

UC Merced

UC Merced Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Rising Power? Latinos in California

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5hd1j1ng>

Author

Yamada, Gayle K.

Publication Date

2015

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, MERCED

RISEING POWER? LATINOS IN CALIFORNIA

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Interdisciplinary Humanities

by

gayle kim yamada

Committee in charge:

Professor Gregg Camfield, Chair
Professor Susan Amussen
Professor Rudy Ortiz
Professor Linda-Anne Rebhun

© 2015 gayle kim yamada

All rights reserved

The Dissertation of gayle kim yamada is approved, and it is acceptable
in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Susan Amussen

Rudy Ortiz

Linda-Anne Rebhun

Gregg Camfield, Chair

University of California, Merced

2015

DEDICATION

To my first teachers:

my parents,

Kiyo Nishida Yamada

and

Gordon Tamio Yamada;

and to my son,

Drew.

You are forever with me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Author's C.V.	viii
Abstract	x
Setting the Stage: A Poet's Observation	xi
Preface	xii
Change in Country of Birth for U.S. Immigrants, 1910-2010	xiii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Methodology and Review of Literature	32
Chapter 3 Themes	98
Chapter 4 Interpretation and Analysis	161
Chapter 5 Conclusion	196
Appendix I Interviewee Data	217
Appendix II Sample Questions	219
Sources	220

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As we will see in these pages, nothing is ever done alone. I have many people to whom I am grateful, starting with Bruno Cohen, Darryl Compton, and Gary Mukai, who wrote letters of recommendation for me when I applied to the University of California, Merced.

I am fortunate to be part of an evolving interdisciplinary program in the social sciences and humanities. Each of my advisors represented a different discipline, and showed me different lenses through which to examine power and narrative. Gregg Camfield has guided me since agreeing to be my primary advisor before I applied to UC Merced. His deep intellect made every conversation we had over the years a joy, and he challenged my mind's boundaries. Susan Amussen's interest in power hierarchies and social structures brought depth to my studies. She is an early modern British historian, and I marvel at how she makes her studies of the past relevant today. As founding director of UC Merced's Center for the Humanities, she sees how many disciplines create the big picture. Linda-Anne Rebhun's thoughts and many suggestions broadened my thinking; she often seemingly went off on a tangent then skillfully brought the thought back to the center. Rudy Ortiz complemented my committee by bringing in a different discipline and perspective from the physical sciences. Simón Weffer's sociological insights guided my studies in the early stages.

Other faculty that were especially helpful to me are Ruth Mostern, who was available to me for advice before I applied to UC Merced and, as an historian and the director of the Interdisciplinary Humanities Graduate Group for the School of Social Sciences, Humanities and Arts, was a go-to person throughout my academic journey; Robin DeLugan, whose active mind continually came up with ideas to enhance my studies; and Jeff Yoshimi who introduced me to phenomenology from a philosophical standpoint.

The library was a crucial resource. The world went digital between the time I got my master's degree and now, and Donald Barclay, Deputy University Librarian, answered a plethora of questions, often turning me to a new source or method of investigation. Denice Sawatzky, especially, and Mary Weppler, and their many student assistants were invaluable. In my final stages, the staff at the University of California, Davis, solved last-minute problems.

Others to whom I owe a debt of gratitude are Mitch Ylarregui, graduate program coordinator for the School of Social Sciences, Humanities and Arts, who was always willing to answer my questions; Jan Mendenhall, whose constant support and friendship are treasured beyond words; Greer Sullivan, my undergraduate college roommate whose academic probing gave me insights; Dianne Fukami who as my business partner and friend is without equal; and Janet Soto Mukai, friend, confidante, and sister.

My daughter, Heather Yamada-Hosley, transcribed interviews outside her work hours, and encouraged me in a way that no one other than a daughter as special as she is, can. Unquestionably, I could not have had the freedom to pursue this doctorate without the continued support of my spouse, David Hosley; he is my constant in this changing landscape of life.

My father, Gordon Tamio Yamada, showed me the path to get a doctorate, though he was all but dissertation, having a family of four young children to support in

the 1960s. He altered his dream and our lives by choosing to pursue his career with a new job. My mother, Kiyo Nishida Yamada, is a role model of quiet determination and perseverance. Both second-generation Japanese Americans, they were touched by their incarceration in camps during World War II; nonetheless they encouraged my curiosity in the world around me that included a love of learning. Getting a doctorate is an emotional journey as well as an intellectual pursuit, and they were always with me, my father in spirit and my mother in person, inspiring me throughout my endeavors.

My deep appreciation goes to my interview subjects who each gave me thoughtful and interesting interviews. And I am grateful to the many people too numerous to mention who supported me on this journey.

Thanks to the Pew Research Center for allowing me to reprint the opening graphic showing the immigration shift from Europe to Mexico over the past century, and to the University of California, Merced, for two fellowships, the World Cultures Support Fellowship and the World Cultures Graduate Bobcat Award.

CURRICULUM VITAE: gayle k. yamada

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Humanities 2009-2015
University of California, Merced
Dissertation title: *Rising Power? Latinos in California*

M.A. in Communication with a specialty in International Communication 1982-1985
University of Florida, Gainesville, FL
Named Outstanding Graduate Student

B.A. in English 1972-1976
College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA

ACADEMIA

University of California, Merced

University-wide committees

- ◆ External Library Review Committee (periodic review of UC Merced's library unit)
- ◆ World Cultures Graduate Group Conference Steering Committee
- ◆ Spendlove Prize Committee (selection panel for national award for social justice)

Graduate Student Researcher for the Center for the Humanities. Re-formatted existing web page, populated new web site, worked with the director to systemize infrastructure.

Project manager for a number of videos on the *Academic Innovation and the American Research Institution Symposium*. Created, designed, formatted, and populated the eScholarship site for the Office of the Chancellor, in conjunction with the UC Merced library. Video and print elements (independent contractor).

Faculty Development Coordinator for Media, Center for Research on Teaching Excellence, 2010-2011 (one year, grant-based staff position).

California State University, Sacramento, Lecturer, 2005 and 2007

Course: The Biracial and Multiracial Experience; first time it was offered at CSUS

Course: Asian American Women

Crystal Springs Uplands, Instructor, 1996 and 1997. Course: Video Production

Stanford University, Lecturer, 1995. Course: Broadcast News (Reporting, writing, production)

College of Notre Dame; University of Florida; Florida International University. Guest lecturer. Lecture topics included Writing, Announcing, Women in Broadcast News

PUBLICATIONS

Building a Community: The Story of Japanese Americans in San Mateo County, 2003. Co-author.

Hard News: Women in Broadcast Journalism, 1987. Co-author of a book on the history of women in broadcast news. Published by Greenwood Press.

WORK HISTORY

Bridge Media, Inc.

1994-present

- Co-founded media production and consultation company
- Direct, produce, and write television/DVD programs

Media Bridges, Inc.

1994-present

- Co-founded non-profit educational media company that works with libraries, schools, and non-profit community organizations to create educational television programs and media projects

KQED-TV, San Francisco, Executive Producer for National Productions, and Director of Children's and Cultural Programs

KPIX-TV, San Francisco, weekday assignment editor and writer

WPLG-TV, Miami, news producer

WUFT-FM, Gainesville, FL, news director and local *Morning Edition* host. Created statewide news and business programs. Hosted several public radio programs.

KCBS-AM, San Francisco, as the daytime editor in charge

SELECT BOARDS AND PANELS

Board of Trustees, Gallo Center for the Arts, Modesto, CA, 2010-2013

Board of Governors, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, Vice-President, Smaller Markets, 2008-2012; National trustee, 1996-1997; Secretary, 1994-1996; Governor, 1990-1994

Past board member, Asian American Journalists Association

Have served on National Endowment for the Humanities and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting project selection panels

SELECT AWARDS AND HONORS

National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, Silver Circle (honors individuals who have made a significant contribution to Northern California television for a major part of a 25-year or more career)

Radio-Television News Directors Association, Edward R. Murrow Award for News Documentary for Television in a Large Market

New York International Independent Film & Video Festival, Best Historical Documentary

First Place, Asian American Journalists Association, Television-Unlimited Subject Matter

First Place, Asian American Journalists Association, Radio reporting, Asian American Issues

Governor's Service Medallion, National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

RISING POWER? LATINOS IN CALIFORNIA

by

gayle kim yamada

Doctor of Philosophy in International Humanities

University of California, Merced, 2015

Professor Gregg Camfield, Chair

Demographic data from the 2010 U.S. Census indicate a sea change in the demographics of the United States and, specifically, of California. The growth of the Latino population has risen dramatically from 9.1 million in 1970 to 50.5 million in 2010, and is projected to be 132.8 million by 2050. I examine whether the growth in numbers is leading to a change in power for Latinos in California. Concluding that it is, I then look at power through narrative. Power shapes who we are, and the ability to define oneself, that is, tell one's own story, is an indicator of power.

In the past, the narratives of people of color have been marginalized as demonstrated through their literary histories; they have not been part of America's largely Eurocentric master narrative. With the transformation of society evidenced by the demographics, I argue that the master narrative is evolving by including and incorporating the perspectives of the narratives of people of color, which is power. This is different from the counter narrative, which is in opposition to the master narrative, not part of it.

I examine this evolution through a microcosm of a select cross-section of successful Mexican Americans in the Central Valley whose stories illustrate patterns of family, values, and cultural heritage. My sample is of trailing indicators that may predict a trajectory of leading indicators, i.e., the next and subsequent generations of Latinos. Demographic data are laid over how the sample subjects perceive important themes.

This study is interdisciplinary. It combines perspectives from many disciplines, including literature, sociology, anthropology, history, ethnography, migration studies, ethnic studies, gender studies, economics, psychology, geography, and technology. It is on the cusp of new research, drawing together strands from many areas and examining them through a broader and more inclusive lens, and thus contributes to the body of existing scholarship.

To that composite American identity of the future,
Spanish character will supply some of the most needed parts.

...As America, from its many far-back sources and current supplies,
develops, adapts, entwines, faithfully identities its own—
are we to see it cheerfully accepting and using
all the contributions of foreign lands from the whole outside globe—
and then rejecting the only ones distinctively its own...?

As to the Spanish stock of our Southwest,
it is certain to me that we do not begin to appreciate
the splendor and sterling value of its race element.
Who knows but that element, like the course of some subterranean river,
dipping invisibly for a hundred or two years,
is now to emerge in broadest flow and permanent action?

Walt Whitman
The Spanish Element in Our Nationality
July 20, 1883, Camden, NJ

PREFACE

This is a story of understanding.

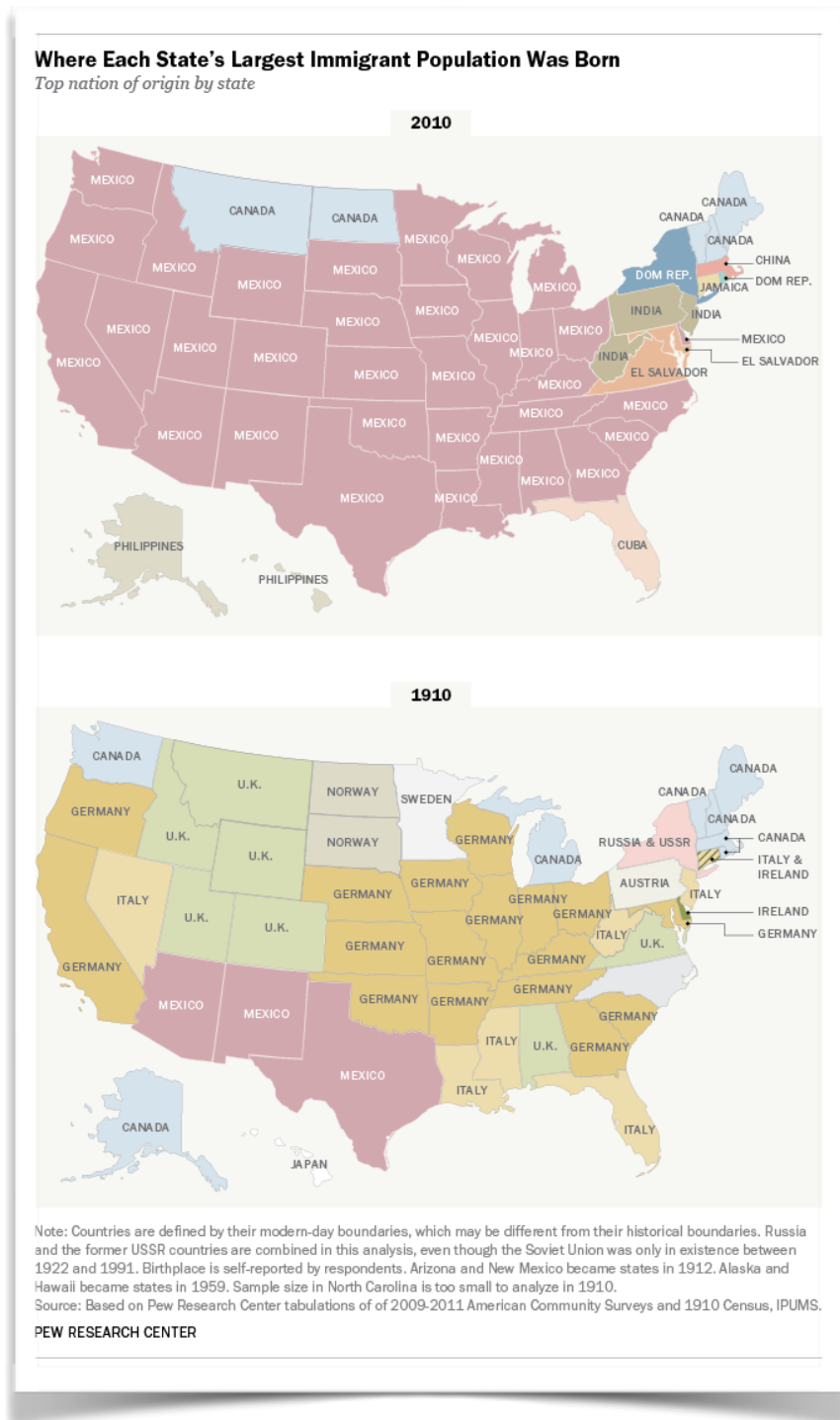
It is a story of family values and hard work, of perseverance and progress, of power and influence. It is an individual story as well as a collective story about empowering community, collaborative power, and social responsibility.

To tell this story, my research broadly examines power, narrative, and change. More specifically, I look at Latinos, the changing demographics in California's Central Valley, and the implications for Latinos—and American society—as they move toward critical mass. It questions whether there are power shifts taking place and how that is expressed through one marker of power, identity, specifically cultural identity. To understand this broad story, I use as a microcosm a select sample of Mexican Americans who have achieved some success in their chosen professions.

As I conducted my research, new questions emerged from the interviews. I began with the demographic changes and whether the sea change in the number of Latinos in California means shifts in power in other sectors of society, that is, is cultural bi- and multi-directionality at work. I questioned what kind of changes are occurring, their impact, and the implications for the future of California and the nation. My thinking began to evolve as I examined the dynamics of cultural change, how narrative is power, and how as a result of cultural change, the overall master narrative of the United States is transforming.

This, then, is the story of that journey of thinking.

Changes in Country of Birth for U.S. Immigrants, 1910-2010¹



¹ Pew Research Center, “From Germany to Mexico: How America’s Source of Immigrants Has Changed over a Century,” May 2014, accessed March 26, 2015, http://www.pewresearch.org/files/2014/05/FT_14.05.26_TopOriginsUSMap.png.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

I began my doctoral studies asking questions about the unprecedented change in the demographics of the Central Valley, California, and the United States as a whole. U.S. Census figures for 2010 show a surge in the numbers of the so-called “minority-majority”² population. Specifically, I wanted to know if the changing demographics are leading to a change in who has power. The question is difficult to answer, in part because it is not entirely clear what the general term “power” means, at least not with the specificity needed to study it here. A theoretical framework indicates some of the markers at which we look in our field research and thus lays a foundation for our discussion.

Power is inherent in all that we are. In its many disguises, it touches every part of our lives. It shapes who we are, and is an element of our pasts, presents, and futures. It is embedded in our cultural selves, and determines how we act and react. It is a factor in all our relationships, as males and females, as children and parents, as bosses and workers. It creates our personal and social identities, our individual and collective identities, and consists of multiple elements—race, gender, class, and age—that continuously intersect.³

Power is a broad, complex concept influenced by complicated components, involving trust, cooperation, reciprocity, expectations, and legitimacy; place, including culture and space; and time, which encompasses memory and experience. It is the result of our experiences and can be political, economic, or social. In looking at power in this work as it relates to change, I narrow my focus primarily to social and cultural power, keeping in mind that none of the kinds of power can be divorced from one another.

² This is the historical term that assumes a European-origin majority and a minority of color. It could be argued that in order to have a minority, there must be a majority, and historically the number of European-origin people has been smaller than the numbers of all ethnicities of color.

Anthropologist John Hartigan says the meaning of minority “has developed through political contests and the formulation of public policy in this country.” But as different populations of people of color “have become increasingly politicized, ‘minority’ has gained recognition as a viable means of asserting and articulating a set of collective interests and for claiming self-recognition of a group. That the term now might be applied equally to white Americans is indicative of the profound changes underway in this country.” Hartigan goes on to say that “the core definition of the term is that of a socially disadvantaged group.” John Hartigan, Jr., “When White Americans Are a Minority,” in *Cultural Diversity in the United States*, edited by Larry L. Naylor (Westport, CN: Bergin & Garvey, 1997), 105, 107.

Referring to racial groups, in this work, I will use the terms “majority” and “minority” as commonly understood.

³ These elements continually intersect as well. I use the term *continuously* to refer to space as well as time; *continually* is in one dimension only, time.

Power shapes who we are, and scholars from many fields have examined aspects of power and how it works socially. Sociologist Richard Emerson links concepts of social power with concepts of legitimacy. According to Emerson, people are actors as well as re-actors according to each situation. Defined as “the potential of A to obtain favorable outcomes at B’s expense,”⁴ power resides implicitly in one party’s dependency on the other.⁵ The ability to exercise degrees of power is determined by our identities. People form expectations based on these identities for different roles—ourselves, others, small groups, and organizations. Sociologist James Moore states, “We apply positive and negative sanctions in accord with the degree to which behavior approximates or deviates from those shared standards.”⁶ Societies depend on predictable behavior patterns, categorized into theories such as social exchange or legitimacy or status, to better understand human behavior. And as our behaviors influence identity, identity dictates behavior. That means, according to sociologists Peter Burke and Donald Reitzes, “Individuals are motivated to formulate plans and achieve levels of performance or activity that reinforce, support, and confirm their identities.”⁷

Identity depends, in part, on legitimacy, that is, whether it is “in accord with the norms, values, beliefs, practices, and procedures accepted by a group.”⁸ Legitimacy “is crucial to...developing a meaningful sense of the self as a worthwhile and valid individual. People are required by others to justify their attitudes and behaviors...We hope to attain legitimacy in our own eyes as well as

⁴ Barry Markovsky, David Willer, and Travis Patton, “Power Relations in Exchange Networks,” *American Sociological Review* 53 (1988):221.

⁵ Richard M. Emerson, “Power-Dependence Relations,” *American Sociological Review* 27, no. 1 (February 1962):32.

⁶ James C. Moore, Jr., “Role Enactment and Self-Identity,” in *Status, Rewards, and Influence: How Expectations Organize Behavior*, edited by Joseph Berger and Morris Zelditch, Jr. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985), 263. Moore refers to additional researchers to support this argument.

⁷ Peter J. Burke and Donald C. Reitzes, “The Link Between Identity and Role Performances,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 44 (1981):84.

⁸ Morris Zelditch, Jr., “Theories of Legitimacy,” in *The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Intergroup Relations*, edited by John T. Jost and Brenda Major (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 33. Zelditch calls this a “subjective” definition of legitimacy from the point of view of the actor. He says it is useful to use this definition if predicting and explaining empirical behavior as he goes on to do, rather than an “objective” definition that assumes an objective observer.

Zelditch discusses legitimacy as essential to a Machiavellian concept of power: “Machiavelli’s argument is that pure power is impotent; its stability therefore depends on voluntary acceptance, and voluntary acceptance depends on its legitimacy.” Zelditch, “Theories of Legitimacy,” in Jost and Major, 36.

the eyes of others.”⁹ Legitimacy is a key to power. “The implicit threat behind [dominance] behavior is only credible if the dominator can draw on resources of collective support that provide social power. It is legitimacy that provides such resources,”¹⁰ according to sociologists Cecilia Ridgeway, Cathryn Johnson, and David Diekema. Legitimacy is also a diffuse property that can be applied to “almost any social object, person, or action”¹¹ whether collective, such as a state, or individual. Legitimacy also is defined by other people, and the ability to define legitimacy resides in the powerful.

Identity is a product of socialization, “formed and maintained through the social processes of naming, that is, locating self in socially recognizable categories,” interacting with others, and validating self-concepts.¹² Meanings are derived and transformed via social interaction and “are subject to differential interpretations...meaning is negotiated, contested, modified, articulated, and rearticulated...socially constructed and deconstructed and reconstructed.”¹³ It is this intricate interweaving of status characteristics we call identity that guides our actions; it is “like a compass helping us steer a course of interaction in a sea of social meaning.”¹⁴ Sociologist Murray Webster and psychologist James Driskell

⁹ John T. Jost and Brenda Major, “Emerging Perspectives on the Psychology of Legitimacy,” in *The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Intergroup Relations*, edited by John T. Jost and Brenda Major (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 5. The authors refer to much additional research to support their argument.

¹⁰ Cecilia L. Ridgeway, Cathryn Johnson, and David Diekema, “External Status, Legitimacy, and Compliance in Male and Female Groups,” *Social Forces* 72 (1994)4:1057.

Sociologist Mary Jackman contends that “Groups who dominate social relationships strive to keep hostility out of those relationships, not in order to foster equality, but rather to deepen and secure inequality,” and that “the dominant group thus avoids the wearying and hazardous journey into the explicit assertion of power by making the inequalities into a societal habit, ingrained into the way of life.” At the same time, “the dominant members of society cannot afford to put subordinates in a position where they have nothing to lose...The institutions they establish are not designed to strip the weaker members of the community of *all* their resources” (emphasis in the original). This is an interesting and relevant avenue of further research as I continue to study power and shifts of power beyond this dissertation. Mary R. Jackman, *The Velvet Glove: Paternalism and Conflict in Gender, Class and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 16, 65, 360.

¹¹ Joseph Berger, Cecilia L. Ridgeway, M. Hamet Fisek, and Robert Z. Norman, “The Legitimation and Delegitimation of Power and Prestige Orders,” *American Sociological Review* 63 (1998):379.

¹² Burke and Reitzes, “The Link Between Identity and Role Performances,” 84.

¹³ Robert D. Benford, “An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective,” *Sociological Inquiry* 67 (1997):410.

¹⁴ Burke and Reitzes, “The Link Between Identity and Role Performances,” 91.

say identities “act as cues to individuals and are used to order their interactions with persons previously unknown to them.”¹⁵

A related but separate concept from power is influence. Power and influence coincide repeatedly in this manuscript, sometimes in the background, sometimes in the foreground, so I will define them in the context of this discussion, recognizing that both are broad and fluid terms and neither can be exactly defined.

I discuss power in terms of legitimacy and identity, but to put it simply and broadly, I define power as the ability to make something happen. Influence, on the other hand, is the ability to have an effect on something or someone. Generally, theorists define influence as informal, behind the scenes ability to influence events and decisions. Sometimes the two overlap; more often, they coexist. Power and influence are primary in this work as both have enabled select Latinos in the Central Valley to attain success within their domains. These concepts frame my discussion.

Everyone in my sample group has both power and influence to differing degrees. For each of them, how they perceive themselves and power has changed as the individuals have gotten older, from children to adults or from adults to retirement-age adults. All of them gained more power as they have matured and aged, and some, such as interviewees Fred Ruiz, Sam Toledo, and Eva Garcia, have deliberately relinquished power to their children, some with formal succession plans and others more informally. Those who are owners or managers of an organization or company have the power to make things happen. Those who started family businesses are influenced by other family members, particularly as they hand over leadership roles. Others influence the family business because they are a part of it, though not as central as the parent. There are connectors, such as Alice Perez, influential because she knows Latino business leaders and is able to link businesses and people. Those whose roles are primarily influential are Gerald Haslam, who has written extensively about the Central Valley, and Lea Ybarra, who held power as the executive director of the Johns Hopkins [University] Center for Talented Youth¹⁶ and now has influence in Latino circles and beyond as she volunteers for several community foundations

¹⁵ Murray Webster, Jr., and James E. Driskell, Jr., “Status Generalization,” in *Status, Rewards, and Influence: How Expectations Organize Behavior*, edited by Joseph Berger, and Morris Zelditch (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985), 108.

¹⁶ The Johns Hopkins Center for Talented Youth (CTY), begun in 1971, serves academically gifted K-12 students. The CTY’s mission is “to recognize and develop the world’s brightest minds.” Johns Hopkins Center for Talented Youth, “Johns Hopkins Center for Talented Youth,” accessed February 7, 2015, <http://hobel.org/lwved/id76.htm>. Under Ybarra’s leadership, the CTY aggressively sought funding for students of color; the number of students of color who received scholarships grew from one percent to 20 percent. She also sought to increase the diversity of students and staff.

and initiatives, and continues her research and writing. So power and influence are inextricable, as I will demonstrate as I examine their narratives.

Journalist Malcolm Gladwell defines an outlier as “a scientific term to describe things or phenomena that lie outside the normal experience,” and says that to understand outliers, one must look around them “at their culture and community and family and generation.”¹⁷ This is the case with my select sample; no one factor has been responsible for their success, and it is only by looking at these people in the context of time and place, and also gender, in addition to culture, community, family, and generation, can I come to a better understanding of the changing cultural dynamics.

~~~~~

---

<sup>17</sup> Malcolm Gladwell, “Q and A with Malcolm,” Gladwell.com, accessed January 16, 2015, <http://gladwell.com/outliers/outliers-q-and-a-with-malcolm/>.

Those who do not have the power over the story that dominates their lives,  
the power to retell it, rethink it, deconstruct it  
...and change it as times change  
truly are powerless.

—*Salman Rushdie*<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Salman Rushdie, “1,000 Days ‘Trapped Inside a Metaphor’,” Speech at Columbia University, New York, December 11, 1991, quoted in *New York Times*, December 12, 1991.

In the context of this work, power is conveyed is both by who tells the stories and who is at the table, that is, who the audience is. Historically, people of color have not been the storytellers nor have they been the audience. The dominant narrative is shaped and told by those who hold power. It is they who have determined the identities of peoples that have been subordinated; the intracommunity story may not be heard by the dominant culture. I use literature as a microcosm of who tells the story and whose story is told, but examples stretch into other media as well, such as film, television programs, radio recordings, songs, *corrido*,<sup>19</sup> visual art exhibits, the performing arts, and so forth, and in other fields. The power of the word is reflective of power in a culture or society.

I define “master narrative” as the overall account “that produces all the other stories,”<sup>20</sup> the “ideological script”<sup>21</sup> that we use to frame and interpret our experiences and the world around us. It differs from a story in that narratives do not end; “they are continuously unfolding, being shaped and filled in by the participants. In this way, they amplify the dynamic component of stories, both in terms of time and scope of participation. Stories are about plots and action while narratives are about people and potential.”<sup>22</sup>

I propose that the changes in our master narrative are not a counter-narrative, but an evolution of the accepted narrative. A counter-narrative is created in opposition to a narrative to present different perspectives that challenge a widely accepted version. In *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, education scholar Kagendo Mutua defines counter-narratives as “stories/narratives that splinter widely accepted truths about people, cultures, and institutions as well as the value of those institutions and the knowledge

---

<sup>19</sup> A *corrido* is a popular form of a narrative that marries song and poetry. It is often about social issues, events, wars, or romance and, because it is an oral tradition that uses everyday language, one did not have to be literate to participate. Over time, *corridos* became known as *musica de la frontera*, or border music, because *corridos* were especially popular along both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. *Corridos* are popular in Mexico. Kennedy Center, “What Is a *Corrido*?,” Lesson Connection: Form and Theme in the Traditional Mexican *Corrido*, accessed March 17, 2015, [http://artsedge.kennedy-center.org/~media/ArtsEdge/LessonPrintables/grade-9-12/form\\_and\\_theme\\_mex\\_cor\\_what\\_is\\_a\\_corrido.ashx](http://artsedge.kennedy-center.org/~media/ArtsEdge/LessonPrintables/grade-9-12/form_and_theme_mex_cor_what_is_a_corrido.ashx).

<sup>20</sup> Jay Rosen, in “What Is a Master Narrative?,” *Public Works, Building the Public Will for the Common Good*, accessed August 9, 2015, <http://www.publicworks.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Public-Works-What-is-a-Master-Narrative.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> Toni Morrison, in “Exposing the ‘Master Narrative’: Teaching Toni Morrison’s *The Bluest Eye*,” from an interview with Bill Moyers, *A World of Ideas*, March 1990, *Feminist Teacher*, accessed August 9, 2015, <http://feministteacher.com/2010/04/13/exposing-the-master-narrative-teaching-toni-morrison-the-bluest-eye/>.

<sup>22</sup> John Hagel, in “What Is a Master Narrative?,” *Public Works, Building the Public Will for the Common Good*, accessed August 9, 2015, <http://www.publicworks.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Public-Works-What-is-a-Master-Narrative.pdf>.

produced by and within those cultural institutions.”<sup>23</sup> A key component of counter-narratives is their skepticism of the accepted “narratives that claim the authority of knowledge of human experience or narratives that make grand claims about what is taken to be truth.”<sup>24</sup>

Is the master narrative of American history changing or, put more aptly, “developing gradually from a simple to a more complex form”?<sup>25</sup> The master narrative of the United States has been Eurocentric, written by the first big waves of immigrants from Europe.<sup>26</sup> A “re-visioning of history” may be transforming how we view and interpret ourselves, becoming more inclusive<sup>27</sup> as scholarship is recognizing that peoples other than Europeans have contributed to America’s narrative. Voices that had not been heard in abundance before are now being heard.

Here I review the literary history and traditions of the major ethnic groups that comprise America considering an evolution and reinterpretation of America’s narrative as I question what this means for the future of the master narrative of America.

---

<sup>23</sup> Kagendo Mutua, “Counternarrative,” Sage Research Methods, 2008, accessed August 9, 2015, <http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/sage-encyc-qualitative-research-methods/n73.xml>.

<sup>24</sup> Mutua, “Counternarrative,” <http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/sage-encyc-qualitative-research-methods/n73.xml>.

<sup>25</sup> “Evolve,” *New Oxford American Dictionary*, Apple on-line application, accessed August 9, 2015.

<sup>26</sup> Historian Oscar Handlin (1915-2011), who was a pioneer in the field of social and ethnic history with his work on immigration in America, lays the groundwork for the assumption that the immigrant to America was European when he opens *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* with, “The immigrant movement started in the peasant heart of Europe.” He makes no mention of African Americans (“Negroes”), Chinese, or Filipinos, the only other races he mentions, until page 275. In 1952, Handlin was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in History for *The Uprooted*. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1951), 7.

<sup>27</sup> Ronald Takaki, “Introduction,” in *Debating Diversity: Clashing Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America*, 3rd ed., edited by Ronald Takaki (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2-3.

There are four major ethnic groups at which I look: Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos,<sup>28</sup> specifically, in this case,

---

<sup>28</sup> I recognize that the pan-ethnic terms “Latino” and “Hispanic” do not mean exactly the same thing, but for purposes of this work, I use the terms interchangeably. Mexican American refers to an American citizen of Mexican ancestry, and I use “Chicano” when referring to Mexican Americans with the political and social activism that Camila Chávez and Rodolfo Acuña associate with it. See following footnote.

Discussing terminology, historian Rodolfo Acuña says “Hispanic and “Latino” both have “political baggage” and there has been much controversy within the different Spanish-speaking populations about whether either term is valid. No nationality is “Hispanic” or “Latino.” “Because the same words are used to refer to different conceptions of their identities, confusion is apt to result when Latinos and outsiders do not realize that they are using these words with different senses...When we use terms such as *Hispanic* or *Latino*, are we referring to ethnicity or nationality? Being precise is important because words carry with them different meanings and interests. Realistically, are U.S. Latinos ready to surrender their individual histories?” Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 5th ed. (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004), 411.

Education scholars Marcelo Suárez-Orozco and Mariela Páez say the term “Latino” is a “new and ambiguous invention. It is a cultural category that has no precise racial signification. Indeed, Latinos are white, black, indigenous, and every possible combination thereof.” Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Mariela M. Páez, introduction to *Latinos Remaking America*, edited by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Mariela M. Páez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 3.

Acuña stresses the importance of identity in the United States, “where race and gender increase the probability of inequality. It is also important to determine who controls the process of identifying or defining a group of people.” He goes on to say that the “government, along with the media, advertisers, and beer companies purposely created a new identity by popularizing the term “Hispanic.” The result was that the new identity lessened respect for the past and weakened loyalties of individuals to the group.” Acuña, *Occupied America*, 341.

For a discussion of the term “Hispanic,” see William A.V. Clark, *Immigrants and the American Dream: Remaking the Middle Class* (New York: Guilford Press, 2003), 229; Alicia Re Cruz, “The Mexican-American Community in the United States,” in *Cultural Diversity in the United States*, edited by Larry L. Naylor (Westport, CN: Bergin & Garvey, 1997), 159-160; Kay Deaux, *To Be an Immigrant* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006), 97; Nancy Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York’s Two Great Waves of Immigration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 155-156; Nancy Foner, *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 25, 191; Rubén G. Rumbaut, “The Making of a People,” in *Hispanics and the Future of America*, edited by Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006), 18-24; Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell, “Introduction: *E Pluribus Plures* or *E Pluribus Unum*,” in *Hispanics and the Future of America*, edited by Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006), 1-3.

Sociologist Nancy Foner says most Latin American immigrants want to be identified as coming from their country of origin, not as “Hispanic” or “Latino.” Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK*, 155.

I also use the term “European Americans” instead of the more common term, “Anglos,” unless in a quotation, which implies that all Caucasians have their roots in Great Britain. See Oscar J. Martínez, *Mexican-Origin People in the United States: A Topical History*, Modern American West series, edited by Gerald D. Nash and Richard W. Etulain (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), xxvii.

Mexican Americans and/or Chicanos.<sup>29</sup>

While I acknowledge the many ethnic sub-groups within these general categories, these four constitute the numerically and politically dominant minority groups in the state of California. Each of these groups has gone through a literary transformation. Each, at some point in its literary history, has been marginalized in American society. Each has gone through a period of silence, then having its published history or narratives recounted by others about them, then being able to tell its own stories, thus defining itself rather than having others define who it is. Individual sub-ethnic groups are now differentiating themselves, so the subtleties of the different cultures are being articulated and separated out from other cultures, i.e., Korean is different from Vietnamese is different from Bangladeshi and so forth. Having the ability to identify and express themselves is a form of power.<sup>30</sup>

Native Americans have had an oral tradition, not a written one.<sup>31</sup> Since Indians had no written tradition, they were defined to the majority by what was written about them, not by them. The written Native American literary tradition began in the late 1700s with a few writers. Often autobiographies were “as told

<sup>29</sup> The origin and meaning of the word “Chicano” is not known for sure, but some linguists suggest it is from the Nahuatl Indian pronunciation of “Mexican” as “Me-chi-ca-no.” Border European Americans allegedly used Chicano as a derogatory term for a Mexican American, so there were negative connotations ascribed to it. With the Chicano Movement of the 1960s, young militant Chicanos adopted it in defiance as a stance of self-assertion. It took on ideological meanings as a term of self-affirmation. Initially it was a radical term used mostly by younger people, but it has gained wider acceptance. Annie O. Eysturoy and José Antonio Gurpegui, “Chicano Literature: An Introduction and Bibliography,” accessed March 17, 2015, [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf).

Camila Chávez, the executive director of the Dolores Huerta Foundation, defines a Chicano as technically a “Mexican American, but it also has a political definition and connotation. So there are folks who aren't necessarily Mexican American that do identify with the Chicano political experience of one being bi-cultural, understanding what it is to be American and have the Mexican or Latino background. But also Chicano is a person who believes in the empowerment and the community, you know, an activist.” Chávez prefers the terms “Chicano” or “Latino.” Camila Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

Rodolfo Acuña says many U.S. Mexicans prefer the term “Chicano,” that grew out of the 1960s political movement because it “embraced collective responsibility to bring about social change for their community and the country.” Acuña, *Occupied America*, 341.

Young Mexican Americans first adopted “Chicano” “as a powerful symbolic code. The term implied pride in the Mexican cultural heritage of the Southwest and symbolized solidarity against what Chicanos argued was a history of racial oppression and discrimination at the hands of Anglo Americans.” David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 184.

<sup>30</sup> This echoes what Acuña and Foner say about Latino identity. See footnote 28.

<sup>31</sup> The Mayans, Aztecs, and Incas of Central and South America did use hieroglyphic and pictographic writings. Though this discussion might have some relevance to these people, I am concerned here with Native Americans in the present-day United States.

to” anthropologists and ethnographers who believed that Native life stories needed to be preserved.<sup>32</sup> Early American anthropologists, like Franz Boas and Alfred and Theodora Kroeber, did what they called “salvage anthropology.” Many of their subjects were the last few or the last one of a specific tribe, and the anthropologists wanted to preserve stories and languages before everyone died.<sup>33</sup> When Native Americans began writing their own stories, it was usually in English since that was the language taught in missionary schools. “The early Native writers had to work within a political environment that was hostile to their success and within a literary tradition of the day that condoned and sentimentalized the deaths of Indians.”<sup>34</sup> Those early writers struggled to find their voices within American culture, but it was not until the 1960s that writers began “to express the humiliation felt by Native American peoples over their ‘less than human’ treatment by the dominant society.”<sup>35</sup> These later Native American writers challenged stereotypical images. In the first generation of novels that came out of the Native American Renaissance,<sup>36</sup> a bleak picture of Indian life is presented, and tribal identity is a major theme.<sup>37</sup> Contemporary writers address genre, tribal affiliation, geography, theme, style, gender, and sexual preference.<sup>38</sup>

Written narratives by African Americans, mostly slaves, first appeared in the mid-1700s, but they were rare. More slave narratives appeared with the rise of abolitionism in the early 1800s,<sup>39</sup> and slave narratives became an important

---

<sup>32</sup> Kathryn W. Shanley, “Native American Literature,” *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*, edited by David J. Wishart, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 2011, accessed March 13, 2015, <http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.lt.050>.

<sup>33</sup> Linda-Anne Rebhun, e-mail message to author, May 3, 2015. Alfred Kroeber worked for many years with Ishi, who is believed to be the last surviving member of the Yahi tribe in California. Theodora Kroeber wrote Ishi’s biography, *Ishi in Two Worlds*.

<sup>34</sup> Native American Writers, “Early Native American Literature,” *Early Native American Literature*, accessed March 13, 2015, <http://nativeamericanwriters.com/index.html>.

<sup>35</sup> Native American Writers, “Early American Literature,” <http://nativeamericanwriters.com/index.html>.

<sup>36</sup> The “Native American Renaissance” was an era of awakening. Literary critic Kenneth Lincoln coined the term. Shanley, “Native American Literature,” <http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.lt.050>.

<sup>37</sup> Native American Literature, “An Overview of Post-1960 Native American Literature,” accessed March 13, 2015, <http://nativeamericanlit.com>.

<sup>38</sup> Shanley, “Native American Literature,” <http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.lt.050>.

<sup>39</sup> William L. Andrews, “Slave Narrative,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed March 13, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/548224/slave-narrative>.

influence of African American literature. African Americans “faced criticism from prominent members of white society...Moreover, African American writers struggled for recognition as writers.”<sup>40</sup> Literature was important in combating slavery during the antebellum era, and “literature spoke for millions of African Americans who did not have a voice.”<sup>41</sup> The Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s until 1940, was a time of African-American creativity, when African Americans challenged “white paternalism and racism” and “snubbed mere imitation of the styles of Europeans and white Americans and instead celebrated black pride and creativity...They explore[d] their identities as black Americans, celebrating the black culture that had emerged out of slavery and their cultural ties to Africa.”<sup>42</sup> In the Black Arts Movement that came out of the 1960s and the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, “black artists wanted an original aesthetic that emphasized black personhood as different from that of white personhood.”<sup>43</sup> Black studies departments began to form at universities in this era. Present-day black writers are raising issues about African American identity, and racism’s social, economic, and political ramifications, rewriting “the American narrative, creating a more complex and diverse view of what we call America.”<sup>44</sup>

Asian Americans, too, have a history of silence and stereotypes, but “the rather fluid boundaries of the terms Asian, American, and literature”<sup>45</sup> make it

---

<sup>40</sup> Amy Nickell, “Overview of Teaching African American Literature,” Teaching African American Literature, accessed March 13, 2013, <http://www2.uncp.edu/home/hickss/taal/overview/index.html>.

<sup>41</sup> Nickell, “Overview of Teaching African American Literature,” <http://www2.uncp.edu/home/hickss/taal/overview/index.html>.

<sup>42</sup> Nickell, “Overview of Teaching African American Literature,” <http://www2.uncp.edu/home/hickss/taal/overview/index.html>.

<sup>43</sup> Nickell, “Overview of Teaching African American Literature,” <http://www2.uncp.edu/home/hickss/taal/overview/index.html>.

<sup>44</sup> Nickell, “Overview of Teaching African American Literature,” <http://www2.uncp.edu/home/hickss/taal/overview/index.html>.

<sup>45</sup> Amy Ling, “Teaching Asian American Literature,” *Essays on Teaching the American Literatures* from the *Heath Anthology Newsletter*, accessed March 16, 2015, [http://faculty.georgetown.edu/bassr/tamlit/essays/asian\\_am.html](http://faculty.georgetown.edu/bassr/tamlit/essays/asian_am.html).

difficult to define what is meant by “Asian American.”<sup>46</sup> Though Asians in the United States have been telling their stories since the 1800s, it is only since the 1960s that their stories have been formally recognized and therefore given legitimacy. The Asian American immigrant experience, its beginnings more recent than that of African Americans, was an early theme. During the 1970s, a time of civil unrest and exploration in the United States, a group of Asian American writers rejected much classic Asian American literature “for subservient immigrant assimilation to the point of cultural self denial.”<sup>47</sup> Identity continued to be a foundation for much Asian American literature. In the 1980s, growing ethnic diversity led to a broader spectrum of Asian voices from many Asian countries, and the immigrant experience continues to be an ongoing subject in contemporary literature. “Thus, Asian American literature has several purposes: to remember the past, to give voice to a hitherto silent people with an ignored and therefore unknown history, to correct stereotypes of an exotic or foreign experience and thus, as [writer Maxine] Hong Kingston says, to claim America for the thousands of Americans whose Asian faces too frequently deny them a legitimate place in this country of their birth.”<sup>48</sup>

I should mention here how problematic racial categories are in the United States. Though the U.S. Census is by no means definitive when it comes to classifying people, it does give insight into the artificiality of racial categories

---

<sup>46</sup> Elaine Kim, author of the first book-length scholarly study, *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context*, says Asian American literature must have the United States as a story’s setting. Others, such as Ling, say writers of Asian ancestry living in the United States, but works set in Asian countries should not be excluded by her definition because it cuts off important sources of history, culture and memory, and since Asia is an inherent part of an Asian American’s past, whether distant or more immediate, it should be acknowledged. “Writers whose sensibilities were shaped in Asia, those who write of American experiences in Asian languages or of Asian experiences in English have been designated immigrant or *emigré* writers, but should also be included under the rubric Asian American.” Ling, “Teaching Asian American Literature,” [http://faculty.georgetown.edu/bassr/tamlit/essays/asian\\_am.html](http://faculty.georgetown.edu/bassr/tamlit/essays/asian_am.html).

<sup>47</sup> R.C. Lutz, “Asian American Literature,” *Immigration in America*, 2011, accessed March 16, 2015, <http://immigrationinamerica.org/358-asian-american-literature.html>.

<sup>48</sup> Ling, “Teaching Asian American Literature,” [http://faculty.georgetown.edu/bassr/tamlit/essays/asian\\_am.html](http://faculty.georgetown.edu/bassr/tamlit/essays/asian_am.html).

throughout U.S. history,<sup>49</sup> and censuses are crucial in categorizing people.<sup>50</sup> One of the major reasons for classifying the population by race and ethnicity is to comply with the Constitution and “to monitor discrimination and enforce civil rights legislation.”<sup>51</sup> The federal government uses census data when determining discrimination or violations of the civil rights of racial or ethnic minorities in, for example, housing, education, or employment.

The first census in 1790 asked for the number of free white males and females, other free people, and slaves. The 1800 U.S. Census asked about all other free people except Indians. In 1820, the census asked about the number of free people of color. Citizenship was considered when the 1830 census asked about “White people who were foreigners not naturalized,” reflecting immigration trends. In 1850, a race question delineated between “White, black, or mulatto.” In 1870, that was expanded to include Chinese and Indian (Native American). In 1890, the categories added quadroon, octoroon, and Japanese. In 1900, the “Color or Race” question asked for white, black, Chinese, Japanese, or American Indian. In 1910, mulatto and other races were added as categories. The biggest change in the 1930 census was in racial classification. The one-drop rule denoting black lineage applied and, for the first and only time, Mexican was listed as a race. Also added were categories of Filipino, Hindu, and Korean.

The first census to separate population and housing was the 1940 census. Those of Mexican descent were counted as white. The 1950 census removed “color” from the race question, and removed Hindu and Korean from the race choices. The 1960 U.S. Census put the word “color” back, and added Hawaiian,

---

<sup>49</sup> All race quotations in this section are taken from Racebox.org, “The Census since 1790,” accessed May 8, 2015, <http://racebox.org>. Facts about the U.S. Census are from U.S. Census Bureau, “Through the Decades,” accessed May 8, 2015, [https://www.census.gov/history/www/through\\_the\\_decades/index\\_of\\_questions/1930\\_1.html](https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/index_of_questions/1930_1.html).

<sup>50</sup> Jennifer Lee and Frank Bean have an excellent discussion of the thinking behind the construction of race categories on censuses, and puts it in historical context. See Jennifer Lee and Frank D. Bean, *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the Color Line in Twenty-First Century America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010), 35-54. See especially 44-46 for the Hispanic origin question.

<sup>51</sup> Lee and Bean, *The Diversity Paradox*, 36.

Aleut, and Eskimo.<sup>52</sup> In 1970, for the first time, the census attempted to estimate the nation's Hispanic population, and respondents filled in the forms themselves. A sample of respondents for the 1970 census was asked if their ancestry was Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, other Spanish, or none of these. The 1970 U.S. Census distinguished Hispanic "origin or race" from "color or race," thus introducing a difference between the two. This was very significant, for it marked the first time an Hispanic group identity was not racialized, that is, Hispanics were not classified as a racial group.<sup>53</sup>

In 1980, respondents were asked if they were of Spanish/Hispanic descent, and several racial categories were added— Aleut, Asian Indian, Eskimo, Guamanian, Samoan, and Vietnamese. In 1990, the form included a write-in line for respondents to specify an "other Spanish/Hispanic" group.

The year 2000 saw significant changes in the race questions. The term "Latino" was added, so the question was, "Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?" The race question ("What is Person 1's race?") followed. The placement of the question, before the race question, was significant, and it was an attempt to have Hispanics specify a racial category. Also significant was allowing the respondent to self-identify, i.e., "Mark ☐ one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be."

The Spanish/Hispanic/Latino question was largely unsuccessful in determining Hispanics' race as about 43 percent of Hispanics did not specify a race,<sup>54</sup> so the 2010 census form had more changes to the race and ethnicity questions. The instructions state that "Hispanic origins are not races." The questionnaire asked if a person was "of Hispanic, Latin, or Spanish origin," putting "Spanish" last instead of first. It then asked the person to identify an Hispanic group. The next question asked the person's race, giving 15 options, including "Some other race."

The history of the census questionnaires demonstrates the difficulties in categorizing and quantifying racial and ethnic information. The U.S. Census

---

<sup>52</sup> The 1960 census was the first one to let respondents self-identify their race. One response was that, in the following two decades, "the number of Americans claiming to be American Indian has soared, increasing by more than 100 percent...well beyond what can be explained by natural increase...Most plausibly, they are of mixed Native American and other ancestry, and no longer feel the need to present themselves as non-Indian." There are several hypotheses to explain this phenomenon, including the enactment of more an increase in tribal wealth due to the successful suits over land claims, the position of tribal lands as casino sites, or that "labeling oneself 'Indian' has a cachet in many parts of the United States that it lacked before." Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 154.

<sup>53</sup> Lee and Bean, *The Diversity Paradox*, 44.

<sup>54</sup> D'Vera Cohn, "Census History: Counting Hispanics," Pew Research Center, *Social and Demographic Trends*, March 3, 2010, accessed March 20, 2015, <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2010/03/03/census-history-counting-hispanics-2/>.

Bureau has undertaken a detailed research project in an attempt to more accurately gather information about peoples' ancestry. "Some other race" was added to the 1980 census questionnaire, when a small number of people did not check the box for one of the official race categories, but that number has grown to become the third-largest race category in the census.<sup>55</sup> So the U.S. Census Bureau is researching question wording changes for the 2020 census, clearly an expression of dissatisfaction with attempts of the 2010 census to capture a demographic picture of the United States.<sup>56</sup> Racial and ethnic categories have changed significantly over the more than 200 years U.S. residents have been enumerated, and in the past few censuses the government has paid special attention to Latinos, the largest growing non-majority population.

As with Asian American literature and voices, the Latino or Hispanic literary tradition is blurred. Spanish language voices have been heard for centuries as there is a rich tradition of Spanish literature from Europe and Latin America. But literature written specifically by Mexican Americans has not historically given those writers a voice. That has changed, particularly recently. Chicano literature, which is by definition Mexican American, has emerged and is evolving as Latino cultures affect mainstream culture.

Chicano literature has a relatively recent history. It originated during the late 19th century, after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo<sup>57</sup> was signed in 1848, ending the U.S.-Mexican War.<sup>58</sup> The terms shaped the conditions that governed the political, social, and cultural position of the Mexicans living in the ceded

---

<sup>55</sup> Jens Manuel Krogstad and D'Vera Cohn, "U.S. Census Looking at Big Change in How It Asks about Race and Ethnicity," Pew Research Center, March 14, 2014, accessed May 8, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/03/14/u-s-census-looking-at-big-changes-in-how-it-asks-about-race-and-ethnicity/>.

<sup>56</sup> Much literature exists on the U.S. Census and race and ethnicity. For example, various European ethnic groups such as Italian, Irish, and Jewish ones, "became" white, while other were ignored or subject to prejudices of the times, like the one-drop rule. This subject is outside the scope of this dissertation, but it touches on questions of the power of the white majority to define the race of other peoples. See, for example, Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>57</sup> This was called the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo because it was signed in the Villa de Guadalupe near the shrine dedicated to Mexico's patron saint, the Virgin of Guadalupe. Richard Griswold del Castillo, "War's End: Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," KERA, 2006, accessed March 17, 2015, [http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/war/wars\\_end\\_guadalupe.html](http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/war/wars_end_guadalupe.html).

<sup>58</sup> The concept of manifest destiny fueled the U.S.-Mexican War. For a discussion of manifest destiny and the ruling of subject peoples, see D. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 14-17.

Seen from another perspective, European immigrants, primarily U.S. citizens, came to Mexican territory (what became Texas and the Southwest), not "to assimilate and be governed but to conquer and govern." Martin Guevara Urbina, Joel E. Vela, and Juan O. Sánchez, *Ethnic Realities of Mexican Americans: From Colonialism to 21st Century Globalization* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 2014), 47. See also 45-53 and 28-29.

territory and their descendants, the Chicanos.<sup>59</sup> The acquisition of new territory was also one of the factors that led, indirectly, “to the greatest upheaval in the nation’s history,”<sup>60</sup> the Civil War.

Under the terms of the treaty, the United States paid Mexico \$15 million<sup>61</sup> to compensate for war-related damage to Mexican land and assumed \$3.25 million in claims by U.S. citizens against the Mexican government.<sup>62</sup> Mexico agreed to cede what is now all or parts of Arizona, California, Colorado, Kansas, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Utah, and Wyoming,<sup>63</sup> a total of 525,000 square miles, nearly half its territory. The treaty also gave Mexicans the right to remain on the land, or relocate to Mexico. About 3,000<sup>64</sup> of the estimated 75,000 to 100,000 Mexicans<sup>65</sup> chose to move, but the overwhelming majority

---

<sup>59</sup> Eysturoy and Gurpegui, “Chicano Literature,” [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf).

<sup>60</sup> Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, and David M. Reimers, *Natives and Strangers: A Multicultural History of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 86. The Wilmot Proviso would have banned slavery in the new territory acquired from Mexico. Though the Wilmot Proviso passed in the U.S. House of Representatives, the southern-dominated Senate failed to pass it. It caused great bitterness between the North and South over the extension of slavery. The Wilmot Proviso was put before Congress again, and failed to pass. Independence Hall Association, “An Uneasy Peace: Wilmot’s Proviso,” U.S. History, accessed May 23, 2015, <http://www.ushistory.org/us/30a.asp>, accessed May 23, 2015; A&E Television Networks, “Wilmot’s Proviso,” *History*, accessed May 23, 2015, <http://www.history.com/topics/wilmot-proviso>; Columbia University Press, “Wilmot Proviso,” *Infoplease*, Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, accessed May 23, 2015, <http://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/history/wilmot-proviso.html>.

<sup>61</sup> Tom Gray, “Teaching with Documents: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” National Archives, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, accessed March 18, 2015, <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/guadalupe-hidalgo/>.

<sup>62</sup> Digital History, “Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” 2014, accessed March 16, 2015, [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp\\_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=1141](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=1141); and PBS, “The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” *The Border*, accessed March 17, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/kpbs/theborder/history/timeline/6.html>.

<sup>63</sup> D. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 13.

<sup>64</sup> Historian David Weber says the figure cannot be accurately stated because of many extenuating circumstances, such as Mexicans who left and then returned, or former Mexican soldiers who settled with their families. “Any estimate of the number of Mexicans returning to Mexican territory after the Mexican War must be taken with caution.” David J. Weber, ed., *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans*, 30th anniversary ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), 143.

<sup>65</sup> David G. Gutiérrez, “Mexicans,” in *A Nation of Peoples: A Sourcebook on America’s Multicultural Heritage*, edited by Elliott Robert Barkan (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1999), 375.

remained and became U.S. citizens.<sup>66</sup> Their belief that their property and civil rights would be protected would not hold true;<sup>67</sup> they became second-class citizens.<sup>68</sup>

The treaty gave U.S. citizenship to Mexicans, at least nominally, at a time when Native Americans, Asians, and African Americans, other peoples of color, did not have full citizenship. Native Americans who were Mexican citizens living in the ceded territories were not given full citizenship until the 1930s.<sup>69</sup> But the now-U.S. citizens often could not fully claim those rights, partly because southern whites had settled in that area.<sup>70</sup> The new Americans faced many changes, including the loss of lands, political and economic status, and social prestige.<sup>71</sup> According to anthropologist Patricia Zavella, “Through a variety of legal and informal mechanisms, Mexicans were displaced from their land and propelled

---

<sup>66</sup> According to Gregory Rodriguez, “the vast majority of today’s Mexican Americans are not descendants of early settlers,” those who became American citizens with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Most are descended from the two great waves of the 20th century’s Mexican immigration. The first wave was precipitated by the Mexican Revolution. The second wave, much larger than the first, came during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Gregory Rodriguez, “Mexican Americans and the Mestizo Melting Pot,” in *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What It Means To Be American*, edited by Tamara Jacoby (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 128. Rodriguez is the executive director of the Center for Social Cohesion at Arizona State University and a senior editorial research fellow at the New America Foundation.

Historian David Gutiérrez affirms that the overwhelming majority of people of Mexican descent living in the United States trace their roots to immigrants from Mexico in waves of migration in the twentieth century. David G. Gutiérrez, “Globalization, Labor Migration, and the Demographic Revolution: Ethnic Mexicans in the Late Twentieth Century,” in *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States Since 1960*, edited by David G. Gutiérrez (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 44.

<sup>67</sup> D. Gutiérrez, “Mexicans,” *A Nation of Peoples*, 375-376; Urbina, Vela, and Sánchez, *Ethnic Realities of Mexican Americans*, 48-56; and PBS, “The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” <http://www.pbs.org/kpbs/theborder/history/timeline/6.html>.

<sup>68</sup> Re Cruz, “The Mexican American Community,” in Naylor, 160-162; Rogelio Sáenz and Aurelia Lorena Murga, *Latino Issues*, Contemporary World Issues series (Santa Barbara, CA:ABC-CLIO, 2011), 12; and Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land*, 143.

<sup>69</sup> Griswold del Castillo, “War’s End,” [http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/war/wars\\_end\\_guadalupe.html](http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/war/wars_end_guadalupe.html).

<sup>70</sup> Donna R. Gabaccia, *Immigration and American Diversity: A Social and Cultural History*, Problems in American History, edited by Jack P. Greene (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 129.

<sup>71</sup> Pablo R. Mitchell, *History of Latinos: Exploring Diverse Roots* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2014), 55.

into the bottom of the working class, were disenfranchised and segregated into barrios,” and many of those mechanisms continue today.<sup>72</sup>

The situation of these Mexicans is unique. “At the moment of their original annexation into the United States in 1848,” says historian David Gutiérrez, “the first generation of Mexican Americans represented a primordial ethnic group by virtue of the fact that, at the stroke of a pen, they had instantaneously been rendered an ethnic minority of a much larger society.”<sup>73</sup>

“Overnight, Mexican citizens became a disdained minority in a foreign nation, a reality which has influenced Chicano cultural expression ever since.”<sup>74</sup> They have been called “the invisible minority,” “the forgotten people,” “the silent minority,” and “strangers in their own land,” so “it is no surprise that the literary records of these people have been obscured, silenced or forgotten.”<sup>75</sup> Ironically, in what historian Thomas Dublin calls “a reversal of the common immigrant experience,” the Mexicans in the now U.S. newly-acquired territory had to acculturate to the incoming European-American population.<sup>76</sup>

The treaty had implications that reached far into the future, and implications for international law as well. “Interpretations of the provisions of the treaty,” says Mexican studies scholar Richard Griswold del Castillo, “have been important in disputes over international boundaries, water and mineral rights, and the civil and property rights of the descendants of the Mexicans living in the ceded territories.”<sup>77</sup> Those rights shaped how people of Mexican origin who lived there perceived themselves, and how the dominant society regarded them. A major literary theme is “Chicano struggles against Anglo domination in the southwest,”<sup>78</sup> and because of limited educational opportunities available to

---

<sup>72</sup> Patricia Zavella, “Reflections on Diversity among Chicanas,” in *Chicana Leadership*, edited by Yolanda Flores Niemann et al. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 111.

<sup>73</sup> D. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 7.

<sup>74</sup> Eysturoy and Gurpegui, “Chicano Literature,” [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf), 2.

<sup>75</sup> Eysturoy and Gurpegui, “Chicano Literature,” [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf), 2. See also Rubén G. Rumbaut, “The Making of a People,” in *Hispanics and the Future of America*, edited by Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006), 27.

<sup>76</sup> Thomas Dublin, ed., *Immigrant Voices: New Lives in America 1773-2000*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 12.

<sup>77</sup> Griswold del Castillo, “War’s End: Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” [http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/war/wars\\_end\\_guadalupe.html](http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/war/wars_end_guadalupe.html).

<sup>78</sup> Juan Rodríguez, “Chicano Literature: the Theme of Cultural Resistance,” *Onda Latina*, University of Texas at Austin, 2009, accessed March 17, 2015, [http://www.laits.utexas.edu/onda\\_latina/program?sernum=000536358&term=](http://www.laits.utexas.edu/onda_latina/program?sernum=000536358&term=).

Chicanos, they did not fully develop a written literary tradition until after World War II.<sup>79</sup> Some literary critics call the period from the signing of the treaty in 1848 to 1910 a transition period when Mexican Americans developed distinct social and cultural perspectives and there was little migration from Mexico.<sup>80</sup> A majority of Mexican American writers wrote in the Spanish language during the transition era, “a literal manifestation of cultural identity.”<sup>81</sup>

With the Mexican Revolution, which began in 1910 and officially ended in 1917,<sup>82</sup> a significant migration pattern took place as perhaps as many as one million Mexicans crossed the border,<sup>83</sup> fleeing the turmoil and unrest in their own land.<sup>84</sup> The influx of Mexicans changed the cultural landscape in California and the Southwest, reinforcing the Spanish language and strengthening ties to Mexico. Chicano literature developed and flourished, broadening the publication venues, and societies formed that filled cultural and social roles in Mexican-American communities.<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> Rodriguez, “Chicano Literature,” [http://www.laits.utexas.edu/onda\\_latina/program?sernum=000536358&term=](http://www.laits.utexas.edu/onda_latina/program?sernum=000536358&term=).

<sup>80</sup> Eysturoy and Gurpegui, “Chicano Literature,” [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf), 5.

<sup>81</sup> Eysturoy and Gurpegui, “Chicano Literature,” [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf), 5.

<sup>82</sup> The official end to the Mexican Revolution is generally taken to be when the Constitution of Mexico was approved in 1917, “enshrining agrarian reform and unprecedented economic rights for the Mexican people.” But the newly-installed president of Mexico ignored its promises and fighting continued for many years. National Endowment for the Humanities, “The Mexican Revolution: November 20th, 1910,” EDSITEment!, accessed April 2, 2015, <http://edsitement.neh.gov/feature/mexican-revolution-november-20th-1910>.

<sup>83</sup> Urbina, Vela, and Sánchez, *Ethnic Realities of Mexican Americans*, 57.

<sup>84</sup> Immigration from Mexico reached a peak in the 1920s. Mexican immigrants accounted for nine percent of U.S. immigration in the first half of the decade, and that grew to nearly 16 percent in the second half. Non-agricultural unskilled labor, such as on railroads and in construction, grew sharply. But as economic conditions worsened in the United States, Mexican immigration dropped in numbers. Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman, *The Mexican American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority* (New York: Free Press, 1970), 65-66.

<sup>85</sup> Eysturoy and Gurpegui, “Chicano Literature,” [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf), 6.

World War II brought more changes for Mexican Americans as incidents such as the Zoot Suit Riots in Los Angeles in 1943<sup>86</sup> led to a burgeoning sense of social and cultural ethnic consciousness among Chicanos after the war. This, in turn, laid the foundation for the Chicano Movement of the 1960s<sup>87</sup> when Chicanos became more politicized as they defined their identity;<sup>88</sup> the Chicano Movement was “a moment of ethnic empowerment.”<sup>89</sup> “A new type of literature

---

<sup>86</sup> Wartime conditions reconfigured gender and racial boundaries, with women and people of color filling domestic roles previously reserved for European American males. At the same time, jazz was capturing the ideological expression of many African Americans and Latinos, who openly defied segregation norms on the jazz stage and dance floor. The zoot suit, a broad shouldered, narrow waisted, baggy pants look, was boldly worn by young people, many of them Mexican Americans. Many Angelenos objected to zoot suiters and lumped older Mexican Americans in with them.

Southern California was a key military location during the war, and as many as 50,000 servicemen could be found in Los Angeles on any given weekend. Servicemen saw LA as a playground for booze, women, sex, and fights, while young men and women of color refused to bow to the “prerogatives of white privilege.” In the segregated ethnic enclaves of Los Angeles, there were often confrontations between white servicemen and Mexican Americans, the largest minority group in L.A. Those tensions exploded in more than a week of fighting and rioting in the summer of 1943, which became known as the Zoot Suit Riots. After order was brought to the streets of L.A., a citizens’ committee was charged with investigating the riots and determined that racism was the cause. But the mayor concluded that juvenile delinquents and white Southerners were to blame, not racism. PBS, “Zoot Suit Riots,” *American Experience*, PBS Online/WGBH, 1999-2001, accessed March 18, 2015, [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/zoot/eng\\_peopleevents/e\\_riots.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/zoot/eng_peopleevents/e_riots.html).

President Franklin Roosevelt ordered the military to confine servicemen to their bases and restrict their movements in the city of Los Angeles. Urbina, Vela, and Sánchez, *Ethnic Realities of Mexican Americans*, 70-72.

Note, too, that many Mexicans and Mexican Americans fought in the U.S. Army, but this discussion is limited to the Zoot Suit Riots and the ethnic unrest as an element of Chicano expression.

<sup>87</sup> See Valerie Mendoza, “Chicano! History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement: Review,” *Journal for MultiMedia History* 3 (2000), accessed November 23, 2014. <http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol3/chicano/chicano.html>.

<sup>88</sup> “The Chicano Movement’s central objective was to confront discrimination, racism, and exploitation in private, public, and government institutions, and implementing mechanisms for equality and justice. Ultimately, Chicanos wished to validate Mexican-American ethnicity while situating themselves as active participants in the making of America.” Urbina, Vela, and Sánchez, *Ethnic Realities of Mexican Americans*, 181.

Three main goals were restoring lands, farm workers’ rights, and education reform. About.com Race Relations, “The Chicano Movement: Brown and Proud,” accessed November 23, 2014, <http://racerelements.about.com/od/historyofracerelements/a/BrownandProudTheChicanoMovement.htm>.

<sup>89</sup> Center for Study of Race and Ethnicity in America, “Chicano Movement,” Brown University, last modified June 22, 2005, accessed November 23, 2014, <http://www.brown.edu/Research/Coachella/chicano.html>.

emerged which explored all the various facets of the Chicano experience: works of social protest took on a tone of defiance in their denunciation of social conditions in the Chicano communities; the concept of Aztlán, the ancient Indian homeland in the Southwest, came to be a central symbol of Chicano cultural affirmation; the question of *mezclizaje*, of being of mixed European and Indian ancestry, led writers to rediscover the Indian roots of their cultural heritage.”<sup>90</sup> Writers sought to combine the duality of being Mexican and American, and “expressed that synthesis through language and theme.”<sup>91</sup>

In the mid-1960s, researchers based at the University of California, Los Angeles, undertook a broad interdisciplinary study of Mexican Americans on a Ford Foundation grant. Headed by urban land economics scholar Leo Grebler, sociologist Joan Moore, and political scientist Ralph Guzman, it was the first study to examine Mexican Americans as a “national minority,” a new interpretation of Mexican Americans as a permanent part of the population. Reports included education, immigration, economics, religion, the family, intermarriage, political participation, and health. They found that reaction to their study “indicated a healthy development,” that “Mexican Americans no longer perceived the Anglo establishment as immune to their attempts to influence the social environment.”<sup>92</sup> Parallel strands, from this study to the Chicano Movement to the development of Chicano literature,<sup>93</sup> were beginning to make waves in society.

As with other ethnic and racial groups, as their literature developed, Chicanos reflected themes of cultural conflict and straddling cultures, and the search for identity. Chicana writers such as Norma Alarcón, Gloria Anzaldúa, Ana Castillo, Sandra Cisneros, and Cherrie Moraga, have relatively recently brought a feminist perspective to the body of work, expressing themselves as women in a male-dominated Mexican-American culture, and exploring what that means.

---

<sup>90</sup> Eystuoy and Gurpegui, “Chicano Literature,” [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf), 7.

<sup>91</sup> Eystuoy and Gurpegui, “Chicano Literature,” [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf), 7. Much of this discussion is based on Eystuoy and Gurpegui.

<sup>92</sup> Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, *The Mexican American People*, 4-5.

<sup>93</sup> The first course in Chicano literature in the United States was taught by professor Felipe de Ortego y Gasca at the University of New Mexico in 1969. Urbina, Vela, and Sánchez, *Ethnic Realities of Mexican Americans*, 7.

Gender and culture are interconnected<sup>94</sup> for Chicana writers.<sup>95</sup> Spanish language and literature scholar Michelle Johnson Vela says that union allows them to “give voice to the community, while concurrently struggling to find their place within the communal context.”<sup>96</sup> Thus Mexican-American writers, male and female, can now claim to an identity formed through a complicated web of historical events, time, space, and cultural dynamics. Latino writers during the past two decades “have clearly moved away from writing solely about their experiences as bicultural citizens of the United States,” says Romance languages and literatures scholar Patricia Montilla, “and have turned to examining the reasons for migration of their respective population groups, rewriting the histories of the Caribbean and Latin America, and crossing multiple geographic, cultural, and national borders, resulting in works that defy being classified as ethnic literature.” Their themes are universal, especially those “concerning human rights and personal freedom, [and] appeal to a much broader public than earlier twentieth-century writings.”<sup>97</sup>

I am discussing published narratives here, but an analogy exists between published literature and personal narratives. Looking at the published literature helps put personal narratives in the context of the times, and gives a sense of the ordinary person. Personal narratives can tell of the mundaneness of a life, which

---

<sup>94</sup> In *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, Gloria Anzaldúa writes, “Culture forms our beliefs. We perceive the version of reality that it communicates. Dominant paradigms, predefined concepts that exist as unquestionable, unchallengeable, are transmitted to us through the culture. Culture is made by those in power—men. Males make the rules and laws; women transmit them.” Anzaldúa makes it clear that culture and gender are inextricably intertwined, and she goes on to discuss the choices women of her culture have in society today. Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1997), 16.

Anzaldúa is one of the first openly lesbian Chicana writers. Sáenz and Murga, *Latino Issues*, 127.

<sup>95</sup> Maxine Baca Zinn, “Gender and Ethnic Identity among Chicanos,” in *Chicana Leadership*, edited by Yolanda Flores Niemann et al. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 15-29. Zinn writes, “As Chicanos challenged the larger societal processes that led to their subordination as ethnics, they began to articulate the new conceptions of ethnic identity. In this process of redefining ethnic identity, Chicanas challenged processes that led to their subordination as women and also articulated new conceptions of their identities as ethnic women.” Zinn, “Gender and Ethnic Identity among Chicanos,” in Niemann, 22.

<sup>96</sup> Michelle Johnson Vela, “Bridging the Borderlands/Navigating the ‘Self’ in Chicana Life Writings,” in *Mediating Chicana/o Culture: Multicultural American Vernacular*, edited by Scott L. Baugh (Newcastle, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholar’s Press, 2006), 52. Johnson Vela says language is an important part of Chicana writers’ identity. “The shifting back and forth of names and languages (English in school, Spanish at home) reflects the Chicana’s constant navigation of Anglo and Hispanic cultural terrains... This linguistic transition reflects the cultural variation between the Anglo-focused school environment and the Mexican home in which the narrator and her friends from the *barrio* live.” Vela, “Bridging the Borderlands,” in Baugh, 55.

<sup>97</sup> Patricia M. Montilla, “The Latino Novel in the Twenty-First Century,” in *Latinos and American Popular Culture*, edited by Patricia M. Montilla (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013), 267.

gives a sense of the pattern of lives of the times. I shall expand on this as I examine my interviews later, but here historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich exemplifies it by using the words of midwife Martha Ballard to chronicle her life in *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*. Through Ballard's own words, the reader learns of the nature of women's work, the household, local economy, domestic violence, marriage, local crimes, medical practices, sexual mores, religious conflict, and more. *A Midwife's Tale* shows the relationships between public and private spheres and is an important work in showing how Ballard contributed to the economics of her household and was involved with her community. It gave researchers, scholars, and the average ordinary reader an understanding of a different kind of role, outside the norm, for a woman of her times. *A Midwife's Tale* made important theoretical and methodological contributions, and demonstrated how rich personal narratives can be. Ballard had not thought of publishing her work, but historian Ulrich did 200 years later, and her work was recognized with a Pulitzer Prize in 1991.

The tellers of stories in the United States have broadened to include people of many different colors and genders. On a more personal level, the interviews I did for my primary research showed social change is occurring for Latinos in California, particularly in the last four generations.

My interviews spanned four generations,<sup>98</sup> from Fred Ruiz, born in 1943 and a member of the Mature/Silent generation, to Andrew Toledo, born in 1990 and a Millennial, or Generation Y. Their experiences, while they are individual recollections, reflect the historical times through which they lived. Immigrants bring another dimension outside of these generational characteristics, for while they do not fit in the United States patterns, they share some of the same traits.<sup>99</sup>

Briefly, as background, the Mature/Silent generation, born between 1927 and 1945, and sometimes called the "greatest generation," grew up during an era of conformity and post-war happiness. They are disciplined, self-sacrificing, and cautious. The Baby Boomers, born between 1946 and 1964, are optimistic, driven, demanding, and team-oriented, and the first television generation. They are career-driven, and raised their children in two-income households. Divorce was more accepted by them. Generation X, born from 1965 to 1980, are entrepreneurial, individualistic, unimpressed with authority and want to save the neighborhood, not the world. They were the first latch-key children, and grew up

---

<sup>98</sup> This discussion on traits is based on MarketingTeacher.com, "The Six Living Generations in America," <http://www.marketingteacher.com/the-six-living-generations-in-america/>, accessed November 23, 2014; and The Generational Imperative, "Say Hello to America's 5 Living Generations," accessed May 8, 2015, <http://www.genimperative.com/AmericasGenerations.html>.

<sup>99</sup> The Mexican-American generation experience may have nuances or distinct characteristics different from or in addition to the general American generation traits. For example, what impact did coming of age during the table grape strike have on Chicano Baby Boomers? Questions like this that come out of my research are outside the scope of this dissertation, though, and warrant further study.

in the transitional phase to a digital world. Theirs was the first era of AIDS. Generation Y or Millennials, born between 1981 and 2000, envision the world as a 24/7 place. They prefer digital literacy as they have never known a world without computers. They are team players, are idealistic, respect authority, and are patriotic. This generation does not live to work.

Interviewees' experiences in public schools track change in status for Latinos. Ruiz, a Mature/Silent raised in Tulare in the 1950s and 60s, recalls that he was tracked in high school. As a Mexican American, he was not given the choice of college prep courses and a four-year university; teachers assumed he would go to community college, vocational school, or straight to the working world.

An early Baby Boomer born in 1947, Lea Ybarra says it was common during those times for Latinas to marry right out of high school. She faced discrimination early because of her ethnicity. When she went to elementary school in Sanger, an "E" on a report card meant "Excellent." As a second grader, she took home a report card full of Es. "The principal told [my mother], 'This is not possible. No Mexican gets all these Es.' To my mother's face."<sup>100</sup>

Even though she was an excellent student, Ybarra, like Ruiz, was tracked for community college. Her high school counselor gave her an application to Fresno City College, not one to California State University, Fresno.<sup>101</sup> "We're a small town," she says. "My parents aren't educated, none of my parents', you know, friends' parents are educated. There are so few that are. So I wouldn't have known enough to get an application to go to college." By happenstance, through a friend, she found out she could apply to a four-year university.

The Chicano Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s highlighted the rights of Chicanos and ethnic empowerment, and the ensuing decades brought some political and social change for Hispanics. Still, though, José Antonio Ramírez, like all the other Spanish-speaking students, was forbidden to speak Spanish in public schools.<sup>102</sup> If he did, he says he would get conduct referrals, and was

---

<sup>100</sup> Lea Ybarra, interview by author, August 14, 2013, Fresno, CA.

<sup>101</sup> California State University, Fresno, is commonly referred to "Fresno State."

<sup>102</sup> Mexican Americans historically have lower educational rates than other ethnic groups. Historian Roger Daniels credits it to a rule against speaking Spanish in school. "The fact that many Mexican American students have been made to feel that they, their language, and their culture are not welcome in schools has only served to reinforce the cultural patterns that have led so many Mexican Americans not to complete high school, much less go on to college." Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Perennial, 2002), 318.

punished.<sup>103</sup> “They would put me on a wooden block, not just me but others, on a wooden block in the middle of the classroom and we would have to stand on these blocks,” he recalls. “Just stand there like this for X amount of minutes. Or they would take us outside and stand us on the blocks outside or sit us in a chair in the sun or stand us by a pole out there in the recreation area for X amount of minutes.”<sup>104</sup>

Though there was more ethnic awareness by the 1990s when Ramírez was in high school in Fresno, like Ruiz and Ybarra, he, too, discovered he was not in college prep courses but vocational ones, likely due to his ethnicity. He was able to transfer into college prep classes, and by that time, when he was ready to go to college, found a summer bridge program at Fresno State designed to enable incoming freshman students an orientation to college and an opportunity to take math and writing courses—basic skills—before the official school year began. Non-European American students were most frequently its target audience. Reflecting the moment in history, social change was happening.

That change had solidified more when Andrew Toledo went to high school in Fresno in the late 2000s. He was born in 1990, and was the youngest person I interviewed. Toledo does not believe he was tracked, and he “never felt like it was ever a challenge for me to be Latino and have to try in order to excel anywhere.”<sup>105</sup>

Though the changes in schools are but one aspect of society, these recollections of people from four different generations are indicative of how attitudes have been evolving. They reflect a social change in power. When Ruiz and Ybarra went to high school, they felt relatively powerless in the system. By the time Toledo was in high school some 40 years later, local governmental attitudes had shifted and legislation was in place to regulate actions, though not attitudes. Those changes in attitudes did not just happen, though. The Civil Rights Movement affected all ethnically defined groups and women, and the ethnic movements that grew out of the Civil Rights Movement empowered them. These movements often served to create a sense of belonging for ethnic people who had felt disenfranchised and marginalized.

It is not a question of whether change is taking place, then, but the rate of change with the explosion of the Latino population that opened this chapter and I will discuss below, and whether that has implications for not only the Latino population but for American society on the whole. Writer and literature scholar

---

<sup>103</sup> Until the 1960s, school personnel commonly punished students for speaking Spanish. Officials cited as the reason the need to learn English. Historian Martínez agrees with Daniels when he says, “Tragically, the children interpreted speaking Spanish as a form of negative behavior on their part. That experience took a heavy toll on their identity and self-esteem.” O. Martínez, *Mexican-Origin People*, 79.

<sup>104</sup> José Antonio Ramírez, interview by author, July 8, 2013, Livingston, CA.

<sup>105</sup> Andrew Toledo, interview by author, August 22, 2013, Fresno, CA.

Gerald Haslam has observed society in Central California for more than 50 years. When he was a young man, Haslam says that “it was beginning to be seen that this old way of judging people out of categorizing people simply didn’t work and, and people who were even moderately educated were aware of that. Some didn’t have the courage to act on it, but...at some point, the society begins to turn.” Today, he believes, cultural expression in California is at “the dawn of hearing non-white voices...and it’s going to be so much richer a century from now than it is now... a lot of them are going to be the grandchildren of several different groups...there’s going to be America in the processes of reinventing itself, and as a culture, I don’t see America ever closing the gates on any direction.”<sup>106</sup>

California is in its fourth population boom, according to David Hayes-Bautista, “largely driven by growth in the Latino population.”<sup>107</sup> Latinos are reaching a critical mass in the nation as a whole and, specifically, California. One source of power, according to sociologist Robert Bierstedt, is numbers of people.<sup>108</sup>

The dramatic rise of the number of people of Mexican origin in the United States has exploded in the past 40 years. In 1970, the number of Mexican immigrants was less than 800,000. Just 30 years later, it was nearly eight million.<sup>109</sup> So this sea change is a relatively recent phenomenon.

---

<sup>106</sup> Gerald Haslam, interview by author, June 11, 2013, Penngrove, CA.

<sup>107</sup> David E. Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), xv. Hayes-Bautista says the first three demographic booms in California were fueled by the Gold Rush from 1849-1860, the railroads from 1890-1920, and automobiles from 1946-1964. Hayes-Bautista is a medical doctor who is the director of the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture at the School of Medicine at UCLA.

<sup>108</sup> Robert Bierstadt, “An Analysis of Social Power,” *American Sociological Review* 15, no. 6 (December 1950):737.

<sup>109</sup> Steven A. Camarota, *Immigration from Mexico: Assessing the Impact on the United States* (Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies, 2001), 5.

U.S. Census data<sup>110</sup> show the number of Latinos in the United States was 9.1 million in 1970; 14.6 million in 1980; 22.4 million in 1990; 35.3 million in 2000; and 50.5 million in 2010.<sup>111</sup> In 2012, the Latino population had grown by three million people, to more than 53 million. The 10 largest counties by Latino population accounted for 22 percent of the national Latino growth between 2000 and 2011, with half of those counties in California.<sup>112</sup> These figures show an exponential growth, projected by the U.S. Census Bureau to be 108.2 million in 2040 and 132.8 million in 2050.<sup>113</sup> People of Mexican ancestry comprised 65.6 percent of the total U.S. Latino population in 2008, and the number of Latinos is rising.<sup>114</sup> For the first time ever, births surpassed immigration as the primary

---

<sup>110</sup> It is a consideration that many variables have made the counting of the Latino population difficult over many censuses. The U.S. Census Bureau experimented with definitions of who was Latino and how that was indicated. In the 1970 U.S. Census, two new approaches were used. The first was a combination of variables, including Spanish as the mother tongue. The second was self-identification. Data became increasingly detailed in the 1980 and 1990 censuses. Brian Gratton and Myron P. Gutmann, "Hispanics in the United States, 1850-1990," *Historical Methods* 33, no. 4 (Summer 2000):138. In the 2000 U.S. Census, the term "Latino" was added. In the 2010 U.S. Census, two changes in wording may have influenced the responses. The order of the terms was changed, with Spanish origin being the last option, not the first (Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin) and the wording of the response category to reflect that change with a list of examples provided. D'Vera Cohn, "Census History: Counting Hispanics," Pew Research Center, *Social and Demographic Trends*, March 3, 2010, accessed March 20, 2015, <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2010/03/03/census-history-counting-hispanics-2/>.

A study by university and government population researchers analyzed 168 million census forms "found that more than 10 million of them checked different race or Hispanic-origin boxes in the 2010 census than they had in the 2000 count." The researchers did not come to any conclusions why. "Evolving self-identity or benefits associated with being identified with some groups" could also be reasons. The U.S. Census Bureau is considering revising its race and ethnicity questions for the 2020 Census. D'Vera Cohn, "Millions of Americans Changed Their Racial or Ethnic Identity from One Census to the Next," *FactTank: News in the Numbers*, Pew Research Center, May 5, 2014, accessed March 20, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/05/05/millions-of-americans-changed-their-racial-or-ethnic-identity-from-one-census-to-the-next/>.

<sup>111</sup> Carl Haub, "Changing the Way U.S. Hispanics Are Counted," *Population Reference Bureau*, November 2012, accessed March 20, 2015, <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2012/us-census-and-hispanics.aspx>.

<sup>112</sup> Anna Brown, "The U.S. Hispanic Population Has Increased Sixfold Since 1970," *FactTank: News in the Numbers*, Pew Research Center, February 26, 2014, accessed March 20, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/02/26/the-u-s-hispanic-population-has-increased-sixfold-since-1970/>.

<sup>113</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, "Hispanics in the United States," accessed March 20, 2015, <http://www.hacu.net/images/hacu/conf/2010CapForum/RobertoRamirezHispanicsInUS2008.pdf>.

<sup>114</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, "Hispanics in the United States," <http://www.hacu.net/images/hacu/conf/2010CapForum/RobertoRamirezHispanicsInUS2008.pdf>.

driver of the growth of people of Mexican ancestry, with 65 percent U.S. born and 35 percent foreign born.<sup>115</sup> This is clearly a trend that supports the premise that the Latino population is moving toward critical mass in California.<sup>116</sup>

I have traced a microcosm of Chicano history through literature and narrative; who tells the story and who the audience is. We have seen how the statistics bear out the phenomenal change in the numbers of Latinos in U.S. society today. Social changes have taken place, almost imperceptibly, in the way the Spanish language has become integrated in mainstream culture. In the past, Spanish conquistadors named places in California to mark their territories, and those names live on today in counties from south to north like Santa Barbara and Del Norte, cities small and large from Salida to Los Angeles, and federal lands such as Los Padres National Forest. Though place names are central to identification and identity, that they are Spanish is not in most people's consciousness.<sup>117</sup> When calling a company, the anonymous voice says to push one number for English and another one for Spanish. Billboards in California are often in Spanish, and salsa now outsells ketchup.

In another societal mark, Juan Felipe Herrera became United States poet laureate in June 2015, the first Mexican American to hold the position. In naming him, Librarian of Congress James Billington said his poems "champion voices, traditions, and histories, as well as a cultural perspective, which is a vital part of our larger American heritage;" former National Endowment for the Arts chairman Dana Gioia says he is connected to the younger generation, and his work "has

---

<sup>115</sup> Ana Gonzalez-Barrera and Mark Hugo Lopez, "A Demographic Portrait of Mexican-Origin Hispanics in the United States," May 1, 2013, accessed May 8, 2015, Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/05/01/a-demographic-portrait-of-mexican-origin-hispanics-in-the-united-states/>. Note also that 51 percent of all Mexican immigrants are undocumented. Jeffrey Passel, D'Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, "Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero—and Perhaps Less," Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends, April 23, 2012, accessed February 10, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/net-migration-from-mexico-falls-to-zero-and-perhaps-less/>.

<sup>116</sup> "In 2006 these were a record number of births in the U.S, and 49 percent of those born were Hispanic; this will change the American melting pot in terms of behavior and culture." MarketingTeacher.com, "The Six Living Generations in America," <http://www.marketingteacher.com/the-six-living-generations-in-america/>.

<sup>117</sup> Thousands of place names across the country, including six states, are of Spanish origin. The Spanish derivation is not as overt in other place names such as "Key West," or "Cayo Hueso," literally "Bone Key." Missions, ranches, schools, churches, presidios, theaters, public buildings, and cities have Spanish names. St. Augustine, Florida, the oldest city in what became one of the United States, is Spanish. Rumbaut, "The Making of a People," in Tienda and Mitchell, 26.

Anthropologist Alicia Re Cruz says "Place names (San Antonio, El Paso, San Francisco, Los Angeles) and names given to natural phenomena (Colorado River, Guadalupe River, and Sierra Nevada Mountains) are constant reminders of the Mexican origin of this region. For most ethnic groups, the attachment to land becomes synonymous with culture, religion, and the main features of their ethnic identity." Re Cruz, "The Mexican-American Community," in Naylor, 161.

emerged from the new oral traditions that have been transforming American poetry over the past quarter-century.”<sup>118</sup>

Today, it is not unusual to hear Spanish spoken or see it nearly anywhere in the Central Valley, from stores to churches to just on the street. Look around, especially in the Valley, and the faces are shades of brown. California is a mosaic, “a kaleidoscope of colors, languages, and customs.”<sup>119</sup> Though there are many races and ethnicities in California, it is the Latino imprint that is the strongest today.

My attention was brought to a factor of significance during my research, but which is outside the scope of this work. Technology will have growing impact on global society overall, not just American culture. It is likely to be the primary reason the consumer market will cater to Latinos. According to Nielsen, Latinos are trendsetters in their use of digital media. The statistics bear that out. Nearly three out of four Latinos over the age of 18 own smartphones (72 percent). Nearly half of Latinos (49 percent) are planning to upgrade or replace their mobile phones in the next six months, compared with 30 percent of users overall. Data usage for Latinos is 16 percent higher than the average mobile consumer. Ninety-five percent of smartphone users accessed social media. Hispanics are twice as likely to buy tablets as the average consumer.<sup>120</sup> *Latino USA*, a nationally-syndicated public radio program, interviewed Hispanic teenagers who said they used smartphones to write papers for school. The program also says Latinos tended to have cell phones instead of computers at home because more people can access the internet at the same time.<sup>121</sup> Despite perceptions to the contrary, Latinos have amassed significant buying power.<sup>122</sup> Clearly, Latinos are

---

<sup>118</sup> Billington selected Herrera. Herrera is from Fresno, CA, the son of migrant workers. Ron Charles, “Historic Choice for U.S. Poet Laureate,” *Washington Post*, June 10, 2015.

<sup>119</sup> Ernesto Galarza, *Barrio Boy*, 40th anniversary ed., with an introduction by Ilan Stavans (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 222.

<sup>120</sup> The Nielsen data is from the 3rd quarter of 2013. Nielsen, “Digital Es Universal: How U.S. Hispanics Are Driving Growth in Digital,” March 4, 2014, accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2014/digital-es-universal-how-us-hispanics-are-driving-growth-in-digital.html>.

<sup>121</sup> *Latino USA* is a nationally syndicated public television program, distributed by NPR and hosted by journalist Maria Hinojosa, about issues and subjects of particular interest to Latinos. *Latino USA*, “El Telefono,” Program #1513, produced by Antonia Cerejido, March 27, 2015.

<sup>122</sup> Nielsen, “The Hispanic Market Imperative,” Quarter 2, 2012, 1, accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.slideshare.net/ikinser/nielsen-state-ofthehispanicconsumer-2012>.

embracing the digital revolution,<sup>123</sup> and I keep these demographics in mind as I analyze my research; these statistics call for future study and interpretation.

Here, we are looking at whether a change is taking place in who has power. The evidence suggests yes. But power has blurred lines and, in the countless spheres in which it operates, it is shifting in different degrees. In the following pages, I will examine cultural change and how the exponential Latino growth is a major component in shaping the pattern of power and narrative.

## ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

This dissertation consists of five chapters.

Chapter One is this introduction in which I lay out the initial research question and examine it in the context of the changing demographics of Latinos in California's Central Valley. I look at what power means in the context of this dissertation, and present the quantitative aspect of numbers of Latinos. Using this information as a springboard, I discover new related research questions concerning cultural dynamics as an indicator of change. Specifically, additional research questions speak to paradigms of power in the Central Valley and how the United States' master narrative is changing.

Chapter Two presents my review of literature and methodology. I review works that have been important in my study of power through narrative and additional scholarship that will help me discern and understand patterns. I interview 18 subjects from the Central Valley who have attained a measure of success, and this chapter details how the subjects were selected and why. It tells what I intended to accomplish with these interviews. This chapter discusses and defines success and summarizes the background of each subject.

The qualitative section is next: stories. Chapter Three consists of narratives that relate to five themes that are woven through the interviewees' lives and speaks to the significance of these themes in shaping who they are.

My findings are in Chapter Four. I analyze my material and delve into the research questions that evolved as I learned to understand the elements of it.

In my final chapter, Chapter Five, I theorize about the implications of my findings for the future of power in the Central Valley, and summarize my interpretations of an evolving master narrative. I raise questions about future scholarship in light of the new way that I have combined several strands of research.

---

<sup>123</sup> Anecdotally, I asked a Latino repairman about the reasons his young teenage children had cell phones. He said it was a way of keeping in touch with the parents who were working and not physically accessible when his teenage son got out of school. Another Latino repairman told me he had a cell phone when he was a teenager because his parents worked in the fields and were not able to be at home when he got out of school; they often told him whether he should go to his grandparents' home.

Culture binds us, gives us meaning and provides us with foundation...

It surrounds, entangles, and supports our daily life,  
a matter of learning “what it is we have to know” to belong  
within a family and a community.

—David Mas Masumoto  
*Peach farmer and writer*<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> David Mas Masumoto, text panel in *Common Ground: The Heart of Community*, permanent exhibition on Japanese American history, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, CA, May 29, 2015.

## CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY

Power and narrative intersect. Who tells the story, that is, who has a voice, determines what story is told. If one has a voice, one has a presence. If one can define who one is, one has power. Personal narratives allow for that voice.

Narrative not only reveals power; it creates it. How people tell stories, how they adapt them, how they champion or contest them, are ways of conveying and evincing power. It is complicated as I deconstruct the broad picture by dissecting the layers,<sup>125</sup> which I shall show in this review of literature and throughout this work. It is by better understanding these layers that we can enhance our interpretations of power.

In this chapter, I will review literature pertaining to narrative, including personal narrative, and how narrative is power. This is fluid, sometimes slippery, because of the Bakhtinian idea that many voices, sometimes competing voices, contribute to the conversation and they are inextricably intertwined. It is sometimes difficult to separate the voices; they overlap, but they all shape the identity of each individual.<sup>126</sup> That identity, individual as well as collective, pertains to each person's culture.

In the context of my research, I also review here literature about Mexican migration patterns.

At the outset, I would like to acknowledge the value and complexity of the multidisciplinary nature of this work. I am using tools of both literary criticism and the social sciences, particularly models in literature, cultural anthropology, ethnography, oral history, and sociology, to enrich my understanding of the dynamics of power and narrative. These methods are sometimes at odds with each other and, therefore, a challenge to incorporate them.

This is not intended to be an exhaustive review of power, narrative, and migration, nor can it be; each of these is a broad subject with an almost infinite number of nuances and permutations. In this review, I focus on the intersection of power and narrative, which is especially germane to this study and is a thread that has run through my research and journalistic endeavors. Separately, I examine literature about Mexican migration and its effect on U.S. culture. The theories and literature in this review are some that have influenced me the most in shaping my thinking on this academic journey. My research presented in this

---

<sup>125</sup> This dissertation privileges Mikhail Bakhtin's concepts of dialogism, heteroglossia, and polyphony, or multi-vocality, as discussed later in this chapter. Bakhtin addresses power and narrative through his ideas on philosophy and linguistics and, specifically, identity. Many of his ideas are outside the scope of this dissertation, but the importance and influence of his work on my thinking should be acknowledged.

<sup>126</sup> See M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

paper examines the lives of people of Mexican descent, and allows them to express their thoughts and reflections in their own words; personal narratives often give points of view not found elsewhere, and not widely heard if they are unpublished.

Accepted history can be seen from different perspectives, such as Christopher Columbus' voyages to the Americas. The accepted narrative for hundreds of years was that he discovered America but, more recently, that narrative and accepted history have been questioned and the long-accepted historical narrative has been revised. So narrative, including personal narrative, influences how history is viewed.<sup>127</sup> That explorers from hundreds of years ago, such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Captain James Smith, penned their own narratives chronicling their travels, and that the works are still read today is testimony to the power and endurance of those historical narrative documents.<sup>128</sup>

Another instance of the power of narrative can be seen in more recent in U.S. history, with the cultural memories of the battle at the Alamo in 1836 during the Texas Revolution. As remembered in the film shown at the Alamo, Texans are heroes and the Mexicans are invaders. But the Alamo's history is being revised with scholarship about the battle, and what was once regarded as history is now being examined with skepticism, as a myth.<sup>129</sup>

Power is a result of our experiences, and narrative organizes those experiences. Narrative is a fundamental way we construct, structure, and

---

<sup>127</sup> The 500th marking of Columbus' voyage in 1492 "became a staging ground, a contest of rival claim and interpretation, in truth a latest debate about multicultural America itself," says A. Robert Lee. "Was October 12, 1992, like each other Columbus Day, a celebration of nation, an America forged from diversity into one? Was it, on the other hand, the triumphalism of a Euro-mainstream at the expense of a far more inclusive minority? For no less than Columbus, America itself has become the subject of vying interpretations to embrace ideology, politics, demography and, quite as dramatically, the ever-enlarging archive of multicultural literary-imaginative fiction." A. Robert Lee, *Multicultural American Literature: Comparative Black, Native, Latino/a, and Asian Fictions* (Edinburgh, Great Britain: 2003), 12, 14. Lee discusses the historical controversy, cultural naming traditions, and Columbus' place in American literary writing, traditionally mainstream and multicultural. To extrapolate, this discussion highlights the value of the perspectives that personal narrative offers.

<sup>128</sup> See Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of Guiana* (London: Robert Robinson, 1596); and John Smith, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith* (London: T. Slater, 1630).

<sup>129</sup> Flores described the film as it was when his book was published. Richard R. Flores, *Remembering the Alamo: Memory, Modernity, and the Master Symbol* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), xv-xvii; 16-19. Flores discusses how cultural memory gives narrative meaning, and is a component of the formation of identities. Flores builds on *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory, as historian Pierre Nora discusses in "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989):7-24. This concept is outside of the scope of this dissertation, but it is worth exploring.

interpret the world around us, according to literature scholar David Herman.<sup>130</sup> Media scholar Paul Cobley agrees that many narratives are not simply constructed, and are embedded in a network of relations.<sup>131</sup> As narrative has evolved, it has become a framework for multiple disciplines and genres, as literature scholars James Phelan and Peter Rabinowitz discuss.<sup>132</sup>

The narrative approach “has absorbed insights from critical theory, molded itself into feminist, psychoanalytic, and postcolonial shapes, and has adopted text linguistic, cognitivist, constructivist, and empirical models for its various frameworks,”<sup>133</sup> says literature and culture scholar Monika Fludernik. Phelan stresses the value of perspective, that is, who the storyteller is.<sup>134</sup>

A very influential theorist about linguistics and narratology is the Russian philosopher Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1895-1975), mentioned earlier. Bakhtin influenced western thought with his theories about the dynamism of language or *dialogism*,<sup>135</sup> that is, that language is affected by and affects the culture that produces it; *polyphony*, or the thought that many voices are heard in every text;

---

<sup>130</sup> David Herman, “Spatial Reference in Narrative Domains,” *Text* 21, no. 4 (2001):517; and David Herman, *Basic Elements of Narrative* (Chichester, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 2.

<sup>131</sup> Paul Cobley, *Narrative: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>132</sup> James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz, *Understanding Narrative* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1994).

<sup>133</sup> Monika Fludernik, “Histories of Narrative Theory (II): From Structuralism to the Present,” in *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, edited by James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz (Malden, MA: Blackwell House Publishing, 2005), 50. See also David Herman, “Histories of Narrative Theory (I): A Genealogy of Early Developments,” in *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, edited by James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz (Malden, MA: Blackwell House Publishing, 2005).

<sup>134</sup> James Phelan, “Narrative Theory, 1966-2006: A Narrative,” in *The Nature of Narrative: 40th Anniversary Edition*, by Robert E. Scholes, James Phelan, and Robert Kellogg (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>135</sup> According to Michael Holquist, Bakhtin defines dialogism thus: “Everything means, is understood as a part of the greater whole—there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others.” “Glossary,” in M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 426.

and the concept of *heteroglossia*,<sup>136</sup> or the idea that context is crucial to text.<sup>137</sup> Structuralist theorist Mieke Bal believes Bakhtin is “liberating” in that “to realize that any text is a patchwork of strata, bearing traces of different communities and the contestations between them, is an essential insight.”<sup>138</sup> These concepts are often underlying and unspoken in our studies of language and culture, and important to keep in mind; they demonstrate the importance of multiple voices in every narrative. In this work, the importance of multi-vocality, that is, the idea that the voices of others are heard by each individual and consequently shape the character of each individual, is woven throughout, always in the background and sometimes in the foreground.

Personal narratives as a social science research tool have value. “People who write or tell their life stories are deeply interested in having a particular version come to light,” and go beyond the facts to tap into meanings and subjectivity, according to the authors of *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History*.<sup>139</sup> Narratives not only reveal the degrees of power, they create and convey it, too. Master narratives are constantly interpreting experiences for us, and alternative or counter narratives are being written as culture changes and adapts, often sub- or unconsciously.

In the context of this work, personal narratives can challenge an accepted master narrative that portrays an ethnic group in negative social contexts. Personal narrative has been accepted as a field of research, as psychologist Dan

---

<sup>136</sup> Holquist expands this definition and goes on to say, “At any given time, in any given place, there will be a set of conditions—social, historical, meteorological, physiological—that will insure that a word uttered in that place and at that time will have a meaning different than it would have under any other conditions.” In “Glossary,” Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 428. See also Charles Lock, “Carnival and Incarnation: Bakhtin and Orthodox Theology,” in *Critical Essays on Mikhail Bakhtin*, edited by Caryl Emerson, Critical Essays on World Literature series, Robert Lecker, general editor (New York: G.K. Hall, 1999), 289.

<sup>137</sup> See Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*; see also Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, translated by Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984); and Brian McHale, “Ghosts and Monsters: On the (Im)Possibility of Narrating the History of Narrative Theory,” in *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, edited by James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz (Malden, MA: Blackwell House Publishing, 2005).

<sup>138</sup> Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 66.

<sup>139</sup> Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer L. Pierce, and Barbara Laslett, *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 147-148.

McAdams details in “Personal Narratives and the Life Story.”<sup>140</sup> Ethnography has long been an accepted qualitative method of studying peoples and cultures, what anthropologist Clifford Geertz calls “thick description.”<sup>141</sup>

In *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*,<sup>142</sup> sociologist Herbert Rubin and qualitative research scholar Irene Rubin approach in-depth interviews as responsive interviewing, advising the researcher to ask further questions depending on the subjects’ responses. They categorize questions into main questions, probes, and follow-up questions, designed to elicit rich subtleties and nuances. They also give advice about cross-cultural in-depth interviews.

Qualitative interviews do not have uniformity of questioning, as survey interviews do. They depend on analysis and interpretation, and integrating the responses into a larger whole, as sociologist Robert Weiss says in *Learning From Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies*. Samples are likely to be smaller than those for survey interviewing, and the goal is not to answer standardized questions. Qualitative interviews can focus on either internal or external events, with the commonality being the interviewee’s observations.<sup>143</sup>

Educational psychologist Steinar Kvale and psychologist Svend Brickmann, in *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*,<sup>144</sup> base their methods on what they call, “professional conversations,”<sup>145</sup> acknowledging different types of interviews, such as journalistic interviews or therapeutic ones. But the lines between them are blurred. They see the purpose of qualitative research interviews as the interdependence of human interaction and the production of knowledge. Like Rubin and Rubin, they outline practices for both the novice and the experienced

---

<sup>140</sup> Dan P. McAdams, “Personal Narratives and the Life Story,” in *Handbook of Personality, Theory and Research*, 3rd edition, edited by Oliver P. John, Richard W. Robins, and Lawrence A. Pervin, New York: Guilford Press, 2008), 242-262; see also McAdams and Kate C. McLean, “Narrative Identity,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 22, no. 3 (June 2013):233-238.

<sup>141</sup> Clifford Geertz borrowed the term from British philosopher Gilbert Ryle. “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture” in Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3-30, accessed May 12, 2015, [http://www.sociosite.net/topics/texts/Geertz\\_Thick\\_Description.php](http://www.sociosite.net/topics/texts/Geertz_Thick_Description.php).

<sup>142</sup> Herbert J. Rubin and Irene S. Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications: 2005).

<sup>143</sup> Robert S. Weiss, *Learning From Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995).

<sup>144</sup> Steinar Kvale and Svend Brickmann, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009).

<sup>145</sup> Kvale and Brickmann, *Interviews*, 2.

interviewer. In this work, I am interested in this production of knowledge, that is, how personal narratives enrich our understanding of the changing dynamics of power in a culture.

Sociologists Kathy Charmaz and Linda Lisa Belgrave give specific practical advice about interviewing, such as not asking “loaded questions that slant the interviewee’s response”<sup>146</sup> or asking for more than a single potential response in a question. The authors give contrasting perspectives on interviewing, with Charmaz not taking an interview guide with her and Belgrave keeping track of material covered. They discuss the wording of sample questions and what the intent of specific questions is, which is instructive to both the beginner and the seasoned interviewer.

The body of literature of narratives by the underrepresented has grown in recent years as concepts of diversity have evolved in American society and social roles are more inclusive. One genre that was “all about power and powerlessness”<sup>147</sup> is women’s Indian captivity narratives. A wide variation exists in these narratives, partly due to gender, according to literature scholar Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola. In a collection of women’s captivity narratives, she says authorship and mediation in the texts must be looked at with some skepticism. Narratives might have been edited, written, published, or circulated with “ecclesiastical oversight,”<sup>148</sup> that is, male clergymen were involved in the process, of writing or editing or publishing or distributing the work. Some of these narratives say they are “almost in her own words,” meaning the actual text is not written by her.<sup>149</sup> Other texts are a composite of voices, and still others are used to moral, political, or religious ends.<sup>150</sup> Derounian-Stodola contextualizes the ten narratives in her volume though, so despite reading the narratives with skepticism, the narratives, not necessarily entirely personal in nature, incorporate testimony from the “authors” themselves.

It is instructive to examine these women’s Indian captivity narratives as cautionary examples as I deconstruct the layering in the stories and which I analyze in Chapters 3 and 4. I am using these alternative narratives, written at least in part by women with seldom-heard voices, to remind me that every

---

<sup>146</sup> Kathy Charmaz and Linda Liska Belgrave, “Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft*, edited by Jaber F. Gubrium, James A. Holstein, Amir B. Marvasti, and Karyn D. McKinney, 347-367 (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2012), 351.

<sup>147</sup> Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, introduction to *Women’s Indian Captivity Narratives*, edited by Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), xii.

<sup>148</sup> Derounian-Stodola, *Captivity Narratives*, xxvi.

<sup>149</sup> Derounian-Stodola, *Captivity Narratives*, xxvii.

<sup>150</sup> Derounian-Stodola, *Captivity Narratives*, xxviii.

person's experiences are colored by history, context, and society, and that in narratives, I must be cognizant of these elements, and particularly of themes of family and cultural heritage, and of gender and immigration status. In examining these narratives, I will keep the interpretation of these women's captivity narratives in mind because they can be looked at on so many levels, and more than one voice is represented.<sup>151</sup>

"A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," published in 1682, was the first New England Indian captivity account published in North America, and has appeared in 30 editions under different titles.<sup>152</sup> Literature scholar Richard VanDerBeets advocates for the importance of narratives of this type in the context of American cultural history because they give insight to the society for which the narratives were intended, from religious expression to anti-Indian propaganda to pulp fiction.<sup>153</sup> In particular, Derounian-Stodola calls Rowlandson's narrative a "rare text," like *The Diary of Anne Frank*, that "transcends the historical and cultural circumstances that produced it and, by combining stark details, honesty, and exquisite style, brings the experience of war and suffering to a personal and accessible level."<sup>154</sup> In another captive narrative, "A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison," the cultural dualism Jemison felt when she was given the opportunity to return to white society but refused, gives present-day readers a sense of why.<sup>155</sup> That is the value of personal narrative, as a tool, especially for historians, oral historians, cultural anthropologists, ethnographers, and sociologists.

An annotated narrative that made an early American midwife's life accessible was written by historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, titled *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*. Ballard kept a diary for more than 27 years, "the most comprehensive continuous record of family life in 18th century Augusta, Maine, listing persons and events recorded nowhere

---

<sup>151</sup> These alternative narratives relate to Bakhtin's ideas and the importance of considering context and multiple voices.

<sup>152</sup> Richard VanDerBeets, ed., *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives 1642-1836* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973), 41. In VanDerBeets' book, the Rowland narrative appears as "The Sovereignty, and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed; Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson." In Derounian-Stodola, the fourth edition of the narrative is titled, "A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson."

<sup>153</sup> VanDerBeets, *Held Captive*, xiii. VanDerBeets says his book presents the first scholarly collection of Indian captivity narratives in the 20th century, xxix.

<sup>154</sup> Derounian-Stodola, *Captivity Narratives*, 5.

<sup>155</sup> Derounian-Stodola, *Captivity Narratives*, 119.

else.”<sup>156</sup> Ulrich combed through nearly 10,000 daily entries that the mundane and repetitive detail of her life revealed. “As I conducted my own research,” says Ulrich, “I was struck at how many people appeared in Martha’s diary who did not appear in deeds and probate, tax lists, census records, town meeting reports, or in the other vital records for the period.”<sup>157</sup> Ulrich believes “it is in the very dailiness, the exhaustive, repetitive dailiness, that the real power of Martha Ballard’s book lies.”<sup>158</sup> Thus personal narratives can be a powerful tool not only to give voice to an underrepresented people, but to create a recorded history from the clues they provide that are not evident in other documents and records.

Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., says women are “the most spectacular casualty of traditional history... They have made up at least half of the human race; but you could never tell that by looking at the books historians write.”<sup>159</sup> In the late 1960s, women’s studies<sup>160</sup> courses began to be offered at universities, first at California State University, San Diego, then at Cornell. “The concept of gender as a social construction that reflects and determines differences in power and opportunity is employed as the primary analytic category.”<sup>161</sup> Early gender courses concentrated on literature, history, and sociology. “Women’s personal narratives are essential primary documents for feminist research. The narratives present and interpret women’s life experiences”

---

<sup>156</sup> Martha Ballard, *The Diary of Martha Ballard, 1785-1812*, edited by Robert R. McCausland and Cynthia MacAltman McCausland, Maine Genealogical Society Special Publication No. 10 (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1992.), vii. Transcribers sought to be faithful to the original, but due to the fragile condition of the original diary, her unusual use of contractions and uncommon words, and, in later years, a “meandering scrawl” rather than her “neat and precise” script in early years, transcribers attempted to record verbatim what she wrote, rather than trying to “correct” her mistakes or insert what she “meant” to write. See McCausland and McCausland, foreword to *The Diary of Martha Ballard, 1785-1812*, vii-viii.

<sup>157</sup> Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, introduction to *The Diary of Martha Ballard, 1785-1812*, by Martha Ballard, edited by Robert R. McCausland and Cynthia MacAltman McCausland, Maine Genealogical Society Special Publication No. 10 (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1992.), xiv.

<sup>158</sup> Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife’s Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 9.

<sup>159</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in Marcia Eymann, preface to *Gifted Woman*, by Howard Schatz, edited by Beverly J. Ornstein (San Francisco: Pacific Photographic Press, 1992), 10.

<sup>160</sup> The name of the academic discipline has changed over the years. At first it was “female studies,” then “women’s studies,” but that was criticized for not taking lesbian or transgender identities into account. Some universities adopted “women and gender studies” or “feminist studies.” Margaret H. McFadden, “Women’s Studies,” *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, encyclopedia.com, accessed April 20, 2015, [http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Womens\\_studies.aspx](http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Womens_studies.aspx).

<sup>161</sup> McFadden, “Women’s Studies,” [http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Womens\\_studies.aspx](http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Womens_studies.aspx).

in the context of history and culture,<sup>162</sup> according to the Personal Narratives Group (PNG), which edited *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives*. Since gender courses have evolved and developed, the PNG says women's narratives provide insights into "apparent acceptance of norms but nevertheless describe strategies and activities that challenge those same norms."<sup>163</sup> Personal narrative, then, is a way of enriching history; "Oral histories," say historian Clara Sue Kidwell (White Earth Chippewa and Choctaw)<sup>164</sup> and literature scholar Alan Velie in *Native American Studies*, "...do not necessarily agree in precise detail with written historical records."<sup>165</sup>

Women are very visible today in the broadcast media, but in the early days, women's roles were limited to what those in power, i.e., white males, determined. Though they were in the business of communication, they were not in positions to tell their stories. In *Hard News: Women in Broadcast Journalism*, sociologist David Hosley and I examine a microcosm of women who used their voices in their professions but had no voice. They talk about challenges to do hard news in the early days of television news, the stereotypes and male hegemony they faced, and their lack of power. Some of these women's names were well-known, partly because they were the first women who were visible in a profession that was just beginning to define itself. They were in the business of telling stories, yet, ironically, they had to tell their stories according to the standards set by older, white males, and had little power to change their roles.<sup>166</sup> In the 1970s and 1980s, the early days of women in broadcast news, many autobiographies were published, such as Sally Quinn's *We're Going to Make You a Star* and Jessica Savitch's *Anchorwoman*. And like the women's Indian captivity narratives, their perspective and the veracity of the stories need to be examined on several levels, with different lenses; again, this is the Bakhtinian concept of

---

<sup>162</sup> Personal Narrative Group, eds., *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 4.

<sup>163</sup> Personal Narrative Group, *Interpreting Women's Lives*, 7.

<sup>164</sup> It is a common practice when writing about or quoting Native Americans to note their tribal heritage in parentheses after their names.

<sup>165</sup> Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan Velie, *Native American Studies*, Introducing Ethnic Studies series, edited by Robert Con Davis-Undiano (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 8.

<sup>166</sup> David H. Hosley and gayle k. yamada, *Hard News: Women in Broadcast Journalism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987).

the coexistence of many voices in a narrative which must be used to explore and enrich the narratives of the early women in broadcast news.<sup>167</sup>

The movement to hear the voices of Native Americans more broadly gathered momentum, also in the 1960s. N. Scott Momaday, who is Kiowa on his father's side and one-eighth Cherokee on his mother's,<sup>168</sup> received the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1969 with his first novel, *House Made of Dawn*. Though it is not an autobiography, it expresses tribal identity and culture drawn on Momaday's experiences; "Oral and tribal histories are combined with the author's personal history,"<sup>169</sup> according to literature scholar Arnold Krupat in *Native American Autobiography*. Momaday's protagonist, Abel, returns to the Indian reservation, broken by World War II. "He has lost his sense of tribal identity and has experienced violence, discrimination, and spiritual emptiness in mainstream culture."<sup>170</sup> Momaday says it is also a story about healing, "the healing power of the environment and upon recollections of the beautiful, striking, and occasionally violent rituals that impressed me so deeply as a young man because I felt the power in them."<sup>171</sup>

*House Made of Dawn* gives a haunting composite feeling of what it is like to grow up Indian and the disconnects an Indian feels with the mainstream culture.<sup>172</sup> Momaday's protagonist is representative of a common Native

---

<sup>167</sup> Anecdotally, when I was the director of Children's and Cultural Programming for the public television station in San Francisco in the late 1980s and early 1990s, I was one of the co-founders of an *ad hoc* group we called Managers of Color. One of our major concerns was the lack of power, and the need for advancement of people of color in to senior management so our voices could be heard in making decisions about station policies, particularly because these were influential public broadcasting stations. None of upper management was of non-European heritage. We strategized on ways to implement training programs for what we then called "minorities," and to have in-house candidates considered for managerial jobs. We met with each division head to present our ideas and, as a group representing "minorities" at the stations, established lines of communication and consultation. We successfully raised awareness about unheard voices calling out to be heard and allowing for the perspective of people of different colors, and were able to implement training programs.

<sup>168</sup> Momaday's mother was seven-eighths Euro-American blends. Kenneth M. Roemer, "N. Scott Momaday: Biographical, Literary, and Multicultural Contexts," *Modern American Poetry*, accessed April 20, 2015, [http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/m\\_r/momaday/contexts.htm](http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/m_r/momaday/contexts.htm).

<sup>169</sup> Arnold Krupat, introduction to *Native American Autobiography*, edited by Arnold Krupat, Wisconsin Series in American Autobiography, William L. Andrews, general editor (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 10.

<sup>170</sup> N. Scott Momaday, in "N. Scott Momaday, Poet, Novelist, Painter, and UNESCO Artist for Peace," in Joëlle Rostkowski, *Conversations with Remarkable Native Americans* (Albany: State University of New York, 2012), 4.

<sup>171</sup> Momaday, "N. Scott Momaday," in Rostkowski, 4.

<sup>172</sup> N. Scott Momaday, *House Made of Dawn* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

American theme. “From early in the twentieth century,” says Krupat, “Native persons were approached for their stories not because they had uniquely distinguished themselves in war or diplomacy or any other public or historical activity, but because they were considered ‘representative’ of their culture.”<sup>173</sup> In this way, the interview subjects in this work are not like Momaday’s Abel because each one has a unique story that explains how and why the subject has attained a certain amount of power, influence, and success. That path, for each, has different elements, and is not representative of the Mexican-American experience. But they are similar to Momaday’s stories because the underlying theme is always “a search for his relation to his people—his ancestors, his family, and their culture, the places with which their identity is intimately connected.”<sup>174</sup> A pattern emerges.

Momaday’s book was one of the first narratives written by a Native American that expressed the struggle with identity that so many authors of color identify as a major theme, which is a pattern, as I noted above. In *First Person Singular: Studies in American Autobiography*, A. Robert Lee says telling one’s own story emphasizes “the need always to inscribe one’s own signature, to make permanent and literally graphic one’s own identity.”<sup>175</sup> He goes on to say autobiography is “the making of the self in the face of that self’s historical denial.”<sup>176</sup> What Lee says about the black identity can be broadened to the Native American identity: “an insistence on the undiminishing black need to be understood on terms not imposed from the ‘outside.’”<sup>177</sup>

When Momaday was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1969, it brought public attention to Native American writers. He was in the forefront of paving the way for other Native authors; his contemporaries include Sherman Alexie, Louise Erdrich, Joy Harjo, Diane Niatum, Simon Ortiz, Louise Owens, Leslie Marmon Silko, Gerald Vizenor, and James Welch.

---

<sup>173</sup> Krupat, introduction to Krupat, 8.

<sup>174</sup> Krupat, *Native American Autobiography*, 401.

<sup>175</sup> A.R. Lee, introduction to Lee, 10.

<sup>176</sup> A. Robert Lee, “‘The Stance of Self-Representation’: Moderns and Contemporaries in Afro-American Autobiography,” in *First Person Singular: Studies in American Autobiography*, edited by A. Robert Lee (London: Vision Press, 1988), 154. Lee cites Frederick Douglass as an example of someone who repeatedly wrote his “Life,” first in *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself* (1849), then in *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), and then in *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881).

<sup>177</sup> Lee, “‘The Stance of Self-Representation,’” in Lee, 160.

These are writers associated with the term “Native American Literary Renaissance,”<sup>178</sup> but the name has been controversial because it implies Native works before that time are not significant. In *The Cambridge Companion to Native American Literature*, literature scholar Kenneth Roemer says that for more than 200 years, American Indian authors have written works of non-fiction prose, and the awarding of the Pulitzer for Momaday’s novel privileged fiction; there is a “powerful academic prejudice to obscure” the diversity of Native American writings.<sup>179</sup>

The first American Indian to publish a literary work in the United States was Samson Occum, who wrote *A Sermon Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, an Indian*, in 1772. Occum was a Mohegan and a Methodist minister,<sup>180</sup> and the sermon was, according to intellectual historian Jace Weaver (Cherokee), “an ‘early best seller’ in New England.”<sup>181</sup> The first novel published by an American Indian was *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit*, in 1854. Though these are works by American Indians, they are few, and they do not constitute personal narratives. Before 1968, two years after Momaday’s *House of Dawn* was published, American Indians had published nine novels in the United States. Now that number is close to 300.<sup>182</sup> It is a marker that literary works by American Indians are becoming a larger body of work.

The importance of personal narratives can be seen in *Our Stories, Our Lives*, the collective memory of Native people in Alaska. In the foreword, Roy Huhndorf (Yup’ik Eskimo) says, “The pace of change itself is reason enough to invest in the task of remembering.” He goes on to reiterate the value of personal narrative; collections such as this one are “for all who are concerned about the role of memory, of consciousness of the past and of cultural tradition in the

---

<sup>178</sup> The term “Native American Renaissance” is attributed to Kenneth Lincoln who titled a book the same name in 1983. Kenneth Lincoln, *Native American Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

<sup>179</sup> Kenneth M. Roemer, introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Native American Literature*, edited by Joy Porter and Kenneth M. Roemer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 6.

<sup>180</sup> Jami L. Huntsinger, “American Indian Literary Renaissance,” in *Encyclopedia of American Indian Literature*, by Jennifer McClinton-Temple and Alan Velie (New York: Facts on File, 2007), 25; and Kidwell and Velie, *Native American Studies*, 6.

<sup>181</sup> Kidwell and Velie, *Native American Studies*, 101.

<sup>182</sup> Jennifer McClinton-Temple and Alan Velie, *Encyclopedia of American Indian Literature* (New York: Facts on File, 2007), vii.

building of personality and community.”<sup>183</sup> Jill Momaday, a model and actress, the daughter of N. Scott Momaday, and the wife of artist Darren Vigil, recognizes that Native women have been portrayed from a Euro-American male perspective, and felt stereotyped in the acting roles she was offered. But she was able to draw on her multiple identities to become the chief of protocol for the State of New Mexico. Momaday was able to express the complexity of her interrelated roles in her personal narrative.<sup>184</sup> Ethnohistorian Joëlle Rostkowsi says through personal narrative, Native Americans are able to create “new representations of Native Americans in mainstream society.”<sup>185</sup>

Collections of personal narratives are “people’s lives, lived and breathed, blood and sinew,” says writer and photographer Serle Chapman. “Do I agree with and believe everything that is expressed in those pages?,” he muses. “That’s irrelevant because this book isn’t about what I think or feel.”<sup>186</sup> His book, *We, the People of Earth and Elders Volume II*, reads like a who’s who of contemporary Native American leaders, and it allows the reader to see themes that run throughout their narratives. They are not, and do not claim to be, representative of Native Americans, but their stories create a multi-vocal, multi-faceted, multidimensional picture of Native Americans; again, I look to Bakhtin in recognizing “the heterogeneity and contradiction that dominate human life.”<sup>187</sup> Like Martha Ballard’s dairy, the repetition of activity across time and space enforces the themes, which I will show in later chapters.

Many of the personal narratives that have been written or compiled in relatively recent years are not scholarly *per se*, but they do provide a basis for study in a number of disciplines. Literature scholar Deborah Madsen says this Native form of telling history “is the readiness of individuals and communities alike to continue the transmission of tribal cultures, values, and knowledge to future generations, through international and domestic legal instruments, through creative storytelling in literature, art, music, and through the practices of everyday

---

<sup>183</sup> Roy M. Huhndorf, in “Forward [ste],” *Our Stories, Our Lives: A Collection of Twenty-Three Transcribed interviews with Elders of the Cook Inlet Region*, by A.J. McClanahan (Anchorage, AK: CIRI Foundation, 1986), 5.

<sup>184</sup> Jill Momaday, “Jill Momaday, Actress, Model, and Former Chief of Protocol, State of New Mexico,” in Joelle Rostkowski, *Conversations with Remarkable Native Americans* (Albany: State University of New York, 2012), 77-80.

<sup>185</sup> Rostkowski, *Conversations with Remarkable Native Americans*, xxxv.

<sup>186</sup> Serle L. Chapman, *We, the People of Earth and Elders Volume II* (Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 2000), xiv.

<sup>187</sup> Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist, *Mikhail Bakhtin* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984), 347.

life.”<sup>188</sup> Their narratives shed light on major social, political, and cultural developments and the multiplicity of Indian voices.<sup>189</sup> In an academic context, American Indian studies are evolving from “challenging stereotypes of American Indians in the popular imagination to grappling with complex issues of American Indian identity for individuals, and the political powers of American Indian nations as sovereign nations.”<sup>190</sup> The canon of American Indian works is reflected in the wide diversity of works of literature,<sup>191</sup> with Indians participating in both tribal and traditionally mainstream culture, “juxtaposing cultural traditions on conscious and

---

<sup>188</sup> Deborah L. Madsen, “Preface: Tragic Wisdom and Survivance,” in *Conversations with Native Americans*, by Joëlle Rostkowski (Albany: State University of New York, 2012), xiii-xiv.

<sup>189</sup> Native papers now constitute an archive of historical documents. Rostkowski, *Conversations with Remarkable Native Americans*, xxiii.

In a related but tangential narrative matter, journalists of color have established national organizations with local and regional chapters to claim a voice and empower their members in relatively recent history, a sign of the times. The Native American Press Association was founded in 1984 and changed its name to the Native American Journalists Association in 1990. Its mission is to “serve[s] and empower[s] Native journalists through programs and actions designed to enrich journalism and promote Native cultures.” NAJA, “Native American Journalists Association,” accessed April 19, 2015, <http://www.naja.com>. It joined the the National Association of Black Journalists, established in 1975. National Association of Black Journalists, “History/Mission,” NABJ, accessed April 19, 2015, <http://www.nabj.org/?page=History>. It also joined the Asian American Journalists Association, which was established in 1981. AAJA, “About AAJA,” Asian American Journalists Association, accessed April 19, 2015, <http://www.aja.org>. In 1984, the Hispanic Journalists Association was founded. “Dedicated to the recognition and professional advancement of Hispanics in the news industry,” it “created a national voice and unified vision for all Hispanic journalists.” National Association of Hispanic Journalists, “NAHJ Mission,” accessed April 19, 2015, <http://nahj.org/nahj-mission/>. The National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association (NLGJA) was established in 1990. NLGJA, “About NLGJA,” NLGJA, accessed April 19, 2015, <http://www.nlgja.org/about/>.

In 1994, UNITY: Journalists of Color, Inc., was established as an alliance of the Asian American Journalists Association, the National Association of Black Journalists, the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, and the Native American Journalists Association. “UNITY has become a vehicle for the different ethnic groups to work through differences while supporting and collaborating on a common agenda—a constantly expanding mission that is strengthening ties and understanding among communities. Given the importance of freedom of speech in a democracy, journalists play a crucial part in helping to shape American beliefs and actions...It may not always be an easy alliance, but serves a vital purpose by modeling how different segments of our diverse country can participate equally in shaping the future.” UNITY, “UNITY’s History,” UNITY Journalists for Diversity, accessed April 19, 2015, <http://unityjournalists.org/about/unityhistory/>.

<sup>190</sup> Kidwell and Velie, *Native American Studies*, 15.

<sup>191</sup> Kidwell and Velie, *Native American Studies*, 7.

unconscious levels.”<sup>192</sup> Traditional mainstream culture is used here to denote the largely western culture that was brought to the United States by the European immigrants.

One personal narrative that is unique in the body of narrative literature about American Indians captured the lives of a tribe that is going extinct,<sup>193</sup> and I mention it here as an example of an historical record that stands alone. Thomas Jefferson Mayfield was raised by the Choinumne tribe of Yokuts Indians for many of his childhood years in what is now Tulare County in California's Central Valley. The Mayfield family—father and mother and three boys (b. *circa* 1826; b. *circa* 1831, and Mayfield, b. *circa* 1843)—migrated to California in 1850, and settled in an area surrounded by the friendly Choinumne tribe. The Yokuts befriended the Mayfields, calling Mayfield *chólo wéchép*, “little white boy.” Late in 1850, Mrs. Mayfield died, and a delegation of Indian women asked Mr. Mayfield if they could raise the *chólo wéchép*. He refused, but then Mr. Mayfield and his two oldest sons had to be away attending their livestock on the plains, so he consented to let his young son stay with them temporarily. Soon the temporary circumstances became extended absences, and Mayfield says, “Almost all of the time for more than ten years I was with this tribe of Indians. For at least two different periods of three years each I saw none of my people.”<sup>194</sup>

In the 1920s, Frank Latta, an oral historian and ethnographer, began interviewing surviving Yokuts and found Mayfield, who told his life story to Latta, over the course of many interviews, that was published in a book, *Tailholt Tales*, “with little changing about from the way in which it was told.”<sup>195</sup> Latta says this account is one of less than a half-dozen of white people raised by Indians, and is one of the few narratives that provide an experiential “picture of Indian life more intimate, revealing, and fascinating than anything else recorded concerning those

---

<sup>192</sup> James Ruppert, *Mediation in Contemporary Native American Fiction*, American Indian Literature and Critical Studies series, edited by Gerald Vizenor and Louis Owens (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 6.

<sup>193</sup> The data Frank Latta collected “stand almost alone and relate to many phases of aboriginal life: the use of tule rafts in hunting; fishing and migrating; the use of slings and sinew-backed bows; games; the fact that women did not smoke tobacco; that the Indians lived in their houses only when driven in by bad weather; the use of the musical bow; that Indian children learned to swim about as soon as they learned to walk; hereditary chieftainship; household use of a dried bird-wing for brushing and fanning; the use of a milkweed string net for catching rabbits; the making and use of rabbit-skin blankets; the snaring of elk; the making and use of manzanita berry cider; the non-eating of the coyote; the snaring of wild pigeons from a blind.” John P. Harrington, foreword to *Tailholt Tales* by Frank F. Latta (Santa Cruz, CA: Bear State Books, Inc., 1976), xiv.

<sup>194</sup> Thomas Jefferson Mayfield, in *Tailholt Tales* by Frank F. Latta (Santa Cruz, CA: Bear State Books, Inc., 1976), 37. “Tailholt” refers to a place.

<sup>195</sup> Harrington, foreword to *Tailholt Tales*, xiii. Latta published several articles about Mayfield.

primitive, mahogany-colored pioneers.”<sup>196</sup> It lets a little-recorded history of a people be told from an outsider’s perspective, as an insider.

Other peoples by virtue of their race and/or ethnicities were powerless when they did not have a voice. African Americans historically have been denied a voice, but Phyllis Wheatley, at the age of 18, launched two literary traditions—that of the black American and that of the black woman.<sup>197</sup> Anna Julia Cooper, a black feminist writer in the late 1800s, called for women to speak out because as half of the human family, “the world needs to hear her voice.”<sup>198</sup> This sentiment was echoed by historian Arthur Schlesinger, as I noted earlier, scores of years later.

Three turn-of-the-century classic narratives show different ways African Americans have portrayed themselves in claiming power through self-representations. They are very different from each other in their portrayals of self. For this work, it is instructive to compare and contrast the public images they were seeking to create, particularly since African Americans did not have many avenues for expressing their identities.<sup>199</sup> Public reaction to these texts varied and has changed with the context of time—a century or so—as U.S. culture constantly evolves. A parallel can be drawn with the women’s Indian captivity narratives and with Native American autobiographies. “Even these ostensibly ‘self-initiated’ [Indian autobiographical] texts were not ‘initiated’ in a vacuum,” says Arnold Krupat, “but in a cultural and historical context which ‘prompted’ some Indians who could write about themselves to do so while others simply did

---

<sup>196</sup> Latta, preface to *Tailholt Tales*, xv.

<sup>197</sup> Henry Louis Gates, Jr., “Foreword: In Her Own Words,” in *Two Biographies by African American Women*, Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., general ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xiii-xvi. Wheatley’s oral examination took place in 1772 before 18 of Boston’s most notable citizens. They questioned Wheatley on poems she claimed to have written, and were satisfied with her answers, for they composed, signed, and published an open letter stating they believed the poems were “written by Phillis, a young Negro Girl.” Gates, “Foreword,” *Two Biographies*, xv.

Gates was a MacArthur Fellow in the inaugural class of 1981. MacArthur Foundation, “MacArthur Fellows Program,” accessed April 15, 2015, [https://www.macfound.org/fellows/search/?sort\\_name=Henry+Louis+Gates%2C+Jr](https://www.macfound.org/fellows/search/?sort_name=Henry+Louis+Gates%2C+Jr).

<sup>198</sup> Gates, “Foreword,” in *Two Biographies*, xx. According to Gates, Cooper’s *A Voice From the South*, published in 1892, is considered to be one of the classic texts of the black feminist movement.

<sup>199</sup> See Michael Holquist for a complicated and tangential but germane discussion of “voice.” Holquist says, “It could be said that what we see is governed by how we see, and how we see has already been determined by where we see from.” Michael Holquist, *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 164.

not.”<sup>200</sup> The Bakhtinian concepts of dialogism, polyphony, and heteroglossia are fundamental to our understanding of these narratives.<sup>201</sup>

“Booker T. Washington’s *Up from Slavery*,” says writer and editor Rebecca Carroll, “is a human legacy in narrative form.”<sup>202</sup> Published in 1902, the narrative can be seen as “a most carefully fashioned public self...meant to clearly exemplify his own precepts of unmilitant assimilation,”<sup>203</sup> that he portrays himself as a “self-reflective, ambitious, realistic, and hardworking”<sup>204</sup> black man in the context of his times. But some critics later saw him as more of an “Uncle Tom,”<sup>205</sup> “too ready in his deference to the white supremacists status quo.”<sup>206</sup> Personal narrative, then, is subject to the interpretation of the reader, that is, who is at the table and who the audience is.

The second narrative is W.E.B. Du Bois’ *The Souls of Black Folk*, published in 1903.<sup>207</sup> A Harvard-trained historian,<sup>208</sup> Du Bois “is the professional

---

<sup>200</sup> Krupat, introduction to *Native American Autobiography*, 6.

<sup>201</sup> See Michael Holquist, “From Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World,” Chapter 2, in *Critical Essays on Mikhail Bakhtin*, edited by Caryl Emerson, 95-107, especially 104-105; and Michael Holquist, “Answering as Authoring: Mikhail Bakhtin’s Trans-Linguistics,” in *Bakhtin: Essays and Dialogues on His Work*, edited by Gary Saul Morson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 59-71, especially 59.

<sup>202</sup> Rebecca Carroll, introduction to *Uncle Tom or New Negro: African Americans Reflect on Booker T. Washington and Up from Slavery One Hundred Years Later*, edited by Rebecca Carroll (New York: Harlem Moon, 2006), 2. *Uncle Tom or New Negro* also has a complete version of *Up from Slavery*.

<sup>203</sup> Lee, “‘The Stance of Self-Representation,’” in Lee, 157.

<sup>204</sup> Carroll, introduction to *Uncle Tom or New Negro*, 6.

<sup>205</sup> Uncle Tom is a character in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s classic anti-slavery novel, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, published in 1852, that depicted him as a docile, dutiful, long-suffering slave who is eager to please white people. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Annotated Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, edited and with an introduction by Philip Van Doren Stern (New York: Paul S. Eriksson, 1964).

<sup>206</sup> Lee, “The Stance of Self-Representation,” in Lee, 157.

<sup>207</sup> Du Bois was critical of Booker T. Washington’s accommodationist politics, especially his program of industrial training for blacks in the South and “submission and silence as to civil and political rights.” W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, edited by Brent Hayes Edwards (Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press), 33.

<sup>208</sup> Du Bois was the first black to receive a PhD from Harvard College in 1895. He received a BA from Fisk, an historically black college in Nashville, TN; a second BA *cum laude* in philosophy from Harvard; and an MA from Harvard in history. Brent Hayes Edwards, “Chronology,” in *The Souls of Black Folk*, by W.E.B. Du Bois, edited by Brent Hayes Edwards (Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press), xxx.

self observing in the manner of the social scientist (being *Dr. Du Bois* was of importance) [emphasis in the original], the musicologist of black Southern field songs and blues, the analyst of Reconstruction, and the acclaimed philosopher of the ‘veil’ of race and the alleged ‘twoness’ of all Afro-Americans.”<sup>209</sup> He called on his own experience in his essays. “With its unusual polyphony of genres,” says literature scholar Brent Hayes Edwards, “autobiography, history, political criticism, sociology, ethnography, biography, eulogy, fiction—the book had a formative influence on the entire tradition of African American writing that has followed in its wake;”<sup>210</sup> Du Bois himself says *The Souls of Black Folk* is self-revelatory.<sup>211</sup> Edwards goes on to say that “the avowal of one’s particular position and perspective in the world can ‘magnify’ history into a narrative of social significance, transforming ‘data into metaphor.’”<sup>212</sup>

The third narrative that shows the author with the power to define himself is James Weldon Johnson’s *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, first published in 1912 anonymously at his request, then republished in 1927.<sup>213</sup> Despite its title, Johnson’s work is not a true autobiography though it contains autobiographical elements. Writer Carl Van Vechten says “that it reads like a composite autobiography of the Negro race”<sup>214</sup> while William Andrews says Johnson may have been aware that, in that time in history, there was a “greater receptiveness of American whites to black autobiographies than to black novels,”<sup>215</sup> so he marketed his work as fiction. The act of autobiography allowed

---

<sup>209</sup> Lee, “The Stance of Self-Representation,” in Lee, 157-158.

<sup>210</sup> Brent Lee Edwards, introduction to *The Souls of Black Folk*, by W.E.B. Du Bois, edited by Brent Hayes Edwards (Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press), vii.

<sup>211</sup> Edwards, introduction to *The Souls of Black Folk*, viii.

<sup>212</sup> Edwards, introduction to *The Souls of Black Folk*, viii-ix. Edwards credits Robert Stepto with the phrase, “data into metaphor.” Robert Stepto, *From Behind the Veil, A Study of Afro-American Narrative*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 53.

<sup>213</sup> Arna Bontemps, introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, by James Weldon Johnson (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), v-vii. The book’s title was changed to “coloured,” the British spelling of “colored” when the book was republished, leading some to believe the publisher intended to promote the book in Great Britain. William L. Andrews, introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, by James Weldon Johnson (New York: Penguin Books, 1960), xiv.

<sup>214</sup> Carl Van Vechten, introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, by James Weldon Johnson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), vi.

<sup>215</sup> Andrews, introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, by James Weldon Johnson (New York: Penguin Books, 1960), xvi. Andrews says more European Americans had read *Up from Slavery* than any work of fiction by the most well-known African American writers of the time, Charles W. Chesnutt, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and W.E.B. Du Bois.

Johnson to work out “his complex and sometimes contradictory attitudes toward himself in order to arrive finally at some satisfying sense of his own identity.”<sup>216</sup> Johnson wrestled with matching up the areas of cognitive dissonance in his identity.

Johnson’s light-skinned black narrator turns inward to tell his story, “inspired by a desire to testify to the full humanity of black people, despite all the racist propaganda that white America could muster.”<sup>217</sup> At the end, though, the narrator denies his blackness for his mulatto whiteness. Johnson opens the world of ragtime music to his reader, and “the rich possibilities of exploring the colour-line.”<sup>218</sup> Stepping into the world of “passing,” his narrator, as a white man, achieved financial independence. But as a black man, he might have been able to lead a creative, musical life which led to his feelings of isolation and insignificance and were the major reason he wrote this book.<sup>219</sup>

*The Autobiography* is a semi-personal narrative that is important in this trio of narratives as an “unprecedented analysis of the social causes and artistic consequences of a black man’s denial of the best within himself.”<sup>220</sup> It highlights the search for identity in the context of the times, and laid groundwork for later literary genres and expressions. Johnson also brings in the idea that African Americans should “express the racial spirit by symbols from within rather than by symbols from without.”<sup>221</sup> As a writer, he sought to keep true to his cultural roots and the “African American voice and vision.”<sup>222</sup>

The body of literature and genres of African American writings is vast. The narratives shed light on the political, social and cultural times; as literature scholar Henry Louis Gates, Jr., says, “these stories are important because they bear witness to the fact that Americans of all colors share a common past, as well as a common future.”<sup>223</sup> Personal narratives are a way of “writing an alternative history,” that can bring in the “marginalized perspectives of cultural

---

<sup>216</sup> Andrews, introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, xix.

<sup>217</sup> Andrews, introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, xviii

<sup>218</sup> Lee, “‘The Stance of Self-Representation’,” in Lee, 158.

<sup>219</sup> Andrews, introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, xxvi.

<sup>220</sup> Andrews, introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, xxvii.

<sup>221</sup> Johnson, quoted in introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, xiv.

<sup>222</sup> Andrews, introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, xiv.

<sup>223</sup> Henry Louis Gates, Jr., foreword to *The Works of William Wells Brown*, edited by Paula Garrett and Hollis Robbins (Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 2006), xii.

outsiders.”<sup>224</sup> That alternative history of unheard voices gives more perspectives to society, bringing forth the multi-vocality of our culture, whether recognized or affirmed in the past or not. Literary critic Wayne Booth, speaking of Bakhtin, says, “Each of us is constituted not as an individual, private, atomic self but as a collective of the many selves we have taken in from birth.”<sup>225</sup> Not only are we multiple selves that constitute our self, though we live in the same society with a common past, Booth says we “had different parents, read different books, met different people, conversed in different bars or dining rooms or truck stops.”<sup>226</sup> Peoples who have been underrepresented in American literature have many experiences different from the traditionally mainstream culture, are expressing themselves as they want to be seen, as individuals who are part of a pattern of an ethnic group.<sup>227</sup>

Cultural outsiders are what the Mexicans of the Southwest must have felt like when they became conquered subjects with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, “that is, to say, Mexican Americans.”<sup>228</sup> But it was not until the Chicano civil rights movement in the 1960s<sup>229</sup> that “a widespread

---

<sup>224</sup> Robert S. Levine, “Cultural and Historical Background,” in *Clotel or The President’s Daughter*, 2nd ed., by William Wells Brown, edited by Robert S. Levine, Bedford Cultural Editions, series editors J. Paul Hunter and William E. Cain (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2011), 14, 15.

<sup>225</sup> Wayne C. Booth, “Freedom of Interpretation,” in *Bakhtin: Essays and Dialogues on His Work*, edited by Gary Saul Morson (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 151.

<sup>226</sup> Booth, “Freedom of Interpretation,” in Morson, 153.

<sup>227</sup> Bakhtin omits references to differences in dialects between the sexes. Booth says, “Is it not remarkable to discover no hint in such a penetrating and exhaustive inquiry into how our various dialects are constituted, no shadow of a suggestion of the lists and the ‘and so forths’ of the influence of sexual differences, no hint that women now talk or have ever talked in ways different from men’s? The omission may not seem strange if we view Bakhtin in the light of Western literary criticism, which has seldom acknowledged separate female voices. And it is not strange, in the light of the almost exclusively male criticism in the Soviet Union during Bakhtin’s lifetime. But surely it is strange discovered in a Bakhtin.” Booth, “Freedom of Interpretation,” in Morson, 154. This is an interesting comment on Bakhtin’s work that is tangential to this dissertation.

<sup>228</sup> Julio A. Martínez and Francisco A. Lomelí, eds., *Chicano Literature: A Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), xi.

<sup>229</sup> The Chicano Movement affected all areas of collective identity. Historian David Gutiérrez argues that the Chicano Movement “probably did more than any other series of events to transform Mexican Americans’ opinions about the relationship and significance of the immigration issue to their own status in American society.” He goes on to say that the “accelerating social and political activism helped lay the foundation for the unprecedented politicization of thousands of Mexican Americans across the country.” D. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 183.

affirmation of individual and collective Mexican-American identity”<sup>230</sup> in literature began taking place. Political, social, and civic change were gaining national attention, like the harsh conditions of migrant farm labor, access to education, and border issues. I will focus on six narratives: three personal narratives written in different decades of the 1900s, two collections of Latinos who shared specific job commonalities, and one non-traditional autobiography written by a *fronteriza*, or borderland woman,<sup>231</sup> who was involved in the Mexican Revolution of 1910. *The Rebel* is an unusual narrative in that it was written by an educated, aristocratic woman, both an English-language version and a Spanish-language version. It documents the social contributions a woman made in her time, and “stands as one of the few documents produced between 1910 and 1920 which challenges the stereotypes of Texas Mexicans held by both the Mexican and U.S. dominant societies.”<sup>232</sup> Leonor Villegas de Magnón’s narrative, along with the others I discuss here, “are powerful tools that can be used to introduce competing mindsets into the academic discourse. They are especially powerful if they challenge a master narrative that seeks to portray the weak or powerless, such as Chicanos, in negative images or social contexts.”<sup>233</sup>

Ernesto Galarza recounts his experiences, first growing up as a child in Mexico and then immigrating to Sacramento, California, as a young boy, in *Barrio Boy*. It is the story of his acculturation, of moving from a simple life in a small Mexican village to the more complex urban life in a different culture.<sup>234</sup> He was born in 1905, but he did not publish his story until 1971, after the Chicano civil

---

<sup>230</sup> Luz Elena Ramirez, *Encyclopedia of Hispanic-American Literature* (New York: Facts On File, 2008), xv.

<sup>231</sup> This refers to the Texas (United States)-Mexico border. Historically, the term *tejano* used to describe a Spanish settler in what is now the state of Texas, and sometimes the terms were used interchangeably. In modern times, *tejano* refers more broadly to a Texan Mexican American.

<sup>232</sup> Clara Lomas, introduction to *The Rebel*, by Leonor Villegas de Magnón, edited by Clara Lomas (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 1994), xli. Like Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Lomas had many challenges in uncovering the narratives and related papers, correspondence, periodicals, newspaper articles, oral interviews, and other archaeological materials that created the context for the texts. Political affiliations, gender discrimination, and linguistic biases contributed to this work not being recognized. More than 26 letters of rejection exist from U.S. and Mexican publishing houses, and *The Rebel* was finally published posthumously. Lomas, introduction to *The Rebel*, xvii, xxix.

<sup>233</sup> Adalberto Aguirre, Jr., “The Personal Narrative as Academic Storytelling: A Chicano’s Search for Presence and Voice in Academe,” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 18, no. 2 (2005):147.

<sup>234</sup> Galarza was one of the first Mexicans to earn advanced degrees in the United States. He earned a bachelor’s degree from Occidental College in California, a master’s degree in history from Stanford University, and, in 1947, he received a PhD from Columbia University. His dissertation was on the electricity industry in Mexico.

rights movement was underway. Galarza wrote *Barrio Boy* to shed light on the Mexican immigration experience for others like him, and the struggle to find one's identity in a different culture while holding on to his Mexican-ness.<sup>235</sup>

In an easy, conversational style, Galarza tells of his daily life in Sacramento, California. The reader gets a feeling for the texture of his life, and sees the parallels between Galarza's life as a Mexican immigrant before World War I and the lives of many Mexican immigrants many decades later. He talks of "life in the lower part of town,"<sup>236</sup> describing the neighborhood with an absence of prejudice. This is the *barrio*, not to be confused with the "far side of town where the open country began."<sup>237</sup> Galarza was adjusting to life among immigrants from many countries. The text is sprinkled with Spanish words (that Galarza defines in a glossary at the end), a technique whereby Galarza gives the reader a sense of the multicultural and multiethnic diversity of that part of town: "We didn't hear one, but many sorts of English...The *barrio* invented its own versions of American talk."<sup>238</sup>

Galarza's use of a personal narrative allows the reader to make comparisons and contrasts to contemporary situations. He describes the many day jobs he and his extended family members take, from a dock hand to a farmhand to a delivery boy to a stock clerk. The upward mobility of Galarza's family, for example, is described as the family moves out of the *barrio* to a neighborhood where a multitude of cultures and first-generation families do not live.

In addition to the importance of family, one of the themes that runs through *Barrio Boy* is education. His uncles and older cousins depend on him when they need to know how something works that needs English, like a telephone, or interpreting for a worker in a worker's compensation hearing.<sup>239</sup> He was still subject to discriminatory labor practices though; "I often went to work without knowing how much I was going to be paid," or "I learned firsthand the chiseling techniques of the contractors and their pushers—how they knocked off two or three lugs of grapes from the daily record for each member of the crew, or the

---

<sup>235</sup> Julian Samora, preface to *Barrio Boy*, by Ernesto Galarza (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971), unnumbered.

<sup>236</sup> Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (1971), 193.

<sup>237</sup> Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (1971), 247. Galarza refers to his neighborhood as the "*barrio*." It is ethnically mixed with peoples from many countries, and many more languages are spoken besides his native Spanish. The unifier in the *barrio* is that most people were first-generation immigrants.

<sup>238</sup> Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (1971), 234-235.

<sup>239</sup> It was natural and expected that a child in the early 1900s would act as an interpreter and translator for his elders. Today, the role of the child of immigrants has changed regarding translating, particularly in medical and legal situations.

way they had of turning the face of the scales away from you when you weighed your work in.”<sup>240</sup>

Galarza recalls his Uncle Gustavo who “began to give my books a vague significance.”<sup>241</sup> He told Galarza he had choices; he could be a doctor or a lawyer, an engineer or a professor, far better careers than a *camello*, which was “what *Chicanos* called themselves as the workers on every job that did the dirtiest work.” That was what, says Gustavo, he and his brother would always be.<sup>242</sup>

Poignantly, without sentiment or judgement, Galarza recounts his story in a tone that is instructive. His narrative “increases the awareness of others regarding human experience and the desire to establish a connection with the social fabric.”<sup>243</sup>

A decade later, Richard Rodriguez published a very different style of autobiography that contrasts the diversity of styles and contexts of personal narratives. *Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez* is a series of essays that lead one through an intellectual journey exploring the philosophical, sociological, educational, and political arguments that ultimately lead him to oppose affirmative action and call for cultural assimilation. His views were controversial.<sup>244</sup> Rodriguez’s autobiography is poignant, but in a different way than Galarza’s is; *Hunger of Memory* reflects experiences that affect him differently than many others who are of Mexican descent.

Rodriguez’s narrative is “about language.”<sup>245</sup> He divides his life into his private and public selves, with the private being the cultural Mexican side and the

---

<sup>240</sup> Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (1971), 262-263.

<sup>241</sup> Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (1971), 250.

<sup>242</sup> Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (1971), 250.

<sup>243</sup> Aguirre, “Personal Narrative,” *International Journal*, 148.

<sup>244</sup> “His conservative readers and critics were happy to hold him up as a minority student who had benefited from affirmative action but who in the end had rejected such programs as unfair to the real under-privileged—those who were impoverished or had never had the educational opportunities Rodriguez had enjoyed. Others saw in Rodriguez someone alienated from his Mexican-American culture and heritage, having betrayed his fellow Hispanics (a broad term meaning Spanish speakers but used in the United States to denote Americans whose fore-bears are from a Spanish-speaking country) by his denunciation of bilingual education and affirmative action.” Encyclopedia.com, “Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez,” accessed April 22, 2015, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-3424200075/hunger-memory-education-richard.html>.

<sup>245</sup> Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez* (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), 7. I will discuss language as a component of the themes of the narratives people related to me in my field research.

public identity being the academic, more composed self.<sup>246</sup> Education becomes the dividing line between him and his parents; “A primary reason for my success in the classroom was that I couldn’t forget that schooling was changing me and separating me from the life I enjoyed before becoming a student.”<sup>247</sup> His family is important in his search for identity, but rather than being a source of support, he finds it is a source of shame.<sup>248</sup> Language is a defining marker for him, as many second-generation children find.

Rodriguez struggles to define and find himself, as many autobiographical narratives do, concerned about appearances and his dark skin,<sup>249</sup> his alienation as a “minority” that eventually led to his turning down academic jobs at prestigious universities,<sup>250</sup> and his anguished struggles reconciling his cultural heritage with becoming American.<sup>251</sup> His narrative is self-reflective, speaking with an ache about the “power and pain of family ties.”<sup>252</sup>

The third narrative was published by Ruben Navarrette in 1993. Like *Hunger for Memory*, *A Darker Shade of Crimson: Odyssey of a Harvard Chicano*, tells of a young Mexican-American man’s journey from the Central Valley to one of the nation’s most prestigious universities.<sup>253</sup> Like Rodriguez, he struggles with his Mexican-American identity and affirmative action. Only 25 years old when he wrote *A Darker Shade of Crimson* (Rodriguez was 31 years old when *Hunger for Memory* was published), he demonstrates the value of personal narrative by presenting a different perspective than Rodriguez, one of his mentors. Writer Ana Castillo sums up the importance of an individual’s experiences providing a fuller view to its audience: “While the academic experiences of students of color need to be recounted, Navarrette’s story should not by any means be seen as the

---

<sup>246</sup> For examples, see Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory*, 15, 19, 25, 27, 29, 39, and 57.

<sup>247</sup> Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory*, 45. See “the Achievement of Desire,” 43-73.

<sup>248</sup> See Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory*, 15, 29, and 45; and “Mr. Secrets,” 175-195.

<sup>249</sup> See Rodriguez, “Complexion,” *Hunger for Memory*, 113-139. See especially 115, 125, and 138.

<sup>250</sup> See Rodriguez, “Profession,” *Hunger for Memory*, 144-172. See especially 169-170, and 171.

<sup>251</sup> L. Paravisini-Gebert, “Richard Rodriguez’s *Hunger for Memory* and the Rejection of Private Self,” Academia.edu, accessed April 22, 2015, [http://www.academia.edu/3670143/Richard\\_Rodriguezs\\_Hunger\\_of\\_Memory\\_and\\_the\\_Rejection\\_of\\_the\\_Private\\_Self](http://www.academia.edu/3670143/Richard_Rodriguezs_Hunger_of_Memory_and_the_Rejection_of_the_Private_Self).

<sup>252</sup> Encyclopedia.com, “Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez,” accessed April 22, 2015, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-3424200075/hunger-memory-education-richard.html>.

<sup>253</sup> Ruben Navarrette, Jr., *A Darker Shade of Crimson: Odyssey of a Harvard Chicano* (New York: Bantam Books, 1993).

definitive one. Nor should have his mentor's."<sup>254</sup> Literary scholar Arnold Krupat reminds us narratives need not be representative of the themes that resonate through them, but are an individual's experiences that, when combined with others, form a pattern.<sup>255</sup>

Two collections of personal narratives of Latinos allow a greater understanding the experiences of a targeted group of people. Both of them present the perspectives of Hispanics who have not told their stories before in their own words.

*Vietnam Veteranos* allows Mexican Americans to tell what it was like going to fight in Vietnam, how the conflict affected them, and what it was like to return to a country divided over the United States' role. Relating their narratives to sociologist Lea Ybarra was cathartic for many, and showed the diversity and range of their experiences, each unique but with similar themes and issues. Ybarra analyzes the underlying themes and *Vietnam Veteranos* discusses the medical and psychological problems that resulted from the veterans' experiences.<sup>256</sup>

Latino college presidents did not have the opportunity to have a voice before *Latino College Presidents: In Their Own Words*, was published in 2013.<sup>257</sup> Though they are involved in academia, and their biographies have been published and are on the websites of their universities, they have not told their individual stories before in their own words. This is significant at this time in particular because of the dramatic rise in the number of Latinos in the United States. Parallels can be drawn between the individual paths to the presidency; they tell of their own beginnings, and give advice to those who aspire to college administration. The way in which each one tells his or her story, whether conversational, instructional, backed with statistics, or reflective, each president chooses how to present him or herself. That choice is a power they can claim because they are defining themselves.

The choice of how to present oneself can be seen in *The Rebel* by Leonor Villegas de Magnón. She writes her autobiography in the third person, and reminds the reader she is writing an experiential history of the Mexican Revolution seen through the eyes of a borderlands *tejana*, not an official

---

<sup>254</sup> Ana Castillo, "Educating Ruben: A Darker Shade of Crimson: Odyssey of a Harvard Chicano," *LA Times*, November 21, 1993, accessed April 23, 2015, [http://articles.latimes.com/1993-11-21/books/bk-59053\\_1\\_darker-shade-of-crimson](http://articles.latimes.com/1993-11-21/books/bk-59053_1_darker-shade-of-crimson).

<sup>255</sup> See Krupat, *Native American Autobiography*, 3-17, 19-21, 91-93, 145-147, 317-319.

<sup>256</sup> Lea Ybarra, *Vietnam Veteranos: Chicanos Recall the War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

<sup>257</sup> David J. León and Rubén O. Martinez, eds., *Latino College Presidents: In Their Own Words, Diversity in Higher Education*, vol. 13, series editor Henry T. Frierson (Bingley, United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing, 2013).

documenter of history. Villegas de Magnón's background is quite different from those of the narratives I have discussed here. She is an educated, aristocratic woman who depicts a woman of power, "a rebel who escapes the normal destiny of a bourgeois woman of the borderlands through her own agency."<sup>258</sup> *The Rebel* is a literary source that provides valuable documentation of community activity, as *A Midwife's Tale* does.

I differentiate here between published personal narratives and personal unpublished narratives. Villegas de Magnón's intent was always to get her story published, but she was unsuccessful to her death; she died three days after her last attempt to get it published.<sup>259</sup> Literary scholar Clara Lomas, who edited *The Rebel*, like Laurel Thatcher Ulrich and *A Midwife's Tale*, spent many years uncovering the documents, supporting materials photographs, and family history behind *The Rebel*. Correspondence exists that tells of the "tremendous difficulties" of Villegas de Mangón to get *The Rebel* published, both the Spanish-language version and the English-language version. Lomas puts *The Rebel* in the context of two national literary traditions: "the Mexican post-revolutionary memoirs and the tradition of autobiographical writing in the English-speaking world."<sup>260</sup> Both these genres marginalized women's autobiographies, and "historically privileged male authority, authorship and discourse, and ignored or devalued those same female qualities" which may have contributed to Villegas de Magnón's failure to see her works published to a wider audience.<sup>261</sup>

The body of literature for personal narratives from Asian Americans has grown since the 1960s, when the "Yellow Power" movement brought an increasing ethnic awareness. I limit myself here in discussing a federal program that sought to let little-known experiences be told in the protagonists' own words, like the words of the Latino college presidents.

One of the key provisions of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 was public education about the World War II incarceration of those of Japanese ancestry on the West coast. The Civil Liberties Public Education Fund (CLEPF) was created to disburse the \$5 million appropriated by the federal government for this

---

<sup>258</sup> Lomas, introduction to *The Rebel*, xxxii.

<sup>259</sup> Lomas, introduction to *The Rebel*, xxix.

<sup>260</sup> Lomas, introduction to *The Rebel*, xxxi.

<sup>261</sup> Lomas, introduction to *The Rebel*, xxxi. Lomas gives a detailed analysis of *The Rebel's* background. In addition to laying out the chronology of the "archaeological pursuit" (vii) of traces of *The Rebel*, she puts it in the context of the times and the literary traditions in both the United States and Mexico. She discusses the social contributions and the uniqueness of both versions of *The Rebel* for their particular intended audiences. Lomas says the works exemplify "life stories that remain on the boundaries, peripheral to both countries, fragmented by a geopolitical border." Lomas, introduction to *The Rebel*, ix. I use it here as an example of a work that has been marginalized. It is also an example of an intended public personal narratives that remained private for decades before it was uncovered.

purpose and, subsequently, California created a similar fund.<sup>262</sup> Literary personal narratives can take on a different form than the printed word, and one of the projects it awarded a grant to was *Uncommon Courage: Patriotism and Civil Liberties*, a documentary film that captured the words of Japanese-American army veterans who served in the Pacific Theater during World War II. Many of these men had never told their stories before, although most of the documents that pertained to their classified service were declassified by the 1980s. So their stories had not been heard. With the production of *Uncommon Courage*, more than 20 personal interviews were recorded, seen on two national television broadcasts a decade apart, and archived for scholars and the public to access.<sup>263</sup>

CLPEF and CCLPEP allowed the body of literature of personal narrative to be widened as many of the subjects of books, film and radio documentaries, and exhibits are people whose stories had not been told, particularly in their own words. Some of the work is scholarly, some used for academic study, and some for public consumption. Another work that was distributed with funds from CCLPEP is a book that told of the immigration experiences and lives before and during World War II, *Building a Community: The Story of Japanese Americans in San Mateo County*.<sup>264</sup> Interviews about the wartime experiences, of feelings about “going to camp,”<sup>265</sup> and of being released are captured as the subjects remember their experiences. Like Martha Ballard’s recounting, their experiences

---

<sup>262</sup> CLPEF closed its offices 10 years after it was created, in November 1998, in accordance with law. Sharon Yamato, “Civil Liberties Public Education Fund,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed April 23, 2015, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civil\\_Liberties\\_Public\\_Education\\_Fund/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civil_Liberties_Public_Education_Fund/). Subsequently, the California Civil Liberties Public Education Program (CCLEP) was created with the passage of the California Civil Liberties Public Education Act in 1998. Its purpose was to fund “public education activities and development of educational materials to ensure that the events surrounding the exclusion, forced removal, and internment of civilians and permanent resident aliens of Japanese ancestry will be remembered, and so that the causes and circumstances of this and similar events may be illuminated and understood.” The CCLPEP awarded competitive grants to 366 projects, totaling \$8,845,303, from FY 1988/89 to FY 2010/11. California State Library, “California Civil Liberties Public Education Program—Background and History of the Internment,” California State Library, accessed April 23, 2015, <https://www.library.ca.gov/grants/cclpep/about.html>.

<sup>263</sup> *Uncommon Courage: Patriotism and Civil Liberties*, directed by gayle k. yamada, Bridge Media, Inc., 2001. Re-released 2011. The interview tape recordings are archived at Denshō in Seattle, WA.

<sup>264</sup> gayle k. yamada and Dianne Fukami, *Building a Community: The Story of Japanese Americans in San Mateo County* (San Mateo, CA: AACF, 2003).

<sup>265</sup> “Camp” in the Japanese-American community commonly refers to the ten incarceration camps in which those of Japanese ancestry were held during the war. See National Park Service, “The War Relocation Centers of World War II: When Fear Was Stronger than Justice,” U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed April 23, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89manzanar.htm>.

are not in historical records but add texture to the documents that exist about the era, and to the body of literature. It is my aim to do that with this work as well.

What happened to people of Japanese ancestry during World War II was a question of power and powerlessness. A relatively recent book explores historical and sociological questions that combines several sources—personal narrative, historical documents and records in the National Archives and Records Administration, and rare Kodachrome color photographs taken by a Japanese-American father who was in one of the camps—that document life and allows the contemporary reader to see, and perhaps feel, says law professor Eric Muller, what a family’s “lives were like before Pearl Harbor, and how they experienced their uprooting and confinement” and is a microcosm of the larger experience of dislocation.<sup>266</sup> Evidence exists of some of the same questions explored in Rodriguez’s and Navarrette’s narratives. Historian Lon Kurashige says, “That so many internees embraced *obon* dancing and *sumo* wrestling suggests they developed an American identity without devaluing and discarding Japanese traditions.”<sup>267</sup> Every culture that immigrates to America has this same negotiation between their native culture and their adopted one. Each culture as a whole must find what works for it, understanding that the degree of acculturation will not be the same for everyone, and the number of generations that people live in the United States will play a role. At the same time, American culture changes as influences from a myriad of cultures keep it dynamic.

I will close this section of my review of literature, about personal narrative and underrepresented or underserved populations, with two works that employ different formats with the same goal: to let people not usually heard have a voice, or disenfranchised people. Dave Isay is a radio documentarian who founded StoryCorps, “the largest collection noncelebrated voices ever gathered in history.”<sup>268</sup> The concept is simple: someone interviews “the most important person in [your] life with the help of a trained facilitator.”<sup>269</sup> They focus on what difference the interviewee has made in the interviewer’s life. “In every interview,

---

<sup>266</sup> Eric L. Muller, “Introduction Outside the Frame: Bill Mambo’s Color Photographs in Context,” in *Colors of Confinement: Rare Kodachrome Photographs of Japanese American Incarceration in World War II*, edited by Eric L. Muller (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 1-2.

<sup>267</sup> Lon Kurashige, “Unexpected Views of the Internment,” in *Colors of Confinement: Rare Kodachrome Photographs of Japanese American Incarceration in World War II*, edited by Eric L. Muller (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 111. *Obon* is a Japanese Buddhist custom to honor the spirits of one’s ancestors. *Sumo* is a form of Japanese wrestling.

<sup>268</sup> Dave Isay with Lizzie Jacobs, *Ties That Bind* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), 1. The stories/interviews as part of StoryCorps are archived in the Library of Congress “where it becomes part of American history. Someday, the great-great-great-grandchildren of StoryCorps participants will get the chance to meet their ancestors through this recording.” Isay, *Ties that Bind*, 2.

<sup>269</sup> Isay, *Ties That Bind*, 2.

participants took the chance to talk about parts of their lives they had never discussed before.”<sup>270</sup> StoryCorps takes unpublished stories and, by broadcasting them, publishes them. It is a unique way of letting the ordinary citizen be heard.<sup>271</sup>

Isay has collected StoryCorps interviews in four books so they may be read as well as heard on National Public Radio.<sup>272</sup> “It’s our dream,” he says, “that someday the StoryCorps interview method and the stories that we distill from these interviews will be woven into the fabric of American life and the lives of all Americans; that StoryCorps will grow into a sustaining national institution that reminds people that every life and every story matters equally. We hope, one day, to help foster an American culture that is a little more just and tolerant and that strives always to respect and nurture human dignity.”<sup>273</sup>

The StoryCorps “interview method” is that of an oral historian’s. StoryCorps seeks to take a story of an everyday life and make a record of it, much like Martha Ballard or a Latino college president, explicating it and drawing parallels with other groups in society.<sup>274</sup> In this way, the body of literature for a given discipline, such as history, is made more inclusive. It also blurs the line between published works and private works. What is public and what is private, and when does private become public? In conducting the interviews as research for this work, I was acutely aware that the subjects were presenting their selves, and presenting themselves in relation to others (such as family members). Bakhtin’s ideas of many often competing voices in a narrative, and the necessity of considering context, are crucial elements as I examine their narratives.

Much literature exists on the homeless, from scientific studies to social analyses of the issue. Often left out as narrators of the conversation is the homeless themselves.

---

<sup>270</sup> Isay, *Ties That Bind*, 7.

<sup>271</sup> The idea of citizen journalism, and citizen reviews of everything from services to restaurants, has gained popularity over the last few years, particularly with the increasing ways to use the internet and social media.

<sup>272</sup> The volumes are *Listening is an Act of Love: A Celebration of American Life from the StoryCorps Project* (2007); *Mom: A Celebration of Mothers from StoryCorps* (2010); *All There Is: Love Stories from StoryCorps* (2012); and *Ties That Bind* (2013).

<sup>273</sup> Isay, *Ties That Bind*, 11-12.

<sup>274</sup> In 2000, Isay was a MacArthur Fellow. “He takes subjects of seemingly marginal importance and brings their stories to life...[he] helps audiences care about his subjects and, by extension, other groups in society.” MacArthur Foundation, “MacArthur Fellows Program, Meet the Class of 2000,” accessed April 24, 2015, <http://www.macfound.org/fellows/636/>. One can also draw parallels with contemporary citizen journalism whereby the average person has the power to choose a story and what is important about it, and given today’s technology, broadcast it on social media.

In a book that gives homeless people the chance to have some control over their self-presentation, photographer Howard Schatz “is interested in their faces, their clothes, and the way they present themselves to the camera...not only who they are but how they wish to be seen.”<sup>275</sup> *Homeless* presents the person, who was also interviewed, accompanied by a short statement.<sup>276</sup> The book includes statistics from a senior research scientist at Stanford University, but still, “They have been left out of history, whether or not they happen to be included as statistics in the debates on public policy.”<sup>277</sup> Schatz seeks to “make a record of people in the grip of hard times—not as symbols of human need, but as themselves.”<sup>278</sup> His photographs bring to mind Walker Evans’ documentary photographs of sharecroppers in the South in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*,<sup>279</sup> and Dorothea Lange’s historical record of “human erosion,”<sup>280</sup> the tide of people leaving the South and the dust bowl of the prairie and plains, most of them settling in the West during the Great Depression. Differing in style, but all with a photojournalist’s eye, people without a voice give the historical times in which they lived nuances and dimension through these photographs. They have an emotional power that often goes hand in hand with statistics and studies to change public policy.

My review of literature thus far has focused on people who have not had a voice and therefore did not have the power to define themselves or how they have been portrayed. In the last half a century, the cultural dynamics of the United States have changed more rapidly than the 200 years before. That has led to a different definition of America’s story. “Can there, should there, indeed, any longer be the one master narrative, the one agreed canonical America with its one agreed literary canon? Who else, and with what implication, has given imaginative weight and form to America’s multicultural ply, its huge diverse funds of human story?”<sup>281</sup> This is a question I seek here to understand and to which to respond.

---

<sup>275</sup> Owen Edwards, foreword to *Homeless*, by Howard Schatz, edited by Beverly J. Ornstein (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1993), xiii.

<sup>276</sup> Some of the subjects were not willing to talk with Schatz or give their full name or age, so the information about each varies.

<sup>277</sup> Edwards, foreword to *Homeless*, xv.

<sup>278</sup> Edwards, foreword to *Homeless*, xv.

<sup>279</sup> James Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941).

<sup>280</sup> Dorothea Lange and Paul Schuster Taylor, *An American Exodus: A Record of Human Erosion* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, New York Library, 1939), title page.

<sup>281</sup> Lee, introduction to *Multicultural American Literature*, 6.

More than a half-century ago, President John F. Kennedy called the United States “a nation of people with the fresh memory of old traditions who dared to explore new frontiers;” in other words, a nation of immigrants.<sup>282</sup> Contemporary immigration is unprecedented in its diversity. In *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, sociologists Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut maintain that “Never before has the United States received immigrants from so many countries, from such different social and economic backgrounds, and for so many reasons.”<sup>283</sup> Many scholars on immigration agree with them when they say, “Immigration is a transformative force, producing profound and unanticipated social changes in both sending and receiving societies, in intergroup relations within receiving societies, and among the immigrants themselves and their descendants.”<sup>284</sup> The body of literature on immigration is broad and growing, and includes immigration and, in no particular order, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, public policy, education, politics, religion, assimilation, acculturation, technology, incorporation, exclusion, ideology, generation, the workforce, political loyalties, transnationalism, and the effects on a global society, to name a few topics; the list goes on. Acknowledging the breadth of issues that can be discussed, researched, and further explored, I limit myself here to a discussion of Mexican-American immigration embedded in the migration experience.

Immigration is not a single event in a person’s life. It begins before a person actually leaves one country for another, and continues long after arrival; sociologist Robert Park says the migrant goes through “periods of transition and crisis” that are “relatively permanent.”<sup>285</sup> According to social psychologist Kay Deaux, immigration is “a part of one’s life that continues to have relevance in years and indeed generations to come,” and issues of expectation, memory, and “active identity negotiation” must be considered. The immigrant’s identity is socially constructed, shaped by cultural attitudes and beliefs as well as social interactions with other ethnic groups and networks.<sup>286</sup>

Park was the first to call the migrant a “marginal man.” In 1928, he theorized that one of the consequences of migration is this “cultural hybrid” who straddles two cultures, “living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and

---

<sup>282</sup> John F. Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 2. *A Nation of Immigrants* was published posthumously.

<sup>283</sup> Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 13. *Immigrant America* traces the transformations America has undergone and is undergoing as a result of immigration.

<sup>284</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, xv.

<sup>285</sup> Robert E. Park, “Human Migration and the Marginal Man,” *American Journal of Sociology*, no. 6 (May 1928): 893.

<sup>286</sup> Kay Deaux, *To Be an Immigrant* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006), 4-5.

traditions of two distinct peoples,”<sup>287</sup> not willing to break with the culture from which he comes but not fully a part of the culture to which he goes. The marginal man struggles with identity, and “it is in the mind of the marginal man that the conflicting cultures meet and fuse.”<sup>288</sup> Inevitably, says Park, peoples and races who live together interbreed, and “relations which were merely co-operative and economical become social and cultural.”<sup>289</sup>

In Park’s article in which he posits the concept of the marginal man, he calls the “emancipated Jew” the first “cosmopolite and citizen of the world.”<sup>290</sup> This brings to mind the idea of cosmopolitanism, an ancient concept that raises issues as the world becomes smaller in time and place.<sup>291</sup> Cosmopolitanism, particularly as philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah discusses it in *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, means the migrant and the host culture are constantly in conversation across boundaries.<sup>292</sup> While this concept is tangential to this work, it resonates with the idea that human beings respect different cultures insofar as they cause no harm, and we are citizens of the world. This concept of cosmopolitanism is in the background of this work, and I will return to it later.

One of the major social theories of immigration is the melting pot theory. According to this theory, immigrants from a variety of cultures bring aspects of their native culture to the United States that blend together to create a homogeneous common culture.<sup>293</sup> Social historian Marcus Lee Hansen was one

---

<sup>287</sup> Park, “Human Migration and the Marginal Man,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 892.

<sup>288</sup> Park, “Human Migration and the Marginal Man,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 881.

<sup>289</sup> Park, “Human Migration and the Marginal Man,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 891.

<sup>290</sup> Park, “Human Migration and the Marginal Man,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 892.

<sup>291</sup> Pauline Kleingold and Eric Brown, “Cosmopolitanism,” *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Metaphysics Research Lab, Center for the Study of Language and Information, Stanford University, 2013, accessed July 10, 2015, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/cosmopolitanism/>.

<sup>292</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2006).

<sup>293</sup> Alberto Bisin and Thierry Verdier, “‘Beyond the Melting Pot’: Cultural Transmission, Marriage, and the Evolution of Ethnic and Religious Traits,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115, no. 3 (August 2000):955.

of the first scholars to challenge the melting pot<sup>294</sup> theory, proposing that ethnic identity was not subsumed by collective identity. He believed that the immigrant generation maintained its native language and customs; its children, the second generation, wanted to distance themselves from its ancestral country, and the third generation sought to return to its grandparents' roots. Hansen theorized that assimilation and ethnic identity were part of the same process, and that the third generation could integrate the two. "Each newcomer carried with him habits of life and belief and intellectual and aesthetic tastes," he said. "Planted in the American soil, these inbred attitudes were to grow and bear fruit long after the humble individuals who had introduced them had vanished from the scene."<sup>295</sup>

But Hansen died before he could test his theory on non-European populations, such as Mexicans. Mexican immigration is unlike that of any other

---

<sup>294</sup> Israel Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot: Drama in Four Acts*. rev. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1923). The term "melting pot" as a metaphor for American society gained popularity from a play by Zangwill, a writer and political activist, that was performed in New York in 1908. His image of America was a place where nationalities and ethnicities are transformed into a new race. At the end of the play, the protagonist says, "There she lies, the great Melting Pot—listen! Can't you hear the roaring and bubbling? There gapes her mouth. (He points east)—the harbor where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour in their human freight!" Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot*, 184. In appendices, he lists the number of "Aliens admitted to the United States in the year ended June 30th, 2013" (1,427,227) and what immigrants have contributed to American society, such as 85 percent of the labor in slaughtering and meat-packing industries or 90 percent of the labor in the cotton mills. Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot*, 187, 197. In the *Afterword*, Zangwill speaks of intermarriage: "intermarriage with his fellow crusaders in the New Land of Promise will naturally follow, as with David Quixano and Vera Revendal [the hero and heroine], no theological differences divide... Intermarriage, wherever there is social intimacy, will follow, even when the parties stand in opposite religious camps." Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot*, 200. He goes on to write that many nations are melting pots, but "America, exhibiting the normal fusing process magnified many thousand diameters and diversified beyond all historic experience, and not fed by successive waves of immigration but by a hodge-podge of simultaneous hordes is... a universal phenomenon. America is *the* Melting Pot" (emphasis in the original). Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot*, 215.

<sup>295</sup> Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger (New York: Harper & Row, 1940), 129-131. Hansen (1892-1938) was one of the first scholars to study immigration as an historical field. His groundbreaking work on the assimilation of immigrant generations into American society suggested that assimilation and ethnic identity were more complex than had been originally assumed. Because Hansen died of renal failure while still in his forties, he was unable to research the experiences of nonwhite immigrants and issues related to American Indians. Harvard professor Arthur Schlesinger edited the draft of the first volume of a projected trilogy on immigration, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860*, for which Hansen was awarded a Pulitzer Prize posthumously in 1941. *The Immigrant in American History* was also published posthumously. Neenah Historical Society, "Marcus Lee Hansen," accessed May 22, 2015, <http://www.focol.org/neenahhistorical/Historical%20Photos/Notables%20Images/Notable%20Text/Hansen.html>; Joseph Dewey, "Hansen Effect," *Immigration in America*, December 21, 2011, accessed May 22, 2015, <http://immigrationinamerica.org/540-hansen-effect.html>; and Encyclopedia.com, "Hansen, Marcus Lee," accessed May 22, 2015, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1E1-Hansen-M.html>.

peoples. In *Generations of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race*, sociologists Edward Telles and Vilma Ortiz say an ongoing immigration of Mexican workers creates “a largely Mexican context in many southwestern cities”<sup>296</sup> and, coupled with the large population, Mexican Americans do not assimilate by the third generation, as is the typical assimilation immigrant pattern. An example of this can be seen in language. The typical pattern is for the first generation to learn enough English “to survive economically.” The second generation speaks their parents’ language at home and English at school, work, and in public places (like Richard Rodriguez in *Hunger for Memory*). The third generation speaks English in private and public spheres.<sup>297</sup>

Mexican immigrants are in a unique situation, though. Migration to the United States is continual, so their language loss occurs at a slower rate, with the third and subsequent generations retaining Spanish. Their proximity to Mexico allows for frequent interaction, and that is another reason to maintain their Spanish language skills.<sup>298</sup> However, in the future, for the first time, more Latinos are U.S. born rather than being immigrants,<sup>299</sup> and that may change this pattern.

Political scientist Desmond King points out problems with the melting pot metaphor. In *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*, he notes that immigration policy in the 1920s and the reasons behind it “played a fundamental role in shaping democracy and ideas about group rights in the United States. By establishing barriers to immigrants, the policy-makers privileged an Anglo Saxon conception of U.S. identity,”<sup>300</sup>

---

<sup>296</sup> Edward E. Telles and Vilma Ortiz, *Generations of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008), 16.

<sup>297</sup> Alejandro Portes and Richard Schauffler, “Language and the Second Generation: Bilingualism Yesterday and Today,” in *The New Second Generation*, edited by Alejandro Portes (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996), 11-12.

<sup>298</sup> Ricardo Romo and Harriett Romo, “The Social and Cultural Context of the Mexican American Experience in the United States: Introduction,” in *The Mexican American Experience: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by Rodolfo de La Garza et al. (Austin: University of Texas, Press, 1985) 319, 321.

<sup>299</sup> See Jens Manuel Krogstad and Mark Hugo Lopez, “Hispanic Nativity Shift,” Pew Research Center, April 29, 2014, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/04/29/hispanic-nativity-shift/>.

<sup>300</sup> To put early scholarly writings in historical context, in 1959, historian Oscar Handlin wrote about the American national character, “The American was basically Anglo-Saxon, an offspring of the English people, and it was the obligation of many new arrivals to conform to the patterns of life and to institutions that already existed here.” Oscar Handlin, *Immigration as a Factor in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), 147. This is the American master narrative. I will show that with time, this idea has evolved to include a broader perspective of cultural pluralism and a broader definition of what it means to be an American.

thereby rejecting the claims of other traditions in other nation.”<sup>301</sup> He goes on to say that those policies also helped solidify the attitude that nonwhites were second class. In the case of Mexicans, King cites a 1920 study that found only a small percentage of residents of Texas spoke English, and many American citizens whose ethnicity was Mexican celebrated Mexico’s national holidays.<sup>302</sup> Mexican Americans in the southwest border states were classified with whites, having the same rights of voting, public education, and being in public places like hotels and theaters, but the attitude of white privilege<sup>303</sup> did not apply to them.<sup>304</sup>

---

<sup>301</sup> Desmond King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 3.

<sup>302</sup> King, *Making Americans*, 234-235.

<sup>303</sup> The concept of white privilege, while interesting, is tangential to this work. However, to put white privilege in context, I quote John Hartigan who says, “Whites have represented the norm in social matters, in contrast to which peoples of color have been regarded as ‘racial.’ Though whiteness has always been a racial identity, the cultural dominance that whites have achieved has been such that they seem simply ‘normal,’ while the differences of others are marked ‘racial’ in nature, with ‘race’ referring to a complex of physiologically ‘permanent features and differences linked to an assumed ‘inferior’ status.” John Hartigan, Jr., “When White Americans Are a Minority,” in *Cultural Diversity in the United States*, edited by Larry L. Naylor (Westport, CN: Bergin & Garvey, 2012), 103.

<sup>304</sup> Daniels, *Coming to America*, 307-308. Tangentially, sociologists Peter Kivisto and Paul Kroll discuss “whiteness” as it relates to privilege and identity, and how white privilege—“its construction, its reproduction, indeed, its very existence”—and whiteness studies contribute to sociological theories of race relations and racial inequalities. Peter Kivisto and Paul R. Croll, *Race and Ethnicity: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2012), 55-56.

Mexicans' history with immigration<sup>305</sup> is fraught with controversy and debate, complicated by economics and their shared border with the United

---

<sup>305</sup> Mexican migration to the United States came in four major waves. The first occurred prior to World War II, and consisted of agricultural workers recruited by private contractors. The second wave was the Bracero Program from 1942 to 1964. The third wave, after the Bracero Program ended, was marked by changes in immigration laws that ended national-origin quotas and, for the first time, numerical limits were placed on immigrants from Mexico and other Latin American countries. The number of undocumented workers increased, and these migrants were largely male, and seasonal farm workers. The fourth wave was initiated by the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). Some 2.3 million undocumented Mexicans were legalized out of a total of nearly three million unauthorized migrants. U.S.-Mexico border controls were also toughened, and stricter penalties were imposed. U.S. census figures show an estimated 7.5 million Mexican immigrants, many of them undocumented, entered the United States between 1990 and 2010. Jie Zong and Jeanne Batalova, "Mexican Immigrants in the United States," *Migration Information Source*, October 9, 2014, accessed June 28, 2015, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/mexican-immigrants-united-states>. See also Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 186-188.

Note that the initially the Bracero Program barred Texas from the program. "Conditions were particularly bad in Texas—so bad that for a time the Mexican government refused to allow any braceros to be sent there." Daniels, *Coming to America*, 310. Mexico cited "abuses and discriminatory practices." Susan F. Martin, *A Nation of Immigrants* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 168.

The Bracero Program also helped reestablish the migratory circuit pattern that had been laid earlier. David G. Gutiérrez, "Mexicans," in *A Nation of Peoples: A Sourcebook on America's Multicultural Heritage*, edited by Elliott Robert Barkan, 372-390 (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1999), 378.

The Bracero Program was a gendered program. The term came to be known popularly as a masculine term, referring to men, and seldom women. Not all men who applied were accepted. Usually, younger, healthy men were accepted for work. Those who were not were often "dumped" at the border. In the 1960s, a Henry Anderson, a researcher on a federally-funded project studying *bracero* health practices under the auspices of the University of California, Berkeley, wrote "a scathing seven-page personal critique of the treatment of *braceros* he observed." California agribusiness associations pressured the government, and the Office of the President of UC shut down the project. Anderson went on to write an 850-page document that detailed the *braceros'* circumstances. He kept the ditto masters and two clandestine copies. The manuscript is now archived at UC Berkeley's Bancroft Library. For a discussion of this incident and the Bracero Program and its sequels, see Gilbert G. Gonzalez and Raul Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History: Empire, Nations, and Migration* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 103-115.

States.<sup>306</sup> Debate over Mexican immigration<sup>307</sup> issues has become an increasingly emotional political and social topic. In the past, Mexicans were exempt from major immigration legislation in 1924<sup>308</sup> and 1952.<sup>309</sup> Now, with the dramatic increase of immigration, they are one of the foci of legislation.

Historians John Buenker and Lorman Ratner cite the interaction historically between Mexicans and Americans as highly ambiguous,<sup>310</sup> agreeing with historian Louise Ano Nuevo Kerr who describes Mexican Americans as at times a source of labor and at other times a barrier to American expansion and economic development.<sup>311</sup> When other countries were restricted in immigration policies, Mexicans were able to fill low-paying, largely unskilled jobs. Those low

---

<sup>306</sup> In mid-1954, under the Eisenhower administration, "Operation Wetback" swept California and Texas, rounding up unauthorized Mexicans. Raids and round-ups also resulted in apprehensions. More than a million immigrants were caught, and thousands were deported, some with their U.S.-born children. See Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and Civic Culture* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 124; and Fred L. Koestler, "Operation Wetback," Texas State Historical Association, accessed July 8, 2015, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pqo01>.

"Wetback" refers to the migrants who crossed the Rio Grande River to enter the United States. Alma M. Garcia, *The Mexican Americans*, *The New Americans*, edited by Ronald H. Bayor (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2002), 37-38. "Wetback" referred predominantly to male Mexicans. "Racialized language strengthened the control over labor by evoking an image of an emasculated yet potentially dangerous lone alien male. Only the power of the employer and the state stood between the potential monster." Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History*, 107.

<sup>307</sup> King discusses the part eugenics played in early immigration debates and, while outside the scope of this work, it is a fascinating examination of its effect on U.S. immigration policies and shows a diverse spectrum of attitudes toward immigrants. King, *Making Americans*, 166-95.

<sup>308</sup> There were no border guards prior to 1924. Dinnerstein, Nichols, and Reimers, *Natives and Strangers*, 212.

Historian Albert Prago writes, "Effective border patrols were set up in 1924 and as the border became more formalized, illegal crossings were treated as such and deportations were not infrequent. When the authorities, and the American employers, wished to shut an eye to the illegalities, there were no problems. When, on the other hand, it suited them to carry out the letter and the spirit of the law, they arrested, prosecuted, punished, and deported." Albert Prago, *Strangers in Their Own Land: A History of Mexican-Americans* (New York: Four Winds Press, 1973), 158.

<sup>309</sup> King, *Making Americans*, 252.

<sup>310</sup> John D. Buenker and Lorman A. Ratner, eds., *Multiculturalism in the United States: A Comparative Guide to Acculturation and Ethnicity* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 1-8.

<sup>311</sup> Louise Ano Nuevo Kerr, "Mexican Americans," in *Multiculturalism in the United States: A Comparative Guide to Acculturation and Ethnicity*, edited by John D. Buenker and Lorman A. Ratner (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), 215-230.

wages, however, provided a better situation than in their native country.<sup>312</sup> Though most Mexican migrants found low-level jobs in the service industries, agriculture, and factories, a growing number found success in business.<sup>313</sup> After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexican immigrants settled in California and the Southwest because of economic considerations that had to do with circular migration.<sup>314</sup> The cost of the journey was less, and so was the cost of the return trip. And, Portes and Rumbaut say, “proximity to the sending area also provides a familiar physical and climatic environment.”<sup>315</sup>

In the past, Mexicans have migrated to the United States but not with the intention of staying permanently.<sup>316</sup> Like Japanese Americans who came here in numbers in the late 1800s and early 1900s,<sup>317</sup> they had a sojourners’ mentality, that is, according to immigration scholar Lawrence Fuchs, they were temporary residents and “most believed they would return soon to Mexico.”<sup>318</sup> Whether they decide to go back or stay, “ties to the homeland seldom disappear, but they often

---

<sup>312</sup> Dinnerstein, Nichols, and Reimers, *Natives and Strangers*, 213.

<sup>313</sup> Dinnerstein, Nichols, and Reimers, *Natives and Strangers*, 293-4.

<sup>314</sup> Parallels may be drawn from Canada, which also shares a border with the United States. French Canadians immigrated to New England in the 19th and early 20th centuries, initially to work in textile mills and the lumber industry. Their enclaves were dubbed “Little Canadas.” Iris Saunders Podea, “Quebec to ‘Little Canada’: The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century,” *The New England Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (September 1950): 365-80, accessed July 8, 2015, [http://www.jstor.org/stable/361423?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/361423?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents).

Some similarities exist: “the ease with which they moved across the border, in their reluctance to put down roots in American life, in their strong sense of cultural identity with their homeland, and in their difficulty in acquiring English fluency and literacy.” Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope*, 119.

For more on circular migration, see David A. Gerber, *American Immigration: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) 56; Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), 41-46; and Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 70.

<sup>315</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 38.

<sup>316</sup> Frank D. Bean and Gillian Stevens, *America’s Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity*, Rose Series in Sociology, edited by Douglas L. Anderton et al. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003), 65.

<sup>317</sup> “The first Japanese who came to America had intended to pay off family debts back home or to make their fortunes and return to Japan.” gayle k. yamada and Dianne Fukami, *Building a Community: The Story of Japanese Americans in San Mateo County* (San Mateo, CA: AACF, Inc., 2003), 13.

<sup>318</sup> Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope*, 119. This sojourner’s mentality may be one factor that has led to Mexicans’ reluctance to become U.S. citizens.

become fewer and thinner over time.”<sup>319</sup> Immigration largely defines the Latino presence in the United States, because “the vast majority of Latinos have been directly or indirectly touched by the experience of immigration. It is part of a shared experience and history that brings together the various distinct paths Latinos have taken in their journey to the United States.”<sup>320</sup>

While acknowledging traditional reasons for immigrating, Portes and Rumbaut put forth an alternative framework to explain the “new economics of migration” that focuses on the household rather than the individual, noting that it is but one economic strategy of working-class migrants.<sup>321</sup> According to Portes and Rumbaut, this strategy can be used if three conditions exist: a demand for migrant labor must exist,<sup>322</sup> labor demand must be made known,<sup>323</sup> and the opportunities must be desirable.<sup>324</sup> Mexican migration northward to the United States fits this pattern.<sup>325</sup>

Portes and Rumbaut examine contemporary immigration through the lens of culture. They theorize that immigration is “a direct consequence of the dominant influence attained by the culture of the advanced West in every corner of the globe.”<sup>326</sup> The gradual conversion to a global standard of lifestyle attracts immigrants, including Mexicans. But Mexican immigration warrants special attention.<sup>327</sup> Sociologists Frank Bean and Gillian Stevens say the “major feature that differentiates Mexicans from other immigrants is that so many of them are

---

<sup>319</sup> Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK*, 185.

<sup>320</sup> Suárez-Orozco and Páez, introduction to *Latinos Remaking America*, 16.

<sup>321</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 16-17.

<sup>322</sup> This is predicated on the demand for menial labor for jobs that U.S.-born citizens resist taking, that migrants come not to fill the jobs because they want to, but because they are wanted. Portes and Rumbaut refer to economist Michael Piore’s work, *Birds of Passage* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 17.

<sup>323</sup> Portes and Rumbaut say technological advances have enabled broader dissemination of labor opportunities than in the past, bolstered by social networks. Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 17. In Chapter 1, I presented quantitative data on that shows Latinos are heavy users of social media.

<sup>324</sup> Desirability is more what the economic opportunities mean to the migrant and/or the household rather than the quantitative gross earnings disparity, so it must be seen in the context of the migrant’s situation. Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 17-18.

<sup>325</sup> Another immigration path is refugees and those seeking asylum. Few Mexicans choose this method, and I will not cover that path in this work.

<sup>326</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 19.

<sup>327</sup> See Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 176.

unauthorized, low-skilled labor migrants.”<sup>328</sup> Manual laborers come to the United States in three primary ways. One is without documents, and Mexicans comprise 96 percent of illegal border crossers (labeled “Entry without Inspection” [EWI]), or nearly a million people.<sup>329</sup> The second is to come to the United States illegally or to overstay a temporary visa and subsequently marry a U.S. citizen or a legal resident. The third is to come as a contract laborer, a relatively cumbersome process.

Journalist Jorge Ramos<sup>330</sup> says crossing the border is not necessarily the hardest part of the journey; it is getting to the destination city. “In a sense,” he says, “there exists a kind of second border within the United States, an area known only to the immigration agents, the undocumented migrants, and the

---

<sup>328</sup> Bean and Stevens, *America’s Newcomers*, 42. I argue that other significant factors contribute to the uniqueness of Mexican immigration, including circular migration and a sojourners’ mindset.

<sup>329</sup> The number of “deportable aliens,” or EWI, from Mexico was 994,724. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “Enforcement,” Office of Immigration Statistics, *Fiscal Year 2002 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 39*, accessed May 24, 2015, <http://www.dhs.gov/fiscal-year-2002-yearbook-immigration-statistics>.

<sup>330</sup> *Time* magazine named Ramos as one of the 100 most influential people of 2015. He is the anchor of Univision’s nightly television newscast, and *Time* writer Michael Scherer says he is identified “as the Latino community’s most respected and influential leader, with a Q score that places him between soccer magus Lionel Messi and pop starlet Shakira.” Scherer also says Ramos’ Spanish-language newscast now beats the *CBS Evening News* nationally for the under-35 demographic. Michael Scherer, “América’s News Anchor,” *Time*, December 1-8, 2014, 32.

coyotes that guide them through this terrain.” He maintains that this second border is much harder to navigate than the physical, legal one.<sup>331</sup>

Border problems have grown, and grown more complex, as migration patterns have shifted, according to journalist Alex Altman. His investigation found that rural counties along the border, such as Kenedy County in south Texas, are struggling with the costs of recovering, identifying, and burying Mexicans who have died while trying to immigrate. Humanitarian groups and private citizens (such as ranchers) have installed water stations, and the border patrol has placed rescue beacons on private land to enable migrants to buzz for help.<sup>332</sup> But even as Mexican migration decreases and migration patterns change, U.S.-Mexico border issues such as these will continue to plague the border situation.<sup>333</sup>

The principal draw for Mexican migration in both historical and present-day times has been economic, with U.S. wages six or seven times that in Mexico.<sup>334</sup> A remark made by a migrant to investigative journalist Óscar Martínez illustrates a major reason for migrating. “He said he was only looking for a better

---

<sup>331</sup> Jorge Ramos, *Dying to Cross: The Worst Immigrant Tragedy in American History*, translated by Kristina Cordero (New York: HarperCollins 2005), 11-12. Ramos wrote *Dying to Cross* after investigating the story for Univision. In it, he tells of the difficulties in figuring out exactly what happened even though he talked with many people involved with differing perspectives. It is an example of the shadowy side of immigration and border politics. Ramos also describes corruption in the Mexican police who basically demanded bribes in order to allow the workers to cross the border. Ramos, *Dying to Cross*, 21.

The network of coyotes that transport the migrants can be complex, with several coyotes handling one “shipment.” See Ramos, *Dying to Cross*, 29-43 for an explanation of how a network operates. One of the women who handled transporting undocumented workers calls coyotes, *dueños de la gente*, or “people owners.” Ramos, *Dying to Cross*, 29.

In the *Dying to Cross* incident, 19 undocumented migrants died in a truck trailer in Victoria, Texas. All 19 were male. One of the career diplomats from the Mexican consulate believes it was because of how the women handled the situation. “The men grew more panicked, maybe. They went from one side of the trailer to the other. The women, on the other hand, took it differently, they just said, ‘I’m better off staying put,’ and that way they didn’t waste any unnecessary energy. That was what saved them.” Ramos, *Dying to Cross*, 108.

As is often the case in life or death situations, religion comes into play. As an interesting note, one of the migrants said later, “the women survived because they immediately began praying.” Ramos, *Dying to Cross*, 60.

<sup>332</sup> Alex Altman, “The Other Border,” *Time*, June 8, 2015, 34-41.

<sup>333</sup> The history of illegal immigration from Mexico is strewn with deadly experiences. From 1999 to 2002, 2200 deaths are recorded. Gonzalez and Fernandez discuss several fatal incidents, beginning in 1956. Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History*, 116-117.

<sup>334</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 23.

life, *una vida mejor*, which is a common saying on the migrant trails.”<sup>335</sup> Non-agricultural labor draws workers to manual trades such as construction, and urban services such as the garment industry or small electronic companies. Foreign professionals also immigrate, though the incidence of Mexican professionals immigrating is smaller than of less skilled, relatively uneducated workers. And remittances remain a portion of Mexico’s gross domestic product (GDP).<sup>336</sup>

Social networks are an important part of the immigrant experience. Sociologist Douglas Massey describes migrant networks as “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared continuity origin.”<sup>337</sup> These network connections are a form of social capital that “increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration.”<sup>338</sup> Historians Elliott Barkan, Hasia Diner, and Alan Kraut concur that immigrants take

---

<sup>335</sup> Óscar Martínez, *The Beast: Riding the Rails and Dodging Narcos on the Migrant Trail*, translated by Daniela Maria Ugaz and John Washington (London: Verso, 2013), 1.

<sup>336</sup> Michael Barone, *The New Americans: How the Melting Pot Can Work Again* (Washington, DC: Regency Publishing, Inc., 2001), 166; Suárez-Orozco and Páez, introduction to *Latinos Remaking America*, 11; and Fariborz Ghadar, *Becoming American: Why Immigration Is Good for America’s Future* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 156.

Remittances have increased by fourteen-fold since 1985. Zong and Batalova, “Mexican Immigrants in the United States,” <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/mexican-immigrants-united-states>.

Mexico receives more than half of remittances to Spanish-speaking Latin American countries, \$23 billion in 2012. Remittances to Mexico from the United States have declined since 2006, when they peaked. The decline is linked to economic changes in the United States. The housing market crash hurt Mexican immigrants because the construction industry is a major source of jobs. Another factor could be the decline in Mexicans immigrating to the United States. D’Vera Cohn, Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, and Danielle Cuddington, “Remittances to Latin America Recover—but Not to Mexico,” Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends, November 15, 2013, accessed June 1, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/11/15/remittances-to-latin-america-recover-but-not-to-mexico/>.

<sup>337</sup> Douglas S. Massey, “Why Does Immigration Occur,” in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), 43-44.

<sup>338</sup> Massey, “Why Does Immigration Occur?,” 44. See also Steven S. Zahniser, “One Border, Two Crossings: Mexican Migration to the United States as a Two-Way Process,” in *Immigration Research for a New Century: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Nancy Foner, Rubén G. Rumbaut, and Steven J. Gold (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000), 256; and Peggy Levitt, “Migrants Participate Across Borders: Toward an Understanding of Forms and Consequences,” in *Immigration Research for a New Century: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Nancy Foner, Rubén G. Rumbaut, and Steven J. Gold (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000), 460.

“advantage of the economic and communal structures that others had fashioned.”<sup>339</sup> This ethnic social capital is one “strategy for minority success,” according to sociologists Richard Alba and Nancy Foner, as it allows migrants to have access to “significant resources controlled by their own ethnic group.”<sup>340</sup>

Enduring ethnic networks were “established during the era of permissive labor migration practices of the 1960s and 1970s,” says geographer William Clark. The Bracero Program helped promulgate what Chicano studies scholar Gilbert Gonzalez and social scientist Raul Fernandez call “a cycle of migrations nurtured by migrants’ family and friendship networks” adding that it continues to be an informal labor recruitment process.<sup>341</sup> Originally “information networks linking origins and destinations”—job opportunities—they also shared also information about “ways of getting to the United States and where to find a safe haven.”<sup>342</sup>

Historically and continuing in contemporary times, networks of relatives and friends have been instrumental in deciding where Mexicans go. Established Mexican communities are “magnets” for Mexican immigrants.<sup>343</sup> Sociologists Victor Nee and Richard Alba contend that the immigrant community plays a critical role in facilitating assimilation.<sup>344</sup> Many Mexicans who immigrate to the United States lack financial capital, and skills, values, and education resources, but they have social capital,<sup>345</sup> which Nee and Alba define as “the network ties that connect their home villages to the United States.”<sup>346</sup> According to sociologist Douglas Massey and his collaborators, migrant networks tend to become self-sustaining over time because of what they provide to prospective migrants.

---

<sup>339</sup> Elliot R. Barkan, Hasia Diner, and Alan M. Kraut, eds., *From Arrival to Incorporation: Migrants to the U.S. in a Global Era*. Nation of Newcomers: Immigrant History as American History, edited by Matthew Jacobson and Werner Sollors (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 10.

<sup>340</sup> Richard Alba and Nancy Foner, *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 239.

<sup>341</sup> Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History*, 106.

<sup>342</sup> William A. V. Clark, *Immigrants and the American Dream*, 16.

<sup>343</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 41.

<sup>344</sup> Victor Nee and Richard Alba, “Toward a New Definition,” in *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What It Means To Be American*, edited by Tamara Jacoby (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 92.

<sup>345</sup> Douglas S. Massey, Rafael Alarcón, Jorge Durand, and Humberto González, *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), especially 138-171.

<sup>346</sup> Nee and Alba, “Toward a New Definition,” in Jacoby, 94.

“Personal contacts with friends, relatives, and *paisanos*,”<sup>347</sup> they say, “give migrants access to jobs, housing, and financial assistance in the United States,”<sup>348</sup> making migration the catalyst for change in social relations, that is, when migration occurs, kinship and friendship ties the migrant has “are transformed into a resource that can be used to gain access to foreign employment and all that it brings.”<sup>349</sup>

The concept of transnationalism is tied to Mexican migration. Transnationalism is defined as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement.”<sup>350</sup> It refers to people who move back and forth between two countries with a “certain regularity,”<sup>351</sup> having “familial, economic, cultural, and political ties across international borders, in effect making the home and host society a single arena of social action.”<sup>352</sup> Transmigrants “take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nations,”<sup>353</sup> as is the case with Mexicans.

Anthropologist Susan Keefe and psychologist Amado Padilla find that both external and internal factors are responsible for maintaining Mexican-American communities among second and later generations. “The most significant factor is the emphasis on the extended family,” they conclude in a multi-year study of Chicano ethnicity that looked at both quantitative and qualitative data. Kin ties “were not spoken of as obligatory, rising out of dependency and exclusion,” they say, but “are thought of as positive, cherished, and independently worthy of themselves.”<sup>354</sup> Family members instill in each other “the value of working for the good of the family unit, often at the expense of individual gratification,” according

---

<sup>347</sup> *Paisano* is translated as a “countryman” or “friend.”

<sup>348</sup> Massey et al., *Return to Aztlan*, 170.

<sup>349</sup> Massey, “Why Does Immigration Occur?,” in Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 44.

<sup>350</sup> Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Basel, Switzerland: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1994), 7.

<sup>351</sup> Kivisto and Croll, *Race and Ethnicity*, 150.

<sup>352</sup> Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK*, 170-171.

<sup>353</sup> Basch, Schilller, and Blanc, *Nations Unbound*, 7.

<sup>354</sup> Susan E. Keefe and Amado M. Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity* (Albuquerque: University Press, 1987), 194. Keefe and Padilla evaluated Mexican ethnicity by measuring cultural knowledge and ethnic identification. Their study was largely funded by the National Institute of Mental Health and the Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs. See Acknowledgments and Introduction, *Chicano Ethnicity*, ix-11.

to sociologist Alma Garcia. She says, "Family members often assist each other financially and emotionally, even when they have started families of their own."<sup>355</sup> This concept of familism encompasses family role obligations, economic resources, mutual assistance, and social support, necessitating frequent contact among family members. Hispanics, especially Mexican Americans, are oriented toward family well-being rather than on the individual;<sup>356</sup> family is first.

This emphasis on kinship also means geographic stability; "Ties to a town or city give boundaries to the ethnic community, although the structure is better conceptualized as a mesh of personal networks."<sup>357</sup> Education scholar Vivian Louie says the key to success for the second and subsequent generations is "strong family care combined with powerful institutional and other non-family supports."<sup>358</sup>

The effects of immigration long term depend on subsequent generations, i.e., the descendants of immigrants. Sociologist Alejandro Portes says, "issues such as the continuing dominance of English, the growth of a welfare-dependent population, the resilience or disappearance of culturally distinct ethnic enclaves, and the decline or growth of ethnic intermarriages will be decided among its [the migrant's] children and grandchildren."<sup>359</sup> Portes casts doubt that the present second generation's experiences can be inferred from those of earlier European immigrants, that is, progression from poverty and discrimination in the migrants' generation to the "rapid acculturation of the second generation and its gradual economic advancement," to, by the third generation, loss of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic traits and the disappearance of labor market disadvantages.<sup>360</sup> But as I have discussed, the pattern of Mexican immigration is unique. One reason for this is because the second generation, according to sociologist Rubén Rumbaut, "has a much longer history of sustained migration" when compared with

---

<sup>355</sup> A. Garcia, *The Mexican American*, 68.

<sup>356</sup> Nancy S. Landale, R. Salvador Orpresa, and Cristina Bradatan, "Hispanic Families in the United States: Family Structure and Process in an Era of Family Change," in *Hispanics and the Future of America*, edited by Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006), 139, 147.

<sup>357</sup> Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity*, 194.

<sup>358</sup> Vivian Louie, *Keeping the Immigrant Bargain. The Costs and Rewards of Success in America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012), 2. Louie conducted a 3-1/2 year survey and interview study of Latino families that were Dominican and Colombian.

<sup>359</sup> Alejandro Portes, "Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities," in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), 29-30.

<sup>360</sup> Portes, "Immigration Theory," in Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 30.

immigrants from other countries.<sup>361</sup> Mexican immigration has a longer history than that of other Latino populations, since Mexicans settled the Southwest before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, before the land became part of U.S. states. Spanish-language media are also prevalent in U.S.-Mexico border states.<sup>362</sup> David Gutiérrez says “the recent demographic transformation of the United States has stimulated an unprecedented growth in this sector of cultural expression and production,” citing the number of U.S. radio stations in Spanish at least half the time jumping from 55 in 1974 to 533 stations broadcasting in Spanish full-time in 2000.<sup>363</sup>

Ethnic enclaves, mentioned by Portes, are another pattern of immigrants. These are immigrant entrepreneurial communities that create a social network. Portes and Rumbaut note the significance of ethnic enclaves because they “create an avenue of economic mobility unavailable to other groups,” since the

---

<sup>361</sup> Rubén G. Rumbaut, “Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States,” in *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*, edited by Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 381.

<sup>362</sup> Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 224.

<sup>363</sup> David G. Gutiérrez, “Globalization, Labor Migration, and the Demographic Revolution: Ethnic Mexicans in the Late Twentieth Century,” in *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States since 1960*, edited by David G. Gutiérrez (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 70.

relationships go beyond a contractual bond.<sup>364</sup> But in order for ethnic enclaves to function effectively over time, Massey notes “it requires a steady stream of new workers willing to trade low initial wages for the possibility of later mobility.”<sup>365</sup> Latino enclaves are maintained by undocumented migrants, who may remain in the enclave because of their legal status.<sup>366</sup>

The formation of an ethnic enclave is “especially enhanced if the initial migrants are well educated and possess organizational or business skills (human capital), or if they have access to savings, credit, or government assistance (financial capital).”<sup>367</sup> That is not necessarily the case with Mexicans; however, the strong kinship ties and concept of respect described by sociologist Norma Williams are present.<sup>368</sup> She says the social bonds created by Mexican Americans set “the Mexican American family apart from most groups in the

---

<sup>364</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 29. Many examples exist of this type of immigrant entrepreneurship, historically as well as in contemporary times. Historically, examples of ethnic enclaves are Jewish people in New York; Little Italy in New York; Germantown in Philadelphia; Japantown in San Francisco and Little Tokyo in Los Angeles; Little Manila in Stockton, CA; Koreatown in New York; and Chinatowns in many cities. In more recent times, examples are Little Havana in Miami and Little Saigon in San Jose.

Take Los Angeles as an example. LA has the largest Korea-origin population in the country. Its Koreatown began developing in the early 1970s and, two decades later, was spread over an estimated 500-block area. “The entrepreneurial spirit of Koreans and their hope of achieving the American Dream fueled the growth of Koreatown.” Ghadar, *Becoming American*, 134.

Social historian Donna Gabaccia says that immigrants that are better off economically than those of a lower socioeconomic class tend to be more scattered geographically. As ethnic communities become more diffuse, Gabaccia says ethnicity tends to become more private and domestic, with food and religion as the last strongholds of culture. See Gabaccia, *Immigration and American Diversity*.

The increase in the economic diversity of more contemporary immigrants has led to what University of Arizona sociologist Wei Li terms an “ethnoburb.” Ethnoburbs, which are suburban rather than urban, are more demographically diverse and economically more intertwined with surrounding communities than ethnic enclaves. Gram Slattey, “In Defense of the Ethnic Enclave,” *Harvard Political Review*, 2015, accessed May 24, 2015, <http://harvardpolitics.com/covers/in-defense-of-the-ethnic-enclave/>.

Historian Manuel Gonzales agrees, saying, “Increasingly, too, Mexican Americans live in suburbs, not in ethnic clusters.” Manuel G. Gonzales, *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2009), 302.

The concept of the evolution of ethnic enclaves and ethnoburbs is outside the scope of this dissertation but warrants further investigation.

<sup>365</sup> Massey, “Why Does Immigration Occur?,” in Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 39.

<sup>366</sup> Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*, 76.

<sup>367</sup> Massey, “Why Does Immigration Occur?,” in Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 39.

<sup>368</sup> Norma Williams, *The Mexican American Family: Tradition and Change*, Reynolds Series in Sociology, edited by Larry T. Reynolds (Dix Hills, NY: General Hall, 1990), 25.

United States.”<sup>369</sup> Godparents, known as *compadre* and *comadre*, are named, and they are thought of as co-parents. They establish “strong bonds of mutual aid or reciprocity” that these fictive kinship relationships are called on in times of social or economic need.<sup>370</sup>

Mexicans do not necessarily live in geographically-named places, like a Little Italy, though they often live in predominantly Latino areas and demonstrate the same pattern as other immigrants, hiring within their own ethnic group. Though there are no “Little Mexicos” or “Little Mexico Cities” or other diminutively-named geographic areas, often largely Latino areas are referred to as “*barrios*,” which is Spanish for “neighborhood”<sup>371</sup> and often includes people from other Spanish-speaking countries.<sup>372</sup>

In more recent times, the distribution of the Mexican origin population has slowly begun to change across the United States. California, Texas, and Chicago have historically been where Mexican immigrants go. Now, though, according to sociologists Richard Alba and Victor Nee, “Concentrations of Mexicans are now appearing in numerous places where they have not settled before.” One example is New York City, where the Hispanic population has been largely Puerto Rican in

---

<sup>369</sup> Williams, *The Mexican American Family*, 26.

<sup>370</sup> Williams, *The Mexican American Family*, 25-27.

<sup>371</sup> Anecdotally, Ernesto Galarza immigrated to Sacramento, California, in the early 1900s as a child. He lived in the lower Sacramento quarter, where a mix of immigrants from many countries lived. In his autobiography, he wrote, “Those of us who lived in it stayed there because our problem was to make a living and not to make money.” Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (1971), 198. Galarza became one of the first Mexican immigrants to earn a master’s degree (from Stanford University) and a doctorate (from Columbia University). He became a labor activist, professor, and writer. In 1976, he was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature, the first Latino to be so recognized. Joseph Berger, “Ernesto Galarza, Labor Aide,” June 24, 1984, *Obituaries, New York Times*, accessed July 8, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/1984/06/24/obituaries/ernesto-galarza-labor-aide.html>; San Jose Unified School District, “About Ernesto Galarza,” *Ernesto Galarza Elementary School*, accessed July 8, 2015, <http://www.sjusd.org/galarza/school-information/about-ernesto-galarza/>; and Richard Chabran, “Activism and Intellectual Struggle in the Life of Ernesto Galarza (1905-1984),” *Ernesto Galarza Applied Research Center*, University of California, Riverside, accessed July 8, 2015, <http://egarc.ucr.edu/about.html>.

<sup>372</sup> These ethnic subgroups are also differentiated by class origins and community. Not only does “*barrio*” mean actual settlements, but also the “symbolic community that serves as a source of identity.” Rodolfo D. Torres and ChorSwang Ngien, “Racialized Boundaries, Class Relations, and Cultural Politics: The Asian American and Latino Experience,” in *Culture and Difference: On the Bicultural Experience in the United States*, edited by Antonio Darder, Critical Studies in Education and Culture Series, edited by Henry A. Giroux and Paolo Freire (Westport, CN: Bergin and Garvey, 1995), 59.

the past,<sup>373</sup> and smaller, more rural destinations such as the South are the “new geography.”<sup>374</sup> Historian David Gutiérrez calls the new regional pockets of settlement “the most striking feature to emerge from the 2000 census,” noting that “the trend toward dispersal that was becoming evident at the end of the 1980s had accelerated by 2000.”<sup>375</sup>

Contemporary Mexican immigration documented by U.S. Census figures,<sup>376</sup> shows an increase in Mexicans migrating to “nontraditional receiving contexts” and bringing social capital they have accumulated over decades. As sociologists Victor Zúñiga and Rubén Hernández-León argue, “they are experienced immigrants whose social capital allows them more rapidly and effectively to become incorporated into new destinations... They are seasoned migrants quite capable of envisioning and negotiating a future for themselves and their children in Nebraska, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Georgia.”<sup>377</sup> Most new destinations are smaller cities and towns, and rural areas.<sup>378</sup>

“Undoubtedly, though,” says historian Manuel Gonzales, “the most surprising target of recent Mexican migration has been the American South, generally perceived as a bastion of nativist sentiment.” This is a phenomenon since the late 1980s, he says, and to a lesser extent other Latinos have followed

---

<sup>373</sup> Alba and Nee say Mexicans were at one time a negligible population in New York City, but the 2000 U.S. Census showed the Mexican population tripled in the 1990s. Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 187-188.

<sup>374</sup> Victor Zúñiga and Rubén Hernández-León, introduction to *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States*, edited by Victor Zúñiga and Rubén Hernández-León (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005), xiv. The concepts and themes Zúñiga and Hernández-León put forth are at the forefront of thought about contemporary Mexican migration and, while outside the scope of this work, warrant further examination.

<sup>375</sup> D. Gutiérrez, “Globalization, Labor Migration, and the Demographic Revolution,” in D. Gutiérrez (2004), 67. See also Jorge Durand, Edward Telles, and Jennifer Flashman, “The Demographic Foundations of the Latino Population,” in *Hispanics and the Future of America*, edited by Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006), 86-93.

<sup>376</sup> In the Midwest nearly 10 percent of the population was of Mexican origin. De León cites the 2000 U.S. Census as his source. Arnoldo De León, “Foreword to the Thirtieth Anniversary Addition,” in *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans*, 30th anniversary ed., edited by David J. Weber (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), xii.

<sup>377</sup> Zúñiga and Hernández-León, introduction to *New Destinations*, xxvii; see also xii-xv.

<sup>378</sup> Manuel Gonzales cites as an example Siler City, NC, where the Latino population jumped from 200 in 1990 to more than 3,000 just 10 years later due to opportunities in the poultry industry, on chicken farms. The South’s expanding economy created jobs in a region that “seemed to offer greater security than more traditional areas of settlement.” M. Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, 272.

suit. He cites, as an example, Charlotte, North Carolina, where the Latino population increased by nearly 50 percent.<sup>379</sup> Latinos also toured into New Orleans to help with the rebuilding of the city following Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Gonzales calls it “the reality of the silent migration that had been transforming the South for more than a decade.”<sup>380</sup>

And they were bringing their families, “an indication that they were prepared to make the South their permanent home.”<sup>381</sup> Early migrants were largely young males, but contemporary migration includes more relatives—wives, children, grandparents, and nephews.<sup>382</sup> Still, though, the “immigrant bargain” plays a role in Mexican immigration, where immigrants are willing to work hard in low-paying jobs to give their children the opportunity to do well in school and succeed.<sup>383</sup> “Achievement,” says geographer Clark, “is a central and persistent facet of the American Dream—bettering one’s status relevant to that of one’s parents’, or at the very least maintaining the family status.”<sup>384</sup>

But immigrants and their children “acculturate in different ways, and at different rates,” says business scholar Fariborz Ghadar. That sometimes creates a disconnect or cultural dissonance. “Immigrant parents and children increasingly live in different cultural worlds. Immigrant parents often understand little of their children’s lives outside the home. For immigrant children, it can be difficult to live with the expectations and demands of one culture in the home and another at school.”<sup>385</sup>

As I end this review of immigration literature, three legislative actions bear mentioning because they will affect future immigration and the scholarship about it. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) “expanded legal immigration to the United States significantly and did little or nothing that would

---

<sup>379</sup> M. Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, 272. The “nativist sentiment” refers to protecting the interests of native-born inhabitants from immigrants. “Restrictionists throughout the United States had been raising alarms about the high rates of immigration at least since 1890, largely on racial grounds.” Telles and Ortiz, *Generations of Exclusion*, 81-82.

<sup>380</sup> M. Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, 273.

<sup>381</sup> M. Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, 273

<sup>382</sup> Zúñga and Hernandez-Leon, introduction to *New Destinations*, xxvii.

<sup>383</sup> Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*, 66; Louie, *Keeping the Immigrant Bargain*, 6; see also Fuchs, *American Kaleidoscope*, 267.

<sup>384</sup> W. Clark, *Immigrants and the American Dream*, xiv.

<sup>385</sup> Ghadar, *Becoming American*, 148. See also American Psychological Association, Presidential Task Force on Immigration, “Crossroads: The Psychology of Immigration in the New Century,” APA Presidential Task Force on Immigration, 2012, accessed July 14, 2015, <http://www.apa.org/topics/immigration/immigration-report.pdf>.

limit future illegal immigration effectively,”<sup>386</sup> according to historians Roger Daniels and Otis Graham. IRCA is one of the most significant acts, especially for Mexican Americans, because it gave so many the opportunity to gain U.S. citizenship.

The second is the DREAM Act, an acronym for Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors. Versions of the bill have come up before Congress several times since it was first introduced in 2001. It lays out a multi-year, multi-phase “conditional path to citizenship.”<sup>387</sup> The DREAM Act is still being debated, and while it applies to all undocumented minors, it will affect undocumented Mexicans, who have historically been a large segment of the unauthorized immigrant population.

The third is a federal immigration program that began in August 2012, called Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. It protects eligible immigrants from being deported and allows them to apply for work permits. But it does not offer legal residency, nor does it offer a path to citizenship.<sup>388</sup>

## METHODOLOGY

As a filmmaker, I am drawn to stories of people and power; how individuals have gained both power and influence, and cultural change. I am particularly interested in the explosion of Latino growth, whether it affects society, and how. More specifically, I narrow my field to people of Mexican origin in California’s Central Valley.

---

<sup>386</sup> Roger Daniels and Otis L. Graham, *Debating American Immigration 1882-Present*, Debating Twentieth Century America series, edited by James T. Patterson (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), 52. For a comprehensive discussion of IRCA and its legislative legacy, see Daniels and Graham, *Debating American Immigration*, 52-62. See also Durand, Telles, and Flashman, “The Demographic Foundations of the Latino Population,” in Tienda and Mitchell, 71; A. Garcia, *The Mexican Americans*, 47-50; Arturo González, *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy: Quest for Buenos Días*, The Mexican American Experience, edited by Adela de la Torre (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 26-29; Massey, Durand, and Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*, 2, 89-91; Rumbaut, “The Making of a People,” in Tienda and Mitchell, 29-30; and Jacob L. Vigdor, *From Immigrants to Americans: The Rise and Fall of Fitting In* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 162-166.

When the period for legalization ended, more than 75 percent of the 1,760,000 people who had their initial applications approved were Mexican nationals. “An additional 1,300,000 were initially accepted under a special legalization program for those who had worked in agriculture under slightly more restricted terms.” Fuchs, *American Kaleidoscope*, 254.

<sup>387</sup> DREAM Act Portal, “The DREAM Act,” accessed July 15, 2015, <https://dreamact.info>. See also National Immigration Law Center, “DREAM Act: Summary,” May 2011, accessed July 15, 2015, <https://nilc.org/dreamsummary.html>; and Congress.gov, “S.1545 - DREAM Act,” accessed July 15, 2015, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/108th-congress/senate-bill/1545>.

<sup>388</sup> Ghadar, *Becoming American*, 173.

Within these broad criteria, I am interested in a set of questions that will illuminate what leads to business and personal success, and how that affects cultural dynamics and one's agency to declare one's cultural identity. Success means different things to different people. It is relative. People may define success in terms of power, money, or fame; attaining a certain socioeconomic status, or being well known locally, regionally, nationally, or worldwide. They can aspire to have influence behind the scenes. They may compare their own success to others'. Some find success ambitious and elusive, thinking they have achieved it only to find it slipping through their fingers. It may bring happiness or it may not; it may represent an accomplishment, reflect a person's own perception, or the opinions of others.

Acknowledging the limitations of a focused definition of success, in the context of this dissertation, I define success as attaining relative prosperity, i.e., socioeconomic status beyond or equal to what one was born with, financial stability, and, in the cases of 1.5 or greater generation interviewees,<sup>389</sup> an education beyond high school.<sup>390</sup> Each of my interviewees would consider him or herself successful by this definition. Every one of them has a higher education level than his or her parents. Except for Eva Garcia, all of them have a higher socioeconomic status than that of their parents or, in the case of immigrants, than their socioeconomic class when they first came to this country.

While success is not a proxy for power, it is closely connected. Powerful people are successful, and successful people are powerful. I consciously chose successful people because they wield some degree of power, and I sought to

---

<sup>389</sup> People who immigrated before the age of 12 are classified as 1.5 generation. They share characteristics of both the first generation (immigrants) and the second generation. "Their identity is split. They are American in many ways, sometimes in most, but not entirely."

The term is credited to sociologist Rubén G. Rumbaut and K. Ima who, in 1988, studied Southeast Asian refugee youth. Linda Harklau, Kay M. Losey, and Meryl S. Siegal, *Generation 1.5 Meets College Composition: Issues in the Teaching of Writing to U.S.-Educated Learners of ESL* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1999), 4.

Rumbaut devised a scale to describe who arrived at what age, and says a true Generation 1.5 arrived in the United States between the ages of 6 and 12. "Gen 1.5: Where an Immigrant Generation Fits In," *Multi American*, 89.3KPCC, accessed February 12, 2015, <http://www.scpr.org/blogs/multiamerican/2012/03/21/7963/what-is-a-1-5-where-an-immigrant-generation-fits-i/>. See also Rubén G. Rumbaut, "Generation 1.5, Educational Experiences Of," in *Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education*, edited by James A. Banks, Sage Publications, 2012, accessed February 12, 2015, available at SSRN [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2182167](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2182167). See also, for example, Alisa Resnick, "Race Project — Between Two Worlds: America's 1.5 Generation," *Race, Seattle Times*, November 18, 2013, accessed February 12, 2015, <http://blogs.seattletimes.com/race-awsd/2013/11/18/race-project-between-two-worlds-americas-1-5-generation/>. See also Southern California Public Radio, "Gen 1.5: Where an Immigrant Generation Fits In," *Multi American*, March 21, 2012, accessed February 12, 2015, <http://www.scpr.org/blogs/multiamerican/2012/03/21/7963/what-is-a-1-5-where-an-immigrant-generation-fits-i/>.

<sup>390</sup> A set of sample questions is in Appendix II.

understand what that meant for them individually, and how it might illuminate cultural change. I am cognizant of the fact that they are not representative of Mexican Americans, but I set out to find how their successes might reflect future success for a growing ethnic population. In the process, my premise was reshaped. I narrowed my topic, and began to focus on America's master narrative and how my subjects are a part of a changing American master narrative.

My work crosses many different disciplines, most notably sociology, literature, history, cultural anthropology, ethnography, ethnic studies, gender studies, and education. After reviewing many models of interviewing in the social sciences, I loosely designed mine on that of sociologist Robert Bellah et al., in the revised edition of *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*.<sup>391</sup>

I base my discussion on both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data gives me a framework of statistics and facts providing a context for the qualitative data. My qualitative interviews illuminate the factors that contribute to individual success. I use them to identify common themes. I believe that mixed methods create both a more nuanced and a fuller understanding of social phenomena; in this case, changing demographics and cultural dynamics in California's Mexican-American population.

I begin by pulling together existing data to present a portrait of Latinos in California using primarily U.S. Census statistics. California has long been a bellwether state. Trends, notably cultural and technological ones, often start in California, then spread to the rest of the country.<sup>392</sup> Journalist Vincent Schodolski says, "America's future often is glimpsed in the reflecting glass of California's present," noting that California is the "nation's social science laboratory."<sup>393</sup>

---

<sup>391</sup> See Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart*.

<sup>392</sup> See Sonia Maasik and J. Fisher Solomon, *California Dreams and Realities*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005).

<sup>393</sup> Vincent J. Schodolski, "California: The Bellwether State," *Chicago Tribune*, March 31, 1996, accessed December 3, 2014, [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1996-03-31/news/9603310231\\_1\\_california-protest-demographics](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1996-03-31/news/9603310231_1_california-protest-demographics).

Narrowing my geographic field, I situate my stories in the Central Valley,<sup>394</sup> which boasts one of the fastest-growing Latino populations in California<sup>395</sup> and is one of the world's richest agricultural regions. The Central Valley produces nearly half of the nation's produce<sup>396</sup> and a national spotlight shines on the region for agriculture as well as the food movement's trend toward local sourcing. Latinos, particularly those of Mexican background, have historically provided much of the agricultural labor in the Central Valley. The population of the San Joaquin Valley is projected to double from 3.1 million to 6.2 million by 2040, and much of that growth will be Latino.<sup>397</sup> By 2060, Latinos in California are projected to be the largest group in the prime working ages between 25 and 64 by a wide margin, with 12.1 million compared to 7.4 million of European ancestry and 3.2 million Asians.<sup>398</sup> I used convenience sampling to choose my subjects, who represent a specific cross-section of people of Mexican origin in this region. In order to

---

<sup>394</sup> California's great Central Valley runs in nearly the geographic center of the state, more than two-fifths of the land area of California. It is about 450 miles long, from Shasta County to Kern County, and 40 to 60 miles wide. It encompasses 18 of California's 58 counties, or parts of them. Some descriptions of the Central Valley also include Solano County, but because it touches on San Francisco Bay, it is included in the San Francisco Bay area for planning and statistical purposes and this description (18 counties) excludes it. Kenneth W. Umbach, "A Statistical Tour of California's Great Central Valley," accessed December 11, 2014, <http://www.library.ca.gov/crb/97/09/>.

The San Joaquin Valley makes up the southern two-thirds of the Central Valley. California is the nation's largest agricultural producing state, and the San Joaquin Valley is considered "the backbone of California's modern and highly technological agricultural industry." United States Geological Survey, "San Joaquin Valley, California," accessed December 11, 2014, <http://pubs.usgs.gov/circ/circ1182/pdf06SanJoaquinValley.pdf>.

<sup>395</sup> According to the 2010 U.S. Census, about 6.5 million people live in the Central Valley, making it the state's fastest-growing region. Between 1990 and 2009, the Central Valley's population grew 44 percent as compared with a 24 percent population growth statewide. Joanne Elgart Jennings, *PBS Newshour*, November 1, 2010, accessed February 18, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/californias-central-valley-finds-itself-on-the-political-map/>. Also, Jennings notes that the state's Spanish-language gubernatorial debate in 2010 took place in Fresno, the largest city in the Central Valley.

<sup>396</sup> Jennifer Medina, "California Seeing Brown Where Green Used to Be," *New York Times*, February 13, 2014, accessed December 11, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/14/us/california-seeing-brown-where-green-used-to-be.html>.

<sup>397</sup> I will specify when I am speaking of the subset that is people of Mexican origin, rather than all Latino groups. Statistics are sometimes confusing about the group to which they are referring. When I am referring to people of Mexican origin only, I will state that.

<sup>398</sup> California Department of Finance, "New Population Projections: California to Surpass 50 Million in 2049," January 31, 2013, accessed December 11, 2014, [http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/projections/P-1/documents/Projections\\_Press\\_Release\\_2010-2060.pdf](http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/projections/P-1/documents/Projections_Press_Release_2010-2060.pdf).

balance my sample in gender, generationally, and geographically, I continually examined the subjects' backgrounds and adjusted my list.

My field research focuses on semi-structured interviews of a non-random sample of Latino adults in the Central Valley, geographically between Sacramento and Bakersfield. The interviews were conducted at either the subject's place of business or home between March and August of 2013. The interviews lasted between a half-hour (Adela de la Torre) and more than four hours (José Antonio Ramírez), and one over two days (Camila Chávez).

I chose to conduct interviews because they are a valuable social science research tool, which Maynes, Pierce, and Laslett recognize. I found with three decades of interviewing people and using many acknowledged methods of conducting interviews, my subjects speak candidly of personal events and how they have affected their own choices in life. This candor often comes with trust, which most scholars see as essential in the interview method. As creators of their own narratives, the interview subjects present themselves and their lives, and convey a power over their own lives. This production of knowledge, as Kvale and Brickmann say, can enrich our understanding of how cultural dynamics work.

Except for one, all of the interviewees are of Mexican descent. People of Mexican origin account for 83 percent of California's Latino population<sup>399</sup> and because of the unique nature of Mexican immigration, I focus on origin as a factor. The sole Latina not of Mexican descent, Alice Perez, was chosen because she leads the Sacramento Hispanic Chamber of Commerce,<sup>400</sup> and has insight into Latin cultures, business, and success from a professional perspective. I did not intend for her to be in the sample, and did not ask questions regarding her upbringing, her education, and her personal values, as I did with most of the other interviewees. I conducted two other interviews, initially and primarily for their observations and knowledge of the Central Valley and power dynamics. Gerald Haslam was born in Oildale, near Bakersfield. He has written and edited many books on the human condition in the Central Valley, most notably small town areas, the working class, the poor, and people of all colors. Haslam is a professor emeritus at California State University, Sonoma. His interview was one of the first, as I hoped it would help me clarify the direction of my research. I chose Haslam because he is local to the Central Valley and, because of his writings and literary scholarship, I hoped he would place the personal narratives I was intending to do in the context of the Valley. I questioned whether he should

---

<sup>399</sup> Pew Research Center, "Demographic Profile of Hispanics in California, 2011," Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends, accessed December 11, 2014, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/ca/>.

<sup>400</sup> Alice Perez is of Puerto Rican descent. Subsequent to our interview, Perez became the president and chief executive officer of the California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce. See California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce, "California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce Announces Alice Perez as Next President and CEO," accessed December 2, 2014, <http://www.cahcc.com/UpdatedNews/tabid/94/post/california-hispanic-chambers-of-commerce-announces-alice-perez-as-next-president-and-ceo/Default.aspx#.VH44s75U30c>.

be categorized with the other interviewees, and decided that since he did not offer a Latino perspective and gave background on the changes, he is not included in the sample.

However, I discovered in our interview that Haslam had a Mexican grandmother; “they were ethnically Spanish and Irish and Portuguese, but they were from Mexico and they thought of themselves as Mexican.”<sup>401</sup> Though his upbringing did not reflect this ancestry, his writings reflect the sensibilities of the working class and mixed ethnicities. Still, he remains outside my sample.

Adela de la Torre was my first interviewee<sup>402</sup> after she was the keynote speaker at a University of California, Davis, Chancellor’s Luncheon. She spoke about her research in a small town in the Central Valley about Mexican American children/families and nutrition, and the subject matter and her methodology interested me. She had recently been appointed interim vice chancellor of student affairs at UC Davis, a rare accomplishment for a Latina.<sup>403</sup> I interviewed her because I had the opportunity to as I was designing and structuring my research, and I hoped to gain insight into her thought process in designing her research approach, and her views on her position of power within an academic structure in the Central Valley. She is included in my final sample as she is in a position of power, grew up in the Central Valley, is a Chicana and, as an academic and researcher, has observed, examined, and analyzed patterns of Mexican Americans.

My original list of potential subjects included more businesspeople and entrepreneurs. Some had started food enterprises in the Central Valley. Another person funded small business loans. One was in radio. Others were television reporters. Another was an author. I sought a geographical diversity of candidates, and a balance of genders. But I faced the limitations of this type of qualitative research, which is that part of it is dependent on whom returned my communications with them, who will consent to a lengthy interview, and whether logistics could be arranged.

The pattern of Mexican immigration to the United States is unique and differs from those of people of other nationalities. Immigrants cross no ocean and people can more easily, more often, and more cheaply, cross back and forth on land; it is a porous border. Often Mexicans travel between Mexico and the United States, spending the non-growing seasons in Mexico and heading north to work for several months out of the year. This means a fluidity of movement and a cyclical migration pattern. Guest worker programs, such as the Bracero Program that began in 1942, encouraged Mexican agricultural laborers to come initially to

---

<sup>401</sup> Gerald Haslam, interview by author.

<sup>402</sup> de la Torre was interviewed on March 8, 2013.

<sup>403</sup> de la Torre has since been appointed to the position permanently, in August 2013.

Stockton, California, then to the rest of the United States.<sup>404</sup> Though *braceros* were guest workers, not immigrants, after the program ended in 1964, some changed their status, and they brought wives and children to the United States.<sup>405</sup> Because of the border situation and the ongoing dialogue in the United States about immigration, a constant flow from Mexico is likely to continue, as it has historically.

About half of my sample are female, about half male. Nearly half of them migrated to California, some as very small children. The rest were born in the United States. Some have one parent who immigrated and others are from families that have been in the United States, though not necessarily California, for two or more generations. Slightly more than half are families, either a parent and adult children, or several siblings. They were born between 1943 and 1990, so they encompass four generations, and those born in the United States can be categorized in distinct American generational generalizations in how they grew up and the values of their generation.<sup>406</sup> Five are immigrants who arrived in this country at age 17 or older, while three are 1.5 generation, that is, they came to the United States before the age of 12 and share the traits of both the immigrant generation and a second generation. Twelve have at least one parent who received less than an 8th grade education; seven had at least one parent who received no formal education. One completed grade school, four completed high

---

<sup>404</sup> “*Bracero*” means “manual laborer,” literally “one who works using his arms.” The Bracero Program that began in 1942 was a formal agreement that allowed workers to come to the United States temporarily, and was caused by a shortage of manual labor due to World War II. It was extended several times after the war, until 1964. An estimated 4.6 million work contracts were signed. A similar railroad *bracero* program was instituted that ended in 1945. Center for History and New Media, “Bracero History Archive: About,” accessed November 23, 2014, [braceroarchive.org](http://braceroarchive.org); and Philip Martin, “Braceros: History, Compensation,” *Rural Migration News* 12, no. 2 (April 2006), accessed November 23, 2014, [https://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=1112\\_0\\_5\\_0](https://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=1112_0_5_0). The Bracero Program excluded Texas from the labor exchange on the grounds of contract violation, discrimination against migrant workers, and civil rights violations. Fred L. Koestler, “Operation Wetback,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, accessed May 27, 2015, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pqo01>. It was instrumental in channeling Mexican workers to California, away from Texas. Massey, Durand, and Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*, 59.

Note that Operation Wetback occurred in 1954, the same year as *Brown v. Board of Education*. “As in the past, the tentative expansion of rights for some was accompanied by simultaneous repression, making it clear that the concept of rights was still an exclusionary one.” Aviva Chomsky, *They Take Our Jobs and 20 Other Myths about Immigration* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 100.

<sup>405</sup> Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California*, 93.

<sup>406</sup> The generations observed for this dissertation are Mature/Silents, born 1927-1945; Baby Boomers, born from 1946-1964; Generation X, born 1965-1980; and Generation Y/Millennials, born 1981-2000. MarketingTeacher.com, “The Six Living Generations in America,” <http://www.marketingteacher.com/the-six-living-generations-in-america/>.

school, five attended some college or community college, five graduated from a university, and three have a higher degree, two of them PhDs.

I have done a phenomenological study of a group that is successful in their professions, which include restaurants, real estate, a grassroots community empowerment organization, academics, and a multi-million dollar frozen food business. Their businesses touch on the social sector, and the subjects were chosen as representative of the integration of Latinos into mainstream society. The subjects were chosen because they have all attained a degree of success, or they were part of a family that has attained success. In the past, there has been a preponderance of low-skilled relatively uneducated Mexican males that have migrated, but as the native-born population exceeds that of immigrants, this is likely to change, though slowly.<sup>407</sup> I designed this methodology to allow me to question whether the change in demographics is leading to a critical mass that translates into social and cultural changes.

### **THE INTERVIEW SUBJECTS (in alphabetical order)**

The interviewees articulate their stories in their own words later; here I offer a brief overview. Appendix I lists salient facts about them: the year of birth, the generation in the United States, their parents' education level, and their education level.

#### ***Griselda Barajas***

Griselda Barajas' father immigrated to the United States in the late 1970s and brought his family to join him in Texas when he had the necessary papers a few years later. Barajas is the oldest of three children. She was born in 1971 in Mexico City. Her parents went to elementary school to the second grade, and she finished high school in Houston.

Barajas moved to California to join her parents who had moved a few months before she graduated from high school. Her parents owned a restaurant, and her father had a convenience store next door as well. Barajas opened a Tex-

---

<sup>407</sup> The high number of Mexican immigrants, the continual immigration pattern, and the historical low education levels of immigrants shape how they fare in the U.S. labor market. These are seen as human capital disadvantages. Brian V. Duncan, Joseph Hotz, and Stephen J. Trejo, "Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Market," in *Hispanics and the Future of America*, edited by Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006), 268.

Education levels are historically very low for Mexicans, and it is tied to the fields in which they work, namely agriculture, construction, and service industries. "Earning power reflects educational level, and education among Mexicanos continued to lag far behind almost every other ethnic group in the country." M. Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, 296.

Statistics for Mexican immigrant education levels are echoed by economist Arturo González. "The average Mexican immigrant has approximately nine years of education, meaning that he or she left school around the age of fourteen or fifteen." A. González, *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy*, 41.

Mex restaurant in downtown Sacramento, keeping it afloat by gambling to make payroll and borrowing on her credit cards.

Barajas held the lease on the restaurant in the state capitol building at the time of my interview with her. She has since turned her attention full-time to her catering business, Griselda's Catering and Event Planning.

Barajas was married, and has four children. Her parents live with her and her children.

### ***Jesse Castillo***

Jesse Castillo is the manager of the Kmart in Los Banos. It is unusual for a manager to be local and to be at one store for as long as Castillo has been, since the store opened in 1990. Castillo has been the manager since 2000; he did not want to move to another store because of family concerns.

Castillo was born in Fresno in 1961. His father had immigrated to the United States, Castillo believes, as part of the Bracero Program, and moved from Texas to California in 1958. He was uneducated, and Castillo's mother went to school in her native Texas until the 8th grade. The family spoke Spanish at home. Castillo is the youngest of six girls and five boys.

Castillo went straight into the work force after he graduated from high school. He has had two jobs in his career, first at Builder's Lumber and then at Kmart where he worked his way up from stock clerk to store manager. His wife is a social worker and they have three sons, two of them in their 20s and the other one age 17.<sup>408</sup> Castillo plans to retire at the age of 59, when his mortgage is paid off, and travel.

### ***Camila Chávez***

Camilia Chávez was born in 1976, the youngest of 11 children. She is the executive director of the Dolores Huerta Foundation, named after her mother, a labor leader and political activist. Her father is Richard Chávez, also a labor organizer, who was born on his family's farm near Yuma, Arizona. Her uncle, one of her role models, is César Chávez. Huerta graduated from college and Richard completed the 8th grade.

Camila was raised in La Paz, the headquarters of the Farm Workers Union in Kern County, California. She attended a summer bridge program at Mills College, and graduated from Mills with a degree in child development with an emphasis in child life.

Chávez worked in public health in the San Francisco Bay area as her first job out of school. After her mother had an aneurysm and nearly died, she wanted to work with her and learn from her while she could. Huerta got an award that

---

<sup>408</sup> Castillo's youngest son was 17 years old at the time of this interview in July 2013.

came with \$100,000, and she used it to start the Dolores Huerta Foundation with Chávez as its first executive director.

Chávez did not speak Spanish growing up but has since learned it as it is necessary for her work.

### ***Adela de la Torre***

Appointed the interim vice chancellor for Student Affairs at UC Davis in July 2012, Adela de la Torre has roots in the Central Valley. She is an agricultural and health economist and researcher, and is the director for the Center for Transnational Health at UC Davis. De la Torre is one of the few Latinas in upper management at the university, and is cognizant of the power dynamics, particularly because her research, which is about fighting obesity in school-age children of Mexican origin, touches on community empowerment in small rural communities in the Central Valley. She is fluent in Spanish.

De la Torre's appointment became official in August 2013.

### ***The Garcia family: Mother Eva and children Rosanna and Franco***

Born in Mexico City in 1938, Eva Garcia was raised in a well-off home with her two younger sisters and younger brother. She is multi-lingual, and attended private school to the age of 16. Eva attended two years of junior college in Mexico City.

Eva met her husband, Frank, now deceased, when he was studying in Mexico and, at the age of 18, married him after a few months and went to Southern California where his family lived. They moved to Northern California and eventually wound up in Sacramento where they started the first Latino real estate agency in the city. Rosanna was born in 1963 and her brother Franco was born in September of the following year.

Rosanna and Franco both went to private schools growing up, and graduated from four-year universities. Today, both are realtors in the family business, Garcia Realty; their father insisted they get their real estate licenses "as soon as we could get it."<sup>409</sup> Neither of them worked for Garcia Realty when they first got out of school, though. Rosanna worked in sales for a wholesale printer, and then she and her husband ran coffeehouses in Southern California. They sold the business and traveled for a year, then decided to move to Sacramento after her father got diabetes and had a stroke.

After Franco graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, he worked for a mortgage company, and eventually ended up in the family business. Both are fluent in Spanish.

Eva's involvement with the community includes serving on the Sacramento City Unified School District board, the California State Board of

---

<sup>409</sup> Rosanna Garcia, interview by author, June 15, 2013, Sacramento, CA.

Education, the Sacramento City Council, the Sacramento Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Women Business Owners, the Women's Council of Realtors, and La Familia Counseling Service.

### ***José Antonio Ramírez***

José Antonio Ramírez was born in 1971 in the small mountain town of Coalcomán, Michoacán, Mexico. His father was killed in a family dispute when José was a year old. His mother left him with her parents and traveled to the United States to work in the fields. She sent for him when she had settled in Watsonville, California. His uncle and two cousins took him from Mexico, across the desert.

Ramírez's entrepreneurial spirit drove him to start earning money at the age of five, picking buckets of vegetables for neighbors to earn a little money. That entrepreneurship continued throughout his life as he figured out ways to make jobs easier and better, like catching the olives he would shake off the trees with a tarp.

Ramírez went to Fresno State where he got both a bachelor's degree and a master's. He found a mentor in the city manager of Clovis, who steered him into his career field. Ramírez became the city manager of Orange Cove at the age of 29. Presently, he is the city manager of Livingston. Ramírez's former wife and six children live nearby.

### ***Fred Ruiz***

Fred Ruiz co-founded with his father, Louis Flores Ruiz, what has become the largest frozen Mexican food corporation in the United States, Ruiz Foods. He was born in Los Angeles in 1943, the son of an immigrant and a second-generation Los Angeles native, Rosa Riva Dinera Ruiz. Fred is not fluent in Spanish, though he "can get by."<sup>410</sup>

The Ruizes began their business in Tulare in 1964 with enchiladas. It took them a while to figure out the most marketable foods. They expanded to a plant in Dinuba, and their company grew to more than 2,500 employees.

Ruiz took college community classes, most notably business courses that helped him with Ruiz Foods, but did not get a degree. He has stepped down as president and chief executive officer, relinquishing the position to his daughter, Kim Ruiz Beck, in a planned succession.

Ruiz serves on several university and businesses boards, and is vice chairman of the University of California Board of Regents.

### ***The Saenz family: Sisters Norma, Dora, and Sonia, and brother Sergio***

---

<sup>410</sup> Fred Ruiz, interview by author, August 14, 2013, Dinuba, CA.

The Saenz siblings were born and raised near the small city of Cuauhtémoc, Chihuahua, in west-central Mexico. Their father was one of the most prosperous farmers in the area, and their mother helped their father. He did not have any formal schooling, and she finished the sixth grade.

There were seven children that lived: Luis (b. *circa* 1959), Simón (b. *circa* 1961), Norma (b. 1963), Jesús (b. *circa* 1965), Dora (b. 1968), Sonia (b. 1970), and Sergio (b. 1977). They lived in a small adobe two-room house with the parents sleeping in one room and the children in the other.

The girls all went to school. Norma finished high school, and worked at a clerical job at the local courthouse. Dora was in her second year of high school when her parents divorced, and her mother moved to the city with the younger children. Sonia finished high school in the city. The Saenz's mother cleaned house and Norma was a clerk at a store, but they did not make enough money to support the family, so Norma went to El Paso, about 300 miles away, to work. She knew no English.

Norma crossed the border daily with a local passport for a couple of years, then moved to Austin with her cousin. She had no papers, so she lived in fear of being deported. She returned to El Paso, and Dora also crossed the border to work in El Paso. Norma joined her brother Simón who had moved to Lago, and worked at a Mexican restaurant. Immigration raided the restaurant, and Norma was deported to Mexico.

Norma returned to El Paso to work, and was able to get amnesty under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). She moved to California in 1988, where her brother Jesús was living, and brought her mother, her sister Sonia, and her brother Sergio to visit. Dora had married and returned to Mexico.

Norma decided to stay in California, and waited tables at a small Mexican restaurant. Her mother went back and forth between Mexico and California, and Sonia returned, too, but then she decided to return to California where she got a job at a Mexican restaurant. Norma and her mother wanted Sergio to go to school in the United States because they thought he would get a better education than he would in Mexico.

The Saenzes decided to open a restaurant in Sacramento. With the help of a broker, they found a location in midtown. He suggested the name, Las Tres Hermanas, which is translated as "the three sisters," and in 1996, they opened. Norma and Sonia were both married. Sonia had married a U.S. citizen, so she had papers. Dora did not have citizenship, but she invested so they had some financing. Sergio was going to California State University, Sacramento, and working at the restaurant when he could.

The Saenzes opened a second restaurant in 2000, and Norma and Dora worked there while Sonia managed the original location. Sergio had married a Mexican American in 2003, so his residency in the United States was legalized. In 2010, he got the opportunity to open a restaurant in downtown Davis, about 15 miles south of Sacramento. He asked his sisters if he could use the name only,

but would operate independently. They agreed, and he and his wife opened Las Tres Hermanas in Davis. The Saenz siblings all speak Spanish.

***The Toledo family: Father Sam and children Jesse, Carmen, and Andrew***

Sam Toledo was born in 1959 in the north-central Mexican state of Guanajuato. He quit school after the sixth grade, but his elementary school education was more than that of his parents who were both illiterate. Toledo came to the United States alone when he was 14 to earn money to send back to his family, and worked as an undocumented farm laborer in central California. He settled in the Fresno area, and gained restaurant experience doing everything from busing tables to washing dishes to waiting tables. He learned kitchen duties as well, from cooking to ordering. This knowledge enabled him to open a restaurant, Toledo's Mexican Restaurant, that has expanded into three locations in the Fresno area.

Toledo's three adult children work in the family business. Jesse, the oldest, was born in 1980, and is the senior vice president. He graduated from Fresno State with a degree in business. Jesse struggled to get through school for about a decade, finally successfully learning how to be a student. Jesse is married and has five daughters.

Carmen is younger than Jesse by two years. She works in a newly-created position as sales manager, and is responsible for sales strategies and promotions, looking for ways to increase sales and eliminate losses. She has attended college on and off, and is still working toward a degree. Carmen is separated and has a son.

Andrew was born in 1990, the youngest of my interviewees. He is the marketing manager, and handles all the social media. One night a week, he manages one of the restaurants. Like Carmen, Andrew has attended college classes sporadically, and has yet to earn a degree.

All three of the Toledo children are fluent in Spanish.

***Lea Ybarra***

Born in Donna, Texas, in 1947, Lea Ybarra migrated to the Fresno area when she was about to start school. She is the middle child, with an older brother and a younger sister. She grew up poor, but did not realize it because everyone was in the same economic class as she was, and the neighborhood consisted of small houses with yards.

Ybarra got good grades and placed highly on the standardized tests, and she found a mentor or someone to help her in spite of the discrimination she experienced. She got her BA, MA, and PhD from the University of California, Berkeley. After teaching at Fresno State, she worked as a senior research associate for Olmos Productions, and has worked on several documentaries with actor and producer Edward James Olmos. She co-authored a book with Olmos

on Latino life in the United States, and wrote *Vietnam Veterans: Chicanos Recall the War*.

Ybarra retired as executive director of the Johns Hopkins [University] Center for Talented Youth in Baltimore, Maryland, in 2012, and moved back to California the following year<sup>411</sup> to be closer to her mother. Her research interests focuses on educational equity issues and implementing diversity in the classroom and workplace,<sup>412</sup> and she continues her research and writing, as well as volunteering on several community foundations and initiatives.<sup>413</sup>

## **Two Additional Interview Subjects**

I include here the two interviewees who were interviewed for their observations on the Latino business community and their insights into the Central Valley.

### ***Gerald Haslam***

Gerald Haslam was born in 1937 in Bakersfield, California, the only child of a working class family. His father attended the University of California, Los Angeles, but dropped out and got a job with Shell Oil.

Haslam's background is mixed. His father's family is Spanish, Jewish, English, Irish, and Welsh, and his mother's family is German and Danish on her father's side, and Mexican, that is, Portuguese, Irish, and Spanish, on her mother's side. He spoke "passable Spanish"<sup>414</sup> that he learned at home.

Haslam's father impressed upon him the value of a college degree, but Haslam did not listen and flunked out of school the first time he went. He enlisted in the army and, when he got out, he was more focused and went on to earn a PhD.

Haslam has taught English at the college level since 1966 at California universities. He is a prolific writer, and has authored thirteen fiction books, eight non-fiction books, edited or co-edited eight anthologies and contributed to several magazines and journals. His works are about the working class, the human condition, and the Central Valley. He has received dozens of awards and honors.

---

<sup>411</sup> Lea Ybarra, e-mail messages to author, September 21 and 22, 2015.

<sup>412</sup> Insight on Coaching. *Insight on Coaching: Guest Bio, Dr. Lea Ybarra*, accessed March 24, 2015, [http://www.ieconsulting.biz/downloads/InsightOnCoaching\\_GuestBios/Lea\\_Ybarra%20Biography.pdf](http://www.ieconsulting.biz/downloads/InsightOnCoaching_GuestBios/Lea_Ybarra%20Biography.pdf).

<sup>413</sup> Lea Ybarra, e-mail message to author, February 13, 2015.

<sup>414</sup> Gerald Haslam, interview by author.

### ***Alice Perez***

Alice Perez's grandparents migrated from Puerto Rico to Hawai'i to work in the fields. With her parents were born in the territory of Hawai'i and migrated to the United States mainland where she was born. Her mother was proud that she, Ellen Torres, was the first in her family to graduate from high school. Her father also graduated from high school. Alice studied finance and insurance at California State University, Sacramento. She speaks "enough Spanish to get by,"<sup>415</sup> but is not fluent. Her two daughters are fluent in Spanish.

At the time of this interview, Perez was the executive director of the Sacramento Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. "It is definitely a passion,"<sup>416</sup> she says, because of how it contributes to the local economy.

As executive director, Perez has the opportunity to work with area businesses and observes what their needs are, what drives them, and what the challenges are that they face; she has a perspective on Latino business. She estimates about 40 percent of the members are sole proprietors, 20 percent are medium-size companies, and the remainder are large corporations. Other members belong to the Chamber, she says, because they want to network.

I have laid the foundation for the theoretical framework of my research with this review of literature, and detailed my methodology. In the next chapter, I present my field research—the narratives and themes.

---

<sup>415</sup> Alice Perez, interview by author, May 22, 2013, Sacramento, CA.

<sup>416</sup> Perez, interview by author.

I can truthfully say there has nothing permanent in my life  
but change.

—*Chester Himes*  
*Author*<sup>417</sup>

---

<sup>417</sup> Chester Himes, quoted in “The Stance of Self-Representation”: Moderns and Contemporaries in Afro-American Autobiography,” in *First Person Singular: Studies in American Autobiography*, edited by A. Robert Lee (London: Vision Press, 1988), 166.

## CHAPTER 3: THEMES

I have shown that change is taking place and now I turn to my primary field research, my interviews, to examine how. I designed the interviews to illuminate what factors led to the subjects attaining success. In this chapter, I discuss which themes stood out and which were recurring. I keep in mind the literature reviewed in the last chapter, and the patterns these narratives follow, though I analyze these stories more completely in Chapter 4.

For the most part, the people I interviewed, as agents of change, have stories more complex than they seem at first glance, complicated by the themes that resonate through their narratives, and rich with a history of immigration and cultural heritage. With underlying issues related to immigration and heritage. A complex combination of factors have led to each's success. Often people define success as "the attainment of a high income, a prestigious job, economic security."<sup>418</sup> But success can also be defined as a measure of contentment. In this work, I define success as attaining at least traditional U.S. middle class status, and being satisfied with those lifestyle values.

Though some of my interviewees began in similar circumstances, they have no single pathway to success. Here I present the themes; in the next chapter I analyze and discuss them.

Five major themes emerged: family, values, cultural heritage, education, and giving back. These themes are interconnected cannot be examined separately from each other. In order to understand the roles these themes play in their lives and the impact they have on the interviewees and beyond, one must understand them in the context of their lives and family histories; their stories give a sense of their situations and help to understand their paths. While the sample is too small to be statistically significant, the subjects follow patterns that are already established.

The lines between these themes are sometimes fluid and blurred. In telling their stories, I keep in mind Bakhtin's concepts of multi-vocality, that many voices or perspectives are in every text, and dialogism, that there is a constant interaction between meanings. This is especially important, in this chapter and the next, in understanding what about their narratives helped them to be high achieving.

In examining successful people, Canadian journalist Malcolm Gladwell observes, "They are products of history and community, of opportunity and legacy. Their success is not exceptional or mysterious. It is grounded in a web of advantages and inheritances, some deserved, some not, some earned, some

---

<sup>418</sup> Jennifer L. Hochschild, *Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class, and the Soul of the Nation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 16. Hochschild discusses at length the concept of success and its variations and the American Dream.

just plain lucky—but all critical to making them who they are.”<sup>419</sup> I see a parallel through the individual success stories of my interviewees.

My research examines a historical moment when the growth of Latinos is outpacing that of other ethnic groups, creating great demographic change. For the first time in U.S. history, there are more native-born people of Mexican ancestry than there are immigrants.<sup>420</sup> Latinos have also surpassed African Americans as the largest minority.<sup>421</sup> This is significant because it shows how the composition of American society is changing.

The importance of family interdependence is at odds with the traditional western idea of independence and self sufficiency. “Self reliance is a virtue that implies being alone,”<sup>422</sup> says sociologist Robert Bellah and his colleagues. But being connected to family as well as community is a strong value that is a way of being for nearly everyone I interviewed. Some people see it as a cultural value instilled in them by example—not only words, but a way of life. They believe this emotional support and family ties allow them to accomplish greater undertakings than they would have alone. Along with the concept of family, the values fostered in them at a young age laid a path to success. Some of those values are tied up with their cultural background and what they learned from their Mexican heritage.

Nearly every subject thought education crucial to success, now and in the future. Many cited parents with grade school educations who pushed them to go further academically, and others overcame discrimination in school systems where teachers discouraged Latinos from advancing academically. Younger subjects have gotten or are getting a college education.

As a group, the interviewees believe in giving back. Not unexpectedly, most of them had a special affinity for Latinos though their desire to help others does not target a specific population. They told me that the more business success an individual has attained, the more ways he or she can be influential or helpful to others.

Keep in mind that is a select sample and not representative, but their stories fit patterns larger than the individual narratives.

Let us begin with a story of personal transformation.

---

<sup>419</sup> Malcolm Gladwell, *Outliers: The Story of Success* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2008), 285.

<sup>420</sup> Passel, Cohn, and Gonzalez-Barrera, “Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero,” <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/net-migration-from-mexico-falls-to-zero-and-perhaps-less>.

<sup>421</sup> Latinos surpassed African Americans in 2000. Jeffrey S. Passel, D’Vera Cohn, and Mark Hugo Lopez, “Hispanics Account for More than Half of Nation’s Growth in Past Decade, Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends, March 24, 2011, accessed May 4, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2011/03/24/hispanics-account-for-more-than-half-of-nations-growth-in-past-decade/>.

<sup>422</sup> Robert N. Bellah et al, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 15.

## FAMILY

Family drives restaurateur Sam Toledo. It is a value at the core of his being.

The story of how Toledo wound up in Central California illustrates his tenacity and resourcefulness at a young age, with the welfare of his family always on his mind. Today, his family company owns a small chain of restaurants in the Fresno area, Toledo's Mexican Restaurant. His spouse and their children are all a part of the company.

Born in 1959, Toledo grew up in Guanajuato, Mexico, the oldest son in a family of nine children. Neither of his parents went to school. They barely had enough to survive. As an elementary school child, when other children would use one side of the paper in notebooks and then throw them away, he would collect them to use the other side. "I knew we were poor," says Toledo, "but I was always really humble, like say, you know, I know we have nothing to eat today but tomorrow we will. We'll find a way to do it."<sup>423</sup>

As a child, Sam did a variety of jobs, from working on a farm to helping his mother sell snacks at baseball games and special occasions. The family was barely getting by, though, so he quit school after the sixth grade and took on a milk delivery route.

When Toledo was 14, the opportunity arose to go to the United States. His father did not want him to go, but "my sisters, there were seven of them, and I used to take and provide for them, everything they needed. And there wasn't enough with what I was doing."<sup>424</sup> So when two friends invited him to cross the border with them, Toledo jumped at the chance to earn more money for his family. His friends left him at a restaurant on the Mexican side of the border while they passed into the United States. Toledo waited. And waited. And waited. Finally, a waitress asked if he wanted to cross the border that night. He said yes. The man who was going to smuggle him across asked if he had someone to pay the fee since Sam was so young.<sup>425</sup> Sam said yes, but when they got across, he could not find help when his friends did not answer their phones. Fortunately, Toledo got the number of someone who had been a neighbor in Mexico, and he helped him out. He was mad that Sam was crossing the border when he was so young, but he gave him a place to stay while Toledo looked for a job. Toledo had no luck in Southern California; no one would hire him because of his age. So his neighbor took him to the Bakersfield area, where the neighbor said identifications were not checked.

---

<sup>423</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author, Fresno, CA, August 15, 2013.

<sup>424</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>425</sup> "Coyote" is a colloquial term for a person who smuggles people into the United States from Mexico. Toledo says the fee charged by a coyote in the mid-1970s was \$250. Today, the cost can run into thousands of dollars.

Toledo could not find a place to stay; the boarding house where the farm workers lived had no rooms. There were four men per room, and a communal shower. They had breakfast together in the morning, and Sam says, “they used to give them a little lunch bag. Then the boss used to come over, pick them up, and take them to the fields. So I did the same thing. I slept in the outside area, and then when they go up, I went and got in line and got my lunch and little bag and I got on the bus and so I went to work.”<sup>426</sup>

Young and eager, Toledo was taken under the wings of more experienced field workers. One laborer asked him if he was counting his grapevines, but Toledo was not because he did not know he was getting paid by the number of vines. He did not know what a social security number was either, and he did not have one. A fellow worker “allowed me to use his son’s social security number... that’s the only way I got paid.”<sup>427</sup>

Toledo spent nearly six years in the United States before he returned home to Mexico. He put his own dreams aside in order to provide for his family. “I had a dream but it was [an] impossible dream. I wanted to go to school. And my passion was to, you know, be like an attorney or doctor. But I was realistic,” he says. “I got seven sisters...so I had to provide. You know, back in those days... the older male supposed to be the provider...So I kind of took that responsibility.”<sup>428</sup> He kept sending money to his family in Mexico. After the growing season ended, he heard an advertisement on the radio for dishwashers at a Mexican restaurant that was opening in Fresno. He got hired, and it turned out to become the root of his restaurant business.

Family responsibility was the reason Toledo first went to the United States, and he passed on its importance to his children. Sam says he “never stopped sending money [to Mexico] for the house, which I consider the main house, the family house.”<sup>429</sup> His oldest son, Jesse, born in 1980, says, “that’s what my dad instilled in me because I saw him do that for my grandma, even though it was, you know, across the border. But he did. He did that for my grandpa. He’s still doing that for one of my, one of his sisters that lives in Mexico...he provides for her...that is what I feel, is what I need to continue, that were my dad should not be here tomorrow, that I could still send his sister the same financial support. And that, you know, any of the siblings that, that depend on him or anything of the sort, that I could still take over that. So that’s my thought on the future and values and what I feel my life’s work is going towards.”<sup>430</sup>

---

<sup>426</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>427</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>428</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>429</sup> Sam Toledo interview by author.

<sup>430</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author, Fresno, CA, August 15, 2013.

Jesse attributes his father's success to family support. It was a two-way street, and Sam also could depend on his extended family. "Each restaurant had two of my cousins working there, at each one, as busboys. And one of my cousins as a cashier...And his brother, you know, he brought him on to work with him as well. So he had a lot of control of the restaurants because he had family members that he could depend on...I don't think he would have had the success he would, he could've...He had a lot of blood to depend on."<sup>431</sup>

Jesse's brother, Andrew, younger than Jesse by a decade, also feels the pull of family. Though only in his early twenties, he dreams of growing the restaurants for the next generation. "There's going to be a lot of college to pay for and we want to give them [my nieces and nephew] a good life. We want to give them what we had if not better, you know, just kind of like my dad always wanted to give us better than what he had."<sup>432</sup> This sentiment is common to the second generation in the United States..

Sam and his wife, Martha have instilled in their children the importance of family. Andrew says, "We really like to be together. I mean, we all have friends as well and so on, but I think it's in our culture that you can't forget family."<sup>433</sup> It is not just work; they get together regularly, for holidays, birthdays, baptisms, first communions, and *quinceañeras*.<sup>434</sup> The parties have grown in both size and number, says their sister, Carmen, who is eight years older than Andrew. "Back then, it was about, you know, 30, 40 people, and now it's like almost 50 to 60 people if everyone gets together. So we actually, our tradition is we have a little of the same things when I was a kid; we really try to all be together and sit at the table together."<sup>435</sup> Sam and his children reference not simply family, but a concept of family that includes a kind of corporate identity for all the descendants of an apex pair. Everyone in that group owes each other mutual support.<sup>436</sup>

The lines between social and business lives are also blurred for the Saenz family who work in a family business together, and vacation together. Like Sam

---

<sup>431</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>432</sup> Andrew Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>433</sup> Andrew Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>434</sup> In Latin cultures, a *quinceañera* is a formal celebration of a girl's 15th birthday which marks the transition from childhood to womanhood. Traditionally, girls were prepared for marriage at the age of 15, learning household skills and child rearing. The custom is thought to have originated from the Aztec culture.

<sup>435</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author, Fresno, CA, August 22, 2013.

<sup>436</sup> In small, rural villages, such as those in Mexico, most people marry first or second cousins. They do not interact much with non-relatives. In cities, people have more freedom to engage in voluntary associations, and the category "friend" replaces that of "cousin." Linda-Anne Rebhun, e-mail message to author, May 3, 2015.

Toledo, Norma Saenz came to the United States as a teenager to earn money to send home. The eldest of the three sisters who established the Las Tres Hermanas Sacramento-area restaurants, she first went to El Paso, Texas, in the early 1980s, cleaning houses by day and returning to a friend's place in Juárez each evening. Like Sam, Saenz felt a deep responsibility to support her family. The third of seven children, she grew up in a two-bedroom adobe house in the small west central Mexican city of Cuauhtémoc, Chihuahua. Her parents divorced when she was around 18, and her father financially cut off any of the children who left with their mother. Only one stayed with him.

Norma's story is not unlike that of many immigrants from Mexico, as the literature shows. She spoke no English, and was able to find work through a cousin who was already working in the United States. The money, she says, was good—\$15 a day for work that, in Mexico, she would be paid \$3 a day. There was no set wage, and Saenz says she did not have much to say about her pay. "I feel like they did [take advantage of me] but, in a way, I'm not bitter because I needed the money and I didn't care what I had to do. I just did it."<sup>437</sup>

"All the money" Norma made, she sent to her mother. "I didn't spend any money on myself. I sent all the money I could."<sup>438</sup> She cleaned houses in El Paso for about three years, then a cousin convinced her to go to Austin to be a nanny. But Saenz did not like the weather in Austin so, since she had given up her cleaning jobs in El Paso, she went to Lago where she found work waiting tables. Because she had no seniority, she says she got the "worst customers," but she did not mind. "I was so happy because I like it, after working in the houses cleaning bathrooms and kitchens. Working in the restaurant, I really love it."<sup>439</sup>

But like many of her fellow workers, Saenz lived with the fear of an immigration raid. "We run and hide ourselves in the freezer. And they would throw us a jacket because it was too cold."<sup>440</sup> She did not get caught the first time, but she did the second time, and was sent back to Mexico where she went to her mother's house.

Soon, Norma decided to return to El Paso where it was easy for her to get around. She found work with a woman who taught English classes, her attorney husband and their two children. "She speak Spanish perfectly, but she never spoke to me in Spanish," says Saenz. "She spoke to me in English 'cause she said that's the only way you're gonna learn. And when I said words, she

---

<sup>437</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author, Sacramento, CA, April 18, 2013.

<sup>438</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>439</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>440</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

corrected me.” That, says Norma, was “probably my best school, being with her.”<sup>441</sup>

Saenz lived with the family, taking classes with the woman in the mornings, then returning home in the afternoon to clean. She lived with them for two years, until she got her citizenship through IRCA. Her employer told her, “You have your wings. Go and fly... You can do a lot of things. You know the language. You’re not going to stay here; you’re too sharp. Go fly, fly as high as you can.”<sup>442</sup> For that, Saenz says, she will be eternally grateful.

Saenz went to California to find her brother, who had gone there but had not been in contact with their mother, who worried. She got a waitressing job at a small Mexican restaurant in south Sacramento, and decided to relocate permanently in the United States. She took extra shifts, often working 14 or 16 hours a day, determined to save as much money as possible.

When the school year ended in Mexico, Norma brought her mother and two youngest siblings, Sonia and Sergio, to Sacramento to visit. Sergio was 10, and Sonia was seven years older than him. When it was time for Sergio to start school in the fall though, the family decided he should go to school in the United States because he would get a better education. Meanwhile, Sonia had gotten a job at another Mexican restaurant, at first in the office, then, after a couple of months, waiting tables. Norma remembers, “She was making more money than I was making, even though she was without papers.”<sup>443</sup>

Dora, the other sister of Las Tres Hermanas, decided to work in the United States after she visited Norma in El Paso because she could earn so much more money. She went back and forth between Mexico and the United States, then when Norma moved to California, she returned to Mexico, and worked at a *maquiladora*,<sup>444</sup> then got married. She did not work then, and she missed that. “I want to work,” she says. “I feel I want to do something. I don’t want to be at home.”<sup>445</sup> Her husband worked for the government, but Dora missed her family, so when her family invited her to come visit, he took a leave of absence and they went to California. When it came time for them to return, Dora says she “don’t want to stay in Mexico. I want to stay with my family... Norma she bring

---

<sup>441</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>442</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>443</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>444</sup> A *maquiladora* is an assembly plant on the Mexican side of the border. *Maquiladoras* were begun in 1965 when American companies started setting them up for economic reasons to take advantage of cheap labor. Parts for appliances, automobiles, and other consumer goods were assembled and sent to the United States tax free. Hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers were employed. During the 1980s, they became more sophisticated operations. M. Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, 233-234.

<sup>445</sup> Dora Saenz, interview by author.

everybody here. After I marry, she take everybody here. I was the only one in Mexico.”<sup>446</sup> Eventually, Dora and her family moved to Sacramento to join the Saenz side of her family.

The three sisters, *las tres hermanas* by blood, were on their way to becoming Las Tres Hermanas. Several years after they moved to Sacramento, Sonia looked around her at the people who worked at the restaurant and thought, “I working [sic] here seven, eight years. And I don’t want to be ending like this lady been here for 28 years.”<sup>447</sup> “Every day,” says Norma, “she tell me, ‘Let’s put on our own business, let’s put on our own restaurant.’ I say, ‘Sonia, you know how much work it is?’ She say, ‘Yeah, but that’s what I know how to do.’”<sup>448</sup>

The sisters could think about owning their own business because both of them were in the United States legally. Norma had become a citizen under IRCA, while Sonia had married a U.S. citizen. “She got a green card,” says Norma. “If we were illegal, we would never have thought about it, that we could do it.”<sup>449</sup> As an observation on immigration status and small business owners, Alice Perez, the executive director of the Sacramento Hispanic Chamber of Commerce,<sup>450</sup> says, “Having resident status in the United States is really important and it does open a lot of doors...it allows them to take advantage of some of the programs and services that are available to them that aren’t to others. Because they’re not

---

<sup>446</sup> Dora Saenz, interview by author, Carmichael, CA, April 17, 2013.

<sup>447</sup> Sonia Saenz, interview by author, Sacramento, CA, April 19, 2013.

<sup>448</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>449</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>450</sup> Since the time of this interview in May 2013, Perez has become president and CEO of the California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce where she advocates for Latino businesses statewide. See footnote 400. California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce, “California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce Announces Alice Perez as Next President and CEO,” May 5, 2014, accessed December 2, 2014, <http://www.cahcc.com/UpdatedNews/tabid/94/post/california-hispanic-chambers-of-commerce-announces-alice-perez-as-next-president-and-ceo/Default.aspx#.VKHrgsZU30c>.

hiding in the shadows. They're not worried about that."<sup>451</sup> Clearly, the Saenzes were not.<sup>452</sup>

Also crucial to them was access to funding. Perez says that "that's huge, is them having the capital... I've seen a lot of businesses start because of the pooling of money from families. And they lend within the family."<sup>453</sup> That's what happened with the Saenzes. They could finance a business venture because Norma had saved money, and Dora and her husband had saved on rent because they were resident managers in an apartment complex. Norma and Sonia were the owners in name, but Dora provided money for their venture. "I think it's an immigrant thing," says Perez. "I don't see people that have been here a long time, a more Americanized people, doing that. I just don't see it."<sup>454</sup>

Sonia found a business opportunity in the newspaper, and asked Norma to call because her English was better. That did not work out, but the broker, Angelo Toraskiseken, wanted to meet the sisters.

Angelo turned out to be the sisters' angel. He found another property in mid-town Sacramento that became the first Las Tres Hermanas, and suggested the name. "That was the best name because three, we are. We are *tres hermanas*," says Norma. "The name is genius," agrees Sergio Saenz, their younger brother. "People are always asking, 'Is there really three sisters that work here?' And I was like, 'Yeah, three sisters own it.' And I always tell them, 'I'm their brother and I'm left out of the title because it would've been too long.'"<sup>455</sup>

Norma was fired when her boss found out she was opening a restaurant, so she spent the next three months cleaning the place and preparing to open. Everybody pitched in, after work and when they could; it was truly a family affair.

When they first opened the restaurant, Norma and Dora had young children "Our intention was to have our life easier," says Norma. "It wasn't that way. I

---

<sup>451</sup> Perez, interview by author.

<sup>452</sup> Saenz's remarks about being undocumented reflect the feelings of small business owners, and they are echoed by younger people today. Having one's immigration status change from undocumented to documented changes lives across the age spectrum under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. In a report on NPR, reporter Steve Inskeep spoke with a high school senior about his life before and after he "came out of the shadows." Student Junior Adriano says he can now live in the United States "with no problems, like being scared of the Border Patrol now." Ironically, Adriano wants to be an FBI undercover agent. Inskeep remarks that Adriano has a parallel experience with that, "having to spend some time without documents here in the United States." Steve Inskeep, "Undocumented Immigrant Now Feels 'More American,'" *Morning Edition*, National Public Radio, Capitol Public Radio, January 2, 2015.

<sup>453</sup> Perez, interview by author. Perez is referring to family financing, which is a pattern of familism and kinship ties.

<sup>454</sup> Perez, interview by author.

<sup>455</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author, Sacramento, CA, May 23, 2013.

ended up working like sixteen hours every day. I used to go and breast feeding [sic] and come back, and it was hard.”<sup>456</sup>

Being family means being part of a team, says Sergio. “We just always worked as a team; we worked really hard together.”<sup>457</sup> He says when they first opened, they had one employee besides themselves. “My sister Norma was in the kitchen and he was in the kitchen, and we were, Sonia and Dora and myself, we would serve and wash the dishes after lunch.”<sup>458</sup> He used to question the long hours, but it was family. “I wanted my sisters to succeed and then I just ended up being part of the business eventually. I just feel that, like I said, we had good breaks and we worked really hard. My sisters just had some good business savvy.”<sup>459</sup>

The strong family network and emotional support so present with the Toledos and the Saenzes is evident in Camila Chávez’s life, who has an even broader definition of “family.” She is the executive director of the Dolores Huerta Foundation that was founded “to create a network of organized healthy communities pursuing social justice through systematic and structural transformation.”<sup>460</sup> Her mother is activist Dolores Huerta and her father is Richard Chávez, carpenter, labor activist, and younger brother of labor leader César Chávez. Camila is fourth generation in the United States on her mother’s side, and second generation on her father’s side.

Camila was raised in La Paz, California, the headquarters of the Farm Workers Union, in Kern County. She was born in 1976, and when she was growing up in the 1980s, La Paz had a population of about 300. “I like to refer to it as a Chicano commune. Really that's what it was, you know like everybody that lived there worked for the Farm Workers' Union. It was a beautiful place and still is, in La Paz. It is the foothills of the Tehachapi Mountains and so there's a lot of hills, mountains, wild life,” says Chávez. “It was also a very safe place. My parents were often gone traveling for work and basically the community members looked after us, made sure that we had our dinner and helped us with our homework, even though our parents weren't there. The community was looking out for us.”<sup>461</sup>

Chávez’s values were instilled in her not just by her family, but by the whole

---

<sup>456</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>457</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>458</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>459</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>460</sup> Mission statement. Dolores Huerta Foundation, “About the Foundation,” accessed January 3, 2015, <http://doloreshuerta.org/sample-page-2/>.

<sup>461</sup> Camila Chávez, interview by author, Bakersfield, CA, July 17, 2014.

community. The strong sense of a family went beyond her immediate family members. Camila is the youngest of 11 children,<sup>462</sup> and remembers her childhood as a happy one. The community celebrated everything, from birthdays to Halloween. “We were all really poor but we would have these festivities where there were large dinners and dances and Christmas parties. So there was a lot of celebration.”<sup>463</sup>

That sense of family meant a sense of protection for Chávez. As a child, she was bused to elementary and junior high schools in Tehachapi, and went to Bakersfield for high school. “I think being the youngest of such a big family that I was used to people stepping in front of me. So even when a kid in elementary school called me a wetback, I went and got my brother and my brother and him ended up fighting. They actually got in a physical fight,” says Chávez. “There were many times when I was able to just go get my older siblings to come and step in for me.”<sup>464</sup> A bond was created, and it was a sense of everyone being in something together.

Chávez’s earliest memories of discrimination are being on a picket line in Central California. “And a truck, like when you think of a stereotypical grower’s truck or rancher’s truck,” she says, “so big like Ford or something with a gun rack in the back, that they came throwing grapes at us. And told us, ‘Go back to Mexico you dirty Mexicans!’”<sup>465</sup> But it created a solidarity with her community.

Chávez’s upbringing in a community as focused on a mission as La Paz is, was unusual. The community as well as her large immediate family created a special and enduring bond.

Like Chávez, Jesse Castillo has a strong bond with his family. Like Chávez, he comes from a large family of 11 children. He, too, is the youngest child, and his siblings and he were born over a period of 15 years. “Family and education are probably the top two”<sup>466</sup> values in life to Castillo. He is the manager of the Kmart in Los Banos, having worked his way up from a stock clerk there.

Born in 1961, Castillo is the son of agricultural laborers. His father was born in Mexico, and Castillo has been told his father came to the United States as part of the Bracero Program. Eventually, the elder Castillo became a foreman. His mother completed the 8th grade in Texas.

Castillo was born in Fresno and grew up in a Spanish-speaking household.

---

<sup>462</sup> Camila has seven step-siblings from her mother’s first two marriages, six step-siblings from her father’s first marriage, and three siblings from Huerta’s and Richard Chávez’s relationship. Huerta and Chávez never married. Camila says she is the youngest of 11 children.

<sup>463</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013,

<sup>464</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>465</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>466</sup> Jesse Castillo, interview by author, Los Banos, CA, July 11, 2013.

His family moved to Los Banos in 1964 to a three-bedroom, two-bath tract house that was built when the Los Banos Detention Dam was constructed. His parents slept in one bedroom, the six boys slept in another bedroom, and his five sisters slept in the third one. His mother still lives there, and Castillo says, “home is really...where my mother lives.”<sup>467</sup>

Castillo’s parents migrated to different areas where the crops were, but outside of the school year so Jesse and his siblings were all able to finish school. His parents were his models for working, which his father did until Jesse graduated from high school. He gave Jesse a choice. “When I graduated in 1979, my father told me, ‘You either go to the service, go to school, or find a job,’” says Jesse. “It was just at that time it was just my parents and myself living in our house. Everybody else had moved on and gotten married and so forth. So I decided to go into retail.”<sup>468</sup>

Castillo saw a “Help Wanted” sign at a local lumber yard, and though he knew nothing about lumber and nothing about customer service, the owner “gave me a little small simple test of math, reading a tape measure, two times two and so forth. ‘Cause lumber is all about numbers. He said he would offer me a job and I told him I would consider it. And he said, ‘Well, don’t consider it. You want it or you don’t.’ So I said, ‘I’ll take it.’”<sup>469</sup>

A year later, a new owner bought the lumber yard. Jesse was married by this time, and he needed health insurance for his wife, who was pregnant. He could not get it at the lumber yard, so he walked into the first big box store that was just about to open in town, Kmart. Three hundred applicants were in line. He was one of the last. “I waited in line, waited in line, and waited in line.”<sup>470</sup> The woman taking the applications looked at his, looked at him, and asked him if he would speak to the manager, who had moved from Wyoming to open this store. He offered Jesse a job on the spot. “I don’t know if it was because I was still wearing my boots, my jeans, and my Builder’s Lumber shirt on,” says Castillo. “I was, I don’t want to say filthy dirty, but maybe he saw the work ethic in me... Maybe it is because he saw that I had been working for 10 years at Builder’s Lumber prior to. I’ve only ever had two jobs in my whole life, other than the seasonal work that I used to do in the fields and so forth, but I’ve really only had two jobs my whole life. One with Builder’s Lumber and the one that I’m present in now.”<sup>471</sup>

---

<sup>467</sup> Castillo, interview by author.

<sup>468</sup> Castillo, interview by author.

<sup>469</sup> Castillo, interview by author.

<sup>470</sup> Castillo, interview by author.

<sup>471</sup> Castillo, interview by author.

Castillo was hired as a “task associate,” which he says was basically to stock shelves. After the grand opening in March 1990, he became the lead merchandiser for do-it-yourself hardware and automotive. In November, at the age of 29 and 10 months after he was hired, he was promoted to assistant manager. “I learned the whole store,” says Castillo. “I knew everything about the store because at that time there was just four walls, so I knew everything about electrical, I knew everything about the roof, I knew everything about the outside of the building because I’m here from day one.”<sup>472</sup>

When Castillo started moving up in Kmart, he thought about making it his career, moving around to other stores. But he decided not to. The reason? Family. “Because I already had a family established and I didn’t want to uproot my family and take them and that’s why I have not moved and that’s why I don’t want to move. Another thing, too, was that both my parents were still here and all my brothers and sisters are still here.”<sup>473</sup>

Castillo’s Kmart is used as an example of what a traditional Kmart is not. Managers usually come from different parts of the country, and they do not know anybody in town. “I was born in Fresno County,” says Castillo. “We’re in Merced County.”<sup>474</sup> I went to school here, graduated here, I knew all the school district, I knew all the city officials, I knew everybody in town and I still do. So that made a bigger difference here in our community. Here’s a local person that’s running this big box store and he knows the whole community.”<sup>475</sup>

Castillo’s model for what family means comes from his parents. He has three sons, ages 17 to 24. Two live with Jesse and his wife, and Castillo says they are always welcome. “I lived at my parents’ house until I was 26 years old and I got married, and me and my wife moved on. But my father said, ‘You don’t have to leave if you don’t want to.’ And I instilled that into my family too, I told my wife that I’m not going to kick my boys out, they can live here. We work and we have money, we’ve been raised with some money, we don’t have a lot of money but we have some.”<sup>476</sup>

Family held Sacramento restaurateur and caterer Griselda Barajas to her parents in spite of differences when she was a teenager. The differences, she says, had to do with her identity. “There was a challenge of, with my parents, of the culture of my parents. They wanted to make sure to take care of me, like any parent, but I kind of wanted to be independent. And I felt that there was a huge

---

<sup>472</sup> Castillo, interview by author.

<sup>473</sup> Castillo, interview by author.

<sup>474</sup> Fresno and Merced counties are adjacent to each other. Merced County is north of Fresno County.

<sup>475</sup> Castillo, interview by author.

<sup>476</sup> Castillo, interview by author.

clash because I was trying to find my own identity in the new culture, trying to fit in.”<sup>477</sup>

Barajas immigrated to the United States as a young girl. Her father had gone to the United States alone first, in the late 1970s, and got the necessary documents for his wife and their three children. In the early 1980s, they followed him to Texas, hoping for opportunity and a better life. A few years later, the family moved to California at the urging of a friend who told them they could open a restaurant there. Barajas stayed in Houston to finish high school. She lived with a boyfriend of Chinese ancestry, of whom her parents did not approve. “They felt very betrayed and they felt that I had turned my back on the family,” she says. “And so that was huge for me because it wasn't about that for me. I still recall very clearly that I just wanted to find myself. It wasn't about turning my back on anyone or feeling ashamed of who I was.”<sup>478</sup> Griselda was going through an identity crisis.

Barajas’ parents opened a restaurant in Sacramento while back in Houston, she worked to “motivate myself and see what I was capable of doing by myself and sort of figuring out what I wanted in the future.”<sup>479</sup> She worked at a pizza parlor and graduated from high school. “For me that was a big accomplishment, just...finishing high school...I had matured a little bit more and in spite the challenges of the cultures and everything, I learned to have a great respect for my parents' differences and ideas. And I wanted to be closer to them, my family was very important to me, and so that's when I moved back to Sacramento.”<sup>480</sup>

---

<sup>477</sup> Griselda Barajas, interview by author, Sacramento, CA, July 3, 2013.

<sup>478</sup> Barajas, interview by author.

<sup>479</sup> Barajas, interview by author.

<sup>480</sup> Barajas, interview by author.

Barajas' family is so important to her that today, her parents live with her and her four young children. Like many immigrant households, hers is multi-generational.<sup>481</sup> She was married for a while, but that did not work out. "I never wanted to stop having kids just because I wasn't married. I wanted a big family."<sup>482</sup> Barajas wants her children to feel empowered, so when they were young, she named parts of her catering business after them: Gracie's Sweets, Marco's Express, and Gabi's Flowers. She says they do not have to go into her business when they grow older, but she wants them to feel pride as a family.

---

<sup>481</sup> Immigrants of many ethnicities have lived in multi-generational homes. As they become acculturated, they tend to move away from multi-generational living situations. Two television programs have depicted Latinos who live in multi-generational homes—*Ugly Betty* (2006-2010) and *Jane the Virgin* (2014-present). Both series have addressed issues of concern to Latinos, such as being in the United States without papers. This is indicative of the social change that is taking place—prime time television programs about Latino lives. It is also significant to note the casts are primarily Latino.

One of the first interracial television couples was Lucy and Ricky Ricardo, who debuted in 1951 on *I Love Lucy*. Lucy was of European heritage and her real-life spouse, Ricky Arnaz, was Cuban. There is some debate whether this was an interracial or a bicultural couple since Ricky was of mostly European heritage, but Ricky's ethnicity was key in the show. His English was also accented, which was played up on the show. Lucille Ball (Lucy) said they had to fight network executives who did not want to green light the show. Andrea Kareem Nittle, "Interracial Couples on TV Shows in the 20th Century," *About News*, 2015, accessed May 8, 2015, <http://racerelations.about.com/od/hollywood/tp/Interracial-Couples-On-Tv-Shows-In-The-20th-Century.htm>.

Veteran television producer Norman Lear is working on an Hispanic version of his comedy, *One Day at a Time*, which originally aired from 1971 to 1979. He says, "I love the idea because I don't see enough of that representation on the air." He says he wants the Latino version to show three generations of Latinas. Lear produced the groundbreaking television program, *All in the Family* (1971-1979), that addressed controversial subjects such as racism, homosexuality, and the women's movement. Associated Press, "At 93, Lear Seeks to Keep Pushing Boundaries," *Sacramento Bee*, August 3, 2015.

The first network (ABC) broadcast television series with a primarily Asian cast, *All-American Girl*, aired in 1994. It was about the rebellious teenage daughter of a traditional Korean-American family and starred comedian Margaret Cho. It was criticized for its stereotypes and flat characters, and lasted one season. None of the writers, directors, or producers was Korean American and the only cast member who was Korean American was Cho. "When you're the first person to cross over this racial barrier, you're scrutinized for all these other things that have nothing to do with race, but they have everything to do with race—its' a very strange thing," said Cho in a PBS documentary. It would be 20 years before another show about an Asian-American family would be broadcast.

That show was *Fresh Off the Boat* which also aired on ABC beginning in February 2015. It is loosely based on food personality Eddie Huang's autobiography, *Fresh Off the Boat: A Memoir*. In the sitcom, as a child, Huang's family, with two immigrant parents and a Chinese-speaking grandmother, moved from Washington, DC, to Orlando, Florida to open a steakhouse. The show follows his hip-hop loving rebellion and the family's acculturation.

Huang's father is played by Korean-American actor Randall Park who expressed misgivings about a Korean American playing a Chinese American. He spoke with Huang, who said he would support him whatever he did, but he thought that Park was "the one for this part." The other family members are played by Chinese Americans.

While interesting, these social changes are tangential to this dissertation and are mentioned here only as markers. National Public Radio, "ABC Tones Down Author's 'Fresh Off the Boat' for Sitcom Audience," *Morning Edition*, February 4, 2015; and National Public Radio, "Korean Dictator, All-American Dad: One Actor's 'Very Unique Year,'" *All Things Considered*, February 8, 2015.

<sup>482</sup> Barajas, interview with author.

## VALUES

Inextricably intertwined with the concept of family and the emotional support it provides are family values and a strong work ethic. For each of our interviewees, family values are born of hard work, honesty, perseverance, resourcefulness, and integrity. These are values that are illustrated by Eva Garcia, who founded Garcia Realty with her late husband in 1967, the first Hispanic realty firm in Sacramento.

Eva Salcedo Garcia came to the United States in 1957 as a young bride who had married a Mexican American, Frank Garcia, from San Bernardino. She is the sole immigrant interviewee who did not come from poverty, nor did she immigrate to the United States for economic opportunity. Her motivation was not financial, then, but to escape her strict father.

Garcia grew up in Mexico City, the daughter of the owner of a paper factory and a highly accomplished mother. As a child, she lived a “very comfortable”<sup>483</sup> life in a four-bedroom, one-and-a-half bath home near a big city park. The oldest of four children, Garcia remembers her childhood as a happy one. She went to private schools, and because she was smart, she was an advanced student and graduated from high school at the age of 16. In Mexico in the 1940s and 50s, Garcia says girls learned secretarial and accounting skills in school because “everybody always thought, ‘I can always get a job as a secretary.’ That was very common, especially if you spoke several languages...I spoke French as my second language, English as my third language.”<sup>484</sup>

Garcia says her father was “a very good father” but “very stern...I had to have good grades. Because I was the oldest, he expected more from me.”<sup>485</sup> He was protective, too. “I was 14 years old before I could cross the street by myself. So I had to have a maid or someone to go with me. I never, never went alone on a date by myself. I had to have a chaperone.”<sup>486</sup>

At the age of 18, Eva met Frank Garcia, a Mexican American who was studying in Mexico City on the GI bill. Eva was the maid of honor at a friend’s wedding, and Frank was the best man. Four months later, they ran into each other on the street, and Frank invited her to have coffee. Five months after that, in August 1957, they were married. Eva was not in love; “I just grew to love him, but I wasn’t in love. I don’t know that feeling.”<sup>487</sup> What she wanted was to “get away from my dad. He was very stern. I just didn’t want any part of that circle any

---

<sup>483</sup> Eva Salcedo Garcia, interview by author, Sacramento, CA, June 15, 2013.

<sup>484</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>485</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>486</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>487</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

more.”<sup>488</sup>

The Garcias moved to San Bernardino, where Frank’s family lived, and where Frank had gotten work as a computer programmer at an air base in nearby Ontario. But then he got a telegram informing him the job had been eliminated due to cutbacks caused by the Eisenhower Recession.<sup>489</sup> So Eva, who had never worked in the United States, set out to find a job.

In the classified ads, Eva found that a department store called Grayson’s that was looking for an accountant’s assistant. She applied and was chosen right away, over 17 other applicants. The managers of the store and the accounting department “looked [at me] and one said to the other, ‘Incredible handwriting and numbers.’ So she said to me, ‘Can you start Monday?’...[my in-laws] were stunned. ‘You got the job?!’”<sup>490</sup>

Eva loved working at Grayson’s. “The woman who employed me became like my incredible mentor. She didn’t have any children and she took me under her wing and taught me all the skills of collections and bookkeeping and how to make sure people paid their bills.”<sup>491</sup> Eva was acquiring skills that became the foundation for her realty business later.

It was at Grayson’s that Eva discovered another quality that would be a key to Garcia Realty: she had the gift of selling. Sometimes Grayson’s put her at the counter as a retail clerk. “They had a contest to sell stockings, and I took the prize...I guess I talked so much about the stockings that they wanted some! The people who were skilled at selling said, ‘How did you sell so many stockings?!’”<sup>492</sup>

Eva’s children, Rosanna and Franco, say she is strong minded. It is this determination and focus that helped her succeed in real estate, a business into which she more or less fell.

On their path to founding Garcia Realty, Eva and Frank left San Bernardino for Berkeley to open a pizza parlor with an army buddy of Frank’s who was

---

<sup>488</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>489</sup> In late 1957, the U.S. economy slipped into a major recession, called the recession of 1958 or the Eisenhower Recession. Domestic unemployment rose to its highest level since 1941. The recession lasted from August 1957 to April 1958, and affected economies worldwide. Advameg, “Dwight D. Eisenhower - Eisenhower as a Lame-Duck President: 1957-1958,” accessed December 14, 2014, <http://www.presidentprofiles.com/Grant-Eisenhower/Dwight-D-Eisenhower-Eisenhower-as-a-lame-duck-president-1957-1958.html>; Weebly.com, “Do You Like Ike? Dwight D. Eisenhower 1953-1961,” accessed December 14, 2014, <http://doyoulikeike.weebly.com/recession.html>; and Britannica Online for Kids, “Eisenhower, Dwight D.,” accessed December 14, 2014, <http://kids.britannica.com/comptons/article-281212/Dwight-D-Eisenhower>.

<sup>490</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>491</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>492</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

planning to continue his education under the GI bill. They rented out their home and moved north. But the friend turned out to be a bad business partner, and they were forced to close the restaurant. Frank needed to find work because Eva was pregnant with their daughter Rosanna. So they moved to Sacramento where Frank got a job as a civilian computer programmer at McClellan Air Force Base. Eva did not want to work. She said, "If I'm going to have a baby, I'm going to stay home."<sup>493</sup>

Meanwhile Frank decided to get his real estate license, and took on a second job with Helen Hoshino, a Japanese American real estate broker who worked out of her home.<sup>494</sup> Hoshino approached Eva and told her Frank needed someone to answer his phone because, Eva says, "If you call a real estate place, the person who gives you the information about a house has to be licensed. You cannot just say, 'Yes, it's this much.' So she said to me, 'Would you like to study for your real estate license?'"<sup>495</sup> Eva said yes.

Eva and Frank got into a routine. They had one car, so Frank would drop Eva off at Hoshino's at six in the morning to study, be at McClellan at work by seven, pick Eva up when he got off work at 3:30, then meet with clients into the night. "He was a very hard worker,"<sup>496</sup> remembers Eva.

In May of 1963, Hoshino told Eva she was ready to take the test for her real estate license. "Why don't you take a temporary license?," Eva remembers Hoshino telling her. "It is good for a year. Start with that and see if you like it."<sup>497</sup> Eva took the three-hour examination in an hour, and passed. Four years later, the Garcias decided to open their own realty firm. Eva was 29 years old, and Frank was 36.

The Garcias' story demonstrates their commitment to a work ethic. It is a driving value they have passed on to their children, both of whom work for the family business. The elder couple opened Garcia Realty to serve an Hispanic clientele. Their company motto is, "We made our success one family at a time." "It's something that we adhere to,"<sup>498</sup> says son Franco, proudly.

Hard work has always been a part of Lea Ybarra's life, ingrained in her as a

---

<sup>493</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>494</sup> In the early 1960s, it was unusual for a Japanese-American woman to be a real estate broker. Hoshino had been incarcerated during World War II because she was of Japanese ancestry and lived in an exclusion zone on the West coast, so she understood the consequences of racial discrimination. Hoshino gave birth to a son two months before Eva had Rosanna in January 1963, and the two became good friends. Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>495</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>496</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>497</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>498</sup> Franco Garcia, interview by author, Sacramento, CA, July 31, 2013.

child. She earned her doctorate in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley; held a variety of teaching and administrative positions at her hometown university, Fresno State; and recently stepped down as the executive director of Johns Hopkins' Center for Talented Youth to return to Fresno. Asked why she returned to the area where her mother lives, Ybarra cites family: her elderly mother "needed my help. Baltimore was too far from Fresno to be able to make frequent trips to visit her."<sup>499</sup>

Ybarra is a middle child, born in 1947 in Donna, Texas. Her parents were migrant workers, shuttling back and forth between Texas and California, but decided to settle in California before Ybarra started school because they wanted her to be able to go to school without having to interrupt the school year to migrate with the crops. They moved to Sanger, in the Fresno area, where Lea's mother worked in canneries and packing houses, and her father worked for the city reading water meters and also ran a small gas station.

Ybarra worked in the fields, and started working in the packing houses, a couple of blocks from where she lived, when she was 12. During the summers, she would work 16 hours a day. But she did not feel exploited, she says, because "that's the way it was. That's just the way people, we all worked. We worked in the fields. When I worked in the fields, we were young but all my cousins were out there and then, you know, if the bag got too heavy for me, like the cotton bag or whatever, my cousins would pull it for me, you know, the older cousins, the guys."<sup>500</sup>

They were poor, Ybarra says, but they did not realize it because everyone around them was poor, too. "We all had our yards, we all had our houses. Small houses, but the yards were big and the trees were everywhere, and the grass. So growing up in this small town was good, I think, if you're poor, because you have space to run around."<sup>501</sup> She was taken aback, then, when she came home from school one day, when she was seven or eight, and excitedly told her mother, "'Mom, Mom, we got to take some cans of food to school tomorrow because...we got to help feed the poor people.' And my brother, who was just a year or two older than me, he says, 'What the hell do you think we are?' (laughs) Just in shock!"<sup>502</sup>

A strong work ethic for Ybarra showed in her academics. When she was getting her PhD at UC Berkeley, she would look out her window and see other students enjoying a beautiful day. "And I would say, 'Oh, my god. I could die tomorrow and I wouldn't have enjoyed this beautiful day.' And then I'd think, 'Mmmm. But what if I don't die tomorrow and I spend the next 40 years in a job

---

<sup>499</sup> Lea Ybarra, e-mail message to author, July 31, 2015.

<sup>500</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>501</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>502</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

that I hate because I didn't buckle down and study?' So I'd buckle down and study."<sup>503</sup>

Ybarra's rise from a migrant worker to a white collar worker with a doctorate was at a time in history that few Chicanos or Chicanas attempted the journey. She saw what was possible to achieve with determination and hard work and, coupled with her intelligence, she was able to channel them into the kind of life her parents envisioned for her.

Hundreds of thousands of immigrants before him have crossed into the United States to earn money and for opportunity, but it was Sam Toledo's industriousness, ingenuity, and initiative that enabled him to succeed where some of those others did not. As we have seen, he was young and eager when he first came to the United States, and naïveté was his friend. He no money, no place to stay, and no social security number, but he was able to figure out how to negotiate what he did not have, into eventual success. His self-confidence and inner personal strength were a foundation for his business.

After he had been in the United States only a few years, Toledo did not want to keep migrating with the crops, so he applied to be a dishwasher at a Fresno restaurant. He washed dishes for about a year. Then he started helping the cook when it was not busy. He was young, and "had a lot of energy and needed to use it."<sup>504</sup> The chef took advantage of Toledo's youth, and Sam took advantage of the chef's knowledge. He learned to chop and prep and, says Toledo, "And then I started watching what he was doing when he was cooking, what he was putting in and all that."<sup>505</sup>

Toledo rented a room from the chef, but he did not want to spend time there, where the chef had a young family. So he practically lived at the restaurant. He learned how to work the line in the kitchen, how to be a fry cook, and how to assemble the plates. He also learned to bus the tables. He found he was working 15, 16, 17 hours a day, "during the day, kitchen, and the night, busboy."<sup>506</sup>

Toledo saw that the waiters were making better money, and asked their supervisor if he could be one. She said his only problem was his English—or, rather, lack of it. Determined to learn English, he says, "I started asking other employees, you know, 'How do you say this, how do you say that?'"<sup>507</sup> Many of the customers preferred to use their Spanish, but Toledo persisted and it was not long before he was made a waiter.

---

<sup>503</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>504</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>505</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>506</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>507</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

Once again, Toledo showed initiative. After the restaurant closed for the night, the bar remained open, so he would go and help the bartender wash glasses, and the bartender would give him a few dollars. Toledo was underage, but no one checked. He was gaining experience in all areas of the restaurant and, since it was only costing him rent to live, he could send money back to Mexico.

During the next few years, Toledo ran away to San Francisco with his wife-to-be, Martha, worked in a restaurant there, then he and Martha moved back to Fresno, where her family was, and got married. Sam worked at a couple of restaurants, Martha and he worked in the fields again, and he worked at a packing house loading and unloading trucks. Martha was also going to school. This grueling schedule went on for about eight months, then Toledo met someone who was going to open a restaurant. Toledo thought the idea had “potential,”<sup>508</sup> so he signed on. He was 22 years old.

With two other staff, Toledo opened the restaurant, El Cid. It was “tough in the beginning,” says Toledo. “I was the dishwasher, the cook, cleaning tables, cleaning the whole restaurant...I had all the experience doing everything, so to me, it was easy. And I created menu.”<sup>509</sup> But the owner wanted to close, so Toledo offered to buy him out. Toledo had no money, but he figured he would find a way to finance it. But the owner decided to keep the restaurant, however, and Toledo then helped him parlay it into three more locations, hiring a secretary and accountant, and working with the purveyors.

Toledo was on salary, and decided he deserved a percentage of the profits. The owner asked what Toledo would do if he said no. Toledo said he would just keep working. So the owner refused, telling him it was “impossible.”<sup>510</sup>

But a seed had been planted in Toledo’s brain. “I started thinking,” he says, “if I open four restaurants for this guy with no money, hardly, why can [I] not do it myself?” So at the age of 32 or 33, with a young family, Toledo started “saving money, little by little...It was like \$40,000.”<sup>511</sup>

Toledo heard of a property up for lease, and he approached the landlord, telling him he was a hard worker and would make a restaurant work. There was someone else who was interested in the property, that the landlord said had better financing. But Toledo persisted. Finally, says Toledo, he “gave me the key. We didn’t even sign a contract that day or anything.”<sup>512</sup> Toledo says the landlord was also Latino, and that may have had something to do with the transaction.

---

<sup>508</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>509</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>510</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>511</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>512</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

When Toledo left El Cid, he gave six months' notice. "Tell me who you want me to take my place and I'll train," Toledo says. "And I'm not taking any employees with me. All the employees, they gonna stay with you. The only person who's leaving is just me.' My brother, José, was working for him also. I stopped cooking, doing the food, and I teach my brother to do all the food, to do all the preparation." Toledo was good to his word. Why? "Honestly, I had a lot of care for the restaurant. Because it was like, like something that you create, you know, from nothing... This is like something that I did. I don't want it to fall down."<sup>513</sup> But more than that, it is integrity, one of the backbones of Toledo's business. It is industriousness: plain hard work. And it is ingenuity: being resourceful with situations, materials, and human capital.

Hard work has been a value that Toledo has ingrained in his children. Unhesitatingly, his youngest son, Andrew, says, when asked what the one thing his parents told him that he had to do to be successful in business, is "work hard." Andrew says his father was never afraid of getting his hands dirty, and "he taught us to have a lot of respect for anybody who's working hard because it takes a lot of hard work to excel, especially if you don't have an education, which I think was one of the things he always felt."<sup>514</sup> Andrew's sister, Carmen agrees. "I think he's instilled in me that hard work is a good thing... Some people are able to not physically work when they're working, and some people physically work to do their work. And I find that both of them deserve an equal amount of respect, you know, from the man who's using his hands to, you know, build something and work in the fields or work in the kitchen or work as a mechanic deserves just as much respect as a guy who's running a bank and behind a desk, you know, having meetings all day. That they both equally deserve respect."<sup>515</sup>

This work ethic coupled with a drive to "provide for his family" produced a "sense of selflessness" that Carmen says made her father "work even harder than the average person... I think that he felt like no task was too great or too hard if it meant a better life for all of his family," says Carmen. "Because he didn't just care about, you know, building the business for himself, for us to, you know, live in an okay house and have good food. He wanted to send money back to Mexico to make sure his parents lived in a comfortable house and he wanted to make sure that, you know, his nephew in Mexico had an education."<sup>516</sup> This is what Carmen believes led to her father's success, that is, his sense of responsibility to his kin.

Not only hard work but a "can do" attitude also led to Sam's success. "He is always willing to learn," says Andrew. "I always felt like he didn't have the

---

<sup>513</sup> Sam Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>514</sup> Andrew Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>515</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>516</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

opportunity to go to school because he was always supporting his family. But if he had had that opportunity he, he could have done a lot with it. And, and he wasn't getting that opportunity but he definitely still had that ongoing attitude, because he never lost that, for sure."<sup>517</sup> These values he instilled in his children by example.

That work ethic Kmart manager Jesse Castillo has instilled in his children, too. "My son, he'll go to work [at a grocery store] and people will come over and say, 'That's your son over there, huh?'" says Castillo. "'He's just like you. I know exactly who you're talking about, he helped me in the bakery, he was in the produce department.' Obviously he has the same name as me and they said that even the store manager from across the street, 'He's a hard worker just like you, Jesse.' So that makes me proud."<sup>518</sup>

Like Toledo, José Antonio Ramírez is clever and resourceful. He, too, is an immigrant who found himself in sometimes discouraging situations of which he made the most. He took a circuitous route to his current position as the city manager of Livingston, facing discrimination and obstacles that he overcame and finding mentors and advisors along the way.

Ramírez was born in 1971 in the small community of Coalcomán, Michoacán, Mexico. He was the first child of subsistence farmers in the mountains who worked the land for a rancher who owned the property. Neither his father nor his mother was educated.

On Ramírez's first birthday, his father was shot by his brother-in-law in a family altercation, and died. His father, Antonio Ramírez—after whom he is named—was only 23 years old. José's mother decided to go to the United States, so sold what little she had, left José with her parents, and traveled to California, where she wound up in Watsonville. She did not know it at the time, but she was pregnant with José's sister.

Ramírez's sister was born in Watsonville, then his mother migrated to the fields in the Caruthers-Raisin City area in Fresno county. When she had settled, she asked her brother to bring her son to her. José crossed the desert for the first time as a toddler with his uncle and three cousins. They made it to Salinas, where the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)<sup>519</sup> stopped them and sent them back to Mexico.

The next time, Ramírez's uncle got him a counterfeit birth certificate so, at the age of two-and-a-half, José was reunited with his mother in a migrant camp.

---

<sup>517</sup> Andrew Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>518</sup> Jesse Castillo, interview by author.

<sup>519</sup> The INS ceased operating under that name in 2003. It was restructured following the attacks on 9/11, 2001. Border security is now handled by the Directorate of Border and Transportation Security (BTS). Adrienne Wilmoth Lerner, "INS (United States Immigration and Naturalization Service)." *Encyclopedia of Espionage, Intelligence, and Security*, 2004, encyclopedia.com, accessed July 31, 2015, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3403300376.html>.

At the camp, José's mother was subject to sexual and physical abuse from one of the foremen, which resulted in three of his half-siblings.

Ramírez and his family moved around the area, finally landing with an African-American family whose extended family lived nearby. It was an unincorporated area of Fresno, and José spent much time as a young child outside. His playground was the fields where his mother worked. He recalls following her. "I would basically be behind her and I would make myself my own tool with pieces of actual limbs and stuff that were no good anymore so that I could rake the pruning and put them in the middle of the row in order for them to get shredded."<sup>520</sup> He made himself useful to the men in the fields, too. "I would also be kind of like a little medic if you will, because many times a lot of the men that were working, they would cut themselves and they would call me over and so I would basically pee on their hand because it was like an antiseptic kind of thing so they could put the Band-Aid."<sup>521</sup>

José was a child with a quick mind and a lot of energy. When he started school at the age of five, he got his first paying job. "The neighbors had a couple farms and grew cherry tomatoes, onions, okra; they would grow different things and I would ask them if I could help them and they said, 'Yeah, you pick a bucket and I'll pay you a dollar or a dollar twenty-five if it was one of those large buckets.' And so I would do that."<sup>522</sup>

Ramírez has many stories that illustrate his ingenuity in the fields. When he pruned grape vines, his fingers would get numb from the cold. Cotton gloves would get wet, and leather gloves would get stuck, but he figured out a way to use both gloves together that enabled him to do three times the number of rows as his fellow laborers. Another idea he came up with was to use a grape knife to cut more tops of onions off at a time. Yet another was a way to gather olives from the trees, shaking them onto a tarp.

In order to make extra money for the family, Ramírez helped his mother prepare burritos for the workers. "She would basically make the food and then I would be making the tortillas," he says. "I would stack them up and give them to her and then she would make the burritos with foil and we would do about 30 or so. And that was our routine early in the morning. And then from there we would get ready and we would go to work."<sup>523</sup> Sometimes there was not enough room on the truck that took them to the fields, so he would crawl underneath the wood seats where he would curl up to sleep, he recalls, "as best I could because there

---

<sup>520</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>521</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>522</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>523</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

was holes that would be hitting and bumps and everything else where ever we were going.”<sup>524</sup>

This entrepreneurial spirit grew as Ramírez grew. He bought a BB gun. “The men who work in the fields and stuff,” he says, “I figured out that that if I killed a quail or a dove, they would buy it from me for \$1...After we got home from work, I would then go with my BB gun and I would walk for two, two-and-a-half miles and there was a railroad track...perfect to kind of hide in there and wait for the train to pass because when the train would pass...they would all fly over.”<sup>525</sup> He did the same kind of thing with catfish; when the lakes dried up, he went to small ponds, caught catfish, and sold them to farmworkers. Another venture involved swap meets he would go to, to help a neighbor, He saw people selling pigeons, and he decided to sell them, too. Ramírez went to a neighbor’s barn where wild pigeons roosted and, at night, caught them by throwing a blanket over them. He says he would put them in “onion bags...and then I would take a few and take them to the swap meet and they would buy them up.”<sup>526</sup> There was a pattern to Ramírez’ life.

Ramírez was hardworking and entrepreneurial in his efforts to help his family barely scrape by. November, December, January, and February were the worst months financially for them. Ramírez and his siblings would stuff bags with tomatoes and other produce, and ask people shopping if they wanted to buy their goods. “We would constantly be shooed away or told to leave,” says Ramírez. “We would do what we had to do to make a little money.”<sup>527</sup> Experiences like these made him determined to steer the direction of his life so he would not have to live like this.

## CULTURAL HERITAGE

So far, we have seen how the experiences of a sample of Mexican Americans led them on a path to success and shaped who they became. The bonds of family and family values, such as a strong work ethic, integrity, and resourcefulness, were major contributing factors. The circumstances of their families’ unique immigrant experiences as Mexicans also led to their success. Some of them began life in poverty and actively changed their circumstances, and their stories illustrate the change. Another contributing component is their cultural background and ethnicity. Fred Ruiz’s story is an example of how a confluence of all these factors led to Ruiz Foods becoming the nation’s largest

---

<sup>524</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>525</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>526</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>527</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

producer of Mexican frozen foods.<sup>528</sup>

Entrepreneurialism was a quality Ruiz saw in his father as he grew up; it was a way of life. His father, Louis Flores Ruiz, was born in Chihuahua, Mexico. Louis immigrated to the United States with his parents after Pancho Villa seized their land during the Mexican Revolution. After World War II, he began a number of businesses, some successful and some not so successful. His most enduring endeavor was the one that involved his son.

Fred Ruiz was born in Los Angeles. His mother, Rose Riva Dinera Ruiz, was second generation, born in Los Angeles but raised in Mexico City until she was 13. Ruiz is a second child, the oldest male out of five children. His family moved to Tulare in 1950 where his father went into business with some of his brothers, and they developed a successful tortilla manufacturing company. Fred worked for the tortilla company when he was in high school. He recalls long hours—12-hour days, five days a week, and “I hated the work because it...was routine work...on a production line, and I sat in front of a clock or I stood in front of a clock doing, you know, packaging, taking tortillas off of the production line and stacking them up.”<sup>529</sup>

On Saturdays, Ruiz helped his uncle unload flour from a rail car to restock the inventory. “We had these hundred pound sacks that we it would have to unload manually, take them off of the rail car, put them on the truck, and then unload them take them to the plant and then unload them and put them on pallets...I did not quit because I didn't want my uncle to think I was a quitter, and after a while it became a matter of what I call personal pride. And I just wanted to show him, to prove to myself that if I had to do menial work to provide for my family, I could do it. But I was so glad when it was time to go back to school.”<sup>530</sup> A strong work ethic, determination, and self-respect kept him going.

But a conflict arose among the brothers and Louis walked away. Fred was disappointed, he says, “because I was thinking that that was going to be my career path...work for the company. I think that kind of a cultural thing where, you know, I think with Hispanics, you know, the idea is to build a business and then have the family take over. I think you see a lot of that in new immigration waves very early, and then as the family becomes more acculturated, that cultural thing kind of dissipates somewhat but so I think that was the reason it was important to me.”<sup>531</sup>

After the split, the Ruiz family decided to stay in Tulare where Louis opened a grocery store. He went on to make candy, bag spices, and eventually

---

<sup>528</sup> Vault.com, “Ruiz Food Products, Inc.,” accessed December 21, 2014, <http://www.vault.com/company-profiles/food-beverage/ruiz-foods,-inc/company-overview.aspx>.

<sup>529</sup> Fred Ruiz, interview by author, Dinuba, CA, August 14, 2013.

<sup>530</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>531</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

started, with Fred, Ruiz Foods. Fred was 21, going to community college, when his father asked him to be his partner. Ruiz Foods would become the family business that Fred passed down to his children as he had hoped would happen with him.<sup>532</sup>

The Ruizes' timing was right. In the early 1960s, convenience was beginning to become increasingly widespread in the food industry. It was trial and error to figure out what products would be successful and which would not. Fred recalls, "Enchiladas didn't work. That was the original concept. And then we decided to start making tamales, tamales that would be sold in a mom-and-pop grocery store fresh, ready to eat when you walked in. And that was a huge winner."<sup>533</sup> Next came burritos. "Over a period of time, you know, we came up with the number burritos, called it 'family pack burritos,' and those became our signature product that took us to different levels."<sup>534</sup>

Mexican food was becoming more popular, driven by fast food places like Taco Bell that, Ruiz says, "did a wonderful job of introducing Mexican food to many, many different people. And then because of the immigration of the, or migration of the, you know, Latino population into California and then moving across the country, again introducing Mexican food to the rest of the nation. And we just rode that wave also for a number of years. Still riding that wave."<sup>535</sup>

International foods were slowly gaining popularity as well. "With the general population becoming more global and more international, in the United States," says Ruiz, "where they experienced other foods whether it's Mexican or Indian or Thai, Chinese...Mexican food became more popular just because of that. The population became more comfortable with spicy...All those different dynamics played a role and our company continued to grow."<sup>536</sup>

From the beginning, the Ruizes dreamed big. Fred says at first, it was "the \$3 million dream."<sup>537</sup> They to "wanted to build a brand" and "compete with the big boys."<sup>538</sup> But it was not something for which they planned. Their company strategy was what Ruiz calls "an opportunistic type of company...And that was to

---

<sup>532</sup> Ruiz has passed his family company to the next generation. His daughter, Kim Ruiz Beck is Chairman of the Board of Directors of Ruiz Foods. See Family Business Consulting Group, "Bridging the Gap: Ruiz Food Products," accessed January 14, 2015, <http://www.thefbcg.com/Bridging-the-Gap--Ruiz-Food-Products/>.

<sup>533</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>534</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>535</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>536</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>537</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>538</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

try to grow as best we can, you know, go with the flow, so to speak, depending on where the market took you, the demands took you...keep growing as best we could, you know, a lot of challenges along the way.”<sup>539</sup>

Ruiz Foods was regional at first. The Ruizes started it in Tulare in the Central Valley which, Fred says “is the heart of agriculture in California; it’s a competitive advantage for us to be close to our raw materials. We know where all our meats come from: the Central Valley. Wheat comes from the Central Valley. We do have to get cheese, you know, so some very important commodities are grown right here in the Valley, and make it very easy for us to purchase the products, and, you know, the freight costs are something that we’re able to take advantage of from a competitive perspective.”<sup>540</sup> From the Central Valley, Ruiz Foods expanded statewide, then went on to get accreditation from the U.S. Department of Agriculture for meat inspection, which enabled them to distribute their products in other states nationwide.

Louis, Fred, and Ruiz Foods took advantage of their Mexican heritage. “We were probably the first company that started selling frozen Mexican food in retail,” says Fred. “Restaurants, you know, sold burritos and tacos and whatnot, but I guess we were the first ones to start selling...our brand [was], Rosita, after my mom.”<sup>541</sup> They were showing the American public that food was a gateway into their culture.

The Toledos and Saenzes depended on their cultural background for their businesses. As with Ruiz, food was an access point to their culture. They took something that they knew, and made it a cornerstone of their success.

When Eva and Frank Garcia decided to open a realty agency in 1967, it was critical to them to cater to a Latino clientele. No one had done that before in Sacramento. “It was important that we inspire some other Hispanics to get in business and be successful,” says Eva. “Red Carpet existed, Realty World came after me. All those people approached me and said, ‘Come work for us.’”<sup>542</sup> But she wanted to get their name out there for a reason. Many people who have

---

<sup>539</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>540</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>541</sup> The Ruizes changed their brand name to El Monterey after their trademark attorneys said it was likely they would not be able to expand their business into new states because of the Rosita name. Another company had a name that sounded similar. At the time, Rosita was being sold in about half of the United States. Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>542</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

immigrated to the United States have changed their names,<sup>543</sup> but Eva “felt that if I could inspire other Latinos to better themselves, Garcia is a good way to show that I made it, you can make it too. It is a good name.”<sup>544</sup> The name “Garcia” also sent an unwritten message of trust to Latinos who, until the Garcias opened their doors, had no “go-to” realtor they could feel was looking out for them.

Nearly all of Garcia Realty’s clients are Latino, and a majority of them is Spanish speaking. Both of Eva’s children are bilingual; Franco says he speaks Spanish with 90 percent of his clients. He says, “I think that was very important to [my mother] to keep the tradition of the language going.”<sup>545</sup> Rosanna concurs. “I see it as an advantage, definitely, because you can have the best of all the worlds,” she says. “The Hispanic market for real estate, it’s the fastest-buying, the fastest-growing segment of the home buying market in the entire country... The market, it’s huge. So our possibilities are endless. It is just a matter of how aggressive we are and how much we want to expand and do whatever it is. It’s a big advantage because we can step on both sides.”<sup>546</sup> Rosanna says some people have trouble understanding mother because of her accent. “We [Franco and she] don’t have those issues. I can go to speak to any Anglo and fit in perfectly and then I can turn around and fit in with the Hispanic crowd because I speak Spanish fluently. So it’s a big advantage in that respect.”<sup>547</sup>

But for Eva, her accent is part of her identity. As an immigrant who speaks Spanish as her native language, Eva feels differently than her U.S. born children about how it reflects on her. When she first came to the United States, she spoke English with a heavy accent. “I have had an accent and I will die with an accent,” she says. “At one time, I wanted to go to linguistic school and get rid of it. My husband said, ‘No, this is part of your personality.’ So I said, ‘Okay, that’s fine.’”<sup>548</sup>

---

<sup>543</sup> This was not uncommon when people immigrated to the United States from Europe in the 1800s. “Historical records and individual testimonies indicate that most name changes occurred during the naturalization process, not at Ellis Island.” Quoted from *Ellis Island and the Making of America* by Jayare Roberts, A.G., M.L.S., *Genealogical Journal*, Volume 23, Numbers 2 and 3, 1995, pp. 79-80, in Ancestry.com, “RootsWeb’s Guide to Tracing Family Trees,” accessed December 23, 2014, [http://rwguide.rootsweb.ancestry.com/lesson8\\_text.html](http://rwguide.rootsweb.ancestry.com/lesson8_text.html). Money could be a major incentive for name changes. A Swedish study in the *Journal of Labor Economics* concluded that an immigrant could more than double earnings potential by changing a name to make it more Swedish sounding or more ethnically neutral. GIT Magazine, “Why Immigrants Change Their Name,” accessed December 23, 2014, [http://www.genealogyintime.com/NewsStories/2009/March/why\\_immigrants\\_change\\_their\\_name.html](http://www.genealogyintime.com/NewsStories/2009/March/why_immigrants_change_their_name.html).

<sup>544</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>545</sup> Franco Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>546</sup> Rosanna Garcia, interview by author, Sacramento, CA, June 15, 2013.

<sup>547</sup> Rosanna Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>548</sup> Eva Garcia, interview by author.

Eva cannot split her identity into race or gender. Researcher Adela de la Torre says, “It is far more nuanced than that. I don’t think that a white woman will respond the same as a Latin woman in certain conditions, and why? It’s because experiences are so different. It doesn’t make one better than the other. It’s just that the cues that affect you are different.”<sup>549</sup>

Speaking a common language is no guarantee that a broker is looking out for the client. “Family values play into it,” says Rosanna. “We’ve always been very honest and upfront with people. I think that that’s a big part of it, because unfortunately, in our business and in the Hispanic community, there were many, many people led down the wrong road by their own people, by Hispanics. And because they spoke the language, they trusted them and really got into a bad situation and that’s why the whole market, when it crashed many Hispanics lost their home. Because they were given a really bad deal.”<sup>550</sup> Franco stands behind the Garcias’ motto, “We made our success one family at a time.” “I really put myself in their shoes and try to think that would this deal be a good deal if I was the person moving into this house?,” says Franco. “And if the answer is yes, I say, ‘Let’s go for it.’ If the answer is no, I would pull out of it. And I have pulled out of many a deal just telling people that I don’t think it’s a good deal....I give them an explanation, too, that it’s ultimately their decision....I think the majority of them really respect my view and, in doing so, I think it built a stronger trust in me.”<sup>551</sup> It is not the commission, says Franco, but “it’s very important to us that the last sale that you’ve made is something that you know in your heart and your mind that you did the best and that that, either buyer or seller is satisfied with the outcome....I’ve had...probably over at least a hundred deals that I have not consummated just based on the idea that it wouldn’t be, it wouldn’t be a good deal. It wouldn’t be.”<sup>552</sup> Interwoven with their cultural background, then, is the theme of family values ingrained in both the children that has contributed to the success of the Garcias.

Spanish is vital to Griselda Barajas. She lives with her parents and children, and one of the advantages of living in a multi-generational home is that her children speak Spanish with her parents, as does she. Language is an important part of communicating for her, tied to her culture. Griselda says she loves Spanish because “I have this part of me, this part of my culture. Spanish helps me reach people in a way that I can understand their feelings, a better sense of what they want, what they need. Because you might say one word, but

---

<sup>549</sup> de la Torre, interview by author.

<sup>550</sup> Rosanna Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>551</sup> Franco Garcia, interview by author.

<sup>552</sup> Franco Garcia, interview by author.

you know the true meaning behind different words in Spanish.”<sup>553</sup> Language is part of Barajas’ identity, and she says she wants her children “to have an appreciation for both cultures, and I want them to be able to reach out to more people and to have a better understanding and communication with others.”<sup>554</sup> Spanish has played a role in Barajas’ success with her Tex-Mex restaurants and with her catering business.

Las Tres Hermanas’ Sergio Saenz echoes Barajas. His cultural background is an integral part of who he is, but when he was younger, people told him he was not “Mexican enough.” He immigrated when he was a pre-teen, so was old enough to have known what life in Mexico was like, sharing the immigrant experiences of his mother and older sisters, but also socialized in the United States, thus sharing the experiences of the second generation, or children born in the United States.<sup>555</sup> But when he went to Mexico in his late teens, he says he found that “I spoke with an [American] accent and people were goofing on it. And I mean, I know how to speak Spanish, I know how to write, but I don’t know how to write it properly.”<sup>556</sup> He realized he was like many of Generation 1.5<sup>557</sup> who straddled two cultures. He felt both American and Mexican. “I do relate to it [Mexican culture],” he says, “but I felt like I couldn’t live there [in Mexico] any more.”<sup>558</sup> He is secure in his identity as a Mexican American. “I can’t live by other people’s standards,” he says. “Somebody somewhere is going to be more Mexican than me, you know? So I just gotta be comfortable with who I am and love my culture and who I am. And use that.” He goes on to reflect, “We’re really grateful that we’re Mexican and our culture has helped us make our living.”<sup>559</sup>

---

<sup>553</sup> Barajas, interview by author.

<sup>554</sup> Barajas, interview by author.

<sup>555</sup> See Rebecca Sandoval, “One-and-a-Half Generation Mexicans and Return Migration,” Academia.edu, accessed February 12, 2015, <http://www.academia.edu/9694824/one-and-a-half-generation-mexicans-and-return-migration>. Much academic literature exists on Generation 1.5, including identity issues and characteristics.

<sup>556</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>557</sup> Generation 1.5 refers to people who immigrated when they were adolescents. Sergio says he immigrated when he was eight or nine years old, but Norma’s recollection is that it was 1988, when Sergio would have been 11.

<sup>558</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>559</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

But, a bit wistfully, Saenz says, “I feel like each generation loses a little bit more, and it’s hard.”<sup>560</sup> His two daughters, he says, are in a “different place” than he was, but he hopes he can influence them so that they will embrace their heritage. “You just introduce things that make it fun to enjoy culture, festivals and things like that,” he says. “They have to enjoy wanting to do it and then I think eventually, just like myself, they’ll get to a point where they want to learn more. And it should be on them.”<sup>561</sup> Here, again, power and influence intertwine as they come into play. Sergio has little power to make his children love their heritage, but as a parent, he has the ability to influence their lives as they find their identities as Mexican American females.

Camila Chávez’s success has everything to do with being Chicano. Because she was from a well-known labor activist family, she could not escape her heritage. It is part of a complex number of factors that led to Chávez understanding who she is, and her own personal power. “There was just the racial, just the discrimination about being a dirty Mexican or, you know, those racial slurs,” she says. “But then there was this other discrimination that we were related to the Chávez family, to the farm worker movement.”<sup>562</sup>

Chávez was taught when she was very young to take pride in her heritage and in her color. “When I was little my family would call me ‘*negrita*’ which means ‘black girl,’” she says. “And at one point I got really upset and I told my dad, ‘Please stop calling me that, don’t call me *negrita*.’ And he said, ‘Do you know that when we say that, that’s because you’re beautiful.’ He said, ‘Black is beautiful.’ I said, ‘Really?’ He said, ‘Yeah, black is beautiful.’ ‘Oh! Okay, you can call me that!’ That’s all I needed to hear, and I was very proud of my dark skin.”<sup>563</sup>

“I think it was my family that instilled brown pride,” Chávez goes on to say. “That is one of the rallying calls of the Chicano Movement. And the fact that at home, we had this very strong base of support, of love, of unity, and so that was the shield that protected us in these situations, where we could understand that these folks are being racist but we are proud of who we are and wouldn’t change it for anything.”<sup>564</sup>

Though Chávez had a strong sense of who she was as a Chicana, coming from such a strong labor family she had more challenges with the intertwining of her ethnicity and the political activism of her parents, particularly her mother, Dolores Huerta. “It was hard because my mom was gone a lot when I was growing up, and so my father was really the nurturer in our family,” says Chávez.

---

<sup>560</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>561</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>562</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>563</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>564</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

"If something happened I would go to him and he was much more *cariñoso* as we say in Spanish, much more, I guess, like intimate and huggy-feely kind of guy... even as a little girl I called him 'Momma.' I called my older sisters 'Momma.' For me, 'Momma' was caretaker and several people had that title who provided for me...I mean I was about four or five still calling them 'Momma.'"<sup>565</sup>

While Huerta was working with César Chávez for farm laborers' rights, Camila struggled with her feelings for her mother. "As a teenager I went through that rebellious [stage] and I had a lot of anger for my mom for not being there for me," recalls Chávez. "So that was probably the hardest time in our relationship. And I would write her letters because I felt like I needed to communicate with her and I didn't feel like we had that face-to-face time."<sup>566</sup> It took Chávez years to understand the sacrifices her mother made with her family for her political work. She did not fully grasp it until she went to college. "I'd see her on the TV and in the papers," Chávez says, "but when you have your peers saying, 'Oh, my goodness, wow, your mother, oh, my gosh! We have so much respect for her.' And hearing all these people that I respected saying they respected my mother, then it really made me realize the impact that she's had on people. And then I also came to this sense of that she had to make those sacrifices, like really being able to internalize. She made these sacrifices and I didn't have my mom, but all these children benefited, all of these families, all of these workers have benefited from the work that she did and the sacrifices that she had to make."<sup>567</sup>

Another circumstance enabled Chávez to recognize the value of her situation with her mother. She had a friend in high school with whom she used to take road trips whose mother was also absent from the home. But it was for different reasons. "Her mother," says Chávez, "had like substance abuse issues. She was in unhealthy relationships. So although her mom was absent, it wasn't like it was for a good cause. There wasn't this respect and all of that, in my situation."<sup>568</sup>

Still, when Camila went to Mills College, she tried to establish her identity and independence from the whole Chávez aura. She felt she achieved that. "I think I proved it to myself when I went to college and then I got into the field of public health where I worked my way up," she says. "I put my organizing skills into use when I became an outreach worker, then I became a manager, then moved up to a director. And so I proved to myself that I could have leadership

---

<sup>565</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

<sup>566</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

<sup>567</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

<sup>568</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

qualities and that I wasn't getting this job because of my family or nobody knew my mother, my uncle; it was really on my own merit."<sup>569</sup>

Those organizing skills Camila learned as a child, and the leadership qualities she saw in her role models were part of her Chicano upbringing. "Definitely my mom, my father, my uncle [César Chávez]," she reflects, "they were the role models, they were the people who most influenced who I am."<sup>570</sup> An example she cites is the way her mother compelled her to be independent. "As a kid, she really pushed us to do things on our own and it was scary," says Chávez. "I was really young the first time I took the Greyhound bus by myself and I was terrified. And not only did I have to take the bus, I had to call the Greyhound line, I had to make the reservation, and get on the bus. I was so terrified, I did not want to do this, but I was forced to."<sup>571</sup>

In retrospect, Chávez appreciates that her mother made her do things she did not want to do, and would not have done on her own.. "With the Farm Workers' Movement," she recalls, "we were so poor and...we lived off of donations. And so there were many times we had to go ask for things. 'No, I don't want to ask.' 'You need to go and you're going to go in there and you're going to ask for it'...I was so terrified but her forcing us to do those things, which I am thankful for now, really helped me become the independent woman that I am, even super resourceful in my younger adult life. That was really helpful that she did that."<sup>572</sup>

## EDUCATION

Perhaps the single most significant driver for my interviewees is education. Immigrants who came to the United States when they were teenagers encouraged their children or younger siblings to get an education. Two immigrants who came to the United States when they were young graduated from college, and one of them got an advanced degree. All the interviewees who are at least second generation have graduated from or are in college. The single exception is businessman Fred Ruiz, who did not graduate from a four-year university but today sits on the University of California Board of Regents. Three of the interviewees have advanced degrees, two of them with PhDs.<sup>573</sup> Many of

---

<sup>569</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

<sup>570</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

<sup>571</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

<sup>572</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

<sup>573</sup> Three of the interviewees, Adela de la Torre, Gerald Haslam, and Alice Perez were interviewed primarily about their observations about the Central Valley and power, and not intended to be subjects. However, de la Torre is included in the sample.

these interviewees got educations in spite of discrimination, hardships, and challenges. Reading their stories of how they prevailed in seeking their educations helps to understand why education is such a highly valued commodity that has been a resource in their success.

I chose subjects who have had experiences with the higher education system because it seemed like a driver of their success or, in the case of most of the immigrants, it was part of the “immigrant bargain” and became a marker of identity for their children.

“Get as much education as you can”<sup>574</sup> was a mantra to Lea Ybarra. She is third generation on her father’s side, and 2.5 generation<sup>575</sup> on her mother’s side. Her father had a seventh grade education, and her mother went to the second grade. They were field laborers.

Ybarra says her parents did not understand the complexities of education, nor did they comprehend what a master’s degree or a PhD meant. But they knew the value of an education. “To them,” says Ybarra, “it just meant getting us out of the struggles that they had had growing up, and that they still had as adults because of a lack of an education.”<sup>576</sup> Both of her siblings also graduated from college.

Ybarra is especially appreciative because her parents encouraged her academic endeavors in the late 1960s, a time in history when it was common for Latinas to marry right out of high school. But not for Ybarra. “My mother would always tell me,” remarks Ybarra, “Do not get married until you have your education. Do not do that.”<sup>577</sup>

Ybarra’s father wanted her to be independent. She remembers her aunt telling her father, in Spanish, “‘Why you sending her to college? If she’s going to go and make money, she’s never going to give you any of that money.’ And my dad says, ‘I don’t care if my daughter doesn’t give me one penny. I want her to get educated so she never has to take anything from any man.’ And I thought that’s pretty damn progressive for my dad!”<sup>578</sup> It was a lesson she never forgot, says Ybarra, and one that she has passed down to her children. “‘The best gift I can give you is your education,’” she told her daughter. “I said, ‘Because that’s the key to open that door if something happens. And I hope you stay married all your life,’ I said, ‘But it could be illness, it could be sickness, it could be death’... The reason when I separated from your father, you guys never noticed a change

---

<sup>574</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>575</sup> Ybarra’s maternal grandfather was born in the United States and her maternal grandmother was born in Monterey, Mexico. Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>576</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>577</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>578</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

in standard of living. You still had a nice home, you still had everything you needed,' I said, 'because of my education. If I hadn't had my education, you would have noticed, and you would have suffered.'"<sup>579</sup>

Ybarra felt discrimination throughout her school years because she is Mexican American. Her demeanor, she remembers, was quiet and studious, and she was a top student. But "the way we were treated starts very young...I was fortunate and even though I had these, these issues, to always have a teacher there, a principal, somebody that would come and say, 'You know what, you can do this, you can do that.'"<sup>580</sup>

Ybarra thinks she was encouraged because of her grades. "They knew I was a smart little kid," she says. "Not to sound arrogant, but I was...dedicated to my studies...I always did my homework. I just was a studious kid."<sup>581</sup> Her studies paid off, and Ybarra was one of two Mexican American students who was put on the honor track, out of a school population that was 50 percent Latino.

When Ybarra was in high school, she worked as a car hop at a drive-in where she waited on her middle school principal. He said to her, "'Headstart is hiring teachers, teaching assistants.' He says, 'Why don't you go apply?'...I applied and I got the job...So every time there was something negative, there was always somebody else that also gave you a hand, and gave you an opportunity."<sup>582</sup>

Still, the negative incidents kept happening. In one social studies/civics class, the students were seated according to the grade they received. The students with the highest grades sat in front while those with the lowest sat in the back. The Mexican male students, she says, "would stand up and say, 'Well, I guess I know where I'm going to sit.' And they'd go to the back."<sup>583</sup> She shakes her head. "How destructive is that to a child's mind that you get, you get tracked like that in a classroom...when you're seniors in high school? I mean that's a lot

---

<sup>579</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>580</sup> Ybarra, interview by author. "What you're talking about is structural bias...Educational deprivation is discrimination," says Gregg Camfield. "Implicit discrimination works very, very, very effectively, and people don't even know they're doing it." Gregg Camfield, conversation with author, April 28, 2015.

Keefe and Padilla say discrimination against Mexican Americans has become more subtle and indirect. "This more covert form of discrimination has been called 'institutional discrimination' or 'institutional racism' because it cannot be identified as originating from any single individual or group, but appears to be supported by policies that are systematic and endemic to institutions." Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity*, 193. *Chicano Ethnicity* was published in 1987.

<sup>581</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>582</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>583</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

of ego involved, a lot of you know, your manhood is coming to, as young people, just sort of coming into our own. And to be humiliated like that?!”<sup>584</sup>

That teacher singled Ybarra out. “I always got the highest grade above the whites, above everybody else in that class,” she says. “So I would always sit at the front. It bugged the hell out of this white teacher for some reason. And so I remember one time he says, he comes to me and he gives me my grade, which was an A. And he tells me, instead of saying congratulations, he says, ‘You know, even the mighty fall.’”<sup>585</sup>

After all these years, Ybarra is still incensed by how she was treated. “It was absolutely racist,”<sup>586</sup> she says. She cites an incident when that teacher brought in a rolling bookcase “and he brings it in front of me and then he just gets his arm and he throws the books like this off the bookshelf. And then he tells me, ‘Pick them up.’ In front of the entire classroom. ‘Pick them up.’ Now, this quiet, me being the quiet kid, shy, I don’t know what, what god gave me that power that day and I said, ‘No, I am not going to pick them up. You dropped them. You pick them up.’ Because I never spoke back to anybody....And he did that to me in front of the entire class. And I refused.”<sup>587</sup>

That incident brought solidarity with the Mexican students in the back. “Afterwards, the Mexican boys up there says, ‘Good thing you didn’t do it,’” says Ybarra. “Because...it was not only to humiliate me but...they all saw it as something against all of us as Mexicans in that classroom. We’re half the class!”<sup>588</sup>

That teacher was also one of the counselors, and Ybarra says he did not give her an application to the local four-year college, Fresno State, but gave her one to the local community college. Then a friend, who was Japanese American, gave Ybarra her application to Fresno State. “I wouldn’t have known enough to know where to get an application,” she says. “We’re a small town, my parents aren’t educated, none of my parents’, you know, friends’ parents are educated. There are so few that are.”<sup>589</sup>

---

<sup>584</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>585</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>586</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>587</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>588</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>589</sup> Ybarra, interview by author. Stereotypically, Asian Americans were thought of as excelling academically while Mexican Americans were considered low achieving.

Ybarra's story is illustrative of the struggles Mexican American students often go through. She calls what happened to her when she got to Fresno State "just destiny,"<sup>590</sup> but it changed the course of her life.

Ybarra went to Fresno State intending to major in criminology. She was a parole officer intern, supervising women coming out of prison. One day, during the first semester she was at Fresno State, Ybarra was walking across campus when two Chicano students from the University of California, Berkeley,<sup>591</sup> stopped her to ask for directions to Los Angeles, where they lived. They had stopped at Fresno State to look around and take a break. "And they said, 'Have you ever thought about going to Berkeley?'" Well, no, I hadn't because at that point, Berkeley was like a foreign country to me," Ybarra recalls. "And so they said, 'We'll send you the application.'... True to their word, they sent me an application. I applied, I got accepted, and I transferred over in the half, in the middle of the year. To Berkeley."<sup>592</sup> Suddenly, a whole new world opened to her.

"If I had stayed here [at Fresno State], says Ybarra, "I would have gotten my BA But there's no way I would have ever aspired for a PhD because I didn't know what it meant. But when you are in Berkeley, in that environment, then that is what is so critical. Because, again, that's, that's the culture, that's the environment, that's the excitement of education." Her mantra was ingrained: "Get as much education as you can."<sup>593</sup>

Ybarra had no role models at UC Berkeley, but two professors were especially influential. One was African American, and one was European American. They took an interest in the handful of graduate Latino students. These professors mentored them, and when Ybarra graduated, she wrote to one of them, "Without you two, we would never had made it. We wouldn't have survived because...we needed to feel that someone there cared about us."<sup>594</sup> Ybarra explains, "We were so used to being maligned and not being, you know, had someone that we could relate to and so forth, the kindness that they showed us just what they would show any student was really important to us and meant a lot more to us than probably other students."<sup>595</sup>

These Latino students gravitated toward each other because of their ethnicity. "It's like, you know, the magnet," says Ybarra. "We created our own group. We would get together every week and we'd talk about, 'Oh, god, our

---

<sup>590</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>591</sup> University of California, Berkeley, is commonly known as "Cal" or "Berkeley."

<sup>592</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>593</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>594</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>595</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

parents are so poor and here we are, we aren't spending all this time we could be working, but if we, you know, if we get our PhD, we can help them more.' So we were, we were always feeling guilty. Always. And I think that we helped each other out in that sense."<sup>596</sup> Ybarra says two of her closest friends are from this cohort, relationships of more than 40 years.

But racial stereotypes still existed. One professor told her she had three strikes against her: "'You're a Mexican, you're a woman, and you're very young.' And I said, 'Okay, well, the young, nothing I can do about that.' But I certainly took offense to the Mexican part. I said, 'What do you mean? What does, why is my being Mexican a strike against me?'" Ybarra says. "He says, '...in Mexican culture, the men want to keep you barefoot and pregnant and in the kitchen.' And I said, 'You know what?' I said, 'Our people left the caves the same time your people did.' I said, 'And nobody's hitting us over the head with a club or keeping us in the kitchen barefoot and pregnant.' I said, 'That's ridiculous.'"<sup>597</sup>

Ybarra's education is a point of pride for other Latinos. Her real estate agent, who is Latino, still calls her, "Dr. Ybarra," even though she has asked him to call her by her first name. She recounts why. "'No,' he says, 'There's so few of you that have PhDs still.' He says, 'You earned that.' He goes, 'I'm going to call you, 'Dr. Ybarra.'...He always introduces me as Dr. Ybarra because there's a pride, I think, that our people are having some credentials to show on it. So I think it does give you personal legitimacy."<sup>598</sup> Education gave Ybarra that personal legitimacy, a marker of power.

Jesse Toledo's father Sam wanted his children to get the education that he never got. Sam's dreams to be a doctor or lawyer could never materialize given that he quit school after the sixth grade to work to help support his family. But the path to get an education was not a easy one for Jesse. At the age of 17, he moved out from the family home because "I wanted to prove to him [my father] that I could be independent and that I could live on my own, and not be a burden. Since I worked at the restaurant and made my check and made my tips as a waiter back then, I could pay my own rent and I wanted him [his father] to be proud of me that I paid all of those things."<sup>599</sup> Sam had bought Jesse a car in high school so he did not have to drive him around, and Jesse had some freedom with his own car.

As a student, Jesse was "just average." His high school guidance counselor told him to go to community college. He told his father that, and "he

---

<sup>596</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>597</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>598</sup> Ybarra, interview by author.

<sup>599</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author. Fresno City College is a community college.

said, 'No.'" In Spanish, Sam told Jesse that "any idiot can go to [Fresno] City College.' And he goes, 'You're going to Fresno State.'"<sup>600</sup>

Jesse says, "I didn't really understand what that meant, but I was like, 'Okay, then I go to college. Go to college college.' So I went to the big college. And so I got there and...I had no clue how to study, how to do anything. How to write papers, how to manage my time, you know. I had gotten financial aid. I wrote an essay about, you know, my parents were immigrants and did that, and so (snaps fingers) I got in through a program for immigrant children or the children of immigrants, through one of those programs."<sup>601</sup> He stumbled in to Fresno State.

And Jesse kept stumbling. He was failing classes in his major, construction management. He was failing other classes, too, like history. He repeated classes, but failed them. "I was lost," he says. "And I didn't want to tell my dad."<sup>602</sup> He kept his struggles away from his family.

Jesse noticed that many of the other students—who were of European ancestry—had construction experience. But, he says, he "can't play the race card on this. It was really that my parents didn't understand what college was. They just knew that if you went and you graduated, you were golden. And you gotta want it bad enough and you do it. And you do your homework. But they never showed me how to do homework because they never went to school themselves. My mom spent all of her time in high school classes in the Spanish-speaking classes." He had no role models. When he was growing up, he "didn't even know where a bookstore was to buy a book." And now, he had one cousin in college, and he was the second one in their extended family. "So," he says, "I knew I had a lot of pressure to graduate and so I didn't want to let anybody down so I didn't tell anybody that I was failing my classes."<sup>603</sup>

Finally, Jesse went to the dean of his college. "And I told him," Jesse says, "'I don't know what to do.' He said, 'Well, you're going to have to basically drop out right now and go to City College and learn how to be a college student.' So I did."<sup>604</sup>

When Jesse told Sam he had flunked out of school, "He really didn't say much. I think he didn't want to discourage me. I think he realized that college isn't as easy, you know, as, you don't just got to want it. You also gotta have somebody showing you the way. And I was not the kind of person that knew how

---

<sup>600</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>601</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>602</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>603</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>604</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

to seek out help, you know. I just didn't know how to do it."<sup>605</sup> Jesse says his father gave him "a car, gave us a computer, gave us whatever we needed, but didn't give us the structure of school. So it took me 10 years to get through college."<sup>606</sup>

Jesse enrolled at Fresno City College. There he met his future wife Maria Elena, who showed him how to become a student. One of the classes he took was photography, "something that I can do, I can excel at and just have fun."<sup>607</sup> He started taking more photography classes, and went through the photography program, "but no prerequisites done."<sup>608</sup> He discovered he needed only two classes to get an associate of arts degree but, more importantly, he "knew what it was to be a college student."<sup>609</sup>

By this time, Jesse and Maria Elena were married and had three young daughters. He applied to Fresno State again, and was accepted. "But I don't want an art degree," he says, "'cause, you know, I remember people saying, 'Oh, you have a photo degree? You want fries with that?'"<sup>610</sup> So he thought about what he was good at, and decided since he had worked his way up to a manager at Toledo's Mexican Restaurant, that he would take business management classes. "I got into the business track," says Jesse, "and I learned of ways to keep improving our business. And so I said, 'Well, I have to finish in business. I have to learn how to make this restaurant a better restaurant.'"<sup>611</sup>

Jesse felt more comfortable in the business school than he had in construction management. "You would find like most all of the Hispanics" in either education, studying to be teachers, or business, says Jesse, because "they wanted to have a business like their parents' business." Jesse felt the business school "was very diverse. It was, you know, 60 percent Hispanics...And I felt very comfortable."<sup>612</sup>

It was not only in the school that Jesse felt welcome. He also found a guidance counselor who was "Mexican as well. He knew my story. I was, you know, like so many and he guided me. And I would see him two, three times a semester just to make sure I was on track. And, and he really understood my

---

<sup>605</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>606</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>607</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>608</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>609</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>610</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>611</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>612</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

plight, my family, my, you know, origins and knew what to do.”<sup>613</sup> His support, coupled with Jesse’s growing maturity, gave Jesse confidence.

The second time Jesse went to Fresno State, his father helped him out financially. Sam knew the responsibilities a young father has, and “he said, ‘Tell you what. I’m going to pay you to basically be a student.’ Like a loan or a grant or whatever,” says Jesse. “He said, ‘Instead of spending all your time at the restaurant working, I want you to spend that time studying...I want you to graduate.’” So Jesse said, “Deal.”<sup>614</sup>

Maria Elena had finished school, so he knew he would finish. But it was hard for Jesse to keep his end of the bargain. For the first two or three semesters, he did not work but he got a paycheck. He had earned paychecks from the restaurant since he was nine or ten, so not working, he found, he did not like. “It felt weird,” he says. “It felt like I was stealing. It almost made me embarrassed that I wasn’t supporting myself through college.”<sup>615</sup> He wanted to earn his paycheck so the last two semesters, he went back to work, using an office at the restaurant.

Jesse remembers that “it was very difficult,”<sup>616</sup> but he was determined to make it work. He told his father he would help him with his marketing, especially since the restaurant had suffered in the recessions of the 2000s. “I remember sitting at the office doing my marketing stuff and then switching over to studying my books,” he says. “Or I had to type a paper, but I would type it at the office because when I got home, the kids wanted attention and, and my wife needed help and everything. So, you know, we were bouncing back and forth and I was bouncing back and forth between working and school, but luckily at the office I could do that.” Jesse found he could juggle work and school. “And then as the responsibilities grew, you know, school was getting harder ‘cause I was at the last semesters but I was earning my check, so I felt very happy so I knew I had to do both. And so that’s when those last two semesters I earned, I felt that I earned the right to go to college.”<sup>617</sup>

Education, Jesse was discovering, is powerful. He had taken business and management courses and found “there’s a lot more we could do here.”<sup>618</sup> So he approached his father with a management plan. He proposed being appointed senior vice president, third in command behind his father and mother, who would

---

<sup>613</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>614</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>615</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>616</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>617</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>618</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

“help you run everything. Basically, you are the coach and I’m your quarterback.”<sup>619</sup> Sam agreed, and Jesse assumed his new role in January 2012. His education bolstered his confidence.

Sam had always placed a high value on education and was now seeing his desire for his son to get an education come to fruition. Sam opened the restaurant when he was Jesse’s age, but Jesse says, “He didn’t know nearly as much about business as I do right now.”<sup>620</sup> He sees working with his father as more of a partnership; “We’re on an even playing field now,”<sup>621</sup> and he believes a certain amount of respect comes with his knowledge. Education dovetails with family. Jesse says, “What I want, in this family, is I want to use all of your expertise and put it together with all of my knowledge to make sure that our family is taken care of.”<sup>622</sup>

Now that he has succeeded in getting a college degree, Jesse has taken a bigger role in the family company and feels a sense of responsibility for his younger siblings. He told them, “I need to plan for you guys correctly, I need to set up your 401(k)s. I need to set up your insurance, your life insurance, your health insurance...I’m basically helping them get on the right track for their life, for their retirement, for their current situation, and for their home loans.”<sup>623</sup> His education is making a difference in other aspects of his life.

Carmen, Jesse’s younger sister by two years, has struggled with getting a college education, too, but it has been hard for reasons that are different than Jesse’s. Though she has taken classes in community college and at Fresno State, she has not yet earned her degree. Carmen says she has not focused on education “as much as I should have.”<sup>624</sup> She remembers her father “always, always, always, said to us, ‘I didn’t get to get the education because I had to go and work. You guys, I’m working so you guys have to do that. You guys can go to school all the way to the top.”<sup>625</sup> But like Jesse, Carmen says they had no education role model. “I think as we got older, because of his lack of education experience, he didn’t know exactly how to support us into our endeavors,”<sup>626</sup> she says.

---

<sup>619</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>620</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>621</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>622</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>623</sup> Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>624</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>625</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>626</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

“Even though they [Carmen’s parents] stress the importance of education,” Carmen muses, “at times we saw him [my father], his success without education and I think we were conflicted in how important it really was to all of us. Whether it was important to us, it was important to him, you know, did we have the discipline to do it, you know, because I think that was more about it was discipline.”<sup>627</sup> It is this conflict that she has wrestled with for many years.

Carmen went through rocky stages in her relationship with her father and the restaurants. Now, she is taking a commitment to education more seriously because, as she has gotten older and the contention has smoothed in her relationship with her father, “I feel like I need to go back and finish,” she says. “I would have a degree in accounting and then, you know, my dad would benefit from me being able to...be his CPA...Without education, I can’t do that...I like being, you know, part of the family business but I feel like...I could help my family more if I just did that one gigantic step.”<sup>628</sup>

Carmen’s educational road has had many bright spots, like the “SPARK”<sup>629</sup> program in which she participated in the fifth and sixth grades that pioneered the use of computers in the classroom. The teacher, whom they affectionately called “S,” short for his last name of “Schemeling,” “made you feel you were important,” says Carmen. “He didn’t make you feel small or like a little kid. He made you feel like, you know, you were in control of your life.”<sup>630</sup> More than that, it was “about the structure of the class,” she says. “Success had to do with how much you put in.”<sup>631</sup> She says there were computers “all around,” and the students had individual accounts. He told them the assignments and “if you goofed off, at the end of the week, when, you know, he put folders out for you to turn in your work and there was nothing in there, you’d have to call home...It was up to you to really get your work done.”<sup>632</sup> It was a poor school, but somehow it managed to have these resources; Carmen says, “I have no idea how much of his own personal investment was in that classroom...He was very invested in the kids.”<sup>633</sup>

---

<sup>627</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>628</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>629</sup> Carmen does not know what “SPARK” stood for and I was unable to find it through the Fresno Unified School District.

<sup>630</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>631</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>632</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>633</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

Carmen went through a rebellious stage when she went to college, when she says her father was “at odds with what I wanted to do, my thing.”<sup>634</sup> She got a clear tongue piercing, and he said, “‘Take the piercing out or you can’t work.’ And I was like, ‘I’m not going to take out the piercing.’ So I went and actually got another job somewhere else,”<sup>635</sup> at Starbucks, where she worked for a year.

Carmen sees the year away from Toledo’s Mexican Restaurant as as a blessing in disguise, “because first it gave me a huge appreciation of what it was like to not work for your dad...I was just another person working. I wasn’t anybody special. I wasn’t the boss’ daughter or anything. Or a family member. I’d just work and leave.”<sup>636</sup> She was also able to experience how a different kind of establishment was run. So when her father asked her to return to Toledo’s Mexican Restaurant as a manager, she said yes, and was able to implement some of the things she had learned.

But again, Carmen and her father disagreed over “some things,”<sup>637</sup> and Carmen quit. “[I] actually boycotted the restaurant in my own way,” she says. “I didn’t even step a foot in the restaurant for about a year, because it was a way of kind of like showing my dad how upset I was, you know. And I know it made an impact on him because he noticed that I wouldn’t even get off at the restaurant to go inside [when she dropped her cousin off to work], you know, not even to do the rest room or something.”<sup>638</sup> That lasted until 2012, when Jesse “started kind of running the show with my dad a little bit.”<sup>639</sup>

Carmen knows she should finish her degree, but she continues to struggle with it. On the one hand, she has counseled her friends to go to college. “I was really supportive, and my own personal friends of wanting them to go to college, too...I was like, ‘Anybody can do it if you want to do it, you can do it.’”<sup>640</sup> But for herself, “I think there was many a time when we were growing up that we heard the phrase, ‘If you’re going to do something, do it right or don’t do it at all.’ Which might be kind of weird, ‘cause I mean, I kind of feel like, you know, for college, like maybe I felt like I wasn’t doing it right so I didn’t want to do it at all (laughs). Which is not a good thing, you know, but it also...made me feel, okay, what you

---

<sup>634</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>635</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>636</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>637</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>638</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>639</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>640</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

were going to do and what you were committed to doing, you wanted to do it right.”<sup>641</sup>

The youngest Saenz, Sergio, became the first in his family to matriculate and graduate from college. His three sisters were very supportive, especially his oldest sister, Norma, he remembers. “Because my dad was kind of out of the picture,” he recalls, “she was kind of like the supporter of the family because she was the older sister...She made sure I went to a good high school and she was always on top, you know, make sure I had good grades and stuff like that.”<sup>642</sup>

Norma remembers Sergio as being very smart and self-motivated. Education is “very important”<sup>643</sup> to her, and she would have liked to have been a lawyer. But that dream was not realizable, and her younger brother, in elementary school when he came to California, “was always a great student...I felt like here we have more opportunity.”<sup>644</sup>

School, for Sergio, “was kind of my dream.” When he came to the United States, he was an English learner and went to Newcomer-Oak Ridge Elementary School his first year. “It wasn’t easy,” he says. “I didn’t pick up everything in that one year. I did watch TV to pick up stuff. And, but, you know, my first year at the Will C. Wood [Middle School] was difficult because I didn’t understand everything but I got along well.”<sup>645</sup> At the time, all the Saenzes were living together,<sup>646</sup> and “my family was very aware of things and very, you know, supportive. But they weren’t going to let me go down the wrong path”<sup>647</sup> and join a gang.

When Sergio was 14 or 15, his sisters told him to “work at least a couple of days a week,”<sup>648</sup> so he worked first at a restaurant where Norma waited tables, then at another restaurant where Sonia and Dora worked.

When Sergio was in high school, he says, “I really wanted to be a pilot for some reason. But I was illegal and it was kind of like, I thought like I couldn’t go into the Air Force and get a pilot job.”<sup>649</sup> Then his dream job was to teach at a

---

<sup>641</sup> Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

<sup>642</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>643</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>644</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>645</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>646</sup> The Saenzes who were living together were Mrs. Saenz, Norma, Sonia, Jesús, and, later, Dora. Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>647</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>648</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>649</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

university. Though he had no role models, he had good grades and wanted to go to college. But not being documented affected his dreams. "I didn't have any papers, so I didn't apply anywhere really. I wanted to apply, you know, you have dreams like Cal<sup>650</sup> and Stanford."<sup>651</sup> Then a physical education teacher suggested he go to community college to see if he could find something he liked. He applied to Cosumnes River College and was accepted. While there, he fell in love with photography, a class he took to pass the time between his math and English classes, and art became his major.

Not having papers weighed on Sergio's mind. "I was always afraid of what's going to happen when I graduate, am I going to be able to work," he says. "I was really good in my math class and I had this teacher and he was like you should work for the tutoring department. I was like, 'Oh, I don't really feel like it.' 'Well just come and try it.' And I really liked it. And then they were like, 'Well you've got to fill out this form so we can pay you.' I was like, 'Hmm...' I felt I was like, 'I quit.'"<sup>652</sup>

The same thing happened when Sergio went on to California State University, Sacramento.<sup>653</sup> One of his professors wanted Sergio to be his teaching assistant, and he "actually became his T.A. and he was like, 'Wait, get paid for this. You're a T.A.' 'Nah, that's okay.' So just those kinds of things. And there were scholarships that I wanted to apply for and then just everything always come up, 'Oh, can't do it.'"<sup>654</sup> So Sergio paid his way through school, not taking out any loans or getting any scholarships. His worries about being undocumented were over after he married a U.S. citizen, Reina, in 2003.

The Saenzes launched Las Tres Hermanas in 1996, when Sergio was still in school. "It was kind of scary," <sup>655</sup> he remembers. "The first day we open for lunch," says Norma. "It was busy. It was crazy."<sup>656</sup> The whole family was working. "We only had the chef and Dora and Sonia waiting tables and Sergio, my mom is washing dishes. Everybody's helping,"<sup>657</sup> says Norma.

---

<sup>650</sup> University of California, Berkeley, is considered one of the top UC schools academically.

<sup>651</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>652</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>653</sup> California State University, Sacramento, is commonly known as "Sac State."

<sup>654</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>655</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>656</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>657</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

A couple of months after it opened, Las Tres Hermanas got reviewed in the *Sacramento Bee*. It was “a fantastic review.”<sup>658</sup> Sergio says it was “packed! For people like lining out the door, we were running out of stuff. I mean, it was just chaos!...It was almost tenfold, the sales...That review really put the business on a path to success.”<sup>659</sup> It meant “we had to hire people because we couldn't do all the work ourselves,”<sup>660</sup> says Norma.

A few years later, the Saenzes opened a second restaurant in East Sacramento. Norma and Dora went there and Sonia and Sergio stayed at the original location downtown. Then an opportunity came up for Sergio unexpectedly. A customer, who was a restaurant broker, told him about a building in Davis that would be “perfect” for him, and told him to “just go look at it.”<sup>661</sup> This was in 2010.

Sergio looked at the building, and “fell in love with the possibilities of it, you know, all the glass and the patio is kind of shabby but okay, we can do this to the patio and make it nice.”<sup>662</sup> He took his wife, Reina, to look at it, then they asked a friend who lived in Davis where she went to eat Mexican food. She told them there was no sit-down restaurant in town. That convinced them.

Sergio told Sonia that “the only thing I want is to let me use the name...I work [at] Tres Hermanas for so long and I feel like I work on the menu and we worked on the flavoring of it.”<sup>663</sup> He financed it all on his own, taking equity out of his home to do so. Why did he want to separate from his sisters? “Maybe a little bit is ego,” he says. “I had to know I could do something on my own, that I wasn't always depending on my sisters. I mean, they did help me a lot, but I wanted to prove it to myself that I could do it.”<sup>664</sup>

The Davis restaurant was successful from the start. “We opened and by the Friday we were slammed, every table full, and the cooks are just learning and the waiters are just learning,” says Sergio. “You train for something but until you experience it for real, you know, you can't really simulate that.”<sup>665</sup>

It is with this Davis location of Las Tres Hermanas that Sergio feels his education has helped him. The professors’ “ideas were not just about paintings

---

<sup>658</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>659</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>660</sup> Norma Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>661</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>662</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>663</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>664</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>665</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

and sculpture,” he says, “their ideas about trying to make something as good as possible in every aspect of life. And so I didn’t, at first, I didn’t think those two things were connected but when I was reading about artists in New York in the 1960s, they actually opened up restaurants and started like the whole foodie culture...I feel like we take a lot of pride in making things as good as possible, and I think I learned that from my art degree.”<sup>666</sup> He also says “when you have a little bit of an art background, so you know people who can get stuff done, muralists.”<sup>667</sup>

His liberal arts education has also helped him in business by broadening the range of subjects about which he can converse. “I feel like I’m so well rounded that I can talk to anybody from any circle of life and have a good conversation...In Davis, I have very educated core customers and some are liberal, some are conservative, but I can relate and find something in common to talk to pretty much any customer. I think it’s just kind of like fun when you go to a restaurant and the owner comes to your table and talks to you.”<sup>668</sup>

Like Sergio, José Antonio Ramírez immigrated to the United States when he was young; he was a toddler when his uncle brought him across the desert. He grew up doing migrant labor farm work and various entrepreneurial ventures until he left home for college in 1989. Ramírez faced racial discrimination throughout all his school years, which led to his interest in social justice. His family, headed by a single mother, found a stable home with an older African-American woman, Stein Jackson, who had an extended family that lived nearby. Ramírez eagerly absorbed all he could learn from the family, outdoors in the country and in the fields.

Ramírez’s first day of school, he says, “I didn’t know any English, but I think the fact that I was introduced to an African American family at a very early age, who did know English, gave me a step up on a lot of other folks...Somehow I absorbed everything, both English and Spanish.”<sup>669</sup>

In those days, speaking Spanish in school was forbidden. “In my mind,” says Ramírez, “I couldn’t understand why...and so I found myself translating for some of my other friends. And I would get conduct referrals...I didn’t accept it because I kept doing it.”<sup>670</sup> Time and time again for punishment Ramírez was ordered to stand on a wooden block in the middle of the classroom. “They’re

---

<sup>666</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>667</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

<sup>668</sup> Sergio Saenz, interview by author. Saenz says he used color to make a statement indicating that Las Tres Hermanas had changed hands from the pasta restaurant that had previously been at that location.

<sup>669</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>670</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

supposed to be in school doing schoolwork,” says Ramírez. “But anytime there was something, either in the classroom or outside, I saw that they didn’t understand or something, I would basically step in and we would speak Spanish. And at the time that we would speak Spanish, we would get in trouble.”<sup>671</sup>

Ramírez says there were “irregularities that happened,” such as the superintendent taking some fellow students and him “over to his farm and he would make us do labor work for him...And then right before it was time to go home, which is the last period of the day...he would take us back to school and he would give us ice cream.”<sup>672</sup>

Ramírez’s education was affected in other ways by another “irregularity,” and this story demonstrates his attitude and character. Ramírez recounts that the superintendent “kicked me off the bus and made me walk to school. He didn’t want my mother to drop me off, he didn’t want anybody else to drop me off. And supposedly it was because I had a lot of accumulated conduct referrals. And you have to remember these conduct referrals are not because I was fighting or because I was being a bad kid. This was because I speaking in Spanish. He made me walk to school.”<sup>673</sup> The punishment was supposed to last two weeks.

Ramírez lived about five miles from the school, and he took back paths and went through fields and orchards to get to school. Friends wanted to join him but the superintendent told them they could not. Then neighborhood dogs started to join him, “and before I know it there was like five or six dogs,” says Ramírez. “And I get to school and all these dogs are running around. ‘Hey, whose dogs these are?’ And everybody is pointing to me and I said, ‘They’re not my dogs. They followed me.’”<sup>674</sup> That created another problem for the superintendent.

The two weeks were almost up when Ramírez’s mother took him to school and dropped him off a few blocks away. The superintendent saw him, and drove him back home. Ramírez says he told his mother he would have to walk to school another two weeks. “Somebody in the parent teacher association saw when the superintendent picked me up in the car and not drove me to school, but drove away from school,” says Ramírez. “And so she found out.”<sup>675</sup> That Saturday, Ramírez remembers cars started showing up at his house.

Many years later at Fresno State, Ramírez was taking a class called Chicano/Latino Studies, when the professor started talking about this incident. After class, Ramírez approached the professor and asked him about the superintendent, and whether the mother’s name was Maria. “And he said,

---

<sup>671</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>672</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>673</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>674</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>675</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

'Yes.' 'Well that young boy you were talking about has to be me.' And he almost sat down, because he was standing up, and he couldn't believe it. And then so that's when he filled in all the blanks that I did not know at the time."<sup>676</sup>

The incident happened when Ramírez was in elementary school. He believes "all these things I think helped me build a solid foundation and made me grow up quickly. I don't attribute it to one particular thing."<sup>677</sup> But it was a pattern of social injustice that he saw repeated when he went to high school.

Ramírez noticed that the children of migrant workers were not in the same classes as most European-origin students, but he did not figure out why until his junior year. He was on a vocational school track. Most of his fellow students, he says, were Latino or African American. Ramírez loved math—"maybe because I was counting dollars, you know, counting change"<sup>678</sup>—so he went to his counselor to see if he could change his classes. The counselor said no, "and he basically kept referring me to back to vocational and that I should go to Fresno City College."<sup>679</sup> Ramírez asked for a different counselor, who "started to put me in these college prep classes."<sup>680</sup> His name was Mr. Carillo.

"At that time," says Ramírez, "I didn't know you had to take four full years of these, you had to have so many units, grades and all that. So yes, I had very good grades, was doing very well in school, but that wasn't enough to be able to go to college."<sup>681</sup> No one had told him. "Unfortunately," he says, "that happens to this day to students, to this day."<sup>682</sup>

Ramírez wanted to go to Fresno State, but found he did not have the right college prerequisites. But he was determined to find a way. "But I didn't take no for an answer, so I went to another person," he says, a representative from Fresno State's University Outreach Services who said he did not qualify but "there's possibly another way to be able to get in... So she started to tell me there

---

<sup>676</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>677</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>678</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>679</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>680</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>681</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>682</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

was a program called the EOP<sup>683</sup> program at Fresno State and that there was a migrant program camp at Fresno State. So I got excited. I said, 'Let's do it!'"<sup>684</sup>

Ramírez applied, and while he was waiting to hear, a friend called and said he was going to college. This was in June, and Ramírez had thought Fresno State started in late August. "He said, 'Well I'm going! Did you get your letter saying that you're accepted?'," Ramírez recalls. "I said, 'No, but I know I'm going to get accepted and I'm going to go.'"<sup>685</sup> So he and his friend went to Fresno State where registration tables were set up and representatives were handing out packets of information and dormitory keys. "And then I show up and I tell them my name and they're like, 'Your name is not on the list,'" says Ramírez. "'No, it has to be on the list, him and I applied together.' Innocently...this was a different program. But because he was my friend and because he applied when I applied, I associated it with, he is here, I need to be here 'cause he applied and I applied, so I'm insistent."<sup>686</sup> Finally, he was told while they figure it out, they would give him a packet and a room key. What Ramírez did not know was that this was a summer bridge program. By the time they figured out what had happened, says Ramírez, "several days had already passed by and they just made an exception to allow me to stay and be there."<sup>687</sup> The summer bridge program, Ramírez says, turned out to be "one of the best things that ever happened to me"<sup>688</sup> because it helped improve his basic academic skills so he was prepared by the time classes started in the fall.

Going to college, Ramírez says, "I feel really blessed"<sup>689</sup> since neither his grandparents nor his mother nor father ever went to school. His mother was the second oldest in a family of 14, "and in those days, you've got to work to survive; it's cutting down jungle in order to plant corn and whatever else. And then so my grandfather didn't understand the value, the importance of education."<sup>690</sup> Ramírez says his mother wanted to go to school, but her parents did not let her. But she saw her younger brothers go to school, and "saw these people being

---

<sup>683</sup> "EOP" stands for "Educational Opportunity Program." It supports first-generation, low-income, educationally disadvantaged college students. California State University, Fresno, accessed January 9, 2013, <http://www.fresnostate.edu/studentaffairs/eop/>.

<sup>684</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>685</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>686</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>687</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>688</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>689</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>690</sup> Ramírez's mother grew up in rural Mexico. Ramírez, interview by author.

empowered. The fact that they could pick up a book, the fact that they can write a letter or do things that she was not able to do. I guess the other thing is that the deficiencies that she was able to comprehend from seeing my grandmother and my grandfather.”<sup>691</sup> So she encouraged Ramírez to go to college. “She didn’t really understand what college was” says Ramírez. “She just knew that the more you study, the better off you’re going to be, the better person you’re going to be.”<sup>692</sup>

Fresno State had no architectural engineering program, so Ramírez decided to pursue construction management and engineering. During the 1990s, few Latinos were in the major; Ramírez remembers there were three of them. He says they were going over their homework in Spanish, and a student of European heritage “yells out, ‘English only!’”<sup>693</sup> One of his friends started to answer back, but Ramírez told him to drop it; experience had taught him wisdom.

Ramírez noticed self-segregation in the class. There were no African Americans, and the European Americans sat on one side, the three Latinos on the other. Ramírez says the professor helped the European-American students, but not the Latinos. When it came time for the final, Ramírez was told he had failed it. He asked to see it, but he says the professor told him he did not have it, and the professor gave him a C. Ramírez took another course from this same professor, and the same thing happened.

Meantime, Ramírez had met a director in administration, Richard Arndt, in a summer job, and told him about his experiences. When he took a third course and the same thing happened, Ramírez says he made an appointment to see the professor and was kept waiting for an hour. “I was about ready to leave when he goes, ‘Sit down!’ And he’s going like this (snaps his fingers),” says Ramírez. He went on to tell the professor he was “‘disrespectful. So I’m leaving.’ So I leave.”<sup>694</sup> And went to Arndt and told him what had happened. Arndt advised Ramírez to go through channels, from writing letters to talking to various faculty members to, finally, having a hearing on the matter. Ramírez asked the other Hispanic students if they wanted to join him, but they did not.

The final outcome was that “they changed my grades...I was happy because I won and I got my grades changed, however, I was instantly... blackballed in the school of engineering because I rattled the school.”<sup>695</sup> Ramírez was graduating the next semester, but he no longer felt welcome in the school of engineering, so he got a summer internship through a professor who he had had

---

<sup>691</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>692</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>693</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>694</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>695</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

when he first got to Fresno State, Luz Gonzalez in the College of Social Sciences.

Ramírez places a high value on education because he was seeing how it put him more in control of his life. He was determined to graduate from college despite the many obstacles he encountered in his discipline. His mother had valued education because she saw what doors were closed to her because she had no education. The summer internship that Ramírez got turned out to give him direction for a career, because he met the Clovis city manager, Kathy Millison, who, after hearing about his experiences, encouraged him to look into city management. “That was like the first time that I’d ever heard about city management and what it was. And then because of what had happened in the school of engineering, I wasn’t going to decide to get a master’s there or something, so I decided that the fact that I had this professor [Luz Gonzalez] here who was kind of my guardian angel over here, I made the connection that I should jump over to the school of social sciences and get a master’s degree in public administration with a city and regional planning emphasis.”<sup>696</sup> In Ramírez’s case, education begat more education.

A parallel can be drawn between Ramírez and Camila Chávez. Both are the children of migrant workers and qualified for summer bridge programs designed to help educationally disadvantaged freshmen strengthen their basic skills before the school year started. Chávez credits Mills with establishing a summer bridge program after finding that many students dropped out before they finished their first semester. “So they created a program for women of color,” says Chávez. “I got to be on campus a month before school even began to actually build relationships with about 20 women of color.”<sup>697</sup> The support for them was valuable, and she says. “I’m so thankful that helped me to create those lifelong friendships.”<sup>698</sup>

Chávez was exposed to a different part of society when she went to Mills, one that she “had never experienced. And you had really, really wealthy families that sent their daughters to Mills College, so they pretty much live in this other, different reality...there were a lot of things that just things that they just, whether it is a sociology class or whatever, different things we were learning and the assumptions that they make... Basically that poor people deserve to be poor because of the bad decisions that they made and just that kind of mentality.”<sup>699</sup>

“We were based in East Oakland,” says Chávez. “All around Mills College, around the gates was an extremely poor neighborhood, lots of violence and

---

<sup>696</sup> Ramírez, interview by author.

<sup>697</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>698</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>699</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

drugs...Mills College was just this bubble, really separated from that.”<sup>700</sup> One student, she says, never left campus for the entire year because she was so afraid of the outside community.

Why did Chávez choose to go to Mills? “I thought it was so cool that it was all women,” she says. “And that it was a small campus. It was beautiful. I was raised in the mountains and this beautiful campus with eucalyptus trees everywhere and all the leaves dying and falling. And then the fact that I wanted to become a doctor and I thought that if it was a small classroom, I’ll get the attention that will help me succeed.”<sup>701</sup>

But Chávez decided not to go into pre-med. She found she “was not as prepared enough that I should have been, from my high school education...It was just really, really hard. So I just wasn’t able to compete with my peers.”<sup>702</sup> She had not received the academic foundation that others had. She realized that she “could do it, but I would have to give up everything. I could not have any trips home, could not celebrate holidays, could not. If I just focused on everything, all of my energy, then that could be a reality.”<sup>703</sup> Her family figured prominently in her decision, then. Her parents were aging,<sup>704</sup> and both of them had had near-death experiences. Chávez wanted to be able to spend time with them so she studied child development, focusing on chronically ill children in a hospital setting.

Gender discrimination was not a factor at Mills, but race and class were. Chávez has felt racial discrimination most of her life, she says, not “just the discrimination about being a dirty Mexican or you know, those racial slurs. But then there was this other discrimination that we were related to the Chávez family, to the farm worker movement.”<sup>705</sup> She cites an incident in high school, in a geometry class. She recounts the teacher said, “‘That’s why I hate the unions, and that’s why I didn’t like what César Chávez did, he should have never come in and started a union.’ And I’m like, ‘What?’ I wasn’t really paying attention and then he starts talking about labor issues. So I raised my hand and said, ‘Excuse me, first of all I don’t know what this has to do with math and I feel like this is a personal attack on me. You know what my relationship is.’ And he started to silence me and then other students stood up for me and said, ‘Let her talk, you’re

---

<sup>700</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>701</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>702</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>703</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>704</sup> Camila is the youngest child of Huerta and Richard Chávez, Her mother was two days shy of her 46th birthday when Camila was born, and her father was 46. When Camila went to college, her parents were in their in their mid-60s.

<sup>705</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

not letting her talk.”<sup>706</sup> Chávez remembers being surprised; the other students were of European backgrounds, and not her friends. Interestingly, she says, the teacher “gained a lot of respect for me, and it was weird how that dynamic changed when I stood up to him.”<sup>707</sup>

Being a Chávez worked both ways, though. “I think one thing that was interesting was the fact that I come from a famous family and I felt I probably would have received more discrimination if people didn’t know that about me, like if I was just a regular poor Latina that went to the school, it would have been different. Because I felt that there was this kind of status that people gave me being that I was related to famous people.”<sup>708</sup>

Being in college helped Chávez come to terms with her relationship with her mother, learning to appreciate Huerta’s stature in the larger world. It also showed her the difference between her upbringing and that of other politicized young people. “A lot of people read about social justice and movements and theorize,” she says. “It was very hard for me in college to be part of these theoretical discussions when that’s not how we learned about organizing and movement building. So anything that I learned was really through hands on. I don’t remember sitting down at the dinner table talking about the different theoretical kind of conversations that we were having in the college classroom.”<sup>709</sup> She says she learned about gay rights going to a gay rights rally where her mother went and showed her support. “Hands-on exposure is how we were educated,”<sup>710</sup> she says.

Chávez sees her formal training as dovetailing with her overall education. “I feel like the strongest education I’ve had really came from my family...I remember I had one family member who said, ‘Oh, you’re going to go to that private school and they’re going to change you.’ I remember he said that like I would become kind of a sellout or something. But I think the education is really the ‘education of the heart’ that we talk about in our movement. I feel like that has been the most decisive in leading me into the path that I’m on.”<sup>711</sup>

Two of Camila’s role models exemplified this “education of the heart.” Neither her father, Richard, nor her uncle, César, went to high school. “But they were both very educated,” says Camila. “César had a full, expansive library. He was self educated. My father learned another language, so he was already

---

<sup>706</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>707</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>708</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>709</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>710</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>711</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17 2013.

bilingual, spoke English and Spanish and learned Tagalog because it was close ties with the Filipino farm workers. They traveled. So that's what we call an education of the heart, just being able to pursue their own interests and to learn from other movements and leaders, to form the Farm Workers' movement."<sup>712</sup> That, says Camila, was "the most important thing that we could learn. It wasn't about having a college education; we knew that that was important."<sup>713</sup> One of her favorite quotes from César is, "You cannot shame a person who has pride. You cannot take away their education." She goes on to say, "If somebody has the empowerment to learn, you cannot take that away once they're educated. Once that happens, you'll always have that."<sup>714</sup>

Education, or rather the knowledge generated by it, is power, as demonstrated experientially through the lives of my interviewees. But education goes beyond improving an individual's life. "The other thing that was very important was that we learned about education and that you had to take your education to help others," says Chávez. "That it is not sufficient to get something, just have an education to become rich or for your own self interests or whatever."<sup>715</sup> Chávez articulates a final theme that came out of my interviews: giving back.

## **GIVING BACK**

Nearly every one of my interviewees gives back to his or her community, be it helping out schools and community groups through fundraisers or supporting organizations financially or volunteering their time. Here I have chosen two people to discuss who exemplify different ways of giving back.

Giving back is in Chávez's DNA. Education, for her, is a resource she is committed to sharing. When Chávez was considering pre-med and medical school, she says, "I knew I wanted to become a pediatrician. I knew that I would work in a low income community."<sup>716</sup> She had a sister-in-law (now an ex-sister-in-law) who asked her why she did not become a dermatologist, because "that's where good money is."<sup>717</sup> Chávez says that would never be her motivation, and

---

<sup>712</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>713</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>714</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>715</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>716</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>717</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

her philosophy is “pretty much”<sup>718</sup> shared by her siblings. She cites as examples one of her brothers, a doctor who works in low-income clinics whose wife started a non-profit organization helping Spanish-speaking families with special needs, and another brother who is an attorney who works with workers who have been discriminated against. “They could have [gone] out and made a lot of money,” she says, “but they’re still serving.”<sup>719</sup>

Chávez is serving, too, as the executive director of the Dolores Huerta Foundation that is dedicated to issues of social justice. She “just kind of fell into the position.”<sup>720</sup> Chávez wanted to work with her mother after Huerta nearly lost her life, for the second time, when she had an aneurism in 2000. When Huerta was recuperating at the UCLA Medical Center, Chávez traveled from San Francisco, where she had gotten a job in public health as an outreach worker for the new Healthy Families program, to Los Angeles for the weekend shift caring for her mother. “Traveling back and forth,” says Chávez, “I just started realizing, wow, my mom is not going to live forever and that I should really learn as much as I can from her before she passes, that other people would really love to have this opportunity and I should take advantage of this access that I have.”<sup>721</sup> While she was contemplating this, Chávez says her mother “had a small group of colleagues that they were talking about creating some kind of organizing institute and I overheard their conversation and I thought, ‘I want to be a part of that.’”<sup>722</sup> So she told her mother she wanted to help out and work with her.

“I don’t think she took me seriously,” says Chávez, “and so I started then campaigning her friends, ‘Wouldn’t it be cool if I worked with you guys? Or if I worked with my mom.’ And they said, ‘Yeah, yeah, you should. That would be great.’ And so then after she started hearing it from her friends then she started to take me seriously.”<sup>723</sup> Then in 2002, Huerta was awarded the Puffin/Nation Prize for Creative Citizenship, given to “an individual who has challenged the status quo through courageous, imaginative and socially responsible work of significance.”<sup>724</sup> It came with a \$100,000 award. That became the seed money to start the Dolores Huerta Foundation.

---

<sup>718</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>719</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>720</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>721</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>722</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>723</sup> Chavez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>724</sup> Puffin/Nation Prize for Creative Citizenship, accessed January 12, 2015, <http://www.nationinstitute.org/puffinnation/prize.html>.

As executive director, Chávez has a hand in setting the goals and creating programs for the DHF. She estimates the DHF serves about 95 percent Latinos. Her work to empower and advance Latinos is her way of giving back.

Fred Ruiz gives back in a different way, closely linked to education. To understand why he is such a strong advocate for an educated and therefore empowered population, it is helpful to trace his education path and how it helped him to attain the success he has. And it shows how he gives back.

Ruiz is on the University of California Board of Regents<sup>725</sup> and, in addition to serving on several business boards, he has served on the University of California, Merced, Board of Trustees; the President's Advisory Board for California State University, Fresno; and the Hispanic College Fund. Ruiz Foods also has a foundation, Ruiz 4 Kids, begun in 1990 by employees that, among other programs, supports high school scholarships and mini-grants for teachers. So Ruiz is no stranger to advising young people about their educational opportunities.

In high school, Ruiz "just assumed [community college] is where I would go"<sup>726</sup> despite good grades. Most of his European-American friends went to four-year schools, but he went to community college because, he says, "I didn't know any different. But I never, and this is where maybe the counselor could have helped me, my high school counselor, because I was not encouraged to or being told, you know, well, you need to do this, you know, to prepare to go to college."<sup>727</sup> Ruiz says he was on the college track, but he "just never made the connection between high school and what happens after high school other than community college. I'm actually taking the blame for that, but also my parents, and I think this is very traditional in, you know, immigrant families, is that the families don't know and they did not yet have that college experience, so therefore they couldn't help me a lot and didn't ask questions about well, what are you doing for college and have you checked with your counselor on this? I didn't get any of that, so I just kind of missed the boat."<sup>728</sup> In retrospect, like Jesse Toledo, Ruiz sees the pattern that his education shared with other immigrant children, and it has fueled a desire to see that students like him have access to the classes and counseling that can make a difference.

Ruiz credits his community college classes as essential to his success. "I had two classes that I felt were very, very helpful to me in my business experience. One was an economics class where it was kind of like 40,000 square

---

<sup>725</sup> Ruiz was appointed July 2, 2004 by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, and his terms runs until March 1, 2016. Since the time of this interview, Ruiz has become the Vice Chairman of the Board.

<sup>726</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>727</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>728</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

foot look at how business works and the system and the process and all that. And then I had an Accounting 1A class which basically was just the math of entering debits and credits, and trying to understand, you know, all that process for bookkeeping, so to speak.”<sup>729</sup>

Ruiz used his accounting course to learn more about the accounting process. He says he could do the bookkeeping, but did not understand the accounting process, that is, doing balance sheets, tracking sales, and measuring profits. So he took a course by mail, listening to cassette tapes and working with the manual. He was learning “the financial statements, which was really key. So that was kind of how I figured that out.”<sup>730</sup>

“Sometimes I wonder,” Ruiz muses, “if I would have gone to a four-year school, could I have been more successful? But, you know, I kind of feel like I guess maybe I could have, but the way we grew this business and the way we built this business, you know, I think has been an incredible experience for me. Not just building the business, but, you know, all of the experiences along the way, you know, meeting people and overcoming obstacles and challenges.”<sup>731</sup> He had the naïveté of youth or, as he puts it, “ignorance is bliss.”<sup>732</sup> He says if he knew the challenges he and his father would face, he “probably would have said, ‘Nope. There’s no way I’m going to be able to do any of that.’”<sup>733</sup> But dealing with these obstacles becomes “kind of a way of life where you know there’s going to be more challenges and you just deal with them. You don’t complain about it, you know, because you don’t. The buck stops here.”<sup>734</sup>

All this has taught Ruiz about potential, and it is a lesson he shares with young people. “I tell this to young adults, especially, you know, minority students, is they have no idea what their potential is to be successful, you know, or to overcome obstacles, challenges, whatever, because they don’t know, because their parents, they don’t have the exposure to those things.”<sup>735</sup> In other words, they do not have role models. Ruiz sees the benefit of having role models and mentors, and he seeks to provide that to students with whom he talks. There is value, he says, in working with others. “I guarantee you that probably 99 percent of all of you, you know, can do so much more than what you’re thinking you’re

---

<sup>729</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>730</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>731</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>732</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>733</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>734</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>735</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

capable of doing if you just, you know, if you just had some, either a role model or somebody to help nurture you and give you the encouragement.”<sup>736</sup>

Ruiz reflects on how he can help young people “unleash their dreams.”<sup>737</sup> He encourages them to find a passion and pursue it. “And I think people that enjoy their work and it becomes somewhat fun, I think they will be more successful in it just for that reason by itself,” he says. “You have dreams, and I say you don’t have to tell people what those dreams are, but you should know that those dreams can come true.”<sup>738</sup> His dream at the age of 21, when he and his father started Ruiz Foods, was “the \$3 million dream,”<sup>739</sup> which he has far surpassed.<sup>740</sup> “I don’t know what my potential is,” he says thoughtfully. “I’m just not afraid of challenges, and so I don’t, you know, I don’t get stressed out about issues. It’s more like, okay, well, let’s get to work and figure it out.”<sup>741</sup>

What drives Ruiz’s deep desire and feeling of responsibility to give back? “Education is key,”<sup>742</sup> he says. He, himself, did not have a four-year education, but he did have what Camila Chávez calls “education of the heart.”<sup>743</sup> A sense of social justice, like José Antonio Ramírez expressed, is one aspect; it is tied to a sense of fairness, and education empowering people. The biggest issue as Ruiz Foods grew, he says, was that “businesses, people, need to give back in whatever way they can. I think that’s important. And as the company became more successful, giving back became more important. We got involved in the scholarship programs. And so I learned probably more about, as I got older, more about how important education is to families. And, you know, being in the Central Valley and there’s a socioeconomic disadvantage for minority students.”<sup>744</sup> That especially concerned him, particularly after vocational classes were dropped in some schools. “After it all happened,” he says, “I started thinking, jeez, they were all things that could have made a huge difference to minorities. And so education

---

<sup>736</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>737</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>738</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>739</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>740</sup> Ruiz Foods is a privately-owned company. Annual sales were estimated to be \$212 million in 2001. Funding Universe, “Ruiz Food Products, Inc. History,” accessed January 12, 2015, <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/ruiz-food-products-inc-history/>.

<sup>741</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>742</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>743</sup> Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

<sup>744</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

became more important, and there were some, you know, there were some things that needed to be fixed.”<sup>745</sup> Ruiz felt that schools “were ignoring a lot of the Hispanic students or minority students. And it just kind of mushroomed more and more in terms of just seeing that it's more of a disparity and it was just kind of getting worse.”<sup>746</sup>

In giving back, Ruiz’s experiences shaped how he thinks about how he wants to, and can, help others. He did not have full access to the educational system, so he is trying to ensure other students, like he was, do.

In *Outliers: The Story of Success*, Malcolm Gladwell concludes that success is a “group project...It’s because of the contributions of lots of different people and lots of different circumstances.”<sup>747</sup> Individual achievements and choices have led to power and success, and are often the result of collaboration, cooperation, and the contributions of others. In my next chapter, I shall examine the nuances of these five dominant themes to understand better the changing cultural dynamics, negotiating cultures in a changing world, and the significance of incorporating different cultures in America’s master narrative.

---

<sup>745</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>746</sup> Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>747</sup> Gladwell, “Q and A with Malcolm,” <http://gladwell.com/outliers/outliers-q-and-a-with-malcolm/>.

American society is a process, not a conclusion.

*John F. Kennedy*<sup>748</sup>

---

<sup>748</sup> Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants*, 68.

## CHAPTER 4: INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

Unique yet parallel: such are the stories thus far. Five dominant themes course through the experiences of my interviewees and were, in some way, tied to their success and their ability to become leaders and to negotiate their cultures. However, there are differences within these themes that I will now explore through a number of different analytical lenses to deepen my understanding: identity; gender; birth order; language; the number of generations in the United States; the importance of someone to show the way, or mentoring; and working cooperatively. These factors are intertwined and layered to make their stories more complex; they are central to the development of their attitudes and outlooks on life which, in turn, have been crucial to their success.

As with every narrative, I encountered cognitive dissonance with parts of some of them. In some places, I can negotiate the parts that seem contradictory, but in other cases I recognize there seems to be a disconnect, but cannot resolve the seeming contradiction. Bakhtin's theory of hearing many voices in a conversation is an underlying concept in the background of these narratives that helps explain these apparent dissonances. A specific example can be seen with the role that religion plays in my interviewees' narratives.

I had thought that religion might play an important role in my interviewees' lives, namely Catholicism.<sup>749</sup> In Mexican communities, Rodolfo de la Garza and his fellow researchers say the institution of Catholicism has traditionally been an important socializing agent.<sup>750</sup> Most of my interviewees are Catholic, but those that did say religion was a part of their lives did not appear to have strong religious beliefs, though they did mark certain religious holidays or occasions such as baptisms or first communions.<sup>751</sup> That coincides with what sociologist Alma Garcia says; "the majority of Mexican immigrants practiced Catholicism but blended specific Mexican cultural practices with the traditional Catholic beliefs and rituals."<sup>752</sup> Therefore, managing multiple identities through situational identities, in this case Catholicism and Mexican practices, allows the individual to

---

<sup>749</sup> For a discussion of religion in Mexican-American life and in life-cycle rituals, see N. Williams, *The Mexican American Family*, 43-63.

<sup>750</sup> de la Garza et al., *The Mexican American Experience*, 326.

<sup>751</sup> As a comparison, "fully 60 percent of black Americans and almost half of white Americans felt religion played" a major role in their identity. Gabaccia, *Immigration and American Diversity*, 8. Gabaccia's source is *The New York Times Magazine*, May 7, 2000, 66.

<sup>752</sup> A. Garcia, *The Mexican Americans*, 24. Garcia discusses religious practices of Mexican Americans, specifically Catholicism, that are tailored to retain a sense of cultural identity. See A. Garcia, *The Mexican Americans*, 97-98.

“use layers of personalities, each one activated according to purpose.”<sup>753</sup> This concept of situational identity, while applied here to a specific instance, is relevant to every ethnic group, including those of European ancestry.

As I questioned the underlying premise that change is occurring, a major secondary question arose and captured my interest, namely the cultural dynamics of power, or how power can be an indicator of a cultural shift. I argue that the master narrative of America is evolving as evidenced by the growing incorporation of Mexican American culture into American culture specifically, but of a myriad of other cultures as well. Locating the sources of power, sociologist Robert Bierstedt wrote, “Power would seem to stem from three sources: (1) numbers of people, (2) social organization, and (3) resources.”<sup>754</sup>

Keeping this in mind, statistics show that Latinos are a growing population. Historically, a majority of the Hispanic population in the United States is of Mexican descent.<sup>755</sup> In 1960, the number of Mexican-born people who lived in the United States was 576,000. That figure grew to 760,000 by 1970 and, by 2011, it had skyrocketed to 11,987,000.<sup>756</sup> In California, the Hispanic<sup>757</sup> population more than doubled in size between 1980 and 2000. In 1980, the Hispanic population was 4,544,331, or 19 percent of the total state population; in 1990 it was 7,687,938 or 25.8 percent of the total population; and by 2000, it was

---

<sup>753</sup> Re Cruz speaks to the fluidity of identity and ethnicity, and how that elasticity serves a range of purposes for the individual. It negotiates cultural, political, and social boundaries, and “must leave room for the strategizing individual who can and often does move from one group to another, changing ‘masks of identity’ in the process.” Re Cruz, “The Mexican American Community,” in Naylor, 120. See also 121.

<sup>754</sup> Bierstedt, “An Analysis of Social Power,” *American Sociological Review*, 737.

<sup>755</sup> Mexico accounts for 32 percent of all foreign-born immigrants to the United States and 66 percent of Hispanic immigrants. Jeffrey S. Passel and D’Vera Cohn, “Mexican Immigrants: How Many Come? How Many Leave?,” Pew Research Center, *Hispanic Trends*, July 22, 2009, accessed February 4, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2009/07/22/mexican-immigrants-how-many-come-how-many-leave/>.

<sup>756</sup> Passel, Cohn, and Gonzalez-Barrera, “Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero—and Perhaps Less,” <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/net-migration-from-mexico-falls-to-zero-and-perhaps-less/>.

<sup>757</sup> This is all Hispanic groups, not only Mexican origin.

10,966,556 or 32.4 percent of the total population.<sup>758</sup> In 2010, the number of Hispanics in California was 14,072,269, and by 2050, it is projected to be 23,684,647.<sup>759</sup>

But change is rarely uni-directional, and changes are occurring in the so-called minority culture as well as the historically mainstream culture. Culture is fluid, elastic, ever-evolving. “All groups have to some extent been transformed by their encounters with other groups—the majority group and all minority groups,”<sup>760</sup> say Kivisto and Croll. Alba and Foner agree; “The presence of immigrants and the second generation alters the communities in which they live and, in some ways, the larger society as well. An obvious form of impact is on food, as immigrant cuisines, often modified for European or North American tastes, enrich the offerings in the new society.”<sup>761</sup> This change, especially if it is gradual, becomes a part of our lives without us being aware of it.

The United States is a unique example of a culture that experiences change from many directions, i.e., many diverse cultures, and so it is continually negotiating its boundaries; in 2005, it had nearly 1.3 million legal migrants, more than any other country by far. The rank order of the next five receiving nations

---

<sup>758</sup> The analysis of trends in the census report cited here covers 1980-2000. Before the 1970 census, Hispanic origin was determined by indirect means such as through questions on Spanish surname or tabulating people who reported Spanish as their “mother tongue.” The 1970 census was the first to include a question on Hispanic origin, but it was asked only for a five percent sample of all households. Beginning with the 1980 census, information on Hispanic origin was collected on a 100 percent basis. Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoops, U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Special Reports, Series CENSR-4, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002) 73, 78, A-34, A-35.

<sup>759</sup> California Department of Finance Demographic Research Unit, “State and County Population Projections by Race/Ethnicity: 2010, 2020, 2030, 2040, 2050, and 2060,” accessed February 11, 2015, <http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/projections/P-1/>.

<sup>760</sup> Kivisto and Croll, *Race and Ethnicity*, 137.

<sup>761</sup> Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*, 6.

was Spain, with 569,000 migrants; Italy, with 225,000; Canada, with 208,000; Germany with 200,000, and the United Kingdom, with 190,000.<sup>762</sup>

Given this constant state of flux, I am particularly interested in the dynamics of Latino cultures, particularly Mexican culture, their interactions with historically traditional American culture, and how the demographics may be percipient of cultural change. How do people negotiate culture when they are bridging cultures? And how is America's master narrative changing as the demographics are showing changes in the population? Exploring these issues broadened and deepened my analysis of the narratives. The stories people told me are rich, full of nuances, and complicated and complex, and I selected primary examples that illustrate and illuminate the themes. By comparing and contrasting them, they enrich my understanding of the dynamics of cultural change.

~~~~~

The concept of family cuts across cultures. It is not limited by race or ethnicity, nor is it bound by gender or class. It is, broadly, a group of people related by blood or marriage, and "so to be treated with a special loyalty or intimacy."⁷⁶³ When someone asks, "What is family?," it evokes certain images

⁷⁶² Gerber, *American Immigration*, 86.

Another example of nations racially diversifying can be found in Japan. In March 2015, Ariana Miyamoto became the first mixed-race contestant to be crowned Miss Universe Japan. Her mother is Japanese and her father is African American. They divorced when she was very young. Miyamoto was born and raised in Japan, and speaks Japanese as her native language. She has faced criticism online because of her darker skin, and for "not being Japanese enough," and some comments questioned why a "pure" Japanese was not chosen.

Mixed-race children have faced discrimination since World War II when American soldiers and Japanese women married. Children of the union of African Americans and Japanese were especially discriminated against. Miyamoto's victory may be a small sign that Japan is becoming more open to racial and ethnic diversity. Masatoshi Nagata, "Not Japanese Enough? Miss Universe Japan Looks to Fight Prejudice," *Kyodo News*, in *Nichi Bei Times*, August 6, 2015, accessed August 7, 2015, <http://www.nichibei.org/2015/08/not-japanese-enough-miss-universe-japan-looks-to-fight-prejudice/>.

As this work is being written, Europe is in the midst of a migration crisis. These migrant figures are changing rapidly with the influx of refugees fleeing civil war in Syria. How the sudden arrival of thousands of people of non-European ancestry affects different European countries and their populations remains to be seen; however, parallels can be drawn between this work and the contemporary crisis. This migrant crisis is a new area of study that is emerging, and it also brings up comparisons with historical migrations.

⁷⁶³ Angus Stevenson and Christine A. Lindberg, eds., *New Oxford American Dictionary*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, accessed February 24, 2015, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195392883.001.0001/acref-9780195392883>.

and particular feelings.⁷⁶⁴ Sociologist Nancy Foner says a family is more than a place where the relationships boil down to rational economic calculations; “the family is seen as a place where there is a dynamic interplay between structure, culture, and agency—where creative culture-building takes place in the context of external social and encomium forces as well as immigrants’ remigration cultural frameworks.”⁷⁶⁵ Sociologist Lea Ybarra says, “*La familia* defines our experience at the moment of conception and throughout our lives, and also shapes our identity...Our families are the bridge between our past, our present, and our

⁷⁶⁴ One of the subjects I studied in preparation for writing this dissertation was the concept of place and how it influences people in California, and in the Central Valley in particular. I encountered the work of Yi-Fu Tuan, a pioneer in the field of humanist geography, defined as “a wide-ranging body of research emphasizing the importance of human experience and meaning in understanding peoples’ relationship with places and geographical environments. Recognizing that human involvement with the geographical world is complex and multidimensional, humanistic geographers interpret human action and awareness as they both sustain and are sustained by geographic phenomena as space, place, home, mobility, landscape, region, nature, and human-made environments.” David Seamon and Adam Lundberg, “Humanistic Geography,” *Humanistic Geography* (Encyclopedia Entry) (forthcoming 2015), academia.edu, accessed July 22, 2015, http://www.academia.edu/7800688/Humanistic_Geography_encyclopedia_entry_forthcoming_2015_.

I was especially interested in Tuan’s phenomenological perspective because how people affect and are affected by “geographic phenomena” brings to mind immigrants and their situations. In *Space and Place*, Tuan also discusses the idea of a person as “home;” “To the young child, the parent is his primary ‘place’.” The caring adult is for him a source of nurture and a haven of stability. The adult is also the guarantor of meaning to the child.” Broadening the concept, family can serve as a home; “other human beings remain the focus of value and the sources of meaning.” Speaking of Saint Augustine’s experiences, Tuan says, “the value of place was borrowed from the intimacy of a particular human relationship; place itself offered little outside of the human bond.” Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 138-140.

⁷⁶⁵ Nancy Foner, “The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Changes,” in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), 257.

future.”⁷⁶⁶ There is a general shared idea of what family is in this work because my interviewees all share a culture.⁷⁶⁷

Every family has its subtle nuances; there are differences across cultures, between agrarian/rural and urban families, the gender of children, their birth order, the genders of the parents, ages, the number of generations in the United States—in other words, a nearly infinite number of variations that make every family unique. So when family is studied within the concept of power and cultural dynamics, some of these elements will be taken into account.

Immigrants look at the world differently than people who were born in the United States or even those who were very young when they immigrated (1.5 generation). “Immigrants,” says sociologist Julia Curry Rodriguez, “both as families and as individual, carry along with them their social values, skills, aspirations, and cultures as they travel and settle in new communities.”⁷⁶⁸ Their futures are keyed on their immigrant experience, a unique type of immigration by Mexicans because immigration from Mexico is continual; there is no ocean to cross, so going back and forth between the United States and Mexico never been uncommon. Though immigrants do not reproduce exactly the cultural patterns they left behind in Mexico, “these patterns continue to have a powerful influence in shaping family values and norms as well as the actual patterns of behavior that develop in the new setting.”⁷⁶⁹ This pattern is known as cyclical or

⁷⁶⁶ Lea Ybarra, “The Family, *La Familia*,” in *Americanos: Latino Life in the United States, la Vida Latina en los Estados Unidos*, by Edward James Olmos, Lea Ybarra, and Manuel Monterrey (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1999), 84.

⁷⁶⁷ The concept of family is a common theme in narratives from Adam and Eve to *Hamlet* to a recent theme of an episode of *black-ish*, a 2014-15 ABC sitcom that centers on an upper middle class African-American family. *black-ish* addresses prejudices and stereotypes of all Americans. “Parental Guidance” addressed the many differences in families such as mixed race, black, and unmarried parents. As two families were joined by the union of their children, their differences were put aside as they became “family.” *black-ish*, “Parental Guidance,” Episode 16, ABC, broadcast March 4, 2015.

A very different example of family can be seen in the film, *McFarland, USA*. It is based on the true story of the 1987 cross country team that won a state championship. The team was composed of Mexican-American youths who were farm workers. It was the school’s first cross country team, built around the Mexican-American students. Ethnicity is a large part of the story, which is set in the Central Valley. Themes and motifs such as family, hard work, the Mexican culture, the Spanish language, and education run through the story. *McFarland, USA*, directed by Niki Caro, 2015, Walt Disney Pictures and Mayhem Pictures.

⁷⁶⁸ Julia E. Curry Rodriguez, “Immigrant Contributions, *las Contribuciones de los Emigrantes*,” in *Americanos: Latino Life in the United States, la Vida Latina en los Estados Unidos*, by Edward James Olmos, Lea Ybarra, and Manuel Monterrey (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1999), 70.

⁷⁶⁹ Foner, “The Immigrant Family,” in Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 257.

circular migration,⁷⁷⁰ and with Mexican migration, the pattern is a seasonal one, that is, “larger numbers of people head[ing] north in the spring and summer and larger numbers of people head[ed] south in the fall and winter.”⁷⁷¹ It is unlike any other immigration pattern to the United States and sets the stage for expectations for immigration for people from Mexico. It is always in the background when discussing Mexican experiences, whether the experiences are of immigrant or subsequent generations. California and the Southwest were Mexican territory, before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, so many of those residents have lived for generations in what became part of the United States.⁷⁷²

For the most part, first-generation transplants did not see adversity as adversity; they often turned it into opportunity. All of them displayed a belief in themselves and a confidence that they were in charge of their own destinies. This attitude shaped their outlooks on life and their success.

Sam Toledo fits this immigrant pattern. Relatively uneducated,⁷⁷³ he came to the United States to earn more money for his family. The broad definition of who is kin in the Mexican culture shaped the cultural patterns of Sam Toledo. He had an expectation of working as a field laborer, and a network existed of Spanish-speaking immigrants, mostly male, that he trusted and depended on to help him negotiate a foreign culture. Massey’s description of migrant networks as a form of social capital can be applied to Toledo’s situation.⁷⁷⁴

Toledo possesses an industriousness, ingenuity, and initiative that enabled him to succeed where others failed. He was very resourceful when he immigrated, and refused to take no for an answer. He figured out how to circumvent the system and circumstances, such as the first boarding house in

⁷⁷⁰ See Gerber, *American Immigration*, 56; Massey, Durand, and Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*, 41-46; and Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 70.

⁷⁷¹ Jeffrey S. Passel, D’Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, “Characteristics of Mexican-Born Immigrants Living in the U.S.,” Pew Research Center, April 23, 2012, accessed February 4, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/vi-characteristics-of-mexican-born-immigrants-living-in-the-u-s/>.

⁷⁷² See D. Gutiérrez, “Mexicans,” *A Nation of Peoples*, 375-376; D. Gutiérrez, “Globalization, Labor Migration, and the Demographic Revolution” in D. Gutiérrez (2004), 44; PBS, “The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” Rodriguez, “Mexican Americans and the Mestizo Melting Pot,” in Jacoby, 128; Sáenz and Lorena Murga, *Latino Issues*, 12; Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land*, 143; and Urbina, Vela, and Sánchez, *Ethnic Realities of Mexican Americans*, 48-56.

⁷⁷³ Economist Arturo González says “The educational attainment of Mexican immigrants is concentrated on the low end of the education distribution...The average Mexican immigrant has approximately nine years of education, meaning that he or she left school around the age of fourteen or fifteen.” Toledo left school after the 6th grade. A. González, *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy*, 41.

⁷⁷⁴ Massey, “Why Does Immigration Occur?,” in Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 39.

the Central Valley having no accommodations. Like many immigrants, he was not afraid to take chances, perhaps because he had few material possessions to lose. He looked to others for help when he did not know something, such as counting the grapevines to get paid. And he was quick to recognize opportunity—when, for example, he did not have a social security number and a fellow laborer offered to let him use his son's. His success is a product of many circumstances and challenges that contributed to how he views the world.⁷⁷⁵

Toledo could have been like thousands of other Mexicans who migrated north. Mexicans are one of the poorest ethnic groups in America; economist Arturo González says “their lower income is largely due to generational status—each succeeding generation has higher average and median incomes.”⁷⁷⁶ The Toledo family fits that pattern. But because there has been so much continual migration by Mexicans, they “have skewed the statistical socioeconomic profile of the entire Mexican-origin population in a downward direction. Group progress has been obscured by the constant addition of immigrants with low levels of education, limited job skills, and little or no knowledge of the English language.”⁷⁷⁷ Toledo broke out of this pattern, determined to succeed.

Fourteen years old when he crossed the border for the first time,⁷⁷⁸ Toledo was single-minded in his purpose: to provide financially for his family in Mexico. I have discussed how family is a very strong determinant in a person's actions. As Keefe and Padilla point out, the extended family is the most significant factor,⁷⁷⁹ and familism “is perhaps the most well-known characteristic of Mexican families.”⁷⁸⁰ Sociologist Alma Garcia cites one type of familism, normative familism, that “involves the degree of value a person places on family loyalty and

⁷⁷⁵ Sergio Saenz would call this fortune. He says the difference between the two is that “Fortune is what you make out of the breaks you get in life. Luck is something random.” His family, Saenz believes, has had both and their success stems from both luck and fortune. Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

⁷⁷⁶ A. González, *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy*, 101.

⁷⁷⁷ O. Martínez, *Mexican-Origin People in the United States*, 127.

⁷⁷⁸ Toledo immigrated in an era known as “the undocumented migrant era.” The parameters of the migrants during this era were young (the average age was in the 20s, though Toledo was younger than that); largely undocumented, with about two-thirds having no papers; and largely male, about two-thirds of them. Massey, Durand, and Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*, 69-70.

⁷⁷⁹ Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity*, 194.

⁷⁸⁰ A. Garcia, *The Mexican Americans*, 101. Garcia details types of familism, citing sociologist Maxine Baca Zinn, “Chicano Men and Masculinity,” *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10 (1982b):29-44 as her source.

unity,”⁷⁸¹ Toledo’s family is agrarian, from a small town in Mexico where a lack of education is not uncommon.

Toledo fit the textbook pattern in the immigration literature of the typical Mexican migrant at the time that he immigrated, an uneducated, poor, young, single, male immigrant without papers, with the concept of family and kinship instilled in him, living among people of the same ethnicity as he, and using the social capital created by migrant networks.⁷⁸² He grew up quickly, spending his teenage years doing manual labor and sending as much money as he could back to Mexico. As I have discussed, remittances like Toledo’s are a part of Mexico’s GDP.⁷⁸³

Mexican-American culture focuses on the concept of family as one of the pillars of an individual’s identity. These two, collective identity and individual identity, sometimes seem to be at odds with each other. As with religion, one competing voice, such as the importance of extended family, can claim primacy over individualism; Toledo sent nearly all the money he earned home to Mexico. Sometimes the collective voice is subsumed to the individual’s, with Toledo’s independence in finding his own identity in an unfamiliar country. Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia that I have discussed helps explain this tension.

Birth order shaped Toledo’s identity; he was brought up believing that the oldest male is responsible for the female and younger members of the family. That is one of the strongest reasons that Toledo left home at such a young age; he is the oldest male child in his family, the fourth child. He has seven sisters and one brother, and was driven by a strong feeling of familial responsibility to take care of his sisters, a product and pattern tied to his Mexican heritage that Keefe and Padilla outline.⁷⁸⁴ So he journeyed to the United States alone, relying on his own initiative to find a way to earn money to send home. It was six years before he returned to Mexico, six years before he secure enough to leave the United States and confident he could return. Because he came here without papers, he did not have the luxury of easily traveling between the two countries, as many

⁷⁸¹ A. Garcia, *The Mexican Americans*, 102.

⁷⁸² See Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*, 76; Clark, *Immigrants and the American Dream*, 16; Dinnerstein, Nichols, and Reimers, *Natives and Strangers*, 213; A. Garcia, *The Mexican American*, 68; Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History*, 106; Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity*, 194; Landale, Oropesa, and Bradatan, “Hispanic Families in the United States,” in Tienda and Mitchell, 139, 147; Massey et al., *Return to Aztlan*, 170; Massey, “Why Does Immigration Occur?,” in Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 39; and Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 29.

⁷⁸³ See Barone, *The New Americans*, 166; Suárez-Orozco and Páez, introduction to *Latinos Remaking America*, 11; and Ghadar, *Becoming American*, 156.

⁷⁸⁴ Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity*, 194.

who follow the Mexican circular migration pattern do,⁷⁸⁵ so he chose the economic opportunity he found in a foreign land though it meant physical isolation from his family. But he had a community in central California of like-minded men in similar circumstances as his, Mexicans, or a small ethnic enclave⁷⁸⁶ of people who worked and lived together at the same boarding house.

Toledo turned into an advantage his willingness to work as a laborer. Employers in the United States looked for an easy and cheap solution to needing workers, with “the importation of migrant workers who will accept low wages.”⁷⁸⁷ Toledo was just that kind of worker.

When Toledo and his wife had their first child, Jesse, in 1980, they had moved from working in the fields to owning a restaurant, but they were struggling. Like many family-owned businesses, the children are expected either to work from a young age or be at the business while their parents work. Jesse’s situation was no different: the restaurant became his day care.

Unlike his brother who was born ten years later after his parents had crossed the threshold of success, Jesse grew up in a working class neighborhood. He estimates 60 percent were Hispanic, and when a family moved out, Hispanics moved in. People, he says, “had a job that was like mechanic or janitor...but it kept everybody grounded.”⁷⁸⁸ Compare the neighborhood with that of his brother, Andrew, who grew up in a newly-built, relatively affluent development.

Like his father, Jesse worked as a young child. “My father, actually, since he worked, you know, as a very young child, I think he felt it necessary for my character to put me to work in the restaurants...I was a busboy...That began in the first grade.”⁷⁸⁹ The child follows in his father’s footsteps: Jesse was, again like his father, forced to be inventive. What we call work he would call games. For example, he would spot customers out of the window and try to get a table set up for them—water, chips, and salsa on the table—before they sat down. Or he would fashion cars out of cups and straws, and only later learned his father “would make his own toys when he was a kid ‘cause he couldn’t afford any new ones.”⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁵ See Gerber, *American Immigration*, 56; Massey, Durand, and Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*, 41-46; and Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 70.

⁷⁸⁶ See Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 29.

⁷⁸⁷ See Massey, “Why Does Immigration Occur?,” in Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 37.

⁷⁸⁸ Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

⁷⁸⁹ Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

⁷⁹⁰ Jesse Toledo, interview by author.

Though there were similarities between how Jesse and his father grew up, a wide disparity exists between their childhood economic situations. It was far easier for Jesse, though Sam and Martha instilled in him the value that it was the responsibility of the oldest son to take care of his siblings. Jesse grew up with family—cousins, aunts, and uncles—working at Toledo's. Taking care of blood was extremely important to him, especially his sister and brother. In our last chapter, both his siblings credit him with guiding them; in our interviews, their responses show they clearly look up to him.

But though they are close as an extended family—Andrew says Carmen is his best friend—and they get together frequently to celebrate birthdays, anniversaries, first communions, and *quinceañeras*, as de la Garza and his collaborators, Alma Garcia, and Williams discuss,⁷⁹¹ there are complexities and challenges that develop between the immigrant and the second and subsequent generations in the United States. Immigrants bring a different culture with them, and though there is an acculturation that takes place, their values were set when they lived in Mexico. “Mexico” means something different to them than it does to their children; it evokes different emotions and attitudes. Their perspectives differ from those of subsequent generations.

Generational clashes between an immigrant generation and the second generation can be due, at least in part, to the success the parent has attained. Though children can talk about their parents' lives in Mexico, or of hardships when their parents first came to the United States, it is from those stories that they know of what they went through, not personal experience. Such is the case with Sam Toledo and his children.

The Toledos' patriarch is financially successful. He supports higher education for his children, part of the “immigrant bargain,”⁷⁹² but it took his oldest son 10 years to get through college, and his other two children, born in 1982 and 1990, have not graduated from college. “U.S.-born children of Mexican immigrants must overcome several difficulties associated with growing up in a household that is unfamiliar with the education system and may lack knowledge about the economic benefits associated with postsecondary education,” says Arturo González. “A lack of family members or peers who previously attended college and can provide mentorship and encouragement puts Mexican Americans at a disadvantage,” concluding that “the lack of advice, financial aid, and a feeling of alienation on campus may prompt Mexican American students to drop out at higher rates than other groups.”⁷⁹³ Jesse did drop out, then went to

⁷⁹¹ See de la Garza et al., *The Mexican American Experience*, 326; A. Garcia, *The Mexican Americans*, 24; and Williams, *The Mexican American Family*, 43-63.

⁷⁹² See Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*, 66; Fuchs, *American Kaleidoscope*, 267; and Louie, *Keeping the Immigrant Bargain*, 6.

⁷⁹³ A. González, *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy*, 69.

community college, and it was not until he found a mentor in his future wife that he was able to complete a postsecondary education.

Carmen has gone through several rebellious stages, and has quit working at Toledo's Mexican Restaurant more than once after disagreements with her father. She has gone through periods of being estranged from her father but always, the concept of familism has reconciled them. Her narrative is one of rebellion, of individualism. But at the same time, it is a narrative describing the magnet of the family, the collectivity. Bakhtin would call this heteroglossia; his theory explains this tension between competing voices. Sometimes one voice is dominant, evident when Carmen has struggled to establish her own identity separate from the Toledo family one. As a sub-narrative, it weaves in and out of the idea of collectivity, reconciling them for the moment but leaving open the possibility that one voice, not necessarily that of the individual, may become dominant again.

Indeed, Carmen's relationship with her father, power, and success is complicated. It raises questions about the role that a parent's success plays in raising the next generation, and how, in this case, her father's early experiences of poverty and hard labor shaped his values and those of his children.⁷⁹⁴ For Sam, those experiences made him want to work very hard so his children would not have to scramble like he did, a desire shared by immigrants who migrate to the United States for economic reasons.⁷⁹⁵ Carmen says it is the reason for her father's success. "He had this drive that came from wanting to provide for his family, she says. "I think that he felt like no task was too great or too hard if it meant a better life for all of his family. Because he didn't just care about, you know, building the business for himself, for us to, you know, live in an okay house and have good food. He wanted to send money back to Mexico to make sure his parents lived in a comfortable house and he wanted to make sure that, you know, his nephew in Mexico had an education."⁷⁹⁶ She admires that in him, privileging the concept of familism where the family is more important than the individual. When she looks broadly at the family, her struggles with her individuality do not come into play. "His sense of selflessness," says Carmen, "is what kind of, I feel like, drove him more because he felt like he had to work even harder than the average person because he wasn't just thinking about his wife and his future kids. He was also thinking about his seven sisters and his one brother and their

⁷⁹⁴ Carmen's childhood was very different from Sam's. He and his children acculturated at different rates in the United States and, as Fariborz Ghadar observes, that creates a disconnect between the immigrant parent's culture and the second-generation child's. Ghadar, *Becoming American*, 148.

⁷⁹⁵ See W. Clark, *Immigrants and the American Dream*, xiv.

⁷⁹⁶ Carmen Toledo, interview by author. See A. Garcia, *The Mexican American*, 68; Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity*, 194; and Landale, Oropesa, and Bradatan, "Hispanic Families in the United States," in Tienda and Mitchell, 139, 147.

kids and their parents.”⁷⁹⁷ These are the extended kin ties discussed in the literature; family members helping each other out financially even though they have a nuclear family of their own.⁷⁹⁸

Though she respects what her father has accomplished, Carmen candidly admits that her relationship with him has been fractured off and on. She has grappled with what family means to her, at times trying to balance a closeness with her extended family while being estranged from him. A struggle with her identity was part of it, and her actions cried out for validation. They got attention, though not affirmation. “My dad kind of got at odds with what I wanted to do, my thing,”⁷⁹⁹ she recalls. She got a clear tongue piercing, and her father did not approve. That led to her quitting and going to work at Starbucks. She eventually wound up returning to Toledo’s Restaurant, but her time away from the family business gave her perspective. She was able to test her skills in another environment and try what she had learned over the years working at Toledo’s. For her, that was a necessary affirmation that she could not get at Toledo’s Mexican Restaurant.

Carmen’s search for identity was nuanced by the differences that arise between an immigrant generation and the second generation. Broadly speaking, the immigrant generation is rooted in its native country’s culture. But each successive generation is less tied to its ancestral culture, though it often retains cultural customs and foods that are reminiscent of it. Cultural changes go both ways, so as American culture is changing, the Mexican culture that the immigrant parents brought to the United States is becoming less Mexican. The family culture is therefore a hybrid, one that is evolving. Again, Carmen expresses a disconnect with her father’s and her upbringing and rates of acculturation that Fariborz Ghadar and others discuss.⁸⁰⁰

This is an established immigration concept. A parallel can be seen in Japanese immigration to the United States, which came in waves. The first wave was in the late 1800s and early 1900s when Japanese immigrated for economic reasons or as students, intending to return to the homeland. These immigrants were called *dekaseginin*, or sojourners. However, with the signing of an executive agreement between the United States and Japan in 1907, Japanese immigrants began to think of themselves more as settlers, in the United States to stay. “The Japanese community struggled, trying to strike a balance between westernizing

⁷⁹⁷ Carmen Toledo, interview by author. See A. Garcia, *The Mexican American*, 68; Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity*, 194; Landale, Oropesa, and Bradatan, “Hispanic Families in the United States,” in Tienda and Mitchell, 139, 147.

⁷⁹⁸ See A. Garcia, *The Mexican American*, 68.

⁷⁹⁹ Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

⁸⁰⁰ See Ghadar, *Becoming an American*, 148; and American Psychological Association, “Crossroads,” <http://www.apa.org/topics/immigration/immigration-report.pdf>.

their children and retaining old world values and social mores...keep[ing] the spirit of their homeland alive in this new land by maintaining Japanese customs and social activities alive.”⁸⁰¹ Today, Japanese American communities in California celebrate festivals, like the Cherry Blossom Festival in the spring, play *taiko* (drums), and eat traditional Japanese food. These festivals attract non-Japanese Americans and are an example of the bi-directionality of culture. But as Japan-origin people became more westernized with successive generations during the last century, fewer Japanese Americans speak Japanese and Japanese Americans marry out of their ethnic group at the highest rate when compared with other racial groups on the U.S. mainland.⁸⁰²

In the case of Mexican Americans, the natural progression of a loss of aspects of the culture from Mexico may not be take place as quickly as it has with other cultures. There is a constant and continual circular migration that slows the dilution of culture. Language is a strong tie, and if another language could be considered as an up and coming second language in the United States, it would be Spanish. Witness telephone use today; when calling a business, one is commonly asked to press a particular digit for Spanish. Spanish is continually being updated in the United States as immigrants and families bring changes in the language, terminology, and slang to the United States.

Language was an important communication tool for my father, a second generation Japanese American. He grew up with immigrant parents, and they spoke Japanese to him while he responded in English. He learned formal Japanese when he went to the U.S. Army’s Military Intelligence Service Language School during World War II, and spoke fluently when he lived in Japan for a decade after the war. But after he returned to the United States in the 1960s, his Japanese became outdated as the Japanese language changed and Japan became more open to western ideas. My father was able to communicate with Japanese business people still, but he told me he had to think about how to phrase things differently because his Japanese had become outdated the longer he lived away from Japan. He no longer was familiar with the slang or the westernized terms that had come into vogue.

This is not the case with Mexican-origin people and Spanish. Though many third and successive generations do not speak Spanish fluently, they follow the pattern of other immigrant groups. Like my father and many other immigrant ethnicities, the children prefer to speak English to their parents or grandparents who speak their native language—in this case, Spanish—to them. I found many of my interviewees thought it important for family members to retain Spanish, including Carmen Toledo who has an eight-year old son to whom she is teaching Spanish. Realtor Franco Garcia and restaurateur Sergio Saenz, second

⁸⁰¹ yamada and Fukami, *Building a Community*, 5, 35.

⁸⁰² Brian Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present* (Los Angeles, CA: Japanese American National Museum, 1993), 177.

generation and 1.5 generation respectively, speak Spanish fluently, and they want their children to, too, though they are aware their children are learning Spanish as a second language, not a native one. The third generation of the Toledos, Garcias, and Saenzes⁸⁰³ speak Spanish, but not with the same ease as their parents.

In spite of all the ups and downs of Carmen's relationship with her father, the idea of family was such a strong foundation for her life that it overrode the conflicts; the concept of familism was instilled in her,⁸⁰⁴ despite internal conflicts she may have had. She found she cared because "it's my dad's business,"⁸⁰⁵ and even though there have been differences, she is now working in a newly-created position as sales manager. Jesse has taken over many of the day-to-day operational duties. Carmen trusts him, the oldest sibling, to lead the way. In the Toledos' case, family works within an accepted sociological pattern.

The Saenzes come from a fractured family, but dependence within part of that family enabled it to succeed in another country. What did family mean to them? The oldest sister, Norma, was the driving force that brought her family to California and kept them together. What is it about family that is such a strong motivator and bond, even if part of the family is no longer a driver? With the Saenzes, family ties are so strong that they work and play (vacation) together.⁸⁰⁶

When Norma's parents split, her mother and the younger children moved to the city of Cuauhtémoc, about 100 miles away. As the oldest daughter, Norma felt a responsibility to her family, "I was left...taking care of them."⁸⁰⁷ The Saenzes rented a small house, which Norma says did not cost much "but we

⁸⁰³ Sergio is 1.5 generation. Language is one of the characteristics of the second-generation that he has. Spanish is his native language, but he has spoken English since he was a pre-teenager. He speaks Spanish fluently, partly because of his family's restaurants, but his children do not. This is a typical immigrant pattern that carries into subsequent generations. See Romo and Romo, "The Social and Cultural Context of the Mexican American Experience," in de la Garza, 319.

⁸⁰⁴ See A. Garcia, *The Mexican American*, 68; Keefe and Padilla, *Chicano Ethnicity*, ix-11; and Landale, Oropesa, and Bradatan, "Hispanic Families in the United States," in Tienda and Mitchell, 139, 147.

⁸⁰⁵ Carmen Toledo, interview by author.

⁸⁰⁶ Norma has two older brothers, Luis, who stayed with her father when her parents divorced when she was a teenager and did not see again, and Simón, who was two years older than Norma, and immigrated to Texas. It is unclear when Simón stopped living with the rest of the family and when he went to the United States. He was about 19 when his parents divorced. Norma was in touch with Simón when she went to Lago, Texas, where she got a job waiting tables at a restaurant. There is another Saenz brother, Jesús, about two years younger than Norma. None of these brothers was part of the Saenzes success in California. Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸⁰⁷ Norma Saenz, interview by author.

were together. That was important;⁸⁰⁸ the concept of familism was a strong value. But after a couple of years, Norma and her mother came to the conclusion the Saenzes could not exist on the money they earned. Norma was like most of the immigrants before her; according to economist Arturo González, “the majority of Mexican immigrants have emigrated for better economic opportunities.” The Saenzes considered “the *relative* wages of potential immigrants; that is, factors in the monetary and non-monetary costs of immigration to determine whether, for a particular individual, potential wages in the United States are still greater to the wages earned in Mexico” (emphasis in the original).⁸⁰⁹ So Norma decided to go to El Paso, about 300 miles away, “just to make money.”⁸¹⁰ She would join hundreds, if not thousands of her compatriots; sociologist Mary Romero found that “Half of the 28,300 daily trips taken on the [El Paso] city buses are maids.”⁸¹¹

Asked to describe those first few years, what it was like to go to another country to earn money to send home, crossing the border day after day, Norma says, “You just don’t plan it. You just go and do it...A lot of people know my father [in Cuauhtémoc], so it was hard. They didn’t give us a job because my father said don’t.”⁸¹² Throw a divorce in the family equation, then, and family becomes something different. The part of the family that moved to the city was the one Norma and her mother worked at keeping together. Norma says she is not bitter that her father spread the word not to hire them when they moved to the city. She more or less forgives him because he was an orphan and had no role models for parenting.

A paradox complicates things, though, that can be understood through the lens of Bakhtin’s theory. Norma’s father was illiterate, but she says he believed “it was very important that we get educated,”⁸¹³ at least the girls. The boys were expected to work in the fields. When the girls got jobs, they were clerical or secretarial jobs, not on the farm. Norma remembers him telling her, “You always invest in your estate and you always have your own business. Work for yourself,

⁸⁰⁸ Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸⁰⁹ A. González, *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy*, 16.

⁸¹⁰ Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸¹¹ Mary Romero, *Maid in the U.S.A.*, 10th Anniversary ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 122.

⁸¹² Norma’s father was a rancher and farmer who did business in Cuauhtémoc. Norma says he “didn’t know how to read or write but he was really good at math...he was a business person. I don’t know how he did it...but he was very well off. He was one of the richest people in that town [that they lived in].” The Saenzes lived in a two-bedroom adobe house. The parents slept in one bedroom and the seven children in the other one. When the parents divorced, “We all went with my mom. And my father felt really hurt, so he didn’t talk to us [and cut us off] financially.” Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸¹³ Norma Saenz, interview by author.

and the reason I'm sending you to get educated, because [if] you have a husband and you [are] not happy with [the marriage], you just leave him."⁸¹⁴ She shakes her head in bafflement. "Wow," she says. "He was very Latino...macho man, whatever they say, that's like what it is. And the way he treated my mom, then tell me to do the opposite to somebody who acts the way he acts, it was kind of crazy."⁸¹⁵ Norma's parents divorced because of his abusiveness to her mother, so she is puzzled by his contradictory words and actions. But many examples exist of people who persecute a behavior, gender, race, or sexual preference when they are in the persecuted group, sometimes secretly. It is the idea of heteroglossia, competing voices in the conversation, that erases, or at least eases, the contradictions to allow an individual to reconcile them and still live with the juxtaposition of ideas. It allows for the internal consistency for which individuals strive.

Norma wanted to make sure the money she sent home from Texas was used wisely. She credits her father with teaching her the value of investing, so she and her mother decided to build a house instead of renting. Like Sam Toledo, as an older sibling she felt an obligation to provide for a family hundreds of miles away. But she also had the community of other Mexicans in a similar situation, a network of relatives and friends, as did Toledo, that are magnets as Portes and Rumbaut discuss in *Immigrant America*.⁸¹⁶ So though isolated, neither was alone. They spoke Spanish with their compatriots and the work—cleaning houses or field labor—was familiar. Domestic work is one of the sectors of employment in which Mexicans commonly work in American society. Gonzalez and Fernandez call it "a telling example that also shows the ways in which Mexican labor—in this case the labor of women—has become deeply imbedded into the everyday life of urban middle-class America."⁸¹⁷

The immigrant community played a critical role for Norma, as outlined by Nee and Alba.⁸¹⁸ Her cleaning jobs were also a result of social capital; the network gave her the necessary information and resources that Massey and his

⁸¹⁴ Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸¹⁵ Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸¹⁶ Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 41.

⁸¹⁷ Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History*, 139. Gonzalez and Fernandez say the stereotype of Latinas and Mexican women as domestic workers has entered popular culture; they now fill acting roles for housekeepers and nannies in television and films. They cite film and television historian J. Fred McDonald who commented, "The baton has passed from Black actors to Hispanic actors to play this kind of stereotypical role." Mireya Navarro, "Trying to Get Beyond the Role of the Maid," *New York Times*, May 16, 2002.

⁸¹⁸ Nee and Alba, "Toward a New Definition," in Jacoby, 92.

colleagues describe.⁸¹⁹ There was an established pattern for Saenz and Toledo to follow, one that had been laid by the thousands of immigrants before them.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 changed Norma's life, as it did thousands and thousands of immigrants without papers; she became one of the 1,760,000 immigrants who was legalized.⁸²⁰ It gave her amnesty. No longer did she live in fear of being caught and deported, and it changed her outlook on being in the United States and her possibilities. As another indirect consequence of IRCA, Norma brought her younger brother Sergio to the United States. Portes and Rumbaut state, IRCA "gave legal residence to more than two million formerly unauthorized migrants, facilitating their free movement across the border and making it possible for them to bring their relatives a few years later."⁸²¹

The blueprint of Norma's life is that of an older child's. She was the one to whom financial responsibility fell, particularly since her siblings were between two and thirteen years younger than she.⁸²² Since she was a teenager, she has worked outside the home to help support the family, and that pattern continued throughout her life. And she is a mentor to her younger siblings; it is part of her identity to be a role model.⁸²³

When Sonia wanted to go into a business, it was her older sister with whom she wanted to start it, counting on Norma's language skills which she says are better than hers. Sonia kept at Norma until the restaurant Norma worked at

⁸¹⁹ Massey, et al., *Return to Aztlan*, 138-171.

⁸²⁰ Fuchs, *American Kaleidoscope*, 254.

⁸²¹ Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 135.

⁸²² The order of the Saenz siblings and the years they were born are Luis (b. *circa* 1959), Simón (b. *circa* 1961), Norma (b. December 1963), Jesús (b. *circa* 1965), Dora (b. January 1968), Sonia (b. June 1970), and Sergio (b. February 1977). It is unclear to me when Jesús emigrated to the United States and where he is now. Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸²³ In looking at the mentors the interviewees have had, I thought about whether the mentors' gender was a factor. In Eva Garcia's case, both the mentors about whom she spoke were female. In José Antonio Ramírez's case, women helped guide him. Adela de la Torre, Interim Vice Chancellor, Student Affairs for the University of California, Davis, names Chancellor Linda Katehi as mentor to her; "The chancellor's been really amazingly wonderful in her own mentorship of me, giving me good advice. And she's a very collaborative leader. And I think because she comes from Greece and she's an immigrant herself, that that affects how [she] really articulates, you know, what's really important in a way that's very positive and reaffirming." de la Torre, interview by author.

Are women more likely to be mentors, particularly to people of color because they understand how difficult it is to advance professionally without encouragement? Are they likely to feel more or less threatened than men? How does women's approach to leadership and power differ from men's? These questions and similar ones were raised as I explored factors that contributed to success in my sample cohort, and call for further study outside the scope of this work.

was sold, and she did not like the new owners. “Then that’s when I listen[ed] to Sonia,” says Norma. “That’s when Sonia convinced me and I said, ‘Okay, let’s go, let’s do it.’”⁸²⁴ Here, influence and power worked in concert; Sonia had influence on Norma, who had the power to make something happen.

“Norma,” says Sonia, “she’s been, I think, one of the most important people in my life ‘cause she’s been supportive, helping my mom...I think the older sisters are the ones who get all the work.”⁸²⁵ But Norma does not see things quite the same way. “I don’t see the job as work,” she says. “I just see something that has to be done, I go and do it.”⁸²⁶ For her, she says, “everything that you have, you have to put your passion or else it’s not going to work.”⁸²⁷ She fits the Latin stereotype with her passion, and it is this passion that she shares with her family. “I always did because I’m the oldest sister. I have to push Dora to buy a house...and Sergio is a big achiever. He’s smart, smart and also got more education.”⁸²⁸ Norma believes she is living the American Dream, and wants to make sure the rest of her family shares in it. The American Dream crosses cultures, and immigrants are drawn to it though it is foreign to them.

“My business ha[s] give[n] me all the opportunities,” she says. “I’ve been achieving more than I ever dream[ed]. I didn’t dream about being so successful, I just wanted to have a job, and I got more than that by being very successful.”⁸²⁹ Her drive encompassed her nuclear family that has been the foundation of their success.

The support of a network is crucial to success, as I have shown in the immigrant literature⁸³⁰ and which my interviews demonstrate. Griselda Barajas

⁸²⁴ Norma Saenz, interview by author.,

⁸²⁵ Sonia Saenz, interview by author.

⁸²⁶ Norma Saenz, interview by author. Sergio arrived in the United States as a pre-teen. According to economist Arturo González, “The immigrant children who are educated in the United States are capable of performing just as well as native Mexican American children, although their success is affected by their age at arrival.” A. González, *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy*, 41.

⁸²⁷ Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸²⁸ Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸²⁹ Norma Saenz, interview by author.

⁸³⁰ See Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*, 239; Barkan, Diner, and Kraut, *From Arrival to Incorporation*, 10; Clark, *Immigrants and the American Dream*, 16; Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History*, 106; Levitt, “Migrants Participate Across Borders,” in Foner (2000), 460; Massey, “Why Does Immigration Occur,” in Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 43-44; Massey et al. (1987), *Return to Aztlan*, 138-171; Nee and Alba, “Toward a New Definition,” in Jacoby, 94; Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 41; and Zahniser, “One Border, Two Crossings,” in Foner (2000), 256.

found that out when she needed capital to start her business, then additional capital to get through the first few months. Barajas opened a restaurant in downtown Sacramento, when she was young, 19 or 20 years old, and the naïveté of youth was to her advantage. She borrowed money from relatives, but found she needed more, so she says, “I would take what we would earn on a Friday and try to go over to the casinos and try to double it just to make payroll... for other people that count on me, that depend on me. They got families to feed and they did all this work and now I've got to deliver even though the sales weren't there sometimes or the rent was pretty high. Try to maintain all my obligations.”⁸³¹ Every time she went to a casino, she says, “I would go in there praying a lot and having faith that things were really going to be alright.”⁸³² That lasted about eight months. Today, she says, she thinks she “would be very scared today, I'm more conservative, less risky.”⁸³³ But it shows how far she would go to protect the people who counted on her financially. They were, she says, “my second family. Well, I shouldn't even say my second, it is like my first family because I spend more time with them than I do with my family here sometimes. And so they wanted me to succeed so that those people can succeed. So they see beyond just that one person, they can really see each one down the row.”⁸³⁴

Barajas shares credit for her success with what she calls her “first family,” an extension of her blood kin.⁸³⁵ When the National Restaurant Association Educational Foundation honored her in Washington, DC, with a 2014 Faces of Diversity American Dream Award, as she began her acceptance speech, she called her “team” to the stage. “I'm so humbled,” she said, her voice choking with emotion as people streamed up. “This does not happen by yourself. It's always with a team of people...I want you to be recognized.”⁸³⁶ Nearly 20 people joined her on stage.

Restaurateur Sergio Saenz sees his Las Tres Hermanas in Davis as a team effort as well. His staff wears t-shirts that are emblazoned with “Team Tres.” “I wanted my staff to work as a team always,” he says. He tells them, “Instead of thinking for yourself of this tip, or whatever, think about the long run for the

⁸³¹ Barajas, interview by author. Like Sam Toledo and Norma Saenz, she feels the same sort of obligation to family.

⁸³² Barajas, interview by author.

⁸³³ Barajas, interview by author.

⁸³⁴ Barajas, interview by author.

⁸³⁵ See Landale, Oropesa, and Bradatan, “Hispanic Families in the United States” in Tienda and Mitchell, 139, 147.

⁸³⁶ YouTube. Griselda Barajas, “Acceptance Speech 2014 Faces of Diversity Award,” accessed February 4, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8QrB_Z3DgJl.

restaurant and if we work as a team, and make the people's experience better, they'll be even busier and you'll probably make more tips in the long run than just having to worry about this one.”⁸³⁷ Working collaboratively has contributed to the successes of both Barajas and Sergio Saenz.

In *Outliers: The Story of Success*, Malcolm Gladwell says interdependence is necessary for successful people to become successful, that success is built on a history of circumstances and people. It is what General Eric Shinseki said when speaking of his own professional success as the first Asian-American four-star general, the highest-ranking Asian American in U.S. military history: “Today that means this soldier has had a lifetime with the opportunity to rise in my profession, recognized for my contributions. And I stand on the soldiers of those great veterans, Japanese-American veterans, of all those units from years past.”⁸³⁸ And it is what U.S. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall believed: “None of us got where we are solely by pulling ourselves up by our bootstraps. We got here because somebody—a parent, a teacher, an Ivy League crony or a few nuns—bent down and helped us pick up our boots.”⁸³⁹

This contradicts the narrative of the self-made person in America. But cognitive dissonance like this exists in all our lives in our eternal quest for internal consistency. Independence and individualism are fundamental American values on the one hand, but at the same time, in contemporary times, interdependence, as I have shown here, is growing as the American culture is becoming transformed. This is different from dependence; it is a mutually reliant relationship. I look to Bakhtin’s theory of heteroglossia to take two seemingly incongruous ideas and weave them together, sometimes privileging one, sometimes another, depending on the circumstances and particular situation.

This type of interdependent gratitude is expressed in a Japanese phrase, “*okage same de*,” which literally means, “because of the great shadow.” One account has the origin from a Buddhist story in which a weary traveler takes refuge in the shadow of a great tree, and therefore it is the greatness of others that make us who we are today. The shadow refers to the unseen, so what each person is, is the product of circumstances and people that have come before us.

⁸³⁷ Sergio Saenz, interview by author.

⁸³⁸ *Uncommon Courage: Patriotism and Civil Liberties*, directed by gayle k. yamada, DVD, broadcast 2001-2002, on PBS stations, Bridge Media, Inc., 2001. Shinseki echoes what many successful people of color have said in crediting their success to those who broke color barriers before him.

⁸³⁹ ThinkExist, accessed February 7, 2015, http://thinkexist.com/quotes/thurgood_marshall/.

What each of us has accomplished, we did not do it alone.⁸⁴⁰ Success is built on failure.

Americans are historically more individualistic than Eastern cultures which place a greater value on conformity. According to anthropologist T.M. Luhrmann, Americans tend to think of themselves as independent while “people in the rest of the world are more likely to understand themselves as interwoven with other people.”⁸⁴¹ While Luhrmann acknowledges these are broad brush strokes, they point out a cultural difference between the orientation of the Mexican culture as experientially exemplified in this work, and traditional American values on which this country was founded.

Camila Chávez has struggled with balancing independence with the interdependence of family. She sought to understand the interplay of family and personal identity, separate from her well-known Chávez family. Being raised where the United Farm Workers was headquartered, there was little she could do to change her situation had she wanted to. She loved growing up in the Chicano community of La Paz, and her mother, Dolores Huerta, taught her independence and was a role model as a strong woman. When Camila left home for Mills College, she discovered a sort of fame since many of her peers knew about her uncle, César Chávez. But she wanted to be seen for herself, not her relatives, and she was able to claim that when she was out of school and in one of her first jobs. Like Carmen Toledo, Chávez struggled with who she was as an individual in the context of a strong Mexican-American family, in her case a very well-known one.

“I just really wanted to create my own kind of identity and my own line of work,” says Chávez. “For me that was very important.”⁸⁴² She got a job as program director with the Alameda County Health Care Services Agency, responsible for outreach and enrollment and creating campaigns. She supervised 10 staff members. Chávez says she “basically needed to prove to myself that I actually had leadership qualities,”⁸⁴³ since she did not want to just land into a position because of who her family was. Ironically, her supervisor was named Vanna Chávez, and people would ask her if they were related because, says Camila, “There was this assumption that ‘Oh, she must have this position

⁸⁴⁰ Ben Hamamoto, “Editor’s Note,” *Nikkei Heritage*, National Japanese American Historical Society, Vol. 25, No. 5 (Fall 2014): 2. The phrase *okage same de* acknowledges the debt and has been carried to the United States by Japanese immigrants. It is one of the few Japanese language phrases that still endures as a common expression used by third and subsequent generation Japanese Americans.

⁸⁴¹ T.M. Luhrmann, “Wheat People vs. Rice People,” Forum, *Davis Enterprise*, December 12, 2014, B4. Originally appeared in *The New York Times*.

⁸⁴² Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

⁸⁴³ Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

because she is related to her boss.”⁸⁴⁴ Camila found a family connection, or the perception of one, is nearly unavoidable.

Later, when people found out she was related to César Chávez, Camila says they would exclaim, “Wow, how come you never told us?” ‘Because it has nothing to do with this line of work. You haven’t told me who your parents are, so I didn’t share with you who my parents are kind of thing.’”⁸⁴⁵ Finally, though, Chávez was able to reconcile her independence with her dependence on her family, so much so that she works with her mother today and is building on what her Huerta-Chávez family has accomplished, and the social justice model it has created.

Chávez’s leadership development can be traced back to her years at Mills College, a private liberal arts women’s college in the San Francisco Bay area.⁸⁴⁶ It was an interesting choice for her. Mills is small, with 772 undergraduates in 1990,⁸⁴⁷ and 985 in 2015.⁸⁴⁸ The student-faculty ratio in 1990 was 11:1.⁸⁴⁹ One reason many women attend a women’s college because they step outside of

⁸⁴⁴ Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

⁸⁴⁵ Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

⁸⁴⁶ Mills College, in Oakland, CA, remains one of the nation’s 47 all-women’s undergraduate colleges today. Rachel Hennessey, “What’s in a Women’s College,” *Forbes*, accessed March 4, 2015, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/rachelhennessey/2013/02/06/whats-in-a-womens-college/>. In 1993, about the time when Chávez was in college, according to a U.S. Department of Education report, there were 83. Lorraine Ash and Alesha Williams Boyd, “Women’s Colleges Struggle to Keep Identity and Enrollment,” *USA Today*, August 17, 2012, accessed March 4, 2015, <http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/education/story/2012-08-01/womens-colleges-enrollment/57103700/1>. In 1990, the Board of Trustees voted to admit male undergraduate students, which led to a student and staff strike and protests. The vote was rescinded. See Mary Ann Capezio, “Mills College,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1990, accessed March 4, 2015, <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/keyword/mills-college/recent/2>. In 2014, Mills became the nation’s first single-sex college to adopt a policy welcoming transgender students. Khorri Atkinson, “Mills Changes Policy to Allow Transgender Women to Enroll,” *USA Today*, August 29, 2014, accessed March 4, 2015, <http://college.usatoday.com/2014/08/29/mills-college-changes-policy-to-allow-transgender-women-to-enroll/>.

⁸⁴⁷ Larry Gordon, “Mills College Scraps Plan to Admit Men,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1990, accessed March 5, 2015, http://articles.latimes.com/1990-05-19/news/mn-64_1_mills-college.

⁸⁴⁸ U.S. News & World Report, “Mills College,” *U.S. News and World Report Education: Education Rankings & Advice*, 2015, accessed March 5, 2015, <http://colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/mills-college-1238>.

⁸⁴⁹ Lori Morris, “Position Specification, Vice President for Institutional Advancement,” Mills College, accessed March 5, 2015, http://www.mills.edu/administration/administrative_offices/human_resources/VPOIA.pdf.

gender norms and are provided with leadership opportunities they may not have at a coed college.⁸⁵⁰

Chávez went to Mills because it was a women's college and she thought she would get attention in small classes. She did not feel gender discrimination, but she did feel discrimination with race and class. Wealthier K-12 school districts are likely to have more resources, but her elementary and middle schools in Tehachapi and her high school in Bakersfield did not. Because of where she went to school, Chávez did not have access to high-achieving K-12 schools. This is consistent with recent findings that rural and low-income school districts "don't have access to broadband speeds needed for digital learning."⁸⁵¹

The study of Common Core-aligned tests in 2015 points out the problem small, poor school districts historically have had: access. The discrimination Chávez felt was structural and implicit, not explicit and intentional. But educational deprivation is discrimination, and it is the sum total of many explicit acts. "I felt that there were just so many things that I just was not up to par of their education levels,"⁸⁵² she says. The experience of being exposed to wealthy young women, she says, she "had never experienced....they pretty much live in this other, different reality."⁸⁵³ But her college years were pivotal. It was in this setting, at this time, that she decided to not become a doctor, and set about establishing her identity separate from the Chávezes. At Mills, she studied child development with an emphasis in child life, and went into the field of public health.

In hindsight, Chávez sees how her experiences, from booking a Greyhound bus as a young girl, to political marches where she was called racist names, to having to ask for donations, to her college years, have helped her grow into the leadership roles she has taken on. When she was working in public health, she feels she proved herself, and was validated for her work on her own

⁸⁵⁰ Hennessey, "What's in a Women's College," <http://www.forbes.com/sites/rachelhennessey/2013/02/06/whats-in-a-womens-college/>. See also Beverly Guy-Sheftall, "Diversity and Women's Colleges," *A Closer Look at Women's Colleges*, July 1999, accessed March 5, 2015, <http://www2.ed.gov/pubs/WomensColleges/chap4fin.html>. The first women's school was Mount Holyoke, in Massachusetts, which began in 1838 and was chartered as a college in 1888. Mills began as the First Young Ladies Seminary at Benicia in 1852, and later moved to Oakland. National Women's History Museum, "The History of Women and Education," accessed March 5, 2015, <https://www.nwhm.org/online-exhibits/education/Timeline.htm>.

⁸⁵¹ Christine Armario and Sally Ho, "Common Core Testing Lays Bare Tech Divide," *Davis Enterprise*, May 12, 2015. Common Core is a set of national academic standards in mathematics and English arts and literacy that outline what students should achieve at the end of each grade. Common Core State Standards Initiative, "About the Standards," 2015, accessed July 25, 2015, <http://www.corestandards.org/about-the-standards>.

⁸⁵² Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

⁸⁵³ Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

merits. Now, as executive director of the Dolores Huerta Foundation, she has sought ways to hone her leadership skills. A few years ago, she participated in the Institute for the Development of Emerging Area Leaders (IDEAL), a program by the Great Valley Center,⁸⁵⁴ and she actively seeks other leadership development opportunities. She says IDEAL helped her with networking and expanding her horizons. “I thought this was a good opportunity to learn other people throughout the Valley,” she says. “We discuss everything from education, healthcare, water, land use, all of that. And I learned so much and was able to meet folks that I don’t think I would have met otherwise.”⁸⁵⁵

With the dramatic rise in the numbers of Latinos in the Central Valley, how do you develop leadership and foster success in the Latino community? Chávez has initiated learning to be a leader for herself. At the time of our interview in July of 2013, she was preparing to go to the Aspen, Colorado, for a leadership conference sponsored by the Aspen Institute.⁸⁵⁶ Representing the Dolores Huerta Foundation, she was to be one of the few grassroots organizations participating. “It is this network gathering where people think about deeper, more profound issues,”⁸⁵⁷ she says. Readings were required to prepare for it, and she was scheduled to give an opening talk for a plenary session on education.

Chávez is taking responsibility for seeking leadership development opportunities, and her attitude has set her up to be an agent of change. At the same time that she is growing her own leadership skills, she is seeking to develop grassroots community leaders, one of the goals of the DHF. She works in concert with her staff to set goals, and strategizes effective ways to achieve them, concentrating on organizing from the inside out so that the community as a whole is empowered. This is a different kind of leadership than the traditional top-down corporate one. “Our goal is to develop grassroots leadership,” says Chávez. “We gather the people and we teach them that they one, have to take responsibility for their own improvements in their communities, that they have to work together to make it happen. And then we facilitate and help them along the

⁸⁵⁴ The Great Valley Center, headquartered in Modesto, is a non-profit organization that addresses critical challenges in the Central Valley and supports economic, social, and environmental activities to improve the quality of life. Great Valley Center, “About Us: Creating a Better Future for the Central Valley,” accessed March 5, 2015, <http://www.greatvalley.org/about>.

⁸⁵⁵ Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

⁸⁵⁶ The Aspen Institute is an educational and policy studies organization based in Washington, DC, whose mission is “to foster leadership based on enduring values and to provide a nonpartisan venue for dealing with critical issues.” It has an international network of partners. Aspen Institute, “About the Institute,” accessed March 5, 2015, <http://www.aspeninstitute.org/about>.

⁸⁵⁷ Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

way.”⁸⁵⁸ It is important, Chávez says, that it is members of the community, not she or her mother, who are the visible leaders.

The DHF has a model for growing leadership in the Latino community. “We establish neighborhood organizations,” says Chávez. “And these neighborhood organizations then figure out what are their priorities that they have, not just within their specific neighborhoods, their communities, but as a community as a whole.”⁸⁵⁹

Chávez cites as an example, organizing in Weedpatch. “Our very first meeting we had wasn’t even in a home because they live in trailers so small that we ended up meeting in a yard outside,” she recalls. “And we went through this little planning process asking them basically a community asset kind of thing where, ‘What are the things that we have? In our community, what are you happy with? What are the things that can change or improve?’”⁸⁶⁰ Then the group was asked to prioritize the items. Education was number one. Participants believed that “education has a direct effect on the development of human capital, or one’s skill, education, and experience that can be used to secure a quality position or advance in the job market,”⁸⁶¹ as Kivisto and Croll state. The DHF got specific — “What does that look like?,” says Chávez. “They started saying that they wanted fences around their schools because there had been security issues, that they also wanted water filters, they wanted filters in the water fountains because of the high arsenic levels.”⁸⁶² Once they had a list of ideas, Chávez says the DHF helped them create a petition which they practiced presenting to the school board. The community group took it to the school board and, Chávez says, “the school board said, ‘We’d love to do that but we don’t have the funding. Do you all want to partner with us? We can look at a bond measure for our school.’ So they learned what a bond measure was and then they decided yes and they had a special election.”⁸⁶³ The same community members then went door to door talking about the importance of this bond measure and what it could do, and the measure passed with more than 70 percent of the vote.

With the DHF supporting her, this is how Chávez wields influence. Though she does not have actual power, her influence on a community has led to power, as in Weedpatch, that is, making something happen. And it is not personal power she is seeking; she advocates for community empowerment. She cites examples

⁸⁵⁸ Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

⁸⁵⁹ Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

⁸⁶⁰ Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

⁸⁶¹ Kivisto and Croll, *Race and Ethnicity*, 88.

⁸⁶² Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

⁸⁶³ Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

in many other communities in the Central Valley of how she and the DHF are bringing about strategic change because of campaigns to educate community members, and how people the DHF has empowered are now running for public office. “We want people to learn how to make the systems changes, you know, in policy and practices that are going to improve education, healthcare.”⁸⁶⁴ She is behind the scenes; though she does not hold political office, she works at enabling others to be in decision making positions.

Chávez wants people in a community to be their own agents of change,

⁸⁶⁴ Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

using the grassroots organizing model.⁸⁶⁵ About 95 percent of the people the DHF serves are Latino, and the community meetings are conducted in Spanish. Interestingly, Chávez has had to learn Spanish since her parents did not communicate with their children in Spanish. Chávez says, “They used it as a language to communicate with each other when they didn’t want us to know what

⁸⁶⁵ In her interviews, Chávez spoke about the grassroots organizing model of house meetings that creates a sense of trust and build a relationship with a community. “With the house meeting, say I’m the organizer that goes to organize a community, so I knock on your door and I introduce myself. And I say, ‘I’m here to talk to you about what are your concerns in the community.’ And try to establish a rapport with you. You might not open up right away so maybe I’ll come back, you’re cooking, you’re doing something with your kids or whatever, but I’m trying to learn more about you. Maybe by going to your house I’m learning that you in fact are a mother, that you love gardening, those different things. An organizer is also kind of an investigator to find out what is going to tick with you. And so if I see that you’re a mom and that you have young children, I might say, ‘We have a big education campaign and I just wanted to see, are you happy with your children’s education? Do you have concerns? Would you like to get together and talk about that?’ Whenever you finally have time to talk about it, as a hook where I’m trying to hook you in and engage you, then I’ll ask you, ‘Can you host a meeting in your home? Can you invite neighbors, coworkers, or family members to this meeting?’ We just want six to eight people, but there’s such an urgency. It’s very important that we have to meet right away and we have to get together and talk, so can you do that?’ ‘Well, I don’t know.’ ‘Don’t you know at least six to eight people you can invite?’ And then you start saying, ‘Well, maybe my sister-in-law,’ and I’m writing the names down. I’m making the list for you and then I hand it to you and say, ‘Okay, well these are the people that you’re going to invite.’ And we talk about the day and time that we’ll have the meeting. I’m turning you into an organizer but I’m not telling you. Then when we have the meeting. I’m the one that gives the pitch. I run the meeting, say ‘Thank you, gayle, so much for opening your home. With the Dolores Huerta Foundation, we have had major successes.’ And I talk about the successes and I show them pictures of brand new gymnasiums and swimming pools and reinstated bus routes that were canceled, but due to the community pressure they were reinstated. We give examples and we say, ‘We need more people to work on these and we would love, we need you all to take responsibility to work on this and to work together and can you make that happen?’ We also got one joke in the house meeting about a horseman who has a whip and he goes around town and he is riding on his horse and he whips the cow and the cow is like ‘Mmmm’ and he feels all powerful and everything. And he goes on and he sees a dog and he does the same thing and he whips the dog and so he is just this awful guy, just whipping these animals. And then he comes to a tree and he sees a beehive and he is going to whip the beehive and he says, ‘Oh, I better not, they’re organized.’ So this is the example that we give to, we have different oppressive factors in our communities that when we organize, we can make a change that we want to see. Just like these people have done it who are farm workers, who are maybe undocumented, who don’t speak English, and they have made these changes and you can too. And then I ask who is going to help and after people are feeling excited everybody has had the opportunity to talk and that’s the secret, by having a small meeting and its in a familiar home, their friend’s house or whatever, their neighbor’s house, then they’re actually willing to talk. ‘Did you know they were serving spoiled food at the school?’ ‘What? They were? When did this happen? And what did you do about it? Okay then let’s talk about it.’ Let’s talk about nutrition in the schools, so whatever issues that they bring up, right? Then we ask who can host the next meeting and from there we build a chain of meetings. And so that’s how we recruit people and that’s how they learn about the work of the foundation. Because you can’t hand someone a flyer, I could go and hand out a thousand flyers for this forum tonight and they won’t come. And I can say, ‘I handed out five thousand flyers!’ And they’re not going to come. I mean, if I went and said it was a concert or some kind of other festival then maybe they’ll come, but unless you have that relationship and that trust, they’re not going to come. One benefit is the fact that a lot of people trust Dolores Huerta, but even in the organizations, and we tell our organizers to not get caught up on that, we’re not inviting people to hang out with Dolores or to see Dolores. Because one, when Dolores is no longer here, that means our organization is going to die. There are plenty of other organizations that use the same model who don’t have an icon like her. But so our goal is really how to build that trust. That’s the trust factor that somebody that they know has invited them in. And they just start building a relationship with the organizer, with the organization.” Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

was being said. They, I think, just didn't put a lot of thought into it. They thought we would learn through osmosis."⁸⁶⁶

Chávez learned Spanish as an adult, traveling and surrounding herself with Spanish-speaking friends who basically taught her the language. Her Spanish improved considerably when she began working with the DHF. "When I first started," she says, "I would have to write everything out and have somebody review it and make sure it was perfect."⁸⁶⁷ Now that she is a parent, she wants her son⁸⁶⁸ to be fluent in Spanish. "I'm actually intentionally speaking to my son only in Spanish," she says. "I want him to become bilingual... It is just so important. I'm looking for a new child care provider who will speak Spanish. I've already put him on the waiting list for the only Spanish immersion language program in Bakersfield."⁸⁶⁹ Many people in my sample think retention of the Spanish language is an important part of their cultural heritage.⁸⁷⁰

Building leadership means having vision and being able to think strategically and systematically about policy changes. Chávez sees one way to do that is to partner with community organizations, such as a legal organizations, and educating people; education is empowerment. "If somebody has there empowerment to learn, you cannot take that away once they're educated,"⁸⁷¹ she says, and believes that education must be used to help others.

Building leadership is also being able to recognize and use economic power. "I kind of have this love-hate relationship with money, and money was bad and evil. And I now see that it is very necessary, and especially in this society... With politics, [that] there are so many great people that would just love to run for office and just can't afford it."⁸⁷² But being able to harness the economic power of Latinos is yet in its infancy in the Valley. Chávez dreams about one day being able to build a political organization or network, but is not yet able to realize it.

Successfully building leaders means implementing succession planning. "As far as Latinos growing as leaders," she says, "mentoring and succession planning [which] is something that Dolores and I are working on right now... I'm also looking to see how I can train something to replace me and to really provide

⁸⁶⁶ Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

⁸⁶⁷ Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

⁸⁶⁸ At the time of this interview in July 2013, Chávez's son was 17-months old.

⁸⁶⁹ Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

⁸⁷⁰ On language retention, see Portes and Schauffler, "Language and the Second Generation," in Portes (1996), 11-12; and Romo and Romo, "The Social and Cultural Context of the Mexican American Experience" in de la Garza et al., 319, 321.

⁸⁷¹ Chávez, interview by author, July 17, 2013.

⁸⁷² Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

that mentorship. I think that that is so important with leaders and with Latino leaders especially.”⁸⁷³ She is taking advantage of learning from her mother and, though only in her mid-thirties,⁸⁷⁴ Chávez is an example of how a leader can be grown in the Valley.

Adela de la Torre’s research formally acknowledges Chávez’s life experiences. Her studies are based in the community empowerment model. At the time of our interview, de la Torre was the interim vice chancellor for Student Affairs at the University of California, Davis,⁸⁷⁵ and a professor of child studies. She heads a research team that is studying childhood obesity of Mexican-origin children in the Central Valley. She wanted to do research, she says, that allowed her “to work in my own community and in my own region of the country where I have a close affinity, a close love, a close interest in.”⁸⁷⁶ De la Torre’s team conducts 90 percent of the interviews in Spanish, in the small rural community of Firebaugh in the Central Valley.

Like Chávez’s, de la Torre’s community empowerment methodology is based on partnership rather than hierarchy. “We have differential power,” she says. “Differential power—you come in from a university. You come with a certain skill set that allows you to bring in resources that aren’t available to that community if you’re not there.”⁸⁷⁷ So her research team starts by establishing trust in the community. “We all live with an implicit bias, from whatever culture we’re in,” she says. “And that implicit bias is based on the cultural negotiation and the cultural capital that you have.”⁸⁷⁸ De la Torre expresses what Chávez knows from experience. “You come from that culture, you speak the language, you understand the culture, people are going to automatically assume a greater affinity because some of the issues that they experience are not that unfamiliar to you.”⁸⁷⁹ This goes back to how Chávez organizes community groups. In a more removed way, de la Torre is empowering community members to make changes in their lives, studying the changes in a formal, academic, prescribed method.

De la Torre’s role and relationship with the community are different than Chávez’s because of this differential power. Though her grandmother is from Mexico and she is Mexican American, and she grew up in the Central Valley, she

⁸⁷³ Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

⁸⁷⁴ Chávez was born in 1976.

⁸⁷⁵ In August 2013, de la Torre became vice chancellor for Student Affairs for UC Davis.

⁸⁷⁶ de la Torre, interview by author.

⁸⁷⁷ de la Torre, interview by author.

⁸⁷⁸ de la Torre, interview by author.

⁸⁷⁹ de la Torre, interview by author.

is also highly educated, and her role is primarily that of leading the research team. Education, then, is the differentiator. The parents—mostly mothers—of the children she is studying are mostly immigrant and far less educated than she is. But as Lea Ybarra, also a college professor, says, Mexican Americans respect the education that one of their own has achieved; it gives them legitimacy.⁸⁸⁰ De la Torre has earned that respect.

While de la Torre's research has implications for power in Mexican-American communities in the Central Valley, her position within the university system does, too. She is the only Latina vice chancellor, and the only Hispanic female who is a member of the chancellor's cabinet. She prefers a collective approach to power, but the university has a hierarchical system so she has had to grapple with finding a balance.⁸⁸¹ She cites an example. The morning of our interview, she asked two men on the train she took if she could sit at an empty seat next to them. "So one said, 'Of course. You're the vice chancellor.' Well, he moved. And I said, 'Oh, my god!' I don't even think of myself in those terms. So it became immediately obvious to me that I have some power by virtue of that position."⁸⁸²

Gender plays a role in de la Torre's model for power.⁸⁸³ "Women," she says, "are more concerned about the structure: maintaining the family, maintaining organizations, not being really present, visibly in front. But being very important in terms of making the balance so that things can go forward for the community as a whole. So that modeling was really clear in my own household, you know, my mother, my grandmother, they were very, very clearly concerned about maintaining the household balance and not so much advocating that an

⁸⁸⁰ See Jost and Major, "Emerging Perspectives on the Psychology of Legitimacy," in Jost and Major, 5; Ridgeway, Johnson, and Diekema, "External Status, Legitimacy, and Compliance," *Social Forces*, 1057; Berger, Ridgeway, Fisek, and Norman, "The Legitimation and Delegitimation of Power and Prestige Orders," *American Sociological Review*, 379; and Zelditch, "Theories of Legitimacy," in Jost and Major, 33.

⁸⁸¹ The concept of power within an educational institution for a Mexican-American woman, differential power, and personal power, and how she views them, calls for further study, but is outside the scope of this work.

⁸⁸² de la Torre, interview by author.

⁸⁸³ An illuminating discussion on gender and power can be found in *The Velvet Glove: Paternalism and Conflict in Gender, Class and Race Relations* by sociologist Mary Jackman. She argues that dominant and subordinate groups seek to avoid conflict, using ideology as the "iron hand in a velvet glove." Jackman, *The Velvet Glove*, vi.

The Velvet Glove is a Centennial Book from the University of California Press. One hundred books published between 1990 and 1995 were chosen to represent "the Press' finest publishing and bookmaking traditions as we celebrate the beginning of our second century." Jackman, *The Velvet Glove*, ii.

individual be in front.”⁸⁸⁴ She goes on to say because women tend to be more relationship driven, her cultural values tend to negate promoting individualism. Negotiating power, then, is something she was still learning. “You recognize that you use those really core values that I think a lot of women have,” she says, “of, you know, collaboration, and keeping structures together, and allowing things to move forward in a way that’s a much more organic process than a forced process.”⁸⁸⁵

Both de la Torre and Chávez find it is the women in a community who tend to be the grassroots leaders. With de la Torre’s research on childhood obesity, it is the women whose domains are traditionally the household and raising the children in Mexican homes, so they are the target audience. Chávez finds that 90 percent of her community leaders are women, even when the topic is not education or healthcare. “It is just women, I think,” she says, “as mothers, as heads of households, realize that something needs to happen and that they’re going to be the ones to make it happen.”⁸⁸⁶ Women often are community organizers and have power in the family. But this topic, while related to my study of power, is outside the scope of this dissertation.

At first glance, Camila Chávez and Fred Ruiz may not seem as though they have much in common. She is a grassroots organizer seeking to grow leaders with community empowerment and he built a multimillion dollar corporation. But they both have strategic plans as they envision the future of the Valley.

Ruiz and his father founded Ruiz Foods, and he was chairman of the board before he retired in 2007. He is one of the nation’s most successful Latino businessmen, and Ruiz Foods is the top-selling company of Mexican frozen foods.⁸⁸⁷ Ruiz capitalized on his ethnic heritage to create a niche in the frozen food market. It was a combination of many things, among them timing and

⁸⁸⁴ de la Torre, interview by author.

⁸⁸⁵ de la Torre, interview by author. De la Torre’s new role at UC Davis is interesting in light of the growing number of Latinos in California. It calls for further study but it is outside the scope of this dissertation. She is the first Latina to head the Student Affairs division at a university where the percentage of incoming Latino students is growing; 19 percent of the 2015 freshman class is Hispanic at one of the largest universities in the Central Valley. See University of California, Davis, “UC Davis Profile,” accessed March 6, 2015, http://ucdavis.edu/about/facts/uc_davis_profile.pdf.

⁸⁸⁶ Chávez, interview by author, July 18, 2013. Chávez often targets women because, as many anthropological studies have found, by benefiting women, you can benefit children. Women also use the trope of motherhood as an organizing device to great success: Mothers Against Drunk Driving, Blue Star Mothers of America, Moms Clean Air Force, Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, to name a few.

⁸⁸⁷ The most recent figures I could find for this privately-owned company was an estimated \$212 million in 2001.

product. Giving back, one of our major themes, was made possible by his many business successes that laid the foundation for his philanthropy, both with money and time.

Ruiz's influence can be seen as he has been able to capitalize on his accomplishments. He found that as his business grew, he was exposed to people who were not Hispanic but who, in one way or another, could influence outcomes. "I could see that I could help them better understand what some of the issues were. And so I, as I had opportunities to meet these different people, I would share with them, you know, some of the unfairnesses and things that they never realized because they didn't have the exposure or maybe they misunderstood it or, you know, didn't understand the culture...I felt that's one of the ways that I could really help the process as well personally."⁸⁸⁸ Ruiz has access to mainstream leaders and, in a way, has become an ambassador for those who cannot reach people of influence themselves.

Ruiz sits on, and is vice chairman of, the University of California Board of Regents.⁸⁸⁹ As one person, he does not wield power *per se*; alone, he cannot make things happen. But he is in a position and has the ability to influence the lives of hundreds of thousands of students, and the future of California. As an individual, he can influence others, and as a collective body, the regents can make decisions that could be life-changers. "I'm doing things that I never thought that I would ever do," he says wonderingly. "I've met people being a regent for the University of California not ever having any experience, you know, in a four-year higher education environment."⁸⁹⁰ Through the respect and trust he has earned through business, he has situated himself, perhaps unintentionally, as a mediator straddling two cultures, as an agent of acculturation, as an agent of change. Ruiz is working with and within mainstream culture to effect change for Latinos.

An illustration of what Ruiz is accomplishing can be seen in American Sign Language. In ASL, the word for "communicate" is made by placing both hands in a "C" shape, then alternating them back and forth.⁸⁹¹ That is the dynamic of changing cultures; as each is continually being reshaped and transformed, both move. Cultural movement, i.e., culture, is not static; as one culture evolves, so must another. American culture is an ever-changing mosaic with many moving parts.

⁸⁸⁸ Ruiz, interview by author.

⁸⁸⁹ Ruiz was appointed in July 2004 by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. His term expires in March 2016.

⁸⁹⁰ Ruiz, interview by author.

⁸⁹¹ American Sign Language University, "Communicate or Communication," lifeprint.com, accessed March 7, 2015, www.lifeprint.com. This can be seen on the American Sign Language University website and clicking on "C," then scrolling down to "communication."

In this chapter, I have examined cultural dynamics as they pertain to Mexican Americans, how dynamics and demographics are signaling change for them and, ultimately, for American society and culture. I have analyzed the findings from my interviews and interpreted them in the context of existing literature and theory, noting Bakhtin's influence. In my next chapter, I summarize my findings and my contributions to scholarship, and discuss future research questions raised by this work.

The idea of being invisible has been ingrained in our culture for too long...

Now with the new numbers,

we are being seen.

Our voice is being heard.

Jorge Ramos
*Journalist*⁸⁹²

⁸⁹² Jorge Ramos, in "Leaders," *Time*, April 27-May 5, 2015.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This dissertation began with the question, “Is the most dramatic demographic transformation in a century in the Central Valley of California, and the United States, leading to a change in who wields power?” Exploring this question led to further research questions that intrigued me, about the kind of shifts that are occurring, whether and how cultural change is an indicator of power, and whether and how the master narrative of the United States is changing as a result. Always in the background to this work is the Bakhtinian concept of multi-vocality, that is, many voices are contributing to this work that is this conversation, and they can not, nor would I want them to be, clearly separated. The interdisciplinary nature of this work is also recognized and celebrated, as my sources and academic references crossed nearly two dozen disciplines and sub-disciplines. Borrowing from Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold, the mix of disciplines is “creative and empowering;”⁸⁹³ the many strands in this work are in conversation, made possible by both their commonalities and their differences. At the same time, works about human beings are wont to be ambiguous, and clearly there are areas of elasticity that are not definitive in this manuscript, so I acknowledge that there is some inexactness to my findings because of the nature of this research. It is significant that my inquiries and investigations are on the cusp of exploring how changes in demographics are influencing cultural change in America’s master narrative as it becomes increasingly multidimensional.

Let me summarize this work thus far.

My first chapter detailed the background and context of this manuscript. The most profound demographic change in the last century in the United States is taking place with Latinos at this moment in time. I wanted to understand better the changes that may occur in American culture as a result, and the impact and implications of that reshaping. In order to do so, I looked through lenses of multiple disciplines since any change will happen over many domains. There will also be a domino effect; as one part of our culture shifts, even ever so slightly, other parts will be affected since change is never uni-directional. The re-visioning of America’s master narrative will show new differences in how power is manifested over many areas.

I began with examining the demographics of the United States, specifically California, and questioning the significance of the demographic change. I laid the framework for my study by examining power, i.e., the ability to make something happen, and focused my definition with two of the indicators of power, identity and legitimacy. I looked at my definition as it relates to influence, which I defined

⁸⁹³ Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold, “Introduction: Immigration and Immigration Research,” in Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold, 6.

as having an effect on someone or something. I looked at how the two are inextricably intertwined, acknowledging an overlap of spheres.

I then looked at narrative, how narrative is power, and power through narrative. Historically, the United States' master narrative has been largely Eurocentric. Power is created by narrative, so I examined the narratives through the microcosm of literature of four major racial/ethnic populations in America: Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos, specifically Mexican Americans. I showed how, through their literary history, each of these groups has been marginalized historically, and how that is changing and continues to adapt and alter. I discussed the importance of the storyteller and the audience, and how power is created by both. I also reviewed the history of the U.S. Census regarding race questions, and how problematic those questions have been, particularly with Latinos or Hispanics, in that they touch on self-identification and identity is a marker of power.

In my second chapter, I reviewed select literature on power and narrative, and personal narrative as a valuable vehicle for research and study, noting that narrative creates power and narrative can be power, with the storyteller and the audience playing pivotal roles. I examined a broad spectrum of personal narrative literature for populations that historically have in common that they are about or by peoples who have been marginalized or who have not had a voice in published literature: women, Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Mexican Americans, as they pertain to this work, and draw parallels with Japanese Americans to discern a pattern about personal narratives with another ethnic group. I then examined select literature on immigration and immigration theory, and historical immigration versus contemporary immigration, particularly of Mexican Americans, who have a unique immigrant experience, which I detail.

I discussed methodology, and my criteria for choosing my sample of interviewees, which is that they are successful individuals of Mexican ancestry who live in California's Central Valley. I defined success based on economic prosperity and education. I sought to understand better the dynamics of cultural change and therefore power, and explained the limitations of my qualitative research. I introduced you to my subjects.

My field research in my third chapter concentrated on a microcosm of Mexican Americans, not as a representative sample, but as individuals who might illuminate how they became successful and whether that success translates into power and cultural change, and followed established patterns. In presenting the themes that developed during the interviews, I looked at what makes these people successful, and how they have negotiated cultures and continue to negotiate a cultural identity, bridging traditional American culture and the Mexican-American culture they have created.

Chapter 4 analyzed the themes and narratives in light of the literature. I deconstructed the narratives and compared and contrasted them with the literature to understand how the interviewees fit established patterns and

prescribed criteria in terms of the themes that run through their lives. The changing roles of different aspects of Mexican culture, such as language, are examined in the context of the subjects' narratives and their relationship to American culture; they negotiate cultural identity through their stories. I showed how my subjects find and define a changing cultural identity as they work out what it means to be an American of Mexican heritage, straddling two cultures and retaining parts of Mexican traditions while at the same time transforming them into something part Mexican and part traditionally American, creating something that combines with influences from other cultures as well.

I established earlier that change is occurring as a result of the profound growth of the population of Latinos in the United States, so throughout this analysis, I constantly asked myself, "How does each individual's story reflect changes in the nation's master narrative?" Individual, distinct stories do not in themselves form a pattern, but as a conglomeration, they create a structure, in this case of changing cultural dynamics. A master narrative is necessary as a point of reference, an overarching account with countless sub-narratives that address various and different perspectives of the master narrative.

The concept of narrative as power, which I discussed in Chapter 2, underlies this question, and I also kept in mind the work of three scholars: Mikhail Bakhtin and his concept of polyphony as mentioned earlier; Kwame Anthony Appiah and his discussion of cosmopolitanism; and Benedict Anderson's idea of imagined communities.

This chapter will finish weaving together the many strands of the complex conversation in this work to show how I contribute to the body of literature on power and narrative, and proposes future directions for scholarship as a result of this dissertation. I mentioned technology in the introductory chapter as a significant part of contemporary life, and I will discuss it in relation to expanding Anderson's idea of imagined communities to virtual communities, and how that ties into my work here.

~~~~~

American society is an experiment in process.

*Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind*<sup>894</sup>

---

<sup>894</sup> Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind, "Part II: Immigrant Adaption, Assimilation, and Incorporation," in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), 136.

My interpretation of the narratives conducted for my field research coupled with my extensive readings leads me to conclude that America's master narrative is indeed changing, as we as a part of an ever-shrinking world are becoming a more inclusive society. As I have shown here, this inclusivity is coming about because of the rapidly changing ethnic demographics of our population as well as with age (youth) and fertility, particularly for Latinos; contemporary immigration patterns (as opposed to historical ones) and transnationalism; the culmination of historical events that are sometimes revised;<sup>895</sup> the blurring of ethnic and racial boundaries; and technology. One additional element came up as compelling reasons for this inclusivity, though I did not specifically study it: women as an increasing force in the working world and therefore possible shifts in the way power is manifested.

Not all my conclusions are a direct result of my research and readings, but they are rooted in the body of work I have studied as a whole throughout my academic career and which has laid a foundation for this manuscript. I have not been tied to any particular discipline, and have examined my subject matter through many lenses. The interrelatedness of the factors led to to my conclusions, and the interdisciplinary nature of this work is key to how I approached this study. One of the limitations of the type of interdisciplinary study I have undertaken is that it tends to be more broad than deep. At the same time, I have shown how the many components are connected to one another to come up with a different way of looking at this particular focused study of power and narrative. Some of the boundaries of my thought are inexact and blurred, as human research often is, and that is both the beauty and frustration of it. Therefore, my conclusions may seem as if they do not come out of my research but, as I have advocated, they have come about because of the thought process involved.

My field research focused on trailing indicators, that is, on people who have already attained a modicum of success. These indicators may forecast a trajectory for the future with coming generations, beginning with the generation after the Millennials<sup>896</sup> who will be coming into majority in the next few years. My interviews were rich and multidimensional, thanks to the candor and thoughtfulness of my subjects.

---

<sup>895</sup> Views and attitudes about historical events get revised, but they still define an immigrant population and its cultural identity. "Even among immigrants and their immediate descendants, cultural diversity is never exclusively the product of mobility. Historical memories of conquest and abuse define important elements of group solidarity and identity." Gabaccia, *Immigration and American Diversity*, 6. I discussed revisions of U.S. history that have taken place regarding racial and ethnic groups in Chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>896</sup> MarketingTeacher.com, "The Six Living Generations in America," <http://www.marketingteacher.com/the-six-living-generations-in-america/>. There is some debate over the exact years the Millennials were born, but generally, Millennials were born between 1981 and 2000. The subsequent generation does not yet have an accepted moniker.

One of the most significant aspects of all my interviewees that cannot be quantified or measured, and that continually amazed me, is their outlook on life. It is illustrated by a story in reverse, related by Gonzalez and Fernandez, of a 56-year old Mexican immigrant working as a janitor in Southern California. He lives in a one-bedroom apartment with seven other migrants. “‘Sure we’re exploited,’ he laments. ‘We know that. But what can we do? What options do we have?’”<sup>897</sup> Contrast his attitude to that of immigrants like Sam Toledo, Norma Saenz, and Griselda Barajas. Rather than seeing themselves as powerless victims, they exercised their agency, that is, “their personal and shared power.” The immigrants in my study “develop strategies to constrain, reshape, or modify the larger economic and political forces, thereby avoiding totalizing domination by outside forces.”<sup>898</sup> This willingness to assume their own agency is crucial to all of them; it is a part of their identity as migrants, and as Americans.<sup>899</sup>

The growth of the Latino population is, for the first time, fueled by the U.S. birth rate rather than the immigration rate.<sup>900</sup> The demographics of the Latino population are changing; U.S. births contribute more to the growth of Latinos than does immigration.<sup>901</sup> Additionally, there is a decline in the number of Mexicans migrating to the United States, so for the first time in four decades, fewer than half of the Latino adults in the United States were born in another country.<sup>902</sup> The high number of Latino births in the United States should mean the Latino population will continue to grow. U.S.-born Hispanics are reaching adulthood at the rate of 800,000 every year, and that number will rise to more than a million in future years.<sup>903</sup>

---

<sup>897</sup> Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History*, 113.

<sup>898</sup> Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History*, 182, 115-116.

<sup>899</sup> In the last chapter, I discussed cognitive dissonance regarding independence and interdependence. Here is an example of the two competing for prominence.

<sup>900</sup> The fertility rate is measured by the number of births per 1,000 women, age 15 to 54. In 1995, the rate was 117 for Mexican American women and 66 for all American women. Daniel D. Arreola, “Mexican Americans,” in *Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Geographical Appraisal*, 2nd ed., edited by Jesse O. McKee (Lanham, MD: Bowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), 122.

<sup>901</sup> Anna Brown, “U.S. Hispanic and Asian Populations Growing, But for Different Reasons,” Pew Research Center, June 26, 2014, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/26/u-s-hispanic-and-asian-populations-growing-but-for-different-reasons/>.

<sup>902</sup> A note of interest but peripheral to this work, is that fertility rates for Mexican women who immigrate to the United States is higher than women who stay in Mexico. In 2000, the fertility rate was 3.3 for immigrants but 2.6 for Mexican women. The reasons are unclear. Durand, Telles, and Flashman, “The Demographic Foundations of the Latino Population,” in Tienda and Mitchell, 79.

<sup>903</sup> Krogstad and Lopez, “Hispanic Nativity Shift,” <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/04/29/hispanic-nativity-shift/>.

Another statistic of significance regarding the rise of Latinos in coming years will be important: median age. The median age of Hispanics is 27, a full 10 years younger than the median age of the general U.S. population. The youngest Latino group is Mexicans, with a median age of 25.<sup>904</sup> The immigrant population is only slightly more male than female, which reflects immigration trends as well: more families than single young males are immigrating. Earlier immigration waves were skewed male.<sup>905</sup> So the work force of Latinos will be younger than that of other ethnic groups, which has implications reaching far into the future, particularly as Baby Boomers, who are largely white, retire.<sup>906</sup>

The Mexican-American labor force may show other changes in coming years, though slowly. In the past, Mexican-American labor has been largely gendered. Women have provided the main work force in packinghouses, domestic work, childcare, cooking and cleaning, while men have worked in the fields of agriculture and construction.<sup>907</sup> The “massive influx of undereducated and under-skilled workers over the past twenty years” skews the Mexican-origin population to the lowest socioeconomic classes; nearly 30 percent of the Mexican immigrant population is below the poverty line.<sup>908</sup> But while the profile of the Mexican immigrant shows low educational attainment, as the demographics show, the immigrant population is decreasing relative to the total number of people of Mexican ancestry in the United States. Mexicans do have lower levels of education, but native-born Mexicans are far more likely to have completed high school, and nearly three times more likely to have obtained a bachelor’s degree than immigrants.<sup>909</sup> Coupled with the statistics about immigration, fertility, and age, over time the socioeconomic status of Mexican Americans should rise.

---

<sup>904</sup> Pew Research Center, “Median Age for Hispanics Is Lower Than Median Age for Total U.S. Population,” Pew Research Center, July 2, 2012, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/daily-number/median-age-for-hispanics-is-lower-than-median-age-for-total-u-s-population/>.

<sup>905</sup> Durand, Telles, and Flashman, “The Demographic Foundations of the Latino Population,” in Tienda and Mitchell, 80.

<sup>906</sup> Richard Alba, *Blurring the Color Line: The New Chance for a More Integrated America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 163.

<sup>907</sup> Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century of Chicano History*, 102.

<sup>908</sup> D. Gutiérrez, “Globalization, Labor Migration, and the Demographic Revolution,” in D. Gutiérrez (2004), 73.

<sup>909</sup> Statistics show that 21 percent of U.S.-born Mexicans have not earned a high school diploma compared with 59 percent of immigrant Mexicans; 15 percent of U.S.-born Mexicans have obtained a bachelor’s degree compared with six percent of immigrant Mexicans. Gonzalez-Barrera and Lopez, “A Demographic Portrait of Mexican-Origin Hispanics,” <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/05/01/a-demographic-portrait-of-mexican-origin-hispanics-in-the-united-states/>.

Education has long been a predictor of social change, and trends in education in the Latino population signal change. With Latinos, more women than men now enroll in college. A decade ago, the figures were equal, but in 2012, 76 percent of Latinas were enrolled in college compared to 62 percent of men.<sup>910</sup> This disparity suggests the Hispanic female work force will be more educated in years to come.<sup>911</sup>

While women have not yet achieved equity with men in the work force, either with salaries or leadership positions, they have made significant gains. As women assume positions of leadership, whether gradually or rapidly, the style of

---

<sup>910</sup> The growth in the widening gender gap has been attributed to economic factors and the higher incidence of disciplinary problems among male Latino youth than female youth. Mark Hugo Lopez, "Women's College Enrollment Gains Leave Men Behind," Pew Research Center, March 6, 2014, accessed March 28, 2015, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/03/06/womens-college-enrollment-gains-leave-men-behind/>.

<sup>911</sup> The education and social trends are complicated. Chronic problems of subcultures such as inner-city gangs and the high rate of Latino and Mexican incarceration suggest patterns of non-integration among some segments of the population. Porter and Zhou describe different forms of immigrant adaption in American society as "segmented assimilation." One is "the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class; a second leads straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity." Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 (November 1993):82. See also Hartmut Esser, "Does the 'New' Immigration Require a 'New' Theory of Intergenerational Integration?," in *Rethinking Migration: New and Theoretical Perspectives*, edited by Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 311-314, 327-329; D. Gutiérrez, "Globalization, Labor Migration, and the Demographic Revolution," in D. Gutiérrez (2004), 71-77; Leif Jensen and Yoshimi Chitose, "Today's Second Generation: Evidence from the 1990 Census," in *The New Second Generation*, edited by Alejandro Portes (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996), 83-84; Robert C. Smith, "Gender, Ethnicity, and Race in School and Work Outcomes of Second Generation of Mexican Americans," *Latinos Remaking America*, edited by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Mariela M. Páez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 110-111; and Telles and Ortiz, *Generations of Exclusion*, 32-34.

leadership will reflect gender differences.<sup>912</sup> Generally, women are more collaborative and tend to build consensus more than men, who tend to be more hierarchical. This collectivist model of leadership and power about which Adela de la Torre talked is more encompassing than top-down power structures. The community empowerment model about which Camila Chávez spoke had primarily women of Mexican heritage at its core.

Organizational power structures in American society have historically been top down, not collaborative, with Euro American men in the positions of the most power. That is changing as more women become leaders, but it is not yet equitable; she as leader is more the exception, not the rule. However, we are seeing changes in how society regards who wields power, through the internet particularly, and from different quarters. An example is Pope Francis' encyclical on the environment which challenges individualism, and by inference one leader. His view of the world is "what might be called communitarianism, the idea that we're all in it together."<sup>913</sup> This incremental change of the papal encyclical on climate change adds to the strand of power, and whether power is manifested differently in structural ways remains to be seen.

I discussed historical and contemporary immigration patterns and how they are viewed by scholarship in my review of literature, and the concept of transnationalism is implicit in migration. With Mexican migrants and subsequent generations, border issues still exist and many immigrants have low education

---

<sup>912</sup> The American Psychological Association says "men and women are equally effective in settings that match gender roles." It goes on to say that men's style typically tends to be more "command and control" while women's style tends to be more mentoring, coaching. A 1990 study of men's and women's management styles found a difference in only one dimension, that the "women were more democratic, encouraging participation, and the men were more autocratic, directing performance." A 2003 study extended those findings, "showing that women were slightly more likely than men to have transformational leadership style, in which the manager acts more like a good teacher or coach and encourages creative solutions to problems." The APA goes on to say that the Bureau of Labor Statistics cites nearly one in four chief executives is female, but many of these women are in the CEO position because they tend to run their own small businesses. However, the APA cautions against concluding that management styles are innate and determined by gender. The research only shows averages, or tendencies. American Psychological Association, "When the Boss Is a Woman," American Psychological Association, March 22, 2006, accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.apa.org/research/action/boss.aspx>. See also Susan Adams, "8 Blind Spots Between the Sexes at Work," *Forbes*, April 26, 2013, accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/susanadams/2013/04/26/8-blind-spots-between-the-sexes-at-work/>; Anna Muoio, who asked 13 "prominent" women leaders from a variety of companies, for their insights. Anna Muoio, "Women and Men, Work and Power," *Fast Company*, January 31, 1998, accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.fastcompany.com/33732/women-and-men-work-and-power>; and Beth Banks Cohn and Roz Usheroff, "How Men and Women Communicate Differently at Work," *Business Know-How*, 1999-2015, Attard Communications, accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.businessknowhow.com/growth/gendercommunication.htm>.

<sup>913</sup> Chris Mooney, "Papal Message Challenges Some All-American Values," *Washington Post*, June 20, 2015, B-2.

levels, but the Mexican population is changing with the numbers; as I have discussed, this is due to the number of native-born people of Mexican ancestry surpassing the number of immigrants, and the fertility of Mexican-American women. The profile of the immigrant population is changing with time, as it has from the past when agricultural workers were the majority of immigrants from Mexico.

Transnationalism has been discussed as a social phenomenon as far back as 1916 when intellectual writer Randolph Bourne rejected the melting pot theory, writing in an essay entitled, “Trans-National America,” “We shall have to accept, I think, that free and mobile passage of the immigrant between America and his native land...To stigmatize the alien who works in America for a few years and returns to his own land...is to ignore the cosmopolitan significance of this migration.”<sup>914</sup> So transnationalism is not a new concept. But what is relevant about transnationalism—and cosmopolitanism, which I shall address later—and contemporary times is the role of technology.

Our world is “far more interrelated” than it ever has been, and immigrants are able to keep in close and frequent contact more easily than in the past thanks, in large part, to the internet.<sup>915</sup> Dramatic advancements in transportation and communication “have increased the density, multiplicity, and importance of transnational interconnections and made it possible for the first time for immigrants to operate more or less simultaneously in a variety of places.”<sup>916</sup> America’s master narrative is changing with the idea of mobility and how we see ourselves. We continue to redefine ourselves; an increasing number of people worldwide is using technology, and technology itself continues to advance rapidly. The statistics I quoted in Chapter 1 quantify the interrelatedness of technology and the Latino consumer market, and the high number of mobile devices used by Latinos.

I mention here dual citizenship, for it is a factor, though perhaps not large, in transnationalism and a broader concept of citizenship. In 1998, Mexico

---

<sup>914</sup> Randolph S. Bourne, “Trans-National America,” *Atlantic Monthly* 118 (July 1916):95. Bourne precedes the statement here with an observation: “If freedom means a democratic cooperation in determining the ideals and purposes and industrial and social institutions of a country, then the immigrant has not been free and the Anglo-Saxon element is guilty of just what every dominant race is guilty of in every European country: the imposition of its own culture upon the minority peoples...And the war [World War I] has brought out just the degree to which that purpose of ‘Americanizing,’ that is, ‘Anglo-Saxonizing,’ the immigrant has failed.” Bourne, “Trans-National America,” 89. Bourne was against the war, and in “Trans-National America,” he argues that Americanism and Anglo-Saxonism should not be equated, but that the United States should accommodate immigrant cultures rather than forcing them to become Anglo-Saxon.

<sup>915</sup> Kivisto and Croll, *Race and Ethnicity*, 148.

<sup>916</sup> Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK*, 176.

amended its constitution to allow dual nationality<sup>917</sup> in “an effort to strengthen transnational bonds.”<sup>918</sup> The amendment was intended to grant to naturalized foreign nationals economic rights as Mexican citizens, such as allowing them to own land, but not voting rights in major elections.<sup>919</sup> That provision has since been changed,<sup>920</sup> and Mexican citizens residing in the United States were allowed to vote in the 2006 Mexican presidential elections.<sup>921</sup>

Technology is the dominant driving force that is dramatically transforming society. Internet usage has increased exponentially in the last 20 years.<sup>922</sup> Technology gives people access to information and resources, and gives people access to capital, including business capital, from finding established sources to crowdfunding. It is changing the landscape of business, and giving the common person more of a say, for example, in citizen journalism or restaurant reviews on sites such as Yelp! or Urban Spoon. This may be witnessed with Latino use of

---

<sup>917</sup> The term “national of the United States” means a person must be a U.S. citizen or owe permanent allegiance to the United States. A U.S. national may become a national of another country through marriage, or a person naturalized as a U.S. citizen may not lose the nationality of the birth country. However, someone who applies to acquire a foreign nationality may lose U.S. nationality. The United States government recognizes dual nationality, but as a policy, it does not encourage it. U.S. Department of State, “Dual Nationality,” Bureau of Consular Affairs, accessed August 5, 2015, [Travel.State.Gov](http://Travel.State.Gov).

See also Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK*, 181.

<sup>918</sup> M. Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, 275.

<sup>919</sup> In effect, the constitutional amendment allowed “Mexican-born U.S. citizens and their U.S.-born children to regain their Mexican nationality.” Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 147.

<sup>920</sup> A. Garcia, *The Mexican Americans*, 89.

<sup>921</sup> Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 147.

<sup>922</sup> The year 1995 is considered by many to be when the web became commercialized. In December 1995, 16 million people or .4 percent of the world’s population used the internet. In December 2013, that figure had grown to 2,802 million, or 39 percent of the world’s population. Cameron Chapman, “The History of the Internet in a Nutshell,” *Six Revisions*, November 15, 2009, <http://sixrevisions.com/resources/the-history-of-the-internet-in-a-nutshell/>, accessed February 12, 2015; and Miniwatts Marketing Group, “Internet Growth Statistics,” Internet World Stats, accessed February 12, 2015, <http://www.internetworldstats.com/emarketing.htm>. See also California State University, Long Beach, “History, the History of Computers, and the History of Computers in Education,” accessed February 12, 2015, <http://www.csulb.edu/~murdock/histofcs.html>.

digital technology. “Isn’t this just what the digital age promised?,” asks journalist and writer Francisco Goldman.” No more periphery, the center is everywhere.”<sup>923</sup>

Technology is embraced more quickly by younger generations. Worldwide, the young are especially likely to embrace these technologies.<sup>924</sup> In the United States, those under the age of 25 notably use new information technologies, and by age 10, young people are more likely to use the internet than adults older than 25.<sup>925</sup> Some statistics about the trends in the Hispanic population in California will be significant in coming years, keeping in mind that a majority of the Latino population in the United States is of Mexican origin, at 83 percent.<sup>926</sup> The digital revolution is a crucial part of the evolving American master narrative, which Latinos are embracing.

Benedict Anderson defines a nation as “an imagined political community... It is imagined because the member of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”<sup>927</sup> Parallels can be drawn with Anderson’s concept of nation and the virtual world in which Latinos, among others, are participating. People “talk” to each other via the internet, and readily access information. Take, for example, hotel reviews. A person anywhere in the United States can read about accommodations in countries from France to Tanzania to Hong Kong. A virtual community is formed without its members ever meeting; “in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”<sup>928</sup> Or take gaming; one can play with other members of a virtual community in other countries. Technology has created an imagined world, and while this is not at the center of this conversation, it cannot be ignored.

The concept of imagined communities is tied to America’s master narrative in another way. Nations define themselves by “practices of inclusion and

---

<sup>923</sup> Francisco Goldman, foreword to *The Beast: Riding the Rails and Dodging Narcos on the Migrant Trail* by Óscar Martínez, translated by Daniela Maria Ugaz and John Washington (London: Verso, 2013), vii.

<sup>924</sup> Pew Research Center, “Global Digital Communication: Texting, Social Networking Popular Worldwide,” February 29, 2012, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/12/20/global-digital-communication-texting-social-networking-popular-worldwide/>.

<sup>925</sup> National Telecommunications and Information Administration, “The Digital Generation: How Young People Have Embraced Computers and the Internet,” *A Nation Online: How Americans Are Expanding Their Use of the Internet*, United States Department of Commerce, February 2002, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.ntia.doc.gov/legacy/ntiahome/dn/anationonline2.pdf>.

<sup>926</sup> Pew Research Center, “Demographic Profile,” <http://www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/ca/>.

<sup>927</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New ed. rev. (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

<sup>928</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

exclusion...Identities of national communities are established by defining who or what they are *not*<sup>929</sup> (emphasis in the original). This circles back to the master narrative; immigrants and people of all colors, genders, sexual orientations, and abilities have always been a part of our national story whether by inclusion or exclusion. I have discussed many populations that have been marginalized and disenfranchised, that have been a part of America's narrative by exclusion or historical inaccuracies. As that narrative is evolving, as a more inclusive national identity is being reshaped, our master narrative, with all its sub-themes and nuances, is being told now, more by inclusion of these once-marginalized populations.

Individual and group identities are also a determinant of power that I first discussed in Chapter 1. The social context of those identities is changing with the blurring of color lines. While historically people with darker skins are ranked at the bottom of a hierarchy of color,<sup>930</sup> with whites at the top; and blacks and

---

<sup>929</sup> Harald Bauder, *Immigration Dialectic: Imagining Community, Economy, and Nation* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 9.

<sup>930</sup> Massey comments that though racial and ethnic discrimination are against the law, significant discrimination still is evident in the real estate market. He says a number of studies have shown that "in general, darker-skinned people of all ethnic groups experience greater discrimination in the rental and sale of housing." Douglas S. Massey, "The American Side of the Bargain," in *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What It Means To Be American*, edited by Tamara Jacoby (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 117.

Anthropologist Patricia Zavella says, "Research shows that women who've dark skin, especially with indigenous features, face the worst treatment from society at large. Individuals within Chicano communities may reflect this devaluation, or even internalize it, so that physical features are often noted and evaluated: Skin color in particular is commented on, with *las güeras* (light-skinned ones) being appreciated and *las primates* (dark-skinned ones) being admonished and devalued." Patricia Zavella, "Reflections on Diversity among Chicanas," in *Chicana Leadership: The Frontiers Reader*, edited by Yolanda Flores Niemann et al. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 112-113.

Sociologist Alba observes, "Asians and those Hispanics who are light skinned encounter much less difficulty in translating improvements in their socioeconomic position into social proximity to white mainstream Americans than do darker-skinned Americans." Alba, *Blurring the Color Line*, 18-19.

Latinos on the bottom,<sup>931</sup> “the perceived distance between top and bottom is not as great as it once was.”<sup>932</sup> In the 18th and 19th centuries, many immigrant populations to the United States were not considered white, such as the Irish, Italians, and those from Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean.<sup>933</sup> Jews, too, faced discrimination though Judaism is a religion, not a racial classification. African Americans and darker-skinned Latinos recognized “their shared discrimination they faced as a result of their dark skins.”<sup>934</sup>

Now intermarriage, a key indicator of assimilation,<sup>935</sup> is on the rise. As Lee and Bean have found, intermarriage “signals declining racial and ethnic prejudice and fading group boundaries and is one of the final stages of a minority group’s incorporation into the majority group’s host culture.” Identification as multiracial “reflects a jettisoning of the exclusive and absolutist bases of racial categorization that have long marked racial identification in the United States.”<sup>936</sup> Oscar Martínez calls intermarriage the “single most revealing indicator” of an ethnic groups’s integration into the mainstream,” for it “demonstrates the mutual

---

<sup>931</sup> I chose not to pursue the color aspect of power and identity at the beginning of my field research. Several of my interviews did mention skin color, and as an avenue of future research, I give you two examples here.

Camila Chavez says, “I would say in every culture there’s internalized racism and that often the light-skinned people of color are treated differently. I mean, I have a sister who has light skin and green eyes. Granted, her father is of European descent, and...there have been a few opportunities where she has actually passed as white to access information or crowds that we wouldn’t necessarily be able to as darker-skinned siblings...Luckily, in our family that has never been the issue.” Chavez, interview by author, July 18, 2013.

Another example is Fred Ruiz, who says, “I think the skin color does make a difference. And the lighter the skin color, the less of a threat you are...With some of my high school friends, sometimes you’d pick up a little cultural slur on immigrants, Hispanic slur, whatever. And I said, ‘Well, I’m Hispanic.’ And they’d say, ‘Well, you’re different.’ I said, ‘I’m not different.’ Maybe my skin color is a little lighter, but I think because of my skin color, I think that opened doors for me where I was maybe less of a threat. But I’m still Hispanic and, to their parents, you know, I couldn’t date their daughters.” Ruiz, interview by author.

<sup>932</sup> Deaux, *To Be an Immigrant*, 56.

<sup>933</sup> See, for example, Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*. See also Alba, *Blurring the Color Line*, 32-37.

<sup>934</sup> Gabaccia, *Immigration and American Diversity*, 195.

<sup>935</sup> Tienda and Mitchell, *Hispanics and the Future of America*, 7.

<sup>936</sup> Lee and Bean refer to sociologist Herbert Gans who predicts that “racial labels may become increasingly less relevant in each generation until they disappear into obscurity.” Lee and Bean, *The Diversity Paradox*, 17. See Herbert J. Gans, “The Possibility of a New Racial Hierarchy in the Twenty-First-Century United States,” in *The Cultural Territories of Race: Black and White Boundaries*, edited by Michèle Lamont (Chicago and New York: University of Chicago Press and Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), 371-390.

acceptance at the most intimate level of human interaction.”<sup>937</sup> As the number of children of mixed backgrounds grows, by blurring racial and ethnic lines, boundaries between Latino sub-groups and Latinos are weakened,<sup>938</sup> and the character of relations between whites and non-whites will be changed by the growing number of people with mixed ancestry.<sup>939</sup> The assumption of race and ethnicity as “ascribed statuses” is no longer viable, and the offspring of mixed race unions no longer fit neatly into prescribed categories.<sup>940</sup>

With the blurring of color boundaries, which speaks to one’s identity, an issue becoming more important for the future is how Latinos self-identify and what it means. Ethnicity incorporates social structure and “the more elusive factors of subjective meaning.”<sup>941</sup> I mention this here because it plays a influential role in America’s evolving master narrative, and although the body of literature about changing multiracial identities is limited, scholarship about it is growing. Durand, Telles, and Flashmann find that second- and third-generation Latino immigrants may not identify as Latino, especially if a parent or grandparent is Hispanic.<sup>942</sup> At the same time, “Mexican Americans are likely to maintain a distinct ethnic identity, although some blurring of boundaries will occur,”<sup>943</sup> and “Mexican identity has expanded to include other Latinos.”<sup>944</sup>

The profile of Mexican Americans is changing in another way, one that has implications for the future and America’s master narrative, and that is “the

---

<sup>937</sup> O. Martínez, *Mexican-Origin People*, 87.

<sup>938</sup> Latinos of Mexican heritage are less likely to intermarry than other Latino subgroups. Tienda and Mitchell, *Hispanics and the Future of America*, 7.

<sup>939</sup> Alba, *Blurring the Color Line*, 223.

<sup>940</sup> Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, “Part II,” *Handbook of International Migration*, 133.

<sup>941</sup> Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 101.

<sup>942</sup> Durand, Telles, and Flashmann, “The Demographic Foundations of the Latino Population,” in Tienda and Mitchell, 95.

<sup>943</sup> Landale, Oropesa, and Bradatan, “Hispanic Families in the United States,” in Tienda and Mitchell, 172.

<sup>944</sup> Acuña, *Occupied America*, 418.

emergence of a sizable middle class”<sup>945</sup> since the 1980s.<sup>946</sup> The proportion of Mexican Americans in professional occupations has risen, though they are still underrepresented, and overall unemployment is still far higher than that of European Americans.<sup>947</sup> But the middle class is growing, both in numbers and in household wealth; by 2005, the Latino market had a buying power worth nearly \$600 billion.<sup>948</sup> The achievements of second- and third-generation Mexican Americans were expected as part of the immigrant bargain, but immigrants like Sam Toledo have been able to overcome educational deficiencies to succeed as well.

As a note of comparison, the United States is not the only nation struggling with redefining itself and examining its master narrative. Europe is facing an “international migration crisis.”<sup>949</sup> In 2015, thousands of migrants fleeing war, dictatorship, and poverty in Africa and the Middle East have tried to enter Europe through Greece or Italy, with their final destination England which they think “offers the best prospects because of the English language, welfare benefits, and the perceived ease of getting a job.”<sup>950</sup> British and French authorities call stopping the flow of migrants “the top priority.”<sup>951</sup> We are at a time

---

<sup>945</sup> D. Gutiérrez, “Globalization, Labor Migration, and the Demographic Revolution,” in D. Gutiérrez, 73. Gutiérrez cites as his source a 2001 analysis in *Hispanic Business*. According to the survey, 34 percent of all Latino heads of household in California and 28 percent of those in Texas earned between \$40,000 and \$140,000 annually. See Robert R. Brischetto, “The Hispanic Middle Class Comes of Age,” *Hispanic Business* (December 2001):21-30.

<sup>946</sup> O. Martínez, *Mexican-Origin People*, 47.

<sup>947</sup> Re Cruz, “The Mexican American Community,” in Naylor, 173.

<sup>948</sup> M. Gonzales, *A History of Mexicans*, 297.

<sup>949</sup> Andrew Drake, “French Riot Police Disperse Migrants at Channel Tunnel,” Associated Press, *Sacramento Bee*, August 3, 2015, 9A.

<sup>950</sup> Drake, “French Riot Police Disperse Migrants.”

<sup>951</sup> Migrants trying to breach the security fences on the French side of the entrance to the English Channel have caused French police to respond by spraying them with a chemical irritant. Drake, “French Riot Police Disperse Migrants.”

when other countries are also looking migration and trying to figure out how it fits into their country's future, and their nation's identity.<sup>952</sup>

Problems caused by international migration bring to mind cosmopolitanism, and the responsibility we have to others. As philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah believes, "the boundary of your state is not the boundary of your moral concern."<sup>953</sup> Are we all in a single community then, citizens of the world, cosmopolites responsible for each other? That is not a question I can answer here, but it is one that will guide future work.

The investigations and observations that culminated in this work are on the cusp of new research. Our world is becoming ever more interdisciplinary, and this work has been able to take advantage of the perspectives of dozens of disciplines, interrogating inconsistencies and drawing parallels. That interdisciplinary nature allows me to add to the existing body of research in diverse subjects across multitude of disciplines, broadly, narrative and power as I have identified here and, more specifically, issues that may seem disparate but with more investigation, as my work has shown here, are interconnected and interrelated. These include identity and ethnic identity; situational identity; gender and power, specifically Latinas and their paradigms of power; ethnoburbs; intermarriage, not only tying together together statistics to "make data dance"<sup>954</sup> but interpreting the meanings and implications of it; mixed racial and ethnic identity; contemporary immigration patterns; comparative studies of contemporary and historical migration; the globalization of migration; transnationalism, that is, a growing interconnectivity between peoples of the world across national boundaries; political patterns, especially voting patterns as a result of the changing demographics; the philosophical and sociologic concepts of assimilation, acculturation, incorporation, and multiculturalism; gendered labor; dual citizenship; communitarianism; and technology, specifically patterns of use by Latinos.

---

<sup>952</sup> In September of 2015, Germany announced it would take in a half million migrants a year at the cost of \$11 billion dollars. Germany would house, feed, and train the migrants. In the long run, the economic benefits may outweigh the cost of accepting them. Assuming no immigration, Germany's labor force is aging and shrinking from 45 million people today to a projected 36 million by 2030. The migrant Syrian population tends to be skilled and young. Scott Tong, "Taking in Refugees Has Costs—and Potential Benefits," *Marketplace*, September 8, 2015.

This is especially of note because just 75 years ago, the Nazi regime espoused an Aryan philosophy that led to World War II.

<sup>953</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Thought Leader Kwame Anthony Appiah on Cosmopolitanism," Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, YouTube, November 12, 2012, accessed August 5, 2015, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=inylq\\_tfm8jc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=inylq_tfm8jc).

<sup>954</sup> Jonathan K. London, Opening remarks, "Harnessing Data for Social Equity in the San Joaquin Valley," Conference, sponsored by the Center for Regional Change, Federal Reserve Bank, and University of California, Davis Institute for Social Sciences; Undergraduate Student Center, February 15, 2015. London is an environmental social scientist and director of the Center for Regional Change at UC Davis.

Related to the interdisciplinary nature of this work that I want to note here, but which are not an integral part of it, are issues that came out of my readings and research and that draw my interest as subjects for further research and investigation. They include sports as an Americanizing tool;<sup>955</sup> Latinos and politics;<sup>956</sup> Latinos and popular culture;<sup>957</sup> cultural expression in a multi-lingual, multinational environment;<sup>958</sup> women and paradigms of power; women as mentors; collaborative power structures; and new global immigration patterns. The interdisciplinary nature of this work enables future scholarship in many disciplines to build on it.

This work did not start out to examine philosophical concerns as Appiah does, and he is but one more voice in this conversation that has myriad strands. I have woven together many of those strands together through this work, and presented the findings. This dissertation lays the foundation for future scholarship by combining, in a new way, existing statistics from many sources and original research with insightful subjects. I show how America's master narrative is evolving to include many historically marginalized people through the lens of Mexican Americans, especially significant because of the profound changes in the demographics in the United States' population.

I began this work seeking understanding. By weaving together many disciplines, philosophical concepts, and theories, I have simplified a complex picture of an evolving American master narrative translated by human experience. I have suggested the "elasticity and range of the ideology of the American dream,"<sup>959</sup> examining what change means to a small facet of power and narrative and, therefore, our master narrative. I end this journey with new knowledge that I have presented, not only of the dynamics of culture, but of my own cultural heritage as a third-generation Japanese American woman, aware

---

<sup>955</sup> "Next to the school system, the most common avenue for Americanizing immigrant groups historically has been through sports." M. Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, 298.

<sup>956</sup> See Spencer Hsu, "A Sense of Place," *Stanford* magazine, July/August 2015, about Julián and Joaquín Castro, twin Mexican-American brothers from Texas, who are the U.S. Housing and Urban Development secretary and a congressman from Texas, respectively; Mary Jordan, "Latinos Are Getting Candidates' Attention," *Washington Post*, June 22, 2015; and George I. Monsivais, *Hispanic Immigrant Identity: Political Allegiance vs. Cultural Preference* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2004).

<sup>957</sup> See O. Martínez, *Mexican-Origin People*, 58-64; Patricia A. Montilla, ed., *Latinos and American Popular Culture* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013); Charles M. Tatum, *Chicano Popular Culture: Que Hable el Pueblo*, The Mexican American Experience, edited by Adela de la Torre (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001).

<sup>958</sup> See D. Gutiérrez, "Globalization, Labor Migration, and the Demographic Revolution," in D. Gutiérrez (2004), 70.

<sup>959</sup> Hochschild, *Facing Up to The American Dream*, 25.

that we are all but a small part of this evolving “permanently unfinished society.”<sup>960</sup>

---

<sup>960</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, xxiii.

I'm living the American Dream.

—*Norma Saenz*

## APPENDIX I

Relevant information about the interviewees is laid out in Appendix I. It gives gender, with blue for female and black for male; date of birth; the number of generations each has been in the United States and, if they are immigrants, their age when they immigrated; their education level, and that of their parents.

| Name                  | Date of birth | Generation in U.S. (age when immigrated) | Education                  | Parents' education level                   |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Barajas, Griselda     | 1971          | 1.5 (12 years old)                       | High school                | Mother - 2nd grade<br>Father - 2nd grade   |
| Castillo, Jesse       | 1961          | 2                                        | High school                | Mother - 8th grade<br>Father - Uneducated  |
| Chávez, Camila        | 1976          | 3+                                       | College                    | Mother - College<br>Father - 8th grade     |
| de la Torre, Adela    |               | 3                                        | Graduate school (PhD)      | Unknown                                    |
| Garcia, Eva           | 1938          | 1                                        | 2 years of junior college  | Mother<br>Father - Junior college          |
| Garcia, Franco        | 1965          | 2                                        | College                    | Mother - Junior college<br>Father -        |
| Garcia, Rosanna       | 1963          | 2                                        | College                    | Mother - Junior college                    |
| Ramírez, José Antonio | 1971          | 1.5 (2 years old)                        | Graduate school (Master's) | Mother - Uneducated<br>Father - Uneducated |
| Ruiz, Fred            | 1943          | 2+                                       | Community college          | Unknown                                    |
| Saenz, Dora           | 1968          | 1                                        | 1 year of college          | Mother - 6th grade<br>Father - Uneducated  |
| Saenz, Norma          | 1963          | 1                                        | High school                | Mother - 6th grade<br>Father - Uneducated  |
| Saenz, Sergio         | 1977          | 1.5 (11 years old)                       | College                    | Mother - 6th grade<br>Father - Uneducated  |
| Saenz, Sonia          | 1970          | 1                                        | High school                | Mother - 6th grade<br>Father - Uneducated  |
| Toledo, Andrew        | 1982          | 2                                        | Some community college     | Mother - High school<br>Father - 6th grade |
| Toledo, Carmen        | 1980          | 2                                        | Some college               | Mother - High school<br>Father - 6th grade |

| Name          | Date of birth | Generation in U.S. (age when immigrated) | Education             | Parents' education level                   |
|---------------|---------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Toledo, Jesse | 1980          | 2                                        | College               | Mother - High school<br>Father - 6th grade |
| Toledo, Sam   | 1959          | 1 (14 years old)                         | 6th grade             | Mother - Uneducated<br>Father - Uneducated |
| Ybarra, Lea   | 1947          | 3+                                       | Graduate school (PhD) | Mother - 2nd grade<br>Father - 7th grade   |

## **APPENDIX II**

### **Sample Questions**

The interviewees were asked demographic information (date and place of birth, number of siblings); what parents names and occupations; educational level of parents; the immigration experience of self or parents; what languages they speak, with whom, and where (at home, at work, at school, etc.).

I asked questions based on the interviewee's responses, so these questions varied. Additional questions, such as giving back, stemmed from our interview.

1. Describe where you grew up.
2. What was your family home like?
3. Did you work as a child? What did you do?
4. What was your elementary school like? Middle school? High school? College?
5. Did you feel any discrimination? How? What did you do about it?
6. How do you think your education led you to become who you are?
7. What kind of role does religion play in your life?
8. What did you want to be as a child? How did that change as you grew older?
9. What role does the Central Valley play in your life?
10. What did you talk about at the dinner table?
11. Who were your role models growing up? Why? Mentors? Can you describe them and how they helped you?
12. Did you visit family or relatives in Mexico? What would you do?
13. Why did you decide to do (interviewee's occupation)?
14. How did you get into your business?
15. What values do you think were instilled in you?
16. What values do you want to instill in your children?
17. What kind of challenges have you had (growing up, with business, in school, etc.)?
18. What does it mean for you to be Mexican American?
19. How do you measure success?
20. With the demographic numbers showing a dramatic rise in Latinos, how do you think that will affect you both now and in the future?
21. What kind of changes have you seen for your community? What caused those changes?
22. What do you want your legacy to be?

## SOURCES

- AAJA. "About AAJA." Asian American Journalists Association. Accessed April 19, 2015. <http://www.ajja.org>.
- A&E Television Networks. "Wilmot's Proviso." *History*, "Wilmot Proviso." History.com. Accessed May 23, 2015. <http://www.history.com/topics/wilmot-proviso>.
- About.com Race Relations. "The Chicano Movement: Brown and Proud." Accessed November 23, 2014. <http://racerelations.about.com/od/historyofracerelations/a/BrownandProudTheChicanoMovement.htm>.
- Acuña, Rodolfo. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*. 5th ed. New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004.
- Adams, Susan. "8 Blind Spots Between the Sexes at Work." *Forbes*, April 26, 2013. Accessed April 3, 2015. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/susanadams/2013/04/26/8-blind-spots-between-the-sexes-at-work/>.
- Advameg. "Dwight D. Eisenhower - Eisenhower as a Lame-Duck President: 1957-1958." *Profiles of U.S. Presidents*. Accessed December 14, 2014. <http://www.presidentprofiles.com/Grant-Eisenhower/Dwight-D-Eisenhower-Eisenhower-as-a-lame-duck-president-1957-1958.html>.
- Agee, James, and Walker Evans. *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941.
- Aguirre, Jr., Adalberto. "The Personal Narrative as Academic Storytelling: A Chicano's Search for Presence and Voice in Academe." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 18, no. 2 (2005):147-163.
- Alba, Richard. *Blurring the Color Line: The New Chance for a More Integrated America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Alba, Richard, and Nancy Foner. *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Altman, Alex. "The Other Border." *Time*, June 8, 2015.

American Psychological Association. "When the Boss Is a Woman." American Psychological Association. March 22, 2006. Accessed April 3, 2015. <http://www.apa.org/research/action/boss.aspx>.

American Psychological Association, Presidential Task Force on Immigration. *Crossroads: The Psychology of Immigration in the New Century*. 2012. Accessed July 14, 2015. <http://www.apa.org/topics/immigration/immigration-report.pdf>.

American Sign Language University. "Communicate or Communication." [lifeprint.com](http://lifeprint.com). Accessed March 7, 2015. [www.lifeprint.com](http://www.lifeprint.com).

Ancestry.com. "RootsWeb's Guide to Tracing Family Trees." Accessed December 23, 2014. [http://rwguide.rootsweb.ancestry.com/lesson8\\_text.html](http://rwguide.rootsweb.ancestry.com/lesson8_text.html).

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New ed. rev. London: Verso, 2006.

Andrews, William L. Introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, by James Weldon Johnson, edited by William L. Andrews, vii-xxvii. New York: Penguin Books, 1990.

Andrews, William L. "Slave Narrative." In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Accessed March 13, 2015. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/548224/slave-narrative>.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands-La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2006.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "Thought Leader Kwame Anthony Appiah on Cosmopolitanism." Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs. YouTube, Nov. 12, 2012. Accessed August 5, 2015. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=inylq\\_tfm8jc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=inylq_tfm8jc).

Armario, Christine, and Sally Ho. "Common Core Testing Lays Bare Tech Divide." *Davis Enterprise*, May 12, 2015.

Arreola, Daniel D. "Mexican Americans." In McKee, 111-138.

- Ash, Lorraine, and Alesha Williams Boyd. "Women's Colleges Struggle to Keep Identity and Enrollment." *USA Today*, August 17, 2012. Accessed March 4, 2015. <http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/education/story/2012-08-01/womens-colleges-enrollment/57103700/1>.
- Aspen Institute. "About the Institute." Aspen Institute. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.aspeninstitute.org/about>.
- Associated Press. "At 93, Lear Seeks to Keep Pushing Boundaries." *Sacramento Bee*, August 3, 2015.
- Atkinson, Khorri. "Mills Changes Policy to Allow Transgender Women to Enroll." *USA Today*, August 29, 2014. Accessed March 4, 2015. <http://college.usatoday.com/2014/08/29/mills-college-changes-policy-to-allow-transgender-women-to-enroll/>.
- Bakhtin, M.M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Edited by Michael Holquist. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Helene Iswolsky. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Bal, Mieke. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Ballard, Martha. *The Diary of Martha Ballard, 1785-1812*. Edited by Robert R. McCausland and Cynthia MacAltman McCausland. Maine Genealogical Society Special Publication No. 10. Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1992.
- Barkan, Elliott Robert, ed. *A Nation of Peoples: A Sourcebook on America's Multicultural Heritage*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Barkan, Elliott R., Hasia Diner, and Alan M. Kraut, eds. *From Arrival to Incorporation: Migrants to the U.S. in a Global Era*. Nation of Newcomers: Immigrant History as American History, edited by Matthew Jacobson and Werner Sollors. New York: New York University Press, 2008.
- Barone, Michael. *The New Americans: How the Melting Pot Can Work Again*. Washington, DC: Regency Publishing, 2001.

- Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Basel, Switzerland: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1994.
- Bauder, Harald. *Immigration Dialectic: Imagining Community, Economy, and Nation*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Bean, Frank D., and Gillian Stevens. *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity*. Rose Series in Sociology, edited by Douglas L. Anderton et al. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003.
- Bellah, Robert et al. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Benford, Robert D. "An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective." *Sociological Inquiry* 67 (1997):409-430.
- Berger, Joseph. "Ernesto Galarza, Labor Aide." *Obituaries, New York Times*, June 24, 1984. Accessed July 8, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/1984/06/24/obituaries/ernesto-galarza-labor-aide.html>.
- Berger, Joseph, Cecilia L. Ridgeway, M. Hamet Fisek, and Robert Z. Norman. "The Legitimation and Delegitimation of Power and Prestige Orders." *American Sociological Review* 63 (1998):379-405.
- Berger, Joseph, and Morris Zelditch, Jr., eds. *Status, Rewards, and Influence: How Expectations Organize Behavior*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985.
- Bierstedt, Robert. "An Analysis of Social Power." *American Sociological Review* 15, no. 6 (December 1950):730-738.
- Bisin, Alberto, and Thierry Verdier. "'Beyond the Melting Pot': Cultural Transmission, Marriage, and the Evolution of Ethnic and Religious Traits." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115, no. 3 (August 2000):955-988.
- black-ish*. Season 1, episode 16, "Parental Guidance." Directed by Michael Schultz. Broadcast March 4, 2015, on ABC.
- Bontemps, Arna. Introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, by James Weldon Johnson, v-ix. Edited by Arna Bontemps. New York: Hill and Wang, 1960.

Booth, Wayne C. "Freedom of Interpretation." In Morson, 145-76.

Bourne, Randolph S. "Trans-National America." *Atlantic Monthly* 118 (July 1916): 86-97.

Brischetto, Robert R. "The Hispanic Middle Class Comes of Age." *Hispanic Business* (December 2001):21-30.

Britannica Online for Kids. "Eisenhower, Dwight D." Accessed December 14, 2014. <http://kids.britannica.com/comptons/article-281212/Dwight-D-Eisenhower>.

Brown, Anna. "The U.S. Hispanic Population Has Increased Sixfold Since 1970." *FactTank: News in the Numbers*. Pew Research Center. February 26, 2014. Accessed March 20, 2015. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/02/26/the-u-s-hispanic-population-has-increased-sixfold-since-1970/>.

Brown, Anna. "U.S. Hispanic and Asian Populations Growing, But for Different Reasons." Pew Research Center. June 26, 2014. Accessed March 27, 2015. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/26/u-s-hispanic-and-asian-populations-growing-but-for-different-reasons/>.

Buenker, John D. and Lorman A. Ratner, eds. *Multiculturalism in the United States: A Comparative Guide to Acculturation and Ethnicity*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Burke, Peter J., and Donald C. Reitzes. "The Link Between Identity and Role Performances." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 44 (1981):83-92.

California Department of Finance. "New Population Projections: California to Surpass 50 Million in 2049." January 31, 2013. Accessed December 11, 2014. [http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/projections/P-1/documents/Projections\\_Press\\_Release\\_2010-2060.pdf](http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/projections/P-1/documents/Projections_Press_Release_2010-2060.pdf).

California Department of Finance Demographic Research Unit. "State and County Population Projections by Race/Ethnicity: 2010, 2020, 2030, 2040, 2050, and 2060." Accessed February 11, 2015. <http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demographic/reports/projections/P-1/>.

California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce. "California Hispanic Chambers of Commerce Announces Alice Perez as Next President and CEO." May 5, 2014. Accessed December 2, 2014. <http://www.cahcc.com/UpdatedNews/>

tabid/94/post/california-hispanic-chambers-of-commerce-announces-alice-perez-as-next-president-and-ceo/Default.aspx#.VH44s75U30c.

California State Library. "California Civil Liberties Public Education Program—Background and History of the Internment." California State Library. Accessed April 23, 2015. <https://www.library.ca.gov/grants/cclpep/about.html>.

California State University, Fresno. "Educational Opportunity Program." Accessed January 9, 2015. <http://www.fresnostate.edu/studentaffairs/eop/>.

California State University, Long Beach. "History, the History of Computers, and the History of Computers in Education." Accessed February 12, 2015. <http://www.csulb.edu/~murdock/histofcs.html>.

Camarota, Steven A. *Immigration from Mexico: Assessing the Impact on the United States*. Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies, 2001.

Capezio, Mary Ann. "Mills College." *Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1990. Accessed March 4, 2015. <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/keyword/mills-college/recent/2>.

Carroll, Rebecca. Introduction to *Uncle Tom or New Negro: African Americans Reflect on Booker T. Washington and Up from Slavery One Hundred Years Later*, edited by Rebecca Carroll. New York: Harlem Moon, 2006.

Castillo, Ana. "Educating Ruben: A Darker Shade of Crimson: Odyssey of a Harvard Chicano." *LA Times*, November 21, 1993. Accessed April 23, 2015. [http://articles.latimes.com/1993-11-21/books/bk-59053\\_1\\_darker-shade-of-crimson](http://articles.latimes.com/1993-11-21/books/bk-59053_1_darker-shade-of-crimson).

Center for History and New Media. "*Bracero History Archive: About*." Accessed November 23, 2014. <http://braceroarchive.org/about>.

Center for Study of Race and Ethnicity in America. "Chicano Movement." Brown University. Last modified June 22, 2005. Accessed November 23, 2014. <http://www.brown.edu/Research/Coachella/chicano.html>.

Chabran, Richard. "Activism and Intellectual Struggle in the Life of Ernesto Galarza (1905-1984)." Ernesto Galarza Applied Research Center, University of California, Riverside. Accessed July 8, 2015. <http://egarc.ucr.edu/about.html>.

- Chapman, Cameron. "The History of the Internet in a Nutshell." *Six Revisions*, November 15, 2009. Accessed February 12, 2015. <http://sixrevisions.com/resources/the-history-of-the-internet-in-a-nutshell/>.
- Chapman, Serle L. *We, the People of Earth and Elders, Volume II*. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 2000.
- Charles, Ron. "Historic Choice for U.S. Poet Laureate." *Washington Post*, June 10, 2015.
- Charmaz, Kathy, and Linda Liska Belgrave. "Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis." In *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft*, edited by Jaber F. Gubrium, James A. Holstein, Amir B. Marvasti, and Karyn D. McKinney, 347-367. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2012.
- Chomsky, Aviva. *"They Take Our Jobs" and 20 Other Myths about Immigration*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2007.
- Clark, Katerina, and Michael Holquist. *Mikhail Bakhtin*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Clark, William A.V. *Immigrants and the American Dream: Remaking the Middle Class*. New York: Guilford Press, 2003.
- Cobley, Paul. *Narrative: The New Critical Idiom*. Edited by John Drakakis. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Cohn, Beth Banks, and Roz Ushero. "How Men and Women Communicate Differently at Work." *Business Know-How*. 1999-2015. Attard Communications. Accessed April 3, 2015. <http://www.businessknowhow.com/growth/gendercommunication.htm>.
- Cohn, D'Vera. "Census History: Counting Hispanics." Pew Research Center, Social and Demographic Trends. March 3, 2010. Accessed March 20, 2015. <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2010/03/03/census-history-counting-hispanics-2/>.
- Cohn, D'Vera. "Millions of Americans Changed Their Racial or Ethnic Identity from One Census to the Next." *FactTank: News in the Numbers*. Pew Research Center. May 5, 2014. Accessed March 20, 2015. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/05/05/millions-of-americans-changed-their-racial-or-ethnic-identity-from-one-census-to-the-next/>.

Cohn, D’Vera, Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, and Danielle Cuddington. “Remittances to Latin America Recover—but Not to Mexico.” Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends. November 15, 2013. Accessed June 1, 2015. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/11/15/remittances-to-latin-america-recover-but-not-to-mexico/>.

Columbia University Press. “Wilmot Proviso.” *Infoplease*. Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia. Accessed May 23, 2015. <http://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia/history/wilmot-proviso.html>.

Common Core State Standards Initiative. “About the Standards.” 2015. Accessed July 25, 2015. <http://www.corestandards.org/about-the-standards/>.

Congress.gov. “S.1545 - DREAM Act.” Accessed July 15, 2015. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/108th-congress/senate-bill/1545>.

Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd ed. New York: Perennial, 2002.

Daniels, Roger and Otis L. Graham. *Debating American Immigration 1882-Present*. Debating Twentieth Century America, edited by James T. Patterson. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.

Darder, Antonia, ed. *Culture and Difference: On the Bicultural Experience in the United States*. Critical Studies in Education and Culture Series, edited by Henry A. Giroux and Paolo Freire. Westport, CN: Bergin and Garvey, 1995.

de la Garza, Rodolfo O. et al., eds. *The Mexican American Experience: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*. Austin: University of Texas, Press, 1985.

De León, Arnoldo. “Foreword to the Thirtieth Anniversary Addition.” In Weber, vii-xvi.

Deaux, Kay. *To Be an Immigrant*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006.

Derounian-Stodola, Kathryn Zabelle, ed. *Women’s Indian Captivity Narratives*. New York: Penguin Books, 1998.

Dewey, Joseph. “Hansen Effect.” *Immigration in America*. December 21, 2011. Accessed May 22, 2015. <http://immigrationinamerica.org/540-hansen-effect.html>.

Digital History. "Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo." 2014. Accessed March 16, 2015. [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp\\_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=1141](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=1141).

Dinnerstein, Leonard, Roger L. Nichols, and David M. Reimers. *Natives and Strangers: A Multicultural History of Americans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Dolores Huerta Foundation. "About the Foundation." Accessed January 3, 2015. <http://doloreshuerta.org/sample-page-2/>.

Drake, Andrew. "French Riot Police Disperse Migrants at Channel Tunnel." Associated Press. *Sacramento Bee*, August 3, 2015.

Dream Act Portal. "The Dream Act." Accessed July 15, 2015. <https://dreamact.info>.

Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Edited by Brent Hayes Edwards. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Dublin, Thomas, ed. *Immigrant Voices: New Lives in America 1773-2000*. 2nd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014.

Duncan, Brian, V., Joseph Hotz, and Stephen J. Trejo. "Hispanics in the U.S. Labor Market." In Tienda and Mitchell, 228-290.

Durand, Jorge, Edward Telles, and Jennifer Flashman. "The Demographic Foundations of the Latino Population." In Tienda and Mitchell, 66-99.

Edwards, Owen. Foreword to *Homeless*, by Howard Schatz, xii-xv. Edited by Beverly J. Ornstein. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1993.

Emerson, Caryl, ed. *Critical Essays on Mikhail Bakhtin*. Critical Essays on World Literature, edited by Robert Lecker. New York: G.K. Hall, 1999.

Emerson, Richard M. "Power-Dependence Relations." *American Sociological Review* 27, no. 1 (February 1962):31-41.

Encyclopedia.com, "Hansen, Marcus Lee." Accessed May 22, 2015. <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1E1-Hansen-M.html>.

encyclopedia.com. "Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez." Accessed April 22, 2015. <http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-3424200075/hunger-memory-education-richard.html>.

Esser, Hartmut. "Does the 'New' Immigration Require a 'New' Theory of Intergenerational Integration?" In Portes and DeWind, 308-341.

Eymann, Marcia. Preface to *Gifted Woman*, by Howard Schatz, x-xi. Edited by Beverly J. Ornstein. San Francisco: Pacific Photographic Press, 1992.

Eysturoy, Annie O., and José Antonio Gurpegi. "Chicano Literature: An Introduction and Bibliography." Accessed March 17, 2015. [http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva\\_36452.pdf](http://www.pasadena.edu/files/syllabi/stvillanueva_36452.pdf).

Family Business Consulting Group. "Bridging the Gap: Ruiz Food Products." Accessed January 14, 2015. <http://www.thefbcg.com/Bridging-the-Gap--Ruiz-Food-Products/>.

Flores, Richard R. *Remembering the Alamo: Memory, Modernity, and the Master Symbol*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002.

Fludernik, Monika. "Histories of Narrative Theory (II): From Structuralism to the Present." In Phelan and Rabinowitz, 36-59.

Foner, Nancy. *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Foner, Nancy. *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration*. New York: New York University Press, 2005.

Foner, Nancy. "The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Change." In Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 257-264.

Foner, Nancy, Rubén G. Rumbaut, and Steven J. Gold, eds. *Immigration Research for a New Century: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000.

Fuchs, Lawrence H. *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and Civic Culture*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1990.

- Funding Universe. "Ruiz Food Products, Inc. History." Accessed January 15, 2015. <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/ruiz-food-products-inc-history/>.
- Gabaccia, Donna R. *Immigration and American Diversity: A Social and Cultural History*. Problems in American History, edited by Jack P. Greene. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Galarza, Ernesto. *Barrio Boy*. United States-Mexico Border Project, directed by Julian Samora. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971.
- Galarza, Ernesto. *Barrio Boy*. 40th anniversary ed., with an introduction by Ilan Stavans. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011.
- Gans, Herbert J. "The Possibility of a New Racial Hierarchy in the Twenty-First-Century United States." In *The Cultural Territories of Race: Black and White Boundaries*, edited by Michèle Lamont, 371-390. Chicago: University of Chicago Press and Russell Sage Foundation, 1999.
- Garcia, Alma M. *The Mexican Americans*. The New Americans, edited by Ronald H. Bayor. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Gates, Jr., Henry Louis. "Foreword: In Her Own Words." In *Two Biographies by African American Women*, xiii-xxviii. Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Gates, Jr., Henry Louis. Foreword to *The Works of William Wells Brown*, edited by Paula Garrett and Hollis Robbins, ix-xiv. Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973. Accessed May 12, 2015. [http://www.sociosite.net/topics/texts/Geertz\\_Thick\\_Description.php](http://www.sociosite.net/topics/texts/Geertz_Thick_Description.php).
- Generational Imperative. "Say Hello to America's 5 Living Generations." 2009. Accessed November 23, 2014 and May 8, 2015. <http://www.genimperative.com/AmericasGenerations.html>.
- Gerber, David A. *American Immigration: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Ghadar, Fariborz. *Becoming American: Why Immigration Is Good for America's Future*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.

- GIT Magazine. "Why Immigrants Change Their Name." *GenealogyInTime Magazine*. Accessed December 23, 2014. [http://www.genealogyintime.com/NewsStories/2009/March/why\\_immigrants\\_change\\_their\\_name.html](http://www.genealogyintime.com/NewsStories/2009/March/why_immigrants_change_their_name.html).
- Gladwell, Malcolm. *Outliers: The Story of Success*. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2008.
- Gladwell, Malcolm. "Q and A with Malcolm." Gladwell.com. Accessed January 16, 2015. <http://gladwell.com/outliers/outliers-q-and-a-with-malcolm/>.
- Goldman, Francisco. Foreword to *The Beast: Riding the Rails and Dodging Narcos on the Migrant Trail*, by Óscar Martínez. Translated by Daniela Maria Ugaz and John Washington, vii-xvi. London: Verso, 2013.
- Gonzales, Manuel G. *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2009.
- González, Arturo. *Mexican Americans and the U.S. Economy: Quest for Buenos Días*. Mexican American Experience, edited by Adela de la Torre. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002.
- Gonzalez, Gilbert G. and Raul Fernandez. *A Century of Chicano History: Empire, Nations, and Migration*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Gonzalez-Barrera, Ana, and Mark Hugo Lopez. "A Demographic Portrait of Mexican Origin Hispanics in the United States." Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends. May 1, 2013. Accessed November 30, 2014, May 8, 2015, and August 5, 2015. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/05/01/a-demographic-portrait-of-mexican-origin-hispanics-in-the-united-states/#>.
- Gordon, Larry. "Mills College Scraps Plan to Admit Men." *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1990. Accessed March 5, 2015. [http://articles.latimes.com/1990-05-19/news/mn-64\\_1\\_mills-college](http://articles.latimes.com/1990-05-19/news/mn-64_1_mills-college).
- Gratton, Brian, and Myron P. Gutmann. "Hispanics in the United States, 1850-1990." *Historical Methods* 33, no. 3 (Summer 2000):137-153.
- Gray, Tom. "Teaching with Documents: The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo." National Archives, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Accessed March 18, 2015. <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/guadalupe-hidalgo>.

Great Valley Center. "About Us: Creating a Better Future for the Central Valley." Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.greatvalley.org/about>.

Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority*. New York: Free Press, 1970.

Griswold del Castillo, Richard. "War's End: Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo." KERA. 2006. Accessed March 17, 2015. [http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/war/wars\\_end\\_guadalupe.html](http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/war/wars_end_guadalupe.html).

Gutiérrez, David G. *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Gutiérrez, David G. "Mexicans." In Barkan, 372-390.

Gutiérrez, David G. "Globalization, Labor Migration, and the Demographic Revolution: Ethnic Mexicans in the Late Twentieth Century." In D. Gutiérrez (2004), 43-86.

Gutiérrez, David G., ed. *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States since 1960*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Guy-Sheftall, Beverly. "Diversity and Women's Colleges." *A Closer Look at Women's Colleges*. July 1999. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www2.ed.gov/pubs/WomensColleges/chap4fin.html>.

Hagel, John. In "What Is a Master Narrative?" *Public Works: Building the Public Will for the Common Good*. Accessed August 9, 2015. [publicworks.org](http://www.publicworks.org), <http://www.publicworks.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Public-Works-What-is-a-Master-Narrative.pdf>.

Hamamoto, Ben. "Editor's Note." National Japanese American Historical Society. *Nikkei Heritage* 25, no. 5 (Fall 2014):2.

Handlin, Oscar. *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1951.

Handlin, Oscar. *Immigration as a Factor in American History*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959.

Hansen, Marcus Lee. *The Immigrant in American History*. Edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. New York: Harper & Row, 1940.

- Harklau, Linda, Kay M. Losey, and Meryl S. Siegal. *Generation 1.5 Meets College Composition: Issues in the Teaching of Writing to U.S.-Educated Learners of ESL*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1999.
- Harrington, John P. Foreword to *Tailholt Tales*, by Frank F. Latta. Santa Cruz, CA: Bear State Books, Inc., 1976.
- Hartigan, Jr., John. "When White Americans Are a Minority." In Naylor, 103-115.
- Haub, Carl. "Changing the Way U.S. Hispanics Are Counted." *Population Reference Bureau*. November 2012. Accessed March 20, 2015. <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2012/us-census-and-hispanics.aspx>.
- Hayes-Bautista, David E. *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State*. Berkeley: University of California, 2004.
- Hennessey, Rachel. "What's in a Women's College?" *Forbes*. Accessed March 4 and 5, 2015. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/rachelhennessey/2013/02/06/whats-in-a-womens-college/>.
- Herman, David. "Spatial Reference in Narrative Domains." *Text* 21, no. 4 (2001): 515-541.
- Herman, David. "Histories of Narrative Theory (I): A Genealogy of Early Developments." In Phelan and Rabinowitz, 19-35.
- Herman, David. *Basic Elements of Narrative*. Chichester, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Hirschman, Charles, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind, eds. *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999.
- History.com. "Wilmot's Proviso." History.com. Accessed May 23, 2015. <http://www.history.com/topics/wilmot-proviso>.
- Hobbs, Frank, and Nicole Stoops. Census 2000 Special Reports, Series CENSR-4, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*. U.S. Census Bureau. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002.
- Hochschild, Jennifer L. *Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class, and the Soul of the Nation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Holquist, Michael. "Answering as Authoring: Mikhail Bakhtin's Trans-Linguistics." In *Bakhtin: Essays and Dialogues on His Work*. Edited by Gary Saul Morson, 59-71. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Holquist, Michael. *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2002.

Holquist, Michael. "From *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World*." In C. Emerson, 95-107.

Hosley, David H., and gayle k. yamada. *Hard News: Women in Broadcast Journalism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987.

Hsu, Spencer. "A Sense of Place." *Stanford* magazine, July/August 2015.

Roy M. Huhndorf. Forward [ste] to *Our Stories, Our Lives: A Collection of Twenty-Three Transcribed Interviews with Elders of the Cook Inlet Region*, by A.J. McClanahan, 5. Anchorage, AK: CIRI Foundation, 1986.

Huntsinger, Jami L. "American Indian Literary Renaissance." In *Encyclopedia of American Indian Literature*, by Jennifer McClinton-Temple and Alan Velie, 24-26. New York: Facts on File, 2007.

Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Independence Hall Association. "An Uneasy Peace: Wilmot's Proviso." Accessed May 23, 2015. Ushistory.org. <http://www.ushistory.org/us/30a.asp>.

Insight on Coaching. *Insight on Coaching: Guest Bio, Dr. Lea Ybarra*. Accessed March 24, 2015. [http://www.ieconsulting.biz/downloads/InsightOnCoaching\\_GuestBios/Lea\\_Ybarra%20Biography.pdf](http://www.ieconsulting.biz/downloads/InsightOnCoaching_GuestBios/Lea_Ybarra%20Biography.pdf).

Inskeep, Steve. "Undocumented Immigrant Now Feels 'More American.'" *Morning Edition*. National Public Radio. Capitol Public Radio, January 2, 2015.

Isay, Dave, with Lizzie Jacobs. *Ties That Bind*. New York: Penguin Books, 2013.

Jacoby, Tamara, ed. *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What It Means To Be American*. New York: Basic Books, 2004.

Jackman, Mary R. *The Velvet Glove: Paternalism and Conflict in Gender, Class, and Race Relations*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994.

Jennings, Joanne Elgart. PBS Newshour. November 1, 2010. Accessed February 18, 2015. <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/californias-central-valley-finds-itself-on-the-political-map>.

Jensen, Leif, and Yoshimi Chitose. "Today's Second Generation: Evidence from the 1990 Census." In Portes, 82-107.

Johns Hopkins Center for Talented Youth. "Johns Hopkins Center for Talented Youth." Accessed February 7, 2015. <http://hobel.org/lwved/id76.htm>.

Johnson, James Weldon. *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. Edited by William L. Andrews. New York: Penguin Books, 1990.

Johnson, James Weldon. *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927.

Johnson, James Weldon. *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*. Edited by Arna Bontemps. New York: Hill and Wang, 1960.

Jordan, Mary. "Latinos Are Getting Candidates' Attention." *Washington Post*, June 22, 2015.

Jost, John T., and Brenda Major, eds. *The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Intergroup Relations*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Keefe, Susan E. and Amado M. Padilla. *Chicano Ethnicity*. Albuquerque: University Press, 1987.

Kennedy Center. "What Is a *Corrido*?" Lesson Connection: Form and Theme in the Traditional Mexican *Corrido*. Accessed March 17, 2015. [http://artsedge.kennedy-center.org/~media/ArtsEdge/LessonPrintables/grade-9-12/form\\_and\\_theme\\_mex\\_cor\\_what\\_is\\_a\\_corrido.ashx](http://artsedge.kennedy-center.org/~media/ArtsEdge/LessonPrintables/grade-9-12/form_and_theme_mex_cor_what_is_a_corrido.ashx).

Kennedy, John F. *A Nation of Immigrants*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.

Kerr, Louise Ano Nuevo. "Mexican Americans." In Buenker and Ratner, 215-230.

Kidwell, Clara Sue, and Alan Velie. *Native American Studies*. Introducing Ethnic Studies, edited by Robert Con Davis-Undiano. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

King, Desmond. *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Diversity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Kivisto, Peter, and Paul R. Croll. *Race and Ethnicity: The Basics*. London: Routledge, 2012.

Kleingold, Pauline, and Eric Brown. "Cosmopolitanism." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Metaphysics Research Lab, Center for the Study of Language and Information, Stanford University. 2013. Accessed July 10, 2015. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/cosmopolitanism/>.

Koestler, Fred L. "Operation Wetback." *Handbook of Texas Online*. Texas State Historical Association. Accessed May 27, 2015. <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pqo01>.

Krogstad, Jens Manuel, and D'Vera Cohn. "U.S. Census Looking at Big Change in How It Asks about Race and Ethnicity." Pew Research Center. March 14, 2014. Accessed May 8, 2015. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/03/14/u-s-census-looking-at-big-changes-in-how-it-asks-about-race-and-ethnicity/>.

Krogstad, Jens Manuel, and Mark Hugo Lopez. "Hispanic Nativity Shift." Pew Research Center. April 29, 2014. Accessed March 27, 2015. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/04/29/hispanic-nativity-shift/>.

Kurashige, Lon. "Unexpected Views of the Internment." In *Colors of Confinement: Rare Kodachrome Photographs of Japanese American Incarceration in World War II*, edited by Eric L. Muller, 103-116. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Krupat, Arnold, ed. *Native American Autobiography: An Anthology*. Wisconsin Studies in American Autobiography, edited by William L. Andrews. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.

Kvale, Steiner, and Svend Brickmann. *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2009.

Landale, Nancy S., R. Salvador Oropesa, and Cristina Bradatan. "Hispanic Families in the United States: Family Structure and Process in an Era of Family Change." In Tienda and Mitchell, 138-178.

Lange, Dorothea, and Paul Schuster Taylor. *An American Exodus: A Record of Human Erosion*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, New York Library, 1939.

*Latino USA*. "El Teléfono." Program #1513. Produced by Antonia Cereijido. Broadcast March 27, 2015.

Latta, Frank F. *Tailholt Tales*. Santa Cruz, CA: Bear State Books, 1976.

Lee, A. Robert. *Multicultural American Literature: Comparative Black, Native, Latino/a, and Asian American Fictions*. Edinburgh, Great Britain: Edinburgh University Press, 2003.

Lee, A. Robert, ed. *First Person Singular: Studies in American Autobiography*. London: Vision Press, 1988.

Lee, Jennifer, and Frank D. Bean. *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the Color Line in Twenty-First Century America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010.

León, David J., and Rubén O. Martinez, eds. *Latino College Presidents: In Their Own Words, Diversity in Higher Education*. Vol. 13, series editor Henry T. Frierson. Bingley, United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing, 2013.

Lerner, Adrienne Wilmoth. "INS (United States Immigration and Naturalization Service)." *Encyclopedia of Espionage, Intelligence, and Security*. 2004. Encyclopedia.com. Accessed July 31, 2015. <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3403300376.html>.

Levine, Robert S. "Introduction: Cultural and Historical Background." In *Clotel or The President's Daughter*, 2nd ed., by William Wells Brown, edited by Robert S. Levine, 3-27. Bedford Cultural Editions, edited by J. Paul Hunter and William E. Cain. Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2011.

Levitt, Peggy. "Migrants Participate Across Borders: Toward an Understanding of Forms and Consequence." In Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold, 459-479.

Lincoln, Kenneth. *Native American Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Ling, Amy. "Teaching Asian American Literature." *Essays on Teaching the American Literatures from the Heath Anthology Newsletter*. Accessed

March 15, 2015. [http://faculty.georgetown.edu/bassr/tamlit/essays/asian\\_am.html](http://faculty.georgetown.edu/bassr/tamlit/essays/asian_am.html).

Lock, Charles. "Carnival and Incarnation: Bakhtin and Orthodox Theology." In C. Emerson, 285-299.

London, Jonathan K. Opening remarks, "Harnessing Data for Social Equity in the San Joaquin Valley." Conference. Sponsored by the Center for Regional Change, Federal Reserve Bank, and University of California, Davis Institute for Social Sciences. Undergraduate Student Center, February 15, 2015.

Lopez, Mark Hugo. "Women's College Enrollment Gains Leave Men Behind." Pew Research Center. March 6, 2014. Accessed March 28, 2015. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/03/06/womens-college-enrollment-gains-leave-men-behind/>.

Louie, Vivian. *Keeping the Immigrant Bargain: The Costs and Rewards of Success in America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012.

Luhrmann, T.M. "Wheat People vs. Rice People." Forum. *Davis Enterprise*, December 12, 2014.

Lutz, R.C. "Asian American Literature." *Immigration in America*. 2011. Accessed March 16, 2015. <http://immigrationinamerica.org/358-asian-american-literature.html>.

Maasik, Sonia, and J. Fisher Solomon. *California Dreams and Realities*. 3rd ed. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005.

MacArthur Foundation. "MacArthur Fellows Program." Accessed April 15, 2015. [https://www.macfound.org/fellows/search/?sort\\_name=Henry+Louis+Gates%2C+Jr](https://www.macfound.org/fellows/search/?sort_name=Henry+Louis+Gates%2C+Jr).

MacArthur Foundation. "MacArthur Fellows Program, Meet the Class of 2000." Accessed April 24, 2015. <http://www.macfound.org/fellows/636/>.

Madsen, Deborah L. "Preface: Tragic Wisdom and Survivance." In *Conversations with Remarkable Native Americans*, by Joëlle Rostkowski, xi-xvii. Albany: State University of New York, 2012.

- MarketingTeacher.com. "The Six Living Generations in America." Accessed November 23, 2014. <http://www.marketingteacher.com/the-six-living-generations-in-america/>.
- Markovsky, Barry, David Willer, and Travis Patton. "Power Relations in Exchange Networks." *American Sociological Review* 53 (1988):220-236.
- Martin, Philip. "Braceros: History, Compensation." *Rural Migration News* 12, no. 2 (April 2006). Accessed November 23, 2014. [https://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=1112\\_0\\_5\\_0](https://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=1112_0_5_0).
- Martin, Susan F. *A Nation of Immigrants*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Martínez, Julio A., and Francisco A. Lomelí, eds. *Chicano Literature: A Reference Guide*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985.
- Martínez, Oscar J. *Mexican-Origin People in the United States: A Topical History*. Modern American West, edited by Gerald D. Nash and Richard W. Etulain. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001.
- Martínez, Óscar. *The Beast: Riding the Rails and Dodging Narcos on the Migrant Trail*. Translated by Daniela Maria Ugaz and John Washington. London: Verso, 2013.
- Massey, Douglas S. "Why Does Immigration Occur?" In Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 34-52.
- Massey, Douglas S. "The American Side of the Bargain." In Jacoby, 111-121.
- Massey, Douglas S., Rafael Alarcón, Jorge Durand, and Humberto González. *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Massey, Douglas S., Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002.
- Masumoto, David Mas. From text panel in *Common Ground* exhibition. Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, CA, May 29, 2015.
- Maynes, Mary Jo, and Jennifer L. Pierce, and Barbara Laslett. *Telling Stories: The Use of Personal Narratives in the Social Sciences and History*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.

McAdams, Dan P. "Personal Narratives and the Life Story." In *Handbook of Personality, Theory and Research*, 3rd ed., edited by Oliver P. John, Richard W. Robins, and Lawrence A. Pervin, 242-262. New York: Guilford Press, 2008.

McAdams, Dan P., and Kate C. McLean. "Narrative Identity." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 22, no. 3 (June 2013):233-238.

McClinton-Temple, Jennifer, and Alan Velie. *Encyclopedia of American Indian Literature*. New York: Facts on File, 2007.

McFadden, Margaret H. "Women's Studies." *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. encyclopedia.com. Accessed April 20, 2015.[http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Womens\\_studies.aspx](http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Womens_studies.aspx).

*McFarland, USA*. Directed by Niki Caro. Walt Disney Pictures and Mayhem Pictures, 2015.

McHale, Brian. "Ghosts and Monsters: On the (Im)Possibility of Narrating the History of Narrative Theory." In Phelan and Rabinowitz, 60-72.

McKee, Jesse O., ed. *Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Geographical Appraisal*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Bowman & Littlefield, 2000.

Medina, Jennifer. "California Seeing Brown Where Green Used to Be." *New York Times*. February 13, 2014. Accessed December 11, 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/14/us/california-seeing-brown-where-green-used-to-be.html>.

Mendoza, Valerie. "Chicano! History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement: Review." *Journal for MultiMedia History* 3 (2000). Accessed November 23, 2014. <http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol3/chicano/chicano.html>.

Mitchell, Pablo R. *History of Latinos: Exploring Diverse Roots*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2014.

Miniwatts Marketing Group. "Internet Growth Statistics." Internet World Stats. Accessed February 12, 2015. <http://www.internetworldstats.com/emarketing.htm>.

- Momaday, Jill. "Jill Momaday, Actress, Model, and Former Chief of Protocol, State of New Mexico." In Rostkowski, 77-80.
- Momaday, N. Scott. *House Made of Dawn*. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.
- Momaday, N. Scott. "N. Scott Momaday, Poet, Novelist, Painter, and UNESCO Artist for Peace." In Rostkowski, 1-7.
- Monsivais, George I. *Hispanic Immigrant Identity: Political Allegiance vs. Cultural Allegiance*. The New Americans: Recent Immigration and American Society, edited by Steven J. Gold and Rubén G. Rumbaut. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2004.
- Montilla, Patricia A., ed. *Latinos and American Popular Culture*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013.
- Mooney, Chris. "Papal Message Challenges Some All-American Values." *Washington Post*, June 20, 2015.
- Moore, Jr., James C. "Role Enactment and Self-Identity." In Berger and Zelditch, 262-316.
- Morris, Lori. "Position Specification, Vice President for Institutional Advancement." Mills College. Accessed March 5, 2015. [http://www.mills.edu/administration/administrative\\_offices/human\\_resources/VPOIA.pdf](http://www.mills.edu/administration/administrative_offices/human_resources/VPOIA.pdf).
- Morrison, Toni. In "Exposing the 'Master Narrative': Teaching Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*." From an interview with Bill Moyers, *A World of Ideas*, March 1990. *Feminist Teacher*. Accessed August 9, 2015. <http://feministteacher.com/2010/04/13/exposing-the-master-narrative-teaching-toni-morrison-the-bluest-eye/>.
- Morson, Gary Saul. *Bakhtin: Essays and Dialogues on His Work*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Muller, Eric L., ed. *Colors of Confinement: Rare Kodachrome Photographs of Japanese American Incarceration in World War II*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Muoio, Anna. "Women and Men, Work and Power." Fast Company. January 31, 1998. Accessed April 3, 2015. <http://www.fastcompany.com/33732/women-and-men-work-and-power>.

- Mutua, Kagendo. "Counter narrative." Sage Research Methods. 2008. Accessed August 9, 2015. <http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/sage-encyc-qualitative-research-methods/n73.xml>.
- Nagata, Masatoshi. "Not Japanese Enough? Miss Universe Japan Looks to Fight Prejudice." *Kyodo News*. In *Nichi Bei Times*. August 6, 2015. Accessed August 7, 2015. <http://www.nichibei.org/2015/08/not-japanese-enough-miss-universe-japan-looks-to-fight-prejudice/>.
- NAJA. "Native American Journalists Association." Accessed April 19, 2015. <http://www.naja.com>.
- National Association of Black Journalists. "History/Mission." NABJ. Accessed April 19, 2015. <http://www.nabj.org/?page=History>.
- National Association of Hispanic Journalists. "NAHJ Mission." NAHJ. Accessed April 19, 2015. <http://nahj.org/nahj-mission/>.
- National Endowment for the Humanities. "The Mexican Revolution: November 20th, 1910." EDSITEment! Accessed April 2, 2015. <http://edsitement.neh.gov/feature/mexican-revolution-november-20th-1910>.
- National Immigration Law Center. "DREAM Act: Summary." May 2011. Accessed July 15, 2015. <https://nilc.org/dreamsummary.html>.
- National Park Service. "The War Relocation Centers of World War II: When Fear Was Stronger than Justice." U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed April 23, 2015. <http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89manzanar.htm>.
- National Public Radio. "ABC Tones Down Author's 'Fresh Off the Boat' for Sitcom Audience." *Morning Edition*, February 4, 2015.
- National Public Radio, "Korean Dictator, All-American Dad: One Actor's 'Very Unique Year.'" *All Things Considered*, February 8, 2015.
- National Telecommunications and Information Administration. "The Digital Generation: How Young People Have Embraced Computers and the Internet." *A Nation Online: How Americans Are Expanding Their Use of the Internet*. United States Department of Commerce. February 2002. Accessed March 27, 2015. <http://www.ntia.doc.gov/legacy/ntiahome/dn/anationonline2.pdf>.

- National Women's History Museum. "The History of Women and Education." Accessed March 5, 2015. <https://www.nwhm.org/online-exhibits/education/Timeline.htm>.
- Native American Literature. "An Overview of Post-1960 Native American Literature." Accessed March 13, 2015. <http://nativeamericanlit.com>.
- Native American Writers. "Early Native American Literature." *Early Native American Literature*. Accessed March 13, 2015. <http://nativeamericanwriters.com/index.html>.
- Navarrette, Ruben, Jr. *A Darker Shade of Crimson: Odyssey of a Harvard Chicano*. New York: Bantam Books, 1993.
- Navarro, Mireya. "Trying to Get Beyond the Role of the Maid." *New York Times*, May 16, 2002.
- Naylor, Larry L., ed. *Cultural Diversity in the United States*. Westport, CN: Bergin & Garvey, 1997.
- Nee, Albert, and Richard Alba. "Toward a New Definition." In Jacoby, 87-95.
- Neenah Historical Society. "Marcus Lee Hansen." Accessed May 22, 2015. <http://www.focol.org/neenahhistorical/Historical%20Photos/Notables%20Images/Notable%20Text/Hansen.html>.
- Nickell, Amy, ed. "Overview of Teaching African American Literature." *Teaching African American Literature*. Accessed March 13, 2015. <http://www2.uncp.edu/home/hickss/taal/overview/index.html>.
- Nielsen. "The Hispanic Market Imperative." Quarter 2, 2012, 1. Accessed April 3, 2015. <http://www.slideshare.net/ikinser/nielsen-state-ofthehispanicconsumer-2012>.
- Nielsen. "Digital Es Universal: How U.S. Hispanics Are Driving Growth in Digital." March 4, 2014. Accessed April 3, 2015. <http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2014/digital-es-universal-how-us-hispanics-are-driving-growth-in-digital.html>.
- Niemann, Yolanda Flores et al. *Chicana Leadership: The Frontiers Reader*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

- Niiya, Brian, ed. *Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present*. Los Angeles, CA: Japanese American National Museum, 1993.
- Nittle, Andrea Kareem. "Interracial Couples on TV Shows in the 20th Century." *About News*. 2015. Accessed May 8, 2015. <http://racerelements.about.com/od/hollywood/tp/Interracial-Couples-On-Tv-Shows-In-The-20th-Century.htm>.
- NLGJA. "About NLGJA." Association of LGBT Journalists. Accessed April 19, 2015. <http://www.nlgja.org/about/>.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*." *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989): 7-24.
- Olmos, Edward James, Lea Ybarra, and Manuel Monterrey. *Americanos: Latino Life in the United States, La Vida Latina en los Estados Unidos*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1999.
- Paravisini-Gebert, L. "Richard Rodriguez's Hunger of Memory and the Rejection of Private Self." academia.edu. Accessed April 22, 2015. [http://www.academia.edu/3670143/Richard\\_Rodriguezs\\_Hunger\\_of\\_Memory\\_and\\_the\\_Rejection\\_of\\_the\\_Private\\_Self](http://www.academia.edu/3670143/Richard_Rodriguezs_Hunger_of_Memory_and_the_Rejection_of_the_Private_Self).
- Park, Robert E. "Human Migration and the Marginal Man." *American Journal of Sociology* 33, no. 6 (May 1928): 881-893.
- Passel, Jeffrey S., and D'Vera Cohn. "Mexican Immigrants: How Many Come? How Many Leave?" Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends. July 22, 2009. Accessed February 4, 2015. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2009/07/22/mexican-immigrants-how-many-come-how-many-leave/>.
- Passel, Jeffrey S., D'Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera. "Characteristics of Mexican-Born Immigrants Living in the U.S." Pew Research Center. April 23, 2012. Accessed February 4, 2015. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/vi-characteristics-of-mexican-born-immigrants-living-in-the-u-s/>.
- Passel, Jeffrey S., D'Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera. "Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero—and Perhaps Less." Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends. April 23, 2012. Accessed February 10, 2015. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/vi-net-migration-from-mexico-falls-to-zero-and-perhaps-less/>.

[www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/net-migration-from-mexico-falls-to-zero-and-perhaps-less/](http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/04/23/net-migration-from-mexico-falls-to-zero-and-perhaps-less/).

Passel, Jeffrey S., D'Vera Cohn, and Mark Hugo Lopez. "Hispanics Account for More than Half of Nation's Growth in Past Decade." Pew Research Center, Hispanic Trends. March 24, 2011. Accessed May 4, 2015. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2011/03/24/hispanics-account-for-more-than-half-of-nations-growth-in-past-decade/>.

PBS. "The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo." *The Border*. Accessed March 17, 2015. <http://www.pbs.org/kpbs/theborder/history/timeline/6.html>.

PBS. "Zoot Suit Riots." *American Experience*. PBS Online/WGBH. 1999-2001. Accessed March 18, 2015. [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/zoot/eng\\_peopleevents/e\\_riots.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/zoot/eng_peopleevents/e_riots.html).

Personal Narrative Group, eds. *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Pew Research Center. "Global Digital Communication: Texting, Social Networking Popular Worldwide." February 29, 2012. Accessed March 27, 2015. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/12/20/global-digital-communication-texting-social-networking-popular-worldwide/>.

Pew Research Center. "Median Age for Hispanics Is Lower Than Median Age for Total U.S. Population." July 2, 2012. Accessed March 27, 2015. <http://www.pewresearch.org/daily-number/median-age-for-hispanics-is-lower-than-median-age-for-total-u-s-population/>.

Pew Research Center, "From Germany to Mexico: How America's Source of Immigrants Has Changed over a Century." May 2014. Accessed March 26, 2015, [http://www.pewresearch.org/files/2014/05/FT\\_14.05.26\\_TopOriginsUSMap.png](http://www.pewresearch.org/files/2014/05/FT_14.05.26_TopOriginsUSMap.png).

Pew Research Center. "Demographic Profile of Hispanics in California, 2011." Accessed December 11, 2014 and March 27, 2015. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/ca/>.

Phelan, James. "Narrative Theory, 1966-2006: A Narrative." In *The Nature of Narrative: 40th Anniversary Edition*, by Robert E. Scholes, James Phelan, and Robert Kellogg, 283-336. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2006.

- Phelan, James, and Peter J. Rabinowitz. *Understanding Narrative*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1994.
- Phelan, James, and Peter J. Rabinowitz, eds. *A Companion to Narrative Theory*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.
- Podea, Iris Saunders. "Quebec to 'Little Canada': The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century." *The New England Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (Sept. 1950):365-380. Accessed July 8, 2015. [http://www.jstor.org/stable/361423?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/361423?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents).
- Porter, Joy, and Kenneth M. Roemer. *The Cambridge Companion to Native American Literature*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Portes, Alejandro, ed. *The New Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.
- Portes, Alejandro. "Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities." In Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind, 21-33.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Josh DeWind, eds. *Rethinking Migration: New and Theoretical Perspectives*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2007.
- Portes, Alejandro and Rubén G. Rumbut. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. 3rd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Richard Schaufli. "Language and the Second Generation: Bilingualism Yesterday and Today." In Portes (1996), 8-29.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Min Zhou. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 (November 1993):74-96.
- Prago, Albert. *Strangers in Their Own Land: A History of Mexican-Americans*. New York: Four Winds Press, 1973.
- Puffin/Nation Prize for Creative Citizenship. "The Prize." Accessed January 12, 2015. <http://www.nationinstitute.org/puffinnation/prize.html>.
- Racebox.org. "The Census since 1790." racebox.org. Accessed May 8, 2015. <http://racebox.org>.

Raleigh, Sir Walter Raleigh. *The Discoverie of Guiana*. London: Robert Robinson, 1596.

Ramirez, Luz Elena. *Encyclopedia of Hispanic-American Literature*. New York: Facts On File, 2008.

Ramos, Jorge. *Dying to Cross: The Worst Immigrant Tragedy in American History*. Translated by Kristina Cordero. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005.

Ramos, Jorge. In "Leaders." *Time*, April 27-May 5, 2015.

Re Cruz, Alicia. "The Mexican American Community in the United States." In Naylor, 159-175.

Resnick, Alisa. "Race Project—Between Two Worlds: America's 1.5 Generation." *Race*. *Seattle Times*. November 18, 2013. Accessed February 12, 2015. <http://blogs.seattletimes.com/race-awsd/2013/11/18/race-project-between-two-worlds-americas-1-5-generation/>.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L., Cathryn Johnson, and David Diekema. "External Status, Legitimacy, and Compliance in Male and Female Groups." *Social Forces* 72 (1994)4:1051-1077.

Rodriguez, Gregory. "Mexican Americans and the Mestizo Melting Pot." In Jacoby, 125-138.

Rodriguez, Juan. "Chicano Literature: Theme of Cultural Resistance." *Onda Latina*. University of Texas at Austin. 2009. Accessed March 17, 2015. [http://www.laits.utexas.edu/onda\\_latina/program?sernum=000536358&term=](http://www.laits.utexas.edu/onda_latina/program?sernum=000536358&term=).

Rodriguez, Julia E. Curry. "Immigrant Contributions, *las Contribuciones de los Emigrantes*." In Olmos, Ybarra, and Monterrey, 70.

Rodriguez, Richard. *Hunger for Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez*. New York: Bantam Books, 1982.

Roemer, Kenneth M. Introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Native American Literature*, edited by Joy Porter and Kenneth M. Roemer, 1-23. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Roemer, Kenneth M. "N.Scott Momaday: Biographical, Literary, and Multicultural Contexts." *Modern American Poetry*. Accessed April 20, 2015. [http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/m\\_r/momaday/contexts.htm](http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/m_r/momaday/contexts.htm).

Romero, Mary. *Maid in the U.S.A.* 10th anniversary ed. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Romo, Ricardo, and Harriett Romo. "The Social and Cultural Context of the Mexican American Experience in the United States: Introduction." In de La Garza et al., 317-331.

Rosen, Jay. In "What Is a Master Narrative?" *Public Works: Building the Public Will for the Common Good*. Accessed August 9, 2015. [publicworks.org](http://www.publicworks.org), <http://www.publicworks.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Public-Works-What-is-a-Master-Narrative.pdf>.

Rostkowski, Joëlle. *Conversations with Remarkable Native Americans*. Albany: State University of New York, 2012.

Rubin, Herbert J., and Irene S. Rubin. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005.

Rumbaut, Rubén G. "Generation 1.5, Educational Experiences of." Edited by James A. Banks. *Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education*. Sage Publications. 2012. Accessed February 12, 2015. [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2182167](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2182167).

Rumbaut, Rubén G. "Ages, Life Stages, and Generational Cohorts: Decomposing the Immigrant First and Second Generations in the United States." In Portes and DeWind, 342-387.

Rumbaut, Rubén G. "The Making of a People." In Tienda and Mitchell, 16-65.

Ruppert, James. *Mediation in Contemporary Native American Fiction*. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series, edited by Gerald Vizenor and Louis Owens. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Rural Migration News. "Braceros: History, Compensation." April 2006. Accessed November 23, 2014. [https://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=1112\\_0\\_5\\_0](https://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=1112_0_5_0).

- Rushdie, Salman. "1,000 Days 'Trapped Inside a Metaphor.'" Speech. Columbia University, New York, December 11, 1991. Quoted in *New York Times*, December 12, 1991.
- Sáenz, Rogelio, and Aurelia Lorena Murga. *Latino Issues. Contemporary World Issues*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011.
- Samora, Julian. Preface to *Barrio Boy*. In *Barrio Boy*, by Ernesto Galarza, unnumbered. United States-Mexico Border Project, directed by Julian Samora. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971.
- San Jose Unified School District. "About Ernesto Galarza." *Ernesto Galarza Elementary School*. Accessed July 8, 2015. <http://www.sjUSD.org/galarza/school-information/about-ernesto-galarza/>.
- Sandoval, Rebecca. "One-and-a-Half Generation Mexicans and Return Migration." academia.edu. Accessed February 12, 2015. <http://www.academia.edu/9694824/one-and-a-half-generation-mexicans-and-return-migration>.
- Scherer, Michael. "América's News Anchor." *Time*, December 1-8, 2014.
- Scholes, Robert E., James Phelan, and Robert Kellogg. *The Nature of Narrative: 40th anniversary ed.* Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Schodolski, Vincent J. "California: The Bellwether State." *Chicago Tribune*, March 31, 1996. Accessed December 3, 2014. [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1996-03-31/news/9603310231\\_1\\_california-protest-demographics](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1996-03-31/news/9603310231_1_california-protest-demographics).
- Seamon, David, and Adam Lundberg. "Humanistic Geography." Humanistic Geography Encyclopedia Entry. Forthcoming 2015. Academia.edu. Accessed July 22, 2015. [http://www.academia.edu/7800688/Humanistic\\_Geography\\_encyclopedia\\_entry\\_forthcoming\\_2015\\_](http://www.academia.edu/7800688/Humanistic_Geography_encyclopedia_entry_forthcoming_2015_).
- Shanley, Kathryn W. "Native American Literature." *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*, edited by David J. Wishart. University of Nebraska, Lincoln. 2011. Accessed March 13, 2015. <http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.lt.050>.
- Slattery, Gram. "In Defense of the Ethnic Enclave." *Harvard Political Review*. 2015. Accessed May 24, 2015. <http://harvardpolitics.com/covers/in-defense-of-the-ethnic-enclave/>.

- Smith, John. *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith*. London: T. Slater, 1630.
- Smith, Robert C. "Gender, Ethnicity, and Race in School and Work Outcomes of Second Generation of Mexican Americans." In Suárez-Orozco and Páez, 110-125.
- Southern California Public Radio. "Gen 1.5: Where an Immigrant Generation Fits In." *Multi American*. March 21, 2012. Accessed February 12, 2015. <http://www.scpr.org/blogs/multiamerican/2012/03/21/7963/what-is-a-1-5-where-an-immigrant-generation-fits-i/>.
- Stepto, Robert. *From Behind the Veil: A Study of Afro-American Narrative*. 2nd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.
- Stevenson, Angus, and Christine A. Lindberg, eds. *New Oxford American Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Oxford University Press. Accessed February 24, 2015. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195392883.001.0001/acref-9780195392883>.
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *The Annotated Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Edited by Philip Van Doren Stern. New York: Paul S. Eriksson, 1964.
- Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., and Mariela M. Páez, eds. *Latinos Remaking America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Takaki, Ronald, ed. *Debating Diversity: Clashing Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Tatum, Charles M. *Chicano Popular Culture: Que Hable el Pueblo*. The Mexican American Experience, edited by Adela de la Torre. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001.
- Telles, Edward E., and Vilma Ortiz. *Generations of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008.
- ThinkExist. "Thurgood Marshall Quotes." Accessed February 7, 2015. [http://thinkexist.com/quotes/thurgood\\_marshall/](http://thinkexist.com/quotes/thurgood_marshall/).
- Tienda, Marta, and Faith Mitchell, eds. *Hispanics and the Future of America*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006.

- Tong, Scott. "Taking in Refugees Has Costs—and Potential Benefits." *Marketplace*. American Public Media. Accessed September 8, 2015. <http://www.marketplace.org/topics/world/taking-refugees-has-costs---and-potential-benefits>.
- Torres, Rodolfo D., and ChorSwang Ngin. "Racialized Boundaries, Class Relations, and Cultural Politics: The Asian American and Latino Experience." In Darder, 55-69
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.
- Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.
- Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. Introduction to *The Diary of Martha Ballard, 1785-1812*, by Martha Ballard. Edited by Robert R. McCausland and Cynthia MacAltman McCausland, xiii-xiv. Maine Genealogical Society Special Publication No. 10. Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1992.
- Umbach, Kenneth W. "A Statistical Tour of California's Great Central Valley." California Research Bureau, California State Library. August 1997. Accessed December 11, 2014. <http://www.library.ca.gov/crb/97/09/>.
- United States Geological Survey. "San Joaquin Valley, California." Accessed December 11, 2014, February 18, 2015. <http://pubs.usgs.gov/circ/circ1182/pdf/06SanJoaquinValley.pdf>.
- UNITY. "UNITY's History." UNITY Journalists for Diversity. Accessed April 19, 2015. <http://unityjournalists.org/about/unityhistory/>.
- University of California, Davis. "UC Davis Profile." Accessed March 6, 2015. [http://ucdavis.edu/about/facts/uc\\_davis\\_profile.pdf](http://ucdavis.edu/about/facts/uc_davis_profile.pdf).
- Urbina, Martin Guevara, Joel E. Vela, and Juan O. Sánchez. *Ethnic Realities of Mexican Americans: From Colonialism to 21st Century Globalization*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 2014.
- U.S. Census Bureau. "Hispanics in the United States." Accessed March 20, 2015. <http://www.hacu.net/images/hacu/conf/2010CapForum/RobertoRamirezHispanicsInUS2008.pdf>.

U.S. Census Bureau. "Through the Decades." Accessed May 8, 2015. [https://www.census.gov/history/www/through\\_the\\_decades/index\\_of\\_questions/1930\\_1.html](https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/index_of_questions/1930_1.html).

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. "Enforcement." Office of Immigration Statistics, *Fiscal Year 2002 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 39*. Accessed May 24, 2015. <http://www.dhs.gov/fiscal-year-2002-yearbook-immigration-statistics>.

U.S. Department of State. "Dual Nationality." Bureau of Consular Affairs. Accessed August 5, 2015. [travel.State.Gov](http://travel.State.Gov).

U.S. News & World Report. "Mills College." *U.S. News and World Report Education: Education Rankings & Advice*. 2015. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/mills-college-1238>.

*USA Today*. "Women's Colleges Struggle to Keep Identity and Enrollment." *USA Today*. Accessed March 4, 2015, <http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/education/story/2012-08-01/womens-colleges-enrollment/57103700/1>.

Van Vechten, Carl. Introduction to *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, by James Weldon Johnson, v-x. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927.

VanDerBeets, Richard, ed. *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives 1642-1836*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973.

Vela, Michelle Johnson. "Bridging the Borderlands/Navigating the 'Self' in Chicana Life Writings." In *Mediating Chicana/o Culture: Multicultural American Vernacular*, edited by Scott L. Baugh, 52-61. Newcastle, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholar's Press, 2006.

Velie, Alan R., ed. *Native American Perspectives on Literature and History*. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies series, edited by Gerald Vizenor and Louis Owens. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

Vigdor, Jacob L. *From Immigrants to Americans: The Rise and Fall of Fitting In*. Langham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.

Villegas de Magnón, Leonor. *The Rebel*. Edited by Clara Lomas. Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 1994.

- Weber, David J., ed. *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans*. 30th anniversary ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973.
- Webster, Jr., Murray, and James E. Driskell, Jr. "Status Generalization." In Berger and Zelditch, 108-141.
- Weebly.com. "Do You Like Ike? Dwight D. Eisenhower 1953-1961." Accessed December 14, 2014. <http://doyoulikeike.weebly.com/recession.html>.
- Weiss, Robert S. *Learning From Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995.
- Williams, Norma. *The Mexican American Family: Tradition and Change*. Reynolds Series in Sociology, edited by Larry T. Reynolds. Dix Hills, NY: General Hall, 1990.
- Uncommon Courage: Patriotism and Civil Liberties*. Directed by gayle k. yamada. DVD. Broadcast 2001-2002, on PBS stations. Bridge Media, Inc., 2001.
- VanDerBeets, Richard, ed. *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives 1642-1836*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973.
- Vault.com. "Ruiz Food Products, Inc." Accessed December 21, 2014. <http://www.vault.com/company-profiles/food-beverage/ruiz-foods,-inc/company-overview.aspx>.
- yamada, gayle k., and Dianne Fukami. *Building a Community: The Story of Japanese Americans in San Mateo County*. San Mateo, CA: AACCP, 2003.
- Yamato, Sharon. "Civil Liberties Public Education Fund." *Densho Encyclopedia*. Accessed April 23, 2015. [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civil\\_Liberties\\_Public\\_Education\\_Fund/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civil_Liberties_Public_Education_Fund/).
- Ybarra, Lea. *Vietnam Veterans: Chicanos Recall the War*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004.
- Ybarra, Lea. "The Family, *la Familia*." In Olmos, Ybarra, and Monterrey, 84.
- YouTube. "Griselda Barajas, Acceptance Speech 2014 Faces of Diversity Award." Accessed February 4, 2015. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8QrB\\_Z3DgJl](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8QrB_Z3DgJl).

Zahniser, Steven S. "One Border, Two Crossings: Mexican Migration to the United States as a Two-Way Process." In Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold, 242-276.

Zangwill, Israel. *The Melting-Pot: Drama in Four Acts*. Revised edition. New York: Macmillan Company, 1923.

Zavella, Patricia. "Reflections on Diversity among Chicanas." In Niemann, 107-117.

Zelditch, Morris, Jr.. "Theories of Legitimacy." In Jost and Major, 33-53.

Zinn, Maxine Baca. "Chicano Men and Masculinity." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10 (1982b):29-44.

Zinn, Maxine Baca. "Gender and Ethnic Identity among Chicanos." In Niemann, 15-29.

Zong, Jie, and Jeanne Batalova. "Mexican Immigrants in the United States." *Migration Information Source*. October 9, 2011. Accessed June 28, 2015. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/mexican-immigrants-united-states>.

Zúñga, Victor, and Rubén Hernández-Leon, eds. *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005.

## INTERVIEWS

Barajas, Griselda. Businesswoman and restaurateur. Interview by author. Sacramento, CA, July 3, 2013.

Castillo, Jesse. Kmart manager. Interview by author. Los Banos, CA, July 11, 2013.

Chávez, Camila. Executive Director, Dolores Huerta Foundation. Interview by author. Bakersfield, CA, July 17 and 18, 2013.

de la Torre, Adela. Interim Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs and professor of child studies, University of California, Davis. Interview by author. Davis, CA, March 8, 2013.

Garcia, Eva Salcedo. Co-founder, Garcia Realty, Sacramento, CA. Interview by author. Sacramento, CA, June 15, 2013.

Garcia, Franco. Realtor. Interview by author. Sacramento, CA, July 31, 2013.

Garcia, Rosanna. Realtor. Interview by author. Sacramento, CA, June 15, 2013.

Haslam, Gerald. Writer and literature professor emeritus. Interview by author. June 11, 2013, Penngrove, CA.

Perez, Alice. Executive Director, Sacramento Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. Interview by author. Sacramento, CA, May 22, 2013.

Ramírez, José Antonio. City Manager, Livingston, CA. Interview by author. Livingston, CA, July 8, 2013.

Ruiz, Fred. Co-founder, Ruiz Foods. Interview by author. Dinuba, CA, August 14, 2013.

Saenz, Dora. Restaurateur. Interview by author. Sacramento, CA, April 17, 2013.

Saenz, Norma. Businesswoman and restaurateur. Interview by author. Sacramento, CA, April 18, 2013.

Saenz, Sergio. Restaurateur. Interview by author. Sacramento, CA, May 23, 2013.

Saenz, Sonia. Businesswoman and restaurateur. Interview by author. Sacramento, CA, April 19, 2013.

Toledo, Andrew. Marketing Manager, Toledo's Mexican Restaurant. Interview by author. Fresno, CA, August 22, 2013.

Toledo, Carmen. Sales Manager, Toledo's Mexican Restaurant. Interview by author. Fresno, CA, August 22, 2013.

Toledo, Jesse. Senior Vice President, Toledo's Mexican Restaurant. Interview by author. Fresno, CA, August 15, 2013.

Toledo, Sam D. Founder, Toledo's Mexican Restaurant. Interview by author. Fresno, CA, August 15, 2013.

Ybarra, Lea. Sociologist. Interview by author. Fresno, CA, August 14, 2013.