiethnic population in the formerly Mexican territories was given the choice to either move into the diminished Mexican territory, remain Mexican nationals under U.S. sovereignty, or become U.S. citizens." (p. 38) As Euro-American settlement grew in the Colorado territory, it swiftly acquired statehood in 1876. At this time, it became apparent to Manita/o, Chicana/o

[14] The penitentes, originated in the early eighteenth century. A catholic order of Manita/o village men who held matters of spirituality and communal life together, many of their rituals and songs are a mixture of Pueblo and Hispanic religious and cultural practices.

peoples that this article was nothing short of an appeasement, Spanish and Mexican land grants, ranchos, small ejidos, and communal manita/o village landholdings and sacred spaces, were gradually stripped away piece by piece. “Between 1880 and 1900, pressure from the growing Anglo-American population and changing economic strategies caused Mexicano landownership to drop from 80% to 18% in the region (Clark, 2012) This began the era in which the bottom fell out of the old Manita/o land and village systems. “The decline of New Mexico and southern Colorado’s agricultural villages and economy that began in the nineteenth century continued into the twentieth century. By 1900 the Western industrial economy had fully matured, including corporate agriculture, which left little space for the small villages to compete.” (Hunt, 1999). This is political economy dominated the Southern Colorado and New Mexican regions until, as if having placed a bullet under smoldering embers, it exploded over a century later in movements pertaining to land grants running up into the San Luis Valley of Colorado, such as that of Reieis Lopez Tijerina and La Alianza Federal de Mercedes in 1967. The refrain of Chicanas and Chicanos, stemming from “multi-generational family histories in southern Colorado, New Mexico, and other parts of the Southwest (Texas, California, and Arizona) remains, “We did not cross the border. The border crossed us.” (Aldama, 2009) This refrain signals a perennial space, emerging from the mythological seven caves of the Chichimecas to Manita/o parciantes[15] tending to acequias[16] while singing pastorales and

[15] Manita/o, Chicana/o Community members who help clean and tend to acequias (irrigation ditches) under the leadership of the mayordomo (chief of acequias in given regions)

[16] Acequias are irrigation ditches used not only to water food staples in Manita/o communities, but as an ontological source of a community’s heart, its silt used to plaster adobe homes, and its waters seen as a continuity of a people in an arid, isolated environment, El agua es vida (water is life).

alabados, all tints of the myriad designs stained on the elk hide of Alutista's[17] reinvention of an infinitely rich and diverse cultural repository of Aztlan, both in the flesh and the imaginary.

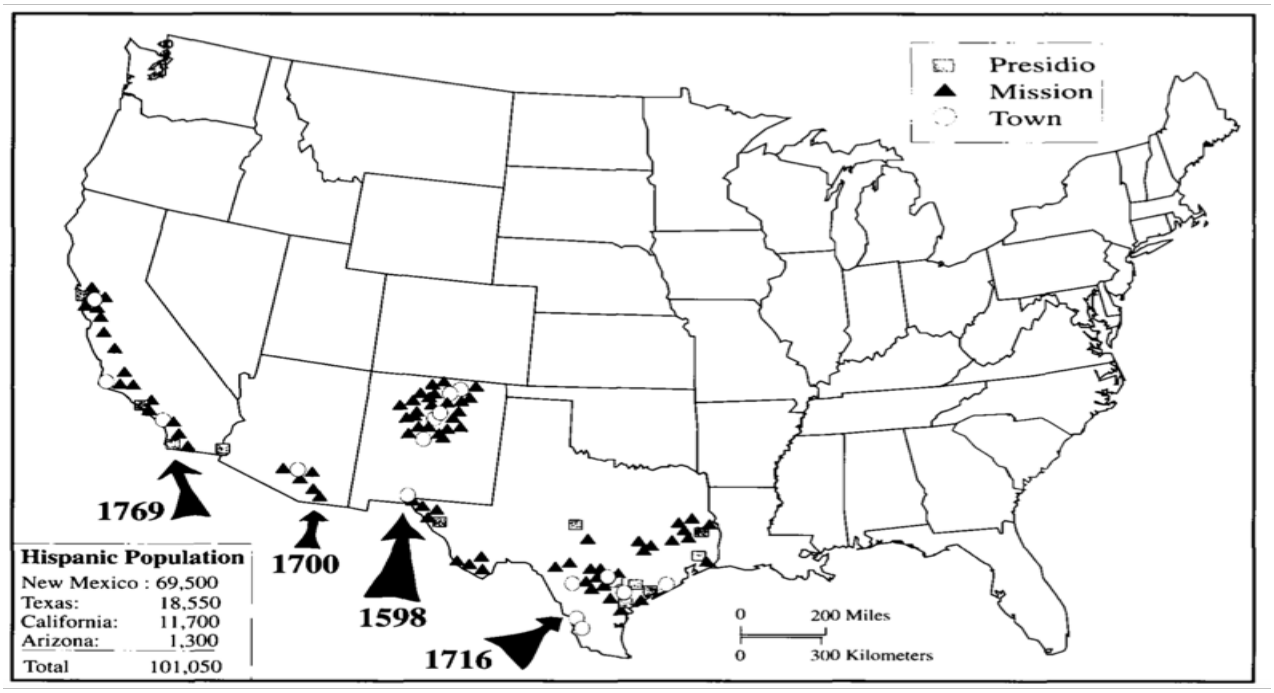


Figure 30 Hispanic Population of 1850-demonstrating majority being in New Mexico (encompassing Southern Colorado at the time). This map also demonstrates movement of Hispana/Mestiza/Mulatta people into New Mexico in 1598 preceding other colonial settlements by over a century, Source Haverluk. Copyright 2007.

Push and pull factors of the late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

In peeling off some of the layered and intersecting cultural ecologies in which Coloradan Chicana/os were immersed, it's important to briefly examine Mexican emigration phenomena from the first, and second waves, into the agrarian and urban centers of the state. In the first wave, 1900-1930, the root causes of push and pull of growing Mexican emigration to the United States resulted first from a growing need for

[17] Alurista is a Chicano/poet/activist/scholar who introduced the reinvented concept of Aztlan as the mythical homeland for all Chicana/o peoples in the Southwest. He, along with "Corky" Gonzales, is one of the primary authors of El Plan Espritual de Aztlan.

labor due to growing mining and agricultural industries in the United States. This pull was matched with the push of "rapid changes in the land and labor systems of rural Mexico in the 1890s prior to the Mexican Revolution. Before the institution of these government-sponsored programs, a substantial number of rural inhabitants lived, if not always comfortably or securely, on communally owned ejidos or on privately owned haciendas." (Cardoso 38), this, among many other socioeconomic oppressive policies, were the spoils of Porfirio Diaz' economic policies, and then after his ousting, the Huerta regime's indentured campesino[18]systems. Between the 1890 and 1930, conditions of oppression and low wage labor combined with the horrifying human catastrophe of the Mexican Civil War, raised "the number of Mexican migrants from around 20,000 migrants per year during the 1910s to about 50,000 – 100,000 migrants per year during the 1920s." (Steinhaur,2015). By 1900 these migratory phenomena translated in Colorado to being, "an estimated 12,816 immigrants from Mexico arrived, joining the large Hispano population who were already here. Altogether there were 57,676 Coloradans of Mexican ancestry in 1930." (Wei, 2020). As the population grew in Colorado, so too did its economy. Growing corporate farm conglomerates needed cheap labor that they found in non-unionized migrant labor, but unionized factory jobs, for the most part, kept Mexican immigrants out; then came a world war.

Mexicana/o Braceros and the Advent of a Rocky Mountain Metropolis

From 1942 through 1964 the *Mexican Farm Labor Program* enacted what became known as the bracero program, "bracero" simply signifies "laborer." Responding

[18] Campesino denotes as farmer, in this case though, it connotes as peasant

to extreme labor shortages during World War II, the United States needed workers and sought it amongst more than 1.5 million, primarily Mexicano, laborers who were to "return to their country of origin after their work permit expired. El Paso, Texas, the U.S. point of entry from Ciudad Juarez, served as a recruitment center for the program." (Velásquez, 2011). The growing intersectionality of newly arrived Mexicana/o peoples with San Luis Valley's Manita/o villages such as "Alamosa, Monte Vista, Del Norte, Blanca, Antonito, and Conejos for example, have maintained their Mexican connections far proceeding the times when they hosted a portion of Braceros recruited to work the fields of Colorado during the 1950's and 1960's" (Mize, 2016). Between 1940 and 1960, during the primary two decades of the Bracero Program's duration, the Mexican American population of Colorado grew from approximately 84,794, to 161,800 residents. (Gregory, 2017) The Bracero Program was terminated in 1964, sending many people back on overcrowded flights or trains for "repatriation". One of these flights, which crashed killing over twenty-eight migrant workers, never named but referred to solely as "deportees" by the media. This event inspired the famous protest song by Woody Guthrie, entitled *Deportee Plane Wreck at Los Gatos.* Between the original Manita/o peoples of Colorado, the multitudes who migrated north due to draconian economic policy in Mexico before and since the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the tens of thousands that remained, became legal residents, or were second and third generation born American citizens after the World War II era Bracero Program ended, Coloradan Mexican Americans had become a formidable sector in the fabric of Colorado's society, at least in terms of numbers. Conversely, in terms of visibility, they remained in the shadows as a seemingly invisible people. Having experienced astronomical growth from

322,412 residents in 1940 to 948,000 by 1966, Denver, had become the largest metropolis in the Borderlands East of Los Angeles. During the advent of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales' *Crusade for Justice*, and the inception of *El Plan Espirituál de Aztlan* in *1969,* 219,600 Mexican Americans lived in the State of Colorado, approximately 158,000 of whom, lived in the barrios of Denver. From the crosspollinating seeds of Chicana/o peoples, from regions throughout Mexico and Latin America, meeting with the Manita/o peoples on the soil their ancestors had sown since time in memoriam, grew the rich and omni-colored blooms of the political, educational, and ontological movement of the People of the Sun and their land, not solely of milk and honey as the Judeo-Christian adage reads, but of maíz, frijol, y calabaza, las tres hermanas (corn, bean, and squash, the three sisters); even if in the collective imaginary only, this occupied soil was soon to be symbolically resurrected as the land of Aztlán.

Figure 31 bracero workers on a bus for Lupton Colorado, 1959, source: Denver Public Library Special Collections, https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/. Copyright 1959.

The Urbanized Mexicano of Denver

If one looks at the meandering geographical trail of American expansionism through its enshrined vision of Manifest Destiny of the mid 19th Century onward, it becomes apparent that the thrust of its voracious jaws generally clamped down with ferocity on regions with tangible mineral and resource wealth. This was due, in large part, to the simple inertia of mass migration by Euro-Americans towards regions where they may stand a chance to "strike it rich", or simply cultivate a successful homestead plot in conjunction with areas of substantial settlement. In 1858, like the Gold Rush into California just ten years prior, news began to spread throughout the country about the discovery of gold along the confluence of the cherry and Platte rivers, "men came at first by the score, then hundreds and eventually by the thousands. Not everyone came for the gold. Some came to support the miners and their needs. Along with the gold -seeking pioneers came real-estate moguls, saddlers, dry goods merchants, bankers, and bakers." (Wallace 2011) There seems to be a correlation between the early discovery of precious minerals and later, fossil fuel sources, and the formation of huge commerce-driven metropoles and wealthier western cosmopolitan societies in regions like those of California, Texas and Colorado as opposed to the stunted settlement and western development of New Mexico, where the "Seven Cities of Cíbola"[19] were never found. It's often said by elders in New Mexico that, "the industrial revolution skipped right over us." With the discovery of gold, then huge coal deposits by 1859, Colorado, however, became one of the Midwest centers of the Industrial Revolution. This turned the engines

[19] According to legend spawned by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Baca, the seven cities of gold would be found amongst the pueblos of *La Tierra Adentro,* which was the original name given original Spaniard explores to Nuevo Mexico.

of progress at a fierce pace, and vast population growth and societal change ensued. The United States has always depended on Latina/o labor, a highly racialized and exploitative endeavor. As described by historian Zaragosa Vargas (1990), “following the Mexican/American War, a form of labor relations was ushered in founded on racial inequality and oppression as the worst jobs became synonymous with Latino jobs. A dual wage system developed based on race that became part of the West’s distinct labor relations.” (288). Economic growth was essentially dependent on migrant labor provided by Mexicana/os, and in much smaller part, by other groupings of color, such as Filipino immigrants. They were essentially viewed and treated as indentured servants who had nothing more to offer than the sweat of their brow and brawn of their labor. The conditions created after land-based cultural ecologies were swept out from under Chicana/o peoples, including those of generational ejidos throughout Northern Mexico, forged a permanent underclass as exemplified in Denver’s barrio neighborhoods. Due to the loss of agrarian sector jobs, many had become residents of the feverously expanding metropolis of Denver’s lowest socioeconomic sectors such as its far Northside, aka *The Highlands Barrio. “*Mexicans were largely relegated to the bottom rung of Denver society and their neighborhoods, North, East, and West of downtown Denver, often reflected it.” (Nelson, 2009) In 1924 Presbyterian ministers Robert McClean and Charles Thompson described one Mexican neighborhood as, “a district which looks as if both God and Denver had forgotten it...the mongrel offspring of a deserted village and a city slum with no paving, sidewalks, no sewers.” (Deutsch, 1989). Many Italian and Eastern-European immigrants preceded Chicana/os in Denver proper, arriving in droves as the mining boom exploded in 1850. By 1922, one in five Coloradans was Italian American.

Yet by the mid-Twentieth century, Italians and Eastern Europeans were already acquiring upward mobility, and a space, albeit initially a modicum, at the table of the "American Dream." When Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales founded *The Crusade for Justice* in 1966, that space at the proverbial table, was still not set, nor available, for Mexican Americans.

From the early to mid-20th Century, filling the void in decrepit abandoned housing blocks, and menial labor positions left behind by earlier migrant groups, Mexican Americans created close-knit communities in the midst of a rapidly growing American metropolis. The following map, entitled *Residential Security Map,* created by the City of Denver in 1938, designated all areas in red to the North, East, and West of Downtown Denver, to be "fourth grade" neighborhoods, "unsafe for investment." These were, incidentally, zones primarily inhabited by Mexican Americans.

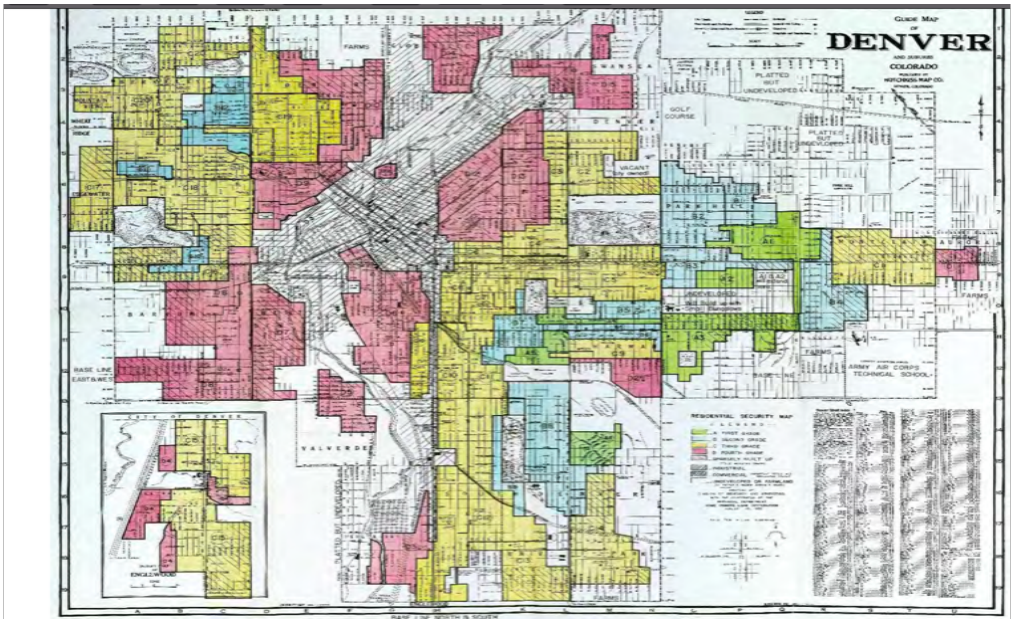


Figure 32 1939 Residential Security Map of Denver, areas designated red, primarily Mexican American neighborhoods, are deemed "unsafe for investment". Source: Nuestras Historias-https://www.denvergov.org/files/assets/public/community-planning-and-development/documents/landmark-preservation/nuestrashistoriascontext_en.pdf. Copyright 1939

Many decades before the advent of the *Crusade for Justice,* and the CCM during the Civil Rights Era, Mexican Americans had been engaged in social organizing to

improve their "housing, education, and electoral representation" (Gould, 2009). However, most of the groups organizing barrios before CCM, were relatively conservative. They were led by "business owners, religious leaders, and others, they fought for the incorporation of Mexican American citizens into full participation in Denver's economy…these organizations reflected a desire for assimilation into main- stream society, believing the best way forward for Mexican Americans was to participate equally within white society." (2009, p.103). Although these early iterations of Chicana/o movements held the interests of the community, they were a far cry from the nationalistic militarism to ensue throughout the Chicana/o diaspora just a few decades later. By the time *El Plan Espirituál de Aztlan was written in 1969,* the stage had been set for major youth and community mobilizations from throughout the Southwest to coalesce and speak in one concerted voice.

Power Dynamics and Political Economies of Denver

At the heart of a racialized political ecology into which immigrants and Americans of color were arriving, there were power structures being supported electorally and maintained systemically, from the Mexican Revolution to the Civil Rights Era, that warrant examination. An overtly White Anglo Saxon, nativist political economy built the structural power foundations of Denver since its inception in 1858. This power infrastructure initially excluded newly arrived Euro-Americans of Italian, Eastern-European, Irish, and Germanic descent, in many cases due to clashing Catholic/Protestant worldviews; people of color weren't even drawn into the fold of "civilized society" yet. From the gilded-age mineral, land, and railroad interests to the advent of corporate beet, potato, and meat packing agriculture interests, Mexican Americans, and minorities of

color in Colorado drew the carts of progress. By 1920 “about 15 percent of Denver's population was Catholic. Its 6,000 African Americans lived in a segregated neighborhood in Northeast Denver; Jews were concentrated on West Colfax Avenue; Italian Americans lived in North Denver; and Mexicans lived around Larimer Street, in the Auraria neighborhood west of downtown Denver, or in the "Bottoms" of North Denver.” (Vigil, 1999) Within a system of racialized societal hierarchies, minorities were forced into the shadows of de facto indentured servitude as the hidden backbone of Denver’s political economy.

A racialized societal hierarchy translated in 1925 to Colorado electing Clarence Morley, a member of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, to the office of Governor. Espousing the Klan’s political and eugenicist axioms against Jews, Catholics, immigrants, and minorities, systemically reinforced an overtly nativist power structure. Denver’s mayor from 1923 to 1930, Ben Stapleton, while publicly denouncing anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic stances was also a card-carrying member of the KKK, card number 1,128 to be precise. CCM historian Ernesto B. Vigil describes Stapleton as not being the only politician to “join the Klan from conviction or for convenience. In seeking Klan support, he is reported to have said, "I will work with the Klan and for the Klan in the coming election, heart and soul. And if I am reelected, I shall give the Klan the kind of administration it wants."(1999, p.4). During his tenure, Stapleton appointed fellow Klansmen William Candlish as Chief of the Denver Police Department. At the helm of DPD Candlish encouraged Protestant white Policemen to join the Klan and issued a citywide edict mandating that white women were not allowed to seek employment from “blacks, Greeks, Japanese, Chinese, or Mexicans” On August 13, 1924, the Denver Post

declared, "this proves beyond any doubt that the Ku Klux Klan is the largest, most cohesive, and most efficiently organized political force in the State of Colorado today." (p.4) Although overt power structures dominated by the Klan crumbled a few years after this grab for the levers of power by the country's most dangerous white supremist militia, it clearly demonstrates sociological dynamics both in Colorado's halls of power, and obfuscated yet endemic, elements of the cultural ecology of the City of Denver. In 1920, there were over 30,000 members of the Ku Klux Klan in the metropolitan area alone. From the "roaring twenties" through the Civil Rights Era, Chicana/o barrios were suffused in the gradual declination of their neighborhoods and divestment by any monied interests that could have aided in creating thriving economies. Due to systemic labor discrimination, biased bank lending practices, and limited access to well paid jobs and higher education, conditions for Mexican Americans in Denver's barrios grew worse every year. There were only a limited number of low-paying, industrial labor jobs that Mexican Americans had access to. Historically Chicanas and Chicanos in Denver have had access to railroad, defense, and meat packing industry jobs, but only a tiny percentage were able to rise out of menial car loading, bone cutting, or custodial maintenance positions. These were the positions considered the most undesirable and dangerous, thousands of Chicana/o workers were injured and maimed. To make matters worse it was extremely difficult for Mexican Americans to join protective unions, such as the AFL, who initially represented only skilled craftsmen, with strict "whites only" policies. As many of the industrial jobs waned by the Civil Rights Era, a proportion of second and third generation Chicana/o people in Denver were gaining a modicum of upward mobility. Chicana/o owned businesses began to spring up around the city.

Mexican American enclaves surrounding commercial and cultural centers such as Santa Fe Boulevard on the Westside, Larimer Street on the Eastside, and Morrison Road in Southwest Denver, thrived. Utilizing the innovative Chicana/o art of creating masterpieces from what others have thrown away or deemed to be useless, they "utilized the existing buildings in their neighborhoods for their commercial centers, and their use of these buildings added to the historic and cultural significance of these structures." (Hernandez, 2018). The following image is the historic *Aztlan Theater* on 974 Santa Fe Drive, it resides in the Mexican enclave of "Westside Denver." Originally the *Santa Fe,* it opened in 1927 on a street that was part of the old Santa Fe Trail which supplied the burgeoning city with supplies from 1820 to 1880. A Denver native, and early Chicano activist Tim Correa, having worked with "Corky" Gonzales on the Crusade for Justice, renamed it in 1972. He describes the name in an interview given to the Colorado Public Radio's the *Denverite* in the following manner, "Anglos ask what Aztlan means, "It's a situation where Chicanos are free. It's just like what Martin Luther King was talking about. It's a mythical kind of thing, in a way." (Hernandez, 2018) A proud symbol of the birth city of *El Plan Espirituál de Aztlan,* it now operates as a thriving music venue for multicultural musicians and poets.

Figure 33 The Aztlan Theater circa 1973, source: Cinematreasures.org. Copyright 1973

Many of the Chicana/o business owners became prominent citizens and leaders in their communities. Often their endeavors were not highly profitable, yet they gave their "owners and the community a feeling of pride and ownership of their own lives." (Cadava, 2009). Conversely, the dualities of the Latina/o poverty in the subaltern ran congruent to its ostensible community success within a western paradigm. Mexican Americans in Denver and throughout Colorado, especially recently arrived immigrants with tenuous legal status, trade skill levels, and limited English Language proficiency, were often limited to menial labor, and nonunionized labor-intense jobs. In Denver's Mexican American enclaves many people, primarily men, were drawn back into a de-facto migrant worker pattern, having to travel out of the city for agrarian work during the week, where they were compelled to board, seasonally or weekly, returning home only when economically feasible. Mothers were often compelled to leave domiciles and perform service-industry work in the form of food, cleaning, and child-care services. Subsequently, a sociological phenomenon in which older children in Chicana/o households were assuming parenting and domestic duties, and parental engagement and home literacy were severely lacking became cyclical. These sociological factors, combined with miserably substandard schools in the "Mexican" parts of town, created a learning gap that still acts to maintain race-based classism in urban centers throughout the United States today.

Historian Rubén Donato (1997) describes the educational experience of Mexicans and Chicana/os in Denver in the context of being viewed as "intellectually inferior and culturally deprived. To add to this recipe for oppression, they were often segregated into separate classes or schools." (p.109) Enacting what amounts to Juan Crow segregation,

city governments did not officially codify segregation practices in law. They instead, through the systemic depravation of access to resources and consistently ignored Mexican American quarter schools, created barrio zones of substandard facilities and education.

Emerging amidst ambivalent, if not hostile, city leadership under Democratic mayor Tom Currigan, 1963-1968, organizations such as the *Colorado Migrant Council*, were formed to "improve the living conditions of migrant workers through improvements in housing, sanitation, health, and nutrition. It also provided education to stop the poverty cycle by educating workers and their children on the causes of poverty." (Clement, 1993). However, just as most initiatives implemented by the establishment, these programs made only minimal positive impacts on the realities of barrio life. There were some young leaders, such as UMAS activist Richard Castro, who offered a challenge to an Anglo power establishment that, for many decades, cared very little about the issues of Chicanas and Chicanos. However, just as "Corky" Gonzales lost hist bids for city council, State House of Representatives, and State Senate, Castro didn't become a strong Chicano powerbroker until his tenure in the Colorado House of Representatives in 1974. From a national perspective, Colorado Chicanas and Chicanos worked with the UFWA, through its syndicate leadership in Colorado under Juanita and Alfred Herrera. It organized city-wide pickets at local liquor stores and Safeways that sold wine and grapes from targeted California. Most notable however, were grassroots, chicana/o community organizations crafted directly for and by the people of the Barrios. The groups that rendered the most profound and enduring impact on the community were, as the *Crusade for Justice*, models that were organically formed by and for the community itself. One

powerful example was the *Charro Association* of Denver, which was associated with Charro associations throughout the Southwest Borderlands called the *Federación Mexicana de Charrería* (FMCH). The term "charro" denotes as "Cowboy", yet the indigeneity of its collective voice proudly proclaimed that the Mestiza/o Mexicana/o was the original cowboy of the Americas, and that their stake in the "American dream" was more legitimated than those, superseding cultures, who would claim the iconic symbolism of the southwestern cowboy as their own; "el charro" became emblematic of an oppressed peoples' voice. The Denver charro association, along with their fellow syndicates throughout the diaspora, "worked primarily in the service of creating more responsive public institutions and integrating or reclaiming public spaces for the exercise of cultural citizenship."(Sandoval, 2021) Although embedded in the collective memory are the more pronounced and publicly visible civil rights' movements of the era, much of the enduring wins for people of color "proceeded through the arduous and much less visible work of building and trans-forming public institutions from within." (p.120) FMCH filed lawsuits, sat on public planning committees, endeavored in research, and put direct pressure on local power and knowledge brokers in the City of Denver and throughout their Borderland communities.

The Chicana/o was embroiled and churning in the post-modern spiral of urbanization, a process that ripped indigenous symbiosis with the land away, a process which has not ceased to this day. Inspired by the growing efforts of grassroots community organizations and infuriated at conditions, to name a few, of substandard education, lack of access to higher education, police brutality, lack of political representation, the legacy of an invisible people, and a crumbling barrio infrastructure,

The Crusade for Justice and Denver's Chicana/o barrios were poised to rise like a conflagration in the dark.

Corky's Vision

In The mid 1960's a young Chicano boxer, political activist, poet, and dreamer named Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales provided the visionary blueprints for a Chicana/o movement for change, justice, and empowerment. "What César Chávez and Dolores Huerta were to California and Reies Lopez Tijerina was to New Mexico, Corky Gonzáles was to Colorado." (Perry, 2017) From a chispa (spark) in East Denver Colorado to a fogata (bonfire) of legendary social resistance throughout the country, his vision sprung forth into the new American Renaissance of the Civil Rights Era. Having grown up in Denver's tough Eastside Barrio, working the fields with his siblings and mother, while his father worked the coal mines, Gonzales knew a thing or two about the plight of his people. His Father was Mexicano from Chihuahua and his mother Manita from Southern Colorado, their union representing a piece of the rich cultural mosaic that is Colorado's Chicana/o microcosm. Befitting of his indomitable will as political activist and leader, Gonzales was a professional boxer early in the 1950's, once ranked third best featherweight boxer in the world. In metaphorical double entendre reference to the excruciating pain and duality of the struggle, and glories of notoriety. His poetry captures the tragedy and triumph of battling for "La causa"[20], and battling for the title at that, "I bleed as the vicious gloves of hunger cut my face and eyes, as I fight my way from stinking barrios to the glamour of the ring and the lights of fame or mutilated sorrow…"

[20] "La Causa" denotes in English as, simply, the cause, but for Chicanas and Chicanos of CCM, it connotes as the eternal struggle for justice, dignity, equality, and the return, even if symbolically, of the lands of Aztlan to its rightful inhabitants.

(Montoya, 2016). Corky was a strong supporter and force in the Democratic party, having run for, and supported various democratic candidates for local and state office several times since 1955. In May of 1964 an unarmed 19-year-old, Edward Larry Romero, was shot and killed by Denver Police. Police brutality and abuse was rampant in the Mexican American and African American sections of the city, and when Currigan failed on a promised a full investigation on a police officer who claimed he "heard a shot" when he shot an unarmed Chicano teenager in the back, a war of words and wills between Gonzales and Mayor Currigan erupted and Gonzales left the Democratic establishment behind for good. Corky was uncompromising and unwavering in his commitment to *La Causa* and the people, even to the point where factions of CCM considered him dangerous and delusional. Demonstrating his stance on compromise and skewed movement objectives, the following is a quote from an interview Corky gave for *El Gallo-La Voz de la Justicia* newspaper: in 1972.

> Personally, the direction I chose some years back is still the same direction I choose today. The man who makes compromises based on politics, personal gain, and personal financial interests is as enslaved when his pocket is full of money as when he was poor. When they gave us powdered milk, we were slaves; when tomorrow they give us cream, there will be a financial or political hook in our bodies, and we will still be slaves. Those people who see victory in the form of full stomachs and pockets full of money while they still squat and bow to the establishment, who still have inferiority complexes, are not any more liberated than animals in a cage.

Figure 34 excerpt interview given by Gonzales for El Gallo Newspaper, 1972, source: Message to Aztlán-selected writings. Copyright 1972.

As a precursory blueprint, and consistent message of mission with *The Crusade for Justice,* Dr. Antonio Esquibel, Professor emeritus of Metropolitan State College Denver editor describes Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales' major themes of writing and action as, "nationalism, building the nation of Aztlán, la familia (family), economic independence, self-determination, cultural and historical pride, mestizaje, Chicano unity, liberation, brotherhood or hermandad, self-defense, inclusion of all La Raza, and political

independence." (Esquibel, 2001) Corky's vision of a movement, and education therein, was based on kinetic action with mantras such as "more work, less rhetoric". He gave leadership opportunities to young Chicana/os, and constantly focused on the getting the youth involved, as seen in his founding of *Escuela Tlatelolco Centro de Estudios*, in which a new seed for cultural education, by and for that culture, was planted. The youth were key to his ideas of kinetic action as he, "encouraged them to lead marches, to organize demonstrations, to plan conferences, to get involved politically and run for office. Equally important, he encouraged them to be creative: to paint, to sculpture, to dance, to act, and to write." (p.37). I contend that Corky's essence of being a poet, writer, and an educator formulated the more visceral elements of his philosophy and vision. He exposés a philosophy of human creativity being at the heart of the movement in his piece *Ballet Chicano de Aztlán, "*Recreate our love, our passion, our beauty, and our loyalty. We are the New Chicano! Dance . . . Sing . . . Shout Gritos de dolor—Gritos de amor, Bailes de fantasia y Carnalismo del alma… (shouts of pain, shouts of love, danced of fantasy and brotherhood of the soul)" (p.178). In this primordial space of creation, Rodolfo "Corky" distinguishes himself from other civil rights leaders of the era, in this he represents more than just the Chicana/o Movement, he embodies a new Chicana/o Renaissance.

The Crusade for Justice

In 1965 Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales talked with local chicana/os about his vision of a community-centered movement, a *Crusade for Justice* (CFJ). Soon after, on the corner of Colfax and Downing Street, Downtown Denver Colorado, the dream of a sacred space for a civil rights movement and culturally relevant cultural education was

realized. Gonzales, in the beginning, was the sole founder, and undisputed leader of The Crusade For justice (CFJ). It found its home in a building that was originally the Calvary Baptist Church. Its artful Greco-Romanic edifice seemed apropos for what amounts to a Chicana/o agora, like that of ancient Athens, a place of gathering for "educational, artistic, social, spiritual and political life" (Britannica, 2017) In lieu of ancient Athens, this building stood on the soil of ancient Aztlán, and its visceral essence transcended a mere office building to run the operations of a political action committee, it was intended to be a space, just as the pre-Colombian Mexica city-state of Tlatelolco, of redescubrimiento de raíces (rediscovery of roots). Gonzales envisioned a Chicana/o enterprise that was free from all outside interference or influence. It was founded on principles, as most organizations of the era, excepting the feminist movement, that were exceedingly patriarchal and nationalistic in its inception. CFJ held seminars for job training, food banks, cultural production arts creation. It housed offices for political organizing, and a theater performance space in which everything from baile folklorico (folkloric dance) to mesmerizing oratory fireworks of Corky and other leaders filled the rafters.

Figure 35 headquarters for CFJ 1968-1973, Colfax and Downing St. Denver, source: Latino History Project. Copyright 1969

Pertaining to the *Crusade for Justice,* CCM author and CFJ leader, Ernesto Vigil, describes, “we as an organization were a nationalist organization which means we put our priority on our community, we felt if Mexicans didn’t stick up for Mexicans, no one else was going to.” (Galan, 1995) The rapid growth of CFJ fast tracked it politically on a trajectory towards national notoriety and surveillance and loathing by both the local and federal policing and political establishment. Corky Gonzales garnered national attention for the Chicana/o Movement and when in 1966 Gonzales proclaimed, "unless everyone gets a share in this country, there won't be any country," the FBI keyed on this being an indication of violent extremist tendencies, ones to be closely watched and quelled if possible. Despite immense pressure from the local and national power structures, embroiled in a horrific war in Southeast Asia, and one against agency for people of color, and a rising tide of dissent at home, the *Crusade for Justice* proved to be one of the most organizationally sophisticated, important, and enduring models for protest and community organization to emerge during the Civil Rights.

COINTELPRO comes to Denver

In political terms, “the Crusade for Justice was a catalyst for uncompromising political activism on behalf of people of Mexican descent at a time when our population was growing and becoming urbanized.” (Vigil, 1999). This catalyst quickly grew to a political fire that drew the ire of the FBI’S COINTELPRO and J. Edgar Hoover himself. Some key political actions and ensuing police and FBI reaction were, first the event that solidified the inception of the Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales’ idea of the *Crusade for Justice*. When Chicana/os and African Americans joined forces in protesting the killing of a young African American activist in Tuskegee, Alabama, it undoubtedly sent up red

flags on the mast of the local mayoral and police establishment. On January 6, 1966, “the police arrested a group of protestors at the FBI office in Denver's Federal Building. The protestors, identified as the Denver Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, were protesting against the slaying in Tuskegee, Alabama, of Samuel Younge, Jr.” (Vigil p.29) During this quasi sit in, The FBI quoted Gonzales’ speech as indicating the formation of a new “Spanish American” radical organization. He was quoted as saying, “had been accelerating his efforts to organize the Spanish speaking community and stated he hoped that the May 21, 1966, rally "will be the biggest rally in the history of the state…the rally will be held under a "Crusade for Justice" organizational blanket and will include a number of participating organizations,” (p.29). Much to the chagrin of the City of Denver and the FBI, the rally took place and CFJ was born. As CFJ grew, not only as a political movement, but as an empowering space that provided education, agency, and a voice for the voiceless, that was growing in decibel level by the day, the FBI grew desperate for means to stop a brown youth train for change, thundering down a mountain with grease on the wheels. In its desperation it falsely fingered Gonzales as one of the “Chicago 7”, the eighth defendant was Black Panther Bobby Seale, who was later tried in a separate case. The seven, including Gonzales, were accused of being involved in the Chicago Riots during the Democratic National Convention of 1968. Charges were never substantiated because Corky was simply not there, but he did attend a meeting in 1967 with the Chicago organizers but believed that their resources were better placed into sustainable community work instead of media-worthy events that left no organization in their wake.

Gonzales' work with Reies López Tijerana and *Alianza Federal de Mercedes* (ADFM) in New Mexico is perhaps the action that drew the greatest ire from the FBI, conveying that as the leadership of ADFM was up for trial and may soon be removed, Gonzales would be a likely candidate for Tijerina's replacement, this of course never occurred. Nevertheless the de facto war waged by the FBI and local/federal powerbrokers, continued with ferocity on CFJ and brown and black community organizations throughout the American Civil Rights Era. Despite immense pressure from the local and national power structures, embroiled in a horrific war in Southeast Asia, and a war against agency for people of color and their rising tide of dissent at home, the *Crusade for Justice* trudged on in a constant state of innovation and reinvention through the early 1970's.

Figure 36 Founders of Crusade for Justice, c. 1968, source: Latino History Project, https://latinohistoryproject.org/item/crusade-for-justice-founders-late-1960s/. Copyright 1968

The National Youth Liberation Conference

In 1969, amidst the meteoric rise of CCM throughout the country, with tens of thousands of students walking out of schools in protest, generational land grant guardians taking over county courthouses, and brown and black berets occupying universities and federal buildings, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales convened the pinnacle convention of the

minds, hearts, and passions of *La Causa.* On March 23, 1968, the Crusade for Justice hosted the *National Youth Liberation Conference* (NYLC) in Denver. There hadn't been a political gathering of this proportion since 1938 in California at the *Congreso de Pueblos de Habla Española*. Leading Chicana/o activist and scholar, Carlos Muñoz, Jr., defined the gathering as an amassing for the first time of "activists from all over the country who were involved in both campus and community politics…and young people of all types—students, non-students, militant youth from the street gangs (*vatos locos*), and ex-convicts (p*intos*)—to discuss community issues and politics. The majority in attendance, however, were student activists, and most of them were from California." (Muñoz, 2007). Muñoz' final statement pertaining to the overwhelming attendance from the California contingency is not surprising being that it was the apex of CCM youth activism, and it was the home to more Mexicana/o peoples than anywhere in North America its sprawling urban centers. Even so, of greatest significance to the essence of the event, was that over 1,000 Chicana/os from all over the country, my Tio Lalo from Belen, Nuevo Mexico being one of them, amassed in unshakable solidarity. The FBI predicted a poor showing, but as numbers exceeded CFJ's expectations by three times, the strength of a united people forced the establishment, and the country to take notice. The primary objective of the NYLC was to collectively formulate and publish a cultural manifesto, or "revolutionary paper," as deemed by "Corky" Gonzales. It was to be a plan of action that would act as a "blueprint for self-determination" (Galan, 1995, 32:14). This enduring document was deemed *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*. The plan emphasized "separate Chicana/o institutions, community-controlled schools, an independent political party, and cultural affirmation" (Anonymous, 1969).

El Plan Espiritual
De Aztlan

Figure 37 Original Document of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán published in 1970, source: ICAA-Documents of Latino Art. Copyright 1970

At the conference Marxist and Nationalist principles were discussed and considered, but the evolving consensus agreed upon by all was that the new Chicana/o ideology had to be drawn from ancient Aztec epistemologies and myths. Late at night during the conference, a young activist poet, attendee of the NLYC known as “Alurista”, began crafting a poem drawing from Mexica/Aztec folklore, with the intent of inventing an emergent philosophy and mythology for Chicana/os. This piece became the preamble

of *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán,* and, as indicated, le esencia "espiritual" (the spiritual essence) of the movement. It distinguished the Chicana/o movement as being grounded in a vision that was classically ontological, such as movements rooted in Judeo-Christian or Islamic epistemologies, but in the context of a pre-Colombian indigenous world view and spirituality; indigeneity became the beating heart of *La Causa* from the day Alurista presented his legendary poem, to the present. This beating heart was the reincarnation of a symbolic Chicana/o homeland named Aztlán. These terrenos (lands) of the ancestors and their contemporary offspring, encompassed the entirety of the Borderlands in the United States. The legend says Mexica/Aztec people have their origin stories in the Southwest, and that, at some point in antiquity, they migrated to Central Mexico. This legend provides the rightful claim to all these lands as the original homeland of the Chicana/o people. The following is Alurista's legendary piece that became the preamble for *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*:

PREAMBLE TO THE PLAN ESPIRITUAL DE AZTLÁN

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage, but also of the brutal "Gringo" invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán, from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility and our inevitable destiny.

We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our house, our land, the sweat of our brows and by our hearts. Aztlán belongs to those that plant the seeds, water the fields and gather the crops, and not to foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the Bronze Continent.

Brotherhood unites us, and love of our brothers makes us a people whose time has come and who struggles against the foreigner "Gabacho" who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. With our hearts in our hands and our hands in the soil, we declare the independence of our Mestizo nation. We are a Bronze People with a Bronze Culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before our brothers in the Bronze Continent, we are a Nation of free pueblos, we are Aztlán.

Figure 38 Alurista's "We are Aztlán" became the preamble for El Espiritual de Aztlan c. 1970, source: www.insearchofaztlan.com. Copyright 1970.

Three overt themes, in terms of Alurista setting the cultural tone of the Crusade for Justice's organizational manifesto, are, first the unabashed nationalism in the vision. In exclaiming "we declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility and

our inevitable destiny," the manifesto has linked ethnic bloodlines to the source of the movement's power, a Chicana/o movement for and by Chicana/os. The second theme manifested, in the declaration, "We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the Bronze Continent," makes the statement that, the Borderlands are an illegally occupied territory, rightfully belonging to native and Chicana/o peoples alone. The third primary theme emergent in Alurista's preamble poem, is the brazen masculinity and patriarchal essence of the movement in its inception, "…brotherhood unites us, and love of our brothers makes us a people…before our brothers in the bronze continent." Although a nationalistic tone of self-empowerment was vital for a generationally oppressed and marginalized people to assert their visibility in a world that rendered them invisible, the acknowledgement of a divine femininity, or the valor of women's contribution to the movement seems ominously absent. Dominance of the maelstrom and absence of genuine female empowerment and inclusion amongst varied groups, from *Black Power* to the *American Indian* Movement, seemed ubiquitous during the Civil Rights Era. This marginalization of women in the movement would all be turned on its head soon thereafter.

Chicanas on the Rise

As the *National Youth Liberation Conference* progressed, activists separated into separate workshops and committees, compiling pressing issues and concerns within their communities. In the Chicana women's seminar, the burning issue emerged of their manifest role in the movement and the social hierarchy of an enduring patriarchal, male-centric, machista "Chicano" space. In an interview given by New Mexican Chicana activist, María Varela (1995), she describes "there was thinking among some of the

leadership that the women belonged behind the men, and their total role was to do nothing but support them, and there were others that said, hell no, we're the ones that keep it together in our community, in our home, and we're not walking behind nobody!" (33:22) Although many women were involved in leadership decisions and initiating key concepts for the movement, they were often relegated to clerical, cooking, and traditional caretaking stations such as typing, serving coffee and food, and sowing costumes for the folkloric dance and theatric groups. It seemed there was a simmering anger amongst Chicana women active in the movement, and throughout barrio communities, that fiercely surfaced at the conference. This debate came as a surprise to the male organizers of the conference. Conference organizer, and Corky Gonzales biographer Ernesto Vigil said, "we didn't know what they were talking about, nor why they felt that way. So due to the pressure of the women the agendas were changed, meeting places were set, panels were compiled, and the women had their voice whether or not the men liked it." (34:14). This was only a small representation of the emerging female voice in the Chicana/o movement. Although the second wave of feminism, under the leadership of figures like Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, was awakening and compelling, a culturally puritanical, country to finally grapple with historic and ongoing depravation of women's rights and their voice, many Chicana leaders felt the mainstream feminist movement did not represent them. Leaders such as NYLC attendees, Maria Varela, Patricia Borjon-López, Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez, and even the UFWA Union leader and national powerhouse figure, Dolores Huerta, remained, initially, under the contention that this was primarily an Anglo Women's movement that did not understand the needs nor plight of

the Chicana. Although oppressed within their own intracultural, machista,[21] and patriarchal paradigm, they were all part of a generationally marginalized and disenfranchised group of color, in which Chicano men in turn were oppressed systemically. A collective Chicana movement continued to grow and establish its own voice of women's' liberation in the context of the Chicanisma. In 1971, Influenced by *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán,* over eight hundred women gathered in Houston Texas for the first National Chicana Conference called *La Conferencia de Mujeres por la Raza* (The conference of women for the race/culture). Although the gathering represented the more radical elements of the women's liberation movement on Chicana accords, they were linked to earlier, more moderate elements such as *Cruz Azul Mexicana* and *Ladies LULAC.* The overarching objective of the conference was to create stronger positions on Chicana women's roles in Latina/o, and the greater society. "Gender discrimination, abortion, and birth control were given as much importance at the conference as inadequate educational opportunities, racism, welfare support, and employment discrimination, issues always at the heart of the Mexican American civil-rights agenda." (Acosta, 2021) Over half of the women walked out of the conference in protest saying the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association), who had help organize the event acted to divide the movement on male and female lines. One of the principal dissenters, legendary Chicana activist, Betita Martinez, contended that the conference failed to focus on poor and working-class women of color and was instead dominated by the larger feminist movement's model, a phenomenon still common in the present when the movements of people of color are coopted or absorbed by larger cultural mobilizations.

[21] Machista is generally used as an adjective describing male-centric, and misogynistic, behaviors and philosophies that often permeate the mestizo worldview.

Despite dissention in the ranks, the conference set a new radical tone and precedent that still influences CCM and CCS to this day. Gender centered study and cultural production, including LGBTQ paradigm, such as that pioneered by Betita Martínez, Cherrie Moraga, Gloria Anzaldúa, or even punk rock legend, Alice Bag, remain and grow more vibrant every year within the academy and collective Chicana/o consciousness.

La Escuela Tlatelolco Centro de Estudios

After the first National Liberation youth conference in 1969 the *Crusade for Justice* initiated what they called a *Summer Freedom School.* The objective being to "provide Chicano children and youth in the Denver area an opportunity to study their history and to reinforce pride in their language, culture, and identity as Chicanos." (Gonzales, 2001). Over one hundred and fifty students were initially registered. Their ages varied from four years old to eighteen. Because I run a not for profit, alternative music and arts educational initiative, I have the experience to know that this is not a small number of children, especially in that their age ranges varied from toddlers to young adults. The initial curriculum was fundamentally simple, but curricula planning is never a simple endeavor. The subject areas included "Spanish, history, music, folkloric dancing, geography, printing, sculpting, and contemporary world and national affairs." (p.172). By the time the summer of 1970 arrived, the *Freedom School* enrollment had more than doubled, signaling a successful educational program. Its implementation entailed team teaching with the intention of incorporating students into the process of curricula composition and being "part of the teaching team." (p.173). In the western educational field, we term this, "peer to peer teaching" (Mazur 1991), which is a student centered, interactive approach to learning, as opposed to traditional lecture, "sage on the stage",

methodology. However, in drawing from an indigenous paradigm as was the goal of Corky and the CFJ teachers, this was simply communal learning and teaching, as had been practiced and passed down generationally since ancient ancestors created flourishing societies in pre-Columbian Aztlán. When students returned to their traditional school year in schools created by the dominant American culture *Freedom School* students "noted a deficiency in these institutions in relating curricula and teaching methods to their needs. They also experienced frustration with instructors' abilities, unpreparedness, and unwillingness to correlate their educational methods and material with the increased social, historical, and cultural awareness" (p.173), that they had acquired within CFJ'S educational model in a matter of two summers. The elements of an unwillingness for teachers, molded by a Eurocentric university and state school system, to adjust curriculum to Chicana/o students' needs, and beyond this, to newly acquired knowledge of one's enduring cultural beauty and one's true self, are indicative of an endemic marginalization of students of color in American public-school systems. Emerging from a glaringly obvious need for a yearly educational model and paideia created for and by Chicanas and Chicanos, *La Escuela Tlatelolco Centro de Estudios* (ETCE) *was born.* Its charter espoused three primary disciplines of study, militant Chicana/o nationalism, the rediscovery of indigeneity, and general humanities study as pertaining to Chicana/o community issues. Gómez-Quiñones and Vásquez affirm that the "specific constellation of ethics and values claimed by Mexicans that embraced community, family, dignity, spirituality, and cultural work. All of which is to say, Mexican American historical mobilizations were an affirmation of humanist culture in the broadest sense of the phrase." (Gonzales & Vasquez, 1991).

First and foremost, militant Chicana/o nationalism is espoused in the opening statement and preamble for ETCE, as taken from the original Tlatelolco brochure published in 1973. The following passage sets the precedent for Chicana/o nationalism as a vital pedagogy of the school's paideia, "La Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco is an applied philosophy, a Chicano creation in the struggle to preserve and augment La Raza de Bronce and our home, Aztlán. Tlatelolco is an independent, family-oriented, "Centro de Estudios," where Chicano ideas, culture, values, experience, feelings, and knowledge emanate to develop and offer alternative models for Chicano education and educators." Here ETCE makes a commitment to preserve and augment La Raza Bronce (The Bronze Race) and the homeland of Aztlán, which demonstrates its nationalist commitment to Chicana/o peoples and the implementation of education relevant to the needs and collective paradigm of the Chicana/o community. This pedagogical practice was intended to instill cultural pride in oneself, and one's own community. In incorporating Chicana/o "ideas, culture, values, experience, feelings, and knowledge," (p. 174). Armed with this newly instilled pride, ETCE students were implored to take these tenets and serve their communities, and in doing so, fight for la causa (the cause). This concept of community service as hand in glove to Chicana/o community pedagogies is now manifested ubiquitously in Chicana/o Studies' programming. Without, what essentially amounts to the novel conceptualization of an educational charter based on indigenous communal principles etched in ETCE's manifestos, CCS may have evolved differently to its community-based pedagogy of today. The following is an image taken in 1970 of the Ballet Chicano Aztlán performing a dance that acted as a dramatic interpretation of *Las Adelitas,* metaphorically representing the militancy of *La Causa's*

fight against oppression and generational marginalization. *Las Adelitas* were the women revolutionaries of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 to 1920. They didn't just care for injured, clean and cook, as is often thought, they were often-times fighters on the frontlines of the rebellion in Mexico, a call to arms heard around the world.

Figure 39 Ballet Chicano de Aztlán troop portraying "Las Adelitas", women revolutionaries during the Mexican Revolution. Many older ETCE students participated-1970, source: Latino History Project. Copyright 1970.

As its second primary area of discipline, ETCE declares that its mission is to draw upon both ancient and contemporary indigenous epistemologies that both serve to educate and reawaken waning indigenous knowledge systems in the jaws of being, as extolled in *I Am Joaquin* by Corky Gonzales, "confused by the rules, scorned by attitudes, suppressed by manipulation, and destroyed by modern society." (Gonzales,1967). Tlatelolco's Indigenous Educational philosophy is as found in its philosophical objective statement and excerpts of Corky Gonzales' legendary epic poem, *I Am Joaquin*.

Tlatelolco's Philosophical Objective

Tlatelolco's philosophical objective goes beyond effecting academic competency. We perceive education not only as the intellectual development of the individual for his benefit but as a social orientation and developmental process responsible for social change that will benefit a collective group.

I Am Joaquin (excerpt)

I look at myself.

I watch my brothers.

I shed tears of sorrow. I sow seeds of hate.

I withdraw to the safety within the circle of life --

MY OWN PEOPLE

I am Cuauhtémoc, proud and noble,

leader of men, king of an empire civilized

beyond the dreams of the gachupín Cortés,

who also is the blood, the image of myself.

I am the Maya prince.

I am Nezahualcóyotl, great leader of the Chichimecas.

I am the sword and flame of Cortes the despot

And I am the eagle and serpent of the Aztec civilization.

I owned the land as far as the eye

could see under the Crown of Spain,

and I toiled on my Earth and gave my Indian sweat and blood

for the Spanish master who ruled with tyranny over man and

beast and all that he could trample

But...THE GROUND WAS MINE.

I was both tyrant and slave. (Gonzales, 1967)

In stating that the school's philosophical objective runs beyond academics, and that education should foster more than intellectual endeavor, Tlatelolco's philosophy emphasizes education for "social change that will benefit a collective group." This philosophy draws on indigenous communal knowledge systems, and it sets an important precedent for CCS as not only a culturally relevant curricula, but as a catalyst for change and activism in the name of community empowerment. It also indicates the shifting of the post-modern concept of educational acquisition being merely an individualistic power garnering pursuit, but rather as means to acquire what the Mexica/Aztec paradigm calls teotl. According to Mexica conceptualizations of acquiring "burgeoning and flowering" knowledge, humans must come into this knowledge by using their hearts being that the heart serves as "the center for teotl, the vital force which induces humans towards that which alone fills their emptiness and gives them roots." (Brotherston,1979). Filling the emptiness and finding one's roots are at the center of indigenous Epistemologies that La Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco was reanimating as part of its pedagogy. In terms of Nahuatl paradigms, knowledge transferred by means of the heart and teotl, in its fundamental essence, is brought into the world only to be shared. This premise is emphasized by Gonzales' philosophy that "El Centro de Estudios" (Center of Studies), is "provided not solely for the benefit of the students at Tlatelolco, but for all La Raza as well. All knowledge is shared; what one knows is taught to others." (p. 174). Also included are three key passage excerpts of *I Am Joaquin* first because students at ETCE

were required to study this piece, second its transcendent power and importance as the quintessential Chicana/o declaration of identity and rebellion, and finally because of its didactic quality as a piece of high literature. This astounding literary journey teaches dialectical linguistics and literature, the history of Mexicana/o peoples, critical stories of coloniality, and the ability to confront, love, loathe, and through a cathartic experience of self-actualization, embrace their own true identity. Lacking several important elements that would later evolve in CCS, *I Am Joaquin* misses the mark by portraying mestisaje as a binary concept (Indigenous, Spaniard), and not portraying any Afro Mexicanismo (Mexicanism) and divine femininity beyond holding women as a caricature of unblemished piety embodied in La Virgen de Guadalupe and juxtaposing the shame, and feminine rebellion of "La malinche."[22]

The third primary educational discipline incorporated into ETCE's pedagogical practice is that of general humanities as pertaining to Chicana/o realities within the dominant cultural paradigm. "We strive to increase as part of a collective group, La Raza. This awareness encompasses La Raza's real state of social, economic, political, educational, vocational, and environmental conditions in this society. As educators, we dedicate ourselves to developing Chicano perceptive abilities in order that we can analyze these conditions and apply our awareness, knowledge, and energy collectively to achieve needed social transformation." (McKissack, 1999)

[22] La malinche, malintzin, or Doña Marina is based on the Nahua princess who was enslaved by Cortés, acted as a multilingual interpreter, and as legend goes, became his mistress, and eventually blamed as the traitor who helped bring the fall of the Aztec empire. She has since become a symbol of feminine rebellion against the forced piety of emulating La Virgen de Guadalupe. The term used in the pejorative for promiscuity, temptress craft, or witchery. It's now seen as a term of empowerment in the fight against the patriarchy.

ETCE's concept of studying multi-disciplinary humanities in the context of the Western academy, is based on applying this knowledge to gaining an understanding of "La Raza's real state of social, economic, political, educational, vocational, and environmental conditions in this society," (p.174). This educational philosophy espouses teaching students in the ways and symbols of the dominant society, to create greater agency in society that will "chew them up and spit them out" otherwise, as the old American dicho (idiom) goes. Discovering this agency, students should gain the ability to focus their energies back on their communities as teachers, organizers, lawyers, etc., to create a "social transformation" being well-versed in the ways of the western world, yet culturally enlightened about the Chicana/o microcosms that formulated their values, cultural truths, and passions as Chicanas and Chicanos. *La Escuela Tlatelolco Centro de Estudios* developed a curriculum that espoused militant Chicana/o nationalism, the rediscovery of indigeneity, and learning general humanities to empower Chicana/o communities. In doing so ETCE triangulated Chicana/o nationalistic revolutionary ideologies, ontological Indigenous spirituality, and philosophy, with the pragmatism of the western academy's humanities. This model carries on to this day in its contemporary iteration through a charter school named, as its legendary predecessor, *Escuela Tlatelolco.* Located in downtown Denver it provides full bilingual and culturally relevant education for elementary through secondary age students. As Tlatelolco was a center of education and fine arts for the ancient Mexica, and a sacred place where over 1,500 students and community members were massacred while protesting social conditions in Mexico City on October 2, 1968. The school's founding raison d' être reads, "The name TLATELOLCO honors our Indigenous ancestors' commitment to education and

commemorates those who, committed to serving their people, lost their lives." (Escuela Tlatloloco, 2013) Within this beautiful and tragic dichotomy, Tlatelolco still resides, and the *Crusade for Justice,* and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales' vision lives and inspires on.

Conclusion

As I reflect on the animated voice and impassioned tales of a quixotic Tio who traveled on a pilgrimage for his gente,[23]to a conference they had never heard of, under a banner they didn't quite comprehend, I can now construct a more visceral understanding of the significance of those legendary events that unfolded in 1968, just 480 miles north from my little Manita/o/Chicana/o village of Belen, New Mexico. Denver was not nearly the metropolis Los Angeles was, yet through the vision and political actions of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and his small group of camaradas,[24] a Chicana/o action committee evolved into a prolific space of community empowerment. It was an incendiary ideology that captured the collective imagination of Chicanas and Chicanos throughout the United States. More importantly, it represented a new philosophy for culturally relevant, community education. Legendary Chicano civil rights leader, visionary, and author of the quintessential epic poem and manifesto for the people of Aztlán *I Am Joaquin,* Corky Gonzales set forth into the world the simple but enduring message of a crusade towards justice for a people who had been rendered invisible through conquest, disregarded treaties, land grabs, decimation of communal village life, urbanization, racism, marginalization, dehumanization, and systemic indentured servitude. In choosing the

[23] Gente denotes as "gentry", but in Chicana/o vernacular, it is "the people", just a "Di né" connotes for the Navajo. A special pride is applied to the use of this word in Spanglish banter. "La gente" connotes as the Chicana/o or manita/o people in a Borderlands context.
[24] "camaradas" denotes as comrades, and connotes as sisters/brothers in arms, or those for whom you would give your life.

term “crusade”, a title that embodied both an organizational moniker and the declarative nature of its mission, Corky and his camaradas purported that their cause for community empowerment was sacred, speaking to elements of indigenous spirituality woven into the organization’s founding principles. From this sacred space as a foundation, emerged a political and pedagogical pragmatism which, through its messaging and actions, made it a formidable thorn in the side of the Colorado and national orthodoxy. Historically the discovery and plundering of mineral and resource wealth in Colorado ushered in the Eastern power establishment in insurmountable force and magnitude in the mid-nineteenth century. This set the precedent of a colonizing society that crushed native and Manita/o/Chicana/o societies, and established power dynamics that would eventually create a permanent underclass of agrarian campesino workers and urbanized laborers driven primarily by mestiza/o peoples. Within this ubiquitous inundation of historic land grant grabs by Eastern pariahs, police brutality and shootings of unarmed young Mexican American males in the Eastside of Denver, and an inherent sociology that openly elected high ranking Ku Klux Klan members to the office of governor and mayor, Colorado has historically been rife with apartheidic cultural realities that have plagued its Chicana/os and other communities of color for nearly two centuries. These are the foundational histories, political economies, and cultural ecologies in which the *Crusade for Justice* Built a legendary movement in the name of, what Malcom X classified as “human rights” in an international context, not merely the struggle for “civil rights” of the Vietnam era. Differing from *El Plan de Santa Barbara* the educational component or paideia therein was grown directly from the community. It drew and crafted its pedagogy for and with the children of the Chicana/o community of Denver, as opposed to being formulated in

the context and setting of the higher educational academy. Centered primarily on the vision of one man, and nationalistic and patriarchal paradigms, it was only the first step in the evolution of Chicana/o Studies and Chicana/o activism into its contemporary interdisciplinary and global iteration, but the torch passed by its impassioned dream of a united Aztlán still burns today.

CHAPTER 4: Teaching Manita and Manito Epistemologies to Knowledge and Power Curators

Introduction

If knowledge and power curators can find utility in a space of *Resolana*, they will find themselves in synch with the Manita/o paradigm. Tomás Atencio (2009) describes *Resolana* as, "traditionally, a place where the sun strikes and reflects off a wall, creating a place of warmth, light, and tranquility, where villagers in northern New Mexico and in many places around the Spanish-speaking world gather and talk. It is an informal center for communicating. In searching for a Chicano parallel to the Socratic dialogues, I took la resolana and turned it into a metaphor for enlightenment through dialogue. (P. xi) If an educator or policymaker is to create a space where their students and populace can thrive and reconnect with their roots, it is imperative that they learn the nuanced and visceral foundations of the microcosm they will serve. Some U.S. educators and community leaders systemically fall into a pattern of assigning perceived and mythologized attributes and stereotypes to a culture that has become marginalized due to dynamics of assimilation, capitalistic modernity, and cyclical poverty. Through experiential engagement in their communities, teachers, professors, and community leaders can become not only educated, but practicing apprentices of the complex cultural values, mores, folklore, nuanced and varied worldviews, and rich epistemologies and cultural practice systems of their students and communities. What students bring to the table, in terms of a symbiotic teaching and learning environment transcends classic western pedagogies.

The inherent mestisaje, mulatismo, and even Ameranismo, (mestizoism, mulattoism, Americanism) amongst Manita/o peoples of New Mexico and Southern

Colorado, is often mistakenly categorized as a homogeneous group. The intersectionality within the New Mexican expression of Chicanismo (Chicanoism) is complex and must be viewed as such if it is to be understood. Within Manita/o culture, for example, "divergent identities such as "Hispanic," "Chicano," and "Spanish" compete and contest one another." (Gonzales, 1993). New Mexicans have also used the category of Indo Hispano, a term gaining prominence amongst Northern New Mexican CCM organizations during the Civil Rights Era. Imbued with a legacy of the "casta system"[25] and competing and overlapping racial identities, the larger Chicana/o diaspora often battles for identity in a similar manner, however for the Manita/o utilizing the term "Spanish" or "Hispanic" as self-identification, does not necessarily signify the rejection of indigeneity, or Africana blood line. As an isolated, and largely rural and land-based expression of the diaspora, many Manita/os were politicized through the historical struggle for land retention and the preservation of communal, land-based cultural values. Elements such as La Alianza's struggle captured the attention of rural and urban Chicana/o activists. Because it revealed calls for local autonomy and sovereignty. Being that after the battle of Cañoncito of 1846, as Kearney incorporated New Mexico as a U.S. territory, an invigoration of a new colonial caste system was ushered in, my brief overview oversimplifies the matter. However, I choose to shine a light on this, seemingly simple, issue of self-identity because these are all historic and cultural factors that educators and policymakers should understand about the Manita/o of New Mexico before presuming to adjust and curate their students' belief systems. Presenting more visceral views of history and colonialism

[25] The Casta System was created in colonial times to explain mixed race families to those back in Spain, but this racial hierarchy remained in place long after the Spanish had left Latin America. (Twinam, 2015)

should be the cornerstone of any well-developed pedagogy, however only through the lens of cultural relativity, meaning all cultural production is relevant, if educators are to serve their students.

Ingenuity from Scarcity

I remember midnight masses in my little pueblito (little village) of Belen, Nuevo Mexico, when somewhere between the refrain of "Resucitó! Resucitó! Recusitó!" (He is Risen! He is Risen! He is Risen!), and the thick pungent smoke of incense, a troop of Isleta Pueblo dancers, emerging from the back of the church pummeling hide drums, and elegantly weaving their way, as if floating a foot above the ceramic tile, to an area just in front of the altar. As the dance and songs reverberated through my bones with a certain wonderment and familiarity, I remember quietly asking my father why Isleta came to dance on Christmas. His story provided a glimpse into the complexity of the New Mexican cultural ecology. I vividly recall his answer, "son these are your people too, we are Hispano and Isleta, your great grandma was pueblo, this is the night that the Pueblo viene de vesita a Belen (come in visit to Belen), to honor Nuestra Señora (our lady)." In the artful mosaic of Spanglish that he always spoke to us, he set my imagination ablaze that night. What was not portrayed for me were the elements of brutality, enslavement, encomienda, and religious persecution enacted by friars and the Spanish Crown in colonial New Mexico, but he did provide a spark that has since driven my cultural curiosity.

The multiplicity of indigenous, mestizo, mulatto, hispano (Hispanic), roots melded with, primarily northern Mexican cultural expression, makes traditional Manita/o/Chicana/o of New Mexico inseparable from land-based paradigms. As seen in

spiritual expressions, such as the practice of “tierra santa” (holy/sacred earth) in Chimayo that is believed to heal ailments, a connection to the earth is inherent amongst Manita/o peoples. Tourists from every corner of the globe now come to marvel at the rustic ingenuity of viga laden mud architecture and painstakingly carved pine and battered tin adorning chueco (crooked) altars over campo santo (sacred ground). Aside from the artistic prowess demonstrated by the purity of this folkloric expression, to understand the Manita/o people of Nuevo Mexico, one must know the ingenuity drawn from scarcity prevalent in New Mexican Chicana/o cultural practices.

In the Manita/o vernacular, a little work/storage shed bears the name “cuartito” (little room). My father’s “cuartito”, was a masterful work of ingenuity drawn from scarcity. In my early years in Belen, Rio Abajo, my father couldn’t afford new building materials. So, he salvaged madera chueca (crooked wood), sheets of tin, and an old wood-burning stove he found in a landfill. He meticulously seated his structure over adobe walls made from the earth and straw from my uncle’s land. He pounded the tin into gutters and straightened the crooked wood by soaking it with water and plying it in place. The purpose of this minimalist construction was in essence utilitarian, but its structural and ontological space was pure art. The gutters were tilted to fill barrels for watering, and the smoothed nook sunk into the side wall was filled by a small statue of one of the Nuevo Mexicana/o’s favorite saints, San Isidro, patron saint of the farmer and the acequias. I recall working in that space in the dead of winter with my father as we engaged in carpentry and resolanic banter. The interior was warmed by the burning wood and jale sagrado (sacred work), and as I peered out of a small pane brining the windows of my mother’s kitchen, fogged by steam of cooking beans, into view, I recall musing to

myself, “there’s nothing better than this.” That old “cuartito” still stands and is being utilized by primos (cousins) to this day. To comprehend the human experience of the New Mexicana/o, it’s important to understand that this rustic place of work represents a sanctuary of learning. My father acted as my teacher on multiple levels in that space, and the contemplations therein were on the highest order of articulate intellectuality and philosophy. One such musing I recall is him saying to me, “I don’t know if it’s mathematically possible for Jesus to have been an actual person, I think he’s more of a concept that keeps reappearing throughout the world to guide people to place of deeper understanding.” In this sense, although my Father may have had a statue of San Isidro on his cuartito wall, his critical thinking challenged Roman Catholic dogma, and even the placement of a saint in a wall can be linked more to indigeneity than roman Catholicism. San Isidro, in this sense, represents more than an Iberic man canonized by the Catholic Church, but the spirit of the water and land that, just as the corn maiden for the Tewa peoples, if honored will bear a good harvest. These syncritic practices are not circumscribed to the New Mexican Manita/o. Conversely for example, the Pueblo people, in turn, often combined Catholic saints, first brought to them in 1539 by Marco de Niza, with Kachina spirits. Pueblo Kachina/Catholic syncretism[26] was originally adopted to hide religious practices from Friars for fear of prosecution, but the practice of saint/Kachina amalgamation remains significant to people to this day; these practices are found throughout the world.

In his ethnographic exposé*, Sabino’s Map: Life in Chimayo’s Old Plaza*, Don J. Usner (1995) discusses the preserving and archiving of people’s stories and records in the

[26] The mixture of different religions, cultures, or schools of thought into cultural practices.

Chimayo valley for over three centuries. This cultural production was practiced by villagers on scraps of paper, a rare commodity prior to the 19th Century, for reasons of recordkeeping. He says, "given the nature of life in this isolated valley, it is remarkable that people preserved records…the fact that they have been so carefully preserved reveals something of the nature of the people who kept them---and undermines the notion that all the people here were simpleminded farmers living in primitive isolation." (p 38) Within the context of my recurring theme of ingenuity from scarcity, in the arid climate that the Nuevo Mexicana/o has confronted for ages, Sylvia Rodríguez (2006) posits in her book *Acequia-Water Sharing, Sanctity, and Place,* that "anyone who has watched the minimalist gestures of a parciante irrigating a field will allow that it does not look like much." (6) but in the words of Corina Santistevan in an oral historical interview Rodriguez conducted, "there is a real craft about how to irrigate a field, it can't be done by just anybody." In reflecting on the rituals of the spring "saca"[27] enacted by parciantes,[28] the veneration of San Isidro in processions such as that in Los Córdovas, or the mayordomo and council's decisions on a Syrian[29] or Yemenese [30] repartimiento (water sharing), dependent on the amount water descending from the mountain cathedrals, a "moral economy"[31] based on, community symbiotic relationships of survival, emerges. I remember my father looking up at the Manzanos and Sangre de

[27] "Saca" denotes as removal, in the case of the acequia cleaning, it connotes as the event when the village gathers to work together in cleaning out the overgrowth in order to prepare for spring irrigation to begin.
[28] A parciente is a water-rights owner, and member of a ditch association in the New Mexican Acequia culture

[29] The Syrian method (originated in Syria brought by "Nuevos Pobladores to New Mexico in the 16th Century) is a method of allocating water in proportion to the amount of land under irrigation
[30] The Yemenite method is a method of allocating on a rotational or fixed time-release basis.
[31] I see Rodriguez' terming of the "moral economy" as a vital description of the economic origins of the Nuevo Mexicana/o as linked to a land-based worldview, distinct to systems ushered in after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Cristos in the distance, he somehow knew what kind of irrigating season it would be from a peering visual assessment. Within the labor-intensive process of the "saca" (cleaning of the acequias), a complex social fabric binds a ditch crew together…" (p. 85) The spring ditch cleanings known as *la limpia*, or more traditionally as *la saca*, is an annual activity where mentorship between the older and more experienced peones (laborers) and the younger workers occurs. It is a place where traditional knowledge, cultural values, and manita/o world views are transferred from the older generations to the younger ones. The symbiosis inherent in this communal endeavor does not end at edge of the "acequia madre"[32] or the "contracequia"[33], but rather defines a way of life inherent in the Land-based Manita/o expression of Chicanismo. Regardless of their status in a post-modern American capitalist disaster in which Nuevo Mexicana/os find themselves now, there is a perennial cultural richness that is present, but not always apparent to the *power and knowledge curators*. Since the advent of Spanish colonialism in New Mexico, the decimation of indigenous cultures, and an ensuing blending and syncretism amongst intersecting peoples, many cultural practices have waxed, waned, and have even been lost from collective cultural paradigms. Nancy Hunter Warren (1987) writes in her book Villages of Hispanic New Mexico, "for many years to bless the fields and crops in agrarian communities, great faith was placed in the intercession of the saints for a successful harvest, but agriculture has become less important in village life, and such rituals are seldom performed." (98)

[32] Acequia madre denotes as the "mother ditch", it connotes as the primary ditch for a regions' irrigation system.
[33] "Contracequia denotes as counter-ditch, it's the tributary that draws waters from the acequia madre onto farms.

Although the political economy of American modernity has supplanted many of these centuries-old rituals with urbanization and commodification, cultural practices are still passed on through the generations, and are still very much alive. I remember when my family was selected as Padrinos and Mayordomos (God parents) of the parish of Our Lady of Sorrows of Belen, there was a ritual of "la traída del bulto" (bringing of the santo statue) from another parish far up north in the small village of Chimayo. I recall the bulto[34] being placed on a flat cart pulled by bridled horses parked behind the church convent near our camposanto[35](holy/sacred ground) to the west. I'll never forget the smell of incense being burned in a gold dish as the bulto of La Virgen de Dolores was smudged with incense. My parents ritualistically walked around the bulto and met the outgoing padrinos/mayordomos on the opposite side. The "changing of the guard" from the old mayordomos to the new ones always happened around our Nuestra Señora de Dolores feast day, or "fiestas" in late August just before the "cosecha (harvest). Although the details of my memory are obscured after so many years, the ritualistic beauty and sense of being part of something bigger than I, something ancient, will always endure. It is within feast days and waterway blessing rituals, the musical syncretism of an Al Hurricane song, or the colorful semiotics of "trochi mochi"[36] Spanglish, that the culture still survives, reinvents itself, and flourishes.

Northern New Mexican Foundations

Sometime in the fall of 1969, in the tiny Manita/o enclave of Dixon, New Mexico, aka Embudo, two young social workers, Facundo Valdez and Tomas Atencio lifted their

[34] In New Mexico "bulto" refers to santos, usually larger in size and carved from pine.
[35] Camposanto denotes as "holy ground" of a church cemetery, it connotes as a sacred space.
[36] Sometimes called "mocho", this is Spanglish dialect of New Mexican Chicana/os in the "rasquache" tradition throughout the diaspora, its equivalent is "pocho" in other regions such as California or Texas.

dream of Chicana/o Manita/o community education model like an embattled survivor's banner into the wind. "Atencio, Valdez, and a group of other young organic intellectuals established La Academia de La Nueva Raza. La Academia, as it became informally known, was a land-based community organization in northern NM *dedicated to the task of recovering & refining el oro del barrio as the basis for cultivating a Chicano consciousness and creating a relevant body of knowledge "mined" from the villager's* themselves" (Romero, 2022). Befitting of the earthen heart that this dream was drawn from, its setting in the Northern New Mexican town of Atencio's birth, in what was originally named, El Puesto de Nuestro Señor San Antonio del Embudo, because it was a military outpost situated to guard the first government offices located in Alcalde, a few miles downstream, before they were moved to Santa Fe. It was a magical yet austere place where the confluence of the Rio Pueblo and the Rio Grande creates a rich riparian mosaic of emerald pastures nestled in the brown, red, and shale carved artistry of the canyon's hills. This was an idea born within a manita/o Nuevo Mexicana/o village tapestry of ancestral agrarian, barter, and pueblo/mestiza/o/muluta/o syncretism. An idea drawn from the very soil and headwater acequias that had been the people's life source for centuries, and unfathomable millennia in terms of their embedded indigeneity.

In terms of looking at educational models developed within this agrarian cultural ecology of the Chicana/o-Manita/o-Nuevo Mexicana/o, it is only befitting that I begin with Valdez and Atencio's vision. Their assessment of how learning, through the convening of a community learning model that embraces dialogue to uncover cultural gold or *El Oro del Barrio*[37], embodies a centuries-old experiential concept of knowledge

[37] *El Oro del Barrio is "*the buried knowledge that emerges from the process of *Resolana",* (2009) or community dialogue. (Atencio, 2009)

transference long present in the Nuevo Mexicana/o forums of education. It also captures the essence of the New Mexican imaginary inferring that those moments of peering at the moon and stars and contemplating life, purpose, and place should be given voice and legitimacy. *El Oro del Barrio* is both actual and imagined. It is within this sacred space, the stories people tell, the folklore they generationally pass down, and the richness of their cultural epistemologies, not merely in the intricacies of scholarly literature but in the vernacular oral traditions and life practices, that the essence of the Chicana/o Nuevo Mexicana/o can be found.

Even in this seemingly isosteric context, its founders were, by no means, isolated from the rest of CCM with networks and contacts spanning from the United Farm Workers Association syndicates to the Black Berets on the embroiled University of New Mexico campus. Demonstrating the symbiotic sharing of ideas amongst CCM and *La Academia Asociados* were notes tucked into the front of Atencio's foundational document's folder in the University of New Mexico's Center for Southwest Research Special Collections, *Tomas Atencio Papers.* Dr. Atencio had placed a small, fifteen-page pamphlet pieced together rustically by *Barrios Unidos* and the *Mexican American Neighborhood Civic Organization* in San Antonio Texas in 1969. Its content was based on community education through discovering and fostering *El Oro del Barrio.* The approach taken, differing to *La Academia'*s Community dialogical education, was rooted in what the organization deemed the *Mental Health Field Program.* Its programming included elements such as narcotics treatment, job placement, gang violence prevention, suicide prevention, and public relations between dominant cultural institutions and the Chicana/o community. Its purpose was to "establish new treatment modalities and adopt

itself to the cultural values in which it is to operate." (Aguilar, 1969). Although the programming was distinct to Atencio's vision of the needs of the Chicana/o people of Northern New Mexico, its overarching mission of serving the community to protect *El Oro Del Barrio* was the same.

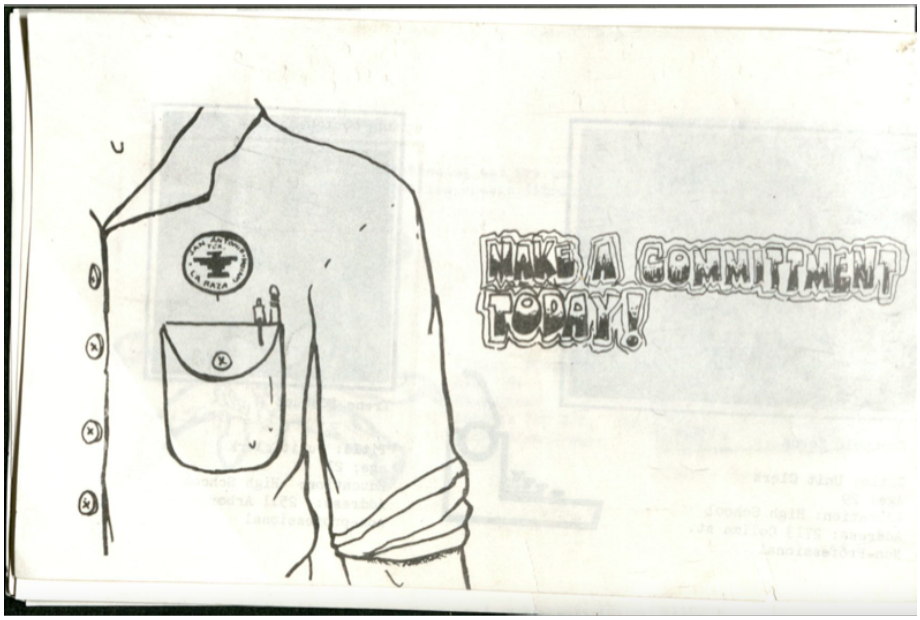


Figure 40 Mental Health Field Program, San Antonio Tx., 1969, source: Barrios Unidos. Public Domain

In 1969 *La Academia de la Nueva Raza* got its first developmental grant in the amount of $80,000 from the United Presbyterian Church Council U.S.A. These monies were used in capital outlay for securing equipment and not for the development of large-scale programming. The founders' reasoning was that programming was often developed, and after gaining the trust and vestment of a community, funding may be discontinued. People's loss in confidence can often be irreparable, which may lead, especially in more insular enclaves, for communities to become disillusioned. Therefore, the thought process

was that the programming should remain small in scale until such time that funding for growing it was firmly established.

Pilot programming did not exclusively cover Northern New Mexican villages in its periphery, but larger communities throughout the diaspora. One such community was San Antonio, Texas wherein two arts programs were fostered by *La Academia*. One called *Los Pintores de Aztlan* and the second a musical group which was going to engage in community outreach by "developing a sense of awareness among Chicano youth." (p.3). *La Academia* also developed a newsletter called *El Cuaderno* (the notebook). This project was developed as its "national vehicle for disseminating information of what La Academia is doing or thinking." (p.4)

In his foundational papers, Atencio (1969) describes the founding of *La Academia de La Nueva Raza*, known informally as *La Academia,* both as a localized crusade for agency, and a broad CCM universality, "La academia de la Nueva Raza was founded by several individuals who felt that without the harnessing of the Chicano intellectual resources, a continued action movement would yield, at best, an accommodation into the system or, at worst, a bloody confrontation and immediate extinction of La Raza." (p.1). Though his invoking of an "immediate extinction of La Raza," may have been somewhat hyperbolic, without an educational foundation, the absorption of a culture's assertion of space, by way of the sheer inertia of a dominant cultural ecology surrounding it, is inevitable. Without foundational, community-based pedagogies, the movement would eventually die without having embedded an enduring intellectual agency for change. In concepts derived from a civil rights renaissance, the reimagination of ancient epistemologies in a modern setting necessitated educational

programming as a conceptual progenitor, or at very least, as an academic archivist. *La Academia's* philosophy however was founded on the principles of community story gathering and documentation. Of this knowledge exchange Atentcio said that this documentation process "harbored for Chicanos' use as much information about La Raza as is conceivably possible." (p.1). In further assertions he insists that, this could not be a "sterile process", of "merely gathering information, it must be an educational process that creates a set of skills…" (p.1). In their landmark book, *Resolana: Emerging Chicano Dialogues on Community and Globalization (Montiel, Atencio, Mares),* Atencio and the co-authors describe these concepts of *Resolana and oro del barrio* as deriving from villagers in northern New Mexico referring to the south-facing side of a wall, "the place the sun shines". The resolaneros, the villagers, gather, dialogue, and reflect on society, culture and politics. The buried knowledge that emerges may be pure gold, or *El Oro del Barrio*. (Atencio, 2009) Anthropologically Atencio differentiates diverging paradigms in cultural practices. "White folklore is aesthetic and builds a personal identity in relation to culture, oral history reveals the conditions under which Chicanos have developed in this country." (p.8). In the revelatory process of oral history documentation, *La Academia*, through mining for *el Oro del barrio,* was discovering stories and feelings concerning "land grants, water adjudication, and the development of political processes." (p.8). This informal interview process was designed to be a dynamic dialogue and organic educational process which could both inform and challenge community members.

Structural Foundations of La Academia de La Nueva Raza

The crux of *La Academia's* pedagogical practice is found in its direct engagement with the community members. Gómez-Quiñones and Vásquez (2014) write, "The

Academia did not organize "students" in the orthodox sense; all participants were learners and teachers. They were, moreover, involved meaningfully in community-oriented education." (p.180). Of the three CCM educational models I've examined; *La Academia's* methodology breaks most starkly from pedagogical and structural norms of the western academy. Its modus operandi requires facilitators and participants to conduct their educational interaction as people engaged in dialogue in informal settings such as people's homes, and community gathering places. Its elemental model draws primarily from Manita/o/indigenous oral tradition and knowledge sharing systems.

The oral history process at the heart of community educational outreach and knowledge sharing implemented by *La Academia* was facilitated by students who Atencio deemed, "tutors". It recruited Chicana/o college student volunteers to fan out into, primarily Northern New Mexican villages, and interview Manita/o village community members. The mission being gathering folklore, oral or personal histories, general dialogical banter, and even humor and "chismes" (gossip). The symbiosis of both the interviewer and tutor was meant to allow for spontaneous conversation and musings to flourish to extract vivid oral depictions of *El Oro del Barrio* and foster the exchange of ideas. El Oro del Barrio was a term La Academia borrowed from the activistas (activists) doing oral history work in San Antonio, Texas. La Academia originally used the term. Oro del Barrio was seen as an integral part of a community's knowledge foundation—"Psychic creations, or imaginations such as cuentos (stories), mentiras (tall tales), chistes (jokes), images, symbols, ceremony, and rituals". *La Academia* stated that *el oro del barrio* is "uncovered through the *Resolana* process of dialogue and reflection and validated and used to create new insight and knowledge." In northern New Mexico it was

regarded as “the knowledge and wisdom of an Indo-hispanic land-based people.” (Montiel, Atencio, Mares, 2009) This contextually, differed from the other knowledge foundations being examined in the urban centers by activists of the *movimiento* (CCM). Efforts to develop Mexican American or Chicano Studies courses in high schools and universities and college filled a need in formal educational settings managed by the local school districts within state and federal frameworks.

La Academia developed an organic system of training and preparing tutors, and inserted a minimal stipend model, even as the program was classified as voluntary. In Keeping with the philosophy of Resolana, Atencio comments, “all tutors are trained in the concept of la Academia educational model, in interviewing techniques, and on educational processes. Actually, we have all trained each other through group discussion” (p.9). Tutors who had no other source of income were provided with a stipend of $ 2.00 per hour never exceeding $300 per month. Likewise, community members who contributed personal histories were awarded “$5.00 per 60-minute cassette, and community folk who contributed lore and oral history received for their information $10.00 a setting.” (p.9). It’s important to note that in 1969, $10.00 was the equivalent in purchasing power today of approximately $80.00, although it was minimal, with this stipend *La Academia* honored community members who participated in dialogical knowledge sharing. The message was contrary to what Chicana/o peoples normally experienced concerning their stories and cultural practices in formal educational settings. Instead of disregard for their folklore and customs, their voice was valued, and storytelling and other cultural productions were treated as invaluable. In furthering this analysis, in lieu of folklore and oral histories being rendered irrelevant or quaint, they

were treated as valid academic, historical, and literary content. This created an egalitarian exchange of knowledge. Instead of information being curated by educators, it was shared in vibrant platica (conversation).

Pedagogical processes of La Academia

Extracted from the Tomas Atencio papers collection, sections one and two of foundational development, entitled *La Academia Educational,* and *Education for Community Living,* Atencio describes philosophical guidance acquired from a pedagogical model developed in 1965 called *The Community Life Education Model.* This pedagogy promotes the concept of "educating through life experience." (p.6). *La Academia's* pedagogical model espoused the idea of building from folklore, "a people's philosophy from which to begin the underpinnings for education in general." (p.8). In the case of *La Academia's* primary region of focus, life experience stems from cultural productions created by the Northern New Mexican people. Part of New Mexican village life is the celebration and preservation of cultural traditions. Through the production of artisanry, often in the form of pine, clay, and tin, religious iconography, people express links to their history and the natural world. Because folklore and cultural knowledge sharing systems are rarely part of postmodern western educational systems, Manita/o people didn't generally give academic value to these practices, it was just what people did since time immemorial. As part of an overarching pedagogical model that assigned intellectual value to cultural productions, the following is a structural sample for an Academia-stylized, *Resolana* seminar.

1.Tutors worked out in community homes, placitas, and community gathering centers established by ANR, retrieving oral histories from elders through means of tape recorders, observational notes, and in some cases, video recording devices.

2. Gathered "Stories, fables and adages are then discussed, between tutor and contributor, "in relation to current conditions," (p.8). These discussions are meant to prompt "platica" (conversation) with younger generation tutors and their elders.

3. Oral histories are conglomerated, transcribed, and discussed in resolanic community center settings amongst ANR tutors, leadership, and contributing community members. This was conducted in order to mine *el Oro del barrio*, and exchange inter-generational differences and commonalities.

4. The tutor is brought in as a part of the process, as vital as the contributor, in as much as they are compelled to contribute their own observations, stories, and even disagreements with topics and epistemologies therein. Young Chicana/o tutors were not only oral historian apprentices, but students learning from, and building upon, *El Oro del Barrio* within the context of a living community knowledge sharing model.

5. At three small ANR centers, placed strategically to serve different regions of Northern New Mexico, continuous writing and learning seminars were conducted with tutors, contributors, and non-participant community members. The following

are examples of a seminar, designed specifically for Chicana/o youth, premises, objectives, and processes:

a. Considering young chicana/os "relating very little to the fables of yesteryear," (p.8) ANR worked on making *El Oro del Barrio* more relatable, through having young Chicana/os write on conversations and attitudes of their peers.

b. They then pondered manuscripts and were prompted to see themselves in relation to their "parents, their community, the Chicano movement, the war in Vietnam, and the social order in general." (p.8). All was conducted in Resolana style plática (discussion).

c. From these discussions the writer was meant to, "expand his material, adding to the learning kit and to the body of knowledge." (p.8) The onus of the content was entirely on participants, ANR never proctored plática (discussion)

The pedagogical approach of *La Academia* was based on oral history and writing seminar processes. Its objective was to inspire Chicana/os in the reinvigoration of a learning process that had evolved by way of generational *Resolana* and storytelling for centuries. In the context of intergenerational writing seminars conducted, a stated goal was creating a space in which creative writing would begin to thrive. In this space of vivid creative writing and knowledge sharing, organic community education thrived.

The Purpose for Culturally Responsive Curricula

Building on responsive educational pedagogy developed in CCM/CCS during the civil rights era, my objective is to reimagine a pedagogical model meant to teach educators and policymakers about a specific cultural microcosm. In this project, it is the Manita/o expression of the Chicana/o diaspora that is my primary focus. The curricula are intended to be experiential with a small traditional academic component focused on archived scholarship, and the creation of academic and creative literature and oral histories. As part of this conceptual program, teachers and policymakers will be asked to engage with and experience some of the cultural productions and lived realities of the Manita/o/Chicana/o in New Mexico. Experiential education is a teaching philosophy that "informs many methodologies in which educators purposefully engage with learners in direct experience and focused reflection in order to increase knowledge, develop skills, clarify values, and develop people's capacity to contribute to their communities. (Gass 2012). If *power and knowledge curators* have a more profound awareness of the mores, cultural practices and the post-modern iterations of a culture's character, reality, and imaginary, I am positing that they will better understand the forms in which agency can be fostered in the marginalized populations that they are charged to serve. A demonstration of this would be in a discipline with which I am very familiar as an English Language Arts and Bilingual Education teacher. If an ELA/ELD (English Language Arts/English Language Development) teacher were to approach their subject through a culturally relevant and responsive lens, how would this help them to connect with their students? If for example they were to approach a unit in poetry, centered around oral histories and local "corridos" (storytelling, didactic, balladic song genres)

such as *El Corrido de Juanito,* by Grupo Sparx, or the place-based poetry of Demetria Martinez, the ethnographic poetry of *Inaugural New Mexico State Poet Laureate* Levi Romero, or Jimmy Santiago Baca's barrio- infused poetics, how would engagement and buy-in differ in comparison with purely canonical texts, such as Edgar Allen Poe's, *The Raven*, or J.D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye.* Although the crux of this study centers on the Manita/o/Chicana/o cultural microcosm of New Mexico, the conceptual framework is designed to be a universal template adaptable to varied regional and diasporic expressions as microcosms.

Building a Curriculum based on CCM models

In building a curriculum based on the paideia of three regional expressions of CCM, *El Plan de Santa Barbara*, *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan,* and *La Academia de la Nueva Raza,* intersectional, yet distinct expressions of CCM/CCS and educational pedagogies emerge. From each of these separate movements and their attempts to create community education, I can draw tangible and enduring ideas for a living experiential curriculum created to teach educators and policy makers about the Manita/o culture of New Mexico.

El Plan de Santa Barbara pioneered a higher educational model for Chicana/o Studies and set the precedent for Chicana/o Studies programs at the University level throughout the United States and beyond. Its pedagogy was interdisciplinary, drawing from topics of culturally relevant and critical Sociology, political Science, and History. PSB did create limited community seminar and barrio dialogue outreach, but in large part its objective was centered primarily on creating critical CCS programming, within and beyond, the California State University and University of California systems. Two key

tenets of its pedagogy that I've built pedagogy on are first the concept of peer-to-peer learning and group work instead of a "sage on the stage", professorial lecture and notetaking model which was virtually ubiquitous during the Civil Rights Era. These concepts were ahead of their time in terms of western educational psychology group and experiential learning methodology. Yet as similarly manifested in the models of *La Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco* of the *Crusade for Justice* in Denver and *La Academia de la Nueva Raza* in northern New Mexico, community learning is drawn from indigenous paradigms far predating western education. Building on these tenets I've embedded group and experiential learning in my living curricula. The second tenet developed by PSB, akin to my pedagogical approach, is that drawn from their educational piece *The Mexican American and the Schools.* The objective therein simply being teaching educators how to best provide culturally responsive pedagogies to their underserved Mexican American/Chicana/o students, which embodies one of my primary project goals.

The *Crusade for Justice/Plan Espiritual de Aztlán,* created a symbiotic educational model that drew as much knowledge from its Chicana/o microcosm, as it provided them. Its concept was not based on supplanting the orthodox western academy with a Chicana/o Studies discipline, but rather creating grassroots, elementary through secondary schools, for and by Chicanas and Chicanos. *Escuela Tlatelolco* embedded in its pedagogy a celebration and fostering of cultural production such as music, dance, theater, literature, poetry, and even Mexica-based mathematics. The pedagogical tenet of initiating culturally responsive education from pre-kindergarten through college is the first I've built on from *Escuela Tlatelolco*. If culturally responsive education begins at a young age, I posit that it will positively affect Chicana/os' self-concept and foster new

generations with formidable tools for breaking out of systemic marginalization and poverty. Not only as a path towards higher education, but as an intrinsic blueprint for community service and cultural enlightenment. The second educational tenet from *Escuela Tlatelolco that* I've drawn and built upon, is that of the importance of the arts in culturally responsive education. From Tenochtitlan poetess Mocuilxochitzin's *Let the Dance Begin,* to Luis Valdes' Teatro Campesino, to Zach de la Rocha's *People of the Sun,* the arts in pre-and-post Columbian Aztlán have carried the visceral essence of the culture. Engaging in the study, production, and performance of the arts is to bring high culture to life. In engaging students in everything from Chicana/o musical theater production to sculpting *Escuela Tlatelolco* demonstrates an early model of vibrant experiential education. I will incorporate arts as a means by which students not only learn about their history and own cultural knowledge systems but are engaged to recreate the aesthetic of the world around them on their own accords. The existential reshaping communities can spur a path towards self-actualization and the establishment of both a personal, and a communal voice.

La Academia de la Nueva Raza was founded on a pedagogy created directly from the stories of the people and the gold of the barrio. Using the concept of *Resolana* to create an exchange of intergenerational knowledge systems, it fostered a space in which the Manita/o community was able to establish a pedagogy that transcended school systems enacting classical western curricula which did not understand, nor empower them. One of the primary foci in the establishment of a living curriculum established to inform knowledge and power curators on Manita/o epistemologies, will be that participants engage in oral history process and creative writing just as "tutors" and

community members did amongst the people of Northern New Mexico. Through this dialogue and informal conversational *Resolana,* a deeper understanding of the communities they serve should ensue. Some of the prompting questions should be in an educational arena, yet in understanding a more visceral depth of *el Oro del barrio,* one has to instead understand what the voice of community sounds like. What are its passions, hopes, fears, and sacrosanctity? After constructing a richer understanding, program participants will be asked to write about their experiences, and then to present their observations and findings with each other. These presentations and sharing can be in the form of observational journaling to song or prose. In beginning to understand elemental nuances of the culture that could never be acquired merely from archived literature, educators and policymakers will gain a deeper knowledge of the communities they educate and lead. An example being when Professor/Poet Laureate Levi Romero describes in his essay, "A narrative cruise through the Manito homeland", educators and policymakers may come to understand that a cruise is an existential practice of "vato" philosophers acquiring material for their work, not just a "drive in the country or down "la Central.[38]" Anthropology professor Servin Fowles (2020) describes Romero's ethno-methodology of cruising as a form of research, "cruising emerged less as a cultural object of study than as an ethnomethodology in its own right, as a means of valuing and sitting with what Levi poetically refers to as the pursuit of encounters with "the predictable unknown, lurking" ("One Last Cruise: Taos Plaza")—or as he more directly puts it in *Stories Along the High Road*, as "the informal process of *dando la vuelta*[39]*,* the wonderful activity of simply cruising around, seeing interesting things, and meeting interesting

[38] "La Central" is a chicanismo/rasquache for Central Avenue, Albuquerque New Mexico.
[39] "dando la vuelta" connotes in Chicanismo/rasquache in New Mexico as taking a cruise or a ride.

people." (p.4). Understanding that Manita/o "cruising" can act as an ethnomethodology for knowledge acquisition and sharing, can only be viscerally understood if experienced first-hand. Thus, *Resolanic* learning is inherently experiential.

Foucault (2009) argued that "knowledge and power are intimately bound up." To emphasize the importance of this assertion, he coined the term "power-knowledge", in other words, one is not separate from the other, especially in a western paradigm. Every exercise of power depends on the scaffolding of knowledge to maintain control. A common thread connecting all three of these pedagogical visions is the necessity to take power-knowledge out of the hands of the dominant educational paradigm, and into the hands of the Chicana/o community, be it urban or rural. Yet shining a light on the importance of distinct regional expressions of the diaspora, Tomás Atencio (1969), founder of ANR, described Clashing aesthetics in saying, "attempts at CCM from other places to radicalize Northern New Mexicans, often meets resistance, they complain about it, outsiders are not understanding the cultural kit from which they draw." (p.8) Understanding the "cultural kit form which people draw" should be the fulcrum of localized curriculum development. This runs contrary to a nationalized *Common Core*[40] standards formulation for example. Standards by which a community passes on knowledge to its fledging generation can only be developed by that community. This is not to say that it can't borrow ideas from other regions and paradigms, only that their implementation and aesthetic must be reflective of the cultural space to which it will be taught. And moreover, it must be adapted to what the community brings as intrinsic

[40] (in the US) a set of educational standards for teaching and testing English and mathematics between kindergarten and 12th grade.

epistemologies to enhance the richness of its content. Interspersed throughout the curriculum sketch in the next section, CCM concepts upon which I've built a conceptual overview of curricula ideas, will be linked, and defined.

Section 1: Experiential Excursions

In a conceptual sketch outline for a living experiential curriculum, I've built on prior work done in this capacity conducted in CCM during the Civil Right Era. Each section is based on experiential excursions into New Mexican communities and cultural productions.

1. Excursion #1: A group of participants are asked to travel to the Embudo Valley, find the obscure battle site where Hispano villagers and their Indigenous vecinos (neighbors) lost their lives at "La Batalla del Embudo[41]". The excursion will be followed by an afternoon spent in dialogue while preparing some of the typical Rio Arriba cuisine with those who have had the stories of the Embudo legacy, and other folkloric tales, passed down to them through the generations; the combination of food preparation and storytelling being an essential cultural treasure and *Resolana* for the Nuevo Mexicana/o.
2. Excursion #2: Is a camp with planned boarding and traditional labor with New Mexican families in communities from the Taos basin to the La Joya, Valencia County, engaged in acequia (irrigation ditch) "Limpias" (cleaning) and bulto-led processions for the blessing of the waters.

[41] Batalla del embudo took place on Jan. 29,1847. When hispanos and pueblo people put together an illusion to throw off the invading "Americanos" around the snowy hills of El Embudo (present-day Dixon) in order to hide people who were hiding from several villages in the area.

3. Excursion #3: In the late fall, participants will take part honoring, vegan exclusionary requests honored, in a start to finish experience of a village "matanza" in Valencia County. A ritual that begins at 4:00 am in the freezing cold, with a "balaso" (big bullet) to a pig's head, cooperative butchering of the meat, and the placing of chicarrones (pig cracklings) into a caldron simmering hot over a pit of burning pine, will not be an easy one. But when the guests arrive, the music begins, and the "vino de pata"[42], laughter, conversation, marrano (pig's meat), beans, chile, papitas (small cut fried potatoes), and fresh-off -the-comal tortillas, begin to flow, it is an unforgettable experience; every bit of the animal is utilized. A practice, usually taking place in late fall, began to communally butcher meat and distribute harvest rendering in preparation for the impending winter.
4. Excursion #4: In the realm of New Mexican cultural productions, concepts such as folkloric lyric and musical stylings sound-recording analysis from special archives collection of sheepherders' pastoral songs, and Penitentes'[43] alabados and pastorales stored and curated by UNM's, Tomé branch in Valencia County. This research will be followed by first and secondary source oral historical interviews that our educator and policy-maker students will conduct themselves. Excursions such as show attendance, paired with dialogue and brief conduction of oral history interviews and "platica"

[42] Tierra Adentro/Nuevo Mexico was the first soil in U.S. North America, that grapes were grown. Named after the original methods for preparation, which involved the crushing of the vintage with feet, thus "vino de pata" (wine of the paw) literally, "pata"(paw) is used as slang vernacular for feet in Manita/o New Mexico. Vino de Pata is traditionally served at the village gathering of "La matanza" (the slaughter)
[43] For 400 years, **Los Hermanos Penitentes** have been serving the people of rural northern and Central New Mexico — taking care of widows, helping to bring in the harvest, and offering comfort to those mourning the dead. (Kuruvilla, 2015)

(conversation) on music practitioners from community sheepherders and penitentes, to the Al Hurricane Jr.

5. Excursion #5: This project will be preempted with a group study assessment, dialogue, and informal interview questionnaire development. Its focus is on South Valley cultural intersectionality. Its objective is two-fold, understanding modern acequia farming cultures in a quasi-urban environment, and identifying cultural differences within varied intersecting cultural expressions of Latinidad in Albuquerque's Southwest Valley. Communal farm work will be engaged in with the urbanized intersectionality of the Barrios of the South Valley, Barelas, and Los Padillas, "Burque"[44]. The microcosm of the South Valley flourishes with the hybridity of the old Manita/o, Chicana/o, Nuevo Mexicana/o culture intersecting with that of first, second, and third generational Mexicana/o immigrants from, primarily the regions of Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, Sonora, Zacatecas, and Nayarít. The objective being to learn the inherent conflicts, and conversely, the generational intersectionality of cultural mixture from the oldest families of "Los Padillas Land Grants", to families recently arrived from the Sierra Madre regions of Durango and Chihuahua. This dichotomy manifests in subsistence, as opposed to market-driven farming, throughout regions from Five Points to Isleta Pueblo. A study conducted by New Mexico State University entitled, *The South Valley-A Look at Small Farm Practices and Objectives Near Albuquerque,* claims through survey fieldwork, "As part of the survey,

[44] "Burque" is the epithet or nickname given by locals to the city of Albuquerque, New Mexico.

respondents were asked an open- ended question regarding their opinion of local agriculture and its future. The comments cover a range of reasons or topics, which have been condensed into three broad categories: lack of technical knowledge, lack of capital, and cultural issues. Several respondents noted that many irrigators in the region lack knowledge about their soils and the relationships between weather and crop production. They further elaborated on that many new farmers in the area have little understanding of good irrigation and agronomic practices." The study also asserts, despite the agricultural appearance of the South Valley, its agricultural activities often are not accounted for in USDA surveys of agriculture because few of the holdings there earn more than $1,000 annually from agricultural sales." (Skaggs, 2014). This signals not only vestiges of ancient barter economies, but a focus on subsistence above profit amongst the intermingled peoples of the South Valley. As part of the curriculum, participants would be required to not only analyze elements of cultural practices embedded in a fixed surveying study of this ilk, but to travel out into the community as "resolaneros" attempting to uncover the essence of these phenomena straight from people's accounts. In assessing, how are lack of technical knowledge, lack of capital, and cultural issues" the wrong questions to ask? Participants would then be challenged to critically analyze data and experientially gained knowledge with prompts such as, why are the majority of respondents landowners, how big are their plots, why are the majority of farming respondents only garnering $1,000 a year, why are the majority selling to neighbors and not to market, and finally how

do cultural norms and mores figure into this data? Could it be subsistence and barter systems take precedence? Why or why not? The following are graphs demonstrated data to be assessed by program participants. *Figure 21* demonstrates "agricultural roles" filled by South Valley farmers, *Figure 22* demonstrates annual agricultural gross sales reported by South Valley agricultural survey participants, and *Figure 23* demonstrates locations or outlets where South Valley agricultural survey participants sell their products.

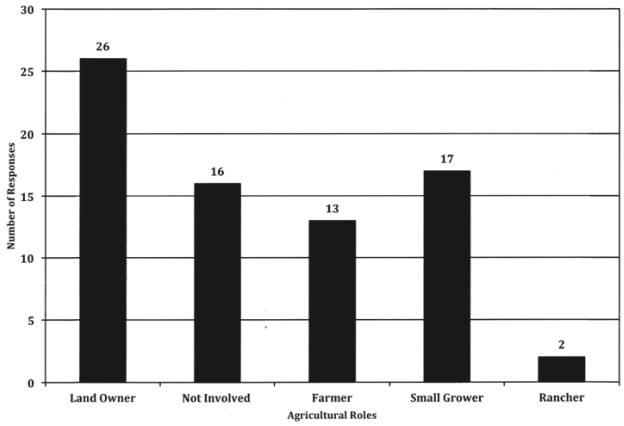


Table 41 Agricultural roles reported by South Valley farmers, source: The South Valley-a look at small farm practices and objectives near Albuquerque. Copyright 2014.

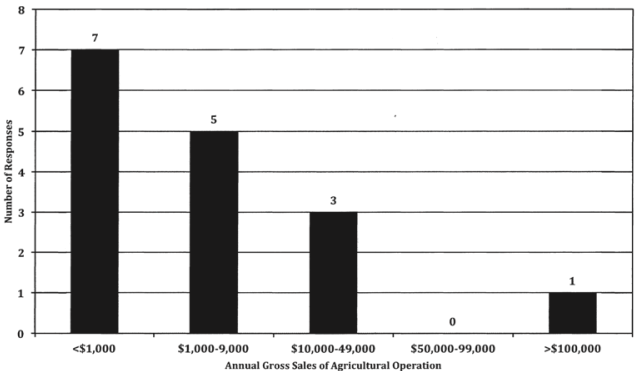


Table 42 Annual agricultural gross sales south valley farmers, source: The South Valley-a look at small farm practices and objectives near Albuquerque. Copyright 2014.

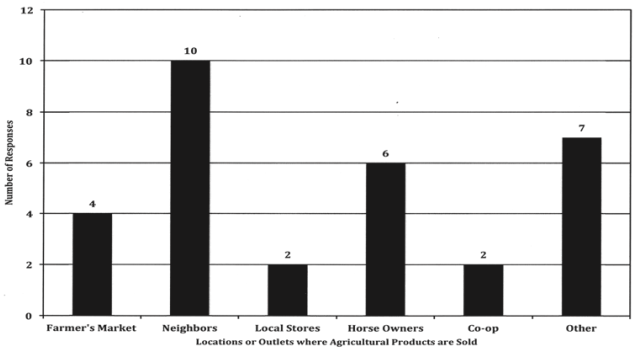


Table 43 Locations/outlets where South Valley farmers sell their products, source: The South Valley-a look at small farm practices and objectives near Albuquerque. Copyright 2014.

In the attempt to triangulate Chicana/o, Nuevo Mexicana/o origin stories and imaginaries, existing in marginalizing yet resilient post-modern spaces in the world, and a curriculum meant to bring educators and leaders into concert with the community they teach and lead, is a lofty task. Not elaborated upon, but to be included in this process, will be practices such as a weekly podcasts in which guests from artists, academics, and farmers to feminist punk-rock rebels from varied expressions of Manita/o culture, will tell their stories and analyze their world. Unpacking this wondrously complex and colorful mosaic that is Nuevo Mexico will not be a singular project, but a living and continuous process that will be part of my life's work until I pass this eternal "resolanero" torch along to the next generation.

Section2: Manita/o Origins, Historiographies, and Epistemologies

Section two is designed to spur participants' acquisition of a visceral comprehension of Manita/o origins and historiographies. It entails the unpacking of the complexities existent within the land based "Hispana/o" cultures of New Mexico.

A. Semiotics and Linguistic hybridity- In Socratic dialogue, field interviews, and recounting of *Resolana* had during experiential excursions, participants will

examine on multiple semiotic and linguistic elements such as a smattering listed through question prompts here.

1. what are the origins of New Mexican Chicana/o/Manita peoples pointing with their lips, is this originally an indigenous semiotic gesture?
2. what does the quintessential upward head-nod signify as opposed to the downward head-nod, is there a traditional gender role assigned to this body language?
3. What does the unique hybridity and code-switching within language usage sound, connote, and denote like in conversational context i.e..: "ponte trucha mano", denoting as "put like a trout brother", connoting as "make like a trout and watch out or get out brother". Or colorful linguistic expression laden with Spanish circumlocutions, "you have to put attention", sounding like "uncouth, uneducated" English, deriving from elegantly formatted Spanish (Hay que ponerse atención).

B. Experiential Community interaction- Although my culture is that of a "Manito Sureño", the actualization of my "querencia" (existential knowledge of place, space and identity) happened during my eight years in San Salvador, El Salvador CA. It was within the myriad of experiences I had amongst the Salvadoran people that I learned and reflected the most about the intricacies and nuances of the culture that I would have never come to understand in a traditional academic setting alone. Understanding a depth of cultural mores to

an extent that made the "guanacismo"[45] part of who I am, gave new voice and recognition to the knowledge of my origins, and in turn, the global human experience as an interwoven experience. Essentially this is a heuristic approach, I learned on my own accords without the guiding hand of a classic mentor.

1. Excursions into villages and homes to conduct *Resolana* and engage in labor and cultural practices directly with the people.

C. Oral Historical Interview process: In my life experience, from Belen, New Mexico to San Salvador, El Salvador, to the streets of Paris, France, I have always found people's stories to be the key to exhuming authentic historiographies and origins, and most importantly, the essence of the human experience, irrespective of culture.

1. How do we design dialogical prompts that get to the heart of Chicana/o Nuevo Mexicana/o's experience, memories, nuances of their cultural identity?
2. What are the settings that best suit authentic "platica" (dialogue)?
3. How does the process of conducting, analyzing, and transcribing oral historical interviews help foster a better understanding of a culture differing from their own?

D. Weekly Podcast and multimedia forum entitled: ***Asi es Nuevo Mexico***

[45] "Guanaco": a nickname used for Salvadorans in Central America. It is drawn from a type of bird that is very curious, reputable for staring without flinch, Salvadorans reflect this curiosity and propensity to stare in their daily culture, which often times felt disconcerting to the North American sensibilities.

In this digital age it is not only important, but vital to utilize the portals of social media and the information superhighway to highlight participants findings, contemplations, and "platica" with community members. The format for this podcast is broad. It entails interviews on Nuevo Mexicana/os from all walks of life, cultural and gender identifications, political persuasions, and visions of the past and future in the context of querencia (heritage). The objective will be to create a dynamic forum of everything from musical production and performance to critical analysis of Nuevo Mexico in a localized and global context.

1. Episode concepts:

    a. Participants will be required to either bring in guests for "platica" about New Mexican issues and cultural practices, or piece together observations of their experiences in the Manita/o experiential curriculum program. Combined with broader issues they confront as educators, policymakers, and community members, interviews and dialogue should be formatted in the spirit of *Resolana* with specific topical guidelines, but always with the intent of mining *el Oro del barrio* (gold of the community).

2. Purview of possible podcast sample topics:

    a. Current affairs i.e., effects of fire on Manita/o communities such as Mora, Peñasco, Guadalupita, and Las Vegas.

b. Effects of modernity on traditional land-based peoples and knowledge systems
c. Genízaro communities, tragic histories, cultural resistance/resilience and post-modern practices.
d. Effects of urbanization, youth exodus from villages.
e. Manita/o sentiment towards public education, literacy, dropout rates-comparison to alternative models.
f. "Irish adobes" ("Hispanicized" peoples of Irish descent)
g. Cultural dynamics of intersectionality in Urbanized environments i.e., Southwest Albuquerque

Section3: Sample lesson Plans

The rationale for Lesson Plan A and B is centered around teaching the productions of cultural intersectionality. Its premise is the idea of creating a cultural sketch of one's community through its stories and cultural ecologies. The microcosm of Albuquerque's South Valley from Los Padillas, bordering Isleta Pueblo, to Five Points bordering Barelas and East San Jose Barrios, represents a vibrant and perennial Chicana/o diasporic intersectionality. An area that, due to generational economic and migration patterns, is a focal point where the "Manita/o, Pueblo, Chihuahuensa, Sinaloesa, Durangesa, Zacateca[46], and many Mexicana and other varied cultural groups intersect. Within the context of this complex cultural mosaic, it is my objective to create curricula that not only embodies the essence of experiential and culturally based

[46] Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Durango, Zacatecas are examples of Mexican states from where many 1st and 2nd generation immigrants come from in the South Valley.

educational practice, but an organic and thriving forum in which differing cultural expressions of this rich intersectionality are able to teach and learn from each other. This curriculum is established as a living document intended to be grown and edited by community members and educators as deemed necessary and appropriate; it is their knowledge systems upon which this endeavor is based, not those of the academy. This interdisciplinary curriculum will draw upon and honor community epistemologies in the spheres of, to name a few, inter-regional History, folkloric and oral tradition, cultural production in arts and literature, agrarian, land, and water uses, and the roots of diverse ritual and ceremonial practices. Students in the program will engage in tending to community gardens and acequia systems, interviews and Q&As with elders from the community, production of "zines", spoken word performances, and publishable media, oral historical and archived material research, and creative cultural exposés such as musical and dramatic productions and multi-media "Digital Cuentos.[47]"

Lesson sample 1

Title: *Community Mapping*

Lesson Objectives: Students will be able to:
1. Establish rapport and trust with elder community members in order to record and transcribe their stories as archival research and, more importantly, Resolana and knowledge sharing.
2. Create links between community elders' stories and critical Borderland history.
3. Utilize multi-media, digital platforms as tools for cultural research.
4. Through oral historical research engage in mapping cultural complexities of their communities.

Prerequisite skills and knowledge:

[47] Concept developed by Professor Levi Romero, CCS professor, NM Cultural Landscapes scholar, at the University of New Mexico. He describes the process as, "through digital cuento documentation format we can share narratives, poetry, cultural traditions, food recipes, oral histories, songs, music, and introduce audiences to people who have inspired and graced us with their knowledge, wisdom, and nurturing." (Romero, 2012)

1. Students should have fundamental knowledge of oral historical interview process and purpose including (as provided in lesson 1):
    a. Properly formatted and completed interview release forms
    b. Environmental assessment & electronic recording techniques
    c. Interview methodologies
2. Fundamental principles of Sociology and Cultural Anthropology.
    a. Semiotics-Symbolic interactionism: Use of symbols-fact to face interaction as applied to interview processes, "pláticas", and transcription
    b. Conflict Theory: Competition for scarce resources as applied to community stories.
    c. Linguistics as applied to colloquialisms and idiomatic speech nuance.
3. Fundamental understanding of "Resolana" and *La Academia de La Nueva Raza* principles.
4. Proficiency in peer interview, digital archiving, and transcription processes.
5. Elemental knowledge of community (South Valley) history and migration patterns.
6. Interview design and formatting-construction of template
7. Knowledge on good interview procedure and protocol and ethical data collection
8. Knowledge of digital interview tools such as recording devices and archiving procedures.

Materials and Resources:

1. Handout #1: Interview Release forms
2. Handout #2: Electronic Recording Device TASCAM DR-07X Portable Digital Recorder-
USB digital upload capability
3. Handout #3: Sample oral historical transcript (Pat Nguyen-interviewer/Carmelita Lopez-respondent.
4. Handout #4: Interview Procedure Graphic Organizer-checklist
5. Handout #5: Rubric for good interviewing.
6. Handout #6: Interview questionnaire
7. Handout #7: Sample transcription/transcribing process instructional
9. Presentation #1: Power point presentation
10. Online access #1: *Charlemaud Curtis collection of Southwestern Music Interviews and Programs, 1960's-1987*

Guiding Questions:

1. How can oral histories provide a richer and more connective thread to culture, history, and community than archival materials or published scholarship?
2. How are the stories of Elders similar to the balladic corrido tales we hear?
3. Why do the stories of the "gente" (people) draw an existential map of our community?
4. How is "El Oro Del Barrio" (Atencio 2009) mined from the rich ore of people's memory.

Core Values: Care for community, treasuring guidance and stories of elders, grassroots scholarship, community service.

Procedure: (This process may take two or three class days to complete)

1. As students enter the room, they will pick up their *Interview Procedure Graphic Organizer* & their *Rubric for good interviewing* handouts & write down one question they have about piece as they settle into their classroom spaces.
2. Teacher will present brief PowerPoint presentation on the origins and objectives of oral historical interviewing process as a powerful tool for mapping our community heart and stories.
3. After teacher's limited lecture and Q n A on origins, the teacher will call forward one student to sit in a mock oral history interview situation with her/him.
4. Student will begin with basic "respondent informational/level of comfort" questions i.e., "what is your full name, place/year of birth, is it ok with you that I record our interview so that I can reflect on our conversation later?"
    a. Students will then prompt one informational question to their teacher such as: "what were some traditions, such as making tamales for Xmas in your home, that you had growing up?
    b. Teacher will briefly reflect on brief interview and suggest follow-up style questions for interviewer to prompt good conversation while weaving in formal and informal interview methodology.
5. After addressing the rubric and graphic organizer questions students will be handed out the remainder of their packet folders and their Electronic Recording Device (TASCAM DR-07X Portable Digital Recorder)
6. After counting off, students will separate into different areas of the room and face each other for a second interview as per the formal process & procedure of an oral historical interview.
7. Interview questionnaires for "student to student interview" will be brief allowing for a "reporting out" debrief following the interview.
8. Utilizing their digital interview Students will act as interviewer/interviewee & then switch.
9. Teacher should circle the room listening, scaffolding, and prompting follow-up and basic procedural technique adjustments to students as they practice their interviewing skills with each other.
10. Students will report out to the class on their interview process, trouble areas they confronted, one thing they learned about their respondent they didn't know before. (Limited to a handful of groups depending on time allowance & continuation into next class day)
11. Teacher models transcription process. Emphasizes that (every "uhm", "you know" and "laughs or clears throat" should be included)
12. Students will practice transcribing a small portion of their **second** student to student interview.
13.Teacher will model "de-brief" assessment writing on interview process and experience:

a. i.e., “Maria Concepción Chávez uses her kitchen as a place, not only for gathering to prepare meals, but for meeting, conversation, banter, laughter, coffee-milk and biscochitos, and even meditations while “praying the rosary”, as she proudly admits.

14. Students will schedule and conduct their interview with an elder relative or community member, and then set out into the community to begin and complete their interviews.
15. Working towards Digital Cuento in Lesson #4:
    a. Students should take as many photos as possible/video optional, of oral history process home or area, and any pertinent sites, imagery, landscape, or structures.
    b. The Process should include both the person taking photos/video and interviewer requesting old photos or artifacts belonging to respondent to be utilized for digital cuento.

Assessment:

1. Formative assessment-students will separate into small groups and help each other with their “debrief” observational assessment writing pieces. Writing pieces should include:
    a. Historic links or cultural mores and practices correlated to topics discussed by respondents i.e., Immigration policy under Ronald Reagan, or barter farm practices of Northern Chihuahua meshing or clashing with South Valley acequia/barter systems.
2. Digital interview/sample transcription/photo/video (if applicable) presentation to class of family or community member interview. (To be utilized in lesson #3)

Notes to Facilitator:

1. The idea of people’s stories and historiographies being on par with western canons and archived history should be emphasized. Oral histories are not only a relevant form of research, but often reveal and exhume accounts and stories that help fill voids and connect dots in existing scholarship.

2. The idea of Community mapping through people’s stories should be an underlying theme explored by students. “Mapping” in this sense is understanding the true essence of a community and sub-culture through experiential “platicas” (conversations and banter)

Lesson Sample 2

Title: *Corridos as Cultural Literacy*

Lesson Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Complete a final presentation of a fully written Corrido, placed to music, presented in a spoken word, or sung exposition

a. Corridos will be recorded to be part of students' final, multi-media, digital cuento in lesson #4

2. Demonstrate a compilation of language standards figurative language, poetic meter and rhyme scheme, and linguistic fluidity.
3. Students will learn that literary tradition can occur masterfully in the context of their own cultural "canons" and forms of literary expression and cultural productions.
4. Make links between lyrical content, Chicanx epistemologies, Borderland history, and the importance of their family's stories as vital primary and secondary sources of visceral historiographies.
5. Proficiently engage in the practice of song, lyrical, and musical production.
6. Create a balladic interpretation of a family/community member's story that encapsulates struggles, triumphs, and resiliency.

Prerequisite skills and knowledge:

1. Students should have fundamental knowledge of the history of Corridos as a Borderland cultural production:
    a. Mestisaje/Mulatismo of its musical and cultural origins
    b. Origins of lyrical and historic themes as linked to the borderlands and
    c. Shift from patriarchy to feminist/Chicanx themes
    d. The Didactic utility and knowledge sharing tool that is emblematic of the corrido
    tradition.
2. Fundamental Corrido Structure/poetic meter:
    a. Entrance of the "Chorus"/" Despedida" (farewell) as in Greek/Shakespearean Tragedy
    b. 8-syllable/4-line stanzas
    c. A-B-C-B/and varied rhyme patterns
3. Fundamental Borderland/Chicanx histories:
    a. First Contact/Colonialism
    b. Manifest Destiny
c. Mexican Revolution
d. Manito/Mestiza/o/Mulatta/o/Indigenous
    1. La Batalla del Embudo
4. Elemental knowledge of community (South Valley)/New Mexican/Manita/o history and migration patterns.

Materials and Resources:

1. Handout #1: (excerpt) *Toward a Corridista Consciousness*-Critical Reading, Writing, and performance of Mexican Corridos
2. Handout #2: (excerpt) *With a Pistol in His Hand A Border Ballad and Its Hero*
3. Handout #3: Lyrics & translation *El Jaraleño, Carabinas 30/30, El Corrido de Juanito*

4. Handout #4: Graphic Organizer 1- Pictorial representation Storyboard templates
8. Handout #5: Graphic Organizer: Corrido formatting
9. Presentation #1: Power point presentation: *El Gran Poder del Corrido*
10. Ukeleles, guitars, hand-drums, basic music theory synopsis
11. Online access #1: Corridos: A Mexican Ballad Tradition About Outlaws & Heroes https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUGxPEekv5U&t=928s
12. Online access #2: Carabinas 30/30 Los Lobos version https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gI4v_8gjW04 , Traditional version: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YP1NdRu4YpU
13. Online access# 3: *El Jaraleño*- Original digital cuento/song by Keith Sánchez *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C79-2IHETjg&t=4s*
14. Online access#4: Las Soldaderas- The Mexican Soldier Women https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VGJdR6a-eo
15. Online access #5: Pueblo Oral Traditions: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uHLpwuqYs9I
16. Online access#6: Manita/o Oral Traditions: *https://www.latinoliteracy.com/the-oral-traditions-of-hispanics/*
17. Online access #6: Levi Romero-stories: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yjV-Fc5zXNc
18. Online access #7: A Corrido of Struggle-Remembering Roberto Martínez & The Black Berets https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9IU3birztyc&t=70s
19. Online access#8: Corridos: Tragic Ballad Songwriting Workshop https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Va7jctABWY

Guiding Questions:

1. How do the Arts function as a vital medium through which language and culture are taught and learned?
2. How is the literary tradition of Corridos of paralleled cultural significance to that of the Western literary/lyrical/poetic canon?
3. How does music, oral tradition, and the transference of History and background knowledge through song encapsulate the human experience of Chicana/o s of the Borderlands.
4. How is "El Oro Del Barrio" (Atencio 2009) mined from the rich ore of people's memory.

Core Values: Care for community, treasuring guidance and stories of elders, grassroots scholarship, community service.

Procedure: (This process will take approx. 7 days to complete: sub-unit)

Day 1: Corrido Introduction

1. As students enter the room, they will pick up their Corrido packets w/ all handouts and article pieces.

2. Teacher performs a Corrido w/lyrics & pictorial reps displayed, if a musician, shows corrido video if not
3. Teacher will present PowerPoint presentation: *El Gran Poder del Corrido*-limited lecture and Q n A
4. small groups reading 5 separate corridos English and Spanish-Graphic Organizer-report out to group

Day 2: Unpacking the "heroic/balladic tales" of Corridos/The dark history of oppression and summary execution/ lynching/oppression of mestizo peoples of the Southwest

1. Song played by teacher*: El Corrido de Gregorio Cortez*
2. Pictorially rich PowerPoint depicting the corrido story and setting
3. Close reading *With a Pistol in His Hand A Border Ballad and Its Hero*
4. Socratic Seminar discussion: roots of rebellion, corridos as social resistance.

Day 3: Examination of rhyme scheme and lyrical tradition
(Working towards original song production)

1.Brief excerpt from beginning of *Oedipus Rex* (linked w/PowerPoint for pictorial support)
2. Comparison w/ entrance of chorus, tale & scene laid out before play begins, and "despedida" of play end as recited by chorus: paralleled with traditional corrido format
3. Demonstration of Pictorial depictions of Greek Tragedy in comparison to Corrido tragic tale & flaws such as hubris and Jealousy
4. Lyrics read in English w/counterpart in Spanish
5. Conversational interaction w/all peers-small-group work
6. Graphic Organizer to demonstrate Rhyme scheme, classic themes, and parallels to post-modern realities.
7. Report out to large group

Day 4: The Corrido in Action

1. Students break into small groups using Corridos already covered
2. utilizing www.storyboardthat.com students will first plot out one stanza's action
3. Students will then plan a small skit presentation
4. 2 Minute skits presented i.e., Francisco Villas right hand man 'Argomello was shot by Diaz/ infantry, as per: "Carabinas 30/30
    a. Action of movement, monologue, and vivid body linguistics bring vibrancy to language
5. End w/ critical thinking short write: How are the stories of our relatives filled with passion, daring, and adventure, similar to those of historic figures embodies in corridos?

Day 5: Incorporating our interviewees stories into corrido song-form.

1. Oral history transcription of primary points of interest from students' oral histories taken on their family members will be incorporated into stanza and rhyme form on graphic organizer
    a. Teacher scaffolds entire process: rhyme, rhythmic, structure, plot, and theme to be developed.
2. Students should have completed, at least 1 verse, and a chorus under teacher's guidance
3. Initial chord, corrido musical theory, and patterns presented to students

Day 6: Incorporating lyric/plot/theme into musical structure

1. Students will choose varied chord patterns presented by teacher/musician as their own pattern, style, sound to be recorded over their corrido.
2.Teacher will help students match rhythm, meter, and theme patterns to chosen musical structure
3. After musical structure is chosen, basic recordings will be placed by teacher onto digital recorders and utilized as students finish their final verses/bridge.

Day 7: Basic Studio/Mac-*Garageband* recordings to commence

1. Basic studio/mastering techniques taught in conjunction with I-movie processes to be incorporated into lesson #4: *The digital cuento*
2. Students will complete details on the final draft of their song while those having completed the process will begin recording with guest recording engineer.
    a. Vocals to be added according to students' desire to perform their own tracks or incorporate their teacher onto the track.
3. Teacher will help working with students on completing their writing process until projects are complete and ready for recording.

Assessment:

1. Formative assessment-students will separate into small groups and help each other with their "debrief" observational assessment on corrido pieces: preparation for performance of piece w/ help of teacher
    a. How well do students' corridos tell the tale, dramatize events, incorporate important thematic structure, resemble or transcend corrido writing traditions?
    b. Answer questions on time period and borderland issues relating to themes of their relative's balladic tale.

Notes to Facilitator:

1. The idea of people's stories and historiographies being on equal footing to western canons and archived history should be emphasized. Corridos as a legitimate form of literacy and historiography, in the tradition of historic fiction, should be viewed through a

non-western, mestiza/o lens, yet simultaneously celebrated as an equal to Western European derived prose, balladic soliloquy, and varied literary traditions
2. Teachers should not push the idea of the sonnet or ballad of the century being written, but rather celebrate the creation of a short lyrical and musical piece as a phenomenal accomplishment.
3. If students have difficulty writing within the structure of corrido tradition, please make the parallel to hip-hop, alternative rock, or country music etc. as formats they can use as reference and resources for exemplar models of balladic songwriting.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The paucity of history's dissemination of the Chicana/o experience, even now in the digital era, is striking. Other than brief caricature puff pieces on figures such as Cesar Chávez, and minimally, Dolores Huerta, or the quintessential four-part series on PBS or NPR, the vast, varied, and diverse human experience of the Chicana/o and Latina/o Americans is rarely captured or woven into educational curricula or the collective consciousness in any meaningful way. Since signatories placed their ink on the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, throughout rural and smaller urban areas, Chicana/o peoples have experienced crippling systemic oppression in one form or another. In examining different microcosms of CCM, it is not my attempt to atomize individual expressions of this rich diasporic sprawl, but rather to highlight how each regional syndicate and pedagogy of CCM had its unique cultural ecology, character, and localized mission, and to that end, added strength to the whole.

Through the combining of historic CCM pedagogies and the examination of epistemologies, cultural spaces, and the resilient imaginary of the Manita/o/Nuevo Mexicana/o, a curriculum for knowledge and power curators is brought to bear. This pedagogical project views rhetorical artifacts of CCM/CCS such as El Plan de Santa Barbara, El Plan de Aztlán, and la Academia de la Nueva Raza, not merely through the lens of their political manifestos, but their pedagogical paideia. Taking into consideration Manita/o/Nuevo Mexicana/o epistemologies, along with current environmental and economic challenges, it then reimagines these models as evolving into culturally relevant and responsive educational praxis amongst knowledge and power curators who serve marginalized students and constituents in New Mexico. Based upon these findings it also

establishes an experiential curriculum sketch to be expanded, implemented, and hermeneutically learned amongst educators and policy makers. Although my work finds its inspiration in CCS, and the New Mexican Manita/o microcosm, its overarching raison d' etrê is the creation of universally adaptable programming that will help empower not only underrepresented groups of the Manita/o/Hispanic Nuevo Mexicana/o and greater Chicanx diasporic microcosms, but to foster and sustain culturally informed, and enduring pedagogical practice and statecraft throughout intersectional spaces universally. Tomas Atencio (2009) describes the rediscovery of *Resolana and El Oro del Barrio* for community as, *integral rekindling ancient knowledge systems and self-empowerment* (p xii). To this end the desired outcome of this project is that it becomes a catalyst for the creation of community work and programming platforms. The content and curriculum should provide a blueprint for action towards the perineal self-empowerment and agency of marginalized communities. It should also provide for knowledge sharing with and beyond dominant cultural production. Although acting as a template for diversified educational programming, the content of my curriculum sketch in this study's foundations is specifically designed to teach *knowledge and power curators* about the New Mexican Manita/o, Hispana/o, microcosm. It is intended to be utilized as a tool for the exhumation of the richness nestled within its *cultural ecology* (Alward 2020). A tool intended not only as education for those who have recently arrived on its brush and piñon high desert plateaus and mountains as guests from other places, but as a means for inspiration and a call to community action for those who are linked intergenerationally to its soil.

References

Acuña, R. (2011). *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe*. New Brunswick. Rutgers University Press. p. 44. ISBN 9780813550701.

Adams, M. (2014). *The Possibilities of Anarchist History: Rethinking the Canon and Writing History*. University of Victoria Libraries. 2013.1: Blasting the Canon. 33–63. Retrieved 17 December 2019.

Anaya, R., Lomelí, F. A., & Lamadrid, E. R. (2017). *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland*. Revised and Expanded Edition. University of New Mexico Press.

Twinam A. (2015). *Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies*. Stanford University Press.

Anonymous. (1970). *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan*. AZTLAN, 1(1), iv–v.

Bernal, D. D. (1998). Grassroots leadership reconceptualized: chicana oral histories and the 1968 east los angeles school blowouts. Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies, 19(2), 113–142.

Bjorklund D*. (2018). A Metatheory for Cognitive Development (or "Piaget is Dead" Revisited) Child Development.* ***89****(6)*. 2288 2302. doi:10.1111/cdev.13019.

Bright, B. (1998) Heart like a Car: Hispano/Chicano Culture in Northern New Mexico. American Ethnologist, vol. 25, no. 4, Nov. 1998, pp. 583–609: *EBSCOhost*, search-ebscohost-com.libproxy.unm.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsjsr&AN=edsjsr.645856&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia (2017). *agora*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/topic/agora.

Brotherston, G. (1979). *Image of the New World: The American continent portrayed in native texts*. Thames and Hudson.

Calderon, R. R. (2009). The Life and Times of Richard Castro-Bridging a Cultural Divide. TheWestern Historical Quarterly, *40*(4), 53

Cardoso, L. A. (1980). Mexican emigration to the United States, 1897-1931: Socio-economic patterns. Tucson. University of Arizona Press.

Cajete, G. (1994). Look to the mountain: An ecology of Indigenous education: Skyland, NC. Kivaki Press, Inc.

Camarillo, A. (1979). Chicanos in a changing society: from mexican pueblos to american barrios in santa barbara and southern california, 1848-1930. Harvard University Press.

Carmona, A. (2019) *El Plan de Santa Barbara: Beyond Studying Politics, a Legacy of Activism: Conflict*. University of Santa Barbara Alumni News, vol. 12, 2019, article #2.

Castellanos, J., & Jones, L. (2003). The majority in the minority: expanding the representation of Latina/o faculty, administrators, and students in higher education (1st ed.). Stylus Pub.

Chamberlin, E. K. (1951). Mexican Colonization versus American Interests in Lower California: *Pacific Historical Review*, *20*(1), 43–55. https://doiorg.libproxy.unm.edu/10.2307/3634475.

Clay, K. B. (1999). Property Rights and Institutions: Congress and the California Land Act of 1851. *The Journal of Economic History*, *59*(1), 122–142.

Clement, L. (1993). Colorado Migrant Council Records. Special Collections & Archives, Archives, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO, United States.

Collier, M.J (2012). Seeds of Resistance; Harvesting Justice: An Exploration of Spaces Where Native Seeds Grow. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05987a&AN=unm.814252762&site=eds-live&scope=site.

De Groot, G. J. (1996). Ronald Reagan and Student Unrest in California, 1966-1970. *Pacific Historical Review*, *65*(1), 107–129. https://doi-org.libproxy.unm.edu/10.2307/3640829

Deloria, Vine, Jr. & Wildcat, Daniel. (2001). *Power and place: Indian education in America*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources.

Deutsch, S. (1989). *No separate refuge: culture, class, and gender on an Anglo-Hispanic frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940*. Oxford University Press.

Donato, R. (1997). *Other Struggle for Equal Schools, The: Mexican Americans During*

the Civil Rights Era. SUNY Press.

El Plan de Santa Bárbara, a Chicano plan for higher education. (1970). La Causa Publications.

Erkinovna, M. (2017). Integrative Approach to Enhancing Linguists' Background Knowledge in Culture and Art. *Tarih Kültür ve Sanat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *6*(4), 538–545. https://doi.org/10.7596/taksad.v6i4.1145

Ferrante, J. (2018). The Invisible Workers of the U.S.-Mexico Bracero Program: Obreros Olvidados. *Contemporary Sociology*, *47*(1), 94.

Freire, P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 30th anniversary ed., Continuum, 2000. *EBSCOhost*,search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05987a&AN=unm.43929806&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Freire, P. *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2014. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unm/detail.action?docID=5309736. Created from unm on 2021-07-05 13:51:04.

Galan, H. (Director). (1995). *Chicano: Episode I – Quest for a Homeland* [Documentary]. WalGalan Incorporated; Television and Film.

García, M. T. (1981). Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality Barrera. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, *12*(2), 194–196. https://doi-org.libproxy.unm.edu/10.2307/968133.

García, M., & Castro, S. (2011). *Blowout!: sal castro and the chicano struggle for educational justice*. University of North Carolina Press. Retrieved July 23, 2022, from INSERT-MISSING-URL.

Gewirtz, S., & Cribb, A. (2009). *Understanding education: A sociological perspective*. Polity.

Gómez-Quiñones, Juan and Irene Vásquez. (2014). *Making Aztlán: Ideology and Culture of the Chicana and Chicano Movement, 1966-1977.* University of New Mexico Press.

Gonzalez, G. G. (1990). *Chicano education in the era of segregation*. Balch Institute Press.

Gonzalez R. (1069) series, box 10, Special Collections and Archives in Denver

Public Library National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference. El Plan de Atzlan. Denver, Colorado. Aztlan a journal of chicano studies.

Gonzales, R., & Esquibel, A. (2001). *Message to Aztlán: selected writings of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales*. Arte Publico Press.

Gonzales, R., & Urista, A. (1969). Alaurista, pseud. El plan espiritual de Aztlan. *El grito del Norte II*, (9), 5.

Gonzales, R., & Vasquez, Y. (1991). I am Joaquin*: [an epic poem]* (1991 ed.). R. Gonzales. La Causa Publications

Gregory, J. (2015, January 20). Mapping the Latinx Great Migrations. Latinx Great Migrations. Retrieved June 22, 2022, from https://depts.washington.edu/moving1/map_latinx_migration.shtml

Harvey, D. (2005) A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Oxford University Press, 2. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05987a&AN=unm.6074080 6&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Haverluk, T. (1997). The changing geography of US Hispanics, 1850-1990. *Journal of Geography*, *96*(3), 134-145.

Hunt, R. A. (1999). Urban pioneers: Continuity and change in the ethnic communites of two Denver, CO neighborhoods 1875–1998. *Unpublished Dissertation, University of Colorado, Boulder*.

Johnson, T. *Spaces of Conflict, Sounds of Solidarity: Music, Race, and Spatial Entitlement in Los Angeles*, University of California Press, 2013. ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unm/detail/action?docID=1112137.

Kells, M. H. (2018). Vicente ximenes, lbj's great society, and mexican american civil rights rhetoric. Southern Illinois University Press. Retrieved July 28, 2022, from INSE.https://web-p-ebscohost-com.libproxy.unm.edu/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmxlYmtfXzE2ODI2MzlfX0FO0?sid=8748ea37-4c95-4109-8935-4e39825ab3a6@redis&vid=0&format=EB&rid=1

Kuruvilla, C. "A New Era for The Secretive Penitente Brotherhood of New

Mexico." *HuffPost*, HuffPost, 7 Dec. 2017, www.huffpost.com/entry/penitentes-new-mexico_n_6990204.

La Madrid, Enrique, La Batalla de Embudo-A Sacrifice All but Forgotten. 1st ed., Personal Narrative, 2009.

Lent, R. C. (2012). Overcoming Textbook Fatigue: 21st Century Tools to Revitalize Teaching and Learning. Association for Supervision & Curriculum Development.

Litvak, Lily; Shular, Antonia Castaneda; Ybarra-Frausto, Tomas; Sommers, Joseph (May 1973). Literatura Chicana: Texto y contexto (Chicano Literature: Text and Context). The Hispanic American Historical Review. **53** (2): 363. doi:10.2307/2512298. ISSN 0018-2168. JSTOR 2512298.

Los Angeles School Blowouts. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, *19*(2), 113–142. https://doi-org.libproxy.unm.edu/10.2307/3347162.

Marston Sallie A., Jones John Paul III, & Woodward Keith. (2005). Human Geography without Scale. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *30*(4), 416–432.

McKissack, E. A. de. (1999). Chicano Educational Achievement: Comparing Escuela Tlatelolco, a Chicanocentric School, and a Public High School. Taylor & Francis Group.

Meyer, M. C. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. UNM Taos Media Productions, 2004. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05987a&AN=unm.1099468383&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Meyer, M. C. (2004). The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. UNM Taos Media Productions.
Clark, B. J. (2012). *On the Edge of Purgatory: An Archaeology of Place in Hispanic Colorado*. Nebraska.

Montiel, M., Atencio, T., & Mares, E. A. (2009). Resolana: emerging Chicano dialogues on community and globalization. University of Arizona Press.

Montoya, M. (2016). Chicano movement for beginners. Red Wheel/Weiser.

Muñoz, C. (2007). Youth, identity, power: the Chicano movement. (Rev. and expanded ed.). Verso.

Nelson, S. M., Berry, K. L., Carrillo, R. F., Clark, B. J., Rhodes, L. E., Saitta, D., &

Leonard, S. J. F. B. (2009). Denver: An Archaeological History. University Press of Colorado.

Overmyer-Velázquez, M. (2011). Beyond la frontera: the history of Mexico-U.S. migration. Oxford University Press.

Paradox, A., Holmes, T., Demouche, L., & Skaggs, R. (2014). The South Valley-a look at small farm practices and objectives near Albuquerque, New Mexico's largest city. *Research Report-Agricultural Experiment Station, New Mexico State University*, (786).

Pena, D. G. (1998). Chicano culture, ecology, politics: subversive kin (Ser. Society, environment, and place). University of Arizona Press.

Pribanic-Smith, E. J. (2015). American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study: Developed and maintained by the National Park Service Advisory Board for the National Park Service. http://www. nps. gov/latino/latinothemestudy/index. htm. Reviewed March 2015. *American Journalism*, *32*(2), 248-250.

Rohrleitner, Marion. (2017). Chicana Memoir and the DREAMer Generation: Reyna Grande's The Distance Between Us as Neo-colonial Critique and Feminist Testimonio. *Gender a Výzkum*, *18*(2), 36–54. https://doi.org/10.13060/25706578.2017.18.2.370.

Romano, A. (2016) Teaching about Global Complexity: Experiential Conflict Resolution Pedagogy in Higher Education Classrooms. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2016, pp. 255–280. *EBSCOhost*, search-ebscohost-com.libproxy.unm.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edshol&AN=edshol.hein.journals.cfltrq34.22&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Romero, L. (2021). "Mi Querencia: A Narrative Cruise through the Manito Homeland.". https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cswr_ppl/40.

Romero, L. "Lectures two and three." New Mexico Villages, 2/3/21, 2/10/21, University of New Mexico. Zoom Lecture.

Romero, T. (2004). Our selma is here: the political and legal struggle for education equality in denver, colorado, and multiracial conundrums in american jurisprudence. Seattle Journal for Social Justice, 3(1), 73-142.

Sánchez, G. J. (1995). Becoming Mexican American: ethnicity, culture, and identity in Chicano Los Angeles*, 1900-1945*. Oxford University Press.

Sciences, N. A. of, & Sciences, N. A. of. (1999). *Biographical Memoirs: Volume 77*. National Academies Press. The Economic Roots of Reaganism: Corporate Conservatives, Political Economy, and the United Farm Workers Movement, 1965–1970. (2010). *Western Historical Quarterly*, *41*(1), 55–80. https://doi-org.libproxy.unm.edu/10.2307/westhistquar.41.1.0055.

Sandoval-Strausz, A. K. (2021, January 1). Charros: How Mexican Cowboys Are Remapping Race and American Identity, by Laura R. Barraclough. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, *40*(3), 100–191.

Scaggs, R. (2014). The South Valley: A Look at Small Farm Practices and Objective. New Mexico State University. Research Project 786.

Severin, F. (November 1, 2020). [Letter of tenure recommendation from Serevin Fowles to Levi Romero, 2020]. Retrieved from primary source.

Serrano-Najera L. (2014) Regeneración Tlacuilolli: UCLA Raza studies journal. UCLA Graduate Students Association / Chicano Studies Research Center.

Steinhauer, J. (2015). The History of Mexican Immigration to the U.S. in the Early 20th Century. *Library of Congress*, *blog*, 2692-2185.

Wallace, E. V. (2011). *Hidden history of Denver*. History Press.

Warren, Nancy Hunter. Villages of Hispanic New Mexico. 1st ed., School of American Research Press, 1987. *EBSCOhost*, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat05987a&AN=unm.15652294&site=eds-live&scope=site.

Wei, W. (2020). Immigration to Colorado: Myth and Reality. *www.historyofcolorado.org*, *article, 1*.

Wolf, P (1 September 2001). COINTELPRO: The Untold American Story. World Conference Against Racism. Durbin, South Africa. from the original on 9 March 2016. Retrieved 14 February 2018 – via Archive.org.

Vargas, Z. (2001). The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent. *Science & Society*, *65*(1), 131.

Vigil, E. B. (1999). The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the

Government's War on Dissent. University of Wisconsin Press.

Severin, F. (November 1, 2020). [Letter of tenure recommendation from Serevin Fowles to Levi Romero, 2020]. Retrieved from primary source.