"WE ARE SO MUCH ALIKE, BUT NOBODY WANTS TO ADMIT IT": REACTIONS TO A CRITICAL BERNALILLO NUEVOMEXICANO LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CURRICULUM

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“WE ARE SO MUCH ALIKE, BUT NOBODY WANTS TO ADMIT IT”: REACTIONS TO A CRITICAL BERNALILLO NUEVOMEXICANO LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CURRICULUM

by

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Language, Literacy, & Sociocultural Studies

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, Benny and Cordy Moreno. They have always stressed the importance of education and I truly appreciate their love and support. I also dedicate this work to my grandparents and those before them, who worked long and hard so that one day one of their own can achieve a Ph.D. Lastly, this work is dedicated to all who have been involved in the Matachines-past, present, and future, that they may continue in the ways of our ancestors.
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ABSTRACT

This study gauges how adult Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos reacted to a critical curriculum that addresses how race, class, power, and identity influence Nuevomexicano language use, and an understanding of history and culture, with emphasis on the Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs. In addition, the study aims to discover what elements they find positive, negative, and what they would revise about the curriculum. This study is an attempt to create agency through the creation of a critical curriculum unit by a community researcher, teaching the pilot unit to a group of community members, and gauging their reactions to the course content and instruction.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

I am a proud Nuevomexicano born and raised in Bernalillo, New Mexico. Both of my parents were also born and raised in Bernalillo, having attended Our Lady of Sorrows Catholic School and Bernalillo Public Schools. My maternal family was raised in the “Bosque”, which is located on the south side of the community, and my paternal family was raised on the north end, in a community called “El Llanito”. At a young age, I became interested in our annual religious fiesta held in Bernalillo, which involves a complex, three-day dance drama known as los Matachines. As I would later discover and embrace, las Fiestas de San Lorenzo are one of the primary mechanisms in which Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos proudly affirm their identity. As early as middle school, I instantly gravitated toward my New Mexico history class. I became enthralled in learning about our past, which told stories of conquistadores, church construction, surname histories, and tales of the grandeur of a storied past. I recall our green *New Mexico!* history textbook, written by Marc Simmons, being a sacred document that was also reaffirmed by stories our families told of who we were as Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos. Our Lady of Sorrows Church, los Matachines and its associated customs, our language, and our history were then embedded into how we viewed ourselves as torchbearers to the legacy of the conquistadores of the 16th and 17th centuries. We often made visits to the “Coronado Monument”, where it was said that Coronado’s army camped for two winters in search of the “Seven Cities of Gold”. The Town of Bernalillo, after all, is named the “City of Coronado”. Our history and identity therefore became crystallized as fact. As I grew older, I seized upon the opportunity to join los Matachines as a danzante. The majority of Bernalillo residents looked like me, many referred
to themselves as “Spanish” like I did, and practiced the Roman Catholic folk religion like my family and I.

I graduated from high school and attended Colorado College. While attending, I began my studies on Nuevomexicano language and culture, specifically on los Matachines. I was interested in learning where this dance came from, and how it came to Bernalillo. I embarked on an ethnographic study as a participant observer, conducting interviews with my townspeople. I learned immensely from them about our identity as Nuevomexicanos and it was clear that we identified with the European, Spanish version of the tradition. After completing my senior thesis and graduating from Colorado College, I matriculated in graduate school at the University of New Mexico. It was at UNM that I began to question our “Spanish” identity, and embarked on my current journey in learning about the borrowing, similarities, and traditional and linguistic overlap between Nuevomexicanos, Mexicanos, and Pueblo people. These processes were rarely discussed in neither curriculum early in my education nor in the community, and it was through graduate education that I began to realize that Nuevomexicanos, Mexicanos, and Pueblo peoples were more similar than we were taught in school. Schools are also sites of profound tension between these groups, and the local schools reflected these tensions on the playgrounds and in classrooms. I began to analyze Nuevomexicano identity through a critical lens, in addition to how identity was shaped throughout the history of the State of New Mexico, and how schools serve as vehicles in which identity is shaped, negotiated, and inculcated.

I am interested in language and cultural maintenance and revitalization. I matriculated into this program because I am concerned with Spanish language and Nuevomexicano cultural loss. Due to my involvement in the Matachines, I could not fathom the idea that
someday, our tradition could cease to exist. As a community, we have seen increased English
use in detriment to Spanish. In addition, due to our proximity to Albuquerque, many customs
and traditions have fallen by the wayside due to interest in popular culture that is largely
influenced by urban centers. In order to engage in meaningful and effective language and
cultural maintenance and revitalization in schools, analyzing my own identity as seen in local
language and cultural patterns became a necessity. I sought literature that explained and
critiqued the “Spanish” identity that was so pervasive throughout northern New Mexico, and
popular belief in Bernalillo closely reflected the same identity. How does a community
researcher embark on addressing language and cultural maintenance and revitalization
without analyzing their own identity in relation to language, culture, history, and religion?
What and who am I in relation to our communally-crafted and accepted identity? How have
race, class, and power affected my identity creation? How and why do Bernalillo
Nuevomexicanos identify with nomenclatures such as Nuevomexicano, Spanish, Hispano, or
Hispanic, and not with Mexicano or Native American?

In order to answer these questions, I partly turned to my K-12 experiences in
Bernalillo Public Schools for answers. Through careful and critical analysis of my own
experiences associated with identity, I soon learned that many of my experiences in school
shaped and molded my worldview which was consistent with our communal identity.
Although Marc Simmons’ (1991) New Mexico! was widely used, and still is in some cases,
our history was taught to us from textbook written by an Anglo-American researcher.

Although Simmons is widely known for his work on New Mexico history, careful analysis of
his texts shows a severe bias toward Anglo-Americans, with Native Americans and
Nuevomexicanos mentioned as peoples of the past. Conquistadores and their proud and
heroic occupation of New Mexico are told as a mechanism that can appeal to Nuevomexicanos because it positions them near the top of the social hierarchy at the time of their arrival in the 1500s. Nuevomexicanos and Native Americans are absent in the text when Simmons begins to discuss pre, and post-Statehood in 1912, as though we have not contributed to the economic and political success of the State. Nearly two-thirds of Simmons’ text is dedicated to the contributions of Anglo-Americans to New Mexico. When texts such as these are codified as the “correct” history of New Mexico, Nuevomexicano, Mexicano, and Pueblo voices, experiences, and their ties to one another become subdued or eliminated sending a powerful message that these people are invisible. Texts such as these also perpetuate race, class, and power operating to disenfranchise students and reinforce imposed notions of identity that Nuevomexicanos may proudly embrace. Nuevomexicanos then do not merit a curriculum that highlights their experiences, contributions to commerce and politics, or traditional ways of learning and creating knowledge.

Graduate school allowed me to analyze, critique, and provided a language to begin to approach identity and schooling. For this study, I gauged how adult Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos reacted to a critical curriculum that addresses how race, class, power, and identity influence Nuevomexicano language, history, and culture, with emphasis on the Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs. In addition, the study aimed to discover what elements they found positive or negative, and what they suggested as revisions in the proposed curriculum. This study is an attempt to create agency through the creation of a critical curriculum unit by a community researcher, teaching the pilot unit to a group of community members, and gauging their reactions to the course content and instruction. Prior to creating a critical curriculum pilot unit, it is important
to establish a framework for thinking about issues of identity. This allowed me to analyze literature regarding multicultural education (Banks, 1993), funds of knowledge (Moll et al., 1992; Veláz-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992), critical approaches to curriculum building (Yosso, 2005), and ethnic studies curriculum development (Sleeter, 2011a; 2011b; 2017) in order to apply them to Nuevomexicano identity. In addition, Nuevomexicano identity creation, described by the literature must be analyzed with regard to how historical events in New Mexico have shaped various nomenclatures. Identity markers then become associated with the various nomenclatures that have come under widespread use by Nuevomexicanos. Although nomenclatures as identity markers are not mutually exclusive, they form a powerful symbiotic link. Other factors certainly impact identity creation in addition to nomenclatures including history, language, traditions, and social interactions with other racial and ethnic groups. Events such as the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the railroad reaching New Mexico shortly after, the plea for Statehood prior to 1912, schooling and religion gave rise to many nomenclatures, especially a commonly used term tied to identity; Spanish. This controversial identity marker became a Nuevomexicano tool used to combat Anglo-American discrimination, but also as a weapon against others, particularly Native Americans and Mexicanos, which will be described in further detail in the next chapter.

The curriculum I developed aimed to create an avenue in which I attempted to provide opportunities for agency as a community researcher by creating a critical curriculum dealing with issues of identity. My hope is that this curriculum will lead to the empowerment of Nuevomexicanos to see themselves by providing a safe space for them to self-reflect on their identities well into the future. Elements of race, class, and power are in the curriculum
to guide and lead participants to better understand the similarities between Nuevomexicanos, Mexicanos, and Native Americans. By examining race, class, power, and identity, along with how they influence the forms that Nuevomexicanos practice language and culture, the unit works to preserve and revitalize language and culture in a way that is critical, non-discriminatory and emphasizes similarities between groups.

Further, it is hoped that Nuevomexicanos will begin to see themselves in the curriculum through this initial unit. Their achievements, struggles, identity and its complex formation, as well as interactions with Mexicanos, Native Americans, and Anglo-Americans provide core tenets of the unit. Nuevomexicano participants were prompted to better understand how race, class, and power dynamics throughout the history of New Mexico may have shaped their identities and have disenfranchised, marginalized, and denigrated them, even in communities and schools where they are the majority. Participants were asked to think critically and engage positively and empathetically with other groups. Although outside of the scope of this work, it is hoped that if implemented in local schools, this curriculum could prompt students to engage in their own agency and choose to 1) exert positive agency through interactions with others, and 2) participate in language and cultural traditions. This requires an examination of the history of the New Mexico region to assess how relationships between groups of people were formed during the development of New Mexico as a State.

**Research Problem**

As seen in my reflection of my identity and schooling, it was clear that Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos are rarely provided an opportunity to reflect on their identities in local schools. Organic curriculum units are rarely implemented as a mechanism to empowering Nuevomexicano students to exert agency. Outsiders then become harbingers to the creation
of a Nuevomexicano identity and narrative. This study aimed to create a critical pilot curriculum unit which provided Nuevomexicanos a space to analyze their personal, familial, and communal identities through a critical lens. As is evident in the literature described below, interactions between Nuevomexicanos, Mexicanos, Native Americans, and Anglo-Americans beginning in the late 1800s have formed the bedrock of identity formation.

Theoretical Framework

This study utilizes Critical Race Theory (CRT) in order to analyze “how multiple forms of oppression can intersect within the lives of People of Color and how those intersections manifest in our daily experiences” (Pérez Huber, 2010). In addition, Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), as an arm of Critical Race Theory, provides an analytical layer and reference to those issues that impact Latino experiences with regard to immigration, language, religion, identity, and culture (Garcia, 2003; Pérez Huber, 2016; Montoya, 1998, 1999, 2000; Pérez Huber, 2010; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001; Trucios-Haynes, 2001). Utilizing CRT and LatCrit (see Figure 1) provides fruitful avenues in which to analyze Nuevomexicano identity creation and gauging how participants reacted and grappled with identity.

Figure 1

*Theoretical Framework: How Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Race Theory (Latcrit) Impact Nuevomexicano Identity*
In an attempt to enact “radical change or emancipation from oppressive social structures” (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016) and through critical identity analysis, this theoretical framework allows for Bernalillo Nuevomexicano experiences to illuminate how race, class, and power impact identity. Nuevomexicanos are not simple receptors of Anglo-American domination, assimilation, and colonization through various apparatuses such as schools. Rather, they can be critical of the social structures that have created them as a colonized people many of whom are working class, were excluded from the curriculum, and forced to give up their language and culture. Rather than simply recognize oppressive structures that have also given rise to a Spanish identity, critical identity analysis allows for Nuevomexicanos to move beyond a critique of oppressive Anglo-American structures to action by becoming active agents. In addition, these approaches provide transformational approaches in the creation of critical Nuevomexicano curriculum (Creswell, 2007). This approach further aims for students to become agents of resistance by having the tools to recognize oppressive structures and act to reverse language and cultural shift through active participation in language and culture. This approach moves the discussion beyond simply

---

1 I term whites as Anglo-American as a mechanism to homogenize and hyphenate this group of people, similar to how Anglo-Americans homogenize and hyphenate People of Color, i.e. Hispanic-American, Native-American, etc.
being critical of others through blaming, covert and overt discrimination, to action that is empathetic and understanding of the overlap between people.

In an attempt to analyze, critique, and combat the oppressive social, political, and economic structures (including schools), that Anglo-Americans created to subjugate Nuevomexicanos, this study centers a CRT and LatCrit framework in which to understand Nuevomexicano identity formation. Nuevomexicano identity formation reflected economic, political, and social pressures placed on them by Anglo-Americans starting with their invasion of New Mexico in the late 19th century. CRT and LatCrit provide a framework for this study as it intersects with historical events of New Mexico including the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe (1848) and the battle for statehood (1912). Institutions such as public schools, religious organizations, and governing bodies impacted Nuevomexicano identity formation as seen in various forms of agency.

This study utilized a critical pilot curriculum unit that begins to address how Anglo-American systems utilized perceived perceptions of racial, socioeconomic, and social superiority to subjugate and dominate Nuevomexicanos. At a local level, this curriculum utilizes language, culture, and traditions as seen in Los Matachines and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo as a means to examine how critical theories apply to lived experiences and perceptions of self and others.

The Matachines dance and Fiestas de San Lorenzo are well-known traditions in the community and region. A similar dance is thought to have been brought from Europe to Tenochtitlán in 1521. At that time, similar Aztec dances fused with the European dance forming the prototype of contemporary Matachines. The local dance tells a story of Montezuma, the leader of the Aztecs converting to Christianity with influence from his
daughter, Malinche and Abuelo. Local oral tradition emphasizes the longevity of the dance in Bernalillo, as many people believe the dance has been performed continuously each year since 1693. This tradition, and sub-traditions therefore need to be un-packed utilizing CRT and LatCrit in order to illuminate possible intersections between identity, race, class, and power. More on the Matachines dance is presented in chapter five.

For this study, I reviewed several different sources of literature that have helped me think through issues regarding Nuevomexicano identity and how they apply to my theoretical positioning. Further, this scholarship served to develop a framework for analyzing the issues that need to be addressed in the curriculum. I begin with a discussion on identity formation, including Nuevomexicano contexts. Language, culture, and religion form powerful markers in the creation of individual and group identity.

Data were organized and analyzed in the following steps:

- **Step 1:** I reviewed all written assignments and activities in addition to class Zoom recordings on three separate occasions in order to write out important highlights from the participants in a linear fashion by day, week, and topic on note cards. I also wanted to organize data linearly during this first step because on many occasions, course discussions did not stop and end in one class session. Some discussions continued over multiple days.

- **Step 2:** I looked for repetitions and commonly occurring words from class discussions, activities and written work and wrote them down on the note cards. During this initial review of the data, I identified 76 commonly occurring words and their corresponding activities during the course. I then utilized Microsoft Excel to sort the data by activity and then by each word. This allowed me to see
which words were associated with particular assignments and discussions during the class.

- **Step 3:** I utilized Excel’s “data sort” option again in order to identify identical and similar words. During this step, I combined and collapsed similar words. For example, some participants referred to faith and religion interchangeably. I then collapsed all words into 38 codes and sorted the data once again in Excel to identify the codes.

- **Step 4:** I then grouped the codes into four themes including class/power/gender, Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity, Spanish heritage language, and Querencia. The class/power/gender theme identifies three sub-themes including hierarchies, socioeconomic status, and views of gender in the Matachines. The Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity section highlights six sub-themes including nomenclatures, mixed identities, ethnic pride, family, and religion, “us vs. them”, and culture. The Spanish heritage language theme discusses three sub-themes including bilingualism, language denigration, and name pronunciation. Finally, the Querencia theme identifies three sub-themes including place, agriculture, and water, New Mexico and migration, and Spain, Mexico and immigration.

- **Step 5:** I identified missing codes and codes that were not anticipated at the start of analysis. These codes were typically associated with historical events in Mexico and New Mexico associated with statehood, Mexico-Tenochtitlán, and others.

- **Step 6:** I analyzed the codes and themes using LatCrit and CRT scholarship associated with intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; López et al., 2018), lateral
oppression (Blanton, 2006; Freire, 1970; Garcia, 1995) false consciousness (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009; McWilliams, 1961) immigration (Garcia, 2003; Johnson, 1997, 2000; Martinez et al., 2021; Pérez Huber, 2010), citizenship status (Blanton, 2006; Plasencia, 1999), religion (Bacalski-Martinez, 1979; Montoya, 1998; Park et al., 2020), language (Burciaga, 1992; Montoya, 2000; Valdes, 1997; Zoch & He, 2020), and culture (Bacalski-Martinez, 1979; Blanton, 2006; Martinez et al., 2021; Valdes, 1997; Yosso, 2005).

My theoretical framework, which utilizes Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), provided critical lenses in which to analyze the data. Themes began to emerge when analyzing how multiple forms of oppression can intersect with the lives of People of Color and how those intersections manifest in daily experiences (Pérez Huber, 2010). How do participants react to a critical curriculum that discusses issues of race, class, power and systems of hierarchy that work to oppress People of Color? In addition, Latino experiences with regard to immigration, language, identity, and customs provide fruitful avenues in which to analyze the data (Pérez Huber, 2010; Montoya, 1999; Solorzano and Bernal, 2001; Trucios-Haynes, 2001) as they intersect with Bernalillo Nuevomexicano contexts. These themes and their corresponding sub-themes are discussed further in chapter 5.

Language, Culture, and Religion

Bernalillo was officially founded in 1693, as many families returned from exile from the 1680 Pueblo Revolt (Liebert, 2021; Stanley, 1964). They settled in one of the earlier pre-Revolt settlements on the east side of the Rio Grande River. Nestled between Sandia Pueblo to the south, and Santa Ana to the north, Bernalillo exhibits elements of a border town with
Native American communities. For example, Nuevomexicano and Pueblo students, including those from Jemez, Zia, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Sandia have attended schools in Bernalillo and the Bernalillo School District together since the creation of schools in the region. Local laundromats, restaurants, and grocery stores are often places where these two groups interact in Bernalillo. Intermarriage between groups has also occurred and many examples of how people have interacted exist through historical sharecropping, ditch maintenance, and shared customs. However, as nearby Pueblos become self-sustaining economic entities, the Bernalillo Municipality and Pueblo governments often clash over issues regarding land, water, gross receipts, and gas taxes. This puts a strain on an already-existing uneasy alliance between these communities, which stem from the earliest times of Nuevomexicano occupancy of the region. Bernalillo also abuts with the predominantly Anglo-American community of Placitas to the east, and the sprawling community of Rio Rancho to the west. In addition, U.S. 550 is a main artery through Bernalillo, as commuters from the four corners region pass on their way to I-25. As Bernalillo community members face contemporary changes within and in neighboring communities, they continue to negotiate their identities in relation to others.

Language, culture, and religion form the core identity markers for Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos. Identity can be described as a social construct that can result in self-designation labels that people utilize in various contexts (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In addition, identity is driven by an individual need to belong to a particular group resulting in positive self-esteem (Martinelli, 2005). Lieberson (1985) claims that identity in the United States is formed by four factors including; self-identification, individual beliefs about ancestral origins, belief about ancestral origins upon coming to the New World, and
identification imposed by others. Finally, Doan and Stephan (2006) find that identity can be seen in how individuals choose particular labels that confer rewards such as positive identity with the family/community cultural heritage.

Nagel (1994) claims that culture and identity are defined and negotiated through in-group and out-group social interactions. The author also provides a deeper discussion of ethnicity which encompasses language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry, and regionality, claiming that identity is not an historical legacy stuck in time. Identity is then portrayed as both a self-designation and external designation. Culture dictates appropriate and inappropriate content and designates language, religion, belief system, art, music, dress, traditions and lifeways, which can also set ethnic boundaries in and between groups. As will be seen in the next chapter, identity is fluid and changes due to social, economic, and political pressures as racial and ethnic groups come in contact with one another. Fluid Nuevomexicano identity reflects various nomenclatures used throughout the history of New Mexico, as the sociopolitical crosscurrents shifted. Nuevomexicanos adopted some nomenclatures over others in a way to assert their occupation of the region, and as a means to distance themselves from other groups.

Identity can be formed as a result of negative interactions between groups as well. For example, identity formation can result from the belief that identification with certain labels confers loss through discrimination and racism by others (Doan & Stephan, 2006). In New Mexico, this can be seen in Nuevomexicanos identifying with “a high-status group”, in this case, the colonizing Anglo-Americans, and their avoidance of a “disliked individual or group”, which the literature below suggests would be Mexican immigrants and Native Americans (Doan & Stephan, 2006, p. 231). This is also consistent with the findings
presented by Healy et al. (2017) that claim Nuevomexicano identity is formed by a region-specific narrative that distinguishes recent Mexican immigrants from individuals whose families identify as Spanish. These aforementioned studies provide a critical foundation in understanding how identity is formed by individual and group self-identification in relation to other groups. They also provide a unique lens in which to focus on interethnic relations throughout time in the history of New Mexico and the greater Southwestern United States and how they shaped, and continue to shape, Nuevomexicano identity. Healy et al. (2018) provide extensive data that show various nomenclatures Nuevomexicanos use with Hispanic being the most common because of its perceived connections to colonial New Mexico. Terms Nuevomexicano and Spanish are also synonymous with Hispanic, but younger Nuevomexicanos tend to use Hispanic and Nuevomexicano more frequently.

Literature regarding Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity is sparse, which requires organic research from elders and participants in culture, language, and religion. Nasario Garcia (2014) assembled ethnographic life histories of Bernalillo elders, which is one recent work which tells about identity markers such as language, culture, and schooling. Garcia was born in Bernalillo but was raised in the Rio Puerco Valley. A 1976 publication by a Bernalillo High School history class called *Viva El Pasado: A History of the Bernalillo Area* also includes research conducted by Bernalillo students through interviews and observation that illuminate important historical and cultural traits of the community and identity. In addition, autobiographies by Madeline Griego Tapia y Gonzales (2012) and Gloria Zamora (2009) discuss their times and experiences growing up in Bernalillo. Meléndez (2013) presents the work of Danny Lyon and his films that illuminate Bernalillo Nuevomexicano life. As he filmed Willie Jaramillo, along with his family, and other community members,
Lyon provided a unique glimpse into community life. Lyon produced *Llanito* (1972), *Little Boy* (1971), *Willie* (1978) and *Murderers* (2002) which are some of the only known films that feature Bernalillo. Martha Liebert (2021) recently published a comprehensive historical account of Bernalillo, which includes major events and their connections to various families in the community.

Other literature, although not written specifically on Bernalillo, lends to regional similarities between northern Nuevomexicanos in Kosek’s (2004) work on Truchas, and central New Mexico Nuevomexicanos in Salgado’s (2020) research. Parallels between Nuevomexicanos in other parts of the state and those living in Bernalillo can begin to be drawn with regard to identity formation. Kosek (2004) examines the complexities of land and identity stating that the Echo Creek and Oñate statue incidents show stark ethnic boundaries between Hispanics and Native Americans which both groups aim to distance themselves from one another. Salgado (2020) emphasizes the Nuevomexicano identity as one that is based on a denial of Mexicano ties. In addition, Nuevomexicanos highlight differences between themselves and Mexicanos in ancestry, nationality, and regionality. This means that they emphasize their ties to New Mexico through ties with the land, a lack of known family in Mexico, and heavy emphasis on American citizenship. Through my time growing up in Bernalillo, I can recall countless occasions where townspeople denied similarities to Native Americans and Mexicanos. In many cases, attachment to New Mexico and not Mexico was a way Nuevomexicanos asserted they were Spanish. Attachment to the land is powerful in identity creation. Several scholars have documented Nuevomexicano identity as it relates to traditions, customs, and historical events. Otero et al. (2009) recently edited *Santa Fe Nativa: A collection of Nuevomexicano writing* that includes several pieces pertaining to
Nuevomexicano identity negotiation. Phillip Gonzales (2001) writes about Spanish identity creation, especially during the 1930s when a UNM instructor stoked the flames of interethnic tensions between Anglo-Americans and Nuevomexicanos. He also edited *Expressing New Mexico: Nuevomexicano creativity, ritual, and memory*, which includes works by various authors describing core facets of Nuevomexicano identity. Mary Montaño (2001), Enrique Lamadrid (2003), and Miguel Gandert (2000) masterfully discuss traditions and customs with special attention to interethnic mixing and borrowing between Nuevomexicanos and Native Americans, describing food, music, Comanchitos dances, and Indo-Hispano identity creation. John Nieto-Phillips (2004) whose mother was from Bernalillo, details Nuevomexicano identity and interethnic squabbles in *The language of blood: The making of Spanish-American identity in New Mexico, 1880s-1930s*. Several other scholars and researchers, have also documented the various forms of identity markers that form a collective Nuevomexicano identity. In addition to studying the ways Nuevomexicanos portray their identities through language and culture, it is important to understand the historical background in which they do so.

**The Anglo-American Invasion of New Mexico and Nuevomexicano Identity**

With the arrival of the railroad to Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1879, the formerly entrenched Nuevomexicano populace would soon see many demographic changes that would later spread from the Rio Arriba into the Rio Abajo region. A detailed explanation of the events that would forever shape the coming centuries is provided in the next chapter, but merits mention here because of the racial and class-based backdrop that led to clashes between Anglo-Americans and Nuevomexicanos.
Political, economic, linguistic, and cultural clashes formed much of how the two competing demographics interacted, but the New Mexico Territory’s yearning for statehood illuminated an uneasy alliance between elite Nuevomexicanos and newly-arrived Anglo-Americans jockeying for power in the region. Due to the outright refusal of New Mexico’s admission to the United States by eastern politicians due to a number of reasons including widespread poverty, New Mexico’s attachment to non-English languages, and its large Mexican and Indigenous populations, Anglo-Americans who had moved to New Mexico for their own interests sought to cast all Nuevomexicanos as European and Spanish. Anglo-Americans designated Nuevomexicanos as Spanish, leading to an eventual mass self-designation by Nuevomexicanos themselves. This nomenclature took root and has continued with widespread use.

After statehood was ultimately granted in 1912, Nuevomexicanos continued to use their Spanish ancestry as a means to combat Anglo-American discrimination in politics, commerce, and schooling. In addition, they used their Spanish identity as a means to distance themselves from Native Americans and Mexicanos. This dual application of identity is one that is present in Bernalillo, as Nuevomexicanos respond to, and exert discrimination based on ancestry, heritage, language, and culture. Examples of how this manifested in New Mexico are included in chapter two.

**Study Purpose**

The purpose of this study is to create a critical pilot curriculum unit that examines how race, class, power, and identity impact Nuevomexicano language, history, and culture, by providing an introduction to the study of the Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs. The pilot unit was taught to a group of adults from
Bernalillo. The scope of this project does not include K-12 students at this time, but plans for future work with this population are implied.

The curriculum unit utilized the ‘Understanding by Design’ (UbD) methods outlined by Wiggins and McTighe (2005). The unit addresses stage one of UbD planning by identifying desired results, aligning goals with New Mexico State standards, and identifying essential questions, desired understandings, including knowledge and skills that students will acquire. In addition, stage two of UbD planning analyzes acceptable evidence and understanding through student self-assessment, reflection, performance tasks, and products.

The curriculum unit focuses on Los Matachines Dance in Bernalillo, and associated Nuevomexicano customs and traditions. This dance is central to the portrayal of the Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity in that it encompasses a telling of a unique colonial and regional history, the Catholic religion, and the Nuevomexicano Spanish dialect. Participants and residents, however, rarely mention the elements of intercultural syncretism and convergent evolution that exists with European, Aztec, and Pueblo influences. The dance, and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo, however, illuminate how Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos presently exert agency and identity. Further topics include individual, familial, and communal identities through critical self-reflection and race, class, power and New Mexico history in order to understand how historical events have shaped Nuevomexicano identity including use of primary sources and multimedia. Course content then examines Los Matachines Dance and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo with a critical and inclusive lens.

**Research Questions**

This curriculum unit and corresponding study aim to address the following research questions:
1) How do Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos react to a critical curriculum that addresses how race, class, power, and identity impact Nuevomexicano language, history and culture, with emphasis on the Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs?

2) What aspects of the critical curriculum do Nuevomexicanos find positive and negative for future high school instruction?

3) What aspects of the curriculum would Nuevomexicanos revise?

Rationale and Significance

This study is significant to critical multicultural curriculum creation and implementation because the creation of a critical pilot unit and corresponding research as to how Bernalillo residents react to such an approach does not exist. Further, few studies exist showing a creation of, and reaction to critical Nuevomexicano curriculum in Nuevomexicano contexts due to the lack of published studies. This research adds to the literature in that it shows how Nuevomexicanos grapple with identity, race, class, and power along with their intersection with Los Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and their associated customs and traditions. The critical curriculum unit will be designed to address similarities between racial and ethnic groups to be anti-prejudice. Such a unit will prompt a call will encourage tolerance of various racial and ethnic groups in Bernalillo and New Mexico. By fomenting positive agency, the unit, and vetting by community members also works to reverse language and cultural shift and loss by familiarizing students with culture and language in an effort to revitalize and maintain them.
Methodological Framework

I created a four-week critical pilot curriculum unit and taught it to adult participants on Zoom. In order to begin building a critical curriculum unit, I first analyzed the various ways Nuevomexicanos identify. These contexts are discussed in further detail in the next chapter. An historical analysis of Anglo-American and Nuevomexicano relations starting with the railroad entering New Mexico in the late 1880s becomes a necessity. These relations, along with Nuevomexicano relations with Pueblo Native Americans and Mexicanos further illuminates how Nuevomexicano identity was fluid in relation to other racial and ethnic groups but crystallized with the use of the Spanish nomenclature that became widely used by poor and “elite” Nuevomexicanos in an attempt to appear Anglo-American and European, as opposed to Native American or Mexican. Once Nuevomexicanos chose to use Spanish as an identity, their identities became crystallized and use of this nomenclature was passed on to subsequent generations.

Although the Spanish identity label was used as a tool to further Nuevomexicano economic, political, and social causes in reference to Anglo-Americans, it also became a racist weapon against Pueblo Native Americans and Mexicanos by Nuevomexicanos. Should a critical pilot curriculum unit be created without understanding the historical context of these various nomenclatures and the reasons for their uses, the said unit could replicate discriminatory and racist views. Therefore, Nuevomexicano identity in relation to the history of New Mexico merits inclusion in the curriculum.

The curriculum unit continues with local customs and traditions, namely those associated with Los Matachines dance and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo. With a critical approach as the foundation to this study, the final two weeks attempt to engage the
participants in local traditions and customs. By analyzing topics such as intercultural syncretism, cultural borrowing, and understanding of others, the curriculum is design to move beyond a critique of oppressive Anglo-American structures, to an understanding of the similarities and overlap between Nuevomexicanos, Pueblo Native Americans, Mexicanos, and Anglo-Americans. Food, architecture, music, dance, and literacy form important tenets of such an approach.

Chapter Outline

Chapter one presents the research problem and theoretical framework that drives this study. In addition, a discussion on language, culture, and religion and their influence on Nuevomexicano identity formation lead into the purpose of the study, research questions, rationale, significance of the study, and methodological framework that I utilize. Finally, I present key terminology utilized in this study. Chapter two begins with a theoretical foundation through a discussion of how race, class, power, and schooling intersect in which to discuss important historical events in New Mexico that influenced Nuevomexicano identity. The literature review examines how the railroad, the Statehood battle, religion, and schooling influenced Nuevomexicano identity formation prompting varying forms of agency. Chapter three describes the methodology including the research sample, research design, data collection methods, and analysis. Because my study utilizes a pragmatic approach by first creating a critical pilot curriculum unit, Chapter four presents a survey of curriculum models that aimed to include culture in curriculum including multicultural education, funds of knowledge, critical approaches, and ethnic studies. Focusing on local Nuevomexicano curriculum models, this chapter examines available models with a critical examination of their strengths and weaknesses. Understanding the various models and proposed approaches,
this chapter presents the Bernalillo unit in detail. Chapter five presents the findings of the data including the themes that emerged from participant observation, assignments, discussions, course evaluations, and the follow-up interviews. Finally, chapter six presents the conclusions based on the findings, limitations, implications of the findings, and recommendations for further research.

**Key Terminology**

*Nuevomexicano*: Refers to the Spanish-speaking population and their descendants, who have lived in New Mexico for several generations (Benjamin, 1997). This population identifies with their *patria chica* (Gonzales, 2005), with attachment to a distinct homeland stretching from Socorro, New Mexico north to southern Colorado (Carlson, 1990; Espinosa, 1985; Nostrand, 1992).
Chapter 2

Literature Review

The purpose of this study is to create a critical pilot curriculum unit that examines how race, class, power, and identity impact Nuevomexicano identity. The Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs present an opportunity to examine identity, culture, language, and traditions critically. The following literature review provides an analysis of the history of New Mexico in relation to Nuevomexicano identity. These events form a foundation in which to build a critical pilot curriculum unit unique to Bernalillo in relation to its customs, traditions, history, and language along with providing a critical lens for Nuevomexicanos to explore issues surrounding their identities. This chapter reviews class, race, and schooling in an attempt to provide a critical foundation in which to view the historical context of Nuevomexicano identity formation. The literature review continues with an examination of the railroad’s entrance into New Mexico, the battle for Statehood, religion, and schooling as events and contexts that shaped Nuevomexicano identity.

Class

Through their presentation of functionalism, Feinberg and Soltis (2009) and Giroux (1983a) explain why there are few “bosses” versus working-class individuals in capitalist societies. This explanation of boss and working class imbalance provides the dominant class the ability to group people based on class describing how each individual, whether a boss or worker fits within a particular class - that each person is contributing to the operation, much like how a machine operates. If each part of a machine is contributing and in working order, the whole of the machine is able to function properly. This gives working class people the
perception that they are vital to the overall function of society. Schools, as extensions of a larger State apparatus provide a natural order, according to those who prescribe to a functionalist society, in that few are able to access higher grades that can lead to higher positions, and relegates all others to permanent working-class positions because of their poor academic performance. Giroux staunchly disagreed with this theory, claiming that humans should not be categorized into a specific function within society without the ability to change their positioning.

How does functionalism impact identity formation for Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos? Shortly after the start of the Anglo-American invasion of New Mexico, the 1910 Enabling Act called for territorial leaders to begin constructing the State constitution. The Act specifically stated that a system of public schools were to be created, in English-only. The eventual transition from Spanish to English in the schools served as a critical avenue in which Nuevomexicano identity was affected. The theory of functionalism provides a unique lens to analyze identity formation for Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos. Those who agree with functionalism’s tenets would argue that the Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos belong to the working class and their identity as working class is natural because they fit in a particular rung of a capitalist society. Through this ideology, this can explain how some Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos have risen above and become actual bosses in their lines of work. Some Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos have led successful white-collar careers in medicine and law, in addition to owning successful small businesses. Although comprehensive data do not exist showing the proportion of these Nuevomexicanos to those that are working class, it likely runs congruent with what functionalists claim as a natural disproportion between few bosses in relation to many workers.
Utilizing Marxist theories of reproduction that argued that one of the main functions of schools was to reproduce dominant ideology (Giroux, 1983a), Neo-Marxists began to emerge with arguments against functionalism. Feinberg and Soltis (2009) describe the emerging conflict theory, which contradicts functionalism claiming that the dominant class works through institutions such as schools to maintain their economic dominance over the working class. Whereas functionalism explains a “natural” economic order to society, conflict theory places the conflicts between working and middle class interests as it pertains to the national economy claiming that these conflicts are anything but natural. Bowles and Gintis (1976) describe how the schooling apparatus serves capitalist interests by grooming youth to fit into the larger labor market processes based on class status. Further, they argue that because schools function to subordinate working class individuals by creating merit-based positions within schools that students will experience when they become employed, and by controlling access to higher positions in schools, students become accustomed to their prescribed fates. Ultimately, the authors conclude that students accept their fates as working-class students during, and after the school years, and that they cannot control their fates because the state apparatus has worked to condition them to believe in and accept their futures as working-class adults.

The majority of Bernalillo residents are working class with many individuals commuting to Albuquerque, Santa Fe, or Rio Rancho for employment in construction, retail, the food service industry, and other blue-collar jobs (Meléndez, 2013). According to the U.S. Census, the mean travel time to work for Bernalillo residents is 25.5 minutes. Large gaming casinos with corresponding hotels have also emerged to provide Bernalillo residents with opportunities for employment. Also according to the U.S. Census, Bernalillo residents
achieved an 81.9% high school graduation rate from 2013-2017, however only 17.6% achieved a Bachelor’s degree or higher. Additional data show the working class profile of the population including 48.4% of the population in the labor force, a per capita income of $22,332, and 19% persons living in poverty.

Marxist and Neo-Marxist arguments gave rise to conflict theory, which places class at the center of why Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos remain working class by stating that the dominant class (Anglo-Americans) have historically created an economic hierarchy that positions them higher on the economic ladder than Nuevomexicanos. Bonilla-Silva (2002) describes racial strata in the United States as it applies to pigmentocracy with three categories including whites, honorary whites, and collective Black. As part of the intermediary, or honorary Anglo-American group, Nuevomexicanos can occupy the space between Anglos and Native Americans and dark-skinned Mexicanos. This can also be uniquely tied to the economy of New Mexico in that this stratification can explain how various racial and ethnic groups assume various roles as working class or white-collar people within this framework. Do schools, as extensions of the larger State apparatus that works to marginalize Nuevomexicanos based on class, perpetuate and normalize these data? What other factors in addition to class can also explain schooling and poverty?

**Race and Schooling**

McCarthy (1990) presents a view that does not compartmentalize race and class. Rather, he states that the multifaceted nature of race in education “recognizes that minorities are not simply oppressed as racial subjects, but are positioned as classed and gendered subjects as well” (p. 117). Further, the “dynamics of race, class and gender are interwoven, in an uneven manner, into the social fabric of the institutions and structures of American
society” (p. 117). Using this argument as a foundation in which to view race, class, and gender as majority and minority students interact in schools, McCarthy presents four types of nonsynchronous race relations; competition, exploitation, domination and cultural selection.

According to McCarthy, relations of competition can be seen in how students compete for access to higher education, credentials, and financial resources. Relations of exploitation include how the school, as an arm of the larger capitalist economy, prepares students for the labor force. In addition, relations of domination suggest that relationships between students, teachers, administrators and other staff are hierarchical and that this stratification dictates to racial and class control of certain students. Finally, relations of cultural selection suggests that identity formation of students is based on the control of several factors including inclusion/exclusion, differentiated knowledge that is included in the curriculum, or not, ability grouping, and labeling of students. McCarthy provides a crucial foundation in which to analyze how race dictates how students, teachers, and staff interact with each other, and how they interact with the larger school system, which selects, rewards and praises certain students, while disciplining, devaluing, and ignoring other students based on race. In my personal experience, most Anglo-American students graduated as valedictorians and salutatorians, and many held leadership positions in clubs, organizations, and athletics. Few Native American, Nuevomexicano, and Mexicano students were given access to higher leadership roles. Although some People of Color did assume leadership roles and graduated at or near the top of a graduating class, overall the ratio favored Anglo-Americans, who were a minority at Bernalillo High School.

A critique of functionalist and traditionalist Marxist arguments concerning the role of schooling in the United States claims that emphasis is placed too heavily upon class and its
ability to influence the education of working-class students. In response, some critical theorists began to expand the arguments of earlier theorists claiming that race, class, and gender are interwoven, and further explain how working-class and students of color navigate the American social, workforce, and educational arenas (Crenshaw, 1989; McCarthy, 1990). Although Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos identify frequently with a Spanish, Hispano, or Hispanic identity, the strategy has pitted them against Mexicanos in the community. For example, many Mexicanos have self-segregated into certain parts of the Bernalillo community. This is in contrast to other communities in the Southwest, particularly in southern Colorado between 1920 and 1940, where Hispanics and Mexicanos were segregated together and kept separate from Anglo-Americans in the community and schools (Donato, 2007). Although Hispanics sought to distance themselves by attempting to self-segregate from Mexicanos, Anglo-Americans treated them as the same. Locally in Bernalillo, on one occasion, as a result of rejection and racism, a Mexicano Matachines dance group asked to be part of Las Fiesta de San Lorenzo, which was followed by an outright refusal by Nuevomexicanos. Widespread use of the term moja’o (wetback) referring to Mexicanos by Nuevomexicanos is common, especially with older Nuevomexicanos.

Bernalillo High School is also a place where these communal attitudes become replicated. For example, Nuevomexicanos operating under a false consciousness of their Spanish identity laterally oppress Mexicanos. Feinberg and Soltis (2009) state that when the dominant class can instill their mode of thinking on the subordinate class, hegemony is achieved. Locally, this can take many forms, but one of the most blatant examples is language transmission and use. Because English-only policies acted to remove Nuevomexicanos of their Spanish language, some believed this to be true and some parents
did not teach their children Spanish. A possible motive for this switch to English could pertain to false consciousness in that if a child is not taught Spanish in favor of English, the student will be better suited to “get ahead in life” much like their Anglo-American counterparts. Further, “hegemony exists when one class controls the thinking of another class through such cultural forms as the media, the church, or the schools” (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009, p. 48). In addition, dominant groups can form hegemonic alliances, which is presented by an umbrella metaphor (Apple, 1996). Through this lens, Apple contends that the dominant group seeks to maintain leadership positions in schools and society by giving the perception that they are listening to marginalized groups, thus bringing them under their metaphorical umbrella. False consciousness and hegemony can then be further understood in how working class students of color are viewed as attempting to “act White” (Bettie, 2002) and develop “White-like attitudes” (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Memmi (1965) refers to many occasions in which a colonized person experiences language and cultural shift and assimilation. He states that the colonized endeavor to resemble the colonizer by changing their habits by learning the colonizer’s language and culture. Similarly, Freire (1970) argues that the oppressed internalize the image of the oppressor and adopt his guidelines, which can result in lateral oppression. WhiteShield (2000) also states that as a result of harsh assimilation practices from one group to another, the oppressed adopt the ways of the oppressor. Schools are places where false consciousness and lateral oppression work to have working-class and students of color oppress themselves, as well as strip them of their language and cultural traits. Hegemony is a powerful force that works to assimilate marginalized students to the dominant society, especially in schools.
Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015) discuss power in how institutional racism and racial macroaggressions permeate Anglo-American/minority relations stating that they “are a form of systemic, every day racism used to keep those at the racial margins in their place” (p. 298). These can be verbal, non-verbal, layered, and /or cumulative assaults. In addition, these assaults can take psychological, physiological, and academic tolls on people of color. According to the authors, racial microaggressions “perpetuate a larger system of racism”, which “are the layered, cumulative and often subtle and unconscious forms of racism that target People of Color” (p. 302). An outer layer describes institutionalized racism as formal and informal structural strategies, as seen in policies and procedures that work to marginalize people of color. Finally, the model provided by the authors describes macroaggressions that combine microaggressions and institutional racism. The authors state that macroaggressions are a “set of beliefs and/or ideologies that justify actual or potential social arrangements that legitimize the interests and/or positions of a dominant group over non-dominant groups, that in turn lead to related structures and acts of subordination” (p. 303). On the one hand, Nuevomexicanos are recipients of institutional racism and racial microaggressions from Anglo-Americans, and thus attempt to exert the same to Mexicanos and Native Americans through their Spanish identity. In turn, they operate under false consciousness and laterally oppress others who experience the same racism and classism from the dominant race and class. This then removes Anglo-Americans from having any influence on in-group discrimination. A discussion on a racial hierarchy that emerged as Nuevomexicanos, Native Americans, and Anglo-Americans interacted throughout the history of New Mexico is included in further detail below.
The History of New Mexico and Nuevomexicano Identity

Through the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Mexico ceded 1/3 of their lands (including New Mexico) to the United States. During this time, Nuevomexicano people experienced land and natural resource loss, language and cultural shift, racism, denigration of their identities, and other experiences as a result of the ensuing Anglo-American invasion of the area. Interactions between groups began to show the differences between them in economic, political, educational, religious and social arenas throughout the state. Because land, history, language, religion, and culture form powerful, and related, identity markers for Nuevomexicanos, it is important to understand how contemporary Nuevomexicano identity formation is rooted in historical events. Events such as the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the coming of the railroad to New Mexico, the battle for statehood and other events drove identity formation as seen in the various nomenclatures Nuevomexicanos used at the time, and in some cases, continue to use for themselves today.

Gonzales (1993) describes the most prominent labels used by Nuevomexicanos beginning with the term “Spanish” that came to be used widely between 1900 and 1933. “Spanish American” was also used after statehood was granted in 1912 as a way for Nuevomexicanos to assert their American citizenship. Prior to the statehood battle, the identity label as it applied to Spanish people applied strictly to provincial Spaniards themselves, also known as “gente de razón”, but after Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, Mexico sought to uproot all associations to Castilian identification (p. 160). It is important to note that after Mexican independence from Spain was won, the New Mexico region became Mexico until the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848. During this
time, the identity label that came into widespread use was “Mexicano”. The Spanish term used by Nuevomexicanos served several purposes based on race, class, and power operating at the time. Citing Arthur Campa’s work, Gonzales (1993) states that the Nuevomexicanos used the nomenclature of Spanish American as an identity label to distance themselves from being Mexicans. In addition, using Spanish American as a term gave Nuevomexicanos the perceived ability to call themselves members of the “white race” as well as assert their newly acquired American citizenship (p. 161). Race, class, and power operate in various ways, but the rise of the Spanish and Spanish-American nomenclatures provide a powerful account of how Nuevomexicanos distanced themselves from others, namely Mexicanos in the English language, not in Spanish. The literature does not mention that Nuevomexicanos used the term “Españoles” to refer to themselves, rather, the English term “Spanish” was widely used. The use of English and not Spanish to distance themselves is a key indicator of the underlying power dynamics that produced this identification to Spanish heritage using the English language. This is described in detail below.

**The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Reaches Las Vegas**

In order to understand how Nuevomexicano and Anglo-American relations formed at the beginning of the 20th century, it is important to analyze the historical changes that were occurring in the region. Prior to the railroad reaching New Mexico in the late 1800s, Nuevomexicanos vastly outnumbered Anglo-Americans and controlled much of the economic and political arenas. However, when the railroad reached Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1880 later expanding into the Rio Abajo region, drastic changes were on the horizon. These changes not only impacted Nuevomexicanos, but Indigenous communities also felt the effects of a large influx of Anglo-Americans in the area. Communities such as Las Vegas and
Albuquerque experienced these rapid changes because of the expansion of the railroad system. This can be seen in how Nuevomexicanos and Anglo-Americans jockeyed for economic and political footholds. As the work by Montgomery (2002) shows, Anglo-American economic and political dominance rose in a short amount of time. Power jockeying and negotiations between both groups in the early 1900s in New Mexico highlight how economic and political power was negotiated shortly after the railroad reached Las Vegas (Montgomery, 2002; Nieto-Phillips, 2004). This is reflected in what Nieto-Phillips (2004) calls the “maneuvering between Anglo American and Nuevomexicano political and cultural arenas” (p. 80). As a result, dual and competing perceptions of Nuevomexicanos emerged on the one hand to denigrate Nuevomexicano people, and on the other hand, praise them when convenient to furthering the Anglo-American population’s economic and political aspirations pertaining to tourism and statehood. Nuevomexicanos then turned to various mechanisms to combat negative perceptions, including las Gorras Blancas, which are described below.

When the railroad expanded into the Rio Abajo region, it bypassed Santa Fe, so Anglo-American leaders were pressed to create a unique niche that attempted to draw tourists to the capital. Santa Fe did not become a major railroad hub, so tourism became a major component to draw Anglo-Americans to the capital. Spurred by the rise in Anglo-American population, the railroad and the petition for statehood created friction between historically entrenched Nuevomexicanos and newer Anglo-American arrivals. This was inevitable as Anglo-Americans supplanted Nuevomexicanos as the possessors of economic and political power in the region. As Anglo-Americans attempted to lure tourists to New Mexico for their benefit, they quickly praised Nuevomexicano culture via the creation of the Santa Fe fiesta, and the regional Pueblo-style architecture as seen in the Palace of the Governors and the
Museum of Fine Arts. Further, Nuevomexicano religious iconography as seen in retablos, bultos, and other domestic crafts such as woodworking, tinwork and weaving became prized by Anglo-Americans. Even as prominent Nuevomexicanos attempted to have more of an influence in how Spanish identity was created and portrayed, Montgomery (2002) states “Anglo newcomers were already installing themselves as official caretakers of New Mexico’s past” (p. 114). By doing so, and creating a mythical Spanish heritage. Anglo-Americans attempted to become caretakers of New Mexico’s past in the creation of a Spanish heritage, Anglo-Americans became the gatekeepers of what was “Nuevomexicano-enough” to showcase to the outside world. As a result, Anglo-Americans embraced Spanish heritage in order to use it for their own purposes, displaying a powerful example of interest convergence (Bell, 2005). Anglo-Americans manipulated Nuevomexicano folk arts and crafts, for their own benefit economically and politically, while socially discriminating against the craftspeople themselves.

As Anglo-Americans became the caretakers of the Spanish heritage in New Mexico, their control over the Nuevomexicano majority succeeded. Through the constant ability to control resources and gain wealth, Anglo-Americans worked to ensure that Nuevomexicanos were kept as economic and political subordinates. Through economic exploitation, control was achieved over Nuevomexicano interests by Anglo-Americans, and always as an avenue in which to protect their business and political interests. High praise for Spanish heritage was given by Anglo-Americans for political reasons in order to serve Anglo-American economic interests (Zazula, 2014) especially pertaining to statehood.
The Battle for Statehood

After becoming a United States territory in 1850, New Mexico was not granted statehood until 1912. After 62 years of attempting to convince the United States Congress of New Mexico’s viability for admission to the Union, New Mexico became the 47\textsuperscript{th} state. The length of time that it took for New Mexico to become a state, as well as the circumstances that prevented admission is illuminated by authors who have examined early records that indicate how race, class, and power operated against the Nuevomexicano and Native American populations in 1848. Holtby (2012) describes many of the social, political, and economic forces that intersected prior to 1912. For example, Thomas Catron, who was one of the largest land owners in the region, along with other prominent Anglo-Americans in the Santa Fe Ring sought statehood for New Mexico in order to “protect their self-interest, perpetuate their money-making schemes, and reduce popular discontent” (Holtby, 2012, p. 13). Anglo-Americans thus sought mechanisms seeking to combat the beliefs of eastern politicians who were against New Mexico statehood. An influential senator from Indiana named Albert Beveridge became one of the staunchest opponents to admission. He traveled to New Mexico, visiting various communities in order to gauge New Mexico’s fitness to become a state, later publishing a report with detrimental conclusions about New Mexico and its inhabitants. According to Beveridge, along with other eastern residents, Nuevomexicanos were “as deficient in energy of character and physical courage as they are in all the moral and intellectual qualities” including that “in the social state, but one degree removed from the veriest savages” (Holtby, 2012, p. 4). In addition, New Mexico was viewed as too arid which “will be in a dormant and comatose condition for a very long time” (p. 61). The attacks continued with comments regarding language and culture. Nuevomexicanos were viewed as
“un-American” because “in respect to language, in respect to education, in respect to intelligence, and all that goes to make up the leading and prominent characteristics of a self-governing citizen…the people of that territory were to a large extent deficient” (p. 60). This echoed others’ claims that “New Mexico is in much worse condition educationally than anyone had suspected” (p. 55). In addition, believing in Anglo-American superiority and dominance, Beveridge and others “perceived Nuevomexicano peasants as practically another Indian tribe—wild, savage, superstitious, and ignorant” (p. 70). Theodore Roosevelt became a major player in the statehood debate. He believed that Anglo-Americans were agents in a new order that would hierarchically position non-Anglos as subordinates because they were unfit for entry into the Union but they could eventually learn to be like them.

The attacks against New Mexico continued with reasons ranging from widespread violence, to Nuevomexicanos purportedly controlled by a “boss” system. A newspaper in Carlsbad called “The Current” claimed that Nuevomexicanos were controlled by either a gang of “elite” Nuevomexicanos or a boss. The paper claimed that this system swayed Nuevomexicanos to vote for whom they were instructed, and that they were also a mixture of the descendants of Castilians, Aztecs, Sioux, and Ethiopians (Holtby, 2012). The idea of statehood made some Anglo-Americans wary of how it would impact their interests. For example, some feared that “Statehood for New Mexico simply means that the white people of the Territory will be put under the domination of the Mexicans, who greatly outnumber” Anglo-Americans, and that statehood should wait “until an American, and not a Mexican, population dominates the Territory” (p. 120).

Anglo-American leaders, joined by “elite” Nuevomexicanos operating under a false consciousness (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009) that they were also Anglo-American, working in
their interests began an aggressive campaign for statehood. According to Holtby (2012), various Anglo-American interests would be served by New Mexico becoming a state. For example, conflicts between Nuevomexicanos and Anglo-Americans “led to conflict that mobilized people dedicated to using New Mexico as a pawn in their schemes” (p. 232) including agricultural and land interests. Also, Charles Speiss, a delegate to New Mexico’s constitutional convention utilized the Enabling Act to launder millions of dollars to repay a railroad client. Led by the Santa Fe Ring, also known as the “Generation of 1890” and later by the “Generation of 1910” Anglo-Americans rejected an attempt to admit Arizona and New Mexico jointly to the Union. The Generation of 1910 claimed that “admitting New Mexico and Arizona [to the United States] is detrimental to business interests” and would lead to “stagnation in trade” (p. 254). Anglo-American political, economic and social domination of Nuevomexicanos, Native Americans and other minority groups hinged on statehood.

Anglo-Americans and Nuevomexicanos found common ground in some power negotiations through interest convergence by recreating Nuevomexicano identity (Montgomery, 2002). They worked to revert to the Spanish colonial past by creating a Spanish identity that included elite and lower classed Nuevomexicanos. McWilliams (1961) states that the Spanish identity resulted from “false consciousness and rationalization” with the increased Anglo-American migration from Texas and the southern United States, which produced a strong anti-Mexican sentiment by Anglo-American business and political leaders who believed that the Mexican image “retarded economic development” (p. 16). This was accepted and perpetuated by Nuevomexicanos of all classes. Gonzalez (1969) states that shortly after annexation, the Nuevomexicano middle class emerged to “anglicize” itself
(assimilate) to the Anglo-American culture. This took form in several practices by Spanish people including a socioeconomic distancing of Spanish people from “lower class” Mexican immigrants and Native Americans. In addition, because of increased prejudice and discrimination, Nuevomexicanos chose several paths of assimilation to Anglo culture, such as; disassociating themselves from Mexicans in a denial of historic and cultural similarities between the two groups and assimilating (Spanish middle class) to Anglo-American culture, including a rejection of lower class Mexicans. In large numbers, it is evident that many Nuevomexicanos chose to disassociate themselves from Mexicans and assimilate to middle class Anglo-American culture and denying affiliation to mestizaje, or mixed blood heritage (Acuña, 1972).

Although it is argued that Anglo-Americans and Nuevomexicanos worked together to create a Spanish identity, some researchers argue that only Anglo-Americans devised a way that would combat these views of New Mexico and its populace. The culmination of these interests is seen in the creation of the Spanish identity, which was soon grafted onto the entire Nuevomexicano population. Calls for statehood by New Mexico’s leadership were often dismissed by the United States Congress on various grounds including New Mexico’s perceived poverty and its large illiterate “Mexican” population. In response, Anglo-Americans sought to cast New Mexico’s “paisano” population as European, White, and direct descendants of Spain’s presence in the Southwest via the conquest of the area by Spanish conquistadores. This idea of a Spanish ancestry and heritage was widely accepted by Nuevomexicanos of all classes in order to distinguish themselves from Native American and Mexican populations. It was also accepted by Nuevomexicanos in an effort to be perceived as equal to Anglo-Americans when it came to social, political, and economic control of the
state and region. In addition, the anti-Nuevomexicano bias persisted alongside this high praise, and was used as a mechanism in which to distinguish Anglo-Americans from all Nuevomexicanos (Zavella, 1993; Zazula, 2014). In this vein, due to heavy Anglo-American influence, Nuevomexicanos of all classes became agents in the creation of a Spanish heritage and ancestry that positioned them at the heart of the Spanish “rebirth” that occurred in the early 1900s (Gonzalez, 1969; Montgomery, 2002; Nieto-Phillips, 2004).

The idea that Nuevomexicanos ultimately assimilated in response to growing Anglo-American and Mexican populations and eventual discrimination after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is critiqued by researchers who claim that this identity is false. For example, Edmonson (1957) calls the Spanish identity “the social myth of the Spanish heritage” (p. 16). Others agree calling the Spanish identity among Nuevomexicanos the “Spanish myth” (Chávez, 1984; Lozano, 2013; Zazula, 2014), the “Spanish fantasy heritage” (McWilliams, 1961), and the “Spanish legend” (Gonzalez, 1969). In addition, Zazula (2014) states that this identity is congruent with what Benedict Anderson calls an “imagined community”. Johansen (1941) states that the Spanish Americans of New Mexico are largely of American Indian ancestry. Walter (1952) agrees stating that the Spanish of New Mexico are actually mestizo, with Indian blood dominance. Gonzalez (1969) states that the distinction between Indians and Spanish people in New Mexico is difficult, if not impossible to make. Heller (1966) echoes this statement, claiming that the Mexican immigrant and Spanish of New Mexico are similar, if not the same. In her study of Nuevomexicano language use and identity, Gonzales (2005) claims that the identity labels used in northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado vary, although Spanish individuals in her study refer to the language as Mexicano and not Español.
Phillip Gonzales (2001, 2016) presents some of the most comprehensive research on the political, economic, and social crosscurrents that shaped Nuevomexicano identity during and after New Mexico’s successful petition to statehood. Gonzales places a heavy emphasis on “elite” Nuevomexicanos and their involvement in Anglo-American calls for statehood. He presents a strong case that examines how the Spanish identity that Nuevomexicano “elites” accepted and used as a means of convincing eastern politicians of New Mexico’s fitness for statehood. This was a forced and imposed identity that Anglo-Americans created to serve their interests. Anglo-Americans were cunning in their way of imposing a Spanish identity upon the “elite” Nuevomexicanos, which led to their acceptance and widespread use of it during this time. In doing so, Nuevomexicanos operated under a false consciousness that they were Anglo-Americans, descendants of Europe, and that they would become American if they would stop speaking Spanish and they would drop cultural traits by becoming American. False consciousness led “elite” Nuevomexicanos to believe that that they would be equal to the Anglo-American leaders when New Mexico was granted statehood through political positions and economic opportunity. As a result, “elite” Nuevomexicanos, working in their perceived political and economic interests that would ultimately benefit them, became the mouthpieces of the Anglo-Americans in their own domination and colonization. Spanish language newspapers perpetuated the ideal of Spanish identity, using race, class, and power to support the Spanish identity upon “elite” Nuevomexicanos who then used them as instruments to graft the identity onto poor Nuevomexicanos. Poor Nuevomexicanos also operated under a false consciousness in adopting Spanish identity, thus believing in an Anglo-American, European and hopeful American identity. Race, class, and power operated in other ways as well in that other marginalized groups were then incorporated into the
argument by poor Nuevomexicanos claiming Spanish identity in their denial of Mexican, Native American and/or African American identity. In this case, Nuevomexicanos utilized their new-found Spanish identity as a way to oppose discrimination by Anglo-Americans, but they also used it to discriminate against other marginalized groups. In this vein, the political, economic, and business interests of the Anglo-Americans were being served, although all Nuevomexicanos either “elite” or poor were operating under a false consciousness that they were becoming Anglo-American, or at least equal to them. This further marginalized poor Nuevomexicanos because at the same time, the “elite” Nuevomexicanos laterally oppressed them as they jockeyed for economic, political, and social power with Anglo-Americans. In addition, “elite” Nuevomexicanos were also operating under a false consciousness because they controlled local political seats, especially in rural parts of the territory, but more powerful territorial seats were controlled by Anglo-Americans and appointed by the Anglo-American President of the United States. Gómez (2007) states that Anglo-Americans established goals to divide Nuevomexicanos from Native Americans stating “one way to do this was to allow Mexican Americans to designate themselves as legally white while preventing Pueblo Indians from doing so” (p. 7) which forced Nuevomexicanos to assume an “off-white” status within the established hierarchy of the region (p. 59).

**The Consequences of Statehood**

Statehood was finally granted to New Mexico in 1912 and Nuevomexicanos of all classes began to see changes as a result of Anglo-American political, social, and economic dominance. Holtby (2012) explains that land grants, whether granted by Spain or Mexico, were not honored by the new American system, which led to mass land loss for Nuevomexicanos. Court rulings would eventually strip Nuevomexicanos of millions of acres
of land, most of which were communally-owned by Nuevomexicanos and were later purchased by Anglo-Americans. National Forests were created in New Mexico, which further stripped Nuevomexicanos and Native Americans of their lands, displacing many of them to larger cities in search of work. The Homestead Act of 1862 opened New Mexico to 100,000 mostly Anglo-American settlers. With them, came a change from mercantile capitalism to a wage labor market primarily driven by the lumber, mining, and ranching industries. Holtby (2012) also states that a type of indentured servitude operated in New Mexico in which Nuevomexicanos became “partidarios” for wealthy Anglo-Americans which entailed a contract leasing sheep, land, and rams to Nuevomexicanos. The Nuevomexicanos, per contract, then had to care for the sheep and return most of the wool and lambs to the Anglo-American. This resulted in an unending cycle of debt and payment which Nuevomexicanos could rarely break.

Holtby (2012) also highlights secular and religious changes in New Mexico upon statehood, namely in changes to parish priests and Catholic administration officials that viewed Nuevomexicano religious and secular observations as inconsistent with official Catholic dogma. Many Nuevomexicano priests were removed from churches across New Mexico when Archbishop Lamy came to New Mexico in 1851. Many religious and secular traditions were then hidden from public view, such as the Penitente Brotherhood. The message sent to Nuevomexicanos by Anglo-American religious and political leaders was one that did not allow for what they viewed as “un-American” observances by Nuevomexicanos.

As can be seen in the historical events above, the creation of Nuevomexicano identity changed over time, and was a result of events intersecting with racial and ethnic contact
between many groups. Language and cultural practices were heavily impacted by statehood, which in turn, began to influence Nuevomexicano identity.

Identity, Schooling, and Religion

One institution that highly impacted Nuevomexicano identity were schools. At the end of the 19th century, about 1/3 of the 300-plus public schools in New Mexico were exclusively Spanish instruction schools (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). In addition, 93 of those schools were bilingual (English and Spanish). This also marked a time of mass redefinition of identity in terms of “Spanish” ethnic, historical, and racial terms (p. 81). The plea of New Mexico’s leadership to statehood into the Union affected language shift and maintenance. Nieto-Phillips argues that an 1891 public education law called for English and Spanish instruction in schools, but starting in 1905, Nuevomexicano superintendents were being replaced by Anglo-Americans who were not in favor of bilingual instruction. Nieto-Phillips continues with descriptions of further attempts to install English-only instruction with the United States Congress’ statements claiming that Nuevomexicanos were “unfit for entry into the nation’s body of politic” (p. 199). This resulted in an English-only provision to the “Statehood Authorization Bill” which was ultimately passed. Schools became locations where assimilationist “Americanization” curricula led to changing Nuevomexicano identity (Lozano, 2013; Parra, 2016). Further, Nieto-Phillips (2004) includes additional factors that led to language shift which were a result of the battle for statehood including the continued pressure placed by Anglo-American educators to eliminate Spanish from the schools. This was viewed in students’ reactions to language in that they were constantly told “do not speak Spanish” and that they began to feel “ashamed of their language, their songs, their crafts and

Shortly after statehood was granted, Nuevomexicanos were faced with a decision to assimilate to Anglo-American culture. Schools became sites where Spanish language use and the cultural identity markers associated with the use of the language came under individual, familial and communal scrutiny in terms of their maintenance. Memmi (1965) refers to many occasions in which a colonized person experiences language and cultural shift and assimilation. He states that the colonized endeavor to resemble the colonizer by changing their habits by learning the colonizer’s language and culture. Further, he states that by avoiding his own past, the colonized “turns away from his music, the plastic arts and, in effect, his entire traditional culture” (p. 108). This is evident in how Nuevomexicanos assimilated to Anglo-American culture by not transmitting language and most cultural traditions to subsequent generations because they viewed language and culture as a deficit that would slow the assimilation process (Sanz-Sanchez, 2014). These works provide further details as to why Nuevomexicanos chose to assimilate by rejecting Spanish language and culture, which served as additional factors that influenced identity, and later, graduation and proficiency rates. Overt policies greatly influenced the choices Nuevomexicanos made to assimilate after constant physical and psychological punishment and denigration of their language and cultural practices.

Competing epistemologies regarding assimilation to Anglo-American culture, religion, and education moved to the forefront of Anglo-American and Nuevomexicano interactions during New Mexico’s petition for statehood. Nieto-Phillips (2004) states that “by 1890, New Mexico boasted 342 public schools, 143 of which taught exclusively in the
Further, Fernández (2003), which was re-issued from a 1911 publication, and was compiled, translated and historically annotated by A. Gabriel Meléndez, presents a fascinating story of Casimiro Barela. He states, that during Casimiro Barela’s calls for the admission of New Mexico into the Union in 1887, over 13,000 students were enrolled in territorial public schools and that New Mexico had over 150 public schools that used public taxes for the support of schools. In addition, Eusebio Chacón is another important figure during this time, as he was part of a new generation of Nuevomexicanos that utilized education as a means of advancement as educational access increased (Meléndez & Lemelí, 2012). Prior to gaining statehood, the territorial legislature established a public education system in 1889 (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). With the creation of public education, territorial schools, which were previously controlled by the Catholic Church began to feel the effects of a growing minority Protestant population.

Catholic Nuevomexicano dominance began to fade as Protestant education infiltrated Nuevomexicano Catholic strongholds. Although New Mexico’s constitution recognized English and Spanish as official languages, in practice, schools became the very place where Nuevomexicano language and culture were denigrated and vilified. This was further evident in the social assimilation that sought to denigrate anything Nuevomexicano including their language, culture, and history and replacing it with Anglo-American ideals and culture, including their imposed version of state history. In addition, educational practices instituted the supplanting of these ideals by separating religious and educational epistemologies that were once inseparable in the Nuevomexicano worldview. In many ways, Nuevomexicanos became conditioned to be aspirational to Anglo-American society through schools.
Protestant and Anglo-American policies and practices sought to assimilate Nuevomexicanos to the new American order. Nieto-Phillips (2004) claims that during the time New Mexico was petitioning for statehood, some Anglo-controlled newspapers feared that “public schools are teaching the rising generation [of Nuevomexicanos] without distinction of nationality” (p. 134). In short, (Catholic) public schools were conditioning students to be un-American. In addition, Anglo-Americans portrayed their culture and ideals symbols of progress that must be accepted by Nuevomexicanos in order for them to become fully American. Nieto-Phillips (2004) states that Nuevomexicanos began to develop a consciousness concerning their relationship with Anglo-Americans claiming that Nuevomexicanos were encouraged to “borrow from [Anglo-Americans] the tools of education, commerce and technology as a means of material advancement” (p. 138). Further, he states that Nuevomexicanos were urged, by Anglo-American newspapers, “to take advantage of education and commerce as a means of advancement” (p. 138). In her work, Deutsch (1987) echoes the emphasis placed on becoming American, read assimilation, by Anglo-Americans. She states that many “Spanish Americans sought to acquire Anglo skills, believing these would allow them to succeed in the new economic order” (p. 27). With the rise of Protestant boarding schools, Deutsch further claims that the purpose of bringing this type of school to New Mexico aimed to “Americanize the Spanish Americans, but it was not necessarily to integrate them” (p. 28). Further, Deutsch describes the coal-mining region of southern Colorado arguing that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CFI) had a tremendous influence in the assimilation of Hispanos to Anglo-American culture. She states that the CFI viewed Hispanos as “‘shiftless’, and lacking ambition”, as well as “fatalistic, patriarchal, presentist, oriental, subservient, irresponsible, improvident, and yet home loving” in addition
to “primitive” (p. 94). In order to assimilate to Anglo-American culture, Hispanics had to become “an ‘Americanized’ and homogenous, work force” (p. 96). As seen in the examples noted above, Anglo-American assimilation practices, especially those evident in the economic and educational realms were very particular in labeling Nuevomexicanos as a population that needed American civilization, including its culture and ideals, in order to advance and be accepted by the larger national population. One result that occurred from these practices is that some Nuevomexicanos accepted and internalized the negative sentiments that the Anglo-American population projected onto them. This can be seen in Nuevomexicanos assimilating to Anglo-American culture by converting to Protestantism.

Holscher (2012) describes the social and educational changes that the increasing Protestant objections to Catholic education brought to New Mexico schools shortly after statehood was granted in 1912 and beyond through the Dixon Case ruling in 1948. Upset that Catholic Sisters taught in publicly funded schools in New Mexico, a group of Protestants in northern New Mexico utilized a national movement to create a “wall of separation” between (Catholic) Church and State. The Protestant group succeeded by winning the Dixon Case, which subsequently called for the removal of Catholic Sisters from public schools. Holscher (2012) lays the foundation in which to view this time of change in how Nuevomexicanos used education and religion to assimilate to American culture. Deutsch (1987) presents the account of female Protestant missionaries in New Mexico that worked to assimilate Nuevomexicanos. She states, “Through church and schools, the Protestants hoped for a more effective conquest, one that would bring recalcitrant former Mexicans firmly into the English-speaking Protestant nation spiritually and culturally as well as geographically” (p. 63). Some strategies included nationalist curriculum lessons (patriotic songs, plays regarding
the founding of America), hygiene and English-only efforts (Deutsch, 1987; Holscher, 2012). Further, Deutsch (1987) reports that the missionaries sought to “change in every respect the homes and habits of these Mexicans” (p. 65). As these strategies were implemented in the classroom, some Nuevomexicanos sought to assimilate. This is evident in Madrid’s (2012) recollection of his life growing up as a Protestant in Catholic New Mexico. He states that Hispanics, i.e. his family “broke with their historical religious traditions and embraced the ones brought to them by their Anglo-American colonizers” (p. 3). Further illustrating his family’s assimilation to Anglo Protestant culture, he states that “Hispano Protestants felt chosen by God” and that they “came to see themselves as superior in their thinking, values, and behavior to their Hispano Catholic neighbors and relations” (p. 70). As can be seen by Madrid’s accounts, Nuevomexicanos began to not only internalize negative Anglo-American portrayals of them, but embraced those views by converting and assimilating to the dominant Anglo-American epistemology of the time. This represents a growing shift in epistemologies that fractured the perceived static Nuevomexicano worldview evident in the “Pre-American” period that created an imposed division between school and religion. The two were now compartmentalized not only for assimilated Protestant Nuevomexicanos, but also for those that did not assimilate at such a rapid rate.

The United States Congress passed the Enabling Act in 1910, which prompted the Arizona and New Mexico Territories to begin crafting provisions that would lead to eventual state constitutions. Included in the New Mexico Enabling Act were several provisions as to how the constitution of the state would be crafted. A specific provision in Sec. 2. D of the Enabling Act related directly to education, public schools and language that would set the stage for non-English language transmission, loss, and shift. The provision states, “that
provisions shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public
schools, which shall be open to all the children of said state and free from sectarian control,
and that said schools shall always be conducted in English”. Although the New Mexico
Constitution later recognized English and Spanish as official languages upon admission to
the Union in 1912, the strict provision included in the Enabling Act was a major mechanism
in the shift from Spanish to English from use in school and in communities further impacting
Nuevomexicano identity through stripping of the Spanish language. The debate between
Catholic and Protestant denominations for which organization would be responsible for
educating Nuevomexicanos showcased differing strategies on evangelizing Nuevomexicanos
based on their own views of race, class, and power. As McCarthy (1990) explains, Anglo-
American educators acted as harbingers of the new American, civilized order. In this way,
non-synchronous race relations operated in a way that created a hierarchy between students,
teachers, administrators, and other staff. In this sense, Anglo-Americans controlled
administrative and faculty positions and interacted with subjugated Nuevomexicanos through
racial and class distinctions. In addition, Anglo-American educators began to label and track
students because they viewed them as deficient, resulting in microaggressions directed at
Nuevomexicano students based on their race in addition to their Catholic religion.
Microaggressions became compounded with overt aggressive discrimination, including
corporal punishment.

**Nuevomexicano Agency as a Weapon and Tool**

Henry Giroux claims that raced and classed people are not docile recipients of the
dominant class and race’s efforts to maintain power over them. Rather, people have the
ability to critically analyze the factors that have led to their subjugation and exert agency
Giroux, 1983a, 1983b, 1997, 2004). Throughout the history of New Mexico, Nuevomexicanos have exerted agency with regard to their identity in combating the effects of race, class and power operating with relation to Anglo-American colonization.

**Positive Agency**

Nuevomexicanos began to exert agency as it pertained to their identity in relation to other marginalized groups, as well as Anglo-Americans. For example, the “Spanish” identity that became widely used was used as a tool that Nuevomexicanos utilized to combat Anglo-American racism and discrimination. In addition, as Nuevomexicanos left the state for higher education, they returned to combat the effects of Anglo-American colonization. Groups such as las Gorras Blancas began to exert agency by disrupting Anglo-American land acquisition and theft. Finally, new nomenclatures came into use moving away from ‘Spanish’ to Chicano and Mexican terms as a way for Nuevomexicanos to embrace their mestizo identities.

**“Spanish” as a Tool.** Addressing ways in which Spanish American identity manifests itself in social and educational arenas through the exertion of agency, Gonzales (1985, 2001) analyzes the utilization of Spanish identity in protests at the University of New Mexico, which were spurred by conflict between Spanish students and Anglo-American elites. This was seen in the prohibition of Spanish American students in university fraternities, which sparked a statewide debate on the Spanish identity in New Mexico, which truly never subsided since the signing of the Treaty some 80+ years prior. The author states that the creation of this identity was the result of Spanish peoples’ inability to face the strains of Anglo discrimination.

Gonzales (2001) details the “Racial Confrontation of 1933” at the University of New Mexico as but one case where Nuevomexicanos were mobilized to combat Anglo-American
racism and discrimination. According to the author, Professor Page of the University created an attitude scale that aimed to glean how societal views of Nuevomexicanos were prevalent at the time. The scale titled “Attitude Toward Natively Spanish-speaking People of the Southwest” asked participants to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with statements such as “Spanish people should not be employed in American school systems,” “Only a few Spanish-speaking people are equal in ability to English-speaking people,” and “No matter how much you educate Spanish-speaking people, they are nothing but greasers” (p. 89). Nuevomexicanos reacted with harsh criticism of the scale citing extreme racism and discrimination. Armed with the Spanish and Spanish American nomenclatures, Nuevomexicanos reacted in several ways in response to breaking of a sacred heritage. Gonzales defines a sacred heritage as laying “out definitive icons in relation to traditional values, historical legend, and the group’s place in contemporary society” (p. 215). Because Spanish identity was central to Nuevomexicano identity, and because it was widely used to combat discrimination and racism, the author claims that Page’s scale violated the sacred heritage as central to Nuevomexicanos as they navigated political, economic, and social arenas.

Nuevomexicanos began to stage “juntas de indignación” throughout the state from 1920-1932, which were large gatherings protesting the injustices and racism that they felt. Nuevomexicanos mainly staged these protests in response to newspaper articles that violated the Nuevomexicano sacred heritage in various ways such as lawlessness in Nuevomexicano communities, defamation, the Beveridge Report, and Page’s attitude scale (Gonzales, 2001). In addition, juntas de indignación were held to address University fraternities with Nuevomexicanos claiming that they were intentionally left out of admission. University
Regents also came under fire with Nuevomexicanos demanding that the Board of Regents’
demographics mirror those of the larger society with reserved positions set aside for
Nuevomexicanos.

As a result of the Confrontation, Professor Page was released from the University of
New Mexico due to a “forced sacrifice” which Gonzales claims is essential in liberal
organizations sacrificing Page for his violation of the sacred Nuevomexicano heritage.
Operating under interest convergence, Anglo-American leaders at the University acted to
release Page in an effort to reduce racial tensions at UNM while protecting their dominance
of University administrative positions. This is a powerful example of Nuevomexicano agency
in which they utilized the Spanish and Spanish American identity in 1933 to mobilize and
respond to Anglo-American discrimination.

_Letrados and Agency._ As Spanish language newspapers began to circulate in New
Mexico at the end of the 19th, and start of the 20th centuries, letrados, or Nuevomexicanos
educated by American universities and literate in the English and Spanish languages,
emerged. Nieto-Phillips (2004) states that during this time, “A larger portion of
Nuevomexicanos was becoming bilingual and therefore skilled in maneuvering between
Anglo-American and Nuevomexicano political and cultural arenas” (p. 80). Casimiro Barela,
from Embudo, New Mexico and born in 1847 was a prime example of Nuevomexicanos
striking a balance between Hispano and Anglo-American political and cultural arenas.
Casimiro was a strong advocate for the introduction and passage of Colorado laws published
in Spanish and English, as well as supporting New Mexico’s admission to the Union as a
state. Casimiro merits mention here due to his strong advocacy of Nuevomexicanos and
although he worked to craft Colorado’s state constitution, he advocated for Nuevomexicanos who had migrated to southern Colorado for work, primarily in the agricultural industry (Donato, 2007, which was still part of the Hispano homeland (Nostrand, 1992).

In their work detailing the literary works of Eusebio Chacón, Meléndez and Lomelí (2012), state that Chacón “emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, when new educational and technological advancements began to impact the Hispanic New Mexican region of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado” (p. 5). Meléndez and Lomelí (2012) further explain that “this movement caused a generation of nuevomexicano youth to believe they were at the start of a literary, cultural, and political renaissance” and “from their ranks developed a group of writers and journalists, a first generation of Mexican Americans in ‘professions’ read to push beyond the limitations of poverty, rural isolation, racial discrimination, and the recent history of American conquest of the Southwest” (p. 5).

Nieto-Phillips (2004) adds to the discussion claiming that Nuevomexicano agency was exhibited in letrados beginning to embrace their history, identity, culture, and language. In his book, he highlights Aurelio Espinosa, who advocated for Spanish language instruction in New Mexico schools. Espinosa also argued that “Spanish culture was inferior to none” (p. 186). Highlighted in Nieto-Phillips’ (2004) work are the arguments by Benjamin Read that can be applied to Nuevomexicano agency, who states that Nuevomexicanos “have begun to claim the past as their own and to use it to protest their subordination by Anglo Americans” (p. 188). Read, according to Nieto-Phillips was also a strong advocate for bilingual education. Women also participated in advancing this agency that focused on Nuevomexicano control of education and religion through reclamation of their own history, language, culture and identity. Cleofas Jaramillo authored “her own cultural preservation
activities, in English, for an Anglo-American readership, to forestall another Anglo-American from describing her people’s cultural history” (Padilla, 1993, p. 226). Further, Jaramillo, among other women including Nina Otero-Warren and Aurora Lucero “knew they were engaged in a battle for social, cultural, and linguistic survival, they understood the condescending rhetoric that daily glossed the material displacement to which they were subject, and they understood the sociodiscursive power that shaped and perpetuated a racial romance about them” (Padilla, 1993, p. 222).

Another example of Nuevomexicanos reclaiming their own identity, culture, and history is in the work of George I. Sanchez surrounding bilingual education (Blanton, 2014). Arguing against claims made of Mexican Americans that their low educational achievement was a result of inherent low IQ, and their subsequent placement into special education programs, Sanchez advocated for the education of these students in Spanish and English. Sanchez states, “A foreign mother-tongue can be, and is for many, a decided advantage if properly cultivated-and for centuries we have known that a second language is learned best if the vernacular is developed… Please, do not fall into the common error of attributing all ills of people with a non-English vernacular to ‘language handicap’” (Padilla, 1993, p. 229). In these cases, it is evident that Nuevomexicano letrados moved beyond the social, economic, religious, and educational assaults imposed upon them by Anglo-Americans prior and after statehood was granted.

Nuevomexicanos were now setting the foundation to reclaiming their history, religion, culture, and identity in order to counter the hegemonic policies and practices that they experienced. The work by these individuals during this time utilizing the Spanish
language newspapers in order to combat the effects of race, class, and power operating to
denigrate Nuevomexicanos was a strong indicator of positive agency.

**Las Gorras Blancas.** Las Gorras Blancas became active in San Miguel County amid
land disputes in 1889 (Gonzales, 2016). The Nuevomexicano group dressed in white caps,
with their horses donning white sheets as well, mobilized and exerted agency in response to
land loss pertaining to the San Miguel del Vado Grant near Las Vegas, New Mexico in
addition to their consciousness of their status as a colonized people (Gómez, 2007).
According to Phillip Gonzales (2016), Las Gorras Blancas engaged in armed resistance,
riding at night cutting down fences, killing livestock and tearing out railroad tracks. Las
Gorras Blancas also took aim at wealthy Nuevomexicanos who laterally oppressed poor
Nuevomexicanos by looking out for their own land interests. Eugenio and Margarito Romero
profited from timber cutting and sales in communal lands in the Las Vegas Grant by selling
them to the railroad company. In response, Las Gorras Blancas repeatedly destroyed the
Romero property and attempted to kill Eugenio at his home while he slept (Holtby, 2012).
Although short-lived the Las Gorras Blancas movement served as a powerful form of agency
where Nuevomexicanos used their agency in order to combat Anglo-American and wealthy
Nuevomexicano interests.

**The Rise of “Chicano” and Mexican Nomenclatures.** In response to the Spanish
identity that became widely used as a means of asserting Nuevomexicano identity, some
influential leaders utilized other identity labels after statehood was granted in 1912. For
example, Gonzales (1993) writes that U.S. Congressman Dennis Chavez, who was appointed
to the U.S. Senate by President Roosevelt, became one of the most influential
Nuevomexicanos serving as a key figure in bringing New Deal programs and funding to the
state. Between 1935 and the 1960s Senator Chavez was influenced by changing identity. Chavez defied the Spanish identity in common use at the time stating in 1958 that a “‘Mexican’ should be named to the State Highway commission…I do hope that in his [Governor John Burroughs] sense of fair play he will appoint so-called Mexicans to state agencies…This would be a sense of fair play, for these Mexicans are the ones who really nominated and elected him to office” (Gonzales, 1993, p. 170). Chavez continued, “A Mexican as such is not entitled to anything…But a Mexican as such should not be deprived of anything either” (p. 170). By utilizing this nomenclature, Senator Chavez veered from Spanish identity even with his “native son” status in an attempt to utilize Mexican as a form of agency “against racial segregation and violation of civil rights in which ‘Mexican American’ was the central ethnic terminology of the Southwest” (p. 171).

In addition to Mexican nomenclature, another term that was used as Nuevomexicanos exerted agency in response to changing identity is Chicano. From 1964-1978, issues arose which sparked agency from farm workers in California, to land grant battles in New Mexico, and equal representation in Texas, which prompted some Nuevomexicanos to embrace the use of Chicano. The term became politicized as Latinos from California, Texas, New Mexico and the greater Southwest utilized the Aztec homeland known as “Aztlán” to claim indigeneity within the United States. Chicanos had a particular hostility to American authority and society and aimed to combat racism, discrimination and Anglo-American economic, political, and social subjugation.

Negative Agency

Identity politics ebbed and flowed as Nuevomexicanos came to terms with Anglo-American control of New Mexico after 1850 when New Mexico was a U.S. territory and
after statehood was granted in 1912. Nuevomexicanos utilized newspapers as a vehicle to confront discrimination and racism, but also to perpetuate it. Meléndez (1997) states that between 1880 and 1935 more than 190 newspapers were in circulation in over 30 communities in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and Texas. Spanish language newspapers exerted agency by utilizing the press giving “voice and expression to concerns rooted in the conflict and open racial hostility directed at them” by using “‘Yankee ingenuity’ to counter Anglo-American attempts at a cultural conquest of the region” (Meléndez, 1997, p. 20).

Gonzales (2016) and Gómez (2007) present powerful accounts of interracial conflict leading to identity formation, but both authors place a heavy emphasis on “elite” Nuevomexicanos and their navigation of the social, economic, and political contexts that influenced the emergence of the Spanish identity. This form of identification was imposed on “elite” Nuevomexicanos by Anglo-Americans, which was accepted and widely used later as a means of combating Anglo-American racism and discrimination. What Gómez and Gonzales fail to explore is how “elite” Nuevomexicanos were used as pawns serving Anglo-American interests by arguing in favor of Spanish identity. They grafted the Spanish identity onto poor Nuevomexicanos, who then used it to exert racist and discriminatory actions to other marginalized groups.

“Spanish” as a Weapon. Spanish identity was used as a means for Nuevomexicanos, whether “elite” or poor, to utilize agency as a weapon perpetuating racism and discrimination against Native Americans, Mexicans, and African Americans. By embracing Spanish and Spanish American identity, Nuevomexicanos were able to distance themselves from other groups in an effort to compartmentalize themselves from other lower-stratified groups. By doing so, Nuevomexicanos perceived that they were different from other groups, which
ultimately served Anglo-American interests. In addition, Anglo-Americans were able to remove themselves as the sources of conflict between Nuevomexicanos, Native Americans, Mexicans, and African Americans due to interethnic discrimination and struggle. As a result, Nuevomexicanos on the one hand utilized Spanish identity to combat Anglo-American rhetoric, and on the other as a means of discriminating against other marginalized groups. Positive and negative agency thus was exerted as a result of race, class, and power operating throughout the history of New Mexico to influence Nuevomexicano identity.

**Conclusion**

In January 1912, President Taft signed a proclamation approving statehood for New Mexico and during the signing he stated “Well it is all over[,] I am glad to give you life” (Holtby, 2012, p. 259). As he declared to the people of New Mexico that the state had been given life by him, the group in attendance posed for a photo. Absent from the photo were Nuevomexicanos, Native Americans, African Americans, and Asians. In this short statement, Taft expressed the Anglo-American paternalistic attitude toward the groups that they exerted power over in order to subjugate and satisfy their economic, political, and social interests on the way to statehood. Two weeks prior to his assassination in January 1847 at the hands of Nuevomexicano and Pueblo people who were opposed to the American invasion of New Mexico, 65 years prior to statehood, Governor Charles Bent wrote a letter expressing Anglo-American paternalism “’to the inhabitants’ of New Mexico, signing it ‘your best friend’” (Holtby, 2012, p. 27). These acts of Anglo-American paternalism demonstrate how race, class, and power operated in order to condition Nuevomexicanos and other marginalized groups that the American order was positive for them. This led to a dependence and motion
toward Anglo-American acceptance, which had devastating impacts linguistically, culturally, historically, economically, politically, and socially.

Race, class, and power have intersected from the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, to the granting of statehood in 1912 and after to influence Nuevomexicano identity in many ways. Spanish identity was a label that was imposed upon Nuevomexicanos to serve Anglo-American aspirations of being admitted to the Union. “Elite” Nuevomexicanos then embraced the Spanish nomenclature and grafted it onto poor Nuevomexicanos. As a result, Anglo-American political, economic, and social interests were served in that land loss, language and culture shift and loss, assimilation, lateral oppression, and false consciousness operated to strip Nuevomexicanos of their own identity and imposing Anglo-American culture as the standard to which others must conform. Religion and schooling further caused loss in that Nuevomexicanos were removed from their language, culture, and accurate history and were encouraged to convert to Protestant denominations. Anglo-Americans also installed themselves as possessors of Nuevomexicano culture further straining identity formation.

In response to consciousness of their subjugated conditions, Nuevomexicanos began to exert agency in response to Anglo-American racism and discrimination. Utilizing Spanish, Spanish American, and sometimes Chicano, Mexican, and Mexican American nomenclatures, Nuevomexicanos began to reclaim identity, language, culture, history, schooling, and religion through various mobilization efforts. Spanish language newspapers served as key mechanisms that were used to fight racism and discrimination. On the other hand, Spanish identity while being used as a tool to fight Anglo-American racism and discrimination was also utilized as a weapon to discriminate against Mexicans, Native
Americans, and African Americans. This dual agency illuminates how race, class, and power operate to form identity that changes in response to other racial and ethnic groups. By hierarchically positioning themselves over other marginalized groups, Nuevomexicanos embraced a colonizer ancestry by claiming a Spanish identity thus operating under false consciousness because Nuevomexicanos became, and continue to be colonized. By celebrating historical figures such as Juan de Oñate and Diego de Vargas while claiming Spanish identity and lineage, Nuevomexicanos perpetuate racism, discrimination, and lateral oppression to Native Americans, Mexicans, and African Americans. Celebrating a history of conquest by the Spanish people and ignoring their status as a colonized people, Nuevomexicanos must look critically at their past to analyze how race, class, and power operate to impose identity upon them, how it operates to serve Anglo-American interests, and how they use it to discriminate against others. In response, Nuevomexicanos must exert positive agency understanding how it can and is used negatively in order to change the political, social, and economic conditions that lead to the educational outcomes that we see today.
Chapter 3

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to create a critical pilot curriculum unit that examines how race, class, power, and identity impact Nuevomexicano identity. The Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs present an opportunity to examine identity, culture, language, and traditions critically. This curriculum unit and corresponding study aim to address the following research questions:

1) How do Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos react to a critical curriculum that addresses how race, class, power, and identity impact Nuevomexicano language use, and an understanding of history and culture, with emphasis on the Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs?

2) What aspects of the critical curriculum do Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos find positive and negative for high school instruction?

3) What aspects of the curriculum would Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos revise?

A qualitative, case study approach was necessary for this project because it seeks to analyze how Nuevomexicanos react to a critical curriculum. Bloomberg and Volpe (2016) and Creswell (2007) refer to earlier works by several key case study scholars including Lincoln and Guba and Merriam, Stake, and Yin, including their own works that help me understand the case study approach and why it is useful to my study. According to the research, a case study seeks to utilize multiple methods of data collection within a bounded system or setting. In this case the class that I taught was the bounded system, and the accompanying curriculum analyzed how Nuevomexicanos reacted to the unit. Further, prior studies helped me understand the different types of case study, of which, I chose the intrinsic
case study that focuses on an issue (how Nuevomexicanos react to a critical curriculum that discusses identity, race, class, power, history and culture), within one bounded case, which takes place in the actual class (within-site) (Creswell, 2007). Further, Creswell (2007) recommends with the case study approach, purposeful sampling is ideal in that it allows for multiple perspectives on the issue through “purposeful maximal sampling” (p. 75). This allowed for Nuevomexicano perspectives to inform the study and attempt answer the research questions above.

The accompanying pilot unit and study required participants to engage in class dialogue, complete identity assignments, and submit projects. The curriculum unit was designed to have students identify and analyze their identities, family stories, reactions, perceptions and possible biases during the study of course content. Class observation and follow-up interviews form the basis of a need for qualitative approaches to addressing the research questions. Doing so allows data to be gathered from multiple sources through a collective case study allowing the researcher to address how Nuevomexicanos react to a critical curriculum unit showing varying Bernalillo Nuevomexicano perspectives on the research questions (Creswell, 2007). I describe the multiple data collection methods below, including how they informed the case study approach that I utilized for the study.

Research Sample

A maximum of ten participants were recruited to participate in the class via the Town of Bernalillo water bill newsletter that is distributed monthly to each household in Bernalillo. Ten participants were selected, and nine finally participated in the course. Permission was granted by Mayor Jack Torres to include recruitment efforts in the Town of Bernalillo’s water bill newsletter, which was sent out in early December 2020. I also recruited
participants on my personal Facebook and the Bernalillo Matachines Facebook page (which I also manage). After recruitment through the newsletter and social media, I administered purposeful sampling methods through a screening questionnaire. This type of method is deliberate because of the information that is relevant to the study’s goals and questions (Maxwell, 2013). Prospective participants expressed interest in participating in the study via phone and email. The questionnaire contained four questions: 1) Do you identify as a Spanish, Nuevomexicano, Chicano, or Hispano person? 2) Do you currently reside in Bernalillo, the Bosque or Llanito, or grew up or have family in Bernalillo? 3) Are you familiar with Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and the Bernalillo Matachines Dance? and 4) Are you 18 years of age or older? In order to be selected to participate in the study, prospective participants were required to answer yes to each question.

**Key Information**

Participants were required to be Nuevomexicanos who reside in Bernalillo, the Bosque or Llanito communities adjacent to Bernalillo’s northern and southern boundaries. Adult participants were selected to participate if they were 18 years or older. Participants were selected purposefully for the study if they identified as Nuevomexicano, Spanish, Chicano, or Hispano. In addition, participants must have been familiar with Los Matachines Dance or Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo either through direct participation through the dancing aspect or indirectly through observation as a community spectator. Due to the popularity of the tradition in Bernalillo, many residents are familiar with the dance either through participation or observation. These questions regarding eligibility criteria were asked during the screening phase of the study, prior to the start of the class. Class participants were also asked to complete a personal data sheet on the first day of class with basic demographic
information. The personal data sheet, in addition to assignments and class discussions, provided key contextual and demographic information (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Further, key perceptual information regarding student attitudes, perceptions, thoughts, and ideas regarding course content were collected from interviews, class observation, and assignments (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016).

**Research Design**

I created a four-week critical curriculum pilot unit and taught it to nine adults. Prior to COVID-19 closures, I initially planned to offer the course at the Town of Bernalillo Martha Liebert Library in Bernalillo. Due to the uncertainty of the virus and public gathering restrictions, I offered the course virtually via Zoom. The class began on January 11, 2021 and lasted four weeks, Monday through Thursday from 6:30-7:30 p.m. to allow for working adults time to leave work and log-in to the Zoom technology. The course ended on Thursday, February 4, 2021. The class was initially planned to be delivered in August because of the synergy and excitement of the Fiestas, so the class would have been held immediately after the conclusion of the Fiestas. Because Matachines leadership had to adjust traditional activities and restricting public gatherings, the 2020 Fiesta de San Lorenzo was remarkably different from past years making it impossible to offer the course in August. Offering the course in January 2021 allowed me to adjust the curriculum to be delivered virtually.

**Data Collection Methods**

The pilot curriculum unit was designed to encourage dialogue, reflection, and robust discussion between the researcher/instructor and students. Yin (2003) suggests six methods of case study data collection including physical artifacts, direct observations, documents, participant observations, archival records, and interviews. Although the curriculum is
described in-depth in the next chapter, I describe some content below to apply key tenets to case study data collection methods. This study utilized the content in the curriculum unit through:

- **Physical artifacts:** I described Matachines attire, including cupiles, palmas, guajes, respaldos. Primary documents including San Lorenzo Fiesta brochures. These included still photos of the artifacts, as in-person gathering was prohibited.

- **Direct observations:** The course included direct observations of the class on recorded Zoom sessions, including how participants reacted to the curriculum, how they interacted with the material, with other participants, and with the course instructor. I observed student physical behavior through body language and spoken language while analyzing course content. An advantage of direct observation though Zoom, was the ability to record class session to review behavior and reaction on multiple occasions.

- **Documents:** The students in the class were asked to submit assignments regarding several themes that provided key information with how they reacted to the critical unit.

- **Participant observations:** Because I taught the course, I actively participated in the class with the participants. I maintained class summary notes taken after each course, as well as reviewed course sessions to add details to the notes.

- **Archival records:** The curriculum unit contained many archival records, including Our Lady of Sorrows Catholic School photos from the 1940s, Matachines photos from as early as 1908, the New Mexico Enabling Act, the New Mexico
Constitution, and a number of newspaper articles pertaining to Nuevomexicano identity.

- Interviews: At the conclusion of the class, follow-up, semi-structured interviews were conducted via Zoom.

In addition to these methods above, a final course evaluation was distributed to students, and I kept a research journal, as well as notes from thoughts, interactions, and important details after each class. Because this study used a case study approach, triangulation was crucial through multiple sources of data collection described above, review with my Dissertation Chair as an external check, as well as frequent communication during the four-week course with my Dissertation Chair, fellow Ph.D. candidates, and community scholars. In addition, I involved my Dissertation Chair in the coding of the data (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). At the completion of the results section of the dissertation, I sent the findings to randomly selected participants and colleagues in an effort to utilize “member checks” on the validity of these findings (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). I also worked with a colleague from Bernalillo and another Pueblo colleague to serve as reflection peers, who are familiar with the community and its traditions in order to balance perspectives on data.

**Data Analysis and Coding**

I analyzed the six data collection methods above through course assignments, class observation, participant observation, follow-up interviews, the final course evaluation, Zoom recorded class sessions, transcriptions, research journal (including observation notes after each class), as well as field notes through holistic analysis (Creswell, 2007). This allowed me to provide a thick description of the case through the identification of emergent themes from the data.
Data were organized and analyzed in the following steps:

- **Step 1:** I reviewed all written assignments and activities in addition to class Zoom recordings on three separate occasions in order to write out important highlights from the participants in a linear fashion by day, week, topic on note cards. I also wanted to organize data linearly during this first step because on many occasions, course discussions did not stop and end in one class session. Some discussions continued over multiple days.

- **Step 2:** I looked for repetitions and commonly occurring words from class discussions, activities and written work and wrote them down on the note cards. During this initial review of the data, I identified 76 commonly occurring words and their corresponding activities during the course. I then utilized Microsoft Excel to sort the data by activity and then by each word. This allowed me to see which words were associated with particular assignments and discussions during the class.

- **Step 3:** I utilized Excel’s “data sort” option again in order to identify identical and similar words. During this step, I combined and collapsed similar words. For example, some participants referred to faith and religion interchangeably. I then collapsed all words into 38 codes and sorted the data once again in Excel to identify the codes.

- **Step 4:** I then grouped the codes into four themes including class/power/gender, Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity, Spanish heritage language, and Querencia. Class/power/gender theme identifies three sub-themes including hierarchies, socioeconomic status, and views of gender in the Matachines. The Bernalillo
Nuevomexicano identify section highlights six sub-themes including nomenclatures, mixed identities, ethnic pride, family, and religion, “us vs. them”, and culture. The Spanish heritage language theme discusses three sub-themes including bilingualism, language denigration, and name pronunciation. Finally, the Querencia theme identifies three sub-themes including place, agriculture, and water, New Mexico and migration, and Spain, Mexico and immigration.

- Step 5: I identified missing codes and codes that were not anticipated at the start of analysis. These codes were typically associated with historical events in Mexico and New Mexico associated with statehood, Mexico-Tenochtitlán, and others.

- Step 6: I analyzed the codes and themes using LatCrit and CRT scholarship associated with intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; López et al., 2018), lateral oppression (Blanton, 2006; Garcia, 1995; Freire, 1970) false consciousness (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009; McWilliams, 1961) immigration (Garcia, 2003; Johnson, 1997, 2000; Martinez et al., 2021; Pérez Huber, 2010), citizenship status (Blanton, 2006; Plasencia, 1999), religion (Bacalski-Martinez, 1979; Montoya, 1998; Park et al., 2020), language (Burciaga, 1992; Montoya, 2000; Valdes, 1997; Zoch & He, 2020), and culture (Bacalski-Martinez, 1979; Blanton, 2006; Martinez et al., 2021; Valdes, 1997; Yosso, 2005).

My theoretical framework, which utilizes Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), provided critical lenses in which to analyze the data. Themes began to emerge when analyzing how multiple forms of oppression can intersect with the lives of People of Color and how those intersections manifest in daily experiences (Pérez
How do participants react to a critical curriculum that discusses issues of race, class, power and systems of hierarchy that work to oppress People of Color? In addition, Latino experiences with regard to immigration, language, identity, and customs provide fruitful avenues in which to analyze the data (Pérez Huber, 2010; Montoya, 1999; Solorzano and Bernal, 2001; Trucios-Haynes, 2001) as they intersect with Bernalillo Nuevomexicano contexts.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) discuss data analysis and reporting in relation to case studies stating that case study reports reflect unconventional ways of reporting findings. Because data analysis and coding for this case study utilize a variety of data collection methods, a thick description and multiple realities of the participants lends to a narrative, personal style of reporting the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This study, its data, and findings took this form, which can be seen in chapter five.

Trustworthiness, Positionality, and Equitable Participation

Because I served as the course instructor, researcher, and community member, I assumed an insider-outsider role in the research process. I reside in Bernalillo, along with most of my extended family members, and I am highly involved in the Matachines as well as additional volunteer positions with the Town of Bernalillo Municipal Government. Involvement in these initiatives provided insight in order to instruct the course having local knowledge of our history, customs, and traditions. At the same time, because of my role as a researcher and graduate student pursuing a Ph.D., I also understand that I am sometimes viewed as an outsider or academic. This is a unique situation in that it requires me to find balance between my personal, familial, and communal views of identity and those of other community members. An element of trust had be established because within this bounded
case, the instructor can be viewed as the authority because of their academic background. However, this emphasizes the need for equitable participation. My role as the researcher and course instructor was not to inculcate students to my own views, but to facilitate discussion and critical thinking.

Due to my role as a community member, researcher, course instructor, and Matachines dancer, attention was given to my personal biases regarding race, class, and power and their impact on Nuevomexicano identity, language, culture, and history. Graduate education has allowed me to become critical of how Anglo-American social, economic, and political power, class, and race have negatively impacted Nuevomexicano educational experiences. My studies have also allowed me to become critical of Nuevomexicano views on power, race, and class have negatively impacted our own experiences. However, it is through Giroux’ calls for agency that I wish to engage in this research. I do not wish to simply critique Anglo-American policies that have led to Nuevomexicano subjugation, but critically address it through the experiences of others through researcher action and curriculum building. I gave special attention to reflexivity, which requires a “deep awareness on the part of the researchers of their own preconceptions and assumptions and reflection on their roles and emerging understanding while engaged in the research process” (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 153). This required an understanding that my role as a researcher and instructor was not to inculcate students with my own beliefs regarding race, class, power, and Nuevomexicano identity, but to facilitate discussion so that students can express their thoughts regarding the course content.

This initial curriculum unit is the first step in a process of reversing the effects of Anglo-American economic, political, and social subjugation of Nuevomexicanos. By asking
a group of Nuevomexicanos to examine personal, familial, and communal identity, they can begin to critically analyze their relationships with others, not through a lens of difference and compartmentalization, but one of similarities and cultural overlap. This study gauges how adult Nuevomexicanos react to a critical curriculum by examining the intersectionality between race, class, and power with history, language, and culture. Doing so creates a foundation for social change with an understanding how interactions between groups in Bernalillo and New Mexico have shaped and molded identity.

The course required the researcher/instructor to develop strong facilitation skills, non-bias, and a ‘researcher-as-learner’ approach. In doing so, it was crucial to establish virtual “Classroom Talk Norms” as described by Chapin et al. (2003), which emphasize “respectful discourse” recognizing classroom talk as respecting each person’s valuable input and ideas. In addition, “equitable participation” provided an opportunity for students to ask questions and express their ideas freely. Course expectations were outlined in the syllabus at the start of the course with attention to respectful discourse and equitable participation. I utilized a number of techniques to emphasize equitable participation in which students felt that all student voices were valuable during course discussions (Michaels & O’Connor, 2012). Further emphasizing equitable participation, the class was designed to be a space where student knowledge, experiences, and community knowledge were welcomed (Bloome et al., 2004). As a Bernalillo resident, identifying as a Nuevomexicano, and highly involved in the community, students recognized my role in the community and their experiences validated through a shared, equitable learning environment.
Chapter 4
Curricula and the Bernalillo Unit

The literature provides fruitful lines of inquiry regarding multicultural education, funds of knowledge, and ethnic studies approaches to curriculum design and implementation and how they informed my pilot unit and this study. Prior to building a critical Nuevomexicano curriculum, it was important to understand the various approaches suggested in the literature. Moreover, it was also important to understand how race, class, and power influence Nuevomexicano identity creation so that prejudices and racism projected onto, and by Nuevomexicanos are incorporated into the curriculum in an effort to avoid their replication. This literature reviews multicultural education, funds of knowledge, and ethnic studies curriculum models. In addition, I review curriculum models with attention to New Mexican approaches to curriculum building, further analyzing them through a critical lens. Finally, I present the critical pilot unit used in this study in further detail, including daily activities, their alignment to the New Mexico Common Core State Standards, and Bloom’s Taxonomy domains.

Multicultural Education

Banks (1993) proposed four approaches to multicultural education that aim to integrate culture into the curriculum. The first approach, called the contributions approach focuses on heroes and holidays as they simply add cultural content to an existing model by mentioning it in classrooms and schools. This can be a dedicated bulletin board in a classroom or hallway, ethnic appreciation days or months, and other approaches that relegate ethnic and racial minorities to simple mention. The second approach, called the additive approach, states that teachers append ethnic content, themes, and perspectives without
changing the structure of the curriculum. The third approach, called the transformation approach, is designed to help students learn how knowledge is constructed, and that the structure is changed to view concepts, issues, events, and themes from the perspectives of various racial and ethnic groups. The fourth approach, which is termed the social action approach, empowers students to make decisions on important social issues and to take action to address them. Ultimately, the author does not advocate for the first and second approaches, since they do not fundamentally change the structure of the school or curriculum.

Banks (2010) continued his work in multicultural education from his previous four approaches for incorporating culture into curriculum. He then presented five dimensions of multicultural education which move beyond arguments regarding multicultural education as simply adding cultural content to core subject areas. Rather, Banks claims that educators must conceptualize of multicultural education in a way that cultural content permeates all content areas. In doing so, models must address five dimensions including content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture and social structure.

**Funds of Knowledge**

In their work regarding the Arizona-Sonora Mexican population, Veléz-Ibáñez and Greenberg (1992) coined the term “funds of knowledge” as a way of describing how families develop systems of knowledge in households, and in family/household clusters in the community. Building on the funds of knowledge approach, Moll et al. (1992) define funds of knowledge as “historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being” (p. 133). Further, they give an actual framework on how funds of knowledge appear in curriculum ranging
from agriculture, mining, business, religion, folk medicine, and construction. Research then emerged with studies applying to funds of knowledge in a range of age groups, geographic areas, subject areas, and topics. New Mexican examples, especially those pertaining to specific communities such as Bernalillo do not exist in the literature.

**Critical Approaches to Curriculum Building**

McCarthy (1990, 1993) critiques multicultural education approaches that tend to overemphasize the differences between groups. For example, one of the ways that multicultural education is implemented is through a cultural understating approach that emphasizes “we are different, but we are all the same” (McCarthy, 1993, p. 291). Another approach to multicultural education programming is one of cultural competence in which proponents argue for biliteracy, bicultural and ethnic studies. This approach, with its cultural pluralism underpinnings, tends to emphasize reduced antagonism between minority and majority groups. Because this approach tends to overemphasize the differences between groups, McCarthy states that multicultural education strays from centering race and class in its implementation. Further, McCarthy describes that if race, class, and power are not considered while building curriculum, the hidden curriculum can become commonplace in schools. Citing Bowles and Gintis, McCarthy (1990, 1993) states that the hidden curriculum in schools entails how schools and teachers reproduce the dominant culture’s practices of domination and subordination of raced and classed people. Moving away from the hidden curriculum, McCarthy (1990) also describes the informal curriculum that schools can use to emphasize that discuss issues of “identity, subjectivity, culture, language and agency” (p. 73). By recognizing these issues, cultural emancipation fosters the “universal respect for the individual ethnic history, culture and language of the plurality of students to be found in
American schools” which will ultimately have “a positive effect on individual minority concepts” (p. 51).

This approach critiques teachers and the suppression of People of Color within the school curriculum. According to McCarthy, a flaw of multicultural education that takes the three approaches mentioned above; cultural understanding, cultural competence, and cultural emancipation, do not discuss issues of race, class, and power enough to highlight oppression by the dominant class and race of subordinated groups. Instead, critical emancipatory multiculturalism celebrates “the contributions of working people, women, and minorities to our general cultural pool and would be the point of departure” that would lead students to recognize and value their own cultural capital (McCarthy, 1990, p. 131). The three aforementioned approaches “do not provide adequate theories or solutions to the problem of racial inequality and schooling” (McCarthy, 1993, p. 292). This occurs when critical educators design curriculum with the understanding that race, as it operates non-synchronously in schools between students, teachers, and administrators intersects with class and must be addressed in order to have all players understand how educational structures can perpetuate dominant ideology. McCarthy (1993) states that curriculum can begin to address these issues through a systematic critique of knowledge and knowledge construction and how it relates to Eurocentrism and Westernness in American school systems. In addition students, teachers, and schools must be reflexive “with respect to the relationship between different social groups in the United States” (p. 295). Without a critical understanding of how race, class, and power intersect to impact the educational experiences of students, multicultural education can work to negatively impact students.
Banks’ (1993) earlier work that highlights four approaches to multicultural education presents general ways that multicultural education is applied to existing curriculum models, stating if multicultural curriculum is created with only these four approaches in mind, models can run the risk of perpetuating and reinforcing stereotypes and discrimination. Multicultural education is not simply content addition and replacement (McCarthy, 1990). As Banks (2010) continued to examine approaches to multicultural education, he injected issues of race, class, power, and gender through an expanded discussion of his five dimensions of multicultural education. Throughout each dimension, Banks discusses issues of power and domination, including race, class, and gender. In this way, critical emancipatory multiculturalism can begin to give teachers, students, and schools tools that can aid in understanding knowledge, power, race, and class. This is done by analyzing equity between ethnic and racial groups in schools, implementing an equitable curriculum, and one that works to reduce prejudice.

Funds of knowledge is a valuable approach to multicultural education that recognizes the knowledge students of color bring to the classroom. This varied knowledge is learned in familial units, as well as communally. While this approach has been widely accepted as one way to validate students and their experiences and knowledge outside of school, it places much faith in teachers to buy in to the ideology that student knowledge is valuable and teachable. In many cases, teachers can have inherent biases toward their students and the communities that they come from, so if a teacher does not adopt the ideology that their students bring valuable knowledge to the classroom, then funds of knowledge are not implemented at all, or multicultural education in the classroom may emphasize Banks’ heroes and holidays approach. This can lead to reinforcing false consciousness,
discrimination and lateral oppression. This form of negative agency can disenfranchise students and lead to dropout, disengagement, and apathy for standardized tests and schooling in general. Student experiences are not reflected in curriculum, so they can become disengaged in learning and schooling. Giroux (2004) calls for teachers to recognize the resources that students draw from outside of schools. While this is important, it still does not recognize the gatekeeper roles that teachers and schools have for recognizing the importance of funds of knowledge in their eventual implementation. Because teaching with an understanding of funds of knowledge places emphasis on teachers recognizing and implementing them, the community must become active in working with schools to recognize their own funds of knowledge and implement them through a critical emancipatory multicultural approach. An approach such as this requires cooperation and collaboration between teachers, administrators, and community cultural liaisons. This can take many forms, but one method that begins to utilize student funds of knowledge through a critical framework is the ethnic studies approach.

As research progressed with regard to culture in education, some scholarship emerged applying culture to critical race theory. Yosso (2005) presents community cultural wealth as a way in which to view working class cultural capital not as a deficit, rather by embracing and emphasizing the cultural capital students bring to the classroom. This advances the funds of knowledge approach by providing concrete examples of what funds of knowledge can be. She begins by presenting critical race theory as “a theoretical and analytical framework that challenges the ways race and racism impact educational structures, practices, and discourses” (p. 74). Advocating a move away from deficit and banking methods, the author states that it is important to challenge racism and race, which can be coded as “cultural difference” in
schools. As a critique of Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital, Yosso states that Bourdieu does not recognize the human agency of working-class capital. She advocates that communities of color, via critical race theory, are shifted to the center of the cultural capital discussion, rather than peripheral to it. Yosso presents six forms of cultural capital: aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistant. Each of these can intersect and in many cases, occur simultaneously which can lead to educational transformation and allows for the empowerment of people of color to “utilize assets already abundant in their communities” (p. 82). By providing a lens in which to view cultural capital, Yosso moves beyond generalized statements on the importance of student funds of knowledge to a critical discussion of how student experiences and knowledge is influenced by the intersection of race, class, and power.

**Ethnic Studies**

Sleeter (2011b) provides an in-depth account of ethnic studies defining this curriculum approach as a unit of study, course(s), or program(s) that focus on knowledge and perspectives of a racial or ethnic group usually told through narratives that stem from their lived experiences. Ethnic studies emerged as a result of neoliberal reforms that aimed to address racialized achievement gaps resulting from prior curriculum models that treated racism and culture as if they do not exist (Sleeter, 2011a). Western Anglo-American curriculum, which is widely perceived as the standard on which American schools operate, places Anglo-American peoples at the center of curriculum that all students must learn. Latinos, on the other hand, are rarely mentioned with regard to their contributions to American society. Rather, they are viewed as peripheral to Western, Anglo-American-centric society. Ethnic studies analyze histories of oppression in the United States drawing on the
intellectual and cultural resources and traditions of oppressed groups. Ethnic studies arose in an effort to “counterbalance both inaccuracies and the predominance of Euro-American perspectives that underlie mainstream curricula” (Sleeter, 2011b, p. 5). Sleeter continues, “Because of this bias, mainstream curricula contribute to the academic disengagement of students of color” stating that ethnic studies can reverse the effects of this approach.

Sleeter (2017) presents various ethnic studies programs that show increased student engagement, achievement, and empowerment in various ways. She draws from documented ethnic studies programs throughout the country including the programs at the Tucson Unified School District, San Francisco Unified School District, Alaska, Rough Rock Arizona, Rock Point Arizona, the Native American Community Academy in Albuquerque, Puente de Hózhó in Flagstaff Arizona, Chicago (Cultural modeling), the Webster Grove Writing Project, and others. Sleeter (2011b) concludes that “all but one study investigating the impact of ethnic studies curricula designed for members of the group under study found a positive impact on students” (p. 15). Evidence in these studies showed increased student engagement with literature whose authors are of the same ethnic groups as the students, literacy growth, increased student achievement on standardized tests, positive attitudes toward learning, and student agency.

In creating and implementing ethnic studies curricula, Sleeter (2011b) provides a lens in which to view culturally responsive curriculum and pedagogy. She presents major topics to building ethnic studies curricula including cultural celebration, trivialization, essentialising culture, and substituting culture for political analysis of inequities in response to faulty and simplistic views of culture. Hughes (2007) states that when these issues are not addressed in the curriculum and pedagogical approaches, “students perceive racism as a tragedy of the
past divorced from other historical issues such as labor, politics, and gender and the contemporary realities in American society” (p. 203).

**Mexican American Studies**

In an effort to promote a sense of self-worth, celebrating ethnic and racial difference, identity development, self-worth, and a commitment to others, the Mexican American Studies (MAS) program was developed in Arizona’s Tucson Unified School District. Emphasizing student funds of knowledge, Freirean ideology, authentic caring, critical race theory, praxis, counterstories and transformative education, Cammarota and Romero (2014) present the MAS program and issues surrounding the creation, implementation, and its eventual ban by the Arizona Governor and Legislature in 2010. At its inception, MAS was created from a Freirian approach that emphasized critical literacy praxis. Freire’s praxis suggests that agency and dialogue be focused via critical curriculum that encourages students to think critically with thoughtful reflection leading to action. According to Romero (2014), praxis involves utilizing a critical lens in order to highlight the convergence of critical race theory, critical pedagogy, and authentic caring which then leads to critically compassionate intellectualism. Strategies utilized as part of critically compassionate intellectualism focus on counterstories in addition to tridimensionalization which encourages students to reflect critically on themselves, their families, and their communities.

Additional strategies implemented in the MAS program include the efforts of the Social Justice Education Project (SJEP). In this case, the MAS program entailed much more than the implementation of a full ethnic studies curriculum. Rather, the SJEP was built as a means of blurring the lines between knowledge created in the classroom and that which is created in the community. Oftentimes, the two knowledge systems are compartmentalized in
traditional American educational systems. The SJEP focused on curriculum, pedagogy, in
addition to student, parent, and teacher interactions. In an effort to address identity, SJEP
emphasized strategies such as the “My History” project which asks students to analyze and
reflect on their individual, familial, and community stories. The “Four Squares” and “I Am
Poems” ask students to draw pictures and write poems explaining student understanding of
their lives in addition to racism, oppression, race, class, power, domination, and subjugation.
In this sense, the MAS and SJEP programs position students, teachers, and community
members not as the “bearers of history” but as knowledge groups working jointly in
knowledge creation (Giroux, 1997). This further leads to the “historically and socially
sedimented values at work in the construction of knowledge, social relations, and material
practices” (Giroux, 1997, p. 85).

Resolana Strategies

Montiel et al. (2009) describe a tradition in which Nuevomexicanos who would
gather on a south-facing wall, also known as a resolana, which became the place where
knowledge was passed on, day-to-day information was discussed, and various forms of
dialogue occurred. It was and can be a place where ideas are exchanged and knowledge is
recovered. In an effort to combat rejected and codified language, the authors exerted agency
in the creation of “Oro del barrio” strategies. The authors placed the idea of la Resolana and
Oro del Barrio to uncover “the knowledge of our historical experience, as well as the values
and wisdom of our ancestors” (p. 13). In addition, critical and engaged dialogue through
these approaches worked to highlight “people’s story, their wisdom, beliefs, values,
reflections, joys, sorrows, ceremony and ritual, as well as practical and applied knowledge”
(p. 19). Additional approaches to la Resolana and Oro del Barrio included a published work
called “Entre Verde y Seco” which asserted the life experiences of participants including the democratization of knowledge, including giving equal voice to all dialogue and experiences. The community dialogues projects emphasized that through “stories and dialogue, individuals can work together to enhance self-esteem, self-worth, success, adaptation, and transformation” (p. 69). By providing concrete examples of critical thought and reflection, the authors show how Freire’s praxis applies to curriculum that focuses on dialogue and democratic knowledge creation.

*Máscaras, Trensas, y Greñas*

Margaret Montoya (1994) analyzes masks, braids and disheveled hair as metaphors to approaching critical thought and action. In an effort to resist the effects of assimilation and Anglo-American domination, which has caused linguistic and cultural loss for Latinos especially in New Mexico, Montoya presents storytelling as a crucial strategy. By implementing this approach, Montoya and Valdes (2008) claim that when Latinos sometimes abandon traditional values in favor of perceived upward mobility. In response, they advocate for personal and collective redefinition, which may involve transformation, historical analysis, and understanding power relations through democratic, anti-subordinated knowledge creation. This is evident in curriculum models that analyze and challenge suppressed knowledges and historical supremacies which can support Latinos as producers of knowledge.

As Montoya (2013) reflected on her earlier works on critical approaches to dialogue and storytelling, she aims to change “White space classrooms” to “Brown space classrooms” that emphasize multicultural, cross-racial and multilingual classrooms, utilizing dialogue to focus on race, racism, and racial backgrounds particularly through “Name Narrative”
strategies. Montoya et al. (2014) provide the “Name Narrative” as a specific approach that utilizes “the inside-out process, for teaching students, many of whom are highly assimilated, to explore their names and their linkages to their family’s cultural and racial roots, thereby gaining facility in talking about race and culture…as assets rather than deficits” (p. 123). The authors suggest prompts to have students begin to think about their names, family traditions, nicknames, etc. in an effort to have students think about language, assimilation, subjugation, race, class, and power and how they have influenced their student lived experiences. Students are required through this approach to interview family members about their shared history and when students present their Name Narratives, discussion follows that shows how students “learned first-hand that the dynamics of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality inform social and economic practices in the past and in the present” (p. 121).

**A Nuevomexicano Approach to Curriculum and Agency**

The research reviewed here provides a crucial foundation in how to begin visualizing and crafting a critical Nuevomexicano curriculum. A large, robust body of literature exists on multicultural curriculum and funds of knowledge but measurable studies showing how these are implemented in schools with Nuevomexicano students are rare. This section analyzes the State of New Mexico’s Public Education Department and the recent *Martinez/Yazzie v. State of New Mexico* case that highlights issues of culturally relevant curriculum and multicultural education in New Mexico’s public schools.

According to Torres-Velásquez (2017) the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF) filed a school finance case against the State of New Mexico in 2014 alleging that the State’s equal funding formula to schools was not being distributed equally. This case, known as *Martinez v. State of New Mexico*, was eventually merged with another similar case,
which came to be known widely as *Martinez/Yazzie v. State of New Mexico*. The plaintiffs argued that the State was not honoring the State Constitution regarding public education as a fundamental right for all students in New Mexico and sufficient education for all students. These facets are written into the New Mexico Constitution and the plaintiffs argued that the State does not fund public education equally and that Native American students, English Language Learners, and “at-risk” students are not receiving a proper education. Torres-Velásquez states that those associated with the case saw this case as a moment in which the lawsuit, if won, could begin to acknowledge cultural and linguistic identities by curriculum design recognizing the diversity of ethnic groups in this minority-majority state. Efforts have been made in the past to address equitable curriculum and ethnic studies. In 2017, a Senate bill addressing anti-institutional racism, which would have allowed for equitable curriculum and ethnic studies was vetoed by then-Governor Susana Martinez (Torres-Velásquez, 2017).

The *Martinez/Yazzie v. State of New Mexico* case went to trial in 2017. The Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs and declared public education in New Mexico was unconstitutional.

In preparation for the trial, Dr. Christine Sleeter, expert witness, conducted research on Multicultural Education in New Mexico. Sleeter’s (2017) report reviewed seven school districts in New Mexico in spring 2015 and their implementation of multicultural education models. Her team gathered data on rigorous multicultural/culturally responsive curriculum, teacher use of culturally responsive pedagogy/curriculum, teacher professional development for culturally responsive pedagogy, and the recruitment and preparation of Native American and Mexican American teachers. Her research found that language arts/reading textbooks reflected Anglo-Americans at much higher rates than Native American and Latino populations. For example, Anglo-American representation in course texts ranged from 37%
to 73% in roles such as patriots, authors, soldiers, including “self-reliant” people and “overachievers”. In addition, Native Americans ranged from 0% to 6% in pictures, appearing as figures in the past and in stereotypical portrayals. Further, Latinos ranged from 1% to 14% in texts as lower economic status populations. Social studies textbooks were also reviewed showing Anglo-American representation ranging from 41% to 80% in roles such as governors, presidents, and inventors. Native Americans, on the other hand, ranged from 1% to 10% with Latinos ranging from 0% to 28%. Sleeter’s research also made a distinction in this section between White Hispanics, such as conquistadors, and darker-skinned Latinos.

Teacher interviews showed that teachers tend to think of their students from a deficit framework and that although Latinos comprise of 57% of the state population, only 29% of public school teachers are also Latino. Sleeter’s report provides a powerful example of the need to critically address representation of marginalized populations in curriculum. Although the State of New Mexico addressed multicultural curriculum and culturally and linguistically relevant curriculum in various documents including the Indian Education Act, the Hispanic Education Act, the Bilingual Multicultural Education Act, among others, Sleeter found that the Public Education Department was severely absent in implementing any organized effort across New Mexico schools. Little evidence was found showing school districts and their implementation of curriculum that worked to recognize and honor the cultural and linguistic identities of New Mexico’s populations in practice. Mondragón and Stapleton (2005) made this argument stating that curriculum implementation in New Mexico has largely been left to individual school districts with little or no direction from the State.

Plaintiffs in Martinez/Yazzie v. State of New Mexico argued that the State of New Mexico was failing to provide an adequate education for Native American, English Language
Learners, “at-risk”, low income, and students with disabilities pointing to reading and math scores, graduation rates, and college enrollment rates. On July 20, 2018, the Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs stating that the State of New Mexico was in violation of providing New Mexico students with a sufficient and equitable education. In addition, the Court proclaimed that the State violated student rights to a sufficient education under the education clause, the equal protection clause and the due process clause. As a school finance lawsuit, the Court required that the state increase funding levels in order to comply. In addition, the State was now required to provide programming and support for transportation, pre-k, K-3, smaller class sizes, reading programs, college and career readiness, and other initiatives. The State was given a deadline of April 15, 2019 to design remedies in compliance with the Constitution in its guarantee to provide students with a sufficient education.

The *Martinez/Yazzie v. State of New Mexico* decision forces the State of New Mexico to begin to work with school districts, students, parents and stakeholders to provide the resources and guidance in order to provide a sufficient education for Native American, English Language Learners, and “at-risk” students that includes making sure graduates are college-and-career-ready. Multicultural education and culturally/linguistically-relevant curriculum will focus on re-conceptualizing implementation providing an opportunity for critical dialogue centering race, class, and power in curriculum, and how these impact identity formation and agency for students. Curriculum models can use local language, traditions, and histories as a way to provide opportunities for community members to become active agents in the curriculum and pedagogical efforts in schools. An opportunity presents itself allowing for the contribution of critical multicultural approaches, funds of knowledge, and community cultural wealth to curriculum models with the goal of fostering student
agency through emancipatory multiculturalism, praxis, and critically compassionate intellectualism.

**Nuevomexicano Curriculum Creation**

After reviewing the literature and analyzing its importance, this section presents recommendations moving forward with specific approaches to creating a critical Nuevomexicano ethnic studies curriculum. It is important that this curriculum unit move beyond heroes and holidays and the additive approach that Banks explains by centering race, class, and power and how they intersect to influence identity and agency. It can also serve to revitalize lost cultural traditions and customs, including the Spanish heritage language as spoken by Nuevomexicanos. Culture and Nuevomexicano Spanish form powerful foundations for identity creation, so language must be included in such a curriculum. Banks’ (1993) four approaches to multicultural education can provide a framework to analyze existing Nuevomexicano curricula (below), but also during the creation of new units. Banks claims that it is important to move beyond simple addition of cultural content to existing curricula. Rather, the structure of the curricula must be altered to include cultural and linguistic content in all content areas. The transformation and social action approaches are vital in this, and other units, in that they transform the structure of teaching, as well as encourage students to pursue their own interests and learning. In addition, Banks’ (2010) five dimensions of multicultural education can serve as another way in which to analyze content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture and social structure. Finally, Sleeter (2011b) provides an additional avenue to analyze curriculum models through four approaches including cultural
celebration, trivialisation, essentialising culture, and substituting cultural for political analysis of inequities.

**Existing Nuevomexicano Curriculum Models**

This section addresses existing Nuevomexicano curriculum models. Early curricula are first presented, which include the earliest models and approaches used shortly after New Mexico became a state in 1912. The works by L. Bradford Prince, Benjamin Read, Nina Otero-Warren, and Tireman’s educational reform projects provide a critical foundation in which to analyze the earliest forms of culturally relevant, community-based education.

Following this discussion, four curriculum models are analyzed using Banks’ (1993) four approaches to multicultural education, Banks’ (2010) five dimensions of multicultural education, and Sleeter’s (2011b) four approaches to multicultural education (see Table 1 for a concise view of analysis criteria).

**Table 1**

*Criteria for Analyzing Nuevomexicano Curriculum by Approach to Multicultural Education*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Criterion 1</th>
<th>Criterion 2</th>
<th>Criterion 3</th>
<th>Criterion 4</th>
<th>Criterion 5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heroes and holidays added cultural content to an existing model.</td>
<td>Teachers append ethnic content, themes and perspectives without changing the structure of the curriculum.</td>
<td>Designed to help students learn how knowledge is constructed and that the structure is changed to view concepts, issues, events, and themes from the perspectives of various racial and ethnic groups.</td>
<td>Empowers students to make decisions on important social issues and to take action to address them.</td>
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Banks (2010)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Content Integration</th>
<th>Knowledge Construction</th>
<th>Prejudice Reduction</th>
<th>Equity Pedagogy</th>
<th>Empowering School Culture and Social Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area of discipline.</td>
<td>Teachers can help students understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed.</td>
<td>Positive inter and intragroup relations are developed. Teachers use lessons and activities to help students develop positive attitudes toward different racial, ethnic, and cultural groups.</td>
<td>Teachers facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, gender, and social-class groups.</td>
<td>School culture and organization reflects gender, racial, and social-class equity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sleeter (2011b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Celebration</th>
<th>Trivialisation</th>
<th>Essentialising Culture</th>
<th>Substituting Cultural for Potential Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture is separated from academic instruction. Academic expectations left intact which can be perpetuated when power and equity are ignored.</td>
<td>Teachers use checklists to connect and learn about community-based culture.</td>
<td>Students are homogenized without their input as to how they are unique.</td>
<td>Culture, when examined by itself ignores the conditions of racism, class and power dominance and other forms of oppression.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Early Curricula

Nieto-Phillips (2004) presents figures that were influential in the creation of the territory’s first curricula and textbooks. For example, L. Bradford Prince published the first textbook on New Mexico history that was to be used in schools. Benjamin Read followed
with his account of the history of New Mexico. According to Nieto-Phillips, it is unclear whether or not these two sources were actually adopted and/or used in classrooms across the Territory/State. The purpose of Prince’s textbook was to spark interest in the history of New Mexico’s past, as well as promote a perceived tri-cultural harmony that existed between Anglo-Americans, Nuevomexicanos, and Native Americans. In addition, when Benjamin Read later published his version of New Mexico history, he was aware of class distinctions between Nuevomexicanos and Anglo-Americans, and meant to produce a history from a Nuevomexicano perspective.

L. Bradford Prince originally published his history of New Mexico textbook entitled *The Student’s History of New Mexico* in 1913. Prince was an Anglo-American, and in his book, he discusses Native American, Spanish, and American occupations in the region. Prince (2008) dedicates his book to the “clear-eyed, pure hearted, noble minded youth of New Mexico, who are the hope of its future” (p. 9). This book was the first attempt to write the history of New Mexico and reflected the sociopolitical contexts of the time. This occurred while Anglo-American and “elite” Nuevomexicano business and political leaders sought to market the state’s imaginary tri-cultural harmony to a growing tourist market. The purpose of this book was driven by an interest by Anglo-American leaders in the state to shape how non-Nuevomexicanos and Nuevomexicanos thought of the history of the state, with emphasis on the Anglo-American strengths that were brought to the region. Using Banks’ (1993) approaches, one can conclude that it is of the contributions approach, highlighting heroes and holidays, with emphasis on Anglo-American contributions to the region. It did however serve as a form of the transformation approach, since it served as the first attempt to document the history of the state. It was the first of its kind, so it transformed
the structure of curriculum by serving as the state’s first model. Regarding Banks’ (2010) dimensions, the book addressed content integration as it highlighted various racial and ethnic groups but groups were represented unequally and in doing so, the book essentialized culture (Sleeter, 2011b).

Following Prince’s publication, Benjamin Read published his Popular Elementary History of New Mexico in 1914. This book was in response to Prince and others, who aimed to write their versions of New Mexico history. In this book, Read presents New Mexico history based on three time periods: Spanish Regime, Mexican Rule, and American Occupation. In his preface, Read (2013) states that the “purpose in the preparation of this brief popular history has been to enable the poor and the children of our State, especially those who are descendants of the first explorers and conquerors” (p.7). He continues, “this is the only State in the American sisterhood of states where her children have been made to learn all about the history of every other part of the world, but have learned nothing reliable, nothing accurate, about their own history and what little has been taught in the schools of the country about New Mexico is so inaccurate that it would have been better to have said nothing about our state history than to have published inexcusable errors” (p. 7).

Read made an attempt to write an accurate history of New Mexico from the perspective of an insider Nuevomexicano. In his statements regarding the book, Read gave attention to class differences within the Nuevomexicano group. In addition, Read made one of the earliest claims regarding the necessity of community-based, culturally-relevant history textbooks for Nuevomexicano students. This is an example of Banks’ transformative curriculum, which sought to write about the history of New Mexico from an insider perspective. Read’s history shows how teachers could address content integration from
various cultures in addition to constructing knowledge from different perspectives (Banks, 2010). By addressing issues of race, class, and power, Read’s book is one of the first attempts at examining dominance and other forms of oppression (Sleeter, 2011b).

Another important figure during this time of early curricula publication was Nina Otero-Warren. Otero-Warren was a strong proponent for the incorporation of a literature-based curriculum that emphasized Nuevomexicano arts and culture, which she called “hidden resources” (Nieto-Phillips, 2004, p. 203). Whaley (1994) states, “She [Otero-Warren] would have liked to see the rural school curriculum in mostly Spanish-speaking New Mexico include the traditional arts of wool dyeing, tin working, blanket weaving, and wood carving—all of which, if taught by experts in the community, would bring something of ‘lasting educational value’ to her people” (pp. 108–109). Otero-Warren was a strong advocate for culturally-based curriculum, but also for learning English as well. According to Getz (1997), Otero-Warren was interested in injecting Nuevomexicano culture and language into a national curriculum so that it could “enable them to retain what was valuable of their own culture” (p. 43). Further, in 1929 Otero-Warren, through her position as Superintendent of Santa Fe County Schools, modified the elementary school curriculum to highlight Nuevomexicano culture. Customs and traditions from the community were incorporated into the content models, and she encouraged teachers to learn from parents the games, customs, and traditions that were practiced at home in order to incorporate them into the classroom (Getz, 1997). This approach is indicative of a transformative approach (Banks, 1993) that aimed to have Nuevomexicano students understand their culture and language by transforming curriculum in Santa Fe. Teachers were also encouraged to learn about Nuevomexicano funds of knowledge and community cultural capital through content
integration (Banks, 2010). By celebrating Nuevomexicano culture, however, Otero-Warren’s approach did not allow for culture to be examined with relation to race, class, and power (Sleeter, 2011b).

Another example of early curriculum models that served Nuevomexicano students involved Lloyd Tireman’s San José and Nambé educational reform projects. According to Bachelor (1991), the San José school operated in Albuquerque from 1930-1937. When the school closed, the Nambé School in northern New Mexico opened in 1937 and operated until 1942. Although on the surface, it appears that both schools were created to address Nuevomexicano culture and curriculum through community-based approaches, the Tireman projects were a product of Anglo-American paternalism that perpetuated functionalist approaches to schooling. The school curricula appears to have been created from a community perspective in that natural sciences, health education, hygiene, land management, arts and crafts, sanitation, and land conservation were major tenets addressed. Nuevomexicanos were not empowered to pursue higher education because the Anglo-American standard of education, especially through English-only instruction perpetuated functionalist approaches to schooling in that Nambé and San José aimed to create productive subsistence farmers. By isolating community members, the San José and Nambé schools missed the opportunity to create community-based models that valued individual, family, and community knowledge.

Current Curricula

This section presents four models that were published in New Mexico in the 1990s. Simmons (1991), Yoder (1997, 1993), Hands Across Cultures (1999), Aspectos Culturales
Marc Simmons’ *New Mexico!* Simmons (1991) authored this textbook which was widely used throughout New Mexico schools, and in some cases, schools may still be using this textbook in New Mexico history courses. The book is divided into six chapters on Native American and Spanish peoples. The remaining six chapters present the Anglo-American occupation and settlement of New Mexico, with chapters regarding culture, the people, and a look to the future. The information is baseline and it reflects Banks’ (1993) contributions/ heroes and holidays approaches. It is clear that the book is written from an Anglo-American perspective due to the little attention given to Nuevomexicanos and Native Americans in the culture section. In addition, few Nuevomexicano/Native American people are described in the “People” section. Anglo-American accomplishments and “heroes” permeate the book, from cover to cover. Very little Nuevomexicano culture is addressed and no attention to the linguistic diversity of the state is emphasized. Due to the unequal representation of ethnic and racial groups in the book, the book misses the opportunity to present history that reduces prejudice (Banks, 2010) and presents groups as homogenized with a clear hierarchy demonstrating Anglo-American dominance in historical contexts.

**Big Activity Books.** Yoder has published a series of Big Activity Books as they pertain to New Mexico and its peoples. In 1997, he produced *The Big Spanish Heritage Activity Book: Hispanic Settlers in the Southwest*. This activity book is designed for children and is divided into eight sections: the age of discovery, the new world, colonial life, the Camino real, the Native Americans, Hispanic art, Hispanic architecture, and Hispanic crafts. The book is a great resource for the creation of a community-based unit, but only as a
starting-point. It is for general audiences, and is of the contributions approach and is meant to be additive, and it is unknown if it is used in classrooms. In 1993, Yoder published *The Big New Mexico Activity Book*. This activity book is designed for children and is divided into nine sections: Rock art designs, kachinas, Hispanic folk art, Spanish missions, sand paintings, pottery designs, natural things, Native American art, and special attractions. The book is a great resource for the creation of a community-based unit as well. It is general, and is also of the contributions approach and is meant to be additive, and it is unknown if it is used in classrooms and is best for general interest audiences.

**Aspectos Culturales.** Attempts have been made to create Nuevomexicano curriculum models for various grade levels by a non-profit organization called “Semos Unlimited” based out of Santa Fe, New Mexico. The organization aims to preserve the language and culture of Hispanics, particularly Nuevomexicanos. Some bilingual education materials have been created in various formats including books, audio, and video. Two specific examples of curriculum that have been created by this organization including “Tu y Yo…Nosotros” (You and Me…Us) which aims at teaching Mexicano and Nuevomexicano students the cultural and historic similarities between groups. Examples of these similarities include language, folklore, history, music, legends, and religion. The text, which was published in 1999 and includes adaptations for younger and older student levels, is presented in 18 units ranging from Gente/Comunidad (People/Community), Folklore, Dias Festivos (Feast Days), Leyendas/Historia (Legends/History), and Gobierno (Government). The majority of the text is in English, but also includes actual lessons for students in Spanish.

“Tu y Yo…Nosotros” is an excellent example of incorporating Nuevomexicano culture into curriculum. In identifying the goal of the curriculum, to show similarities
between ethnic groups, many examples of how Mexicano and Nuevomexicano cultures are similar achieve this goal. It is unclear as to whether or not this curriculum was adopted, and by which school(s), in addition to whether or not it is still being utilized. This model shows multiple approaches including contributions, additive and transformative, since it aimed to change the content structure of curriculum as schools. This could also have the potential to bridge the gap between subgroups within a racial group, i.e. Mexican and Nuevomexicano groups. This sets the stage for Banks’ (1993) fourth social action approach but depends on teachers to shape how this would be encouraged and implemented.

Another example of Nuevomexicano curriculum is Semos Unlimited’s “Bilingual Middle School Curriculum Written by Youth” entitled “Soy Yo” (I Am Me). Published in 1999 as a collaborative effort with students from Espanola Valley and Pojoaque High Schools, the model provides an example of northern New Mexico culturally-relevant curriculum. The text is divided into the following units: Historia/History (including the history of Spain, Mexico and New Mexico), Traditions/Culture, Religion, Folk Arts/Arte de la Gente, Folk Remedies, New Mexico Today, A Dialogue on Race, and Outline of Culture.

These models cover a wide range of Nuevomexicano cultural elements and include a study guide outlining unit objectives, notes for the teacher, follow-up activities, and additional resources for content delivery. Readings and activities are designed around the unit theme in Spanish and English, and the units include illustrations, drawings, and maps. In a true syncretic approach, this curriculum is designed to emphasize cultural mixing between Nuevomexicanos, Rio Grande Pueblo, Aztec/Mayan, other Southwestern Indigenous peoples (Apaches, Diné, Mogollon), and Anglo-American groups.
Both models serve as examples of how Banks’ (1993) contributions, additive and transformation approaches can serve as a mechanism in which the social action approach is achieved. Published data on how these models influenced academics, academic achievement, and personal empowerment does not exist. However, the models begin to discuss race and interethnic similarities, content integration, critical knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, and equitable pedagogy (Banks, 2010) that can be harnessed by such models. By doing so, avenues in which culture is not separated from core content, curriculum does not trivialise or essentialise students, and culture is not examined without relation to race, class, and power (Sleeter, 2011b).

**CURRENTS.** The New Mexico CURRENTS program was established in 1990 in order to restructure elementary, middle, and high school curriculum in the state with culturally-relevant arts and humanities curricula. CURRENTS is an acronym for Curriculum for Restructuring Education and New Teaching Strategies. The program produced 12 curriculum units from participating schools that showed the “unique characteristics of each school and community” (Serna et al., 1994, p. 1). The program was initially established to run six years, was also expected to become permanent in the participating 12 districts. Working in conjunction with school districts, community members and the Hispanic Culture Foundation, the following publications are part of the CURRENTS series and reflect a variety of levels and locations across New Mexico including: Bayard (Elementary), Las Cruces (Elementary), Santa Fe (Elementary and High School), Taos (Day School and High School), Los Lunas (Middle School), Las Vegas (High School), and Albuquerque (Elementary and three High School). This community-based approach understands that the community serves as primary text in the creation of curriculum in what is called
“community-as-text”. This section reviews each unit with an analysis of its place within Banks (1993), Banks (2010) and Sleeter’s (2011b) approaches to multicultural education. As a whole, the CURRENTS program aims at being transformative, but as can be seen below, some units fall short of the transformative and/or social action approaches.

**Taos Day School.** This unit begins with a description of the Taos Day School including demographics of the school. The authors state that it is important that students be aware and are respectful of cultures other than their own, as well as respecting and understanding their own culture. The authors also state that their traditional Christmas play was transformed to present traditional arts, crafts, storytelling, and many more important traditions in the community. The curriculum serves as a resource in how to “identify resource persons within their own communities whose talents may be used to enhance and enrich school programming” (Serna et al., 1994, p. 5). The curriculum teaches Science, Language Arts, Math and Social Studies while incorporating culturally-relevant curriculum in all facets. The unit is transformative in that it changes the structure of curriculum delivery at the school, with the potential for social action with the approach that recognizes understanding of other cultures (Banks, 1993). In addition, because of its recognition of various cultural and ethnic groups, and its emphasis on understanding and respect, the unit has the potential to address each of Banks’ (2010) five dimensions of multicultural curriculum. Further, because content was not additive and incorporated into core courses, the unit does not trivialise or essentialise cultures because of the importance authors placed on community involvement (Sleeter, 2011b).

**Bayard Elementary School.** The unit begins with a description of Bayard Elementary and the area, including the mining presence in the community. According to the authors,
students research and study the history of Native Americans, as well as mining in the community (Vega et al., 1994). Further, the school developed a school-wide bilingual program, utilizing community resources. In addition, the school created thematic units for school wide use, including a multicultural block as well as an interdisciplinary approach. The unit is made up of three unit themes: history of the mining district, Spanish/Mexican influence, and Cowboys/ranching. The history of the mining district unit includes guiding questions, objectives, questions, activities, materials/resources, and evaluation criteria for language arts, social studies, math, science, art/music, health/PE, and language arts. The Spanish/Mexican influence unit addresses language arts, science/math, social studies and arts/music units with the same criteria mentioned above. Finally, the Cowboys/ranching unit contains language arts, social studies, music/art, health/PE, and math units. This is an excellent example of multicultural (Native American, Hispanic, and Anglo-American), community-based education. It is transformative in that it changed the entire structure of the school by centering multicultural, community-based education that is delivered to all students (Banks, 1993). In addition, because content was not additive and was incorporated into core courses, the unit does not trivialise or essentialise cultures because of the importance authors placed on community involvement (Sleeter, 2011b). This is also evident in the approach that highlights students as creators of knowledge. Various ethnic groups are also highlighted in the unit (Banks, 2010).

MacArthur Elementary School. This Las Cruces-based curriculum is directed at developing positive self-esteem, family involvement, and fostering an awareness of and appreciation for the history of the community at MacArthur Elementary School (1994). Using an interdisciplinary approach, the curriculum requires teachers to select multicultural
books to read and analyze. The program identifies specific goals, objectives and evaluation measures. For each book, the curriculum provides activities before, while the students are reading, and after they complete the book. The culminating event is a Mercado, where parents and community members can view each book read by each class, along with crafts that the class made. The book includes semester-long units in history/social studies, literacy/music, visual arts, math, and science, so this may indicate a restructuring of the school content to include multicultural curriculum. Little evidence can be gleaned from this unit with enough clarity to analyze the approaches provided by Banks (1993; 2010) and Sleeter (2011b). Strengths of the unit include involvement of parents, as well as local funds of knowledge in addition to its interdisciplinary approach.

**Zia Elementary School.** This Zia Elementary (Albuquerque) curriculum is interdisciplinary, incorporating units from fine arts, math, language arts, science and social studies. In each of these units, clear objectives and goals are identified and focus on a central theme: New Mexico history and architecture. Local history, local culture and community-building are also central facets of the units. An important point the authors make is that their curriculum is aided by experts from the community that were happy to help with teaching students about community knowledge and traditions (Lopez-Shiver et al., 1994). The entire school population at the school learned this curriculum. The unit is designed to cover three years and three units: phase I (NM early history), phase II (Spanish colonial period), and phase III (architectural structures, including the construction of an outdoor classroom). The overall theme is “unity” and the curriculum is quite extensive and well researched. This is an example of a strong transformative approach to curriculum, with the potential for social action with the unity theme (Banks, 1993). This unit shows evidence of content integration
that allows for multiple ethnic and racial groups to be represented in the community (Banks, 2010). In addition, culture is not separated from the core content areas (Sleeter, 2011b).

**Sweeney Elementary School.** This elementary program is designed for students to work together to develop community-based projects (Quintana et al., 1994). The curriculum is part of a school-wide bilingual and multicultural approach. One project that emerged from such work is the ‘Opera de los Muertos’ which resulted in students brainstorming ideas, writing the script, designing the set and props, and performing the opera. It is unknown if this curriculum unit was Interdisciplinary. The multicultural and bilingual program is transformative, but this curriculum unit is contributions and additive (Banks, 1993). It is unknown if this unit provided for areas to be addressed in Banks (2010) and Sleeter’s (2011b) approaches.

**Los Lunas Middle School.** This middle school curriculum presents interdisciplinary units based on Native American and Hispanic people in the Los Lunas area (Gardner et al., 1994). The curriculum is a humanities-driven program that includes lessons in history, art, music, literature, and language. A unit on the Rio Grande River is also included and the three units include guest speakers and field trips. The multicultural unit has been included as part of a restructuring that the school undertook to include Native American (mostly Isleta Pueblo) and Nuevomexicano traditions in the disciplines above. This unit is transformative (Banks, 1993) and integrates content from various cultures (Banks, 2010). Because the unit is not offered outside of humanities courses, it does not truly celebrate culture in a way that includes it in other core courses (Sleeter, 2011b).

**Alameda Junior High School.** This curriculum, designed for middle school students at Alameda Junior High School in Santa Fe, is split into four units: Social Studies,
communications, English, and Math (Chavez et al., 1994). The interdisciplinary unit focuses on the history of New Mexico through written, oral, hands-on and illustration activities. This unit appears to be additive, and it is unknown if it actually changed the overall content and structure at the school (Banks, 1993). In addition, it is unclear if the unit provided for attention to Banks’ (2010) five dimensions, but the unit did not separate culture from the core content areas (Sleeter, 2011b).

**Taos High School.** This high school curriculum, designed for students at Taos High School is a study of the “Old World” and its influences on the “New World” particularly New Mexico and Taos (Trujillo et al., 1994). A major identified goal of this curriculum is to have students become aware of their own cultural backgrounds. The “focus weeks” include the curriculum which is interdisciplinary. A core team was established that outlined clear objectives and lessons in history, art, literature, culture and customs, language/writing, music, and foods. The curriculum is presented in four themes: Middle East to Europe, Europe to the Americas, Southwest to the United States of America, and the History of Taos. This extensive curriculum covers a wide range of activities and objectives, as well as contemporary issues facing communities in the area and is additive (Banks, 1993). In addition, the unit provides ample opportunities to analyze various ethnic and racial groups through content integration (Banks, 2010). Also, is it unclear if the unit separated culture from core content areas (Banks, 2010) and if it analyzes conditions of race, class, and power (Sleeter, 2011b).

**Albuquerque High School.** This high school curriculum integrates dance, drama, economics, science, Math, industrial arts, and pre-school education (Albuquerque High School, 1992). As a component designed to fit into the existing bilingual program, the
curriculum included a newsletter, cultural fair, and a native plant garden. The curriculum was used in two-hour language skills and multicultural humanities classes. The following regions of Mexico, with emphasis on traditional Mexican dance are included: Veracruz, Chiapas, Oaxaca, Michoacán, Puebla, Jalisco, Nayarit, Tamaulipas, and Sonora. New Mexican traditions presented include birth, baptism, confirmation, marriage, and death. The curriculum is an important first step, but can do much more in bridging the gap between Mexican and Nuevomexicano folk traditions. For example, birth, baptism, confirmation, marriage, and death as presented in this unit are not folk dances and Nuevomexicano folk dances can augment the unit by highlighting similarities. This unit, as presented, is additive (Banks, 1993) and does not show evidence of Banks’ (2010) five dimensions of multicultural education. In addition, because of its interdisciplinary approach, the content appears to have presented culture as part of core content areas (Sleeter, 2011b).

**West Mesa High School.** This high school curriculum was created for students at West Mesa High School in Albuquerque. A two-hour humanities block was created and curriculum in the PEGASUS (Program for Exploration and Growth in Arts/Humanities Studies in the U.S.), which focuses on activities relating to world history, US history, and Spanish communication (West Mesa High School, 1994). The curriculum uses guiding essential questions, including sub-essential questions. The creation of the time block is transformative, but it seems that because the school combined content areas, that the local cultural content is additive (Banks, 1993). Little evidence can be gleaned from this unit with enough clarity to analyze the approaches provided by Banks (2010) and Sleeter (2011b).

**Robertson High School.** This high school curriculum was designed for Robertson High School in Las Vegas, New Mexico (Gonzales et al., 1992). In regard to the curriculum,
this unit includes a history of Las Vegas and surrounding areas, the Santa Fe Trail and Las Vegas, the Railroad, and Las Gorras Blancas, along with activities in each unit. It is unclear if this unit is interdisciplinary, and appears be of the contributions and additive approaches.

In analyzing this unit, it is unclear if the approaches provided by Banks (2010) and Sleeter (2011b) are addressed. Because of the inclusion of Las Gorras Blancas, it appears that the model can include discussion of race, class, and power as this movement was formed as a result of the tensions between poor and wealthy Nuevomexicanos, in addition to Anglo-American economic, political, and social domination.

**Albuquerque High School.** This high school curriculum was designed for Albuquerque High School (Duncan & Fenstermacher, 1994). It includes a sophomore and senior curriculum. The sophomore curriculum is divided into three units: American Indian unit, Indo-Hispanic unit, and African American unit. It includes lessons in language skills, multicultural humanities, reading, writing, communications, dance, and drama. The Native American unit centers around the video “Surviving Columbus” that requires viewers to examine issues of colonialism and genocide. The Indo-Hispano unit discusses “mestizaje” which does not compartmentalize groups within the Latino racial group. The term Chicano is also used throughout, with resistance and affirmation perspectives regarding the Chicano movement. The African American unit includes topics surrounding slavery, racism, and prejudice. The senior course is divided into the same units (Native American, Hispanic, African American). The Native American unit covers issues such as stereotyping, sovereignty, and resistance. The Hispanic unit presents issues such as the labor movement, immigration, and the creation of a personal coat of arms.
From both units, students are asked to create a personal composition around one theme: reverence for nature, appreciation for education, or respect for cultural heritage. The African American unit discusses issues such as racial equality and Dr. Martin Luther King. This curriculum is of the transformative and social action approaches. It addresses real life situations facing racial groups, incorporates African Americans, and compares experiences of each group in order for students to act. It is truly culturally-relevant, multicultural and community-based. The unit fits Banks’ (1993) transformation approach. In addition, all five of Banks’ (2010) frameworks are present in the units because of their attention to various ethnic groups, knowledge construction, the potential for prejudice reduction particularly between Hispanic and Native American groups, equitable pedagogy, and potential discussion surrounding race, class, and power. In addition, it appears that the interdisciplinary approach treats culture as part of some content areas, but other areas such as Math and science are not discussed (Sleeter, 2011b). Finally, because of the attention to race, class, and power that is inherent in discussion regarding mestizaje, the Chicano Movement, the “Surviving Columbus” film, and racial equality, the units provide an avenue to view race, class, power, domination, and oppression (Sleeter, 2011b).

Analysis

The various models above provide examples of attempts to create curriculum based on the communities that feed into local schools. This understanding provides the foundation in which to build my own unit and gauge participant reactions to the content. The curriculum models described above fall within the range of Banks’ four approaches (1993), Banks’ (2010) five dimensions, and Sleeter’s (2011b) approaches. The early curricula examined in this paper show examples of the earliest forms of models by Nuevomexicanos and non-
Nuevomexicanos in response to the sociopolitical climate during and after New Mexico’s petition to statehood. It is clear that each key figure wrote for and by a certain sociopolitical perspective. Simmons’ work and the Big Activity books can be classified as contributions and additive approaches since they did not show evidence of structurally changing the content and structure of curriculum, or if they are even used in schools. The Aspectos Culturales and CURRENTS models begin to move into the transformation and social action approaches. These models also rely heavily upon ethnographic data, as well as Nuevomexicanos in lead roles in the creation of the models. In addition, elements of Banks (2010) and Sleeter’s (2011b) approaches are present in most of these units.

CURRENTS is the most extensive published model, which overall is meant to be transformative. Individual units however, range within Banks’ four approaches (1993) with scant evidence of how Banks’ later work (2010) and Sleeter’s critical lens (2011b) were actually available when these units were implemented. Most CURRENTS units are contributions and/or additive, however, some move beyond into the transformation and social action approaches. The CURRENTS program is truly culturally-relevant and multicultural, and community-based but may lack in the critical aspect in that race, class, and power were openly addressed in but a few units. It is questionable as to whether or not these units are still being used in schools, but units show Nuevomexicano agency in the creation of community-based, culturally-relevant curriculum.

Multicultural education, funds of knowledge, and ethnic studies approaches and programs have greatly impacted the educational experiences of students of color. Initial attempts at implementing multicultural education and funds of knowledge were too general and typically lacked emphasis on race, class, and power and how, when generalized in such a
manner can perpetuate discrimination and racism that is prevalent in the educational experiences of students of color. As research progressed, Banks (2010), Sleeter (2011b), and Yosso (2005) argued that race, class, power, and gender provide a lens in which to view how multicultural education presents a variety of cultures, analysis of cultural assumptions, and perspectives in relation to how knowledge is constructed. In addition, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and analysis of race, class, power, and gender must form critical pillars in the construction of curriculum. Further, culture cannot be separated from core content, multicultural education should not trivialise or essentialise culture, and culture cannot be addressed without a discussion of race, class, power, racism, and class dominance. Ethnic studies then emerged to provide a critical foundation in which to expand on multicultural education and funds of knowledge. In addition, curriculum that only includes added content of heroes and holidays can reinforce negative stereotypes and must move toward transforming schools and classroom so that multicultural education is part of the core content delivery as well as provide students with the agency to address social action issues in their communities. Examples abound of measurable data showing positive gains in student engagement, self-confidence, achievement in standardized test scores, and student empowerment. Ethnic studies approaches examined provide concrete examples of how dialogue and critical approaches to curriculum building can create students who can exert agency through emancipatory multiculturalism, praxis, and critically compassionate intellectualism.

Nuevomexicanos have exerted agency in creating community-based curricula to address language, culture, history, race, power, class, and identity through models that utilized some of Banks (1993; 2010) and Sleeter’s (2011b) approaches to multicultural
education models. Few examples show explicit aims to address race, class, and power in curriculum and how they intersect to influence identity and agency. Language, culture, and history can provide starting points in which to design a critical Nuevomexicano ethnic studies curriculum that addresses prejudice reduction and highlights the similarities between and within racial and ethnic groups.

Lechuga (2010), Martinez (2010), and Benjamin (1997) found pronounced differences between Nuevomexicano students and their Mexicano peers in New Mexico schools. For example, Lechuga (2010) explains that Nuevomexicano and Mexicano students used varying identity markers in which to distance themselves, creating an “us versus them” relationship. Further, Martinez (2010) describes an Albuquerque high school showing a perceived social difference between Mexicano and Nuevomexicano students. While interviewing two senior girls, Martinez states that when asked about the difference between Mexicanos and Nuevomexicanos, students asserted a perceived hierarchy between the two groups with Mexicanos positioned lower than Nuevomexicanos at the school. Spanish and Chicano nomenclatures were deployed by Nuevomexicanos in an effort to distance themselves from Mexicanos. In addition, this became more pronounced at school functions because the two groups of students rarely interacted with one another. In addition, Mexicanos were ridiculed and associated with threats to call “la migra”. Benjamin (1997) examined an Albuquerque elementary school and found Nuevomexicano students joking about “Mojao’s” and their association to cheap labor. Mexicano students were shunned by Nuevomexicanos and negative relations between both groups were evident in the school. Benjamin found that physical altercations were compounded with teachers avoiding the topic of race and racial relations in the classroom and school curriculum did not address these issues. She found that
Nuevomexicanos acted with hostility to Mexicanos often using words such as “mojados” and “la migra” in addition to refusal to speak Spanish as a vehicle in which to distance themselves.

The *Martinez/Yazzie v. State of New Mexico* testimonies drew on data from ethnic studies programs, particularly the MAS program in Arizona which showed significant gains in student achievement. The ruling in favor of the plaintiffs will now require that the State of New Mexico begin implementing, and funding, culturally relevant curriculum. This provides an opportunity for schools to work in conjunction with communities to begin to craft a critical Nuevomexicano ethnic studies curriculum. This curriculum, if properly constructed and implemented can begin to address long-standing issues in New Mexico surrounding race, class, and power. Most importantly, curriculum can be constructed in a way that reduces prejudice between ethnic and racial groups. Strategies to address the similarities between groups include cross-cultural networking, humanization and respect for others, critical analysis of the self, family and community, examining unique identifiers between groups, values that bind people together, positive cross-group interaction (which includes Anglo-Americans), group alliances, and shared public memory can begin to bridge the gaps between groups where race, class, and power have worked to compartmentalize groups resulting in increased discrimination and subordination (Giroux, 1997; Montiel et al., 2009; Montoya, 1994; Montoya & Valdes, 2008; Pérez, 1993; Sleeter, 2011a; Stovall, 2014).

**The Bernalillo Unit**

Given the suggestions and methods from the literature, I aimed to create a critical pilot unit that gives voice to Bernalillo community members in the creation of a curriculum that is inclusive, gives students the opportunity to analyze identity, and one that recognizes
similarities between racial and ethnic groups. This section highlights the unit that I created which was taught to a group of Bernalillo residents to gauge their reactions. I highlight the processes that I deployed in the creation of the unit, a curriculum outline, and the daily activities used.

**Curriculum Outline**

**Week 1, Theme: What is Identity?**

- **Day 1:** Introductions, Syllabus, Nomenclature ranking, Demographic sheets (study only)
- **Day 2:** Nomenclature recap, Critical lens discussion, Name Narrative, Assimilation/Subjugation discussion, Individual reflection, Syllabus review
- **Day 3:** Four Squares Exercise and “I Am” poems and discussions
- **Day 4:** Review Four Squares Exercise and “I Am” poems, Syllabus review, Identity Drawing and report, attachment to place and the “Hispano”/“Spanish American Homeland” discussion

**Week 2, Theme: Race, Class, Power & the History of New Mexico**

- **Day 1:** “Aztecs: Arrival of Cortes and the Conquistadores” and “The Fall of Tenochtitlán” videos and discussion, Casta system, Coronado and DeVargas expeditions, Conquistador timeline, Onate and DeVargas articles
- **Day 2:** Article review, Family Immigration Stories, the Mexican Period and Territorial Status timeline, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo video, land grants/loss, repatriation to Mexico, the railroad, tourism, water rights, demographic shift discussion
Day 3: Anglo-American attitudes during New Mexico’s battle for Statehood
discussion and activity, Quick write, the Consequences of Statehood
Day 4: The Enabling Act, Education in Bernalillo photos and timeline, “My Family
Language” chart, the Zia Sun Symbol, the Tri-cultural Harmony, and the
Three Cultures Sculpture, English-Only and Patriotism

Week 3, Theme: Los Matachines Dance

Day 1: Family Language presentations, European Matachines origins, Aztec
Matachines origins, Convergent evolution discussion
Day 2: Cultural Syncretism activity, Mexicano/Nuevomexicano/Pueblo Matachines
photos and videos, Quick write
Day 3: Timeline of the Bernalillo Matachines, Changes to the Bernalillo Matachines,
Ethnic Pride, Marthey video
Museum video, weekly reflection

Week 4, Theme: Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo

Day 1: Nuevomexicano Spanish, New Mexico Spanish dialects, Nuevomexicano
literacy, Matachines attire
Day 2: El Dia de la Visperas schedule, Fiesta brochure review, Matachines characters
and La Danza, Santuario architecture
Day 3: El Dia de San Lorenzo schedule, Fiesta brochure review, foodways and food
preparation, velorios, Comanchitos and Intracultural syncretism
Day 4: El Dia de la Entrega schedule, Fiesta brochure review, Music, weekly
reflection
The unit is comprised of activities and discussions taught over four weeks, during four nights per week. Each week identifies a theme including the week one theme entitled ‘What is Identity?’ Week two presents sub-units that examine the ‘Race, Class, Power, and the History of New Mexico’. Los Matachines Dance and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo highlight the themes of week three and week four, respectively. Refer to the Appendix A for the course syllabus.

For this curriculum unit, I utilized Understanding By Design’s (UbD) backwards planning. In doing so, I completed the UbD cover page, which includes key information regarding the unit identifying the title, subject areas, key words, time frame, and a summary of the unit. Stage one of UbD requires an identification of desired results. In this stage, I include the Common Core State Standards that align closely with the unit. The unit is a social studies curriculum, with history, geography, civics and government, and economics strands applicable to the course content. In addition, English Language Arts standards apply. Next, I identify essential questions, which ask 1) How have events in the history of New Mexico shaped Nuevomexicano identity? 2) How do race, class, and power influence interactions between Nuevomexicanos, Mexicanos, Pueblo Peoples, and Anglo-Americans? and 3) How does race, class, power, identity and history appear in Los Matachines Dance and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo? I also identify desired understandings, and knowledge and skills students will acquire through this unit. Stage two includes performance tasks and other evidence that will show student comprehension. Further, strategies for student self-assessment and reflection are identified. In addition, assessment criterion, as they apply to the unit goals are detailed using Bloom’s taxonomy domains. Finally, stage three details the daily activities,
noting the Common Core State Standards, and Bloom’s Taxonomy Domains applicable to each activity. The UbD cover page, and stages one through three are located in Appendix B.

Once the UbD stages were complete, I created the curriculum outline above leading to the creation of the unit. In the first week of instruction, I aimed to encourage students to analyze their personal, familial, and communal identities. Various activities including a nomenclature ranking, Four Squares, “I Am” poems, and an identity drawing allowed students to share their lives and experiences with their peers. Discussions surrounding assimilation, subjugation, and the Hispano and Spanish American Homelands provide a critical foundation in how the class proceeded in the coming weeks. Week two analyzes moments of contact between Europeans and Indigenous peoples including the Aztecs and Cortes, in addition to Coronado, Onate, and DeVargas’ contact with the Rio Grande Pueblos. Students worked individually, in partner groups, and with the entire class to discuss, dialogue, and share their thoughts on the Mexican period, the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, New Mexico’s Territorial status, and the consequences to the local population after the signing of the Treaty. In addition, week two examines language use, shift, and loss and the impact of English-only schooling. Week three presents the Matachines dance, including origins, intercultural syncretism, changes to the Bernalillo Matachines, and ethnic pride. Primary sources, including photos, the New Mexico Enabling Act, the State Constitution, videos and sound recordings enhance week three and four activities. Finally, week four presents las Fiestas de San Lorenzo with activities highlighting the three individual days of the Fiesta. Other topics include literacy, attire, characters, colonial architecture, foodways, food preparation techniques, velorios, Comanchitos dances, music, and entregas. Emphasis on intercultural and intracultural syncretism highlights the
similarities between ethnic and racial groups in cultural traditions, in addition to intraracial influence on the Matachines.

The final step in the creation of the unit was to build the daily units, with all supporting media and documents. I created a daily lesson plan that details the daily instructions for the teacher, the student instructions, materials needed for the lesson, and pertinent notes.
Chapter 5  
Research Findings  

As a reminder, this dissertation investigates how adult Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos react to a pilot curriculum unit that critically examines how race, class, and power impact Nuevomexicano identity. The Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs present an opportunity to examine identity, culture, language, and traditions critically. In order to gauge how participants reacted to the critical pilot curriculum, I created a four-week unit that examined Nuevomexicano identity and its intersection with historical events such as the occupation of Tenochtitlán by Cortés, the ensuing Spanish casta system used to classify people, and conquistador occupations in New Mexico by Coronado, Oñate, and Diego de Vargas. Additional topics included the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, New Mexico statehood, and Los Matachines and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo. Throughout the course, I gathered data from the course demographic sheet, participant observation, class notes, class discussions, activities, and assignments. In addition, students were asked to complete a course evaluation form at the conclusion of the course. Finally, I conducted individual interviews after the conclusion of the course. Utilizing Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), I analyzed the data in an attempt to explore how class participants reacted to the curriculum content. Prior to creating the curriculum unit, I first reviewed the literature with regard to the history of New Mexico in relation to Nuevomexicano identity. Events within the history of New Mexico formed a foundation in which to build a critical pilot curriculum unit unique to Bernalillo in relation to its customs, traditions, history, and language along with providing a critical lens for Nuevomexicanos to explore issues surrounding their identities.
Research Questions

This study aimed to address the following research questions:

1) How do Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos react to a critical curriculum that addresses how race, class, power, and identity impact Nuevomexicano language, history and culture, with emphasis on the Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs?

2) What aspects of the critical curriculum do Nuevomexicanos find positive and negative for future high school instruction?

3) What aspects of the curriculum would Nuevomexicanos revise?

Setting

The course was offered January 11 through February 5, 2021 on Zoom. Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic, in-person data collection became impossible. The class met on Monday through Thursday evenings from 6:00 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. Prior to the January 11 start date, three open preparation sessions were held on Zoom for participants on January 8, 9, and 10 in order to alleviate any potential technology issues that would prevent the class from starting promptly the following Monday. Individual follow-up interviews were conducted on February 5, 6, and 7, 2021 also via Zoom.

The Class

The class was comprised of nine adults who met the following pre-screening criteria to participate:

1) Do you identify as a Spanish, Nuevomexicano, Chicano, or Hispano person?

2) Do you currently reside in Bernalillo, the Bosque or Llanito, or grew up and have family in Bernalillo?
3) Are you familiar with Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and the Bernalillo Matachines Dance?

4) Are you 18 year of age and older?

In order to be selected to participate, each prospective participant was required to answer yes to each of the four questions above. It was important that the students answered yes to each of the question so as to remove Mexicanos from the data set, ensure participants live in the community and are familiar with the Matachines and Fiestas. I utilized a phone script and recorded prospective participant answers on a questionnaire sheet. If the individual met the requirements, I recorded their phone numbers, email addresses, and mailing addresses in order to maintain communication about participation in the class and study. I advertised the study in the Town of Bernalillo’s December 2020 water bill newsletter, along with my personal Facebook page, the Town of Bernalillo’s Facebook page, in addition to the Bernalillo Matachines Facebook page that I maintain. I received phone calls and emails from 11 individuals between December 1-7, 2020. All 11 individuals met the screening criteria to participate. One individual could not participate because of the lack of a computer. I then administered the consent form to each of the participants and all were returned. One student withdrew within five days of the start of the class due to family reasons. I mailed or delivered a course materials box to each student that contained the course syllabus, demographic sheet, assignments, YouTube links, weekly reflections, course readings, course evaluations, crayons, markers, colored pencils, and various sizes of blank paper for activities. I also included four self-addressed, stamped envelopes for students to return completed assignments via U.S. mail at the end of each week.
Of the nine participants, two identified as male and seven identified as female. Four individuals noted they were 60 years of age or older. In addition, two students were 50-59 years of age, one student was 40-49 years old, one student was 30-39 years of age, and one student was 21-29 years of age. Regarding race, four individuals identified as White, one student identified with multiple races. Four students identified as “Some other race”, Spanish American, European White/ North American Indigenous, and Hispanic, respectively. Regarding ethnicity, four participants identified as Hispanic. One student identified as Nuevomexicano, and the remaining students identified as other. All participants graduated from high school, with three having some college but no degree, two having obtained an Associate’s degree, one has a Bachelor’s degree, and two have achieved graduate degrees. Three students are married, two have been divorced, three never married, and one is in a long-term relationship. Eight of the nine participants are employed, with one of them not employed and looking for work. Finally, regarding income, one student reported an annual income range of $20,000-$29,000. The remainder of the course, save for one who did not report income, earn $50,000 to $100,000 or more per year.

In this dissertation, all participants are referred to by pseudonyms. In addition, pseudonyms reflect familiar Nuevomexicano names. The nine participant pseudonyms in this study are Sofia, Ana, Pablo, Juan, Maria, Elena, Sandra, Rosa, and Lourdes. All participants expressed having grown up in Bernalillo, save for Ana, who was the self-described “outsider” of the group. She felt that because she had not grown up in Bernalillo, she felt like an outsider compared to the rest of her classmates. She initially introduced herself on the first day of class saying, “I was born and raised in Albuquerque, the south valley, my father is from Barelas and my mother is from Ponderosa.” She continued saying, “I moved here
[Bernalillo] 22 years ago, I bought my house 22 years ago”. Although she has lived in Bernalillo for many years, she often made comments such as “I know I’m the outsider of the group ‘cause I didn’t grow up here”. In addition, on her week two reflection, she noted, “members of the group have common relatives that go way back. I don’t have family relations to the group. Kinda feel like an outsider”. Six participants including Sofia, Juan, Maria, Elena, Rosa, and Lourdes graduated from Bernalillo High School. Sandra graduated from St. Michaels High School in Santa Fe, Pablo graduated from V. Sue Cleveland High School in Rio Rancho, and Ana attended and graduated from Albuquerque High School.

Data Collection, Coding, and Analysis

Data for this study were collected through various approaches including participant observation, semi-structured follow-up interviews, course assignment/activities, and the course evaluation. Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 below show the various data collection methods and their associated activities arranged weekly.

Table 2

*Week 1 Topics, Methods, and Dates of Various Data Collection Strategies*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class introductions</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>Week 1, Day 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomenclature rankings</td>
<td>Written activity and discussion</td>
<td>Week 1, Day 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic sheet</td>
<td>Written activity</td>
<td>Week 1, Day 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name narrative</td>
<td>Written activity and discussion</td>
<td>Week 1, Day 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Squares</td>
<td>Drawing and discussion</td>
<td>Week 1, Day 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Am poems</td>
<td>Written activity and discussion</td>
<td>Week 1, Day 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity drawing</td>
<td>Drawing and discussion</td>
<td>Week 1, Day 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 1 reflection</td>
<td>Written</td>
<td>Week 1, Day 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3

*Week 2 Topics, Methods, and Dates of Various Data Collection Strategies*

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Read conquistador articles</td>
<td>Reading and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family immigration stories</td>
<td>Interview family elder and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenochtitlán</td>
<td>Watch videos and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casta system</td>
<td>Watch videos and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conquistador timelines</td>
<td>Lecture and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo</td>
<td>Watch videos and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-American attitudes</td>
<td>Reading and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quick write</td>
<td>Response to Anglo-Americans</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NM Constitution</td>
<td>Reading and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enabling Act</td>
<td>Reading and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernalillo education timeline</td>
<td>Reading and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family language chart</td>
<td>Written activity and discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zia Sun symbol, Three-Cultures &amp; Tri-Cultural myth</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 2 reflection</td>
<td>Written</td>
<td>Week 2, Day 4</td>
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</table>

### Table 4

*Week 3 Topics, Methods, and Dates of Various Data Collection Strategies*

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<th>Topic</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family language interview</td>
<td>Interview family elder and discussion</td>
<td>Week 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origins of the Matachines</td>
<td>Lecture and discussion</td>
<td>Week 3, Day 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercultural syncretism</td>
<td>Lecture and discussion</td>
<td>Week 3, Day 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexicano, Nuevomexicano, and Pueblo Matachines</td>
<td>Watch videos, view photos and discussion</td>
<td>Week 3, Day 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data were organized and analyzed in the following steps:
1. I reviewed all written assignments and activities in addition to class Zoom recordings on three separate occasions in order to write out important highlights from the participants in a linear fashion by day, week, topic on note cards. I also wanted to organize data linearly during this first step because on many occasions, course discussions did not stop and end in one class session. Some discussions continued over multiple days.

2. I looked for repetitions and commonly occurring words from class discussions, activities and written work and wrote them down on the note cards. During this initial review of the data, I identified 76 commonly occurring words and their corresponding activities during the course. I then utilized Microsoft Excel to sort the data by activity and then by each word. This allowed me to see which words were associated with particular assignments and discussions during the class.

3. I utilized Excel’s “data sort” option again in order to identify identical and similar words. During this step, I combined and collapsed similar words. For example, some participants referred to faith and religion interchangeably. I then collapsed all words into 38 codes and sorted the data once again in Excel to identify the codes.

4. I then grouped the codes into four themes including class/power/gender, Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity, Spanish heritage language, and Querencia. The class/power/gender theme identifies three sub-themes including hierarchies, socioeconomic status, and views of gender in the Matachines. The Bernalillo Nuevomexicano section highlights six sub-themes including nomenclatures, mixed identities, ethnic pride, family, and religion, “us vs. them”, and culture. The Spanish heritage language theme discusses three sub-themes including bilingualism, language
denigration, and name pronunciation. Finally, the Querencia theme identifies three sub-themes including place, agriculture, and water, New Mexico and migration, and Spain, Mexico and immigration.

5. I identified missing codes and codes that were not anticipated at the start of analysis. These codes were typically associated with historical events in Mexico and New Mexico associated with statehood, Mexico-Tenochtitlán, and others.

6. I analyzed the codes and themes using LatCrit and CRT scholarship associated with intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; López et al., 2018), lateral oppression (Blanton, 2006; García, 1995; Freire, 1970) false consciousness (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009; McWilliams, 1961) immigration (García, 2003; Johnson, 1997, 2000; Martínez et al., 2021; Pérez Huber, 2010), citizenship status (Blanton, 2006; Plasencia, 1999), religion (Bacalski-Martínez, 1979; Montoya, 1998; Park et al., 2020), language (Burciaga, 1992; Montoya, 2000; Valdes, 1997; Zoch & He, 2020), and culture (Bacalski-Martínez, 1979; Blanton, 2006; Martínez et al., 2021; Valdes, 1997; Yosso, 2005).

My theoretical framework, which utilizes Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), provided critical lenses in which to analyze the data. Themes began to emerge when analyzing how multiple forms of oppression can intersect with the lives of People of Color and how those intersections manifest in daily experiences (Pérez Huber, 2010). How do participants react to a critical curriculum that discusses issues of race, class, power and systems of hierarchy that work to oppress People of Color? In addition, Latino experiences with regard to immigration, language, identity, and customs provide fruitful avenues in which to analyze the data (Pérez Huber, 2010; Montoya, 1999; Solorzano
Emergent Themes

Class, Power, and Gender

Hierarchies. During the third day of the first week of class, students were asked to complete the Four Squares Exercise. This was an activity adapted from the Mexican American Studies program in the Tucson Unified School District (Romero, 2014). In each of the four squares, students were asked to draw their interpretation of race, class, power, and identity in each box, respectively. Utilizing CRT and LatCrit as frameworks, I was interested in instances where students addressed social, economic, and possible political subjugation of Nuevomexicanos given their individual identities. I was interested if issues of social, economic, or other hierarchies that could possibly position Anglo-Americans over Nuevomexicanos would become evident as participants interpreted what these topics meant to them.

Ana and Sofia discussed their interpretations of the exercise by noting the contrast between a big house and small house regarding power and class. Sofia explained her depiction of class stating, “I did like a big house and a little house, more like a fancy house with a cul-de-sac going through it, the little house has weeds in front of it”. Ana described her picture depicting class noting, “It’s kind of like uptown, downtown. Like you have the nice houses on the other side of the river with the chimneys and the driveways and then where I was from it was the little home with the chiflón sticking out and the dirt”. Pablo also drew pictures reflecting wealth, with direct reference to Anglo-Americans and their

& Bernal, 2001; Trucios-Haynes, 2001) as they intersect with Bernalillo Nuevomexicano contexts. These themes and their corresponding sub-themes are discussed further in the subsequent sections.
association with power and money. Lourdes also associated wealth with skin color in a tiered
depiction with Anglo-Americans at the top. Sandra, Elena, and Juan also discussed their
drawings and how they depicted race and its association to success, Anglo-Americans, and
hierarchies between people. Most participants discussed Anglo-Americans as possessors of
money, wealth, and power through political and educational arenas. In addition, the general
consensus was that Anglo-Americans are at the top of a social, economic, and political
pyramid. This pyramid, as presented by class participants and discussed in the class, also
reflected a difference in physical traits as compared to Anglo-Americans. For example,
blonde hair and blue eyes symbolized wealth and power and reflected a stark difference in
the positioning of Nuevomexicanos’ brown hair, brown eyes, and dark skin as beneath
Anglo-Americans. Ana described her depiction of a blonde hair, blue-eyed woman, “power
equals Anglo people and so that’s why I have the lady with the blonde hair and the blue
eyes”. Examples of two Four Squares Exercises can be found in Appendices C and D. CRT
and LatCrit provide powerful avenues in which to situate these statements, as scholars have
written about Anglo-American-dominated systems such as schools, politics, and businesses
that have worked to maintain subjugation of raced, classed, and gendered people that they
have worked to position them beneath them on various created hierarchies (Apple, 1996;
Garcia, 2003; Horsman, 2011; Valdes, 1997). Examples of these can be seen in the
subsequent sections.

“She Would Hide Her Burrito”: Socioeconomic Status. While the class discussed
traditional foods, robust discussion regarding the symbolism of traditional foods of beans and
chile arose as a topic that garnered feelings of inferiority and shame, especially for elder
relatives. Maria stated that her aunt would take bean burritos to eat for lunch while attending
school in Bernalillo and that she would eat hiding the burrito with her hands because she was embarrassed that she did not have white bread sandwiches. Juan shared a story about his grandmother, stating:

[grandmother] would tell me that her classmates, the ones that didn’t have anything but the tortillas and beans to eat for lunch they would almost eat like this [hiding food] so people wouldn’t see that they didn’t have white bread. I would ask [grandmother] ‘did you have bread’? She goes ‘yeah my mom would make bread, we never bought bread, she would make it so we always had a sandwich at school because we wanted to feel like we weren’t being made fun of’ I was like ‘it’s just a tortilla’ and she’s like ‘no, it was a big deal’.

Rosa continued, “and also their lunch box was a big deal because a lot of them would take a bucket of that blue lard, that was their lunch box, it wasn’t a modernized lunch box”. Maria shared:

My aunty [name] shared that she would hide her bean burrito in a tortilla with her hands because everyone else had bread sandwiches and she was embarrassed. She also said she was dating a white man from Bernalillo and his father did not like it and said, uh, ‘it’s because my father doesn’t like you.

Sandra shared that her mother told her that if Nuevomexicano students brought beans and chile for lunch to school, teasing ensued and many would eat alone, and out of sight. She said that Nuevomexicano students sought to bring white bread sandwiches, much like their Anglo-American peers. In this sense, beans and chile became symbols of poverty as they were supplanted by white bread sandwiches. As a strategy for assimilation, Nuevomexicanos were forced by social pressures by Anglo-Americans, and also by Nuevomexicanos exerting
lateral oppression through assimilation on other Nuevomexicanos, to replace traditional foods with more acceptable American foods (Blanton, 2006; Garcia, 1995; Johnson, 2000; Tharp, 2019; Valdes, 1997). As seen in chapter two of this study, Nuevomexicanos often laterally oppressed other Nuevomexicanos believing that through assimilation to the American social hierarchy, they too could reap the benefits of American citizenship. This caused those who assimilated at faster rates to believe that customs, foodways, and the language of poor Nuevomexicanos were not important, leading to widespread denigration of these characteristics.

“**I Think It Should Stay The Way It Is**: Gender.** During a discussion regarding roles and characters in the Bernalillo Matachines dance, the class engaged in a discussion regarding gender roles in the dance. The Bernalillo Matachines are described in more detail below in the theme that discusses Bernalillo Nuevomexicano cultural identity. Because class participants were selected to participate in the study due to their familiarity with the Matachines and Fiestas, the discussions were able to discuss complex topics in further detail. In the dance structure of the Bernalillo Matachines, women cannot hold leadership positions such as Monarca, Abuelo, Toro, or Capitan. Women have participated in the Matachines since the 1970s as danzantes on the corrida and danza, but cannot move into senior positions. Prior to the 1970s, the Bernalillo Matachines was an all-male group. Maria did not think that women should be in senior roles because “it would probably change the sacredness of it, you know, if you did have the women move in by some chance”. Further, Ana agreed stating:

> I think it should stay the way it is and I think that what they’re doing right now, you’re allowed to be in a certain level as a female and that’s it. I just feel like it’s something that should not be changed. It should stay the way it is forever
because, I agree with Maria, it would take something away from that, from the whole thing. Ever since I was a little girl, it was always the men and I was shocked that it was even younger adults and then I was shocked that it was young ladies and, you know, teenage kids because they were always the men before. I just feel like you can’t do that, you can’t.

As can be seen by these statements, women in the class, who are familiar with the roles that women can and cannot play, do not believe women should move into senior positions. More research regarding this topic is warranted, but for the purposes of this study, these reflections may reflect subjugation based on gender, which is similar to race and class, but also their intersectionality with communally-crafted gender roles seen in the dance (Crenshaw, 1989; Hernandez, 2020).

These short vignettes discuss how class participants began to describe the construction of their identities based on class, power, and gender. They provide a thematic introduction and foundation in which to analyze and describe how they constructed their identity around various topics throughout the class. The next theme describes the Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity through discussion of nomenclatures, mixed identity, ethnic pride, us vs. them, culture, family, and religion. Examples of these identity markers are presented in the next section.

“I Say I’m Just From Bernalillo, There’s Just So Much More Than That”:

**Bernalillo Nuevomexicano Identity.** Throughout the course, students were asked to complete assignments that aimed to gather information on their individual, familial, and communal identities. The family immigration story, nomenclature ranking, four squares, “I am” poem, identity drawing, and the language interview and chart provided avenues in which
class participants could analyze identity. This section presents sub-themes that further explore Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity as it is constructed, negotiated, and situated regarding nomenclatures, mixed identity with Native Americans, ethnic pride, us vs. them, culture, family, and religion. The next section presents the varying nomenclatures students used to classify themselves on the first day of the course. These identity markers provided a critical foundation in which to view how students identified early in the course.

**Nomenclatures.** During the first class session, participants were shown the following nomenclatures: Anglo-American, Mexican-American, Nuevomexicano, Spanish, African American, Native American (Navajo), Hispano, Chicano, Hispanic, Native American (Pueblo), Latin American, Latino, Mexicano, and Spanish-American. After discussion, participants were asked again to rank the following nomenclatures: Hispano, Nuevomexicano, Spanish-American, Chicano, Hispanic, Mexicano, American, Native American, African American, Spanish, Latino, and Mexico-American. I instructed students to take a sheet of copy paper from their course materials box and number one through 14 on their papers. Once they numbered their papers, I instructed them to rank each of the nomenclatures on the screen. No further direction was given. Each participant took part in the activity, and none abstained. When students finished, I led them in a group discussion asking for volunteers to share the criterion they used to rank the nomenclatures, and their initial thoughts.

Juan related most to Hispanic, Hispano, Spanish, and Nuevomexicano. He stated, “I guess I ranked these based on how I relate to these words and to, I guess and to the culture of what I see here. I consider myself a Hispanic, so that was my number one”. He continued, “My top five were Hispanic, Hispano, Spanish, Nuevomexicano, and Latino”. Elena mirrored
Juan’s ranking, saying “I’m exactly the same perspective as Juan, I rated them based on how I could relate to them from a personal and in my career perspective, and I have the same exact top five that you did Juan”. Rosa followed saying:

I too agreed with Elena and Juan, the only difference is I have Chicano in there because I love Rudolfo Anaya and Chicano Studies. I really enjoy his books and also with the Tijerina stuff that happened ‘cause I’m from the northern parts. Actually, my family too from the north introduced some of that to where I can totally relate to the Tijerina stuff.

In this sense, Rosa referred to her identification with Hispanic, Hispano, Spanish, and Nuevomexicano, but also Chicano. In this case, the outlier was Rosa’s use of Chicano. This is due to her interest in Rudolfo Anaya, who is well-known for his writings regarding Chicano culture. Also, the “Tijerina stuff” referred to the land disputes and the mobilization of las Gorras Blancas movement in the Las Vegas, New Mexico area at the turn of the century, followed in-part by López Reyes Tijerina’s continued efforts in the 1960s (Gonzales, 2016; Gómez, 2007; Holtby, 2012; Tijerina, 2000).

Sofia noted:

The first one is Nuevomexicano, and the next one is Chicano and then Anglo-American and then Spanish. The last four were Mexicano, Latin American, Latino, and African American. So first and foremost I consider myself Nuevomexicana and then a Chicana. I don’t consider myself a Latina or Latin American because it reminds me of someone like from Puerto Rican [sic], it’s just not New Mexican to me.
Sandra had similar comments stating, “first is Nuevomexicana, then Chicana, then Hispana”.

Sofia then shared:

I’m pretty much with Ana, I got pretty much what she got, actually my first one was Chicana, Chicano, Hispanic, and Nuevomexicano. I agree with Sandra and Ana, I think Latin American is more like Latin America not from here so I don’t consider myself any part of that. Rosa was right on with Rudolfo Anaya, I love his books, I’ve read all of ‘em, I mean he so much, like um, into the Chicano culture which is pretty much right where we are. Another is Little Joe y la Familia, you all know him as a singer he’s so much into Chicanos, Chicanas, so that’s where I feel I’m at.

Maria chuckled, saying:

I was kinda laughing because, did you guys do your Census? And when you did your Census this year, it was like all of this stuff. You’re like, ‘well I don’t know, I’m Hispanic, White, Hispanic, Latina, Hispanic, you know it was kind of funny, but I came up with a similar answers to Elena and Juan. My first one was Hispanic. My last ones were Native American, and Santo Domingo Native American, Navajo, Anglo, and African American. So I guess we are a little, culture, something of all the Latino and Hispanic and Chicano. Years ago I might’ve said ‘yeah Chicano power, you know (laughs), but anyway it’s interesting when you put it in a perspective like this, you question it like the Census.

Lourdes ranked Hispanic at the top of her list followed by Spanish. She stated:
So kinda just like everybody, my first was Hispanic, but I think when I chose that, it’s because, I think it’s because of that culture thing as far as when we go somewhere, when we go to a doctor and you have to tell them your ethnicity and you tell them your race and all of those things, Hispanic is the option. So you know, it’s Spanish and then Chicano, Hispano, Nuevomexicano and I think that those are more culturally related as in like who my family is, where I come from rather than the way the rest of like the world sees us as in Hispanic and like everyone else my bottom ones were Native American, Anglo, and African American. Although, when you put Hispanic, you also have to put Anglo (laughs) so it’s kind of conflicting.

López et al. (2018) describe street race as how a person perceives their race on “the streets”. In this sense, Lourdes uses nomenclatures such as Spanish, Chicano, Hispano, and Nuevomexicano as her street race, and can possibly be synonymous and interchangeable. Interestingly, these same nomenclatures can also be classified as her self-perceived race, which is how a person self-classifies their own race to others. In her statement, she states that Spanish, Chicano, Hispano, and Nuevomexicano are tied to her family and where she is from “rather than the way the rest of like the world sees us”. In addition, a socially assigned race is interpreted as how a person believes they are classified racially by others. In Lourdes’ reflection, she uses Hispanic as her socially assigned race.

Pablo stated:

I did the same like everybody I put Nuevomexicano. I think that’s mostly what we are our own special type and everything, and like our own culture and dialect of Spanish and stuff like that and then at the bottom I put the same Native
Americans, Anglo-Americans, and African American ‘cause I don’t really, like, I don’t know, associate with them that much.

I then asked the class to rank another set of nomenclatures as some on the new list changed. The direction given to them was to once again, rank the terms they saw on their screens. The new set of nomenclatures included: Hispano, Nuevomexicano, Spanish-American, Chicano, Hispanic, Mexicano, American, Native American, African American, Spanish, Latino, and Mexicano-American. In the ensuing discussion, Lourdes stated:

It almost stayed the same, but I put American as my top, um, I don’t know, because sometimes I think we get so caught up in like this identity but in reality, we are one, we are American. I mean, I don’t know, maybe you were born in Mexico, I don’t know, but when you talk to people, but simply saying American unites us, I think, just as an entire community and nation as a whole, and then I went on with Hispanic, Spanish and then Native American, African American were at the bottom.

Juan added:

I’ll go just to piggyback off of what Lourdes was saying, I actually did Hispanic and then American because I’m very proud of being a Hispanic male and I’m very proud of being an American as well but for some reason I wanna bump up my Hispanic and show that I’m this proud Hispanic guy, you know, so all of America can see that, you know, I have a voice too.

Elena added:

I just wanna say mine were almost the same, Hispanic, Nuevomexicano, and American of course, was a new one this round. Based on what I’ve heard so far,
growing up, Chicano had a negative connotation, so that doesn’t rank high with me. I don’t know if anybody else is my age, but I grew up in a generation where those were the gangster kind of connotation to it, and then Native American is higher on my list because I have worked with so many students in the last 16 years in a capacity that I got to know them very well, their families, so they’re near and dear to my heart and I really relate to them. The Santo Domingo ones, not Native Americans in general.

Prior to the start of the course on day two of the course, I asked students for their impressions of the nomenclature assignment. Rosa reflected on Elena’s comments on day one about the term Chicano and how it had a negative connotation to her. She stated:

It was interesting when Elena brought up the Chicano, I was talking with [my husband], but most of my growing up was up north and for Chicano, to me, was Hispanics, or chic…, the raza fighting for their rights with the land, just like the Milagro Beanfield war and then it was just interesting to hear that, that I didn’t see, I’ve never seen, or read, or experienced that so I learned something.

Elena responded saying:

I would just like to expand on my thought, my impression of the Chicano term, just reign it in closer to home. When I was in high school, we had three blatant gangs at the high school. One of them was the Native American gang, I don’t remember exactly what they called themselves, and then there was the Placitas gang, which I think what they went by was the ‘Black Spiders’, and then there was the Bernalillo gang, I don’t know if they had a name, but I know they always related to the Chicano gang and that’s what I’m talking about, and I
witnessed fights between these three gangs at the high school, which is now the middle school, sitting in the lawn and rocks were being thrown across the lawn, and the Placitas ones stand out to me, the ‘Black Spiders’ because they would wears these chains. They would use that term too, Chicano ‘cause they were from Hispanic, what I would use the word, Hispanic, so that’s kind of where my impression comes from in regards to Chicano.

Sandra, in reviewing her notes from day one, recalls while at UNM:

There was a group of us, there was a group of three professors that took us under their wings and we were kinda dubbed the ‘Born Again Chicanos’ and of course, I came home calling myself a Chicana, and my mom got it, but my dad was like ‘what’? His was the generational thing. If you’re from the Bosque you’ll probably remember when they were after Tijerina and he was hiding back there with the [family], they were like hiding him out. The National Guard blocking the Bosque, it was crazy, and that’s a history I don’t think anyone knows it.

Juan stated that he had spoken to his grandmother earlier in the day prior to class saying:

I asked her, how do you identify yourself, and she said Spanish. I am not Mexican, I am not an Indian, but I’m Spanish’ and it got me to thinking, a lot of my, and I hate to say it like this but my unintentional biases come from hearing my grandparents talk, because it’s all about, you know, ‘we’re Spanish’, the ships must have rolled up the Rio Grande directly from Spain and dropped them off in Bernalillo and that’s all that happened. I also took a DNA test and sure enough, 30% Native American, and my [grandmother] said ‘well you
might be but I’m not’ and I don’t think she’s being intentionally racist, but that’s the way they grew up. I asked her about Chicano, she said she does not like that word. I think she thinks it’s like a bad word. I asked her about Hispanic and she said ‘ok, I’ll go for that’ but it was a lot of coaxing to get to that point.

Ana stated:

I was gonna touch on that word Chicano again because my mother, aunts and uncles, they didn’t identify themselves as Chicano and I think it was, it has to do a lot with what Elena was saying because I remember when there were those riots back in the, gosh, early 70s I think. It was the Chicano Movement, you know, that was at the forefront. I identify as a Chicana, and I will for the rest of my life, but I think it’s the newer tradition, the newer generation that will identify with that before my grandparents.

Regarding the term American, Ana continued, “I’ve never lived anywhere else, so I don’t see much American in me all I see is New Mexican and Chicana”. Lourdes reflected on her list with American at the top saying:

The second that I said American I could see faces on the screen and everybody was kind of like [surprised gesture] which I thought that was pretty interesting for myself anyways, because it almost felt like maybe that was wrong, that I should put my like Hispanic, my Spanish above my American but in that sense I didn’t, so that’s kinda where I was at after [class].

As can be seen in this activity, students sometimes agreed in their top rankings, which included Hispanic, Hispano, Spanish, Chicano, and Nuevomexicano. The most widely used term was Nuevomexicano, which was chosen by eight participants. Hispanic was chosen by
six participants. Finally, Hispano, Spanish, and Chicano were each chosen by five participants. Interestingly, on the course demographic form that was filled out during the first week of class, four students identified as Hispanic. On the same form, students also identified as Nuevomexicano (one person), Chicano (one person), and two identified as other, noting a mixture of the aforementioned terms.

As the CRT framework seeks to highlight issues of hierarchically organizing races and ethnicities (Yosso, 2005; Garcia, 1995), this ranking activity showed how many in the class did so by highlighting the nomenclatures that did not highlight a country of origin such as Mexico or the United States as seen in the use of Hispanic. CRT and LatCrit scholarship highlights instances that pressure to assimilate lead to widespread use of the term emphasizing whiteness (Blanton, 2006; Burciaga, 1992; Garcia, 1995; Gómez, 2020; Johnson, 2000; Oboler, 2011; Oquendo, 2011; Valdes, 1997). Although Nuevomexicano was the most widely discussed and the most frequently used term, other terms such as Hispanic, Hispano, and Spanish scored near the top of most lists. It appears that these terms may be clustered together for participants, and could possibly be similar and interchangeable.

Gonzales (1993) states that Spanish identity rose to prominence between 1900 and 1933 and is still used as seen in the statements above. Other similar terms such as Hispanic, Hispano, and Nuevomexicano merit more research as to how people use these terms, the contexts, and synonyms outside of this case study. However, CRT and LatCrit provide a framework in which to view how historical hegemonic alliances (Apple, 1996) and interest convergence (Bell, 2005) between Anglo-Americans and “elite” Nuevomexicanos, as discussed in chapter two, produced an environment where the term Spanish was grafted onto all Nuevomexicanos in an effort to promote statehood. In turn, Nuevomexicanos sought to distance themselves
from other groups, namely Mexicanos, by adopting the Spanish nomenclature which led to false consciousness (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009; McWilliams, 1961) and lateral oppression (Blanton, 2006; Freire, 1970; Garcia, 1995). The terms Hispanic, Hispano, and Nuevomexicano may be synonymous with Spanish, as they morphed and took on new meanings into current times. Nuevomexicanos laterally oppress Mexicanos, and Native Americans, with the use of Spanish to distance themselves racially and ethnically as a means to elevate their status. As seen in chapter two, the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo created an avenue in which Nuevomexicanos sought to distance themselves, as Anglo-Americans attempted to classify them as Native American or Mexicano. These strategies, coupled with pressures to assimilate before and after statehood was granted in 1912 reflected profound tensions between groups as they sought to find footing in the new American Order. Responses to Anglo-American discrimination prompted a turn inward by Nuevomexicanos of all socioeconomic classes to create an “off-white” (Gómez, 2007) status in order to distance themselves from Native Americans and Mexicanos.

The use of Chicano was widely discussed, as some students identified with the term including Rosa, Sofia, Maria, Sandra, and Ana. These individuals cited various reasons for identifying with the word including the influence of Rudolfo Anaya and Tijerina. Others such as Elena did not associate with the word, because for her, it represented a local gang and their connections to Chicano. In one exchange, Rosa identified with Chicana because of the Movement’s association with fighting for land and water rights. As discussion ensued, Elena noted that for her, Chicano has negative connotations as she recalled a Chicano gang while in high school. For her, the negative view she had of term Chicano was not associated with the fight for land and water rights like Rosa. Rather, the term was associated with a Chicano
gang. Whereas Rosa equated her Chicana identity with land and water rights and important regional figures such as Reyes Lopez Tijerina, Elena did not identify with Chicano because of the negative local context in which she knew the term.

An interesting discussion also centered on the American label. Only Lourdes ranked American at the top of her list during the second ranking round. She emphasized her military background that formed this identity that highlighted citizenship over race or ethnicity (Gonzales, 1993). As can be seen in her comments and reflection the second day of class, she felt that reactions by other classmates made her feel like she was wrong for noting American first. Juan disagreed, saying that being Hispanic is more important that being American. In addition, Ana states that she doesn’t feel like an American, and emphasized her ethnicity over citizenship. In addition, the U.S. Census has impacted how participants widely identify as Hispanic as it presents the term as a way to homogenize these populations in the United States as seen in Maria’s difficulty in filling out her Census due to the varying options between race and ethnicity (Gómez, 2020; Oboler, 2011).

**Mixed Identities.** While rare, some class participants acknowledged their mixed identities. For example, Sofia discussed her affiliation with Native Americans saying “the one thing that keeps…is the Native American because I know it’s prevalent in my family, the Apache and the Navajo, but I just don’t relate to it”. Further, Sandra stated:

I took a DNA test and found out that we have a huge percentage of Native American. I wish my parents were alive because they were like ‘oh no, we’re Spanish, we’re European’. It’s like, we didn’t get here, our ancestors and relatives didn’t get here in a parachute. They came through Mexico and mixed with the Indigenous people.
Maria reflected on this topic stating, “my younger sister has been doing all this, you know, research on our family history and we are a mix”. She continued:

I just wanted to share that we grew up, I mean, in high school we were like the ‘flower children’ you know. I don’t think I was exposed too much to the racism, I don’t remember too much I guess. It wasn’t until I went to UNM that I saw it a little bit more, but, you know, we got along here with the Indians, you know we were always at the Pueblo with them, we were cheerleading with them, we were playing basketball with them. It was different, we didn’t see the racism. Maybe we couldn’t go out with the guys from Peña Blanca because the guys from Bernalillo wouldn’t let us (laughs), but we didn’t, I don’t remember any of it until I was at UNM.

Further, she stated, “but if you look at the definition of Chicano, it says ‘of Mexican descent’ and we’re not Mexican, we’re Spanish, we’re Native American, a mix”. Although rare in the course discussions and assignments, some students reflected on mixed identities with Native Americans. However, there was not much elaboration beyond mere mention in some instances. This shows possible ambivalence to identify as Native American as it intersects with identity. This is explored further in the next section, which highlights Nuevomexicano identity in relation to Native Americans, Mexicanos, and Anglo-Americans.

**Ethnic Pride, Family, and Religion.** Throughout the course in discussions and activities, participants often spoke about family and religion and how they were important sources of pride for them. These topics arose in the I Am poems, the identity drawing, name narrative, and discussion on the Zia sun symbol, Tri-cultural harmony myth, and the three cultures monument at the Santuario de Chimayo.
Modeled after Montoya et al.’s (2014) work, the name narrative asked students to reflect on their first, middle, and last names. Where did they get their names? How are their names pronounced? Do they have a nickname? Five students stated that their last names originated in Spain, connecting their surnames to specific regions in Spain. All student last names in the class were Spanish surnames, save for Sandra. While reflecting on the origins of their names, Rosa, Sandra, Lourdes, Maria, Sofia, and Ana tie their names to the Catholic faith. In all of these cases, their names connected them to individuals with familiar names in the Bible. For most of them, their names were given to them by devout Catholic parents or godparents. Due to the religious importance of naming children and its intersection with the Catholic faith, students in the class expressed pride in the correlation between their names and identities. For example, Ana stated, “I’m really picky about my name because in my mind, that’s my identifier, you know, my name is my identifier”.

During week two of the class, students were shown the Zia Sun Symbol, the myth of Tri-Cultural harmony in New Mexico, and the Three Cultures Monument at the Santuario de Chimayo, New Mexico. The Zia sun symbol represents the four directions, four stages of life, four seasons, and the four stages of the day all bound by an unending circle of love for fellow man. The theory of Tri-Cultural harmony emphasizes harmony between united cultures including Native Americans, Anglo-Americans, and Nuevomexicanos. Finally, the Three Cultures Monument, located behind the Santuario de Chimayo depicts an Anglo-American reading what appears to be a Bible, with a Native American dressed in traditional regalia, and a Hispanic person kneeling while covering his face with his hand. Students were asked to think and assess the sun symbol, harmony theory, and the monument critically, or as I mentioned to them, with their critical glasses! Students were asked to analyze and discuss the
Zia sun symbol, Tri-cultural harmony myth, and the three cultures monument at the Santuario de Chimayo as a way to critically view how Nuevomexicanos, Native Americans, and Anglo-Americans are portrayed in State symbols.

Regarding the Zia sun symbol, Elena simply stated that it represents New Mexico. Sofia stated that she likes the Zia Sun symbol and the meaning behind it. Maria also viewed the Zia Sun symbol positively stating she loves it and the monument is sacred, perhaps because of where it is located. Juan stated that he believes the Zia Sun symbol shows a constant striving toward harmony between people in New Mexico.

Ana stated that there is a perceived harmony between people in New Mexico as long as Nuevomexicanos were compliant with Anglo-American ideas and beliefs. She stated, “Nuevomexicanos have lived in harmony. I feel to be in harmony with the Anglo/Spanish, would and was only possible as long as Nuevomexicanos were compliant with their ideas and beliefs”. Few students reflected on the Tri-Cultural Harmony myth, and those that did viewed it as something that Nuevomexicanos, Anglo-Americans, and Native Americans can aspire to, but in reality, harmony does not exist. In this sense, participants perhaps do not view this harmony as part of their identities.

While reflecting on the three cultures monument, Rosa stated that she believed it shows unity and working together between Anglo-Americans, Nuevomexicanos, and Native Americans. Further, she stated that it shows how people pray emphasizing the Nuevomexicano man who is kneeling with his hand covering his face as an indication that Nuevomexicanos pray silently. In addition, some participants viewed the Zia Sun symbol and the monument favorably whether equating them with unity between cultures, a sacred object, or association with prayer and faith. The Zia Sun symbol, the Tri-Cultural myth, and the
Three Cultures Monument provoked thoughtful reflection and discussion. Students reflected most on these items during a weekly reflection paper that they completed and sent back to me through the mail. As can be seen, some participants agree with what the symbols stand for above as reflected by their favorable perceptions of them. For some of these participants, family, religion, and identity are inextricably linked, which form powerful foundations in which Nuevomexicanos construct their identities (Bacalski-Martinez, 1979; Montoya, 1998; Park et al., 2020).

The I Am poems, adapted from Romero (2014), asked students to create a poem based on their identities and where they are situated in the world and in the community, along with their deepest hopes and concerns. The poems reflected a range of concerns and hopes, along with issues that are important to participants. For example, Juan expressed an interest in having national clout as a Nuevomexicano, and that through his work he expressed pride in being American as well. He wrote, “I am a New Mexican tradition prevails, I am a New Mexican grasping for national clout, I am a New Mexican made up of many ingredients, I am a New Mexican my culture will prevail without a doubt”. He continues, “I am an American proud of my country, I am an American wondering what is to be, I am an American needing the protection of my rights, I am an American will I truly be free”? Some participants expressed concern over current events such as the COVID-19 pandemic (Maria and Sofia). Rosa expressed concern over the removal of Spanish monuments stating, “I ponder with sadness over the dark cloud of revolts over our democracy, I ponder with sadness of the slaughtering demonstration of our historical sculptures”. Other topics that were mentioned by students include faith, unity, peace, the survival of the Matachines dance and other customs, bilingualism, family, community (Bernalillo and the Bosque), land, water,
agriculture, food, music, children, education, and the importance of Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo in the community. Many emotions were shared during these discussions, as students joked, laughed, and cried as they reflected on their identities and the deepest concerns and hopes. Examples of two I Am poems can be seen in Appendices E and F.

On the last day of week one of the class, students were given crayons, markers, and colored pencils and asked to visually show their identities through an identity drawing. Once again, as with the identity assignment earlier in the week, students expressed happiness, laughter, humor, and some sadness as they discussed their lives. Students visually represented themselves with the following: Sandia Mountains, family, the Bosque, food, faith, the State of New Mexico, agriculture, the Zia symbol, American flag, education, Cabezón peak, music, Matachines, water, church, and the communities of the Rio Puerco Valley. Overall, students reflected that they particularly enjoyed these assignments, as they expressed a deep connection to Bernalillo, its families, customs and traditions, and the beloved Matachines. Participants framed their lives and expressed personal, familial, and communal identities and some of the most robust exchanges occurred when overlap was evident in their shared experiences.

**Us vs. Them.** In addition to speaking about identity as it intersects with family and religion as a form of pride, participants also spoke about their identities in relation to other local racial and ethnic groups. Activities such as the nomenclature exercise, conquistador discussions, the Zia Sun symbol, Anglo-American attitudes during the battle for statehood, and the three cultures monument invited students to critically analyze race and identity in relation to others.
During the nomenclature discussions, participants shared extensively how they identified with Nuevomexicano, Hispanic, Hispano, Spanish, and Chicano. Although there was some general disagreement within the class, most agreed on these top choices. During the exercise, I did not prompt the participants to include the nomenclatures that they did not identify with but many shared the names they listed at the bottom. Some of the nomenclatures that were noted at the bottom of the lists were Mexicano, Latin American, Latino, African American, Native American, and sometimes Anglo-American. This set an early indicator that students at the beginning of the course did not identify with other local groups, many of whom they interact with daily, including Mexicanos and Native Americans. This is a possible example of Nuevomexicanos distancing themselves from Mexicanos and Native Americans in an effort to promote their unique identity, sometimes synonymous with European and White ancestry (Benjamin, 1997; Blanton, 2006; Garcia, 1995, 2003; Gonzales, 1993; Johnson, 1997, 2000; Kosek, 2004; Lechuga, 2010; Salgado, 2020; Trucios-Hayes, 2001; Valdes, 1997).

The second week of the course began with a discussion of conquistadores in Mexico and New Mexico. For homework, participants were asked to read two articles from the New York Times (Romero, 2017, 2018) and the Rio Grande Sun (Trapp, 2019), a local newspaper from Española, New Mexico. The articles addressed the controversial topics surrounding local statues of Juan de Oñate and Diego de Vargas. During the summer of 2020, the statues once again became hotly debated issues and statues that depicted the conquistadores were removed and in some cases, vandalized in Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Events such as these present opportunities to analyze sites of education that extend into the public sphere. This allows for issues surrounding conquistadores to be examined as they relate to shared dissent,
marginalization, and legacies of colonialism, especially in New Mexico (O’Malley et al., 2020).

This topic garnered much discussion. Students sometimes downplayed Spanish atrocities and equated Spanish and Native American actions. For example, Ana reflected on the readings saying:

At the time when all these things [removal of local conquistador statues] I didn’t pay much attention because I didn’t think it pertained to me, but now, how am I gonna say it? I think it’s sad that Oñate enslaved the Indians, the Native Americans and cut off their feet, I mean their toes.

Maria countered emphasizing the time period and interactions between Spanish and Pueblo people as “but a vicious time I think and…” Rosa then cut in and stated, “Right? And prior to that time, remember, guys, was it the 1600s or something, the Native Americans, Mr. Barela said that his ancestors were beheaded by the Native Americans because you know, if you read history some will say ‘savage’ because they were mean and hateful”. She continued, “and they would say that the Native Americans too, you know, it’s kind of a side-by-side, they would steal and capture some of our Hispanics to go live with the Native American lifestyle as well and it seems like the Spanish just repeated what was happening to them in the prior years, so how do we reconcile is the question”. Sandra attempted to reconcile a bloody past by stating:

There were atrocities on both sides, definitely and one of the things I thought, um, that really surprised me, and I already knew this before we read these articles but it wasn’t that long ago. In regards to the Entrada [Santa Fe Fiesta pageant featuring Diego de Vargas] that that Entrada came about because of
Anglo, they wanted more tourists to come to Santa Fe, so it was a very convoluted event. I, in a lot of ways, I’m glad they got rid of it but I think there needs to be something, and you know, they are, they’re working on it to honor all sides. Like Rosa said, how do we reconcile the atrocities of the past?

Elena then added that socially, people attempt to address and dwell on past conflicts, which can manifest into current disagreements on both sides of the issue of removing statues. Sofia also discussed her views on the articles and recent events regarding Diego de Vargas stating that she enjoyed how he respected the Pueblos upon his return to New Mexico in 1692. She stated:

I like the part [in the Simmons (2003) reading] that it said that de Vargas protected the Pueblo kivas, faith, and viva la fiesta. That was interesting to me, and Diego de Vargas offered genuine respect to the Native faith practices. I thought that was pretty sincere on that, although I understand what everybody is saying kinda like the Columbus Day is not Columbus Day anymore, it’s Indigenous Day. That has changed, probably associated with this as well.

Juan expressed frustration with the removal of the statues stating that he feels that there is a deliberate attempt to strip Nuevomexicanos of their culture. He related the removal of local statues to the removal of Confederate flags and monuments in the southern U.S. A friend of his had a Confederate flag hanging from his vehicle’s rearview mirror. After asking his friend why he had that flag, Juan noted his friend’s response:

My family fought in that war, we’re southern’, he says ‘I understand this symbol has so much negativity like associated with it, but that’s part of my heritage. Like how can I continue to strip down, you know, things that are part of me?’
and it was hard for me to understand what he was saying but I kinda get it. Now especially recently with all these things happening with taking down statues, not just here, but you know these Confederate statues, or statues here in New Mexico. I get it, you know, they’re not always gonna please everybody, but we’re stripping down a culture, and we’re stripping down a history to what point? We’re not gonna be able to say, ‘well that was once Oñate’s statue’, because they’re not gonna know who he is, because we took it out of our history. I mean, history is not good, not all of it, but we’re gonna strip it down to where we don’t know where we come from or learn from those mistakes, I guess.

During this discussion, it seemed as if some participants felt a connection to the statues, which were at the center of controversies and to the symbolism of the conquistadores and their removal in other communities. In this sense, participants may equate their identities to Spanish conquistadores, who positioned themselves at the top of a social, economic, and political hierarchy well before the Anglo-American invasion of New Mexico. In this sense, the European positionality far outweighed that of Native Americans because of the downplaying of atrocities committed by the Spanish and by equating all atrocities as the same (Blanton, 2006; Garcia, 1995, 2003; Johnson, 1997, 2000; Trucios-Haynes, 2001; Valdes, 1997). Schooling and curriculum can also work to enhance these views.

As mentioned above in the previous section regarding participants’ favorable views of symbols reflecting various races and cultures, some participants did not view them as favorably as their classmates. Lourdes reflected on the Zia symbol stating that “we do not have friendship among united cultures”. Rosa reflected on the sun symbol stating “Anglos act as they are above all. Native Americans act like they’re privileged, ‘poor me’ [mentality]”.

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Sandra believed that the Zia Sun symbol was appropriated by Anglo-Americans and that the meaning became “whitewashed”. Finally, Pablo believed that the salute to the flag of New Mexico and the meaning of the Zia Sun symbol is a lie because it does not show the division between Anglo-Americans and Nuevomexicanos. He further stated, “the salute to the flag of New Mexico to me seems like a lie because in my experience in high school you could see the division between the White and Hispanic students and even a little more now that I’m in college”.

Ana viewed the three cultures monument in a way that the Anglo-American is positioned standing up while the Native American and Nuevomexicano appear to be kneeling. By positioning the Anglo-American above the others, Ana believed that the Native American and Nuevomexicano were kneeling before the Anglo-American. Further, Sandra stated that the monument shows a subservient Nuevomexicano who covers his face in shame and the Anglo-American is positioned above the others showing power and authority. Juan also stated he believed the monument showed the Spaniard being condemned by Whites.

Pablo reflected:

I’ve always seen the Three Cultures Sculpture at the Santuario de Chimayo but I never thought about it till I started taking Chicano Studies classes and my thoughts about it are it shows a White evangelical preaching and converting the Native American and making the Nuevomexicano feel ashamed because he’s Catholic and not up to the White standard. The statue shows me that the three cultures are in harmony only if we follow White evangelical culture.

Juan also reflected on the monument stating, “This sculpture makes me think that the Spaniard is being condemned by the “White” man in terms of his belief systems. It really
blows my mind that it is on display at the Santuario, especially because of the heavy Hispano community”. Due to the location of the monument, in one of the holiest places in the state for Nuevomexicano Catholics, varying opinions of the monument’s message existed.

These activities and discussions provided the students an avenue in which to share their beliefs. Some students acknowledge appropriation of recognizable symbols by Anglo-Americans. Some also viewed the monument as depicting Anglo-Americans above Nuevomexicanos and Native Americans by how they are depicted. Sometimes, participants equated the Nuevomexicano as having shame while the Native American is depicted as very stereotypical as he dons regalia that is similar to Plains tribes. Calling attention to these issues surrounding these items shows how social hierarchies manifest, along with their intersection with race, class, and power and how participants vary in how they express their varying identities.

As seen in chapter two of this study, Nuevomexicanos utilized the Spanish nomenclature as a tool to combat Anglo-American discrimination during and after Statehood was granted in 1912. At the same time, Nuevomexicanos utilized Spanish identity as a weapon and as a means to further a perceived social hierarchy that positioned them above Native Americans and Mexicanos. This could perhaps explain why participants did not identify with Latino, rather Spanish could be synonymous with terms such as Hispano and Hispanic, which were widely used in the class. In addition, during the second week of class, students were shown various direct quotes from eastern United States Senators, particularly Senator Beveridge from Indiana, who vehemently opposed statehood for New Mexico. Students were asked to read the quotes and write their thoughts with single words, in addition
to a quick write that asked them to respond to the blatantly racist statements that termed Nuevomexicanos as not fit for statehood, too-Mexican, illiterate, mixed-blood, and poor.

Participants were clearly angry during the discussion and some shared feelings of frustration calling the comments savage, unjust, extremely racist, frustrating, ignorant, prejudiced, senseless, arrogant, and disappointing. Rosa noted in her quick write, in Spanish and English, “Este Gringo no sabe nada. No tiene respeto for our culture” and that people were unfairly judging “our tradition”. Sandra echoed these feelings calling them racist, elitist, condescending, mean, and unjust. In her response, she noted that survival in New Mexico’s extreme environments was extremely difficult. Ana noted her shock while reading the comments stating, “I think the one that really, it was like ‘boom’ right off the bat (laughs) was the first one that’s in the bold as ‘deficient in energy of character and physical courage as they are in all the moral and intellectual qualities including that in the social state but one degree removed from the veriest of savages’. I mean that was just like ’I don’t even wanna read this anymore’. She continues, “It just bugged me, this whole thing bugged me, Joe”.

Lourdes described her reaction to the quotes stating:

So I had put words like angry, shocked, irritated, frustrated, annoyed, disgusted when I read some these quotes but I think we still see that. It’s so frustrating, I don’t know how many times I have heard students say ‘oh I’m just from Bernalillo’ and I’m like ‘I’m just Bernalillo, I am a product of this school system, I got the same education that you’re getting right now and look where I’m at, I consider myself a pretty successful person um, and so I kinda see that the identity from then [pre-1912] and we haven’t really moved away from that and I don’t know, it’s just frustrating ‘cause I still can see that. Like in the news
they say ‘oh that’s why we’re 50th in the nation for education’ and I’m like ‘well if you changed your mindset, then maybe we wouldn’t be.

Elena noted the most striking statement to her saying:

When I saw the un-American, that’s the one that stood out to me the most. We are a humble culture, in all my years of working, uh, the Anglo culture is very much about tooting your own horn and being able to market yourself so to speak, and our culture and I noticed this today with our kids, they’re afraid to market themselves. Our culture has not embraced that as much as the Anglo culture has.

In addition, Juan shared that the statements were grossly inaccurate, emphasizing land-working people who take great pride in our history, culture, and traditions. In this sense, participants did not utilize Spanish ancestry or nomenclature as a way of combating Anglo-American racism, as seen in chapter two, rather they used culture, traditions, and heritage language (Gonzales, 2001) to oppose discriminatory statements.

As can be seen in the class, however, is participants used the same culture, traditions, and language as a weapon against Native Americans and Mexicanos through racial microaggressions (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015). These can be seen in opinions above that were subtly shared regarding Native Americans as victims, or having a “poor me” mentality. Other, more overt examples were also discussed. For example, Maria shared a story of interethnic relations at Bernalillo High School stating:

My uncle remembered that there was always fights between the Spanish and the Native Americans. Some were intentional. My uncle [name] shared his friends would intentionally bump into the Native Americans at the water
fountain and a big ol’ fight would start. My son shared they had the riots at the high school against the Natives, or the Hispanics against the Mexicans, and if it was the Hispanics or the Mexicans, they would join together and fight the Natives.

The COVID-19 Pandemic prevented the community from gathering for the 2020 Matachines and Fiesta de San Lorenzo, so discussions, videos, photos, and the music of the Bernalillo Matachines prompted much discussion throughout the final two weeks.

Intercultural syncretism provided a unique lens for students as they viewed different Matachines groups. In this sense, participants valued the local Matachines, but some expressed how other groups, particularly Pueblo traditions were beautiful and important. This was very different as we discussed a Mexicano group of Matachines that dance in Bernalillo, most of whom presumably live in Bernalillo, and dance their version of the Matachines on December 12, el día de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. It is said that the Mexicano group approached the Nuevomexicano group and asked if they could join in the processions during Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo. Permission was denied at the time, and prior to showing the class four short videos of them on December 12, I told the class this story.

After viewing the videos, I asked for any observations that students wanted to share. Elena stated:

I have to say that just I’m just gonna say it because it’ll probably uncover if I have any strong biases it would be right here, a prejudice, an overwhelming feeling I have of seeing that and saying ‘hey wait a minute this is my community. Why don’t our Matachines dance [on December 12] because this is our church’ and that sounds so harsh and mean but that’s how I feel in certain
instances and I can’t even defend it or really explain it but I’m just sharing that it’s a strong feeling in my heart.

Sofia pondered if the Bernalillo Nuevomexicano Matachines have ever danced, asking “‘But didn’t our Matachines dance [on December 12] at one time, like a long time ago? I could’ve sworn I had been there when they had danced, but it was years ago’. After further probing about additional thoughts or what other students felt about Elena or Sofia’s comments, Rosa agreed with Elena stating, “just wanted to support Elena and I agree too, the Matachines, that’s who we are and I just disagree with the whole culture they bring is wanting to kinda overpower ours and such, you know. To have a whole new second Matachines, I totally don’t agree with that”. Finally, Ana stated, “I agree with Rosa, not with overpowering because that’ll never happen, but I agree totally with Elena, but I go back to when people come to this place and they love it, and then they wanna make it their own and take away our stuff, and I feel like that shouldn’t happen. I think you guys are right for saying that, I do”.

In further written reflections, Pablo stated that even though the music was similar between Nuevomexicano groups, the Mexicano versions were radically different. In addition, Maria stated that she is concerned that “others” will take over the Matachines dance in Bernalillo and change it which will “stop the culture” due to lack of interest. The dissenting voice in the group came from Sandra who wrote in a written reflection, “I don’t think the Mexicano/ Guadalupano Matachines are trying to take over. For me it is about the uniting of cultures. Although I don’t think they should mix for the Fiestas [de San Lorenzo]”.

Due to lateral oppression (Freire, 1970) and false consciousness (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009; McWilliams, 1961) the ambiguity of the weapon and tool metaphor can be explained further. On the one hand, Nuevomexicanos recognize and emphasize the beautiful traits of
our culture to combat those that are “higher” on a perceived pyramid with Anglo-Americans self-positioned at the top and Nuevomexicanos below them. On the other hand, Nuevomexicanos have also attempted to position themselves higher than Native Americans and Mexicanos using the same criteria as that used to combat discrimination imposed onto them. This can be seen above in statements regarding the Mexicano Matachines and their interest in participating in the Nuevomexicano dance and Fiesta. A clear line was drawn between “our” Nuevomexicano version and “their” Mexicano version of the dance, with emphasis on keeping the two traditions separate. In addition, nomenclature tied to Spanish identity was not used widely, rather, community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) moved to the forefront of identity assertion in relation to others. Maria stated in her response “I do not feel inferior” as a means of asserting her pride in her individual, familial, and communal identity. This also provides a foundation in which to understand the intersectionality between street race, socially assigned race, and self-perceived race. López et al. (2018) describe street race as how a person perceives their race on “the streets”. Socially assigned race is interpreted as how a person believes they are classified racially, and self-perceived race is how person classifies their race. The intersectionality between how Latinos view themselves and how they are classified and self-classified applies to participants in the study because of the association with Spanish, Nuevomexicano, Hispano, Hispanic, and Chicano identities and their use within local traditional contexts such as los Matachines.

Culture. The Bernalillo version of the Matachines reflects leadership positions such as Monarca, Abuelo, Toro, and Malinche. Monarca represents Montezuma and is the leader of the dance. Abuelo is an elder member of the tradition and represents the grandfather who is responsible for teaching dance movements, meanings of the dance, and is the
disciplinarian. Toro represents evil and temptation, who attempts to distract Monarca from converting to Christianity. Malinche represents Monarca’s daughter and the Catholic faith. During the dance, Malinche, guided by Abuelo, converts her father to Christianity. Monarca then converts his people, or the support dancers to the religion. Toro stalks the dance area attempting to thwart the proceedings. In Bernalillo, doubled dance groups are present, which reflects two Monarcas, two Abuelos, two Toros, and six Malinches. Each dance group is called a fila. La danza is performed three times during the fiesta and includes nine dances. La danza tells the story of the conversion of Monarca by Malinche and Abuelo. Senior members of the group perform la danza. In addition to la danza, which is performed in front of the Mayordomos’ home, the Matachines also dance in procession four times during the fiesta. The procession is known as la corrida. Senior members of la danza participate in la corrida in addition to newer members.

Weeks three and four of the class focused on Los Matachines Dance and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo. Students learned about European and Indigenous origin research. In addition, students learned that rather than compartmentalizing origins of the Matachines, convergent evolution suggests that similar traditions, such as Los Matachines, existed in Europe and in Mexico-Tenochtitlán. Due to many similarities, and with the clergy setting goals for converting Aztecs to Christianity, traditions fused to form the prototype of contemporary Matachines. In addition, intercultural syncretism suggests that when two or more cultures coexist for long periods, they begin to influence one another, adapt, and form new traditions (Kloeppel, 1970; Moreno, 2005, 2008). Other non-Bernalillo researchers have attempted to document and interpret the Bernalillo Matachines based on observation, in addition to Matachines in general (García, 2009; Rodriguez, 1996; Romero, 2007; Stevenson,
2001; Vélez-Ibáñez, 2017). Delving further into the blending between groups in the area, students were asked to critically analyze course content for weeks three and four and provide examples of intercultural syncretism between Nuevomexicanos, Native Americans, Mexicanos, and Anglo-Americans.

Participants were shown photos and videos of various Mexicano, Nuevomexicano, and Pueblo Matachines from the region including: Sandia Pueblo, Carnuel, Alcalde, Bernalillo Mexicano dancers, El Rancho/Pojoaque, Jemez Pueblo, Ohkay Owingeh, Taos Pueblo, Tortugas, and the Bernalillo Nuevomexicano dancers. Through the videos and photos, students began to identify cultural similarities and difference between groups. Most students smiled while watching videos or were taking notes. During this time, questions and discussions became more frequent as students began to discuss their knowledge and involvement in the Matachines. Although most information is sacred and is protected from publication, students shared very emotional stories about their connection to the tradition. For example, Sofia noted that it “brings tears to your eyes” to watch the videos about the Bernalillo Matachines. Rosa, reflecting on the photos and videos stated, “all [of the versions] are beautiful and special”. Lourdes expressed her ability to now understand more of La Promesa and its centrality to a person’s involvement in the tradition. Juan stated that he can see the similarities and differences in the dances, but took offense to the clowning aspects that are visible in some other versions, but not in Bernalillo. He stated, “what I can’t get out of my mind, I think, is that aspect of clowning. I’ve been thinking about it all day long. It’s really kind of bothered me to be honest. Like seeing that, them doing that, I guess I’m so used to it being so reverent here, and you know, I think it’s a different mindset, it just really, really bothered me”. In Bernalillo, elements of clowning have “fallen by the wayside”
(Kloeppel, 1970) if they reflected comedic elements during the dance. Due to the seriousness of the dance, community members have changed the Abuelo role into a more dignified character. In addition, other characters have been completely omitted from the dance. For example, the Perejundia character, Abuelo’s wife is played by a male dressed as a female, has been completely omitted from the Bernalillo Matachines, but is seen in many other versions throughout New Mexico and Mexico. Juan’s view strikes at the very heart of how the dance has evolved and does not recognize clowning, which is a stark difference from most other Nuevomexicano, Mexicano, and Pueblo versions. This is reflective of many in the community in how culture is enacted.

Sandra particularly enjoyed the Ohkay Owingeh and Taos Pueblo Matachines reflecting on the intercultural syncretism with the Nuevomexicano version that she is familiar with in Bernalillo. Pablo noted the similarities between the music across groups. Elena noted that she particularly enjoyed seeing the Alcalde version and noted “there are differences [across groups] but the shared tradition is nice to see”. Ana was struck by the level of commitment that participants possess. Finally, Maria stated, “I’m proud of the work done to continue our Matachines. Seeing the Native, Mexican, and Nuevomexicano Matachines makes me emotional”. Maria was particularly emotional when discussing the Bernalillo Matachines, as were many others, because the 2020 Fiesta was held virtually, with no full dances. She began crying during a video of the 2014 Bernalillo Matachines saying that “it’s emotional seeing everyone [in the video] again”.

As can be seen by the discussions and assignments related to Matachines, the participants were much more engaged with the material. LatCrit provides a unique lens in which to view and analyze how Latinos, particularly Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos, form and
perform their cultural identities (Bacalski-Martinez, 1979; Blanton, 2006; Martinez et al., 2021; Montoya, 1998; Park et al., 2020; Valdes, 1997; Yosso, 2005). In some cases, they agree with each other, and in some cases they disagree with regard to identity and how it is formed around this particular cultural tradition. The curriculum provided participants with the ability to reflect, discuss, and debate these issues. One emergent topic that reflected a great deal of reaction centered on Nuevomexicano interactions with Native Americans and Mexicanos. There could be a perceived threat with Mexicanos due to an influx of Mexicano immigrants to Bernalillo. With the performance of their version of the Matachines, it appears as if some students draw racial and ethnic lines in relation to cultural traditions. This perceived threat is not as evident with the Natives Americans, which could be partly due to the Pueblos living in their own communities outside of the Town boundaries. As Mexicanos move in to neighborhoods across the community, the threat is very real to older, established Nuevomexicano families.

**Spanish Heritage Language**

Throughout the course in discussions and activities, participants often spoke about Spanish heritage language use in their lives. Topics within the curriculum helped students think of language use, bilingualism, denigration of Spanish, and the importance of correctly pronouncing participant surnames. Students engaged in an elder interview gauging Spanish and English language use in their families, a language chart that asked students to note generational language use, and a New Mexico Spanish lecture in order to craft Spanish heritage language narratives.

**Bilingualism.** During day four of the second week of class, participants were asked to discuss Spanish language use in their family. This week culminated with an assignment that
asked students to once again interview a family elder over the weekend and present their findings regarding Spanish use, shift, and loss the following week. Guiding questions were provided to students in class and in the syllabus including: what language did your interviewee speak at home and school? Where did they attend school? What experiences did they have when they spoke English and/or Spanish at school?

Maria shared that her family spoke English at home and at school. She stated, “At home, my grandpa [name] and my grandma [name] spoke to us in Spanish. We answered them, in I guess what you would say ‘Spanglish’ or ‘puro moch’, (laughs) you know, half and half and they understood”. Maria refers to “moch” which is synonymous with the mixed northern New Mexico Spanish and English dialect. Her grandparents would read the Bible in Spanish. She later joked that she failed Spanish in high school, and currently in her occupation, clients recognize her Spanish surname and assume she speaks Spanish. Clients ask her, “que bonito es su español, de donde vienes?” She responds saying, “Soy Americana con pelo negro, and they just get a kick out of that, I guess” while using Spanish to emphasize her American citizenship over race or ethnicity (Gonzales, 1993).

Speaking about her mother’s ability to write in English, Maria stated, “my mom, when she would write letters, or stories in English, she would write it like, it was writing Spanish, kind of backwards because that was her first language”. Juan shared:

My grandparents spoke Spanish until they went to school. Going to my parents, they lost the language from my grandparents to my parents. My dad knew more Spanish than my mom, but my mom could understand it, but if you ask her something in Spanish, she can’t say it like ‘sweep the kitchen’ she’ll say, like sweep the kitchen and that’s not what the word is, right, but that’s what she
I’ve always wanted to learn Spanish but I always had a hard time with I guess the dialect of it how, I remember, I was doing Spanish vocabulary in high school at [grandmother’s] house and the word was truck and it’s carreon [sic] or something? And I told [grandmother] ‘hey what’s truck in Spanish? And she very condescendingly looked at me, she said ‘well it’s troca’ and I said ‘no it’s not, it’s carreon [sic] it’s not troca’ she goes ‘well I’ve never heard of that word my entire life’ and I said ‘well the book did’ so it was really hard to learn how you correctly speak?

He recalls that his grandmother only spoke Spanish at home, although she could understand some English. She attended Our Lady of Sorrows (OLOS) Catholic School from grade one through 11. She did not recall being punished at OLOS, but ultimately decided not to pass Spanish down to her children and grandchildren. He did not share why she did not pass Spanish down to her children. Juan wrote in his language story that his grandmother, “said that she was blessed in the fact that she came from a time that she was given the opportunity to learn two languages. She now wishes that she would have passed this tradition of being bilingual down to her children”.

Sandra shared similar experiences in her family stating that her mother spoke some Spanish at home, but was insistent upon learning English. Lourdes, who can be classified as an older millennial, states that her parents spoke English at home. Her grandparents taught her parents Spanish, but transmission to her generation ceased with her. Her grandmother spoke to her grandchildren in Spanish and they would in-turn respond in English. Her grandmother did not recall being reprimanded from speaking Spanish in schools. She also stated:
I don’t know Spanish, but I always remember asking my parents ‘how come you never taught me Spanish?’ and my dad always said it was because I didn’t want to learn, that’s what he always used to tell me. I’m like ‘I seriously doubt that I didn’t wanna learn’ but I remember my aunty, my dad’s sister would say the nuns used to like, I don’t know, they just got scolded for speaking Spanish.

She wrote in her language story that her grandfather “only had ‘broken’ English”. Elena discussed Spanish language in her family stating:

I think the language has to do with assimilation, like we talked about earlier, I have grandparents that wouldn’t speak to me in English, although I did grow up English, I didn’t, learning English, you know, was my first language, but my own daughters and even my grandkids, I consider myself a fluent Spanish speaker, but I don’t teach them and it’s because it’s easier and it’s the world I live in to be building those English skills instead.

Rosa also discussed Spanish use in her family saying, “my Nana would talk to us in Spanish, she’d never talk to us in English, but she understood what we were saying in English. She’d talk to us in Spanish, but somehow she knew what we were telling her in English”. This statement regarding assimilation reflects how some Nuevomexicanos may attempt to “act White”, or develop “white-like attitudes”, by changing their habits by learning the colonizer’s language and culture (Bettie, 2002; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Gonzalez, 1969; Memmi, 1965). In this sense, language shift from Spanish to English became more prevalent as people attended local schools.

Sofia also shared, “I grew up learning Spanish, ‘til I got to school my grandparents actually would scold me to learn English because they thought I would never get, well back
at the time, they thought that because we spoke Spanish we wouldn’t get very far in life, or educated some way, but they scolded us to learn English and to teach them because they knew none”.

The majority of these statements were made during day four of the second week of class, when students were asked to complete a family language chart. The chart noted the individual (student), then branched out to their mother and father, then to maternal and paternal grandparents and great-grandparents. Students were asked to note the language that each of the people on their chart spoke. Most charts showed monolingual Spanish speakers in the grand and great-grandparent generations. As the chart narrowed to parents and the individual students, bilingualism became prevalent, as many spoke Spanish and English. Some charts showed a shift from monolingual Spanish to Spanish and English bilingualism to monolingual English, showing a rapid supplanting of the heritage language within four generations. Two examples of the family language chart can be seen in Appendices G and H.

Students were also given a presentation on New Mexico Spanish, which highlights the mixture of Nahuatl, northern Mexico, Pueblo, Pachuco, Castilian, and English influences on the northern New Mexican Spanish dialect (Bills & Vigil, 2008; Cobos, 2003). This prompted interaction and robust discussion. As examples were given to students on words that Nuevomexicanos use, students smiled, laughed, and nodded their heads in agreement because they recognized the use of the dialect in their lives. The discussion centered on language as a means of cultures coming together and some students recognized the differences between southern and northern New Mexico lexicons. In addition, they discussed differences between rural and urban Spanish use.
These narratives illuminate the power of the English language that pressured Nuevomexicanos to assimilate to American culture by omitting Spanish from everyday use, or at least creating environments where Spanish and English were spoke concurrently. Anglo-American systemic pressure to assimilate created an avenue where Nuevomexicanos became fairly bilingual, emphasizing the importance of both languages (Yosso, 2005; Zoch & He, 2020). It is important to note that the three youngest members of the class showed the most language shift, as they are monolingual English speakers. For older members of the class, bilingualism is more prevalent.

**Denigration.** Regarding Spanish use in her family, Maria shared that her mother began her schooling in the Rio Puerco Valley, and later moved to Bernalillo to attend OLOS. She stated that the Sisters of Loretto would punish the students if they spoke Spanish. She stated, “my mom would share that the Sisters would hit them if they spoke Spanish”. Maria echoed this statement saying, “the Catholic nuns at OLOS were very strict and punished students for speaking Spanish, although they seemed to become more lenient as students progressed to high school.” Further, Sandra stated that although many people spoke in a “Nuevomexicano accent, racism lurked under the surface”. Lourdes continued, “my father mentioned that when they traveled to towns closer to the Texas border they had to speak English. He mentioned that when they would play [sports] in Lovington they were never able to stay in the town. They would play their game and leave, spending the night in Roswell or somewhere closer to home”.

Some of the most robust interaction and discussions centered around “proper” or standard Spanish and what participants called “moch”, slang, broken English, backwards language, or Nuevomexicano accent as if Nuevomexicano Spanish is less than that of other,
more proper forms. In some cases, when speaking about moch Spanish, participants laughed. Other examples included nodding heads, smiling, and laughing when examples of Nuevomexicano Spanish were read to the class. Sofia reflected on her college experience stating, “I took a Spanish class when I was going to college and I had difficulties because my teacher was from Costa Rica and most of them that were in here were Spanish from Bernalillo, you know. Our words are different, yeah, so we all pretty much clashed with the class because she was determined that her way of language was the right way and that we were making up our own words”. Lourdes added:

  I actually was recently helping my niece with her Spanish homework, she’s a freshman, and so we’re sitting there and I’m going through the assignments with her and my dad is sitting next to us and he could not help us. Like asking him questions and he’s like ‘I don’t even know what they’re asking you to do’ and it’s just so different. I was able to help her and I don’t even speak Spanish but her and I were able to figure it out and my dad was just lost.

Maria then asked Lourdes, “and he speaks fluent Spanish, right? But it’s different, I know”. Lourdes responded, “yes, he’s fluent in Spanish”. Ana stated at one point, “I’m married to a Mexican, and they are different” referring to the dialects that each group speaks respectively. Maria also stated, “my son married a Mexican. My grandson is torn, what do you do?” She was speaking in the context of which dialect of Spanish should be taught to her grandchild. Elena furthered the discussion referencing language in our schools stating that Spanish is usually taught in a way that favors the Mexicano dialect. She stated that it feels as if Spanish is being taught as a foreign language in our own schools asking, “what about our kids?” Pablo, the youngest member of the class later lamented, “our language was taken from us”.
These discussion points reflect a hierarchy of Spanish language dialects that tends to relegate the local vernacular as less prestigious or “correct” and sub-standard to “proper” Spanish.

These stories give a unique insight of Spanish language use, the dialectical ambivalence in vernacular language, racism, and physical punishment in local schools including the “moch” or “accent” Spanish that was denigrated. Latino Critical Race Theory provides an important lens in which to analyze how Spanish language was viewed as foreign and how it quickly became supplanted by “American” English. These are just some examples of the many that abound in how Nuevomexicanos were subjugated and assimilated to Anglo-American society (Gonzalez, 1969; Johnson, 2000; Memmi, 1965; Montoya, 2000; Valdes, 1997).

**Pronunciation.** During the name narrative exercise, a short discussion about Spanish surname pronunciation arose. For some in the course, Spanish pronunciation is important, as they don’t want their names to be “White-washed” or Americanized. For example, Lourdes said, “my last name, people will always butcher it forever. I do pronounce it [name pronounced in Spanish]. I don’t know if you can pronounce it in English. I correct people when they call me [English pronunciation], but the spelling kind of throws everybody off”. Some expressed frustration at Anglo-American mispronunciation of their names as well. Juan, Ana, Pablo, Sofia, Maria, and Lourdes, all expressed pride in either receiving their names from an elder family member, or the bond that represents a familial identity through intergenerational naming. This may reflect an attempt to ensure proper pronunciation of Spanish names in an effort to exert a racial microaffirmation through language use (Solórzano & Pérez Huber, 2020).
Querencia

Gonzales and Lamadrid (2019) describe querencia as an expression of a deeply rooted love of place and people. Moreno (2017) also states that because of this love for place, particularly Bernalillo, it is from the land which one’s strength is drawn. Throughout course discussions and activities, participants recognized the various forms of querencia in their lives. Issues of place, agriculture, water, immigration, and migration form the bedrock of a Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity and its relationship to querencia. The primary assignment students expressed querencia is with the family immigration assignment. For participants, their interpretations of querencia emphasized a deep attachment to place, including Bernalillo and other locations particularly in the Rio Puerco Valley (Liebert, 2021).

Place, Agriculture, and Water. At the conclusion of the first week of the course, participants were asked to spend the weekend interviewing a family elder in order to explain how their families came to Bernalillo. Guiding questions were provided to assist students with starting points on pertinent information to gather. Guiding questions and prompts included providing a general history of their families in relation to New Mexico history and the time period they came to the United States, New Mexico and Bernalillo. In addition, students were asked to provide information on their family stories of immigration, where they consider home, and what they learned from this project, be it from the project itself, or from interviewing an elder.

Sofia and Ana expressed concern that they no longer have elders in their families in which to interview. After some individual discussion, they were encouraged to tell their own stories, as they may now be elders in their families. All participants wrote their stories and presented them throughout the second week of class. The stories presented a number of
experiences that overlapped with regard to kinship relations, especially with families and their connection to the communities of the Rio Puerco Valley in northwestern New Mexico.

Most participants, including Juan, Elena, Rosa, Sofia, Maria, Ana, and Lourdes discussed their families’ early beginnings in relation to New Mexico, particularly Bernalillo and the Rio Puerco Valley communities of Guadalupe, San Luis, La Jara, Cabezón, and Cuba. Juan stated:

I come from two families that were from Bernalillo and kinda two different walks of life, I think. My dad was brought up in the sawmill area, his dad had a job there [at the sawmill], moved there from San Luis in the 40s and he always thought that my mom from the Bosque was well off and rich cause they used to go and jump the fences to pick the fruit or whatever it was there in the Bosque but they thought they had money. The Bosque and the sawmill, literally a ditch separates them and it was a different way of thinking, I guess.

Elena spoke about her ancestral ties to the Rio Puerco Valley stating:

The way mom described her childhood there [Guadalupe, NM], I think she was 10 or 12 years old before they came to Bernalillo and their life in Guadalupe was relatively rough. It was like down to the core, you know water was scarce, and food was scarce and it was a very hard life. Mom didn’t often talk much about poverty but I interpret it that a lot of people there did live in poverty and mom went to school. My mom’s family came to Bernalillo when my grandmother became very sick, she had rhueamatory [sic] arthritis to the extreme where she became, she couldn’t walk anymore. It was in the early 1940s when they bought property in Bernalillo and he moved the family here so that
grandma can go to the doctor and also so that my mom and her sisters could go to school 'cause going to school in Guadalupe was hard.

Rosa also noted her paternal relatives eventually moved to Guadalupe in the Rio Puerco Valley. She stated:

Ojo del Padre was the original name of Guadalupe and that was the place to be because the soil was very fertile and they had vegetables in abundance and such, but to a limit because it was like, in the 1930s, Ojo del Padre was a spring and they made a dam off that spring out of stones and sticks and wood and that’s how they would raise their crops and it was very fruitful and they would exchange and barter with the surrounding communities. Bernalillo and Albuquerque would go to them and exchange what they needed and then they would go to the Jemez Pueblo to get their corn grinded and of course they would exchange. The only thing that wasn’t exchanged with Jemez was chile because they grew their own and there was peace between them and Jemez. And then, every family would take a turn to take care of the dam on a weekly basis and apparently it was cold and the one that was in charge of taking care of the dam, they started a fire to keep warm. Well the fire caught the dam on fire which destroyed the dam and destroyed Guadalupe because it became a desert. They would pray for rain and they would punish the saints by putting them in the wall or something and they wouldn’t take them out until they would get rain or something. In 1934, the Grazing Act came and the government initiated that to start giving BLM permits and it wasn’t free range anymore so each family had a permit of so many animals. Well if they exceeded that amount of animals,
they would corral them, shoot them, and drag them to the Rio Puerco which made them angry and they felt alienated by the government. They couldn’t understand why they weren’t helping them, they were hurting them, so then it got worse and worse and it was hard to make a living. Yes they were poor, but they were happy. They would always visit each other and the ones that relocated, some of elders felt rich because they were in a close-knit community.

Sofia shared her story discussing her paternal family stating:

My grandpa was from San Miguel, by Cuba and my grandma was from San Luis. We would drive up there every weekend so we’d go out there on a Saturday or Sunday. Let me go back, so my grandma would tell us stories of when she was, her and her biological sister and brother, when they were in their early teens, her dad would send them to Bernalillo to get the monthly supplies. It would take them three or four days to return depending on the weather. They’d spend the night here [Bernalillo] and then head back to San Luis. My grandpa worked with the New Mexico Timber in Cañon. He and his brothers were able to buy some property in the Cocinitas [Bernalillo]. With that, my grandpa transferred to work in Bernalillo and he actually worked in the Molino.

Lourdes also noted on her family immigration story that her grandparents “met when they were both working as chile pickers on the Sandia Reservations [sic]” showing a population that was employed to pick local crops that settled in Bernalillo. Ana also shared her story stating:

My Grandma was born in La Ventana [near Cuba, NM] and also her brother, the [surname] in Cuba, he used to have a mine in San Miguel way back in the
day, but uh, she married my grandpa [name], and they lived in San Ysidro for many years, and at that time, I don’t know what he did before that, but I know that he did help build the tunnels in Gilman while they were living in San Ysidro. They had a lot of property in the area, and he also was a farmer. They later moved to Bernalillo when my mom was in grade school and junior high, and he did work for the lumber company here in Bernalillo while they lived here.

These sentiments hint at an economic hierarchy that economically subjugated rural Nuevomexicano families with the rise of Anglo-American political, economic, and social dominance of the region (Gómez, 2007; Holtby, 2012; Montgomery, 2002; Vigil, 1998; Zazula, 2014). In some cases, families were forced to move to larger urban areas to find employment, including Bernalillo. Barrera (1979) and Holtby (2012) provide a background for this migration around New Mexico stating that Nuevomexicanos were economically exploited by Anglo-Americans in a way that dispossessed them of their lands. As a result, families were forced to move to larger urban areas in search of work, thus creating a subjugated, colonized workforce. Locally, many families from the Rio Puerco Valley moved to Bernalillo, as it became a “boom” town with White Pine Timber Company opening in the community on September 1, 1924 (Abousleman, 1976; Liebert, 2021; Stanley, 1964). A former worker at the sawmill recalled being paid 20 cents per hour and working for more than 10 hours per day, which resulted in a strike by the exploited workers. It is said that working conditions were also very unfavorable (Abousleman, 1976).

**New Mexico and Migration.** Throughout the course, participants frequently spoke about places in New Mexico and their connection to those places. Communities mostly
located in the northern part of the state were mentioned, with the most family connections to the Rio Puerco Valley. Communities mentioned in discussions, assignments, and reflections included Blanco, Cabezón, Ojo del Padre/ Guadalupe, Cuba, Alameda, the Bosque (Bernalillo), Corrales, Ponderosa, Barelas (Albuquerque), Llanito (Bernalillo), La Jara, Peña Blanca, San Luis, San Miguel, Seboyeta, Placitas, Algodones, La Ventana, Santa Cruz, Alamogordo, Carlsbad, and La Cueva. Perhaps students in the class viewed immigration and its recent negative connotations with illegal immigration (Garcia, 2003; Martinez et al., 2021; Pérez Huber, 2010). Participants may not view themselves and their families as associated with Mexico or illegal immigration and view New Mexico as their homeland (Carlson, 1990; Espinosa, 1985; Nostrand, 1992).

Rosa and Pablo discussed their paternal ancestries and their connections to Mexico, but both quickly pivoted and began to discuss their movements and migrations around New Mexico, which can be seen below. All other participants discussed familial connections to Spain and then eventual movement in New Mexico, and final settlement in Bernalillo.

**Spain, Mexico, and Immigration.** As can be seen above, participants widely referred to New Mexico as a homeland, or as their patria chica (Anaya, 2020). In some cases, as can be seen below, some participants discussed Mexican ancestry in their families, but very little elaboration followed. Rosa discussed her paternal ancestors during the family immigration story saying, “They were born in Jalisco, Mexico which is really interesting and I couldn’t find my grandmother, who he married, so I ran into a roadblock there. It’s funny because his name was [first name] de Jesus [surname] and that sounds exactly like a Mexico name, how they say”. Perhaps Rosa referred to a “Mexico name” emphasizing the “de Jesus”
portion of her grandfather’s name, thus compartmentalizing the Mexicano and Nuevomexicano surnames to which she is familiar.

Pablo shared his family immigration story highlighting that his paternal great-great grandparents “on my dad’s side were both born in Ojinaga, Mexico in the late 1890’s and moved to Carlsbad New Mexico [sic] sometime around the 1920’s. They moved to Carlsbad because my great great [sic] grandfather got a job opportunity to work there”. He then discussed his maternal family saying, “on my mom’s side what I could find about my great great [sic] grandfather was that his family has been in New Mexico for generations, but my great great [sic] grandmother’s family was from Canada and she was born in Pagosa Spring Colorado [sic] and moved to New Mexico shortly after to Santa Cruz”.

Ana added, “I was wondering, because a lot of people from New Mexico don’t like to relate to themselves as being Mexican especially up north. You say something about their ancestors being from Mexico and they say ‘no way’. They don’t want to admit it or um, you know, what their true ancestry is”. The quick pivot from Mexicano ancestry to migration around New Mexico by Pablo and Rosa show how Nuevomexicanos sometimes distance themselves from being Mexican (Valdes, 1997; Gonzales, 1993).

Most participants spoke about familial ancestry tied to Spain. Only Rosa, and Pablo spoke of a connection to Mexico. Historically, after the fall of Mexico-Tenochtitlán in 1521, seventy-seven years passed before Juan de Oñate’s party settled in northern New Mexico. In addition, after the Pueblo Revolt in 1680, Nuevomexicanos returned in 1692, which is 171 years after Cortés overthrew the Aztec Empire in 1521. This time period allowed for intermarriage, cultural mixing, and syncretism between Indigenous and European people. Many of these people made the trek north to eventually settle in New Mexico. This hesitancy
to acknowledge, or even research Mexican ancestry may further speak to issues of illegal immigration, citizenship, and pigmentocracy (Telles & Flores, 2014). In Latin America, issues of color and pigmentocracies are prevalent and as migrants come to the United States, they also encounter these issues. Combined with negative connotations of illegal immigration, citizenship, color, and indigeneity, Nuevomexicanos may veer away from identifying with dark-skinned Latinos and the countries from which they come, including Mexico.

Interestingly, participants spoke widely about ancestral connections to Spain throughout the course. Juan, Maria, Lourdes, Ana, Sofia, and Rosa spoke about connections to Spain in their family immigration stories. Juan stated, “my grandma [first name] was [surname] and those ones came from Spain because they were persecuted Jews that left Spain and came here”. Maria shared a lengthy family history that was compiled for her maternal family stating that her Spanish ancestors were originally from the Seboyeta area near Laguna Pueblo and later moved to Ojo del Padre/Guadalupe. Lourdes wrote in her family immigration story, “My Grandmother, [name], was born in 1936 in Guadalupe, NM. She was the second born of five girls. In the 1940s my grandmother moved from Guadalupe to Bernalillo. It is believed that my grandmothers [sic] family originated in Spain, coming to Mexico, or New Spain in the 1690s then eventually migrated to New Mexico with one of the DeVarges [sic] colonization’s [sic] by 1695”. Further, Lourdes contacted an aunt asking her where their family was from. Her aunt answered, “oh, we’re European. That’s where it kinda came from, the ‘no, we’re Spaniard, we’re European’”. This may reflect an effort to promote European, Anglo-American ancestry and a move away from any mention of Mexican ancestry (Johnson, 1997, 2000; Plasencia, 1999; Acuña, 1972; Gonzalez, 1969).
No/Missing Codes

This study utilized deductive coding. I coded verbal and non-verbal body language, in addition to what participants said in class and what they wrote in their assignments. I analyzed what animated participants, what moved them, and what motivated them with regard to the curriculum enough for them to react in any way. I did not account for missing codes, and in this case, I did not anticipate topics where there was no reaction, either verbal or non-verbal. For example the following topics produced no measurable reactions, since students remained stoic and did not respond: Cortes’ overthrow of the Aztecs, casta system, Coronado/conquistador timelines, Bernalillo education timeline, origins of the Matachines, Bernalillo Matachines history timeline, and the Treaty of Guadalupe videos and discussion. During many of these lectures, students can be seen taking notes as well.

It appears that the commonality between all of these topics is that most were presented as lectures from me to the students. In addition, most topics that produced little reaction were also presented as timelines with very little opportunities to grapple with the content. Most of the topics involved historical timelines and perhaps the lack of interaction with the content resulted from topics that happened long ago and students possibly became disinterested in the topics. This could be because of the time that has elapsed since those events occurred, or a flaw in my teaching in that I did not provide opportunities for more engagement or I did not create activities that asked them to spend more time with the topics. The topics may have been viewed as “far away” in distance and time.

“This Course Is Needed At BHS Because We Also Have A Culture”: The Interviews

As mentioned above, this study aims to address the following research questions:
1) How do Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos react to a critical curriculum that addresses how race, class, power, and identity impact Nuevomexicano language, history and culture, with emphasis on the Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs?

2) What aspects of the critical curriculum do Nuevomexicanos find positive and negative for future high school instruction?

3) What aspects of the curriculum would Nuevomexicanos revise?

As seen in this chapter Nuevomexicanos reacted to the critical pilot curriculum unit in various ways. They shared personal stories, laughed, cried, and showed great pride in cultural traditions, especially the Matachines. Race, class, and power provided critical lenses that allowed participants to react to course content in a way that emphasized intercultural syncretism between Nuevomexicanos, Anglo-Americans, Native Americans, and Mexicanos. During follow-up interviews and the course evaluation form, I sought to gauge what participants found positive and negative for high school instruction, and well as what aspects of the curriculum they would revise.

Pablo reflected on the course and discussed the evening we addressed the Oñate and De Vargas statues. He stated, “those are important for our culture, even though others see it as offensive”. He stated that the course was interesting highlighting the readings and family stories. He would recommend that people his age take the course. With regard to high school instruction, he feels that it is important to offer the course, as it describes our traditions in a way that is important so we do not lose them. He also stated that he feels that discussing race “can be touchy sometimes”.
Elena stated that the course was enriching, enlightening and suggested the course be offered locally and should be open to all students and that more attention be given to non-Nuevomexicano students for “inclusiveness”. She particularly enjoyed sharing stories, group work and hearing other peoples’ stories “prompted my own thinking and sharing”. She stated that she looked forward to the class and “it makes me wish [taking the class] was earlier in my career” and that this type of curriculum “is a major fit with our community”.

Lourdes noted that the structure of the course connected saying “I learned more about myself. I didn’t know a lot of history”. She states the curriculum should be offered locally “especially for Bernalillo residents”. Although Bernalillo High School currently offers a Native American Studies course, she sees the value in a Nuevomexicano curriculum that is inclusive because “Hispanics and Native Americans [at Bernalillo High School] are disjointed”. She enjoyed the approach that emphasized equitable participation (Chapin et al., 2003) and that there was no wrong answer. She reflected, “I like it all. It could’ve been [offered] for way longer. This course is needed at BHS because we also have a culture. Something like this could build unity ’cause we don’t have it at all”.

Sandra appreciated the “fun and creative curriculum” and she particularly enjoyed the family immigration stories. She encouraged offering the curriculum to high school students and suggested adding field trips. She stated that during and after the evening we spoke about the Mexicano Matachines, she “was very sad. Our Nuevomexicano culture is anti-Mexicano” hoping that this type of curriculum could “open a lot of eyes in that we’re a part of Mexico-the people, culture and place”. She also noted that if offered at the secondary level, the Oñate “stuff” would have to be carefully planned to avoid creating conflict and “us versus them” in the schools.
Ana stated that the course flowed, was nicely organized, and that she was challenged in her thinking. She feels that the course should be offered locally for those with “roots in the area. Why the fiestas take place. It gives people a sense of belonging in the community. A sense of where I belong”. Regarding revisions, Ana stated, “I’m not Catholic anymore. It may be a hindrance if you have parents who are [not Catholic] who might not allow it. But it’s part of the community. Schools only touch on, like Anglo. No details on Mexico or Spain. For me, I wasn’t interested in that early in the class, but in the end I could see how it all plays together, where we got all this from”.

Rosa said that the course was “interesting and uplifting to really get to know our culture.” She also stated that she was “starving to learn all that I could”. Regarding the course, she suggested, “all of it [should be offered in the schools]. The immigration story, history of Matachines, who they are, where they come from, with the Matachines how we have interculture. All of [the various version of Matachines] are beautiful”. She went on:

The course was right on point and target. Intercultures, how we are becoming integrated, food, how we got here, dances, similarities, we’re all connected.

Growing up we were poor, we had to change or hide because of Anglo power.

Senator [Beveridge] where he thought we were at the bottom, not true, our tradition is strong.

Regarding any revisions to the curriculum, Rosa stated that the information about Cortes and Oñate may be offensive. She enjoyed the family immigration story and the details regarding the Matachines. She feels that “our culture is fading and we need to educate since our ancestors are dying so that we can continue our traditions. If we as adults experienced this, the youngsters will benefit”.

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Sofia enjoyed the old documents, the audio files of the Matachines velorios, the songs, and the family immigration story. She strongly recommends offering the course at Bernalillo High School stating, “the Town is a goldmine for culture, traditions, and history”. She feels the course offered a “good mixture of everyone, different races and cultures. It took everybody to make what we have now, especially our Town”. She feels that it is important for youth to know our history. She felt that the class could go on for longer than the four weeks but that “it brings back memories. It was great. It was educational ‘cause we forget. There’s no place like home”.

Maria stated at the end of the course, “it has been a wonderful four weeks”. She enjoyed interviewing her aunts and uncles and that they enjoyed being interviewed as well. She stated, “it opened my eyes a little more on how people think of us and differences in how to identify different languages, and now I wanna learn more”. Regarding the curriculum, she believes it is important to teach our youth about these topics because “the whole class was well put together. Racism is wide open now. What opened my eyes were the articles on what other people write about us. All of us are proud”.

Finally, Juan stated that he was challenged to want to learn more. He went on, “I like how we started before the Matachines with the clash between Nuevomexicanos and Native Americans. It’s still happening. I felt like I didn’t have to choose a side. I always thought I was just a Spanish guy, then I look at it now and that’s not really what I am”. He felt that the course should be offered locally stating, “so many of our young people don’t know about Bernalillo. It’s just a place they live. They don’t realize there is so much history. You go through self-discovery, then you start asking family questions”. He stated that the interviews were enjoyable because he appreciates all that his ancestors did, “it made me feel like gente.
I’m looking forward to this year’s Fiestas. This is so important to the community. The class was so emotionally rewarding, I felt like I was a part of a clique. I feel like I want to be part of the Matachines and I’ve never felt like that before”.

Participant reflections provide valuable feedback in their support for offering a critical curriculum unit in our local schools. All participants agreed that a similar course and content should be offered to maintain cultural traditions, to provide students the opportunity to see themselves in the curriculum, and to begin repairing historical differences between Nuevomexicanos and Native Americans. The participants clearly enjoyed the course, and the only suggestions on revisions centered on the issues regarding the conquistadores. This is perhaps because of the timing of the class offering and the recent events of statue removals. Students particularly felt that learning about the family is important, as most voiced the enjoyment of interviewing an elder in their family. This provided an opportunity to gather important family stories and the ability to visit with elders who continue to possess the knowledge necessary to ensure cultural and linguistic survival in Bernalillo for generations to come.
Chapter 6

Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations

“Ay vienen, here they come” a family member states. I, a young child seated along the sidewalk of Camino del Pueblo in Bernalillo, anxiously await them. I am gathered with family and friends, some who have come back from far away places, some whose families have lived in this small community in New Mexico since the times of the Spanish conquistadores. In the distance, gunshots are heard, marking the mysteries of the Catholic rosary. Four young boys pass in front of the procession, beating a drum, mirroring our neighboring Native American Pueblo traditions. Someone finally shouts “There they are!” Children, fearing the Toro, dash to the comfort of a parent’s arms, or of a locked car. A feeling comes to the stomach, not of nervousness, but of excitement. The feeling is difficult to explain but felt every August when the procession nears. The crowd gathered on Main Street hushes to catch a glimpse of their history. All turn to see two groups of masked dancers, waving wooden tridents in a figure eight and pulsing rattles.

The wispy sound of the rattles beating in unison to the fast-paced melody of the fiddle and guitar accompaniment fills the hot August air. The dancers, wearing mitre hats with ribbons of every color, perform a fast skip step; continue in the ways of our ancestors. Several minutes pass, as do the dancers. Behind them, the people of Bernalillo carry their beloved patron San Lorenzo to his Santuario. In a few minutes, everything has passed, leaving only the sounds of gunshots, drums, rattles and prayers—memories which for the rest of my life have left a thumbprint on my mind and my heart.”

The excerpt above was written as part of my senior thesis at Colorado College in 2005. At the time, I reflected on my earliest memories of watching the Matachines as a young child. I grew up watching the Matachines and became intrigued with the dance and the Fiestas. The Fiestas meant family, food, and Matachines. I always looked forward to gathering with family and friends on Main Street to watch the dancers. I grew up with a reverence and awe of the dancers, so much so that I begged my dad to make a child-sized cupil and palma so that I could “practice”. He carved a trident out of wood, painted it, and my mom took me to a local fabric shop so that we could find flowers to decorate my palma. I chose turquoise and peach flowers. For my cupil, my dad cut a picture of Jesus from his
grandmother’s Bible and glued it to the front of my cupil. I would spend many afternoons in July and August dancing around the yard. Sometimes when cousins would visit, especially the females, I would assume the Monarca role and force them to be my Malinches. Red-faced and breathing heavily, I would re-enact the dances that were so awe-inspiring, frequently telling my Malinche “vamos!” I would whisk her away, performing a double skip, as she pleaded for me to stop. This interest in becoming part of this tradition prompted me to join as an adult years later. It inspired a passion to continue the study of our dance, its symbolism, meanings, and interpretations to the present times.

**Summary of the Study**

This dissertation investigates how adult Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos react to a pilot curriculum unit that critically examines how race, class, and power impact Nuevomexicano identity. The Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs present an opportunity to examine identity, culture, language, and traditions critically. In order to gauge how participants reacted to the critical pilot curriculum, I created a four-week unit that examined Nuevomexicano identity and its intersection with historical events such as the occupation of Tenochtitlán by Cortés, the ensuing Spanish casta system used to classify people, and conquistador occupations in New Mexico by Coronado, Oñate, and Diego de Vargas. Additional topics included the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, New Mexico statehood, and Los Matachines and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo. Throughout the course, I gathered data from the course demographic sheet, participant observation, class notes, class discussions, activities, and assignments. In addition, students were asked to complete a course evaluation form at the conclusion of the course. Finally, I conducted individual interviews after the conclusion of the course. Utilizing Critical Race Theory
(CRT) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), I analyzed the data in an attempt to explore how class participants reacted to the curriculum content. Prior to creating the curriculum unit, I first reviewed the literature with regard to the history of New Mexico in relation to Nuevomexicano identity. Events within the history of New Mexico formed a foundation in which to build a critical pilot curriculum unit unique to Bernalillo in relation to its customs, traditions, history, and language along with providing a critical lens for Nuevomexicanos to explore issues surrounding their identities.

**Research Questions**

This study aimed to address the following research questions:

1) How do Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos react to a critical curriculum that addresses how race, class, power, and identity impact Nuevomexicano language, history and culture, with emphasis on the Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs?

2) What aspects of the critical curriculum do Nuevomexicanos find positive and negative for future high school instruction?

3) What aspects of the curriculum would Nuevomexicanos revise?

**Review of Emergent Themes**

Data for this study illuminated four themes based on participant observation, semi-structured follow-up interviews, course assignment/activities, and the course evaluation. The emergent themes were class/power/gender, Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity, Spanish heritage language, and Querencia. The class/power/gender theme identified three sub-themes including hierarchies, socioeconomic status, and views of gender in the Matachines. The Bernalillo Nuevomexicano section highlighted six sub-themes including nomenclatures,
mixed identities, ethnic pride, family, and religion, “us vs. them”, and culture. The Spanish heritage language theme discussed three sub-themes including bilingualism, language denigration, and name pronunciation. Finally, the Querencia theme identified three sub-themes including place, agriculture, and water, New Mexico and migration, and Spain, Mexico and immigration.

**Review of the Findings**

Utilizing Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit), I was interested in how multiple forms of oppression can intersect with the lives of People of Color and how those intersections manifest in daily experiences (Pérez Huber, 2010). In addition, Latino experiences with regard to immigration, language, identity, and customs provided fruitful avenues in which to analyze the data (Pérez Huber, 2010; Montoya, 1999; Solorzano and Bernal, 2001; Trucios-Haynes, 2001) as they intersect with Bernalillo Nuevomexicano contexts. Specifically, LatCrit and CRT scholarship provided crucial lenses in which to analyze the data associated with intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; López et al., 2018), lateral oppression (Blanton, 2006; Garcia, 1995; Freire, 1970) false consciousness (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009; McWilliams, 1961) immigration (Garcia, 2003; Johnson, 1997, 2000; Martinez et al., 2021; Pérez Huber, 2010;), citizenship status (Blanton, 2006; Plasencia, 1999), religion (Bacalski-Martinez, 1979; Montoya, 1998; Park et al., 2020), language (Burciaga, 1992; Montoya, 2000; Valdes, 1997; Zoch & He, 2020), and culture (Bacalski-Martinez, 1979; Blanton, 2006; Martinez et al., 2021; Valdes, 1997; Yosso, 2005). How did class participants react to the course content? What aspects of the curriculum did they find positive and negative for high school instructions? What portions of the curriculum
would they revise? How do these questions intersect with Nuevomexicano identity? I review and summarize each theme below in order to answer these questions.

**Class, Power, Gender**

Discussions and activities designed to gauge student reactions to class, power, and gender included the Four Squares exercise, traditional foods, and women in the Matachines dance illuminated how participants view these topics. In their drawings on how they interpreted race, class, power, and identity, students mostly viewed Anglo-Americans as possessors of wealth and power. On the other hand, Nuevomexicanos were positioned lower than Anglo-Americans within an economic hierarchy. Some associated light skin, blonde hair and blue eyes with wealth and power. This hierarchy became a focal point again during discussions about traditional Nuevomexicano cuisine. Students often told stories that some of their elder family members were embarrassed to bring tortillas, beans, and chile to eat to school. They were often ridiculed and resorted to hiding their food for fear of feeling inferior to those who had the means to bring white bread sandwiches to eat for lunch. Hierarchical positioning of Nuevomexicanos beneath Anglo-Americans can be associated with subjugation and assimilation. The stories students shared illuminate how they grappled with these complex topics. In addition, the subjugation of women also arose through discussion of women’s roles in the Matachines dance. The individuals who believed that women should not assume positions within the tradition that are typically reserved for men were women. They claimed that the dance would change dramatically, with some saying that it would take away from the religiosity of the dance.
Bernalillo Nuevomexicano Identity

Elements of the Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity became evident as students engaged in course activities and discussions. Major tenets of this identity can be seen in how students reacted to the course content as it pertained to nomenclatures, relationships with Native Americans, Mexicanos, and Anglo-Americans. In addition, identity was constructed around the Matachines tradition as an expression of culture in general.

Regarding identity and preferred use of nomenclatures, the Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos in the class most often associated with Hispanic, Hispano, Spanish, Chicano, and Nuevomexicano. The most widely used term was Nuevomexicano, followed by Hispanic, Hispano, Spanish, and Chicano, respectively. It appeared that these terms may be synonymous for participants, as they interchanged uses between most nomenclatures. The use of Chicano was widely discussed, as five students identified with the term. Further, when students were asked to engage in a second round of the activity, only one student ranked American at the top of her list.

Through several activities and discussions, students expressed pride in several elements in their lives. Students often spoke about the Sandia Mountains, family, the Bosque community, food, faith/religion, and symbols of the State of New Mexico including the Zia Sun symbol. Further, students expressed great pride in agricultural practices, the American flag, experiences in educational institutions, Cabezón peak in the Rio Puerco Valley, music, Matachines, water, and the Church. Finally, all students expressed ethnic pride in Bernalillo, its families, customs and traditions, and the Matachines dance and Fiestas de San Lorenzo.

During the course, participants often spoke negatively of Native Americans, Mexicanos, and Anglo-Americans. In some cases, participants exhibited microaggressions
aimed at Native Americans, especially during discussions of conquistadores and removal of their statues around the state. Microaggressions continued toward Mexicanos when differing versions of the Mexicano Matachines and the local Bernalillo Matachines were mentioned as potentially joining together during the Fiestas de San Lorenzo. Clear territorial lines were drawn using the Matachines by Nuevomexicanos as a means in which to distance themselves from Mexicanos. On the other hand, microaffirmations using culture and language were used as a means to combat Anglo-American discrimination, especially when participants were shown derogatory statements made prior to New Mexico statehood in 1912.

When given the opportunity to view and discuss intercultural syncretism between racial and ethnic groups as seen in various Matachines traditions throughout the region, participants did not use microaggressions toward Native Americans. Rather, students expressed the beauty of Native American versions and often identified similarities between those versions and that of Bernalillo. Most students, however, did not draw the same parallels between Nuevomexicano and Mexicano versions of the dance.

**Spanish Heritage Language**

Assignments, activities, and discussions illuminated how the Spanish heritage language is portrayed in the lives of the class participants. Narratives provided a unique avenue in which to view the power of the English language that pressured Nuevomexicanos to assimilate to American culture by omitting Spanish from use in the home, at school, or both. Students often emphasized the bilingual nature of use, with pressures to speak only English, or at least to speak Spanish and English. The youngest members of the class expressed Spanish heritage language shift from Spanish-dominant elders to them being
monolingual English speakers, showing a fairly swift shift. However, the older members of the class emphasized bilingualism and the contexts that each language is used.

Further, discussions and narratives gave a unique insight of Spanish language use, the dialectical ambivalence in vernacular language, racism, and physical punishment in local schools including the “moch” or “accent” Spanish that was denigrated. Students often referred to Spanish heritage language in their lives with names such as “moch”, slang, broken English, backwards language, or Nuevomexicano accent as if Nuevomexicano Spanish is less than that of other, more proper forms. Conversely, participants felt adamant that others pronounce their Spanish surnames correctly, with the “correct accent”.

**Querencia**

Students often expressed various forms of Querencia and attachment to place. As land-based people, issues of place, agriculture, water, immigration, and migration form the bedrock of a Bernalillo Nuevomexicano identity and its relationship to querencia. Students shared family stories of early connections to Bernalillo and the Rio Puerco Valley communities of Guadalupe, San Luis, La Jara, Cabezón, and Cuba. Participants shared their connections to the land through stories of migration around New Mexico with the culmination of how their families settled in Bernalillo. On one hand, most students spoke of New Mexico as their homeland and its connection to Spain as their motherland. On the other hand, most students did not speak of any connections to Mexico. When they did speak of ancestral ties to Mexico, they quickly pivoted to how their families migrated around New Mexico.
Missing Data

In my initial conceptualization of potential keywords and codes that would potentially arise during the class, I did not account for codes and keywords to which students had no reaction. I did not anticipate topics where there was no reaction, either verbal or non-verbal. For example, the following topics produced no measurable reactions, since students remained stoic and did not respond: Cortes’ overthrow of the Aztecs, casta system, Coronado/conquistador timelines, Bernalillo education timeline, origins of the Matachines, Bernalillo Matachines history timeline, and the Treaty of Guadalupe videos and discussion.

It appears that the commonality between all of these topics is that most were presented as lectures from me to the students. In addition, most topics that produced little reaction were also presented as timelines with very little opportunities to grapple with the content. Most of the topics involved historical timelines and perhaps the lack of interaction with the content resulted from topics that happened long ago and students possibly became disinterested in the topics. This could be because of the time that has elapsed since those events occurred, or a flaw in my teaching in that I did not provide opportunities for more engagement or I did not create activities that asked them to spend more time with the topics.

Interviews

As seen above, class participants reacted to the curriculum that addresses how race, class, power, and identity impact Nuevomexicano language, history and culture, with emphasis on the Bernalillo Matachines Dance, Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and associated customs in various ways. Follow-up interviews provided further clarification on how participants viewed aspects of the critical curriculum they found positive and negative for
future high school instruction. Further, they reflected on aspects of the curriculum they would revise.

All students suggested that the curriculum unit taught to them should be taught at Bernalillo High School. Some participants felt that it is important to offer the course to local Nuevomexicano children in order to maintain traditions. Other students stressed the importance of incorporating more ethnic and racial groups to maintain inclusivity. In addition, one student shared that an inclusive curriculum could identify similarities between Mexicanos and Nuevomexicanos to avoid an “us versus them” environment at school. Some students stated that they learned a lot about themselves and their families, in addition to similarities between Nuevomexicanos and Native Americans. Students also reflected on topics that they would revise, or at least give more attention if taught at the high school level. Those included the topic of race, the “Oñate stuff”, which is perhaps discussions about conquistadores, and careful attention to religion so that parents and others do not draw parallels with the Matachines tradition and teaching religion in schools.

Limitations

This study utilized a pilot curriculum to be revised before eventual implementation at a later date. In addition, the study only allows initially for adult participants. This allows adult community members to react to a critical curriculum unit as a first step in a larger study to be conducted later. At the completion of this study, and taking participants’ feedback and revising the curriculum, I plan on meeting with Bernalillo Public Schools Administration to discuss possible implementation in social studies, Spanish, New Mexico history, and similar courses. The unit will be provided to teachers along with all pertinent course materials and instruction in addition to professional development training on curriculum content. A
significant limitation of the study relates to the curriculum unit in that it was delivered over four weeks in the evenings, for 1.5 hours, with no instruction on Fridays to adults. On some days, we simply did not have enough time to delve deeper into some subjects. More time during individual days, and a longer duration should be considered in future planning. In addition, a key limitation to the study required participants to have access to the internet and have a device that can stream Zoom. If students did not have access, they were unable to participate in the course.

This study serves as a first attempt to create a critical Nuevomexicano pilot curriculum unit. It is designed to gauge adult reaction from Bernalillo community members, and will not be used to generalize to a larger Bernalillo, or Nuevomexicano population outside of the class. The case study approach allows for a clear four-week boundary for the case being analyzed, in addition to transferability. In this sense, transferability identifies “what ways understanding and knowledge can be applied to similar contexts and settings” (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 47) by identifying this pilot unit to serve as a foundation to future research with students. Finally, careful planning and adaptation of the curriculum must be conducted prior to instruction to include Mexicano perspectives, experiences, and migration patterns to New Mexico and the United States. This ensures that any inherent biases from instructors or collaborators be identified if they relegate Mexicano voices as second to those of Nuevomexicanos.

**Implications on Schooling**

This section addresses implications of the study on schooling and on the community. Regarding implications on community, Community Cultural Wealth (CCW), cultural liaisons, community voice, respect for diversity, shared histories, valuing cultural traditions,
interracial and interethnic relations merit attention. Working in tandem with community implications, the implications on schooling build on reversing microaggressions, emphasizing microaffirmations, focus on cultural and historical similarities and overlap between people, and inclusivity. Further, implications on schooling provide avenues in which to provide students the ability to see themselves in curriculum. A final version of the curriculum could build on that which is included in this study to implement a combination of critical ethnic studies, culturally relevant, culturally sustaining, and revitalizing pedagogy.

During the course, participants were given a space to share stories, interact with one another, and request additional materials. I was happy to provide an avenue for students to co-construct curriculum as the class progressed. Some of the topics that students requested more information, or offered to bring more materials to the subsequent sessions include, entrega de bautismos, velorios, family heirlooms, photos of buildings in Guadalupe, shared and overlapping genealogies, San Lorenzo Fiesta Mayordomo lists, Smithsonian Museum pictures of Los Matachines, and Las Mañanitas de San Lorenzo videos and lyrics.

By giving students the opportunity to share their community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) I was able to incorporate their interests and knowledge during the class (see Table 6 below). The class, with its many avenues in which to view identity and how participants reacted to it, offered many fruitful lines in which to view community cultural wealth including aspirational capital (I Am Poems, Matachines), linguistic capital (Spanish language, bilingualism, Matachines music and dance), and familial capital (kinship, family, Matachines). Additional examples included social capital (community contacts, Matachines), navigational capital (school systems, socioeconomic status), resistant capital (Matachines, culture) (Martinez et al., 2021; Yosso, 2005; Zoch & He, 2020), religious capital (Fiestas and
Matachines; Montoya, 1998; Park et al., 2020), ancestral capital (family immigration stories), ecological capital (querencia), and discursive capital (Matachines and associated customs) (Cuauhtin, 2019).

**Table 6**

*Elements of Community Cultural Wealth Seen in the Class*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Cultural Wealth</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspirational</td>
<td>“I A” poems, Matachines discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic</td>
<td>Spanish language use, bilingualism, Matachines music and dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familial</td>
<td>Kinship, family, Matachines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Community relations, Matachines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navigational</td>
<td>School systems, socioeconomic status, Four Squares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistant</td>
<td>Matachines, language, culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Fiestas, Matachines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestral</td>
<td>Family immigration stories, Identity drawings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological</td>
<td>Querencia, land, water, agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discursive</td>
<td>Matachines, customs, traditions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Concepts of community cultural wealth from Cuauhtin, 2019; Martinez et al., 2021; Montoya, 1998; Park et al., 2020; Yosso, 2005; and Zoch & He, 2020.

The ability to harness community cultural wealth that students bring from the home and community into schools can serve as powerful building blocks in which to view identity critically (Montoya, 1998), thus providing families and students voice that can enhance curriculum (Zoch & He, 2020). Identifying and collaborating with cultural liaisons in the community can further enhance instruction and learning in schools in that the school values the community cultural wealth of the region. This could potentially promote microaffirmations of culture, shared histories, and counter-narratives with an emphasis on respect for diversity, valuing cultural traditions, and avenues that explore positive interracial
and interethnic relationships (Bloomekatz, 2019; Fernández, 2019; Solórzano & Pérez Huber, 2020; Zamora & Valenzuela, 2019). This approach values an empathic approach to curriculum and schooling in a way that could potentially reverse the damaging effects of compartmentalizing students based on race and class, especially in a school such as Bernalillo High School. As we saw in chapter five, participants familiar with the daily operation of Bernalillo Schools voiced concern over a lack of understanding, unity, and empathy between racial groups at the school. This curricular approach allows community voice to enhance curriculum and learning in a way that is recognizable inside and outside of the classroom.

In addition, the critical pilot curriculum unit utilized in this study provides an avenue in which to combine approaches including ethnic studies, culturally relevant, culturally sustaining, and revitalizing curriculum. Culturally relevant curriculum allows students to critically analyze their unique identities and challenge inequities (Ladson-Billings, 1995). This approach, combined with culturally sustaining pedagogy allows for students to be at the forefront of guiding school systems to serve as mechanisms in which culture can be sustained, not eradicated, as we have seen in local schools in the past (Paris & Alim, 2017). Finally, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) present language ideology as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use (p. 57). Further, they state that language ideology addresses how “cultural frames have social histories and it signals a commitment to address the relevance of power relations to the nature of cultural forms and ask how essential meanings about language are socially produced as effective and powerful” (p. 58). Concerning this nature of power relations and how speakers of language utilize it in cases where New Mexico and Standard
Spanish is spoken and learned, it is important to understand how dialect and identity intersect for Nuevomexicanos, especially in schools. Because of language ideology and identity, New Mexico Spanish must be taught as a heritage language that merits revitalization in schools. Similar to language revitalization efforts in local Pueblo communities, New Mexico Spanish heritage language must be viewed as a language that needs to be re-taught in the community and re-learned in our schools. This gives the community a powerful voice and role in how language curriculum is implemented (Romero-Little, 2006; Sims, 2005; Pecos & Blum-Martinez, 2001; Blum-Martinez, 2000; Benjamin et al., 1996). As can be seen in the discussions regarding Spanish language and its association with “moch”, backwards, or incorrect that was voiced by class participants, in addition to them expressing the differences between local vernacular and other Latino groups, language ideology provides a unique lens in which to view and approach language learning.

**Implications on Community**

**Agency**

Although outside the scope of this study, I was cognizant of the potential for students to exert agency through this type of curriculum. I sought to analyze the opportunities for students to engage in agency after the course. Long-term goals associated with the critical content apply to agency and implementation in our local schools. In this course, students reflected on their experiences in the course and spoke about agency with regard to wanting to learn more about Nuevomexicano culture, digging deeper into family histories (Sleeter, 2019), teaching younger family members Spanish, offering the curriculum at Bernalillo High School, and interest in more involvement in the Matachines and Fiestas.
For example, Rosa suggested this course be offered at Bernalillo High School as an on-going class. Lourdes and Elena noted that the course allowed them to gain a better understanding of our culture and that they are interested in learning more about Nuevomexicanos and our history, language, and culture. In reflections about their family immigration stories, Maria, Sandra, and Lourdes expressed interest in conducting more research on their family histories. Juan and Maria expressed interest in becoming more involved in the Matachines and Fiestas de San Lorenzo. Maria stated, “I have always wanted to be a Mayordoma. Maybe when I retire”. The Mayordomo position is the most important position in the Matachines and Fiestas, as they serve as the caretakers of the saint throughout the year. Sofia showed agency within the class, as she expressed her deep identification with Spain in early discussions and activities in the class. During reflections in weeks three and four, she referred to Nuevomexicanos and Native Americans stating, “people think we are so different, but we are not. We are so much alike, but nobody wants to admit it”.

Many pioneering educators have worked passionately on measures to educate our children. Culturally and linguistically relevant curriculum provide such examples as seen in the fight for bilingual education in the state. The recent work by Blum Martinez and Habermann López (2020) describes important work by many in the state to continue the fight for bilingual education, Indigenous education, political struggles, and inspiring the next generation of leaders. It is now up to a new generation of educators to recognize “the shoulders we stand on” and advance educational policy and praxis through a coalition and collaboration between educators and community scholars. Agency and microaffirmations provide ways in which curriculum can serve as a vehicle in which to recognize similarities between groups, rather than differences. With these lenses, we can utilize narratives, counter-
narratives, and community cultural wealth in order to create a deluge so powerful, that the metaphorical umbrella that protects hegemonic alliances cannot withstand the pressure, and ultimately buckles due to the massive weight of Nuevomexicanos and Native American peoples’ stories and shared histories. In addition to shared histories, counter-stories and narratives are heard in schools and the community through careful, critical analysis of our individual, familial, communal, and collective identities within and across racial and ethnic lines. Lastly, Ross (1989) describes interracial and ethnic relations that are very fitting in this school and community, as he states, “mitakuye oyasin, we are all related”.

**Recommendations**

This study only allowed initially for adult participants since schools were closed in January 2022 due to COVID-19. This allowed adult community members to react to a critical curriculum unit as a first step in a larger study to be conducted later. At the completion of this study, and taking participants’ feedback and revising the curriculum, I plan on meeting with Bernalillo Public Schools Administration to discuss possible implementation in social studies, Spanish, New Mexico history, and similar courses. The unit will be provided to teachers along with all pertinent course materials and instruction in addition to professional development training on curriculum content. A significant limitation of the study relates to the curriculum unit in that it was delivered over four weeks in the evenings, for 1.5 hours, with no instruction on Fridays to adults. On some days, we simply did not have enough time to delve deeper into some subjects. More time during individual days, and a longer duration should be considered in future planning.

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members, and will not be used to generalize to a larger Bernalillo, or Nuevomexicano population outside of the class. The case study approach allowed for a clear four-week boundary for the case being analyzed, in addition to transferability. In this sense, transferability identifies “what ways understanding and knowledge can be applied to similar contexts and settings” (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 47) by identifying this pilot unit to serve as a foundation to future research with students.

Currently, Bernalillo High School offers a Native American Studies course. Although school staff mention that course enrollment is open to all students, not just Native Americans, future collaboration with students and staff must gauge how many non-Native students enroll in the course and the reasons why they enroll in the course in addition to students who choose not to enroll. In addition, on a District-level, the Indian Education department works with Native American students on various k-12 initiatives, including post-secondary options. A Hispanic Education department does not exist within the District, and Hispanic students are relegated to Bilingual Education initiatives. Collaboration and advocacy by community members must stress the importance of creating Raza Studies classes and a department that works collaboratively with Indian Education and Native American Studies classes. In addition to these strategies, it is important to include Mexicano history as it pertains to migration to the United States, especially in the 1920s as many Mexicanos entered the United States seeking work in Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and California (Donato, 2007). Curriculum topics that seek to analyze how Anglo-Americans have historically perceived Mexicanos and Nuevomexicanos as the same, even on insistence by Nuevomexicanos of their differences, must be included in order to identify self and imposed identity creation (Donato, 2007). These strategies embrace the identification of discussing interracial and
intraracial similarities and differences in a way that is inclusive. Future research could potentially study student outcomes (test scores, absenteeism, graduation rates, disciplinary actions) with students who are enrolled in these courses against those who are not enrolled.

The New Mexico Public Education Department (PED) recently sought public input into its newly-revised k-12 social studies standards. Important aims in revising the prior standards included creating curriculum that was culturally and linguistically-relevant for students across the state. According to its website, the PED lists next steps to include working with local school districts, teachers, and communities to develop localized curriculum to reflect the new standards. The curriculum I deployed during my study and a future revised version has the potential to address each of the anchor standards including those in grades nine through 12 in civics, economics/personal financial literacy, geography, history, ethnic/cultural/identity studies, and inquiry.

For example, key concepts and ideas in my unit pertain to anchor standards in civics in standards one (civic and political institutions), two (processes/rules/laws), three (civic dispositions/democratic principles), and four (roles/responsibilities of a civic life). Key concepts and ideas in my unit pertain to anchor standards in economics/personal financial literacy in standards seven (economic systems and models), and eight (money and markets). In addition, key concepts and ideas in my unit pertain to anchor standards in geography standards 11 (geographic representation and reasoning), 12 (location, place, and region), 13 (movement, population, and systems), and 14 (human-environmental interactions and sustainability). Further, key concepts and ideas in my unit pertain to anchor standards in history in standards 15 (historical change, continuity, context, and reconciliation), 16 (cause and consequence), 17 (historical thinking), 18 (critical consciousness and perspectives), and
19 (power dynamics, leadership, and agency). Also, key concepts and ideas in my unit pertain to anchor standards in ethnic, cultural, and identity studies in standards 20 (diversity and identity), 21 (identity in history), and 22 (community equity building). Finally, key concepts and ideas in my unit pertain to anchor standards in inquiry in standards 23 (construct compelling and supporting questions), 24 (gather and evaluate sources), 25 (develop claims), 26 (communicate and critique conclusions), and 27 (take informed action).

**Behind the Fleco and Mascada**

I have been a ball of nervousness and excitement all morning. It is August 9 and I am excited about the first day of the Fiestas. We have been practicing since June to prepare for this fiesta, now the 326th annual fiesta in 2018. A small group of us met on Tuesdays and Thursdays in June with the Malinches to prepare them for the dance. We worked with them, especially on the portion of the dance where Malinche converts her father, Montezuma or Monarca, to Christianity. She takes his palma and guaje and led by Abuelo, converts her father to the new religion.

The first Sunday in July, the full Matachines group convenes at the home of the Mayordomos, the Prairies, of whom my family shares kinship relations. We process with the estampa of San Lorenzo to San Lorenzo Street to join the estampa with the santo viejo, or San Lorenzo Silva. We then practice every Sunday for an hour, as the most seasoned dancers perform the dance in its entirety. This is a wonderful time when we reunite as a community as family, friends, and neighbors attend. Starting August 1, we practice every day after reciting a daily novena. The novena, prayed in Spanish, tells us who we are as Bernalillo people. It tells us about our patron, San Lorenzo and how he was martyred. It tells us about our roles in ensuring the continuance of our promesas. We can’t talk about or describe our
promesas, or promises, to God through the intercession of San Lorenzo, but they are deeply religious, and never for ourselves. We make a promesa for a certain amount of years, to dance in honor of San Lorenzo, and to the glory of God, for graces asked or received. Our oral tradition tells us of a promesa that Diego de Vargas made in 1693 when returning to Bernalillo, that anyone returning that year was to celebrate August 10 by honoring San Lorenzo. The people, it is believed, were spared during the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, and they were to thank San Lorenzo by dancing. We brought the dance back to Bernalillo from El Realito de San Lorenzo near El Paso. We now connect to that promesa by making a personal vow.

By now, the excitement of the fiesta is palpable. The fiesta burger stands are setup on Main Street and Rotary Park now has tents, vendors, food, and bands playing our favorite Nuevomexicano music. Lowrider cars now ride low and slow through Main Street. Families now join to celebrate our heritage. Sometimes, the Sandoval County Sheriff’s Posse holds a parade. All of these secondary events, although integral to the entire fiesta, take a back seat however, to what is happening on Avenida Encantada, on the south side of Bernalillo Middle School. There, the jacal has been constructed, which is the outdoor shelter that the saints will reside during the fiesta. It is decorated beautifully this year, with purple and turquoise flowers, ribbons, and all the matching accoutrements imaginable. When we arrive at 1:30 p.m., the hot August air beats down, as we gather to begin the final novena. We say things to each other like “it’s hotter this year than last year”, or “tomorrow around town is gonna be a long procession”. We hug each other, shake hands, and ask each other “are you ready?”

At 2:00 p.m., our rezadores call all danzantes and the public to pray the last novena. As we sing and recite prayers, reality sets in with what I am about to do. I will participate in
the 326th Fiesta de San Lorenzo. My part, my promesa, are small in comparison to the years that this tradition has gone unbroken. As we recite my favorite prayer to Mary, there is a part that has always resonated with me, as it asks Mary, the mother of God, “Imaculada madre, virgen madre del criador, refugio del pecador, causa de nuestra alegría, vida mía mi alma se goza de verte, pongo en tus manos mis suerte, que me esperas en la última hora, favorézcame señora en el trance de mi Muerte.” The prayer continues, asking “Quien en esta casa da luz? Jesús. Quien la llena de alegría? María. Quien la abraza en el fe? José. Bien claro se ve que siempre abra contrición teniendo en el corazón a Jesús, María, y José”. We place our hands over our hearts as we affirm our belief in Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. We are called to the backyard and await instruction from the Monarcas to get dressed for the first dance of the fiesta.

When I first started, the now-retired Monarcas would yell “saddle up” to which the dancers of the fila or the most seasoned dancers perform. Now, as we are called to get ready, we usually help each other put on our cupiles, or headdresses. We would have already come to the home of the Mayoromos in black pants, white shirts, and usually a bandana on our heads in the hopes that it absorbs some sweat. The cupil is a very sacred object. It usually takes about two weeks to construct, and a handful of seamstresses are able to make them in the community. The Bernalillo style of the cupil places a picture of the dancer’s patron saint on the front with fleco (fringe) over the eyes, and a mascada (mask) covering the remainder of the face. The cupil is designed to maintain anonymity of the dancer. We become holy beings. We commune with a higher power for the fulfilment of our promesas. We cannot speak. We cannot drink water. We sacrifice for our promesas. The cupil, fleco, and mascada
allow us to transcend reality in order to ask God to fulfill our promesas through the intercession of San Lorenzo.

We complete the first dance and are fed supper by the Mayordomos. Many of us leave to eat with our families. When we return, we prepare for the first procession where we take the saints to the Santuario de San Lorenzo. Many events have so much meaning and feeling that I get emotional several times throughout the fiesta. For example on August 9, during the procession to the Santuario, I see many family members and friends watching us dance along Main Street and they look at me with pride. I wave my guaje at them as a blessing and acknowledgement and continue praying. When the procession nears the church, the bells begin to ring and your adrenaline carries you to finish. I cannot help but get emotional seeing my family members watching the procession.

On the second day, at the end of mass, we dance la promesa dance in the church. We dance out of the church and immediately dance in procession back to the home of the Mayordomos. I usually cry during this moment as both filas, sometimes hundreds of us, dance in complete silence. Dancing shoulder-to-shoulder with my brothers and sisters, the only thing I hear is skipping feet. We are all united in a common tradition. An overwhelming feeling comes to the heart that you are living history. I am doing my part to continue our traditions. I am dancing for my promesa. Sometimes Native American neighbors will watch the procession and cup their hands to their faces in reverence, taking in the blessings they receive as we dance by. Through my fleco, I see family and friends again. They cannot see my face, but I can clearly see them. I pray for them. I pray for my community. I pray for those that I love.
After performing la danza again at 3:00 p.m. followed by another procession around the community, we have the velorio. It is an all-night watch where each dancer takes an hour time slot to watch, or guard the saint. The veteran dancers receive early times, as my time begins at 9:00 p.m. I recall times when I first started that I had to “velar” at 4:00 and 5:00 a.m. It was very difficult to stay awake at those times. As I’m in the jacal, we stand for an hour in front of the saint. During this time, we do not speak to each other. This is a time to reflect and pray. This year, I stayed until midnight because “Las Mananitas” are sung. A powerful line in the traditional song was changed by Mary Gauna that says “mi querido San Lorenzo, hechanos tu bendicion”. On the third day, and perhaps the most emotional of all, the despedida del santo is sung after an abbreviated danza. The song tells the current Mayordomos that they have completed their promesa for the year and today, when San Lorenzo goes to his new home, their house will look empty. At the conclusion, the saints are taken out of the home and immediately processed to the home of the new Mayordomos. At the new home, the new family is waiting happily. They will host San Lorenzo in their home for a year. We return to the home of the now former Mayordomos and have the entrega. This is a time when all dancers are returned to their families through verses sung about their promesas. We are joined by family members on a raised area and are happily received by them. This is a joyous time when our community is whole. Our community is happy. Our community has fulfilled its promise to God and San Lorenzo.

I began this chapter recalling my earliest memories of watching the Matachines as a child. Ethnic pride and a sense of wanting to belong to this tradition prompted me to join years later. I do not recall the feelings and emotions of watching the dance, as all I have known for 20 years is looking outward through my fleco and mascada. This tradition has
become part of my life, it is my life. I have been a danzante for many years and I continue with my promesa, having made new ones, but also to ensure the continuation of this tradition. Currently, the dance symbolizes ethnic pride, but more so, the dance and fiestas act as a narrative in which microaffirmations and agency culminate. Further, the interpretations of the meanings, how we feel the dance, and how we view the world from behind the fleco and mascada form powerful counter-stories that recognize the deep similarities we have with others. The cultural and linguistic overlap between Nuevomexicanos, Native Americans, and Mexicanos can provide a future that ensures the survival of our linguistic and cultural identities for generations to come.
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Appendix A

Critical Nuevomexicano Studies- Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and Los Matachines

Dance as an expression of Nuevomexicano cultural and historical identity.

Spring 2021
Monday-Thursday 6:00- 7:30 p.m.
Preparation Sessions on Zoom: January 8, January 9, OR January 10
Courses Meets: January 11, 2021 – February 4, 2021
Zoom: https://unm.zoom.us/j/7198135514

Joseph Moreno
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COURSE SYLLABUS

Course Description
In this course, students will learn how the history of New Mexico intersects with culture, language, art, religion, architecture, music and food as seen in Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and Los Matachines in Bernalillo, New Mexico. Students will learn how these traditions and customs are a result of many years of interactions between groups in the region, which is called intercultural syncretism, including how race, class, and power throughout historical events have shaped Nuevomexicano identity.

Course Objectives
Students will engage with activities and discussions that aim to examine their personal, familial, and communal identities through a critical lens. Students will examine and understand how the fall of Mexico-Tenochtitlán, the Spanish and Mexican occupations of New Mexico, signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the railroad coming to New Mexico, the battle for Statehood, and schooling have influenced identity formation for Nuevomexicanos.

Learning Outcomes

- Identify how and why Nuevomexicanos have utilized certain nomenclatures throughout the history of New Mexico
- Analyze personal, familial, communal, and regional Nuevomexicano identities and creation
- Identify the characteristics of the “Hispano Homeland” in reference to ethnic pride, assimilation and subjugation
• Demonstrate understanding on how contact between European and Aztec cultures formed the basis for Nuevomexicano language and culture and how it was later influenced by the Native American Pueblos and Anglo-Americans

• Demonstrate understanding on how race, class, and power influenced Nuevomexicano identity after the Anglo-American invasion of New Mexico after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

• Identify how race, class, and power influenced relations between Nuevomexicanos, Anglo-Americans, Pueblo Peoples, and Mexicanos through railroad expansion, tourism, demographic shifts, statehood, and schooling

• Demonstrate understanding on how Nuevomexicanos exerted positive and negative agency in relation to demographic and power shifts and loss

• Recognize American schooling and its influence on Nuevomexicano language and culture shift and loss

• Recognize how intercultural syncretism is evident in Los Matachines

• Analyze the importance of the Matachines tradition to Bernalillo Nuevomexicanos and how many cultures influence the current version of the tradition

• Tie history to contemporary traditions associated with Bernalillo Matachines and Fiesta de San Lorenzo

• Make connections between racial/ethnic groups by identifying similarities in dance, music, food, art and architecture as evidence of inter/intra cultural syncretism

Assignments:

**Family Immigration Story:** This assignment is due on Monday, January 18, 2021. This paper can be typed or hand-written and will be returned to the instructor. There is no specific length for this paper, but use the guiding questions to format. For this assignment, you will interview an elder family member to discover your family’s immigration story. Here are some guiding questions as you interview your elder:

- How did your family come to Bernalillo?
  1. General History- Frame your family story around actual New Mexico historical events
  2. What time period did your family arrive to New Mexico/United States? Why?
  3. Your family story- Describe in detail how your family arrived to where they are now
  4. Where does your family consider “home?” Summarize your findings.
  4. What did you learn from this project?

**Language Interview:** This assignment is due on Monday, January 25, 2021. This assignment can be typed or hand-written and will be returned to the instructor. Your write-up should be 2-3 paragraphs. For this assignment, interview a family elder regarding their use of the Spanish language while they were growing up. Here are some guiding questions:

- What language did you speak at home and at school?
- Where did your family member attend school?
- What experiences did they have when they spoke English and Spanish in school?
4. Include other helpful information that tells their story of English and Spanish language use

**Course Objectives and Activities**

Week 1, Theme: What is Identity?

Day 1, Monday, January 11, 2021 - Introductions, syllabus, nomenclature ranking, demographic sheets

**Objectives:**
1) To develop relationships amongst participants and the instructor by providing introductions to the class
2) To foster a positive and safe learning environment where all feedback is valued and respected by discussing equitable participation and respectful discourse
3) To analyze how race, class, and power may influence the ranking of local nomenclatures

**Activities:**
1) Provide introductions on where you were born and raised, where your parents are from, where did you attend school, and something you are proud of
2) Review the syllabus and discuss respectful discourse and equitable participation
3) Nomenclature ranking activities with a discussion on criterion used to rank the groups
4) Fill out the demographic information sheet

Day 2, Tuesday, January 12, 2021 - Nomenclature recap, critical lens discussion, name narrative, assimilation/subjugation discussion, individual reflection, syllabus review

**Objectives:**
1) To reflect on the nomenclature activities from day one to build on these discussions to develop a critical framework for the remainder of the course with regard to race, class, and power using name narratives
2) Prepare for the family immigration assignment with guiding questions and details

**Activities:**
1) Discuss and reflect on nomenclature activities
2) Discuss the application of a critical lens in course activities and discussion by emphasizing race, class, and power
3) Answer the questions provided to complete your name
narrative followed by a discussion on applying a critical lens to student names and experiences

4) Discuss the definitions of assimilation and subjugation with a reflection on student name narratives as they intersect with assimilation and/or subjugation

5) Discuss the family immigration story assignment that is due on Monday, January 18, 2021. See the “Assignments” section for details

Day 3, Wednesday, January 13, 2021- Four Tables Exercise and “I Am” poems and discussions

Objectives:
1) Continue identity discussions by building on the name narratives by completing “I Am” poems through a critical approach

2) Visually express student perceptions of race, class, power, and identity through “Four Squares” exercise

Activities:
1) Check-in discussing questions, comments, or concerns thus far in the course

2) Complete “Four Squares” exercise by drawing your interpretation of the words in each square

3) Read the examples of the “I Am” poems and create your own using guiding questions. Apply critical lens and create your own poem

Reading:

Day 4, Thursday, January 14, 2021- Review Four Tables Exercise and “I Am” poems, Syllabus review, Identity Drawing and report, attachment to place and the “Hispano”/“Spanish American Homeland” discussion

Objectives:
1) Continue identity discussions by building on the “I Am” poems and “Four Squares” exercise by creating an identity drawing

2) Discuss the family immigration story assignment that is due on Monday, January 18, 2021. See the “Assignments” section for details
3) Analyze and discuss Nuevomexicano attachment to place and querencia

Activities:
1) Review “I Am” poems and “Four Squares” exercise with guiding discussion questions
2) Discuss the family immigration story assignment that is due on Monday, January 18, 2021. See the “Assignments” section for details
3) Complete identity drawing by drawing a representation of your identity and discuss with the class
4) View and discuss the Hispano Homeland and the Spanish American Homeland and attachment to place
5) Read Moreno (2017) Smithsonian article and provide feedback on article contents, place and querencia
6) Reflect on week one of the course by completing the “Week 1 Reflection” by noting things learned, remaining questions, and additional comments


Week 2, Theme: Race, Class, Power & the History of New Mexico

Day 1, Monday, January 18, 2021- “Aztecs: Arrival of Cortes and the Conquistadores” and “The Fall of Tenochtitlán” videos and discussion, Casta system, Coronado and DeVargas expeditions, Conquistador timeline, Onate and DeVargas articles

Objectives:
1) To understand the consequences of contact between Indigenous and European peoples through critical analysis of Cortes’ invasion of Tenochtitlán, the early Casta system in Mexico City, the Coronado expedition and occupation of Kuaua Pueblo, and De Vargas’ occupation of Bernalillo

Activities:
1) Watch YouTube videos on the Aztecs and conquistadores and answer guiding discussion questions
2) Analyze the early Casta system described by Scully that was instituted by the Spanish after the fall of Mexico City/Tenochtitlán and discuss the answers to the guiding questions
3) Read Bolton’s (1990) account of the Coronado expedition and its connection to Bernalillo. Answer the guiding questions and discuss with the class.

4) Read Simmons’ (2003) account of the De Vargas connection to Bernalillo and provide your thoughts, questions, and comments to the class.

Homework:
1) Read the NY Times’ article (2017) entitled “Statue’s Stolen Foot Reflects Divisions Over Symbols of Conquest” and bring questions, comments, and concerns about the article to class tomorrow.

2) Read the Rio Grande Sun’s article (2019) entitled “Rehashed Onate” and bring questions, comments, and concerns about the article to class tomorrow.

3) Read the NY Times’ article (2018) entitled “New Mexico Grapples With Its Version of Confederate Tributes: A Celebration of Spanish Conquest” and bring questions, comments, and concerns about the article to class tomorrow.

Readings:

Scully, L. (n.d.). The racial caste system in colonial Spanish Mexico. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Task Force, Inc. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b74931b3db2be1cef4e3c8/t/588f894959cc68de2fc039e9/1485801801457/racial+caste+system.pdf


Day 2, Tuesday, January 19, 2021- Article review, Family Immigration Stories, the Mexican Period and Territorial Status timeline, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo video, land grants/loss, repatriation to Mexico, the railroad, tourism, water rights, demographic shift discussion

Objectives:
1) To reflect on the NY Times and Rio Grande Sun articles and express questions, comments, and concerns with the content of the articles intersections with race, class, power and identity
2) Review family immigration stories by teaching the class about what you learned with regard to personal and familial identity. Guiding questions are provided
3) Analyze a timeline of events with regard to land in New Mexico with emphasis on the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Critically examine the consequences of the Treaty and changes when New Mexico became a territory of the U.S.

Activities:
1) Address and discuss questions, comments, and concerns about the Onate statue articles
2) Reflect on your family immigration story and discuss with the class
3) Critically analyze the New Mexico history timeline and discuss critical reflections
4) Watch the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo video and answer guiding questions
5) Discuss consequences of the Treaty with attention to Nuevomexicano populations

Day 3, Wednesday, January 20, 2021- Anglo-American attitudes during New Mexico’s battle for Statehood discussion and activity, Quick write, the Consequences of Statehood

Objectives:
1) To address the racist Anglo-American attitudes of Nuevomexicanos and Pueblo Native American populations during the territorial period
2) To analyze how Nuevomexicanos influenced the New Mexico Constitution upon statehood being granted in 1912
3) To address how race, class, and power operated to subjugate Nuevomexicanos

Activities:
1) Read the statements made by Anglo-Americans about New Mexico’s population provided by Holtby (2012). Discuss and analyze how race, class, and power impact identity and racial interactions.

2) Quick write on how you would respond to Anglo-American comments.

3) View sections 8, 10, and 12 of Article XII of the New Mexico Constitution and discuss Nuevomexicano influence on the Constitution and the consequences of statehood on local populations.

Reading:

Day 4, Thursday, January 21, 2021- The Enabling Act, Education in Bernalillo photos and timeline, “My Family Language” chart, the Zia Sun Symbol, the Tri-cultural Harmony, and the Three Cultures Sculpture, English-Only and Patriotism

Objectives:
1) Analyze the Enabling Act that authorized the creation of a New Mexico state constitution and its attention to English and Spanish to examine language use and prestige.
2) Examine the history of education in Bernalillo to analyze inter-ethnic and inter-racial relations in schools.
3) Analyze heritage language and shift in student and family contexts.
4) Explore the Zia sun symbol, the tri-cultural myth, and the “three cultures” sculpture, and patriotic symbols to understand the intersection between race, class, power, identity, assimilation, and subjugation.
5) To gauge student comprehension for week four objectives and activities through critical reflection.

Activities:
1) Read the Enabling Act’s clause regarding public schools and the language they were to be conducted and discuss how race, class, and power influenced this approach.
2) Analyze the education in Bernalillo timeline and discuss your observations using your critical lenses.
3) Analyze the NM History Museum’s historical photos and discuss your observations.
4) Complete your family language chart and share your observations.
5) Discuss your questions, comments, and concerns regarding the Zia Sun Symbol, the Tri-Cultural Harmony myth, the Three Cultures sculpture at the Santuario de Chimayo, and the
patriotic symbols used to assimilate and subjugate Nuevomexicanos

6) Reflect on week two of the course by completing the “Week 2 Reflection” by noting comments on salute to the flag of the State of New Mexico, the Tri-Cultural Harmony, and the Three Cultures sculpture, new things learned, remaining questions, and additional comments

Homework:
Language interview DUE Monday, January 25, 2021. See assignments section for details.

Week 3, Theme: Los Matachines Dance
Day 1, Monday, January 25, 2021- Family Language presentations, European Matachines origins, Aztec Matachines origins, Convergent evolution discussion

Objectives:
1) To learn about English and Spanish language use in schools
2) Analyze the European and Aztec origins of the Matachines dance as a form of separating groups and as a symbol of Euro-centric traditions
3) Analyze convergent evolution in relation to the Matachines

Activities:
1) Discuss language use and shift in families by presenting language interview presentations
2) Examine and discuss European origin beliefs of the Matachines
3) Analyze and discuss Aztec/ New World origin beliefs of the Matachines
4) Critically analyze convergent evolution and how it applies to the Matachines

Day 2, Tuesday, January 26, 2021- Cultural Syncretism activity, Mexicano/Nuevomexicano/Pueblo Matachines photos and videos, Quick write

Objectives:
1) To interpret the meaning of intercultural cultural syncretism and provide everyday examples, in addition to those visible in Nuevomexicano, Mexicano, and Native American Pueblo versions of the Matachines

Activities:
1) Discuss the definition of intercultural syncretism and create a list of examples
Day 3, Wednesday, January 27, 2021- Timeline of the Bernalillo Matachines, Changes to the Bernalillo Matachines, Ethnic Pride, Marthey video

Objectives:

1) To analyze the historical events that influenced the Bernalillo Matachines
2) To examine historical changes to the Bernalillo Matachines and the time periods these changes occurred
3) Critically analyze ethnic pride and how it can be influenced by race, class, power, and history in addition to how it is portrayed by Bernalillo residents

Activities:

1) Discuss the Matachines timeline
2) Analyze and discuss the changes to the Bernalillo Matachines
3) Discuss and report discussions on what ethnic pride means
4) View Ken Marthey (1976) video and while watching, note some of the changes that have occurred, examples of cultural syncretism, and how the Matachines conveys Nuevomexicano identity. Discuss impressions, thoughts on changes, and internal/external identity


Objectives:

1) Provide examples of assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and/or ethnic pride in four Bernalillo/Matachines videos

Activities:

1) View the Wisdom Archive, Smithsonian’s Folklife, Smithsonian’s El Rio, and Albuerque Museum’s Only in Albuquerque videos through a critical lens and provide questions, comments, perceptions as they intersect with assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and/or ethnic pride
2) Complete Week 3 Reflection
Week 4, Theme: Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo

Day 1, Monday, February 1, 2021 - Nuevomexicano Spanish, New Mexico Spanish dialects, Nuevomexicano literacy, Matachines attire

Objectives:
1) Learn about and examine the various influences of Castilian Spanish, northern Mexico Spanish dialects, Nahuatl, Rio Grande Pueblo language and Anglo-American English on Nuevomexicano Spanish
2) Examine literacy as an expression of Nuevomexicano agency as it applies to Bernalillo Matachines
3) Gain an understanding of intercultural syncretism through an analysis of the Matachines dance attire

Activities:
1) Discuss letrados and their use of the Spanish language as a tool to combat Anglo-American discrimination
2) Examine the regional dialects of New Mexico Spanish and influences by indigenous and Anglo-American communities and their intersection with race, class, power, and identity through Bills & Vigil (2008) and New Mexico Spanish PowerPoint
3) Critically analyze Bernalillo Matachines attire and identify examples of intercultural syncretism

Day 2, Tuesday, February 2, 2021 - El Dia de la Visperas schedule, Fiesta brochure review, Matachines characters and La Danza, Santuario architecture

Objectives:
1) Analyze the roles and characters in the Bernalillo Matachines and discuss elements of race, class, power, identity, assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and ethnic pride
2) Analyze La Danza in the Bernalillo Matachines and Fiesta de San Lorenzo and discuss elements of race, class, power, identity, assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and ethnic pride
3) Analyze the Santuario de San Lorenzo in the Bernalillo Matachines and discuss elements of race, class, power, identity, assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and ethnic pride

Activities:
1) Critically examine August 9 of Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo, roles and characters, la Danza, and Santuario architecture and discuss questions, comments, and concerns with the class

Day 3, Wednesday, February 3, 2021- El Dia de San Lorenzo schedule, Fiesta brochure review, foodways and food preparation, velorios, Comanchitos and Intracultural syncretism

Objectives:
1) Analyze the foodways associated with the Bernalillo Matachines and Fiestas de San Lorenzo and discuss elements of race, class, power, identity, assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and ethnic pride
2) Analyze the velorio associated with the Bernalillo Matachines and Fiesta de San Lorenzo and discuss elements of race, class, power, identity, assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and ethnic pride
3) Analyze the Comanchitos of Bernalillo to understand intercultural and intracultural syncretism

Activities:
1) Critically examine August 10 of Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo, foodways, Aztec and Northern Mexico influences on food, preparation techniques, velorios, Comanchitos, and inter/intracultural syncretism and discuss questions, comments, and concerns with the class

Day 4, Thursday, February 4, 2021- El Dia de la Entrega schedule, Fiesta brochure review, Music, weekly reflection

Objectives:
1) Analyze the entrega associated with the Bernalillo Matachines and Fiestas de San Lorenzo and discuss elements of race, class, power, identity, assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and ethnic pride
2) Analyze the Nuevomexicano folk music associated with the Bernalillo Matachines and Fiesta de San Lorenzo and discuss elements of race, class, power, identity, assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and ethnic pride

Activities:
1) Critically examine August 11 of Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo, entregas and folk music and inter/intracultural syncretism and discuss questions, comments, and concerns with the class

Objectives:
2) Analyze the foodways associated with the Bernalillo Matachines and Fiestas de San Lorenzo and discuss elements of race, class, power, identity, assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and ethnic pride

3) Analyze the velorio associated with the Bernalillo Matachines and Fiesta de San Lorenzo and discuss elements of race, class, power, identity, assimilation, subjugation, intercultural syncretism, and ethnic pride

4) Analyze the Comanchitos (Montano, 2001) of Bernalillo to understand intercultural and intracultural syncretism

Activities:

5) Critically examine August 10 of Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo, foodways, Aztec and Northern Mexico influences on food, preparation techniques, velorios, Comanchitos, and inter/intracultural syncretism and discuss questions, comments, and concerns with the class

6) Complete week 4 reflection

7) Closing comments, questions, and concerns. Complete course evaluation. Interviews will be scheduled in the next two weeks

**Required Texts/Excerpts, Activity Packet and Materials**

A reading packet will be provided by the course instructor by the following authors:


Scully, L. (n.d.). *The racial caste system in colonial Spanish Mexico*. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Task Force, Inc. [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b74931b3db2be1cef4e3c8/t/588f894959cc68de2fc039c9/1485801801457/racial+caste+system.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b74931b3db2be1cef4e3c8/t/588f894959cc68de2fc039c9/1485801801457/racial+caste+system.pdf)


Your **activity packet** will be provided by the course instructor which includes:

- Demographic Sheet
- Four Squares Exercise
- Week 1 Reflection
- Aztecs and Tenochtitlán YouTube links
- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo YouTube links
- Anglo-American Attitudes
- Constitution
- Week 2 Reflection
- Education in Bernalillo (1581-present)
- My Family Language
- Week 3 Reflection
- ‘Apricot’
- ‘Cake’
- ‘Green bean’
- New Mexico Spanish
- Los Comanchitos
- New Mexico Folk Music YouTube links
- Week 4 Reflection
- Course Evaluation

**Materials** for the course will be provided by the course instructor which include:

- Loose leaf or copy paper (15 sheets)
• Pens (2)
• Pencils (2)
• Tabloid paper (1 sheet)
• Markers (1 package)
• Crayons (1 package)
• Colored pencils (1 package)
• Poster paper (1 sheet)
• Postage-paid envelopes to return assignments and activities **at the end of each week** to the instructor via U.S. Post Office (4 envelopes)
Appendix B

Understanding by Design (UbD) Cover page and Stages 1-3

Unit Cover Page

Unit Title: Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and Los Matachines Dance as an expression of Nuevomexicano cultural and historical identity.
Subject/Topic: Social Studies (History, Geography, Civics & Government, Economics), English Language Arts
Grade Level:
Key Words: Nomenclatures, race, class, power, Nuevomexicano culture, fiestas, Matachines, art, colonial architecture, food, music, intercultural syncretism, convergent evolution
Time Frame: 4 weeks
Designed by: Joseph Moreno
School District:
School:

Brief Summary of Unit (including curricular context and unit goals)

In this unit, students will learn how the history of New Mexico intersects with culture, language, art, architecture, music and food as seen in Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo and Los Matachines in Bernalillo, New Mexico. Students will learn how these traditions and customs are a result of many years of interactions between groups in the region, which is called intercultural syncretism, including how race, class, and power throughout historical events have shaped Nuevomexicano identity.

Students will begin with activities and discussions that aim to examine their personal, familial, and communal identities through a critical lens. Students will examine and understand how the fall of Mexico-Tenochtitlán, the Spanish and Mexican occupations of New Mexico, signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the railroad coming to New Mexico, the battle for Statehood, and schooling have influenced identity formation for Nuevomexicanos.

After understanding how and why they identify with certain nomenclatures, students will analyze and participate in activities surrounding Los Matachines Dance of Bernalillo, along with the Fiestas de San Lorenzo. Discussion and assignments aim to understand how race, class, and power throughout the history of New Mexico influenced interethnic relations between Nuevomexicanos, Pueblo Peoples, Mexicanos, and Anglo-Americans. Discussions
regarding the history of the dance in Bernalillo, changes throughout time, ethnic pride, shared histories, along with details of the dance tradition highlight the completion of the unit.

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<th>Completed template pages – Stages 1, 2, and 3</th>
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<td>___ Completed blueprint for each performance task</td>
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<td>___ Directions to students and teachers</td>
<td>___ Materials and resources list</td>
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<td>___ Peer review</td>
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Stage 1 – Identify Desired Results

Establish Goals
Common Core State Standards

Strand: History

Content Standard I: Students are able to identify important people and events in order to analyze significant patterns, relationships, themes, ideas, beliefs, and turning points in New Mexico, United States, and World history in order to understand the complexity of the human experience.

9-12 Benchmark I-A: New Mexico: Analyze how people and events of New Mexico have influenced United States and World History since statehood.

1. Compare and contrast the relationships over time of Native American tribes in New Mexico with other cultures.
2. Analyze the geographic, economic, social, and political factors of New Mexico that impacted United States and world history, to include:
   a. Land grant and treaty issues unresolved to present day and continuing to impact relations between and among citizens of the state, tribal, and federal government levels
   b. Role of water issues as they relate to development of industry, population growth, historical issues, and current acequia systems/water organizations
   e. Unique role of New Mexico in the 21st century as a “Minority Majority” state.

5. Explain how New Mexico history represents a framework of knowledge and skills within which to understand the complexity of the human experience, to include:
   a. analyze perspectives that have shaped the structures of historical knowledge
   b. describe ways historians study the past
   c. explain connections made between past and the present and their impact

9-12 Benchmark I-B: United States: Analyze and evaluate the impact of major eras, events, and individuals in United States history since the Civil War and Reconstruction.

4. Analyze the major political, economic, and social developments that occurred between World War I and World War II, to include:
   g. Role of changing demographics on traditional communities and social structures.

9. Explain how United States history represents a framework of knowledge and skills within which to understand the complexity of the human experience, to include:
   a. Analyze perspectives that have shaped the structures of historical knowledge
   c. Explain connections made between the past and the present and their impact.

9-12 Benchmark I-C: World: Analyze and interpret the major eras and important turning points in world history from the Age of Enlightenment to the present to develop an understanding of the complexity of the human experience.

2. Analyze and evaluate the actions of competing European nations for colonies around the world and the impact on indigenous populations.

9-12 Benchmark I-D: Skills: Use critical thinking skills to understand and communicate perspectives of individuals, groups, and societies from multiple contexts.

1. Understand how to use the skills of historical analysis to apply to current social, political, geographic, and economic issues.
2. Apply chronological and spatial thinking to understand the importance of events
3. Describe primary and secondary sources and their uses in research.
4. Explain how to use a variety of historical research methods and documents to interpret and understand social issues (e.g. the friction among societies, the diffusion of ideas).

5. Distinguish “facts” from authors’ opinions and evaluate an author’s implicit and explicit philosophical assumptions, beliefs, or biases about the subject.

6. Interpret events and issues based upon the historical, economic, political, social and geographic context of the participants.

7. Analyze the evolution of particular historical and contemporary perspectives.

**Strand: Geography**

**Content Standard II:** Students understand how physical, natural, and cultural processes influence where people live, the ways in which people live, and how societies interact with one another and their environments.

**9-12 Benchmark II-A:** Analyze and evaluate the characteristics and purposes of geographic tools, knowledge, skills and perspectives, and apply them to explain the past, present, and future in terms of patterns, events and issues.
   1. Evaluate and select appropriate geographic representations to analyze and explain natural and man-made issues and problems.
   2. Understand the vocabulary and concepts of spatial interaction, including an analysis of population distributions and settlements patterns.

**9-12 Benchmark II-B:** Analyze natural and man-made characteristics of worldwide locales; describe regions, their interrelationships, and patterns of change.
   1. Analyze how the character and meaning of a place is related to its economic, social, and cultural characteristics, and why diverse groups in society view places and regions differently.
   2. Analyze and evaluate changes in regions and recognize the patterns and causes of those changes (e.g. mining, tourism).
   3. Analyze and evaluate why places and regions are important to human identity (e.g., sacred tribal grounds, culturally unified neighborhoods).

**9-12 Benchmark II-C:** Analyze the impact of people, places, and natural environments upon the past and present in terms of our ability to plan for the future.
   1. Analyze the role that spatial relationships have played in effecting historic events.

**9-12 Benchmark II-E:** Analyze and evaluate how economic, political, cultural, and social processes interact to shape patterns of human populations, and their interdependence, cooperation, and conflict.
   1. Analyze the factors influencing economic activities (e.g., mining, ranching, agriculture, tribal gaming, tourism, high tech) that have resulted in New Mexico’s population growth.
   2. Analyze the interrelationships among settlement, migration, population distribution patterns, landforms, and climates in developing in developed countries.
   3. Analyze how cooperation and conflict are involved in shaping the distribution of political, social and economic factors in New Mexico, United States, and throughout the world.
   4. Analyze how differing points of view and self-interest play a role in conflict over territory and resources (e.g., impact of culture, politics, strategic locations, resources).
7. Evaluate the effects of technology on the developments, changes to, and interactions of cultures.

**Strand: Civics and Government**

**Content Standard III**: Students understand the ideals, rights, and responsibilities of citizenship and understand the content and history of the founding documents of the United States with particular emphasis on the United States and New Mexico constitutions and how governments function at local, state, tribal, and national levels.

**9-12 Benchmark III-B**: Analyze how the symbols, icons, songs, traditions, and leaders of New Mexico and the United States exemplify ideals and provide continuity and a sense of unity.

1. Analyze the qualities of effective leadership.
2. Evaluate the impact of United States political, tribal, and social leaders on New Mexico and the nation.
3. Analyze the contributions of symbols, songs, and traditions toward promoting a sense of unity at the state and national levels.
4. Evaluate the role of New Mexico and United States symbols, icons, songs, and traditions in providing continuity over time.

**Strand: Economics**

**Content Standard IV**: Students understand basic economic principles and use economic reasoning skills to analyze the impact of economic systems (including the market economy) on individuals, families, businesses, communities, and governments.

**9-12 Benchmark IV-A**: Analyze the ways individuals, households, businesses, governments, and societies make decisions, are influenced by incentives (economic and intrinsic) and the availability and use of scarce resources and that their choices involve costs and varying ways of allocating.

2. Understand how socioeconomic stratification (SES) arises and how it affects human motivation, using data.
3. Understand the relationship between socioeconomic stratification and cultural values.
4. Describe and analyze how economic incentives allow individuals, households, businesses, governments, and societies to use scarce human, financial, and natural resources more efficiently to meet economic goals.

**Strand: English Language Arts**

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.1- Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary resources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.3- Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events cause later ones or simply precede them.

CCSSELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.4- Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social science.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What essential questions will be considered:</th>
<th>What understandings are desired?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) How have events in the history of New Mexico shaped Nuevomexicano identity?</td>
<td>Students will understand that…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) How do race, class, and power influence interactions between Nuevomexicanos, Mexicanos, Pueblo Peoples, and Anglo-Americans?</td>
<td>• The history of New Mexico and important historical events have created various nomenclatures that Nuevomexicanos identify.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) How does race, class, power, identity and history appear in Los Matachines Dance and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo?</td>
<td>• Nuevomexicanos, Mexicanos, and Pueblo Peoples are similar in many ways.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Los Matachines and Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo are the result of many cultures coming together.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### What key knowledge and skills will students acquire as a result of this unit?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students will know…</th>
<th>Students will be able to …</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key events in Mexico including Spanish invasion of Tenochtitlán, the caste system, and the Spanish expansion to New Mexico</td>
<td>Identify Nomenclatures Nuevomexicanos have utilized throughout the history of New Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key dates/events in the history of New Mexico- Coronado’s Entrada, Pueblo Revolt, Reoccupation in 1693</td>
<td>Analyze personal, familial, communal, and regional Nuevomexicano identities and creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mexican and Territorial status of New Mexico with attention to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, land loss, issues surrounding water rights, the railroad, tourism, and Anglo-American appropriation of Nuevomexicano and Pueblo folk arts</td>
<td>Identify the characteristics of the “Hispano Homeland”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The battle for Statehood, including congressional testimonies, the Santa Fe Ring, demographic shift, the Hispano homeland, and the “Tri-cultural harmony” myth</td>
<td>Understand how the clash of European and Aztec cultures formed the basis for Nuevomexicano language and culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-1912 social and educational changes as seen in boarding schools, local Bernalillo schools, and bilingual education vs. the New Mexico Enabling Act</td>
<td>Understand how race, class, and power influenced Nuevomexicano identity after the Anglo-American invasion of New Mexico after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The history of Los Matachines in reference to Bernalillo and New Mexico history</td>
<td>Identify how race, class, and power influenced relations between Nuevomexicanos, Anglo-Americans, Pueblo Peoples, and Mexicanos through railroad expansion, tourism, demographic shifts, statehood, and schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to identify roles and characters within the Matachines dance</td>
<td>Understand how Nuevomexicanos exerted positive and negative agency in relation to demographic and power shifts and loss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aztec, European, Pueblo and Anglo-American influences on the Bernalillo Matachines dance</td>
<td>Recognize American schooling and its influence on Nuevomexicano language and culture shift and loss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How literacy, architecture, language, art, music and food are associated with la fiesta and the cultural influences from different racial and ethnic groups</td>
<td>Recognize how intercultural syncretism are evident in Los Matachines</td>
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<td>Analyze the importance of this tradition to Nuevomexicanos from Bernalillo</td>
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<td>Tie history to contemporary traditions</td>
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<td>Make connections between racial/ethnic groups by identifying similarities in dance, music, food, art and architecture</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Stage 2 - Determine Acceptable Evidence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What evidence will show that students understand?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Performance Tasks:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name Narrative, Four Tables Exercise, “I Am” poem, Identity drawing, My Family Immigration Story, My Family Language Chart, Language Use in My Family Interview, weekly reflections (3+ new things students learned, remaining questions, additional comments)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What other evidence needs to be collected in light of Stage 1 Desired Results?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other evidence:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in full-class and small-group discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quick Writes- Nuevomexicano responses to Statehood battle, Bilingual Education and English-Only, Bernalillo and other Matachines, follow-up interviews (study-only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual written reflections</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Self-Assessment and Reflection</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Students will self-assess their personal, familial, communal and regional identities</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Students will evaluate their classmates’ contributions through meaningful dialogue and equitable participation</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Students will reflect on their prior and learned knowledge of culture, Nuevomexicano culture, the history of New Mexico, intercultural syncretism, and how race/class/power have influenced their identities</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What understandings of goals will be assessed through these tasks?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Engagement with daily tasks and discussions in full-class and small-group activities.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection on how history, language, influence from other cultures shape the Nuevomexicano identity for Bernalillo residents through self-reflection and collaboration with others inside and outside of the classroom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding of local traditions and customs through a critical lens.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## Assessment Blueprint

What criteria are implied in the standards and understandings regardless of the task specifics? What qualities must students work demonstrate to signify that standards were met?

- **Identify people and events in the history of New Mexico and how they influence one another through language, history, identity, race, class, power, traditions, etc. through:**
  - **Application** (list, construct, teach, interview, record, report) of course content
  - **Analysis** (classify, categorize, separate, compare, dissect, contrast, survey)
  - **Synthesis** (hypothesize, infer, predict, imagine, write, estimate)
  - **Evaluation** (judge, evaluate, discuss, debate, choose, recommend)
  - **Knowledge & Comprehension** (discover, listen, identify, research, observe, locate)*

  Application of Taxonomy to Standards in Social Studies (History, Geography, Civics & Government, and Economics), and English Language Arts.


What student products and performance will provide evidence of desired understanding?

| Name narrative, Four Tables, I Am poem, Identity drawing, My Family Immigration Story, My Family Language Chart, Language Use in My Family Interview, Weekly reflection |

Through what authentic performance task will students demonstrate understanding?
Task Overview: Students will be asked to reflect on their personal, familial, communal, and regional identities and how they are shaped according to historical events of New Mexico. These performance tasks will be authentic and unique given the range of student experiences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By what criteria will student products and performances be evaluated?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completion</td>
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<td>Discussion</td>
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<td>Reflection</td>
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<td>Communication</td>
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</table>
5) Consequences of the Treaty (land loss, repatriation, railroad, tourism, water, demographic shifts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Activity Description</th>
<th>CCSS</th>
<th>Bloom's Cognitive Domain</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>3) My Family Language Chart</td>
<td>History 9-12 I-D, Geography 9-12 II-A, II-B, II-C</td>
<td>Application</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Activity Description</td>
<td>CCSS</td>
<td>Bloom's Cognitive Domain</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Los Matachines Dance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1) Family Language Presentations</td>
<td>History 9-12 I-B, I-D, Geography 9-12 II-E, Civics &amp; Government 9-12 III-B</td>
<td>Analysis, Evaluation</td>
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<td>2) European Origins</td>
<td>History 9-12 I-C, I-D, Geography 9-12 II-E</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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<td>3) Aztec Origins</td>
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<td>4) Convergent Evolution</td>
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<td><strong>2) Changes to the Bernalillo Matachines</strong></td>
<td>History 9-12 I-B, I-D, Geography 9-12 II-C, II-E</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
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<td><strong>3) Ethnic Pride</strong></td>
<td>History 9-12 I-B, I-D, Geography 9-12 II-C, II-E, Economics 9-12 IV-A</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
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<td><strong>4) Marthey Video</strong></td>
<td>History 9-12 I-B, I-D, Geography 9-12 II-C, II-E</td>
<td>Analysis, Synthesis</td>
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<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td>Los Matachines Dance</td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>1) Wisdom Archive Video</strong></td>
<td>History 9-12 I-A, I-D, Geography 9-12 II-A, II-B, II-C, II-E, Economics 9-12 IV-A</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Activity Description</td>
<td>CCSS</td>
<td>Bloom's Cognitive Domain</td>
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<td>Geography 9-12 II-E</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
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<td>2) New Mexico Spanish Dialects</td>
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<td>Week</td>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Activity Description</td>
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<td>4) Velorios</td>
<td>History 9-12 I-D, Geography 9-12 II-C, II-E</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Las Fiestas de San Lorenzo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1) Dia de la Entrega schedule review</td>
<td>History 9-12 I-D, Geography 9-12 II-C, II-E</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de San Lorenzo</td>
<td>2) Fiesta brochure review</td>
<td>History 9-12 I-D, Geography 9-12 II-C, II-E</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>3) Entregas</td>
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<td>4) Nuevomexicano folk music</td>
<td>History 9-12 I-D, Geography 9-12 II-C, II-E</td>
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<tr>
<td>5) Weekly reflection</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Analysis, Synthesis, Evaluation, Knowledge &amp; Comprehension</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C

Four Squares Example 1

*Adapted from Romero (2014)
Appendix D

Four Squares Example 2

Four Squares Exercise*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Class</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter, Sister, Mom, Grandmother, Career Woman.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from Romero (2014)
I Am Poem Example 1

I am not large.
I am average.
I came from a crazy and complex upbringing.
Paving my own path.
Not like everyone else but yet the same.

I want to belong.
I want to know my heritage, my traditions.
Coffee brewing and beans cooking on a wood stove. Tortillas.
That’s what brought me here. The memories.
The fragrances and aromas. The music coming from the guitars as family sing songs of love, drunkenness and heart break.
The beauty of the language.
Tan trousers, white t-shirts and the shiny black patent leather shoes.
Poofy hair.
Christina pants—skin tight jeans that end at the ankles and high heels.

I am sad.
Sad knowing that the younger generation will not experience these things.
Concerned that the language will fade away.
Concerned for my grandchildren that they won't ever know what a fresh tortilla tastes like.
Because they didn't want to learn how to make them.

I am worried.
I am afraid the traditions will be lost.
Because the younger generation wants to belong.
Belong to something material and not of the heart.
Appendix F

I Am Poem Example 2

11/3/21  Identity - I pray

1) I am a guadalupe,
    I am I am I am
    I pray, I walk, I pray, I walk
    for the world
    for peace and vacation

I pray, I walk, I pray, I walk
    the New Mexico
    for peace and vacation

I pray, I walk, I pray, I walk
    for Bernalillo
    for love and vacation

I pray, I walk, I pray, I walk
    for my family
    for health and vacation

I pray, I walk, I pray, I walk
I am concerned
what? COVID-
what makes me cry
what? Capital Hill
makes me cry
What? My family’s safety
I am concerned
makes me cry
Hope
hope and pray con Fe
hope and pray con Amor
hope and pray con mi corazon
Always pray
Appendix G

Language Chart Example 1
Appendix H

Language Chart Example 2