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Soy de Zoochina: Zapotecs Across Generations in Diaspora Re-creating Identity and Sense of Belonging

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Soy de Zoochina: Zapotecs Across Generations in Diaspora

Re-creating Identity and Sense of Belonging

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

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in Chicana and Chicano Studies

by

Brenda Nicolas

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Soy de Zoochina: Zapotecs Across Generations in Diaspora

Re-creating Identity and Sense of Belonging

by

Brenda Nicolas

Master of Arts in Chicana and Chicano Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Leisy Janet Abrego, Chair

Using a critical hemispheric indigenous framework to analyze my interviews and participant observation work, I argue that indigenous women's challenges to expected gender norms reinforce and solidify *comunalidad* and sense of belonging and being indigenous to their community. Based on qualitative and ethnographic fieldwork in Los Angeles I show that belonging to Zoochina and being Zoochinense is taught and practiced in traditional dances, being in the Oaxacan brass band, and as a member of the hometown association. To do this, I consider the indigenous Oaxacan conception of collective community life— *comunalidad*— in order to understand current forms of community participation in Los Angeles (Luna 2013). I coin the term "*transnational comunalidad*," of which I define as, the indigenous ideology and practice of communal belonging and being across generations in diaspora. In looking at indigenous

Latinas/os across generations, my work reveals the multicultural and multiethnic processes by which the indigenous diaspora navigates belonging and identity in the U.S.

This thesis of Brenda Nicolas is approved.

Maylei Blackwell

Mishuana Goeman

Leisy Janet Abrego, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2017

DEDICATION

Mi amado Choquito, las palabras son muchas y el dolor es grande. En vida te lo dije, gracias por enseñarnos amar a nuestro pueblo y por todo tu apoyo incondicional.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first want to recognize and give thanks for those whose lands I stand on, Tongvas/Gabrieleños.

Since my first year of the Ph.D. program I began attending the Critical Latina/o Indigeneities working group thanks to my advisor Dr. Maylei Blackwell. The feedback and bouncing of ideas that I have had with many scholars and graduate students doing critical studies on Latina/o indigeneities have been of great support to the development of my work. I want to thank Lourdes Alberto Celis, Gloria Chacon, Floridalma Boj-Lopez, Bianet Castellanos, Rico LittleOldleaf, Luis Urrieta, Luis Sánchez-López, and most recently Lourdes Guttierez Najera for listening and responding with critical thoughts that go beyond literary texts.

I want to thank my MA Committee, Leisy Abrego (Chair), Maylei Blackwell, and Mishuana Goeman. I could not have chosen a better comittee than you all. Your mentorship has gone beyond an academic support and I cherish all the intellectual lessons and challenges you have brought my way. The lessons are many and words not enough.

Finally, to my family, this is yet another dedication in my growth in academia. My sisters, Maricela and Liliana for teaching their kids (my nephews) the importance of staying involved with our community in *danza* and in the *banda*.

Foreword

My inspiration for this thesis resides in the history of my pueblo and its migration to Los Angeles. My mother, who is from the Zapotec town of Yatzachi el Alto immigrated to Los Angeles in 1971 and my father, from San Jerónimo Zoochina, immigrated in 1973. I grew-up in an apartment in Mid-City Los Angeles with my sisters and my parents. In my home my parents spoke their Native language, Zapotec, as well as Spanish. My parents always inculcated their desire for their children to be involved and help out the Zoochina community. When I was seven years old my sister and I performed a dance, *Los Malinches*, which the Zoochina diaspora in Los Angeles put together for the young 1.5 and second-generation to participate in.[1] A few years later, some parents got their children to be part of the Zoochina L.A. band. My sister was the first female band member to play in the band.[2]

My analysis is based on my methodological framework of retelling stories I have collected from my interviews with the community of Zoochina in Los Angeles. Inspired by Ohlone Esselen Costanoan writer Deborah A. Miranda's *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, I, as a Zapoteca member of the Zoochina community, hope to construct "the mosaic" of my pueblo.[3] There is no written history of our people back in our lands of origin or in diaspora. In order to guarantee that the next generations of Zoochinenses in Oaxaca and in diaspora know their family's migration history, I have compiled these conversations. As Miranda describes, "If we allow the pieces of our culture to lie scattered in the dust of history, trampled on by racism and

[1] I talk about *Los Malinches* later in my analysis section.

[2] Although my mom is not from Zoochina, I believe that the reason why we got more involved with Zoochina affairs, rather than with her own pueblo's, was due to the passing of an older sister of mine who died in Zoochina in 1986 after she danced *Los Malinches* in my mother's town. My sister was buried in Zoochina and this event solidified my parents' strong relationship to Zoochina's land.

[3] Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley: Heydaybooks, 2013), 135.

grief, then yes, we are irreparably damaged. But if we pick up the pieces and use them in new ways that honor their integrity, their colors, textures, stories—then we do those pieces justice, no matter how sharp they are, no matter how much handling them slices our fingers and makes us bleed."[4] It is for the sake of making our presence and experiences heard, remembered, and held for our futurity that I write the following pages.

[4] Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 135.

Introduction

Los Angeles, California is home to one of the largest indigenous Latin American diasporic communities in the United States. Zapotecs, make up a population of more than 60,000 in Los Angeles.[5] Due to their cultural, social, and political circumstances, this diaspora culturally expresses itself as indigenous in ways "distinct from the standard definitions and expressions of indigenous identity in Mexico," such as identifying with their town of origin despite the years they have been in diaspora and the ways in which they still maintain certain traditions that challenges racial violence and colonialism.[6] Despite facing continuous discrimination in large part from non-indigenous Mexicans and other Latinos, Zapotecs in L.A. have largely maintained their cultural, social, and political customs that challenge the idea that indigenous peoples are dead or dying across settler state borders.[7] My research examines sacred and folkloric dancing, playing in the town's Oaxacan brass band and membership in the HTA, called *Centro Social San Jerónimo Zoochina* as transnational and translocal communal practices that contest U.S. cultural and racial assimilation and problematize our racialization as Latinas/os or Hispanic. I ask: How do U.S.-raised Zapotecs recreate and reclaim their indigenous identity in diaspora? How is *comunalidad* carried out and maintained within a transnational context to create belonging as Bene Xhiin (Zapotec to refer to Zoochina) while at the same time challenging U.S. Whitestream

[5] Lisa Kresge, "Indigenous Oaxacan Communities in California: An Overview," *California Institute for Rural Studies* (2007): iii. The numbers may be greater since the study was last done, especially if we take into consideration the U.S.-raised indigenous Oaxacan generations.

[6] Michael Kearney, "Transnational Oaxacan Indigenous identity: The Case of Mixtecs and Zapotecs," *Identities* 7 (2000): 174-175.

[7] Many scholars (Johnson, 2008; Veracini, 2011; Tuck and Yang, 2012) in indigenous critical studies use settler states, to refer to the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Hawai'i. Here, I am using it to refer to Mexico as an occupied land, acknowledging that before states or a nation-state, there were Native Nations. In my literature review section, I further explore this historic Euro-settler trend as it pertains to indigenous peoples from Mexico.

assimilation? How do different generations of Zapotecs living in the diaspora (re)create these identities and forms of belonging?

I consider the indigenous Oaxacan conception of communal life— *comunalidad* (communality or collectiveness)—to understand current forms of continual community participation in Los Angeles, particularly as it relates to women. My work centers on women because they are central actors that strengthen Zoochina Zapotec survival and longevity across generations in diaspora through storytelling, teaching and practicing ways of being Zapotec. In this study, not one participant identified themselves as "American," and few claimed their Oaxaqueño or Zapotec identity over their Zoochina identity. By looking at the participation of women in sacred dancing, playing in their community's brass band and being part of their hometown association, I argue that these ties reinforce indigenous identity among the 1.5 (U.S.-raised), second (U.S.-born) and 2.5 (having one parent that was born in the U.S., while the other was born in Oaxaca) generations.[8]

Further, I draw from indigenous hemispheric literature as my theoretical framework. Very few studies on indigenous migrants have focused on the experiences of U.S.-raised indigenous Mexicans, a population that is playing an increasingly important role in the survival of transnational indigenous communities. I understand transnationalism as multiple "processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement."[9] For the 1.5, second, and 2.5 Zoochinenses (people from

[8] In studies of immigrant children, sociologist have designated the description of "2.5 generation" to those whose one parent was born in the U.S. and the other parent who was born in their Native land, but came as a child to the U.S. I borrow this description from Telles and Ortiz's *Generations of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race* (2008), 130.

[9] Linda Basch, et al., *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Switzerland: Gordon and Reach, 1994), 7.

Zoochina or sometimes called Zoochinero) generations, these transnational forms of participation take form in the cultural and social spheres.[10] The U.S.-raised and born generations are playing a crucial role in re-creating their indigenous identity and belonging to their indigenous towns through the Oaxacan communities in LA (Cruz-Manjarrez, 2013). I refer to this as, *transnational comunalidad*, the indigenous ideology and practice of communal belonging and being across generations in diaspora. Zapotecs' sense of belonging and identity in Los Angeles is one of relational and continual belonging to their hometown of Zoochina, rather than as "Americans," or "Mexicans." I understand relational belonging as that which is imbedded in the cultural, social, and political practices that occur across generations of the same diasporic town or as members from various Oaxacan towns that take part in folkloric and political Oaxacan organizations in L.A.[11] Continual belonging are the ways in which their identity and practices have persisted, despite their years in diaspora and adaptation or where Zoochinenses were born or where Zoochinenses were born. While some generations may differ in ways they maintain or re-create belonging, these have been continual across place, space, and even land.

San Jerónimo Zoochina is located in the Sierra Juárez (also known as the Sierra Norte) in northern Oaxaca. Historically, it has been a Zapotec town, until twenty years ago when another

[10] I use Zoochina, Zoochinense, Zapotec, and indigenous interchangeably, except where noted. I use the word Native only to refer to Tongva/Gabrieleño. When using American Indian(s) I refer to indigenous peoples in what is now the U.S.

[11] There are many Oaxacan folkloric dance groups in Los Angeles that have membership from people of various Oaxacan towns. Most of the membership is composed of the 1.5, second, and even young 2.5 generation who are from the central valleys or Sierra Juárez region of Oaxaca. However, there is also non-Oaxacan membership in many of these folkloric dance groups. The political Oaxacan groups I am referring to, and of which also includes Oaxacan people from different towns and non-Oaxacans are the Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations (FIOB), the Mixteco Indígena Community Organizing Project (MICOP), and the Tequio Youth Group, to name a few. My previous MA Thesis more broadly looks at Zapotec youth from multiple towns that are in college in Oaxaca City and Los Angeles. I look at how Zapotec students who are involved with their community re-create their indigenous identity once in college.

indigenous Oaxacan group, Chinantecs, settled there in hopes of finding a better living. Zoochina still remains mostly a Zapotec town, followed by Chinantecs, and a couple of Mixes (an indigenous group whose Native region borders that of Zapotecs and Chinantecs and which is on the eastern highlands of Oaxaca). Because Zoochina is autonomous from political parties and *caciques* (a local and historically brutal Chief imposed by the Spaniards during their crown) the town governs itself through *usos y costumbres* (customary law), of which *comunalidad* and *tequio* (community expected volunteer service) play a crucial role in the community's autonomous survival. Historically, the Zoochina diaspora in the United States has been Zapotecs.[12] Zoochina has a diaspora that spans from Oaxaca City, to the state of Mexico (mostly in Nezahualcoyotl City), Los Angeles, and Nebraska.[13]

In contrast to 1.5, second, and 2.5-generation Mexican and Mexican Americans, Zoochinenses do not identify as American, Mexican-American, nor do they take on a hybrid identity as Zapotec-American (Zoochinense-American in this case), even though they have been raised in the United States their whole life. The problem with an assumed assimilation models is that it homogenizes children of immigrants who no longer identify with their parents' place of origin and assume that all children abandon their parents' culture, social, and political ways of life. These perspectives not only erases indigenous migrant experiences and their U.S.-raised children as if physically being in the U.S. expunges their relationship to land and the family that one leaves behind, but it also attempts to eliminate indigenous peoples by creating a nationalist

[12] With the exception of a Mixe man who recently settled in L.A.

[13] Personal communication with Zoochina members in Los Angeles in the past twenty-years.

discourse to a settler state.[14] For indigenous Latin American diasporas, assimilation models assume that indigenous peoples are no longer a current reality, that they are dead, dying or not indigenous "enough" because they do not have stereotypic cultural characteristics. For example, simply speaking Spanish or English, and no longer speaking one's Native language or not dressing with one's traditional clothing, is a stereotypical inference in Latin America, and to a lesser degree in the U.S., of "not being indigenous" or not being an "authentic Indian." Alejandra Aquino describes this as a homogenizing construction of identities that impoverishes how we come to understand identity because there are multiple identities that emerge according to our context and moment in life.[15] This homogenizing practice is nothing new for indigenous peoples in Mexico or the United States. Years of forced assimilation, and other settler-colonial moves, have plagued Native peoples in both states and throughout many countries of the Western hemisphere.[16] While identities are not static, for indigenous peoples to not claim an "American" identity or pan-Latino identity is to claim Zapotec peoples' right to an autonomous identity as Zoochinense or indigenous. As Zapotecs, our communities have come to (re)conceptualize their identity within and across settler-states. To be in diaspora "implies cultural construction and a

[14] Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, 2006; Alba and Nee, 2003. Assimilation discourse is also centered on whiteness.

[15] Alejandra Aquino Moreschi, "La comunalidad como epistemología del Sur. Aportes y retos," *Cuadernos del Sur: Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, ed. Abraham Nahón 18: No. 34 (2013): 10.

[16] For assimilation in Mexico as it relates to indigenous peoples see, Gamio, 1916, 1935; Vasconcelos, 1925; Doremus, 2001; Friedlander, 2006; For assimilation in the United States, pertaining to indigenous peoples see, Adams 1995, Littlefield, 2001; Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006; Trennert, 1988; Grande 2000, 2004. Of which for both countries, the settler education system was key for assimilation and acculturation.

state in flux, not one of permanence… the connections of a community of people (that) maintain(s) over distance" and time as will be evident throughout my thesis.[17]

My thesis is broken into three main sections titled, Literature Review, Data and Methods, and Analysis: Challenging the Gender 'Tradition' in Cultural Practices. I start with the literature review that briefly situates my work in opposition to assimilation and acculturation theory that argues that U.S.-born children of immigrants will lose their parents' ethnic or cultural identity as the generations grow.[18] I then quickly reference previous studies on indigenous Oaxacan migrants that mostly talk about their transnational organizing and identity experiences in California and Oregon. While groundbreaking, previous stories of indigenous Oaxacans have been told from a social movements and ethnic perspective in cultural anthropology and sociology. From an interdisciplinary and a critical indigenous studies approach, my research offers an alternative perspective that looks at both the experiences of indigenous migrants and their U.S.-raised children as they have experienced transnational *comunalidad*, thus influencing their identity and belonging as Zapotecs and/or Zoochinenses. In my indigenous hemispheric theoretical subsection I use American Indian and Latina/o indigeneity U.S.-based literature, as well as literature from Latin America, particularly from Mexico. In talking about a critical hemispheric framework, I am influenced by the work of *Comparative Indigeneities of the*

[17] Katherine Ellinghaus, "Mixed-Descent Indian Identity and Assimilation Policy," in *Native Diasporas: Indigenous Identities and Settler Colonialism in the Americas*, ed. Gregory D. Smithers and Brooke N. Newman (Nebraska: Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska, 2014), 318.

[18] Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, 2001, 2001; Alba and Nee, 2009; Itzigsohn, 2009; Zhou, 1992, 2009.

Américas: Toward a Hemispheric Approach.[19] This work has been a foundational text for me in developing a hemispheric indigenous framework perspective through my incorporation of Zapotec epistemologies.

The second section of this thesis is based on qualitative and ethnographic fieldwork I conducted from Summer 2015 to Spring 2016. I conducted a total of twelve in-depth interviews with both men and women of the migrant generation between the ages 20 to 40, including the 1.5 second, and 2.5-generations of Zoochina people. These interviews took place in the preferred location of my interviewees, usually their homes, with the exception of one interviewee where we went to a local non-profit coffee shop in South L.A. Specifically, in this section, I discuss the many reasons why I chose to write about the 1.5, second, and 2.5 Zoochina generation.

In my final section, I analyze what it means for these generations to have grown up as part of the Zapotec community in Los Angeles. This is a particularly interesting group because they grew up decades after the indigenous Oaxacan diaspora was beginning to settle in the area. I also examine their experiences as indigenous women who have broken gender expected norms through their participation in male dominated cultural, social, and political spaces within their community. In the last subsection of my data analysis, I briefly mention some of the challenges that, like their parents, the U.S.-raised generations are still confronting, especially as it relates to that of other racialized Mexicans and Latina/os.

As a Zapotec woman in diaspora, and rooted in a Critical Indigenous Studies, my work also considers settler colonialism as a way to acknowledge Native peoples' on whose land we settle as we bring our social and cultural practices. In looking at indigenous Latinas/os across generations, my work reveals the multicultural and multiethnic processes by which indigenous

[19] Bianet Castellanos, et al., *Comparative Indigeneities of the Américas: Toward a Hemispheric Approach* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

diasporas navigate belonging. I hope to contribute to a more complex understanding of how we think about indigeneity, indigenous women, diaspora and Latinidad in the U.S. that are vital for the continuation and advancement to the field of Indigenous Studies.

Literature Review: A Critical and Hemispheric Indigeneity Approach

A hemispheric indigenous studies framework brings overlapping, yet distinctive histories, geographies, and peoples to an often-muddled terrain of communal and scholarly responsibilities as indigenous and non-indigenous scholars.[20] By considering scholarship from various disciplines that looks at "indigenous experiences across the Américas," with less attention to the Caribbean, we can better understand the relationship, as well as conflicting claims to indigeneity, land, and belonging as (non) migrant indigenous peoples, Chicanas/os, and mestizos.[21] In understanding indigenous histories across settler states, we share each other's knowledge, struggles, pain, and survival as indigenous peoples. For indigenous peoples, claiming our identity as Zapotec, Tongva, Choctaw, Hopi, Seneca, Quechua, Maya, etc. are ways of claiming cultural, social, political, spiritual difference. This is an important distinction to make. In the United States, like in Latin America, indigenous peoples are either racialized or defined as an ethnicity. It is important to remember, as Turtle Island scholar, Duane Champagne, and many other indigenous scholars point out that indigenous peoples are not an ethnic group.[22] Claiming difference is especially an important one to make to that of Western culture because generally speaking, indigenous communities worldview are relational, sacred, and reciprocal.[23] As a Zapotec Ph.D. student in Chicana/o Studies, such comparative discourse is particularly needed to understand the *indigenista* (indigenist) approach in Chicana/o Studies, claims to an indigenous identity, as well as Chicana/os understanding of indigenous Latina/o claims to an indigenous

[20] Bianet Castellanos et al., *Comparative Indigeneities of the Américas*, 1.

[21] Bianet Castellanos et al., *Comparative Indigeneities of the Américas*, 1-3.

[22] Duane Champagne, ed. 1999, 2007; Barker, 2006.

[23] Duane Champagne. *Lecture: Comparative Indigenous Societies* course, Presentation on "Exploring Cultural and Institutional Affects on the Possibilities of Social Change," April 2016.

identity. Furthermore, critical hemispheric indigenous studies can become a tool of dismantling the idea that indigenous peoples no longer exist as migrants or as Natives in their own land, thereby bringing indigenous migrants and American Indians into dialogue with one another about shared responsibilities, as well as tensions in occupying other indigenous peoples lands.[24]

This project critiques both assimilation theory and colonial discourse. Using a critical Latina/o indigeneities perspective through hemispheric indigenous pedagogies allows me to employ a multidisciplinary analysis of indigeneity scholarship in Latin American, U.S. American Indian, and Canadian indigenous literature.[25] This approach offers a rich hemispheric and relational understanding to indigenous identity, belonging, and diaspora. Writing from an indigenous historical and theoretical perspective, I challenge previous studies in traditional disciplines that argue that assimilation and acculturation of immigrants and their U.S.-raised children are unavoidable beyond the first generation.[26] Throughout North America, Central and South America, colonial policies in the creation of settler-states and specifically through education, have forced upon the Native populations of those regions to assimilate to mainstream,

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[24] Floridalma Boj López, "Mobilizing Transgression: *Red Pedagogy* and Maya Migrant Positionalities: Response 4," in *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought*, ed. Sandy Grande (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 285-287.

[25] Dr. Maylei Blackwell, Dr. Luis Urrieta, and Ph.D. candidate Floridalma Boj-Lopez formed Critical Latina/o Indigeneities at the Native American Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) in 2014. It is a scholarly group composed of scholars and graduate students, many of whom are indigenous, by analyzing settler colonialism, migration, illegality, and racism in looking at indigenous migrants and non-indigenous Latinos (Blackwell, Boj-Lopez, and Urrieta, forthcoming). In March 26, 2015 Critical Latina/o Indigeneities held its first symposium at the University of Texas at Austin, titled: *Critical Latinx Indigeneities: Constructing and Theorizing Between Fields*.

[26] Rumbaut and Portes, 2006; Alba, 1990; Alba and Nee, 1993, 2003; Zhou and Bankston III, 1998; Brown and Bean, 2006; and Jiménez, 2010. More so, college educational achievement, attaining middle or high class, who one marries (out of their ethnic or racial group), loosing their native language and culture, and where one lives is what these studies draw on as indicators of U.S. assimilation and acculturation for immigrants and their descendants.

like Europeans or mestizos, in order to achieve "inclusion" and "progress."[27] Indigenous studies provides the most relevant epistemological lens to address these issues and fill in the holes. Rather than make it a local issue, the methodology in my literature makes it a "national and transnational" move on the issues, as it relates to women.[28] I problematize the current state of Chicana/o studies as it relates to the field of indigenous studies, suggesting a more nuanced path when engaging indigeneity, indigenismo, and mestizaje. *Comunalidad* (or community collectivity) is my theoretical point of reference to describe how Zoochinenses in diaspora continue their Zapotec way of life through cultural and civic (the hometown association, HTA) practices in Los Angeles.

Assimilation theory can be understood as the process of "integration or incorporation… by which the characteristics of members of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another."[29] This framework fails to fully incorporate the experience of immigrants from non-dominant ethnic groups and lacks consideration of the uniqueness of indigenous immigrants and their children in the U.S. Assimilation studies are more concerned with how these groups straddle two cultures to facilitate their inclusion to U.S. Whitestream values and norms by abandoning their family's community traditions.[30] My literature review offers a richer

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[27] I talk about this in detail below.

[28] I am borrowing the idea of local, national, and transnational scales of organizing. Maylei Blackwell's "Weaving in the Spaces" (2006) in *Dissident Women: Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas*. Blackwell illustrates that indigenous women activist develop "local, national, and transnational scales of power," thus creating "new spaces of participation as well as new forms of consciousness, identities, and discourse" (115).

[29] Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process," *Migration Policy Institute* (2006): 1.

[30] I use "U.S. whitestream" assimilation the way that Sandy Grande in *Red Pedagogy* makes use of the term. Grande (2004) demonstrates how at many levels U.S. policies and laws throughout

understanding of identity process by considering the experiences of indigenous Latina/os in the U.S. that questions the assimilation, incorporation, and integration discourse, especially as it relates to indigenous peoples.

While there have been studies that problematize the common models of assimilation and acculturation, particularly as it pertains to Mexicans and other Latina/os, very few have considered indigenous Latina/os raised in the United States.[31] I hold that these models attempt to explain U.S. adaptation to maintain U.S. euro-colonialism and nationalism. Therefore, assimilation and acculturation are not only genocidal to indigenous peoples, especially as they relate to cultural and identity survival, but assimilation and acculturation scholarship also equate nationalism and patriotism to a settler colonial state. The hemispheric literature I use aims to better understand the experiences of indigenous immigrants from Latin America and how their U.S.-raised children contend race and politics, and indigeneity to make meaning of their transnational space.[32] Consequently, this literature helps us rethink where indigenous diasporas from Latin America stand in the larger U.S. Latina/o and Chicana/o context of identity and erasure.

There has been abundant research on indigenous Oaxacan migrants in the United States, particularly in the west coast that range across a number of issues, like identity and social

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history aim to assimilate and *incorporate* American Indians into U.S. whitestream. Grande sees these as genocidal acts towards American Indian to further guarantee their erasure in past, present, and future life. While I do recognize that some immigrant groups do assimilate and acculturate to the U.S. whitestream, and perhaps some more easily than others, my interviewees never claimed a U.S. identity or to be "American."

[31] Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, 2001, 2006; Kasinitz et al., 2008; Telles and Ortiz, 2008; Itzigsohn, 2009; Vasquez, 2011.

[32] "Critical Latin@ Indigeneities Symposium- Constructing and Theorizing between Fields," last modified March 10, 2015, http://www.edb.utexas.edu/education/departments/ci/events/8232/

movements, politics, culture, transnationalism, and organizing.[33] Among this earlier research, Mixtec and Zapotec immigrants have been researched the most, particularly in places like the Central Valley and Los Angeles in California. Transnational ways of organizing, in organizations like the Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations (in Spanish, Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales, FIOB), and to some extent hometown associations, have been the subject of study as it has been a major platform where indigenous immigrants in the U.S. have remained involved and connected to political and civic issues in Oaxaca.[34] Discrimination based on being and "looking" indigenous has been a major component of these studies as Oaxacans continue to be discriminated by their Mexican, for the most part mestizo, compatriot co-workers in the U.S.[35] This research has been groundbreaking in focusing on youth experiences of the migrant Indigenous population. My work seeks to extend that line of research by examining the experiences of other Indigenous migrant generations. There are three generations of U.S. raised (the 1.5 generation) and born (second and third generation) indigenous Oaxacans who still maintain their indigenous identity and are strongly connected to their parents' towns, of which I

[33] See, Nagengast and Kearney 1990; Bade, 1994; Stephen, 1996, 2001, 2007; Kearny, 1998, 2000, 2004; Fox and Rivera-Salgado, 2004; Rivera-Salgado, 1999, 2005; Rivera-Salgado, Bada, and Escalá Rabadán, 2005; Besserer, 1999, 2009; Velasco-Ortiz, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2005, 2008.

[34] Kearney, 1998; Fox and Rivera-Salgado, 1999, 2004; Gutiérrez, 2010; and Stephen 2014.

[35] Stephen 2007; Blackwell 2009. Stephen looks at the experiences of Mixtecs, Zapotecs, and Triquis in California. Although Stephen states that indigenous Oaxacans are discriminated for being indigenous, there is but a brief mention on how their U.S.-raised kids also face discrimination for being indigenous. Through a *Nepantla (*Gloria Anzaldúa's*)* framework of in-betweeness as transnational women, Blackwell looks at the ways indigenous Oaxacan migrants working in the agricultural field organize in order to fight for racial justice as they too are discriminated for being indigenous.

further describe in my analysis section.[36] Therefore, my work draws on a critical hemispheric indigeneity approach to examine the experiences of the 1.5, second, and 2.5-generation Zapotec community in Los Angeles.

Indigeneity in the U.S.

In "*Las Identidades También Lloran*, Identities Also Cry: Exploring the Human Side of Indigenous Latina/o Identities," Luis Urrieta reflects on his personal experience growing up in the U.S. as a P'urhépecha, Mexican migrant. Urrieta argues that to talk about identities, especially indigenous identities, brings feelings of "painful, contradictory, emotional, re/colonizing" sentiments across space and time.[37] These mixed emotions are due to the racist creation of settler-states that have influenced how whites see and interact with colonized people, including the forced erasure of our history and degradation of our indigenous identity, of which I later use the Mexican state as an example in this literature review. For U.S.-raised youth, whose families migrated to the United States more than five or six decades ago, loss of one's family identity can cause a detachment from community and a lack of belonging. A number of indigenous U.S.-raised youth have grown up throughout urban areas in Los Angeles with little to no connection with their community back in their parents' countries of origin. In contrast, Zapotec youth, many of whom were born in the United States (second-generation) or born in Mexico but raised in Los Angeles (1.5 generation), are closely attached to their family's community of origin, reflecting a continuation of identifying to the town their parents are from.

[36] Some of the towns that have a third-generation young adult population are Yatzachi el Bajo and Yalalag.

[37] Luis Urrieta, Jr, "*Las Identidades También Lloran*, Identities Also Cry: Exploring the Human Side of Indigenous Latina/o Identities," *Educational Studies* 34: 2 (2003): 148.

Among the most advanced literature on urban Indian identity are those in American Indian Studies. In Renya Ramírez's book, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond*, Laverne Roberts, a relocated Paiute in California's Silicon Valley, comes up with the term "Native hub" to describe her experience of belonging as a displaced American Indian in the city.[38] Ramírez describes, "The hub offers a mechanism to support Native notions of culture, community, identity, and belonging away from tribal land bases."[39] For more than sixty years, Zapotecs have settled in the areas of Pico-Union, South Central Los Angeles, and Koreatown, which are a few of many "hubs" throughout California referred to as, Oaxacalifornia (defined as "a fusion of aspects of life and society in Oaxacan and in California and a transcendence of them").[40] Immigration to the U.S., however, occurred during the recruitment of cheap Mexican labor during World War II with the Bracero Program (1942-1964).[41] Interestingly, all Zoochina men recruited ended up going back to their town at the end of the Bracero Program because of a war that had broken out in Zoochina with a neighboring town over land disputes. Zoochinenses later migrated to Los Angeles in the 1980s, seeking survival for their families when the Mexican peso greatly devaluated. Zoochinenses first settled on Irolo Street in what is now Koreatown and began to raise new U.S.-urban Zapotecs of their community. Koreatown has a heavily dense area in the heart of the City of Los Angeles and is

[38] Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 1.

[39] Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs:* 1.

[40] Michael Kearney, "Transnational Oaxacan Indigenous Identity: The Case of Mixtecs and Zapotecs," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 7:2 (1990): 182. Michael Kearney is credited for coining the term "Oaxacalifornia." I borrow the idea of the "hub" from Renya K. Ramirez (2007).

[41] For more on indigenous Oaxacan braceros see, Cohen 2004; López and Runsten 2004; Stephen 2007; and Loza 2016.

composed of immigrants and U.S.-raised Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Mexicans, and Koreans. It is the second *home* to various Zapotec highland communities from the towns of: Solaga, Yalalag, Yalina, Zoochina, Yatzachi el Alto, Yatzachi el Bajo, Xochixtepec, and Tavehua. Due to their geographic proximity and the relational economic, political, and social-relations and traditions to one another in the sierra, these towns continue to replicate the same beliefs and practices in L.A. They too continue to live relatively close to one another, whether it is on the same street, house, apartment, or neighborhood, ultimately forming "Oaxacan Zapotec hubs" or "Oaxacalifornia."

Many first generation Zoochinenses initially formed their community immigrant organization, their hometown association, as a mechanism of survival. Through their organizing efforts in HTAs and their community's Oaxacan brass band, two generations later, they continue to solidify their cultural, social, and political indigenous practices and presence as Zapotec Oaxacans in urban L.A.[42] Even though each migrant town has its own HTA and some may also have a brass band, each town, has at one moment or another, supported each other whether for *kermeses* (social party fundraisers) or during the death of a community member. Such reciprocal exchanges have continued across nation-state borders and despite Zoochina's decades in diaspora. Zoochina's community network of support fits the "Native hub" framework of community belonging and survival as Zoochinenses. Other examples of Zoochina as a "Native hub" include *kermeses*, *ventas de comida* (food sell fundraisers), and *convivencias* (social gatherings only for the Zoochina community), which have been central in maintaining Sierra Zapotec notions of "culture, community, identity, and belonging" across place and time (since

[42] However, in *Zapotecs on the Moves* (2013), Cruz-Manjarrez concludes that despite community participation (in brass band or dances), the reason why second-generation Yalálag Zapotec identity is the "weakest" for this generation over "American, Mexican American, Oaxaqueño/a, Chicano/a, and Latino/a," is because of internalized views and prejudice acts associated to Oaxacans as 'Indians/ (151).

Zoochina began migrating to the U.S. in the late 1960s), and of which I explore further into in my analysis.[43]

This sense of belonging and being part of the Native or "Zapotec hub" is further reinforced for Zoochinense U.S.-raised generations by asking permission from the elders and members of the community in diaspora. For example, one cannot perform a dance, play in the band, and plan religious, social, and/or cultural celebrations for the community without first asking permission from the HTA.[44] If a community member performs a dance or plays as part of the Zoochina L.A. brass band back in Zoochina, this person has to also ask for permission from the communally elected authority in the town. Every year community members that reside in Zoochina are elected by the community to govern the town and work for it. Because there are three diasporic populations outside of the town (L.A., Mexico City, and Oaxaca City) that have organizing committees, discussions and collective decision making pertaining directly to the town occur in a transnational communal manner. These processes help ensure that youth remain close to their parents' communal practices and beliefs by identifying as Zoochinenses. When asked why they identified as Zoochinense they all expressed a collective sense of belonging and knowing to the Zoochina community back home and in Los Angeles.

Comunalidad, an Indigenous Oaxacan Perspective

[43] Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs:* 1.

[44] The HTA is composed of old and young migrants, some of its U.S. raised and born adult children, and it has an equal number of both men and women. Money is raised in various forms among its members. This collection of money goes directly to the town of Zoochina for the town's collective needs. The needs in Zoochina, for which they raise money for, can range from educational resources like books, to the cleaning of main roads where a tractor may need to be contracted, to when a community member passes away, to name a few. The HTA also collects money from its members in L.A. during special meetings; for example, if a member passes away or is greatly ill.

To talk about indigenous Oaxacan identity, and Zoochinense in particular, understanding *comunalidad* is important. Indigenous Oaxacan conception of community life, *comunalidad*, foments current forms of community participation in Los Angeles in relationship to Zapotec life back home in Zoochina. Critical Zapoteco Anthropologist, Jaime Martínez Luna, describes *comunalidad* as a set of collective community practices and beliefs, ways of being and understanding of our world, that challenges state repression against indigenous peoples.[45] Jaime Martínez Luna is from the community of Guelatao in the Juárez highlands of Ixtlán de Juárez in Oaxaca and is among the most prominent thinkers of *comunalidad* in defense of land, natural resources and autonomy of indigenous peoples.[46] Luna states that the idea of *comunalidad*, as a way of life, was sought for indigenous survival from the 15th through 18th century colonial era by indigenous peoples themselves. Another prominent and earlier writer of *comunalidad* is Floribeto Díaz Gómez, a Mixe Anthropologist who was from the community of Tlahuitoltepec. After completing his studies in Mexico City, Díaz Gómez, like Martínez Luna, returned to his native town and became involved in the defense of the rights of the Mixe community and other indigenous peoples. I mostly draw on Martínez Luna because of his extensive literature on *comunalidad* and because he specifically talks about *comunalidad* in the context of the Sierra Juárez region, which is where Zoochina is located.

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[45] Jaime Martínez Luna, "Origen y ejercicio de la comunalidad," *Cuaderno del Sur: Revista de ciensas sociales*, ed. Abraham Nahón 18: 34 (2013): 90. To get more on a critical analysis on comunalidad see, Martínez Luna 2013; Díaz Gómez 2004. Benjamín Maldona Alvarado is also a critical thinker that has done extensive work on comunalidad. I thank my colleague and husband, Luis Sánchez-López, for helping me rethink Zoochina identity in relation to comunalidad.

[46] Jaime Martínez Luna, *Eso que llaman comunalidad* (Oaxaca: Dirreción General de Culturas Populares del Consejo de Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes; Secretaría de Cultura del Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca; Fundación Alfredo Harp Helú Oaxaca, AC 2010), np. Martínez Luna is also a composer of whose music talks about the struggle and survival of indigenous Oaxacans.

There is not one single way to define *comunalidad*. To capture its uniqueness as an indigenous way of life is imbedded in practice and belief. *Comunalidad* is taught from generation to generation, especially if one lives in the pueblos. Martínez Luna best defines the multiplicities of *comunalidad* as,

> Somos Comunalidad, lo opuesto a la individualidad, somos territorio communal, no propiedad privada; somos *compartencía*, no competencia; somos politeísmo, no *monoteísmo*. Somos intercambio, no negocio; diversidad, no igualdad, aunque al nombre de la igualdad también se nos oprima. Somos interdependientes, no libres. Tenemos autoridades, no monarcas.[47]
>
> We are collective community, the contrast to individualism, we are communal territory, not private property; we are collective *sharing*, not competition; we are polytheism, not *monotheism*. We are exchange, not business; diversity, not equal, even though at the name of equality we are also oppressed. We are interdependent, not (individually) free. We have (communal) authorities, not monarchs.

Comunalidad refuses individual prosperity, competition, land turned into private property, a singular god, and sameness. *Comunalidad* is not rooted in the capitalist, neoliberal, or other colonial ideologies and practices. Individualism is not an alternative. Rather, *comunalidad*, is one of many indigenous ways in which our communities continue to exist despite our attempted erasure by colonial governments. Indigenous collectiveness, for the betterment and survival of Zapotec, Mixe, Chinantec, and other indigenous Oaxacans continue to be actively maintained not only in the original territories, but also in diaspora.[48] It is through the social collective practice of the assembly of adult and elderly people (or Hometown Association in diaspora), of which in Zoochina are only men, where communal decisions on political, cultural, educational, and other

[47] Jaime Martínez Luna, *Eso que llaman comunalidad*, 17.

[48] Jaime Martínez Luna, *Eso que llaman comunalidad*, 78. Martínez Luna mentions Los Angeles, California and Mexico City as places where comunalidad is expressed. However, he does not go into detail about how this happens or why.

services for the community are collectively decided, of which I later describe.[49] Therefore, *comunalidad* informs the everyday life of being indigenous.

In the town of Zoochina, *comunalidad* practices can take shape through cultural and political beliefs and acts. Playing in the town's brass band, participating in *danzas* (dances), doing *tequio* (voluntary, but expected communal labor to the benefit of all in the community) and effectively executing one's *cargo*, a political or social position within the customary autonomous law of the community, usually given to adult young men (women are typically assigned a *cargo* in the church) are some of the many ways in which cultural and political *comunalidad* take place. Although the Zoochina communities, both in Oaxaca and in diaspora, see the cultural and political as a single communal responsibility, I distinguish analytically between the cultural, social, and political to show how these are carried out generationally. Nevertheless, *comunalidad* takes place not for an individual's prosperity, but for the betterment and longevity of the community. *Comunalidad* can therefore be understood as both the basis of Zapotec life, as well as that which contests and confronts colonialism through the survival and continual practice of indigenous culture, language, social and political ways of being.[50]

Indigenous Women and Community

While I held conversations with both men and women from Zoochina, my findings consistently reveal that Zoochina women are at the center of (re)creating belonging and Zapotec Zoochinense identity through communal practices in diaspora. Therefore, I also closely examine

[49] Floriberto Díaz Gómez, "Comunidad y comunalidad," *Culturas populares e indígenas* e *Diaologos en la acción* vol. 2 (2004): 368.

[50] Benjamín Maldonado Alvarado, "Comunalidad y responsabilidad autogestiva," in *Cuadernos del sur: Revista de ciencias sociales*, ed. Abraham Nahón 18: 34 (2013): 21.

indigenous women scholarship. There are varied ideas of what it means to be an indigenous woman from the global north and the global south. To talk about community, belonging, and identity for indigenous women involves taking a critical indigenous perspective of inclusion and unique contribution to one's Native land and peoples. In this respect, a critical indigenous theoretical framework is important as it lets indigenous scholars further examine the role that indigenous women play within the survival and futurity of indigenous communities. Unlike western notions of feminism that are focused on individual rights, to be indigenous and female are a collective right and individual right, referred to as complementarities.[51] Complementarities is understood as the personal (being a woman) merged with the collective (being indigenous).[52] To be indigenous and female are not necessarily about intersectionality, but they are about how genders are relational to one another. For example, being a woman and being indigenous do not function separately, nor is one struggle more important than the other; they are communally and individually intersectional. One cannot function without the other and they are vital for indigenous people's struggle against discrimination, marginalization, poverty, and exclusion from the nation-state, territory, state, community, and indigenous towns.[53]

Martha Sánchez Néstor (Amuzga activist from the state of Guerrero in Mexico) describes that to be an indigenous woman is to have responsibility and commitment for the cultural

[51] Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo and Andrew Canessa, ed. 2012; Martha Sánchez Nestor, ed. 2005.

[52] Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo et al., "Prologo," in *La doble mirada: voces e historias de mujeres indígenas latinoamericas*, ed. Martha Sánchez Néstor (México D.F.: Instituto de Liderazgo Simone de Beauvoir AC, 2005), 10.

[53] Martha Sánchez Nésto, "Introducción," in *La doble mirada: voces e historias de mujeres indígenas latinoamericas*, ed. Martha Sánchez Néstor (México D.F.: Instituto de Liderazgo Simone de Beauvoir AC, 2005), 16.

strength of the present and future of our daughters and sons.[54] Through responsibility and commitment this cultural strength also solidifies indigenous diasporas across generations, both young and elder. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Aymara sociologist, explains that identity and belonging for indigenous women "…is similar to a fabric. Far from establishing the property and the jurisdiction of the authority of the nation—or the people, the autonomous indigenous—the feminine practice weaves the fabric of the intercultural through women's practices … establishing pacts of reciprocity and coexistence among different groups."[55] Zoochina women have maintained, while at the same time challenged, traditional cultural practices that have at times excluded and devalued their reciprocity and coexistence within their community in diaspora, as well as back home, at both a local and transnational level. My intent in providing an indigenous feminist perspective in the literature establishes my analytical findings in my ethnographic work and stories being shared. In the words of Seneca scholar, Mishuana Goeman, who points to the richness of observing indigenous spaces through the work of indigenous women themselves: "…it provides a history of Native women's refusal to be defined, erased, or subjugated to colonial law, reminding readers that colonialism was and is a gendered process and that efforts to decolonize must address it as such; and… it demonstrates the ways that women have engaged with spatial production to produce places of their own making that are vital to Native communities."[56]

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[54] Martha Sánchez Néstor, "Introducción," 17.

[55] Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, "Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: A Reflection on the Practices and Discourse of Decolonization," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 111:1 (2012): 106-107.

[56] Mishuana Goeman, *Mark my Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 208. Goeman also points that it "points out the spatial injustice that forms the many contradictions in settler colonialism."

It is through the framework of what I call *transnational comunalidad* that I present Zapotec identity and belonging across generations in diaspora, using Zoochina and Zoochinense women at the center of my analysis. However, to talk about indigenous diasporas from Latin American, it is also important to consider the effects of maintaining Zoochinense beliefs and practices on other indigenous peoples' lands, like the Tongva/Gabrieleños of Los Angeles basin who are the first peoples who belong to this land. Therefore, taking into account settler colonialism, land, migration, survival, and differences and commonalities in the struggle to maintain indigenous visibility in other indigenous peoples' land and in diaspora, are essential in my work as a Zapotec scholar writing on Zapotec diasporas.[57] These conversations can perhaps initiate stories from American Indian and indigenous Latino/a perspectives to critically analyze "U.S. colonial policies targeting indigenous nations" that continue to "deterritorialize indigenous prior claims" to land through "illegal" or "undocumented" status discourses.[58]

I borrow Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's idea that settler-moves-to-innocence attempts to reconcile settler guilt of innocence and complicity to guarantee settler futurity.[59] To an extent, my work challenges the discourse often forced and shared among migrants that they come to the

[57] I am thankful to the participants of the first Critical Latina/o Indigeneities Symposium at Austin, particularly Shannon Speed and Maylei Blackwell for their suggestion to get me to consider the effects of settler colonialism when talking about indigenous Latina/o immigration to the U.S. Maylei Blackwell's current work on indigenous migration from Latin America and in Chicana/o studies has also challenged me to rethink how indigeneity is (re)conceptualized among indigenous and Chicana/o scholarship, particularly in the work of Wolfe (2006), Byrd (2011), and Saldaña-Portillo (2001, 2016). In my graduate courses with Mishuana Goeman, I have further elaborated what is at stake in my work when acknowledging American Indian survival and struggles in the face of immigration as a settler colonial move that dispossess Native peoples' on whose land we settle.

[58] Jodi Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 189.

[59] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* 1:1 (2012): 1.

U.S. looking for the "American Dream" or that as immigrants "*we* should be thankful for this country because it has given *us* everything," which ignores years of U.S. imperialism and neoliberal policies that have caused their family's dire economic circumstances that has forced them to emigrate. Also, implicit in this settler logic of innocence is that immigration studies research, like the immigration rights movement, does not usually acknowledge that Native lives and rightful belonging pay the ultimate price of displacement in this process. For example, there have been arguments made by some immigrants and Chicanos/as, especially in California, that the lands that they are on belong to them as Mexican people, which completely erases the fact that these lands were (and continue) to respectively belong to various Native peoples who have existed prior to the formation of the Mexican state and much certainly to that of the United States. Such critical and much needed discussions can perhaps avoid making further settler-moves-to-innocence in the claiming of rights to the land that does not consider Native people in the settler state of the United States.[60]

Following indigenous epistemology and relationship to land, land is not property nor is there an economic value attached.[61] In "Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment," Mishuana Goeman critically discusses the ways in which American Indian diasporas describe land. In Goeman's words, "Indigenous peoples make place by relating both personal and communal experiences and histories to certain location and landscapes—maintaining these

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[60] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* 1:1 (2012): 1 and 21. After having read, "Decolonization is not a Metaphor" for Maylei Blackwell's, "New Directions in Chicana/o Studies" course, the class was challenged to think about the effects of immigration and immigration rights on Native populations in the United States, vis-à-vis a settler colonial framework.

[61] Wolf, 2006; Goeman, 2008, 2009, 2015; Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, 2013; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2015. Jaime Martínez Luna uses "territory" to talk about Zapotec land, which is different to American Indian literature that uses 'Land' to talk about indigenous relationship to land.

spatial relationships is one of the most important components of politics and our identity. Indigenous Nations claim land through a discursive communal sharing, and land is not only given meaning through consensus of claiming territory but also through narrative practices."[62] Zoochinenses in diaspora give meaning of belonging to their land in Oaxaca through narratives passed from great-grandparents, grandparents, and parents to children. The meaning of belonging for Zoochinenses in diaspora can take place when they go back to visit their relatives and take part in cultural, political, social, and ceremonial practices in Zoochina and in Los Angeles. Stories of defending the territory, old and new ways of cultural and ceremonial traditions, the importance of maintaining autonomous governing practices, as well as living in economic poverty continue to be shared in hometown association assembly meetings in Los Angeles. In my data analysis section I give some examples of how relationship to land informs Zoochinense identity.

Identifying as Zoochinense, rather than Zapotec or "indigenous" is directly linked to the relationship to the town of Zoochina the diaspora and non-migrants in Zoochina have grown up with and through the multiple forms of cultural, political, and social practice they have carried on. The hometown is such an important identity for the U.S.-born generation because it is the root to their identity and it gives meaning to them in understanding their parents' love to the land through the shared stories of struggle, war, loss, family and survival. To the first, 1.5, second and 2.5-generation being Zoochinense means being and claiming difference. Identifying with their

[62] Mishuana Goeman, "Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment," in *Native Studies Keywords*, ed. Stephanie Nohelani Teves et al. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 73.

hometown is common among indigenous peoples that still have an affiliation with their town.[63] It is the way in which they have come to understand their everyday life and reality as indigenous *Serranos* (mountain people) settled in urban diaspora. It would be a colonial move to say that because they do not specifically use the term Zapotec or indigenous, they are not indigenous. In relationship to identifying with land, Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Band of Seneca scholar) reminds us that, "'The importance of naming the land from a tribal collective memory is one of the most important political and social tools to tie people together in a shared story.' [Of which] 'Land in this moment is living and layered in memory'" and across generations in diaspora.[64] Zoochinense relation to land is therefore a way of living, being and understanding land through collective memories. Through the communal practices that Zoochinenses continue to have Zoochina is living. Therefore, their identity as Zoochinense draws us closer to the communal relations of being from an indigenous community. Their direct experience to Zapotec community life does not stop at the settler borders of Mexico or the U.S., rather it moves across state borders and into urban and unknown lands where gender politics become a binary structured in hetero-patriarchy normativity and where the politics of identity render indigenous people invisible, racially categorized, dead—seen as just another Latina/o or Mexican.

Fortunately, the geographical and political landscape of Zoochina, where its proximity and close relationship with multiple pueblos are less than three miles to one another, are similarly resembled here in Los Angeles. For instance, five families from different pueblos are likely to live on one street or in one apartment complex. The ways the Zapotec Serrano

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[63] Duane Champagne, *Social Change and Cultural Continuity among Native Nations* (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2007), 20.

[64] Mishuana Goeman, "Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment," in *Native Studies Keywords*, ed. Stephanie Nohelani Teves et al. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 75.

communal interaction takes place can range from inviting one another to their *kermeses*, to food sales at someone's backyard, to fundraise money for burial services of a Serrana/o who passed away, to the selling of transported goods from a community member's home. They are constantly in dialogue, relationship, and visible to one another.

A Mexican Eugenics Movement: Critical Indigeneity Perspectives in Chicana/o Studies

Discussions on settler colonialism and immigration are also a critical starting point for those of us who practice and write on Latin American indigenous diasporic culture, politics, and social life in these northern Native lands. In particular, for studies on critical Latina/o indigeneities, it is essential to embark in this discussion with Chicana/o studies that for too long continues to claim mestizaje for all Mexican-Americans and an indigenous "past," "ancestry," or "descent" by claiming "*indigenismo*" (indigenism). This move fails to acknowledge or ignores that fact that indigenismo is the creation of the Mexican-state that celebrates indigenous peoples as former people that are no longer alive.[65] Manuel Gamio (1883-1960), anthropologist and archeologist who was former student of Franz Boas, is considered the leader of the *indigenista* (indigenist) movement, particularly influential in the 1940s.[66] In continuing the creation of a national identity for the Mexican nation-state, Gamio, like those of his time, urged for the sharing of a common language and identity grounded in history and traditions.[67] For Gamio, this sharing of a common history and tradition was his creation of a racial hierarchy based on an

[65] Among Chicana/o literature that uses indigenismo to claim an indigenous identity are, Anzaldúa, 2007; and Moraga, 2011. Gamio, like others during the Porfiriato period, believed in the "universalistic values of the Enlightenment" of the French Revolution (Friedlander, 195).

[66] Anne Doremus, "Indigenism, Mestizaje, and National Identity in Mexico during the 1940s and the 1950's," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 17:1 (2001): 380.

[67] Judith Friedlander, *Being Indian in Hueyapan: A Revised and Updated Edition* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 195.

indigenous past as Aztecs.[68] Under President Carranza, Gamio believed that education would best provide "backward peoples" a step further to incorporation in the making of Mexico's modern state.[69] A eugenicist indeed, Gamio wrote in his book, *Forjando Patria*, that Mexican whites were "morally, spiritually, and intellectually superior to Indians," thus admiring "mestizos for their superior intellectual aptitudes and their rebellious nature" that he argued, "leads them to fight against oppression and injustice."[70]

To further understand the origins of mestizaje, we need to take a look at its most prominent leading thinkers, José Vasconcelos (1882-1959), through a critical indigenous studies perspective. Vasconcelos, who is well known for his ideologies of mestizaje in his book, *La raza cósmica,* was former Minister of Education in Mexico in the 1920s during the popular education movement. Through the national education curriculum and textbooks he pushed for the modernization of indigenous peoples by forcing upon them a mestizaje assimilation vis-à-vis learning the Spanish language and other "modern" modalities he saw in his trip to Europe. To support these practices, Vasconcelos wrote that mestizaje was the leading race—the fifth or "cosmic race" as the superior above all:

> "Los tipos bajos de la especie serán absorbidos por el tipo superior. De esta suerte podría redimirse, por ejemplo, el negro, y poco a poco, por extinción voluntaria, las estirpes más feas irán cediendo el paso a las más hermosas. Las razas inferiores, al educarse, se harían menos prolíficas, y los mejores especímenes irán ascendiendo en una escala de mejoramiento étnico, cuyo tipo máximo no es precisamente el blanco sino esa nueva raza."[71]

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[68] Friedlander, *Being Indian in Hueyapan*, 196. "During this time Gamio was the leading archeologist at the Valley of Teotihuacan where the Aztec (or Mexica) pyramids were excavated.

[69] Friedlander, *Being Indian in Hueyapan*, 195.

[70] Anne Doremus, "Indigenism, Mestizaje, and National Identity," 380.

[71] José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cósmica*, (San Miguel Iztacalco, Mexico D.F.: Offset Libra S.A., 1995), 42-43.

> "The lower types of the species will be absorbed by the superior type. In this manner, for example, the Black could be redeemed, and step-by-step, by voluntary extinction, the uglier stocks will give way to the more handsome. Inferior races, upon being educated, would become less prolific, and the better specimens would go on ascending a scale of ethnic improvement, whose maximum type is not precisely the white, but that new race…"[72]

Interestingly, in the United States, during the Chicano/a movement and in early Chicana/o studies, Vasconcelos was seen as an anti-eugenicist and great contributor to "Raza studies."[73] I move from this traditional perspective and urge us, like Nicole Guidotti-Hernández states, to read "Vasconcelos for the eugenicist that he was."[74] From an indigenous critical perspective indigenismo and mestizaje are colonial moves that restructure violence, especially against indigenous peoples. It is against the inaccuracies and voids in the literature that I write.[75]

When we look at Chicana/o claims to indigenous *ancestry*, they are mostly rooted in Aztecs as people and Aztlán as their homeland.[76] By now we (in Chicana/o studies) should be well aware that for indigenous peoples of Latin America and indigenous Latinas/os in the U.S.

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[72] José Vasconcelos. *The Cosmic Race* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 32.

[73] Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Barbara: Chicano Mater Plan for Higher Education* (Santa Barbara: La Causa Publications, 1986), 11 & 51; and Octavio Ignacio Romano-V., "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican Americans," *El Grito* 2:2 (1969): 164, 167-168.

[74] Nicole Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011): 19.

[75] In her work, Lourdes Alberto makes this intervention by bringing the indigenous (*lo indígena*, as commonly referred in Spanish) to life in the narratives of Chicana/o literature, particularly that in the Chicana movement. See, Alberto's article "Topographies of Indigenism: Mexico, Decolonial Indigenism, and the Chicana Transnational Subject in Ana Castillo's Mixquiahuala Letters" (2012).

[76] Some of the most well known Chicana writers and scholars on mestizo/a and Aztec goddesses and symbols and it's relationship to Chicana identity are Gloria Anzaldúa, Norma Alarcón, and Cherrie Moraga, Alicia Gaspar de Alba, among others. Lourdes Alberto brings a critical indigenous perspective in her work that challenges the indigenist and mestizaje discourse traditionally employed in discussing Chicana/o identity and history.

mestizaje and indigenismo are ideologies and policies that were born from colonialism to erase the Indian through incorporation.[77] These polices continue to perpetrate genocide vis-à-vis assimilation of indigenous peoples as mestizos/as. Though these conversations are beginning to emerge in the field, there is still much needed work, especially in states like California where indigenous Mexican migrants have settled for the past fifty years and are largely present.[78]

In this brief literature review I have used an indigenous hemispheric framework. I have found it useful to stress indigenous Latin American, indigenous Latina/o, and American Indian literature. As indigenous diasporas from Mexico that come to settle in Los Angeles, these migrant groups do not only become racially labeled as Latina/os, but they become invisible to Native peoples of whose land they settle, and so too do indigenous Latin American diasporas become invisible to American Indians. It has been my investment, as a member of an indigenous community, as a woman, as a growing intellectual, and in the political nature of critical and indigenous studies (because as I agree with Chandra Mohanty that "There can, of course, be no apolitical scholarship") to put indigenous hemispheric readings in conversation with native feminism studies.[79] I have avoided from merging these readings and other indigenous peoples' experiences in a homogeneous and binary praxis. Rather, my work in critical indigenous hemispheric literature considers Chandra Mohanty's transnational feminist theory that opposes third world women and "women in the third world" to be used as monolithic subjects of

[77] I want to thank Maylei Blackwell for highlighting the importance of distinguishing between settler colonialism as a process of erasure to that of assimilation, as a process of harsh forms of incorporation.

[78] See, Saldaña-Portillo, 2001 and 2016; Guidotti-Hernández, 2011; and Alberto, 2012 for a critical analysis of mestizaje and indigenismo in the field of Chicana/o and Mexican-American studies.

[79] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *Duke University Press* 12/13:1 (1984): 334.

knowledge production both by Western feminist and third world feminist scholarship.[80] In the next section I observe the data and methods I undertake and consider my own diasporic experiences as a community member and as a scholar in the U.S.

[80] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 333.

Data and Methods

My analysis is based on data collected through qualitative research methods. I conducted in-depth interviews and participant observation with the Zoochina Zapotec community in Los Angeles, California. All conversations were conducted in the preferred language of the participant, English or Spanish and all translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. At times, a few Zapotec words and expressions were said by participants to express their sense of belonging and understanding to Zapotec life in diaspora. In this Thesis, I use the term longitudinal based on lifetime experiences, knowledge, and memory as I, a Zapotec Zoochinense, grew up with this community and have maintained my connection with them.

In the summer of 2015, I conducted interviews with five adult men and seven adult women. The oldest interviewee, a first generation migrant, was sixty-seven year old. The youngest, a U.S.-born Zoochinense, was turning twenty at the time of the interview. It is important to mention that all of my interviewees are documented immigrants (they have legal permanent status, are naturalized or are "natural-born-citizens"). Even though my participants' immigration status is not a primary concern for the purpose of this research, it is necessary to mention here to understand why their connection to "home," Zoochina, is so strong. Based on this research, this transnational connection is heavily embedded because their documented legal status allows them to go back-and-forth across borders without fear of deportation or any other type of structural, often violent, impediments.[81] Consequently, I did not ask questions on their immigration status.

In preparation for my conversations with the community I created two documents with guiding questions for my participants. One document contained questions for parents (mostly

[81] Leisy Abrego, "The Structure of Trauma through Separation" in *Sacrificing Families: Navigating Laws, Labor, and Love Across Borders* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 68-100.

migrants) and the other document aimed for the U.S.-raised generation. I divided the questions in the following categories: history, culture, community/participation, and identity. Some of the questions I asked were:

History:

1. Where did you first arrive when you immigrated to the U.S.? (Question for migrant generation),

Culture:

2. Are your parents involved in any cultural practices/traditions in LA? Why? Or, why not?

Community/Participation:

3. Tell me about your participation with your community?

Identity:

4. Do you identify as a person from an indigenous group?

I chose to divide my questions in such way to remain organized during these conversations. I also provided a few prior questions to my interviewees through email and found the four categories helpful for them to understand the broad issues I was concerned with. For those that did not have an email or any Internet usage knowledge, I printed the document and gave it to them a few minutes before we started our conversation. I did this in order to get the interviewee acquainted with some of the questions most relevant to my research as most of them had never been interviewed and they expressed that they wanted to have an idea of what I would ask prior to our conversation. Each conversation took one hour with thirty minutes to two hours. Immediately after my conversation with participants I took notes on my observations during the interview followed by my own transcribing of these.

After transcribing my interviews, I followed an inductive analytical process to develop the themes and patterns I highlight here. I used "open coding" techniques to be open to themes

and interpretations that arise from the data.[82] Open coding thus becomes important in order for me not to disregard important information by disqualifying it early on in the process.[83] This led me to create a list of more than twenty coding categories (including subcategories) ranging from Zapotec identity to forms of participation like, cultural, political, and social. Within some of these general categories I created more specific and descriptive categories I refer to as subcategories, such as dancing, playing in the community's band, and being part of their hometown association. This participation was accounted for both parents and the 1.5 and second-generation in Los Angeles. Geographically, my study is based on the population who reside in: Mid-City, Koreatown, and South Central. These areas hold the largest Zoochina population throughout Los Angeles County. Most of my participants live in South Central, but Koreatown, near Irolo and Olympic, was the beginning of Zoochina settlement when they first immigrated in the sixties.

In conducting and gathering the stories, I participated closely with the community. I attended Zoochina hometown association meetings, which are held every two to three months, partook in *convivios* (Zoochina-only social gatherings), and *kermeses*. Previous to conducting my research, I have participated and continue to participate in multiple ways, as a community member, whether it be cleaning after a *kermes* or *convivios*, helping to cook, assisting as a cashier for food sales, and donating what is needed. While it is expected of all members to participate, it is also a voluntary process in which one donates based on one's current economic situation and, as expressed by all my interviewees, "for the love of our pueblo."

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[82] Carol A.B. Warren and Tracy X. Karner, "Analyzing Qualitative Data: Fieldnotes, Transcribing, Documents, and Images" in *Discovering Qualitative Methods: Field Research, Interviews, and Analysis* (California: Roxbury Publishing Company, 2005), 212.

[83] Ibid.

I also gave back to the community by providing educational workshops and returning a collection of 19th century archives on Zoochina that I personally have been gathering from Oaxaca's state archive since 2012.[84] As an undergraduate student in 2007 I had done previous field research in Zoochina because I was interested in knowing the town's pre-Columbian origin. In Zoochina and among its hometown associations in diaspora, no one had records on the town's origin or how far back the establishment of the town went. That year I found few documents from the local parish that dated Zoochina's pre-Colombian origin established by Zapotecs escaping Mitla rule. In 2012 and 2014 I had the opportunity to join my partner at Oaxaca's state archive where I gathered the 19th century documents. These documents gave actual names of children enrolled in Zoochina's school, as well as names of the customary law officials, and other sensitive information on the town. The return of these documents to the actual town's authority at the time and in Zoochina L.A.'s HTA, was one of overjoy and shock of not knowing that such documents existed. As a Native woman from Zoochina, returning these documents is a continual relationship that holds respect to the community and one that involves multiple forms of belonging and being indigenous.

As an "insider," I made sure to compensate for any potential biases by paying close attention to whether the interviewee would be willing to openly share sufficient information, especially when talking about community participation and in naming certain people, more so than others. My ethical scholarly work and community practices and beliefs continue to be part of what informs my work. Thus, as my scholarly ethical method, more than a paying it back (accountability), and paying it forward (reciprocity), my practices are embedded in *comunalidad*;

[84] During my research, most of these events were held in a community member's backyard in South Central. This Zoochina member owns clothing factories in L.A. and many in the community would agree that he is the wealthiest man of Zoochina. Both places are offered free of charge.

these are ongoing, everlasting, and take multiple forms.[85] In this interpretation of my work, I am also aware that more than half of my community will never read, and to a certain extent, will not directly benefit from it. Therefore, as with previous studies I have conducted with the Zoochina people, I will continue presenting my findings at hometown association meetings and as they ask of me to do while getting their permission to conduct this work for my M.A. Thesis, continue interviewing the young and old Zoochinenses in order to rescue, if only a glimpse of our lives in diaspora. It is to them that I am indebted.

[85] Megan Ybarra, "Don't Just Pay It Back, Pay It Forward: From Accountability to Reciprocity in Research Relationships," *Journal of Research Practice* 10: No. 5 (2014): 2, accessed April 12, 2015.

Analysis: Challenging the Gender 'Tradition' in Cultural Practices

> Yo me identifico más como de Oaxaca, la cultura Oaxaqueña, no tanto que soy Chicana. Yo la mera verdad nunca me identifique así. – Soledad (2nd generation, 41 year-old woman)[86]
>
> (English Translation)
> I identify more as being from Oaxaca, the Oaxacan culture, not really that I'm Chicana. In reality, I have never identified like that.

Soledad was born in the Koreatown area of Los Angeles, California. Both of Soledad's parents were born and raised in Zoochina. Since her late teens she has participated in Zoochina's hometown affairs through sacred community dancing and folkloric dancing.[87] Soledad is among the first of her U.S.-raised Zapotec generation in southern California who realized her indigenous identity growing up in the 80s.[88] Although she does not speak any Zapotec and has only been to Zoochina five times in her lifetime, she expresses her identities as Oaxacan and Zoochinense simultaneously. While much of the literature agrees that claiming a regional identity, like "Oaxacan" does not necessarily imply being indigenous, most of my participants use it synonymously to one another.[89] For example, Soledad shared that when she was growing-up saying, "Soy Oaxaqueña era como decir que eras indígena."[90] Another one of my interviewees,

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[86] Personal communication, Soledad, September 17, 2015. To protect the identity of my interviewees I use pseudonyms.

[87] Sacred dances are only held for and among community members and are not danced outside of the Zapotec *Serrano* community or in the Guelaguetza festival, whereas I consider folkloric dances are those that are danced in La Guelaguetza or other mainstream Mexican festivals.

[88] Although both of her parents were born in Zoochina and speak Zapotec, she recounts, as I summarize later, that her parents always identified as "Zoochinenses" (to their land).

[89] Murphy and Stepick 1991; Kearney 2000.

[90] "I am Oaxacan was like saying you were indigenous." Also see, Lynn Stephen, *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 214-220. In Stephen's work, indigenous Oaxacan migrants and nonmigrants in

Domingo, said that when he attended high school in the '80s, "Cada ves que deciamos que eramos Oaxaqueños, claro que nos insultaban (northern Mexican students) porque eramos morenos, bajitos... teníamos una cierta fachada."[91] Similarly, and as further described below in the "Quick Reminisces: Then from Now" subsection, other U.S.-raised Zoochinenses, particularly the early first generation growing-up in the '80s, expressed that saying one was from Oaxaca or Oaxaqueña/o was like saying that you were indigenous, of which caused many to be ashamed of being not only indigenous, but Oaxacan. However, as they now come to recall those experiences, using a Oaxacan or Oaxaqueña/o identity emphasizes their difference to other Latino/as and Mexicans in particular. This difference is embedded in recognizing a communal identity that is maintained and recreated in diasporic indigenous practices and beliefs. Exactly how this identity occurs is the main analysis that builds my argument. I argue that Zoochina identity is rooted, yet recreated as a survival mechanism in the U.S., through community cultural and political practices, of which Zapotec women play a vital role for communal existence and futurity across diasporas and settler states.

Gendering Comunalidad in Diaspora

When Zoochinenses began to massively immigrate to L.A. in the 1970s, those who stayed behind, mostly the elderly, believed that Zoochina would soon disappear. It was of great concern, especially because there were about 500 people living there at the time and, as the

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Oaxaca also share that they use Oaxacan and indigenous identity simultaneously. Stephen further demonstrates that non-Oaxacan Mexicans and Latinos use Oaxacan identity to mean indigenous.

[91] "Every time we said we were Oaxacan, of course they (northern Mexican students) insulted us because we were brown, short… we had a certain appearance."

historical demographics of migration show, most immigrants were young adult men.[92] In contrast, the first migrant from Zoochina to arrive to L.A. and settle, after the temporary migration of Zoochinense Bracero workers in the U.S., was a woman. As the oldest sibling, Carmelita, who is now in her late sixties, migrated in her teenage years to find a job and to be able to provide for her parents and her growing siblings. While she was unavailable for interview, due to her constant and lengthy journeys to Zoochina, Carmelita first arrived in Mexico City in the 1960s.[93] After only a few months in Mexico City she left to California in the company of some friends from a neighboring town. Once she was settled and working as a housekeeper, Carmelita helped many other Zoochinenses to emigrate, settle, and find employment through her network connections to the larger Oaxacan diaspora from towns like Yatzachi el Bajo and Yalina already living in L.A.

In alignment with the literature on Latin American gender and indigenous communities that look at women and their indigenous communal practices as complementarities— indigenous women's issues are not separate from their indigenous communities, but rather go hand-in-hand.[94] As a diaspora, the experiences of indigenous women who move to urban places differ from those of indigenous men in that oftentimes women have to work not only inside the home,

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[92] Grimes, 1998; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes, 2003; Pribilsky, 2004; Cohen 2004; Ibarraran and Lubotsky, 2007; and FitzGerald, 2009.

[93] With the help of Carmelita's daughter, whose experience I have also noted, and that of the HTA's, they shared with me after inquiring of who the first Zoochinense immigrant was. Both the HTA and Carmelita's daughter described to me at length her migratory experience and that of helping later Zoochinense migrants settle in the US.

[94] Rosalva Aída Hernández and Andrew Canessa, "Identidades Indígenas y relaciones de género en Mesoamérica y la Región Andina, in *Complementariedades y exclusiones en Mesoamérica y los Andes*, ed. Rosalva Aída Hernández y Andrew Canessa, *Abya-Yala y el Grupo Internacional de Trabajo sobre Asuntos Indígenas* (IWGIA), ed. Production Alejandro Parellada (Lima, Perú: Tarea Asociación Gráfica Educativa, 2012), 13.

but also outside of it in the labor force, and in the *transnational* (emphasis intended) collective community. That is, communal responsibility does not stop outside of Native territory, but continues to be an everyday responsibility across and within borders that are often re-imagined. For urban indigenous migrant women, indigeneity is taught and practiced across generations in diaspora and is essential for communal survival. Using indigenous Latin American, American Indian, and First Nations Canadian literature, I complicate what it means to be Zapoteca as a U.S.-raised diasporas. I show this through communal cultural practices and social and political communal participation of women in traditionally male dominated spaces.[95] The U.S.-raised generations have been crucially important over the last twenty years because they have persisted and transformed the survival of Zapotec identity by dancing and playing in the Oaxacan brass band and by actively participating in their hometown association.

The HTA: Holding Communal Responsibility

HTAs are not unique to the experiences of indigenous Oaxacans. They are also common among other Mexican immigrants, mostly from Michoacán, Jalisco, Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Guerrero and Durango.[96] According to Fox and Rivera-Salgado (2004), these immigrant groups refer to themselves as: "'organizaciones de pueblo,' 'clubes de oriundos,' or 'clubes sociales

[95] Martha Sánchez, Amuzga women organizer from Guerrero, Mexico demonstrates the importance that organizing feminist spaces have had in confronting exclusionary practices in indigenous social movements (Martha Sánchez, "Los retos de los liderazgos femeninos en el movimiento indígena de México: la experiencia de la ANIPA," 38). The importance of Zoochina women organizing and confronting exclusionary practices will be clearly visible throughout this section.

[96] See, Bada, 2003; Fox, 2005; Rivera-Salgado, Bada, and Escala-Rabadán, 2005; Fox and Bada 2008.

comunitarios.'"[97] Zoochinenses refer to their HTA as "la union." Unlike some northern and central Mexican HTAs, indigenous Oaxacan HTAs do not interact or rely on Mexican government sponsorship to keep themselves active, or take part in immigrant issue conferences locally, nationally, binationally or internationally.[98] Like back home, Zoochina's HTA reflects *usos y costumbres* (indigenous customary law) practices.[99] The *Centro Social San Jerónimo Zoochina* is autonomous in deciding how they run themselves as well as what community projects they decide to raise money for, including the means they take to do these, which are culturally and socially based fundraisers.

The *Centro Social San Jerónimo Zoochina* informally started in the late 1960s by the few paisanas (townswomen) who had begun settling in L.A. and lived in the same apartment complex or apartment unit in Koreatown.[100] According to various formal and informal conversations with

[97] Jonathan Fox and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, "Building Civil Society among Indigenous Migrants," in *Indigenous Mexican Migrants in the United States*, ed. Jonathan Fox and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado (La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies and the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego, 2004), 13.

[98] In "Mapping Mexican Migrant Civil Society," Jonathan Fox (2005) stresses a difference in civic and political organizing of Oaxacan HTAs to other Mexican HTAs. Fox describes binationality as a "civic" engagement where some Mexican migrant groups engage with the U.S. and Mexico to become full members of both societies, thus constructing "civic binationality" (1). In talking about conferences on immigration, I am particularly referring to the 2010 "Migrant Dialogues" conference that I was part of as a California-based representative of an indigenous organization (not an HTA). The Mexican government and the Universidad Autónoma de Puebla put the conference together. All of the hometown associations that were present were non-indigenous or mestizo Mexican migrants, mostly from Zacatecas and Jalisco.

[99] Zoochina is an autonomous town, which means that they have no political parties or caciques (a historically brutal chief imposed by Spaniards during it's crown; Caciques are now controlled under the political party of the state). Guerrero and Chiapas are the other two states in Mexico that practice usos y costumbres.

[100] With Maylei Blackwell, conversations of apartment buildings where many Oaxacans live in throughout Los Angles have been brought up as interesting sites of maintaining community. I

the first and 1.5 diaspora who grew-up in the '70s, and are now in their forties, it was women who began to organize and call their paisanas/os in the early '70s to let them know that they would be starting "*la union*."[101] Young and older men and women began meeting in Koreatown at the apartment of the women who founded the HTA, since a few of them lived together.[102] While the initial goal of *la union* was simply a social one, they noticed that other HTAs, like that of Yatzachi el Bajo, began sending money to their town for social projects.[103] *La union's* primary goal then became to reconstruct the town's adobe made Catholic church after the 1985 earthquake damaged it. However, as they began locally organizing and collecting money to send to Zoochina they noticed, as Don Rogelio, sixty-three year old man who is one of the oldest HTA members, shared: "Se dieron cuenta que la necesidad del pueblo era grande." Thus the economic and moral contribution of migrant *paisanos* (countrymen or townsmen) to their town went beyond the repair of the church.[104] Throughout the years, some of the projects that have come out of this transnational and translocal communal organizing are helping the town get electricity, building the municipal agency (*Agencia Municipal*, where the customary elected officials meet and where an official welcome by this autonomous elected office officially greet

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myself grew-up in such apartment complex and unit, as well as street in Mid-City Los Angeles. These Oaxacan neighbors were all from the sierra.

[101] Personal communication with the elders and oldest members in L.A.'s HTA.

[102] Since then, the HTA has grown and they have held meetings at various homes, mostly in living rooms and garages throughout Koreatown, Mid-City, Downtown L.A., and South Central where the immigrant generation, their children and grandchildren now live.

[103] *Paisanos* recall attending social gatherings from a neighboring town, *Yatzachi el Bajo* that brought together their community in Los Angeles.

[104] Personal communication. Don Rogelio Nicolas Robles, March 2016. English translation: "They noticed that the need of the pueblo was major."

the diaspora for patron saint celebrations), running water, among other basic necessities.[105]

As the immigrant generation began having kids, their children also grew up as part of the community seeing their relatives organize for the well-being of Zoochina. The older second-generation born in the '70s recall attending meetings and playing with their cousins and siblings while their parents and relatives "set a seed" as they "were being active participants in creating change in their hometown," thus the "genesis" of the second-generation's eventual participation with the *Centro Social San Jerónimo Zoochina* as young adults began in the 1970s.[106] Indigenous communities throughout the hemisphere have maintained that to be indigenous and claim indigeneity is rooted not only in knowledge and teaching, but actual practice that starts from a very young age. Therefore, being in a diaspora is understood as "… the connections of a community of people" over "distance and time."[107] This connection and maintenance among Zoochinenses continues to grow as women dismantle their exclusion from participating in their "traditional" cultural practices, such as taking part in male dominated circles, like dances and the brass band, as well as the HTA; however, generally speaking, HTAs continue to be significantly male run. Today, Zoochina's HTA is composed of a president (only three women have ever been elected), vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and what they call two "vocales," whose

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[105] I realize that conversations on development are problematic for indigenous communities' autonomy, especially as it is historically linked to implications of globalization and land privatization vis-à-vis the state and private (international) corporations. However, for towns in the Sierra Juárez who are many hours away from the city (like Zoochina), and who do not receive the necessary services, such as running water and electricity, these become essential.

[106] "Mapping Indigenous Los Angeles," last modified October 14, 2015, http://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=31d1100e9a454f5c9b905f55b08c0d22

[107] Katherine Ellinghaus, "Mixed-Descent Indian Identity and Assimilation Policy," in *Native Diasporas: Indigenous Identities and Settler Colonialism in the Americas*, ed. Gregory D. Smithers and Brooke N. Newman (Nebraska: Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska, 2014), 318.

responsibility is to call members to tell them about upcoming meetings and ask for food or money donations during fundraising events, among other responsibilities. As the 1.5 and second-generation have taken positions in the HTA, they have learned from the Zoochinense elders in L.A. that one cannot perform a dance, play in the band, or plan religious, social, and/or cultural celebrations without first asking permission from the HTA— the maximum communal power in L.A.

The *Centro Social Zoochina's* primary component by which they constitute power is through members who economically contribute for social development projects in Zoochina. By-laws established by members two decades ago agree that when Zoochinenses want to take-on or participate in a project, the *Centro Social Zoochina* must be sought for permission. That is, the members decide that before any project is carried out in the name of Zoochina, that all wanting to take part in it present themselves during an HTA meeting in order to share the benefit of the project to the Zoochina community at large and ask permission to be allowed to carry out the project. After permission is given the *Centro* has to support the project, whether it be in promoting fundraisers, donating money or food, or as appropriate to the project's success.[108] However, one cannot participate in a project if one does not economically support the community. For example, if a person is too young to do so or if they are a college student, a parent or grandparent typically has to be a member.

When the 1.5, second and 2.5-generation were asked why they identified as Zoochinense even though they were not born in Zoochina, they all expressed a collective sense of belonging and knowing to the Zoochina community back home and in Los Angeles that stems from their

[108] For example, in 2013, the Danza de Las Negritas (discussed below) did a kermes to fundraise money for dancers, who were either students or stay-at-home grandmothers that could no afford to purchase their flight ticket to go back to Zoochina and perform.

childhood. Antonio, a forty-two year-old second-generation man described this sentiment of home as being in Zoochina: "Ahí esta nuestra raíz! Ahí esta todo! Bueno, así me identifico, que es un pueblo, es mi pueblito, que es donde yo puedo llegar y ser libre sin que nadie me diga nada… no naci ahí, pero soy del pueblo!... No me canso de decirlo!"[109] Antonio's statement shows a direct tie to home being in Zoochina. Based on participant observation and interviews, it is clear that the second-generation has grown up in a space of Zapotec *transnational comunalidad* since childhood that is deeply rooted and continual. It is the way in which they have come to understand their everyday life and reality as indigenous Serranos (from the mountains) in urban spaces. Being Zoochinense, whether it be by maintaining traditional cultural practices, autonomous political and social practices alive though their HTA, or by retelling stories of life in "el pueblo" (the town) to the next generations, are ways in which Zapotec identity are further solidified away from *home*, and thus some of the ways in which transnational communal life is created.[110] I contend that it is the elders in diaspora and "back home" that have transmitted the importance of *comunalidad* for their survival in the face of a growing Zoochinense population outside of the land. Their stories are often heard in HTA meetings, other social and cultural events as they pass their communal knowledge to their children and grandchildren. Currently, there are about twenty Zoochinense second and 2.5-generation that are

[109] Personal communication, Antonio, September 17, 2015. My own translation: "Our roots are there! Everything is there! Well, that's how I identify, that it's a pueblo, it's my little pueblo, which is where I can arrive and be free without anyone telling me anything… I was not born there, but I am from the pueblo. I don't get tired of saying it!"

[110] Although I will not go into detail, it is important to point that there are differences in how the Zapotec diaspora from the Sierra maintain their cultural, social, and political practices different from Central Valley Zapotecs in Los Angeles. While I do not intend to pursue one group as "more authentic" than the other, most Sierra Zapotecs still maintain their language and govern themselves through *usos y costumbres* (customary law) both in the land and in diaspora. A reason for this has to do with the lengthy distance that Zoochina is from the city, as compared to many Central Valley towns that are relatively close to the city.

part of the new brass band membership, all of whose parents or grandfathers were in the band when it was first formed in 1992.

Dancing, however, has also played a vital role in maintaining their indigenous Oaxacan identity of which I associate folkloric dancing as part of Oaxacan mainstream culture and is more often associated with the folkloric style celebrations of the annual La Guelaguetza at the Cerro del Fortín in Oaxaca or in Normandie Park in Los Angeles.[111] The actual meaning of *guelaguetza*, however, refers to the practice of reciprocity in labor or in gifts among the community during major celebrations, such as weddings. For example, if one gets married in the community or in diaspora, close relatives are expected to donate live turkeys (giving poultry is more common in Los Angeles) and/or pigs for consumption for the guests or help set up for the event. In California, La Guelaguetza is now celebrated in five cities: Los Angeles, Fresno, Santa Cruz, San Diego, and San Jose.[112] The Zoochina community got involved in La Guelaguetza since the late 1980s through the participation of Zoochina's hometown association, by performing in multiple dances, and through their brass bands, which was one of two bands to play in the Guelaguetza when it first started. Zoochina 1.5 and second-generation men and women have been among the first Zapotec Oaxacans in Los Angeles to take part in indigenous Oaxacan traditions, such as in the folkloric celebrations of La Guelaguetza at Normandie Park in

[111] While some may argue that *La Guelaguetza* in Los Angeles has been reclaimed by indigenous people away from commercialization and tourism that happens in Oaxaca, I disagree. In the first decade of the Los Angeles *Guelaguetza* Zapotec HTAs organized to sell food and other goods. The money gained would go to the needs of each town in Oaxaca as appropriate. Now all food and memorabilia sellers are commercial, private Zapotec-owned entrepreneurs.

[112] Personal (informal) communication, Odilia Romero and Janet Martinez, Summer 2015. Romero and Martínez are members of the Los Angeles Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations (FIOB). The FIOB is a founding organization within the Regional Organization of Oaxaca (ORO). The FIOB and ORO closely work together in Los Angeles.

the summer of 1991.[113] These forms of participation among the 1.5 and 2nd generation continue to survive in urban areas that are not our homelands.

In the opening quote Soledad's self-identity as "Oaxaqueña" is influenced by that of her family's communal practices with Zoochina. She has no problem saying that she does not identify as that which she, nor her family, does not know or have not necessarily experienced—being Chicana. Since La Guelaguetza started in 1989 at Normandie Park, she and many other youth from Zoochina, most of whom have been women, have participated in Oaxacan folkloric dancing through Zoochina's HTA.[114] For Zoochinenses, getting their children to claim their belonging and be claimed by the members of the community began through dancing in Zoochina's *convivios*, which in diaspora are social gatherings only for members of one's town, and other social events. Since then all the dances, which have been performed by the first generation (including a fifty year-old grandmother), the 1.5, second, and 2.5 generations, have been taken back to perform in Zoochina during the patron saint festival as a communal gesture of responsibility with the land.

Through stories and teachings, parents and grandparents recount when they, like generations before them, danced the same dances that Zoochina has come to partake-in in Los Angeles. Immigrant parents first organized their children in 1993 after Don Rogelio, proposed it

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[113] A quick reference on La Guelaguetza in Los Angeles is available in the Latin American Indigenous Diaspora section of the Mapping Indigenous Los Angeles project done by indigenous scholars at UCLA and in the community. See, http://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=31d1100e9a454f5c9b905f55b08c0d22

[114] Zoochina's brass band was one of two bands that began playing in La Guelaguetza when it first began and when it was still community based. Unlike before, where the food vendors in La Guelaguetza were hometown based, they are now privately owned Oaxacan restaurants/entrepreneurs. A quick reference on La Guelaguetza in Los Angeles is available in the Latin American Indigenous Diaspora section of the Mapping Indigenous Los Angeles project done by Native scholars at UCLA and indigenous community. See, http://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=31d1100e9a454f5c9b905f55b08c0d22

to the HTA. This was the first dance that Zoochina diaspora took back to the pueblo where the 1.5 and second-generation children (twelve of them in total, ranging from the age of seven to fourteen), took part in to present during the patron saint festival of 1994. *Los Malinches* was the first major socio-cultural event that not only brought Zoochinense 1.5 and second-generation children together. It also demonstrated, as my interviewees Domingo, Cecilia, and Melissa mentioned, that dancing is a serious matter that must be done with respect and responsibility to and for the community. As all of my migrant generation informants said, including Mr. Aldalberto: "Cuando bailas una danza no solamento lo haces por ti mismo, si no para todo Zoochina. Estar en una danza no es un juego. Es un compromiso serio."[115] Stories of articulate and precise attention goes into every step, particularly for the dances of *Los Malinches* and *Los* Negritos.[116] For example, Luna, Melissa, and another woman who has now passed onto the spirit world, and who will remain anonymous for respect to her parents, recount that their parents and grandparents always emphasized, "Puntillas! Puntillas!" (Tip top! Tip toe!) and "Brinca! Muevete!" (Jump! Move your body!). The precise tip-toing to the ground is said to be a gesture of gratitude and respect to the creator. To say that "Puntillas!" is an essential component to Zoochina dances is an understatement that goes beyond any description or emphasis. From a young child to an adult, "puntillas" are part of what makes you a Zoochina *danzante*. Yet, for some dances that do not require so much body motion, "No muevas tu cuerpo!" (Don't move your body) are common teachings of the importance that specific movements are to each dance

[115] Personal communication, Mr. Aldalberto, August 13, 2015. "When you dance it's not only for one self, but one for Zoochina. When you are in a dance it's not a game. It's a serious compromise." My own translation.

[116] I am unable to go into the precise technical and geographic details of *Los Malinches* and *Los Negritos*. However, *Los Malinches* and *Los Negritos* have both a spanish and indigenous component that is performed by children throughout neighboring towns in the Sierra.

and town.[117]

These transnational communal gestures not only fortify their indigenous communal ties, but also their right as indigenous peoples to continue practicing cultural ways of life. At the same time they reimagine what it means to belong and be recognized to indigenous societies as being both urban Indians and women who return to their native land—a right of recognition and acceptance that has further been bestowed to the young Zapotecs in diaspora through the practice of cultural transnational communality, or returning to perform traditional dances during Zoochina's major events. In other cases, first nation women returning to their territory and reserves from having lived in cities, from state to state, or in other settler state borders have found exclusion going back, some of which has to do with the quantification of blood, which is not necessarily severe in Mexico or among indigenous Mexicans.[118]

As a mechanism of survival the 1.5, second, and 2.5-generation are partaking in the revival of Zapotec ways of knowing and understanding their lives. Their direct experience of community life does not stop at the settler borders of Mexico or the US, rather it moves across state borders and into urban and unknown lands to make the indigenous Latina/o experience visible, recognized, and re-claimed through communal practices. To claim and be claimed to

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[117] "Puntillas! Puntillas refers to foot motion with precise toe pointing to the ground.

[118] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 165-166. In her chapter, "The Gender of the Flint: Mohawk Nationhood and Citizenship in the Face of Empire," Simpson describes the experience of belonging and recognition for Kahnawà:ke women as members of the tribe, as well as their exclusion from it when marrying a non-Kahnawà:ke. Simpson provides an example of an urban Kahnawà:ke woman who had not returned to her Native land until recently. Upon her return, the woman claimed her right to her family's land. However, the tribal council's policies of recognition and land dispossession, of which Simpson demonstrates stem colonialism, dispossessed the women of her family's land. The council used Indian blood quantum (which they measured her having 40% Indian blood) as their main argument for her illegitimate right to claim her Native land and non-recognition as Kahnawà:ke.

Zapotec community is to problematize racially categorized labels. Thereby, making Zapotec identity or Zoochinense identity a political process of consciousness. Examining how *comunalidad* is practiced among women in Los Angeles is equally important.

"La Banda"[119]

Prior to the 1990s, women were not seen playing in Mexico or Los Angeles. Even throughout the years when Oaxaca's *internados* (music boarding schools) had started in the early 20th century, including Zoogocho's *internado*, women had not participated. Nowadays, about one-fourth, if not half, of the musicians in these bands are women or young girls, more so in L.A. than in Oaxaca[120] During my fieldwork, I overheard Doña Fatima tell her husband how she remembers: "(Tocando en la banda) era para hombres. Pensabamos que porque sacaban (las mujeres) mucha fuerza al soplar (en el instrumento) no iban a poder (tocar). Quién iba saber!"[121] Similar responses were made by other first generation Zapotecs in their response to a growing number of musician indigenous Oaxacan women in the brassbands. My particular concern here is to address early reactions from the Oaxacan community when seeing these young girls for the first time in Los Angeles. I tell this story through the lived experience of the first young girl, now in her thirties, to join the Zoochina LA band and the stories of the first generation that at one point played in the bands or had their husband or child as members in the bands.

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[119] Translates to "The Band." I title this subsection "*La Banda"* because it is consistently how Zoochinenses refer to the their band.

[120] However, in Oaxaca there is an all indigenous women's band, *Banda Filarmónica Femenil de Santa María Tlahuitoltepec Mixe, Oaxaca*. For videos see, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ekrbGAnLwxs

[121] Participant observation, Doña Fatima, August 2015. "(Playing in the band) was for men. We thought that because they (the women) took out a lot of force to blow (into the instrument) they weren't going to be able to (play). Who would have known!"

Luna grew-up in Mid-City L.A. where she lived with her parents and three sisters in a two-bedroom apartment until the age of twenty-three when she got married to a 1.5 Zoochinense man, also a member of the band. Luna's father, Don Rogelio, is one of the co-founders of the Zoochina band in L.A.[122] Luna joined the band soon after she finished dancing the first U.S.-based Zoochina children dance, *Los Malinches*. Recently, in winter of 2016, six years after their last child was born, Luna and her husband have returned to play in the band.[123] She shared her experience as being one of only three women in L.A. to have started playing in Oaxacan brassbands and the first women to play in the Zoochina band.[124]

> It was uncomfortable at first being the first woman to be in the band (1998)… When we first started going to *tocadas* (gigs), people would stare at me because there were not too many women playing in the bands back then. Men would even stand right behind me to hear if I was *really* (her emphasis) playing or if I was just simply keeping the seat warm. (Luna, 31 year-old, second-generation woman)[125]

Luna was seen as a spectacle by the Oaxacan diaspora. Her performance, in order to be valued, was being tested by men outside of her immediate Zoochina community. These men paid close

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[122] Zoochina's band in L.A. was co-founded by Rogelio Nicolás-Róbles and Francisco López-Cruz in 1992. Both men began their love for *"la banda"* in their early teens through *"el internado"* (music boarding school) in the neighboring town of San Bartolomé Zoogocho. A twelve-year land conflict had recently ended in Zoochina with another neighboring town when Don Rogelio and Don Francisco started attending *"el internado*,*"* as it is commonly referred. They were the only community members from Zoochina to go to *"el internado"* after the conflict ended. Since then, other men from Zoochina have also attended.

[123] There have been five U.S.-raised Zoochinense women who have played in the band since Luna's absence.

[124] According to many elders' accounts, and from what I remember growing-up and going to many of these gigs in L.A., Yatzachi el Bajo (YEB) was the first Oaxacan brass band to have had a woman playing in the band. This woman was a first-generation migrant elder who played the saxophone. Later on, a second-generation Zapotec-Mixtec woman joined the YEB band around the same time that Luna joined the Zoochina band, making them the first U.S.-raised Zapotec generation women to play in Oaxacan brassbands in the urban spaces of L.A.

[125] Personal communication, Luna, July 2015.

attention by standing immediately behind Luna to "prove" if she was really playing her instrument. At the same time, these men were exerting their patriarchal power to see if women's partaking in cultural traditions, like the band, were deemed acceptable. Whereas Luna did not get any negative reactions for her participation in dancing, it is interesting to see how dancing is viewed as a more gender appropriate activity for girls and women.[126] Girl and women's participation in most dances are never questioned. Rather, it is encouraged and expected among the community. While the band from Zoochina was not necessarily displaying her as a spectacle, it is worrisome that among the larger indigenous community women were seen as an exhibit when partaking in male dominated spaces.[127]

When I asked Luna how she felt about this reaction, she said shrugging her shoulders, "I would think and say in my head, I bet I can play louder than you can!" Despite receiving passive aggressive attitudes, it did not stop Luna from continuing her participation in the band. After a few years Luna began teaching *solfeo* (the singing of music scale notes) to the second-generation Zoochinenses, who were now old enough to play an instrument and all had hopes of joining the

[126] Dances are also oftentimes female and male coupled, with the exception of the dance of *Los Negritos*, which is male coupled.

[127] I am referring to early U.S. spectacles during executions and other prolonged physical and emotional savagery of Europeans against Blacks, indigenous peoples, and other non-dominant groups at the time. In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Michael Foucault talks about the spectacle when describing the forms of punishment that the prison system in the United States undertook to create fear and therefore control people. In *The Transit of Empire*, Jodi Byrd talks about colonial origin of using indigenous peoples as spectacles by using Shakespeare's play, *The Tempest*. Through her analysis, Byrd argues that U.S. economic and military desires extends itself through "Indianness," where indigenous peoples stand in the way of U.S. imperialism and therefore must be eliminated through an ongoing "cacophony" of settler colonialism that includes both White and non-white "arrivants." The U.S thereby legitimates indigenous peoples' dispossession of their lands and polities.

band.[128] Out of this *solfeo* training four Zoochina women, (three second-generation and one 2.5) became members of the band. Over the past months, Luna and her husband's current return to the band coincides with current 2.5 generation Zoochina kids, of which their seven-year-old daughter and her nephew and nieces are also part of.[129]

"Es la Danza de 'Las Negritas,' no Los Negritos"[130]

Cecilia, among the oldest second-generation Zoochinense woman, lived most of her life in Mid-City after her parents purchased a house there in the nineties. When she was born,

[128] To be able to teach *solfeo* means that you have mastered how to read and verbally tune most, if not all, of the music notes. Luna's father, Don Rogelio, never had male children. Many times his wife expressed to me that for Don Rogelio *la banda* was his life. When Friday came around he was gone to rehearse with the band for their weekend gigs. Because Luna was his only child that had joined the band, Don Rogelio made sure to constantly practice with her and get his childhood friend and most recognized Zapotec band instructor in Los Angeles, Don Jeremías Rios, an migrant man from the community of Yalalag, to practice additional hours with Luna in their apartment garage.

[129] Luna's return in particular to the band, more so than that of her husband's, has been questioned by some of her relatives that have remarked that she has a motherly responsibility to stay at home to take care of her children and not be going to gigs with the band.

[130] The name of the dance is very problematic. During my field research I asked the elders if they knew the story of the dance or where the name came from, they could only recall their parents' generations dancing it, but beyond that they could not say much. From the stories that have been shared with the migrant elder generation they provided me with assertiveness that it has been practiced in the town since their great-great grandparents were alive. They also asserted that the dance is considered sacred, and not folkloric for Zoochinenses. Words like, "devoción" (devotion), "amor" (love), "seriedad" (seriousness), and "Esto no es un juego" (This is not a game) are common at every event. However, some very limited information that I found describes that *La Danza De los Negritos* is a sacred dance that slaves throughout many parts of Mexico (Veracruz, Oaxaca, Puebla, the state of Mexico) and even Peru, danced during moments of sorrow. Other findings suggest that it was a form of entertainment, but nonetheless sacred to be performed amongst them. All of these places share similar clothes (velvet black ankle or shin high pants and a black vest on top of a white or blue male dress-shirt that is adorned with colorful sequences and fringe golden thread on the bottom part of the vest and pants. They also share the use of the castanets). The use of velvet and castanets as part of the dance is interestingly Spanish influenced.

Cecilia's parents, like most Zoochina early migrants, lived on Irolo Street in Koreatown. She is the oldest of three siblings and although she has been involved in Zoochina's HTA since her early thirties, she recently took part in her first *danza—Los Negritos* (also now referred to as *Las Negritas*). *Los Negritos* has traditionally been a dance performed by eight young men, but in 2014, for the second time in L.A. since 1996, Zoochina's U.S.-raised generations performed the *danza*.[131] This time around the first, 1.5, second, and 2.5-Zoochina women not only organized the *danza*, but also danced. Thereby, disrupting the gender component of *Los Negritos*, a traditionally male dance, known by the Zoochinenses in their eighties, for as long as they can remember, male-only. One evening, after Cecilia and I attended a *kermes* of Yatzachi el Alto, where women were for the first time dancing *Los Negritos* in LA, Cecilia decided to call many Zoochina women to put together their own all-women *Las Negritas* dance.[132] Based on my participant observation work, various Zoochina women recall being in disbelief, and for a moment, uncertain if they would be able to "pull it off," as an anonymous second-generation woman told me. I asked Cecilia how the community responded having women perform this dance for the first time and she replied very emotionally:

> A lot of the negativity came from males, 'You are women. You ain't going to be able to handle it. Ya'll can't dance it like us.' I'm like, 'If you guys can do it, we

[131] From the various communities in the Sierra Juárez highlands, there is no one story of how the dance of "Los Negritos" came to be or its actual significance. However, there are two stories I am aware of that say that Los Negritos was a sacred dance practiced by Black slaves in times of grief. Others, however, say that it was a form of entertainment to help slaves cope with dire circumstances. Only women from Zoochina were asked if they were interested in partaking in the dance. Most of the women had one parent that was from another town. Cecilia determined that they too could participate since the Zoochina parent had always donated his or her labor, time, and economic support to Zoochina. In 2012, young Zoochina women living in Mexico City returned to the town and performed during the patron saint *fiesta* (festivity) in late May; sometimes this same *fiesta* can occur in early June.

[132] Yatzachi el Alto is a neighboring town to Zoochina, which first-generation Zoochina migrants have largely married.

> can do it!' People were like, 'Oh, you guys are too old.' I was like, 'no, were not! We still have a heart, a little kids heart. You know? We still got this.' We (also) had a lot of positive feedback, like, 'Good job girls! Awesome! You are representing Zoochina! There has never been a danza (made up of all) females.' (Cecilia, a 41 year-old second generation women)[133]

In the beginning there was a lot of negative reaction to women performing the dance. Physically, some men, and even women, believed that women were not going to be able to handle the dance because of their "lack of natural endurance."[134] This lack of endurance was told to me multiple times by most of the men that I interviewed, including Cecilia's father. I, as a dancer in *Las Negritas* also heard early on in a few occasions from two of the three male instructors say when someone would get injured, "You are women, what do you expect?" and "We told you it was going to be difficult for you." Nevertheless, these sexist comments rather than hurt the women only motivated them to try harder. To keep us strong, we motivated ourselves throughout our rehearsals remembering what our elderly have always said, "We do it for the love to our pueblo."[135]

There have now been four towns from the Juárez highlands where all women have performed *La Danza de Las Negritas*. As stated earlier, the first all women Negritas performance in Los Angeles was by the community of Yatzachi el Alto, followed by San Jerónimo Zoochina, then Zoogocho, and Xochixtepec. While other towns later on, like that of Yatzachi el Bajo had a

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[133] Personal communication, Cecilia, August 11, 2015. Original interview in English.

[134] The dance requires a lot of consecutive high jumps and spins while landing on your tiptoes. It is composed of twelve different segments and last approximately two hours. Italics are my emphasis.

[135] My own translation. Original: "Lo hacemos por el amor que le tenemos a nuestro pueblo." Whenever the community performs a dance, plays certain "sones y jarabes" (music tones and rhythms), organizes a kermes or other festivity, whether it is taken back to Zoochina or is only held in L.A., parents and grandparents always teach all generations that forth and foremost it is for the love to the pueblo.

mixture of young boys and girls in the dance.[136] However, Zoochina was the first town that took the dance back to their town as a sign of gratitude and respect during the patron saint festivities in late May of 2014. In 2014, it was "Zoochina L.A.'s" turn to be in charge of organizing the party in Zoochina since every year each committee in diaspora takes turns to organize the patron saint festival. However, every year Zoochina L.A. covers most of the economic expenses due to the higher exchange rate from dollar to peso, of which one can argue that this economic situation solidifies a co-dependence. Almost two years after Zoochina performed *Las Negritas*, these dancers feel that it is now more receptive. Melissa, a twenty-three-year-old second-generation woman shared with me, "… now I think people are more accepting and they like that women go ahead and dance them" and thus shows that women are at the forefront of maintaining, and at the same time challenging traditional forms of exclusion in communal practices.[137]

"Zoochina Woman Tattooed on my Heart"

> "I got it (tattoo) here (left chest, next to her heart), 'No'l Shiin', which means Mujer de Zoochina, cause that's where I'm from!" (Tracy, a 20 year-old 2.5-generation woman)[138]

All her life Tracy has grown up in Mid-City L.A. with her maternal grandparents, mother, uncles and aunts under a triplex house owned by her grandparents. She is the first 2.5 Zoochinense in the U.S. (her mother was born in L.A. and her father arrived to L.A. as a child). Although her father is from another Zapotec town in the sierra, she describes her primary identity as, "soy

[136] In Los Angeles, Solaga had the first gender disruptive dance performed by women, *Las Mixe*, in 2012.

[137] Personal communication, Melissa, August 6, 2015. Italics are my own emphasis. Note that "them" is plural. Melissa refers to the traditionally all male dances that women are now participating in.

[138] Personal communication, Tracy, September 15, 2015.

Zoochinense." Tracy joined Zoochina's brass band while in high school. She continues to play during her summer breaks from community college. In 2014, Tracy also participated in *Los Negritos*, and a year later she also began dancing in other towns' *Negritos*, of which her extended family is from. Tracy is not only following her grandfather and uncle's footsteps, but her two younger siblings and three cousins are now following her footsteps with their recent participation in the band, including that of her three-year old nephew.

Tracy's story is unique because it is one that challenges the expected gender norms in immigrant Latina/o families. She mentioned that from all the tattoos she has on her body, this latest one was the only one where her grandfather did not scold her and replied with a calm, "Oh" and a head nodding approval. When pressed on what is the importance of tattooing No'l Shiin (Mujer de Zoochina), she expressed: "'Mujer de Zoochina.' That gives so much power to say 'Mujer de Zoochina.'… And here (points to the top of her left chest) because this is where we learn that our heart is... I'm proud of being mujer de Zoochina!" Tracy reinforces this idea of "complementarities" by carrying her identity as both Zoochinense and woman, thus saying that male and female genders compliment each other through the act of having tattoos.[139] Her representation of belonging is out of the norm within the indigenous Oaxacan and Mexican immigrant population as a young person and as a woman. There are a number of U.S.-raised generation men who have tattoos and about two migrant men, of who lived in Mexico prior to arriving to the U.S., who had tattoos. Only a handful of Zoochina women carry tattoos on them. Tracy, however, is not only the first of her generation to get one, but also the first one to get one that identifies her to her community.

Tattoos are not traditional or liked in the Zoochina or larger Mexican culture. To get a

[139] Marta Sanchez Nestor, *La doble mirada: Voces e historias de mujeres indígenas latinoamericanas* (Mexico D.F.: Instituto de Liderazgo Simone de Beauvior, 2005), 10.

tattoo is seen as a sign of disrespect to one's body. Others have affiliated tattoos to criminalization, affiliation to gangs, and even prostitution.[140] Having tattoos, however, are "not just a fashion statement," or associated to crime or stigmatized groups, but "tattoos are committed to their own identity as represented by their names and the history, heritage and family…"[141] For some indigenous communities, particularly in Hawai'i, the ta māori, or tā moko tattoos are not "Western notions" and conversations as objects or subjects, but they are a form of cultural identity that signals belonging and being indigenous.[142] I contend that Tracy, a 2.5 U.S.-born and raised Zoochinense woman defies gender norms and "self-expression" for community expression. Tracy's tattoo is an act that challenges hegemonic and Euro notions of individuality and "urban fashion." Despite the generations in diaspora or how young they may be, indigenous women hold Zoochinense communal belonging as "inked identities" that are not metaphoric, but close to the heart—physically present.[143]

Quick Reminisces: Then from Now

It is important to briefly mention that it has not always been the case that "pride" among indigenous Oaxacans raised in the U.S. has occurred. Discrimination based on language, culture, and physical appearance (being dark-skin, short, and indigenous phenotypes) continues to be

[140] Beverly Yuen Thompson, "Sailors, Criminals, and Prostitutes: The History of a Lingering Tattoo Stigma," in *Tattoos, Women and The Politics of the Body: Covered in Ink* (New York: New York University, 2015), 21-34.

[141] Mie Hiramoto, "Inked nostalgia: displaying identity through tattoos as Hawaii local practice," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 36:2 (2015), 120.

[142] Stephen Pritchard, "An Essential Marking: Maori Tattooing and the Properties of Identity," *Theory, Culture, & Society* 18:4 (2001): 28.

[143] Mie Hiramoto, "Inked nostalgia," 107.

prevalent beyond the immigrant generation in the United States. In *Transborder Lives*, Lynn Stephen briefly mentions that the 1.5 and second-generation children of indigenous Oaxacans continue facing discrimination by other Mexicans, and at times other Latino/a school children, of which have until recently been documented in studies on indigenous Oaxacans in the U.S.[144]

Of my nine U.S.-raised interviewees all of them expressed that when they were growing up in the 80s and 90s, they felt shame or at one point when they were adolescents they denied being Oaxacan. "Looking Indian" or having their parents speak Zapotec in public was enough to be ridiculed and discriminated by their Mexican peers.[145] This generation now in their forties was consistent in expressing that it was unheard of for their cousins and them to claim being Oaxacan, and much less Zapotec when they were growing up. They expressed that today they see a change in the second-generation coming of age. Four of them (a forty-one year old second-generation woman, one forty-year-old 1.5 generation man, and two second-generation women in their early twenties) expressed that when they were younger their Mexican classmates made fun of them for being Oaxacan. Therefore, more than anything, the 1.5 and second-generation now in their late thirties or early forties, expressed that because of the discrimination they received, they wanted nothing to do with being Oaxacan at the time.

Their experiences are not isolated from other Zapotecs growing-up throughout Los Angeles. In her work with Yalaltec Zapotecs (from the town of Villa Hidalgo Yalalag in the

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[144] Lynn Stephen, *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 211-218. The research that talks about the experiences of the U.S.-raised Zapotec generations are those by Cruz-Manjarrez (2013), Sánchez-López (2010), Nicolás (2012), Vásquez (2012); of which the first one is a book, the second one is an article in the *Tequio* magazine published by the Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations, and the last two are an M.A. thesis and Ph.D. dissertation, respectively.

[145] These experiences are reflective in my previous M.A. thesis at the University of California, San Diego. Although my interviewees are not the same, and the research is quite distinct, the participants in both cases expressed being discriminated and made fun of for being indigenous.

Sierra Juárez), Adriana Cruz-Manjarrez shows how negative sentiments made the children of immigrants feel: "Now that I am older, I feel a little bit released from these prejudices. When I was a child I never said that I was from Oaxaca. I felt vergüenza [shame]… When you identify yourself as Oaxaqueño, people see you as Indian and in fact they call you Oaxaquita" (derogatory term that means "little Indian).[146] While some of my respondents reported verbally and at times wanting to physically "defend" themselves, others responded that they just ignored what their peers told them and walked away. All concluded that those that made fun of them (mostly from Michoacán, Jalisco, or northern Mexico) simply did not know any better and were ignorant.

The older 1.5 and second-generation also mentioned that "now it is more accepting to say you are from Oaxaca or Zoochina."[147] Melissa (mentioned above) said that "now everyone claims to be Oaxacan or from Oaxaca." The celebrations during the Mes De la Herencia Oaxaqueña (starting in July 23 to August 23) were mentioned by Melissa, Tracy, Domingo, and Angela (a twenty-one-year-old second-generation woman) as a reason why they believe that claiming identity as "Oaxacan," "Zapotec," or from "Zoochina" is "more acceptable now" than it was when they were growing up.[148] I further inquired about what exactly they felt by having the Mes De la Herencia Oaxaqueña in L.A. and they mentioned "La Calenda," a cultural, and at times religious procession throughout the community or town announcing the coming of a major

[146] Adriana Cruz-Manjarrez, *Zapotecs on the Move: Cultural, Social, and Political Processes in Transnational Perspective* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 148.

[147] Personal communication, Domingo, August 11, 2015.

[148] The Mes De la Herencia Oaxaqueña was possible by the Regional Organization of Oaxaca (ORO, Organización Regional de Oaxaca), the Asociación Oaxaqueña de Negocios (AON), and the Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations (FIOB, Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales) were the community based organizations that brought about the Mes De la Herencia Oaxaqueña. This month is officially recognized by the City of Los Angeles.

celebration, as a very important event where they felt the unity, pride, and strength of the Oaxacan diaspora in L.A. Similarly to communities back in Oaxaca, in L.A. the Oaxacan regions from the Valley, the Sierra, the Isthmus, and the Mixteca participate by walking and dancing to the Oaxacan brass band musical notes. Since the Mes De la Herencia Oaxaqueña began almost three years ago, La Calenda has started on the corner of Pico Boulevard and Crenshaw Boulevard in the Mid-City area of L.A. and ended on Normandie Boulevard and Pico—these areas are referred by scholars and the community as Oaxacalifornia.[149] In addition, I predict that in addition to the Mes De la Herencia Oaxaqueña, it is also due to the large growing Oaxacan population and the increase of numerous Oaxacan businesses throughout L.A. that helps build a strong sense of pride.

A Process of Re-imagining Belonging

As part of a complementarity vision, other women have further sought to make their participation to the community a uniquely valued one.[150] In *When A Flower is Reborn: The Life and Times of a Mapuche Feminist*, the story of indigenous women, like that of Isolde Reuque from the Mapuche movement in Chile, continue to work for the survival and recovery of their indigenous identity. For Reuque and the other Mapuche women of her community, recovering their identity as Mapuches occurred in the family and community. Some of the ways their

[149] For more on the events taking place during the Mes De la Herencia Oaxaqueña visit their website, http://www.mesdeoaxaca.com. You can also find up-to-date information on their Facebook page, https://www.facebook.com/Mesdelaherencia/?fref=ts. Also visit the Mapping Indigenous Los Angeles story mapping website for more information on some of the events that take place during the Mes De la Herencia Oaxaqueña, http://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=31d1100e9a454f5c9b905f55b08c0d22

[150] Rosalva Aída Hernández and Andrew Canessa, "Identidades Indígenas y relaciones de género en Mesoamérica y la Región Andina, 13.

complementarity approaches occurred were through spiritual practices and communal celebrations where women play a central role in the recovery and sustenance of indigenous community life through political transitions to democracy. Similarly, Zoochinense women's' exclusion in traditional cultural practices encourage them to promote the values and roles of women who are pivotal for the survival of indigenous peoples and communities. Hence, the obligation to "personal, family, and community obligations" does not only stay in Zoochina Indigenous lands, but it crosses settler borders and within the larger diaspora is a collective one and not an individualistic one.[151] I am not arguing that migration has been positive for any community. Indigenous communities and peoples have the right to stay in their Native lands rather than continue being pushed out for economic, political, or even religious reasons. For example, the transnational movement, "The Right to Not Migrate," that the indigenous Oaxacan organization, the Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations, FIOB), has pushed for is one rooted in indigenous rights as Native peoples to no longer be disposed from our lands due to corporate and governmental greed and privatization of our natural resources.[152]

The longevity of the Zoochina community and its people were assumed to diminish or die off by both its Native peoples as well as scholars. Some current scholarship of indigenous Oaxacans and its migrants overtly continue to argue the fragmentation that immigration has on communities without taking a greater and critical analysis of how its migrants maintain their identity, cultural, social, political ways and ties, and to an extent their Zapotec language in

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[151] Rosa Isolde Reuque Paillalef, *When a Flower is Reborn: The Life and Times of a Mapuche Feminist.* Trans. and ed. Florencia E. Mallon (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 321.

[152] "El Derecho A No Migrar," Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales, accessed March 20, 2015, http://fiob.org/el-derecho-a-no-migrar-2/. Also see, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, "The Right to Stay Home: Equity and the Struggle of Migrant Indigenous Peoples," *Koninklijke Brill* (2014).

diaspora. In "La comunalidad como epistemología del Sur. Aportes y retos," Alejandra Aquino Moreschi cites Adelfo Regino, a *comunalidad* theorist and Zapotec community worker in the Oaxacan government who he asks: "Who will carry out the position in the community? Who will be the primary communal guardian (security)? Who will be the administrator (like mayor), municipal authorities? Who will sustain the political and social life of the community? ... that generates a great challenge for our communities" as various communities continue to migrate and thereby reduces their pueblo's young population who usually take on the political and social cargos mentioned above.[153] Both Moreschi and Regino believe that emigration brings disintegration to indigenous communities, particularly because of the loss of youth and adults of who usually take on the main political and economic responsibility in their towns.[154] While it is true that youth and adults have made up most of the exodus, it leaves unacknowledged the transnational and gender component of how politically, economically, socially, and culturally strong ties and direct participation remain to their towns. Belonging, claiming identity, and practicing their ways are not superficial. Rather, they have been fundamental in the community's longevity and survival across borders.[155]

Transnational comunalidad, therefore takes place in multiple ways, and Zoochina women

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[153] Alejandra Aquino Moreschi, "La comunalidad como epistemología del Sur. Aportes y retos," *Cuaderno del Sur: Revista de ciencias sociales* 18: 34 (Oaxaca: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social; Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia; Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca, 2013), 16. This interview was done in Oaxaca in 2006.

[154] Ibid.

[155] I am referring to indigenous peoples and towns from the Sierra Juárez region of whose population is smaller than those of other towns, like in the valley of Oaxaca. I believe that there are more valley Zapotec families in L.A. that do not have such a strong sense of comunalidad. This can be due to the fact that in their towns they no longer practice usos y costumbres and instead have been replaced by political parties.

are at the forefront of much of the community's survival across place and time. However, for the HTA, if someone is too young to work or are in college and unable to pay they are expected to help the community in different ways, such as cooking during festivities, cleaning after a celebration, being the cashier at the food station or entrance during events, or other range of tasks. Among the set of responsibilities for those who join the HTA after paying their fees are being part of the board when elected, raising money for kermeses and other communal fundraisers (for example, when someone in the community is severely sick or if someone dies, or if the elementary school in Zoochina needs books, etc.), donating food during events, among many more things, are expected. Other forms of recognition, especially for the second-generation who do not yet pay their dues, take place when one is invited to participate in cultural performance practices if their parents or grandparent(s) are involved with the HTA or have recently given back to the community. In the past twenty years, the 1.5, second, and 2.5-generation have taken part by playing in the Zoochina brass band or by performing in folkloric or sacred dancing.

The Zoochina experience pushes us to reconsider what it means to be indigenous not only in the United States or Mexico, but across settler states that continue to portray settler moves of innocence through an American assimilationist discourse. In my work, I show how indigenous diasporas, across generations, have challenged the racialized structure of Latina/os. Like their parents who migrated to the United States in the 1960s, Zapotec children born and raised in the U.S. are reclaiming and recreating their indigenous identity as Zoochinense by resembling their parents' cultural, political, and social involvement with their migrant community. Indigenous Oaxacans, and Zapotecs in particular, have survived and maintained their traditions for over 500 years and across settler borders. As indigenous peoples continue to be forced out of their lands

and enter other indigenous peoples' occupied lands, they respond to their dispossession by maintaining their cultural, social, and autonomous political practices.

For many of the women I interviewed, their communal experience as urban Zapotecs is recreated to ascertain their inclusion as both indigenous and women; both are equally important. For them, being women and indigenous are equally important and are also distinctively carried out in their communal cultural practices that challenges expected gender norms despite generations in diaspora. The organizing of Zapotec women in culturally male dominated circles shows the importance that organizing and partaking in these spaces have for the community's longevity in diaspora. As well, it demonstrates how urban indigenous experiences as women are about belonging, claiming, and equal recognition.

Conclusion:

My findings have shown that claiming one's parents' community of origin, as their identity, does not decrease among the 1.5 and second U.S.-raised generations. This sense of belonging and identity as indigenous remains strong across settler borders. Particularly, Zapotec women from Zoochina in diaspora are at the center of (re)creating their sense of belonging and being indigenous through social and cultural practices of their town. In Los Angles, California they are breaking gender norms and "traditions" derived from colonial practices that have excluded women from fully participating and being valued for their unique contribution to the growth and longevity of their community. Being involved in their hometown association, playing an instrument in the traditionally male dominated Oaxacan brass band, and taking part in male dominated dances of their town are inform their sense *comunalidad* (communal) practices that reinforce their belonging and being Zapotec.

While there is extensive literature on the experiences of indigenous Oaxacan migrants in the U.S., my work proves that in the last forty years the U.S.-raised Zapotec generations have played a crucial role in maintaining, while at the same time (re)creating a sense of being and belonging to their Native towns through transnational communal practices. Even though I concentrated in the cultural and social practices, the political and spiritual are also ways in which indigenous Oaxacans have maintained their ties to their community. There were multiple reasons why I chose to focus on how women disrupt gender expected norms. One reason was because of the cultural traditions that Zoochina women were breaking that formally excluded them from participating. Second, whereas as the literature on U.S.-born or raised indigenous Oaxacans is just beginning to emerge, the contributions that indigenous women are making for their survival in diaspora, despite decades and generations off their Native land, are numerous, yet these are not closely observed or acknowledged. Finally, I chose to concentrate on women seeing my

academic support that I have received throughout the course of my early doctoral training. The intellectual support of my M.A. committee has been central to my analysis and own intellectual interests.

Literature on critical indigenous studies has been essential framework throughout my thesis. I have used a hemispheric lens as a critical perspective in Latino/a and Latin American indigeneities, American Indian Studies, and to a lesser extent, aboriginal studies from Canada, which have provided me with fundamental theoretical tools to analyze the experiences of indigenous women in their indigenous territory and in diaspora. This thesis has explored communal forms of practices to make sense of being and belonging to an indigenous community and peoples. It has questioned settler colonialism and settler practices that further make invisible Native peoples of whose land other indigenous diasporas come to settle. The latter is of crucial importance to me given the historical conditions that indigenous peoples continue being forced out of their lands and displaced in order to survive and often times unknowing settle in other indigenous peoples' territories.

I am left with the question: How do indigenous diasporas across generations, that continue to settle and practice indigenous ways in other indigenous peoples' Native land, not further displace and make invisible the original inhabitants on the lands we come to occupy? As critical indigenous scholars and students, writing Native stories and working within these communities go beyond an activist-scholar approach, they involve deep care and rootedness, communal approaches imbedded in indigenous ways of knowing and sharing stories, as well as unsettling the logics to address settler colonialism, dispossession, and "traditions" fixed in colonialism that exclude women from belonging and being a vital component to indigenous continuity.

As a Zapotec second-generation woman, in the course of my doctoral degree, community participation, and being Zoochinense continue being a dynamic composition of what I have been, where I am and where I will go in both my academic and communal life. As I write this conclusion, I do it with great sorrow and pain in my heart. After two years of severe health deterioration, my father's soul has journeyed to the spirit world with my ancestors. Emotions and memories fill the hole in my heart. My father, a first generation migrant from Zoochina, taught me how to love and be part of my community back home and in diaspora. I thank him for the lessons he has left my sisters, mother, and me with and his unconditional love and support to his community despite his health deterioration over the last years. In these moments I have stayed with yet another wonderful example of how Zapotec women in diaspora continue to practice *comunalidad* even after death, as it is the elder women who have been at the fore of arranging and teaching us how to prepare for my father's journey into the spirit world where our ancestors continue to live and in preparation for my father's final rest in Zoochina. The day you left was but another beginning.

APPENDIX

ILLUSTRATIONS

Photograph 1: "La Banda de Zoochina Oaxaca, Oaxaca en Los Angeles" at *La Guelaguetza* at Normandie Park in 1997. Photo Credit: Juan Rojas.

Photograph 2: Banda San Jerónimo Zoochina L.A. at a *kermes*.
Photo Credit: Banda San Jerónimo Zoochina (Facebook Page, 2016)

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