UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Transborder Indigenous Education: Kumeyaay/Kumiay Education Sovereignty on the U.S./Mexico Border

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

in

Ethnic Studies

by

Cynthia Vázquez

Committee in charge:

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Professor Daphne Taylor-Garcia

2022

The Dissertation of Cynthia Vázquez is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

University of California San Diego

2022

DEDICATION

To *mi familia . . .* ¡*si se pudo!*

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DEFINITIONS

Kumeyaay: There are many different types of spelling variants of "Kumeyaay" and the most commonly and agreed term by all (the U.S. and Mexico) is the -yaay suffix. Some folks might also identify as Diegueño connected to the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá—I do not use this term unless otherwise the person I worked with specifically identifies as "Diegueño." In this dissertation, when I use the -yaay suffix I am referring to Kumeyaay from the U.S. I will also specify which community if they are in the U.S. e.g. Campo, La Posta, etc.

Kumiay: This term is another variant of Kumeyaay in Spanish. It is common to use -iai suffix in Baja California Norte. However, I have started to see the -iay suffix used more commonly in Juntas de Nejí and will be using to identify Kumeyaay from México and most specifically from Juntas de Nejí. Other commonly used spellings Kumiia and Kamia.

American Indian and Native American: I will be using these terms interchangeably throughout the dissertation when referring to Natives in the U.S.

California Native: I use this term to specifically refer to Natives from U.S. California as it relates to their experiences with the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods.

Indigenous: This term is most used with Latin American Indigenous peoples in the Americas. I will this term to encompass all of the native people from the Americas when covering pan-Indigenous movements-relationships-and sovereignty. I will also use the term "Indigenous" to refer to folks from Latin America. I want to note there is a trend in Latin America to move away from "Indigenous" towards *pueblos originarios* or First Peoples.

Alta California: Historical term used in archives to refer to what is now known as the State of California in the U.S. I use this term to identify the State of California.

Baja California (Norte): I use this term to refer to the current state of Baja California Norte in México. Sometimes I will drop the "Norte" as a short form.

Las Californias: I use this term to identify both Alta and Baja Californias.

ʹIipay Language: ʹIipay language, and even peoples, are under the Kumeyaay Nation and originally north of the border and northern communities. Each reservation and or community have unique language local variants. Today there are less than 10 ʹIipay native speakers. I will use ʹIipay to specify language and community. ʹIipay and Tiipay (Tipay) are slightly different variants of each other—some linguists argue they are dialects, variants, and/or languages.

Tipay and Tiipay and Tipai Language: The Tipay/Tiipay language, sometimes spelled "Tipay" or with the double-ii "Tiipay," used within southeast and Baja California Norte communities and used in Juntas de Nejí. I will use the "i" and double "ii" in Tipay interchangeably. The language variant spoken in Nejí is Ja'a Kumiay (Tiipay), which is unique to the community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I want to thank all of my cohort for their daily support: Yessica García Hernandez, Boké Saisi, Bayan Abusneineh, Aundrey Jones, Mellissa Linton-Villafranco, Krys Méndez Ramírez, David Sánchez-Aguilera, Esther Choi, and Leon Lee. I want to thank mentors I gained throughout my journey: Amrah Salomón Johnson, Ly Thuy Nguyen, and Hina Shaikh.

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Final thank you to my family—*sin ustedes no podría hacerlo. ¡Te quiero mucho mama y papa!* My mother's *consejos* lifted me up and her unending full support of my journey—even joining me across the world—showed me *que no los rajamos.* My father's words on how to navigate in Mexico and his ingenuity to figure out how to fix my old cars in the middle of the desert modeled for me that we are never alone on our journey. Thank you to my brothers, Oscar and Edgar, for listening to me process this journey. Also, special thank you to my siblings Brenda, Oscar, and Yareth in México.

Chapter 5, in part, has been accepted for publication in the Critical Latinx Indigeneities book anthology edited by Lourdes Alberto, Maylei Blackwell, Floridalma Boj Lopez, and Luis Urrieta published by Duke University Press may appear in 2023.

Chapter four, in part, has been submitted for the Critical Missions Handbook edited by Charlene Villaseñor-Black, Reyna Ramírez, Jennifer Scheper Hughes, Ross Frank, Valentin Lopez, Yve Chavez, Stan Rodriguez, and Jonathan Cordero.

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Dissertation

Transborder Indigenous Education: Kumeyaay/Kumiay Educational Sovereignty on the U.S/Mexico border

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Trans-Mission Hauntings and *Ama de Llaves* Apparitions in Contemporary California Schooling, submitted to *Critical Mission Studies Handbook*, Eds. Grande, R., Villaseñor, C., Ross, F. et al., (n.p.). (under-review).

Multiculturality is Essential, in *People of Color in the United States: Contemporary Issues in Education, Work, Communities, Health, and Immigration*, Ed. Kofi Lomotey, 1:370–72. Santa Barbara, CA, CA: Greenwood, an Imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC. 2016.

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2019	***Acorn Women and Girls: Kumeyaay Transborder Indigenous Education Futurity in the US-México,*** Body Place Identity, Department of History, University of North Texas, Denton, TX
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2016 ***Breaking Borders in the Borderlands: Kumeyaay Nation Carving Out Spaces in Educational Settings*****,** California Indian Conference, Presenter, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA.

2016 ***Breaking Borders in the Borderlands: Kumeyaay Nation Carving Out Spaces in Schools,*** Mujeres en Letras y Cambio Social (MALCS), Presenter, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY.

2016 ***Kumiai/Kumeyaay Transnational Education: Intermixing Traditional and Formal Education,*** Native American Scholars and Collaborators Project, Presenter, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Transborder Indigenous Education: Kumeyaay/Kumiay Education Sovereignty on the U.S./Mexico Border

by

Cynthia Vázquez

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnic Studies

University of California San Diego, 2022

Professor K. Wayne Yang, Chair

The U.S./Mexico border is a site of increased state polices for surveillances, hyper-militarization, and state sanctioned violence on Native Americans and Indigenous peoples living on the border. Similarly, public schooling in the U.S. and Mexico is damaging to Native and Indigenous students (Lomawaima & McCarty 2006). Sate surveillance and criminalization on the

border and in schools attempt to rupture Indigenous relationships and curtail Indigenous sovereignty across colonial borders—specially tribes separated by colonial borders.

This seven-year multi-site community-based, historical, and critical ethnographic study reveal how tribal nations separated by the U.S./Mexico border practice traditions, defend Indigenous existence and lands, and are (re)connecting and strengthening transborder bonds. Drawing from decolonial theory, Native Feminisms, and Chicana feminists, the border is a site of analysis to examine how overlapped multi-settler colonialisms, state surveillance, hyper-militarization, state policies on the U.S./Mexico border attempt to rupture Indigenous forms of education. Further, this study interrogates how Latinidad subsumes Indigenous peoples and erases Indigenous migrations and Indigenous sovereignty on the U.S/Mexico border. This study reveals how transborder Indigenous migrations, Indigenous knowledge systems, language revitalization, and intertribal and intergenerational bonds are not rupturing, but in fact, strengthening, (re)connecting, and defending Indigenous existence and lands as a form of Indigenous sovereignty on the border and in schools.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

The Fire Inside: Transborder Indigenous Education in the Californias

Auka (Howka) is the customary greeting of Kumeyaay people, and it is roughly translated as "may the fire burn in you" or "may the light be with you."[1] Fire is the center of Kumeyaay cosmology and life. In the Kumeyaay creation story, fire is used as the fuel to create the world we are in today. In fact, the Kumeyaay used fire thousands of years ago as an agricultural tool in stewarding the land. They shaped it. They mold it. And they maintained the environment in equilibrium.[2] Creating fire is a chemical process that produces a chain reaction one that is in need of air (oxygen), fuel, and heat (ignition) to the point of combustion. Once ignited, fire looks for more fuel, it is tumultuous and devours everything in its path. Fire contaminates the air and brings physical damage to people who are unfamiliar with the science. Even though, one element of fire is destructive and unpredictable, fire when used with purpose clears vegetation, restores land, and it is transformative, and regenerative.

When we use fire to shed light to the darkness, bring warmth from the coldness, and nourish our bodies from the food cooked in fire—then fire is transformative in this sense. In opening with the Kumeyaay customary greeting and theorizing the physical and metaphorical aspects of fire and light this chapter will shed light (Kumeyaay word for fire).

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1. Meaning of Howka (Auka) changes depending on the translation. After speaking to various people in the community fire in Tipai have many meanings ranging from illumination to burning. In this case, the Tipai greeting can be translated to "may the light be with you" as a reminder and connection to the creator and the cosmos according to community members.

2. Gutiérrez Ramón A. and Richard J. Orsi, *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

The U.S./Mexico border is a settler state spatial and temporal enclosure. Within the limits of the border the settler-state enforces criminalization, state-surveillance, and hyper-militarization imposed onto Indigenous and Mexican peoples. Discourse on the U.S./Mexico border centers, forced northern migrations from Latin American, labor exploitation, and gendered violence is subsumed under Latinidad (whiteness). Comparatively, public schooling in the U.S. and Mexico operates similarly to the border, school to prison pipeline and state-surveillance, and militarization through recruitment and boarding schools. Indigenous scholars regard schooling to simultaneously (de)center human rights (Speed 2008); militarization (Leza 2019), migrations and survivance (Lyons 2010), language revitalization and bilingual education (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006; Hornberger 2006), identity, sovereignty, and decolonization (Brayboy 2006; Tuhiwai Smith 2000; Tuck & Yang 2012); intertribal exchanges and colonial schooling (Lomawaima 1994). The relationship between colonial borders and Indigenous schooling operates symbiotically under settler-colonialism to dispossess and disavow Indigenous peoples from all personhoods. Amidst this violence there are Indigenous transborder communities that are strengthening, resisting, and reconnecting through this shared struggle.

Indigenous transborder perspectives in education are rare in the literature; thus, this work connects how transborder intertribal connections are strengthening bonds. There is an urgency due to the political climate and immigration policies to examine border and schooling practices as they relate to Indigenous transborder sovereignty, schooling, survivance, and resistance. My research questions are as follow:

1. How do state policies, militarization, and surveillances on the U.S./Mexico border affect border tribes sovereignty when it comes to Indigenous education?

2. How do school policies curtail Indigenous land-based knowledges, language revitalization efforts, and identity on the border?
3. How do the Kumeyaay people define ad exercising their educational sovereignty on the U.S./Mexico border?

Figure 1 Connolly, Mike (2000) Kumeyaay Lands 1769-2000

These questions propelled my seven-year, and overall, tribally led, multi-site community-based, historical, and critical ethnographic study. This research took place on both sides of the U.S./Mexico border, specifically in the San Diego-Tijuana region, where the Kumeyaay/Kumiay[3] people have lived for over 10,000 years. Community-based critical ethnographic and participatory action research took place in two Kumeyaay/Kumiay educational

3. Kumeyaay Nation is referred to all of the Kumeyaay people from both sides of the US-Mexico border. Most Kumeyaay identify with this spelling. However, Kumeyaay living in México prefer the Spanish spelling Kumiai, and even so there are other ways of spelling Kumiia and Kamia. When referring to Kumeyaay people from México, I will use the –aiy spelling preferred spelling from the community the researcher works with.

settings and communities. One is a youth project located north of the border at Campo Education Center and on the Campo Indian Reservation and the Native American Resource Center at Acorn High School.[4] The other is south of the border, involving a Kumiay language and culture home school taught by Kumiai grandmothers in Juntas de Nejí, Mexico. Both communities are the furthest east close to Tecate region and located close to the U.S./Mexico border. In the image to the left screenshot from a Kumeyaay scientist Mike Miskwish Connolly's book *Kumeyaay Lands* (2007) mapped his ancestral lands from preconquest to modern times. He highlighted the contrast between how much land his people used to travel to the current day restrictions of reservations on the U.S. and Mexico side. The map to the left incorporates Kumeyaay traditional before 1769 and are places of the current day Kumeyaay reservations and *ejidos* from the U.S. and Mexico. In the Kumeyaay Nation there are thirteen reservations on the US side and up to five ejidos Comunidades (or rancherías) on the Mexican side. The Kumeyaay homeland and people lived through three periods of settler-colonialism. Each period changed Cuero's homeland with the introduction of foreign animals, people, and reorganization of the social structure. Following the colonization period under the Spanish period the creation of two nation-states: Mexican and American borders were drawn and redrawn without the input from the community with the 1848 Guadalupe de Hidalgo Treaty.

What happens when Indigenous territory is slashed in half and their everyday experiences are plagued by ongoing state surveillance and misracialized as "foreign" or "illegal"? Border tribes located on the U.S./México border experience racialization and state surveillance by the settler-nation-state on an everyday basis. For example, the act of going to town or San Diego

4. I use pseudonyms for the name of the school to protect students who attended the high school. In some instances, I use real names in my chapters with permission.

requires being processed by one of the two Border Patrol checkpoints and claiming your citizenship to be granted passage to town. Their brown bodies are racialized and read by the settler-nation-state as "foreign" to whiteness and connected to "illegals" and "illegal criminals." Three periods of colonization on Kumeyaay territory molds and shifts how state surveillance is conducted and by who it is conducted by is covered through various means raging from missions, presidios, schools, and researchers.

This project is the continuation and expansion of the work I conducted under my master's training in 2013. From the beginning of this work, I grounded my methods in decolonization. Linda Tuhiwai Smith *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999) is my foundation and guidebook that I used during my M.A. and continue to use. In her work she called for the restoration of Indigenous knowledges, languages, and culture. She also questions researcher's motives when working in Native Americans communities. Tuhiwai Smith argues that research conducted with Indigenous peoples requires the input of the very folks people are working with and it is imperative that the research benefits the community—and this is an important component I interrogate in my project—including myself.

After a year of working with Campo and Neji during my master's program, both communities expressed that they wanted more for their children than public schooling is offering. Their concerns in unison, they wanted their children to receive quality education from the state while retaining their Kumeyaay language, identity, cosmology, and knowledges. For each community they demanded quality education from the nation-settler-state and argued that it is Kumeyaay educational sovereignty and autonomy to do so. This work is birthed from these conversations about public schooling and quality education. My work is grounded in Native Feminist decolonizing methodologies with the objective to support Kumeyaay youth on both

sides of the border to retain and promote cultural Kumeyaay cultural heritage while they attend public schools. Native Feminists argue that Indigenous sovereignty is defined by each community, and it is their right to look outside the heteropatriarchal nation parameters of sovereignty. Campo and Nejí define Kumeyaay education sovereignty and autonomy as their right to control and direct what type of knowledge and schooling their children and youth receive in public schools. Each community contests that the public-school systems, specifically the quality and type of material taught in the schools should benefit their children. Simultaneously, Campo and Nejí contest and challenge the settler-nation-state to deliver quality education to their children attending public schooling.

In the larger scope, this research examines how two Kumeyaay/Kumiay communities collaborate and build bridges with teachers, administrators, school officials, and allies to maintain and retain Kumeyaay educational sovereignty. Adults and elders see themselves as guides for their children and youth to navigate the educational pipeline, while working together to cement Kumeyaay identity for future generations. Kumeyaay identity is the tool used by the community to succeed and navigate inside and outside their community. Transborder Indigenous education incorporates language revitalization, ethnobotany, land-based knowledges, recognition, and reciprocity. The retention and continuation of Kumeyaay history, tradition, and culture is important to the Kumeyaay. Ultimately, this project seeks to map how Campo and Nejí are affected by the U.S.-Mexico border and how each community resists and rebel colonial schooling to retain Kumeyaay education, traditions, and ways of life.

In this chapter, I prepare the oak wood, cut each log, break each branch, and set aside ready to light the wood at dusk—each fire pit (chapter) that will illuminate the dark night. Each fire pit (chapter) will focus on how Kumeyaay education is (re)connecting transborder

communities with the fire inside to (re)generate and center home on Kumeyaay ancestral lands using education as a pathway to (re)connect communities separated by the wall. This is what I call Transborder Indigenous Education (TIE). TIE (re)connects, (re)generates, (re)centers home as the method in defending Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies under coloniality. In this chapter, I analyze how multiple temporalities affect Indigenous sovereignty over today's schooling practices.

First, I begin with the reframing of the historical narrative on Indigenous education and how the mission apparatus and *gente de razón* attempted to put out the fire. I argue that Kumeyaay struggles over their *conocimiento* (knowledge) takes place in the schooling arena traced back to the mission apparatus. The mission framing in reeducating California and Baja California Natives replicates temporally and spatially in contemporary schooling. This chapter sets the groundwork on how multiple-colonialities from the Spanish, English, Mexican, and American periods are interconnected and influence each other's policies as it relates to Indigenous peoples in Alta and Baja California.

Relationship to Land and Place

Indian Education scholar's views on Indigenous ontology, although speaking and writing from their positionality and community, have found a commonality from Indigenous community to another Indigenous community on how their relatives views Indigenous education one that incorporates a human, non-human, and spirit as part of a complete form of education. In Gregory Cajete's seminal work *Look to the Mountain* (1994), he is interested in defining what is Indigenous education—or what he calls Tribal education. Tribal education is based on "ecology if indigenous education" one that is relationship with the natural world—or nature specific

philosophies—and in relation from one Indigenous community to another. Each tribal nation and community specifically focus on their community needs—one that is unique to place and social context. Overall, in his work he thinks through the ways in which Indigenous peoples from the Americas have a unique relationship to land and from the land hold unique knowledges, that is the basis for Tribal education. He is also interested in creating an intervention on how American Indian—and Indigenous students—are pushed out of the western schooling systems with an emphasis on contemporary and culturally informed responses to better serve their community and as self-determination. One of the important guiding questions in Cajete's work targets educators and community members and their need to take an "interdisciplinary and relational approach to learn from other Indigenous communities on Indian education."[5] Overall, he is calling for a shift in our thoughts about American Indian schooling specifically calling for "educating for ecological thinking and sustainability."[6] This means an incorporation of land based and ceremony into Indigenous education as a form of resurgence to maintain the fire.

What does it mean to "learn from the land"? In the special issue of *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* in 2014, directly took up this question based on land-based education—not to be confused with place-based education which is education that focuses on place as a learning resource. Land-based education is Indigenous at its core, and it is a method towards, as the editors Matthew Wildcat, Mandee McDonald, Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox, and Glen Coulthard highlight: "reconnect[ing] Indigenous peoples to land and the social relations,

5 Gregory Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education* (Durango, CO: Kivakí Press, 1994), 21.

6. Cajete, 24.

knowledges and languages that arise from the land."[7] More specifically the editors push Cajete's focus on Tribal education to incorporate land based education one that "reck[ons] with colonial and settler education" it centered on land based resurgence that is defined as "land-based education [that] sustains and grow Indigenous governance, ethics and philosophy—and life. . ."[8] Specifically in this special issue Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's piece titled, "Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation" reflects and theorizes what land as pedagogy mean in the Nishnaabeg context through her experience with schooling. "Theory" comes from the "ground up"—means learning from birth Nishaabeg stories about the land in her case how to make maple sugar. She then goes into how the story shifts for Nishaabeg children and youth embody the practice of maple sugar making from family and community members—the story shifts from a literal into a "conceptual meaning.[9]" Simpson opens the article with her retelling on how her community discovered maple sugar and how she learned the origin story from an elder. She focused on pedagogy and how parts of the story held different meaning for community members. What she is referring to is how community members understood the nuances in the story and what they meant based on their cultural background. Particularly she emphasizes "what it means to be intelligent within Nishaabeg realities" and that is if one is not familiar within Nishaabeg realities she states: "then you can't see the epistemology, the

7. Matthew Wildcat et al., "Learning from the Land: Indigenous Based Pedagogy and Decolonization," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 3 (2014): p. 1-XV, I.

8. Wildcat et. al, "Learning from the Land: Indigenous Based Pedagogy and Decolonization," 2.

9. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 3 (2014): pp. 1-25, 7.

pedagogy, the conceptual meaning, or the metaphor."[10] What she is centering here is how the practice of ceremony, storytelling, language, and embodied practices are connected to Nishaabeg worldviews and spirit. It is intergenerational. It is not place education. It is not commercialized. It is not individualized. Learning through the land is a process that is regenerated and shifts over time—learning is a continual and nonlinear.

Although, Simpson's, and for that matter the editor's volume, takes place in what is today known as Canada, the special issue, centers what land-based education from an Indigenous perspective. In the Kumeyaay context, the *Autobiography of Delfina Cuero* (1970), Delfina Cuero, a Kumeyaay elderly woman from Southern California from Campo Kumeyaay Band of Mission Indians was pushed from the north by settlers to the south to live in Baja California, originally from Campo Indian Reservation, was interviewed by anthropologist Florence Shipek. She tells her life story of when she was younger and before she crossed into Mexico. Similar to Simpson's experience with crossing settler borders, Cuero remembers being surrounded by family (immediate and extended) and community members when she was brought up. Learning from her mother, her aunts, and her grandmothers. Each taught her through storytelling how to make *ollas* (pots), what foods to pick and when to pick them from the land, what animals to avoid and which animals were good to eat she states, "many stories were told [to] us all the time. The stories used to tell how people are and what to expect from other people in the way of behavior."[11] She also learned through ceremony and songs about womanhood: "Nobody just

10. Betasamasake Simpson, 8.

11. Delfina Cuero and Florence C. Shipek, *The Autobiography of Delfina Cuero: a Diegueño Indian* (Riverside, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1970), 41.

talked about these things ever. It was all in the songs and myths that belong to the ceremony."[12] Storytelling, songs, and embodied practices based in ceremony, Delfina Cuero learned about her heritage, her womanhood, and her land. The knowledges and relationships to land Delfina, and her people, have is deeply connected to land and the non-human world. TIE is based on the land beginning with the teachings from and through the land.

Transborder Indigenous Education: Borders and Transnational/Transborder Connections

Transnational and transborder connections are part of Kumeyaay life. Traditionally, the Kumeyaay are socially organized as autonomous territorial bands *shiimull* restricted to a clan.[13] The Kumeyaay traveled and moved from the San Diego shores to the desert sand dunes close to the Colorado River basin. Even after the Spanish, Mexican, and American colonialism, the Kumeyaay held on to their transnational and transborder connections with *shiimull*. Cuero reminisces on the traditional ways of practicing transborder connections sometime during the 1930s,

> The Indians had to move around from place to place to hunt and gather enough food, so we knew lots of places to camp. Later on[,] white people kept moving int more and more of the places we couldn't camp around. . .My grandparents crossed the line first. In those days we didn't know it was a line, only that nobody chased them away from. . . [Ha-a, the willows][14]

Delfina's account on transborder relations and crossing the border provides an insight of the long-lasting traditions are practiced between *shiimull's* even after multiple colonialisms. Also, she provides an insight on how the San Diego landscape demographically shifted during the

12. Cuero and Shipek, 42.

13. Cuero and Shipek, 7.

14. Cuero and Shipek ,26

1910s, mainly white and Asian, pushed her family further east into the mountains.[15] Although Cuero's experience is based much later historically from the mission period, her experience as a young girl incorporated migrations overlapping understandings of borders between Kumeyaay communities.

American Indian scholar Donald L. Fixico in his work *The American Mind in a Linear World* (2003) illuminates the consequences of white schooling have on Native Americans. He points to the ongoing continuation of cultural discrimination for Native Americans in school systems tracing back to missions, boarding schools, and public schooling. The negative effects of colonial schooling on Indigenous youth include forced assimilation, eradication of cultures, languages, and traditions. However, with all the negative impacts on Native Americans--ranging from high pushout rates, high poverty rates, high suicide rates, and the list goes on—Fixico does not only shine a light on the negative consequences on how colonial schooling has impacted his community he emphasis the ongoing tradition of native intellect under these conditions.

My research takes as its point of departure, Kumeyaay/Kumiay efforts on educational autonomy -- everything Native communities do beyond suppression. A term that encapsulates this experience is Transborder Indigenous education (TIE). TIE is a guiding phrase in this dissertation to encompass the ongoing tradition of native intellect under coloniality.

Transborder perspectives on Indigenous education are rare in the literature. Anglophone literature on Indigenous education is geographically confined within the settler nation-state, most often the U.S., Canada or Australia. Some notable treatments of transborder education include K. Tsianina Lomawaima's examination of missions in Canada and the United States. Lomawaima

15. Florence Connolly Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).

looks at colonial schooling practices and how they are shared across these two nation-states, and how they are reproduced in public schools. I am building off of her transborder critique of settler schooling, by centering Indigenous practices of education that are also transborder. Indeed, Lomawaima highlights intertribal exchanges among native children who are sent from their different homelands to a single boarding school.[16] Arguably, these exchanges are already forms of transborder Indigenous education. My work builds off of these principles -- even though colonialism stretches across borders, parallel and beyond are Indigenous forms of knowledge creation and exchange that also reach across borders.

Fragmentation of indigenous and Native education is even more pronounced when we look at the US-Mexico border where Spanish and Anglo colonization collide and produce global north-south fissures that are linguistic, racial, and gendered. Hemispheric Indigenous studies emphasizes the connections between Indigenous peoples in Latin America, the Caribbean, and North America. Native American scholar Ines Hernández-Ávila argues that fragmentation of "indigenous knowledge systems and rupturing of hemispheric information networks" are a result of coloniality.[17] Hernández-Ávila further states that fragmentation is a colonial project that shifted reciprocal social relations among Indigenous peoples across the Americas before contact. Coloniality continues to disrupt long lasting networks with increased surveillance by the settler nation-state specifically on the U.S.-Mexico border.

16. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: the Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

17. Ines Hernández-Ávila and Stefano Varese, "Indigenous Intellectual Sovereignties: A Hemispheric Convocation. An Overview and Reflections on a United States/Mexico Binational Two-Part Conference," *Wicazo Sa Review* 14, no. 2 (1999): p. 77.

She maintains that there are four common recognitions nurtured by Indigenous peoples throughout coloniality: 1) the practicing of traditional wisdom within communities; 2) spiritual rootedness to the land; 3) the "complex of expressions" that makes up oral traditions; and 4) recognition through gatherings and meetings. TIE is informed by Hernández-Ávila's four common recognitions. It might seem redundant to call transborder Indigenous education because the root of Indigenous education is always transborder. TIE is rooted in the interconnectivity between Indigenous communities and their undercurrents of networks based on reciprocity, resistance, and autonomy. TIE moves towards strengthening, (re)connecting, reciprocity, and recognizing Native relations traced to before contact and throughout coloniality. These relations are local and global. I define TIE as autonomous and unique to each Indigenous community, local and transnational, sites where transmission of knowledges and experiences are exchanged, reciprocal, spiritual, multiple (vertical and horizontal) levels of networks, and land based.

TIE originates from tribal nations separated by the colonial border and centering education as the motor. TIE provides the lens defend, (re)connect, and defend ancestral ways of knowing for the Kumeyaay but also for any tribal nation separated by colonial borders across the world. Today, the Kumeyaay are defending their education, this is a theme that is present throughout time, space, and multiple colonialities. Resistance unfolds in historical moments through organizing, later covered in the mission section, and the physical and metaphorical burning of a colonial system imposed on the people. Resistance is what keeps breathing life into the fire and will continue to do so inside and outside of the school arena. In the past and in the present. It will manifest in various forms—sometimes it will manifest in ceremony. Other times it comes in a form of storytelling based on the Kumeyaay oral traditions and language. Breathing life into the fire also looks like rebellious behavior from youth in school. Resistance emerges

from parents and grandparents pressuring school administrators to increase high school graduation rates among their youth, and demanding school officials to incorporate Kumeyaay ways of knowing in their schools serving Kumeyaay children and youth.

This research reframes and reconstructs the archive to bring to light from the darkness how transborder tribal nations are working together and defending their right to maintain and retain their language, culture, and traditional ways of knowing inside public schools and outside of the schools. Even though this story is about how the Kumeyaay Nation are (re)connecting, (re)centering home, and (re)joining—this story is also a reflection on how tribal nations separated by a colonial border are (re)strengthening ancestral pathways and (re)connecting to the educational roots that have no borders. The following section I historicize and conceptualize borders from the physical to racialization and gendered categories placed on the Kumeyaay beginning with the mission period. *Gente de razón* logics is a concept I interrogate on the border and how these logics based on the racialization and gendered categories operate across time and space—within the missions, the schools, and the border.

Borders, Trans-Missions, and Schooling in Alta and Baja California

Schooling in Alta and Baja California is traced to Spanish colonization and legal concepts of marked as the mission period beginning during the mid-1700s. Missions are the first imperial apparatuses used in the Americas to surveille, police, and school the land and the people of Alta and Baja California. The mission was the epicenter for forced schooling of Native peoples. Historically, missions were used as the institution to reeducate Indigenous peoples of the Americas dating as far back as the 1500s. The Spanish Crown looked to various religious orders to carry out their imperial goals, but most used in the Americas were the Franciscan, Dominican,

and the Jesuit orders. In year 1767 in Alta California, the Franciscan Order was chosen by the Crown to replace the Jesuits mishandling of their power in the Americas and their possible posed threat to the Spanish monarchy.[18]

The Franciscan Order is identifiable for their brown robe, sandals, and humility. They are also known as the first educators in the Americas. The use of schooling as a method to convert the Native peoples into Spanish subjecthood. The first educator, Franciscan, and expert missionary of Nueva España (Mexico) Fray Pedro de Gante perfected the art of missionizing in the Americas and his blueprint was used by missionaries on the borderlands.[19] This is important because of Gante's plan detailed how to work with indigenous knowledges and not against indigenous knowledges. This meant that missionaries were trained to incorporate foundational indigenous traditions, languages, and ways of knowing into their schooling specifically during the initial contact phase.[20] Spanish law dictated that a mission colonized and operated for no more than ten years during the initial phase of colonization. During this time, missionaries used various methods mainly grounded in "teaching" Indigenous peoples how to become a Spanish

18. Pius Joseph Barth, "Franciscan Education and the Social Order in Spanish North American (1502-1821)" (dissertation, 1945); Robert H. Jackson and Edward D. Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: the Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Edward Holland Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: the Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960.* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962).

19. Barth, "Franciscan Education and the Social Order in Spanish North American (1502-1821)."

20. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: the Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest.*

subject—leaving behind their land. The first classes involved catechism classes and then progressing to forced gender labor to maintain the mission.[21]

The mission apparatus and the military worked in union to surveille and reeducate California Natives. They were a team of colonization process. Missions were often built by forced Native labor and in close proximity to the military presidio (military garrison).[22] For example, Mission of San Diego de Alcalá, like all missions in Latin America, were built by Indigenous forced labor led by Spanish missionaries and under the guidance of the Friar Junípero Serra, O.F.M. Under his guidance, Serra used Indigenous forced labor to build missions that were often built close to the *Presidio* (military garrison).

Once California Natives walked through the mission doors, they were prisoners of the Church and Crown—the Church and Crown thought of the institutions as wardens of Indigenous peoples. This meant that once an individual started the missionization schooling program they were confined an unable to leave the mission. Missionaries used forced labor to keep the mission running as a "courtesy" they would "allow" for missionized Natives to leave the mission with a handwritten note for the Spanish soldiers to exploit the unwaged labor of mission Natives.[23] The handwritten note "gave" permission to the Kumeyaay to travel home or visit family is an

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21. James Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University, 2004).

22. Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Robert H. Jackson and Edward D. Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: the Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Robert H. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000).

23. Hackel, *Children of Coyote,* 91.

example of the level of surveillance the missionaries and soldiers began to restrict traditional migration patterns and as a way to reduce a defense attack like the one that occurred in 1775.[24] Handwritten notes are later present in public schooling to move around and documentation is later required by the settler nation to migrate freely on Kumeyaay ancestral territory.

Unlike other missionaries, Serra's unique system, compared to other mission systems, established and a complex mission system ranging from San Diego to San Francisco. Serra is known for instituting and managing one mission in Baja California and 21 missions in Alta California between 1767- 1833. The mission system and apparatus also known as the first schooling institution in Alta and Baja California. Schooling in this context is defined as forced assimilation into Spanish culture, language, and gendered subject.[25] For California Natives the mission served as a multiplex space from schooling, forced gendered labor, religious space, and home. This is what Chicana scholar Marxist Rosaura Sánchez described missions as the "heterotopic eschatological hope and space" in her book *Telling Identities* (1995). In the first chapter of her book, Sánchez defines the mission space as one of contradictions which she coins as the "heterotopic eschatological hope and space." In the heterotopic eschatological hope is a site of multiple social, racial and gendered hierarchies, labor, and religious spaces intertwining with each other in an oxymoronic balance and borders contradictions are present in schools and borders.

24. Sandos, Converting California, 206.

25. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*.

Playing out in the mission arena, the mission space is a space of contradictions it religious yet secular; it is private, yet it is public; it is sustaining yet, restraining. [26] For the missionaries, missions represented a utopic, ideal, and a religious state that materialized on earth. Sánchez further states that heterotopic spaces were "heterogeneous space[s as] an area of multiple complex sites defined by sets of social relations."[27] The heterogenous spaces and social relations defined by the colonialist—the Spanish Crown and ecclesiastics—with one goal in mind: displace Native Americans and socialized Indigenous bodies as gendered laborers and Spanish subjects. Mission markings are reproduced over time and space where the colonial mission prison, school, labor (manual and sexual) camp and religious space are operating simultaneously. The mission was also the first constructed border. Sánchez emphasized the contradictory nature of social relations and institutions. Looking inside the mission arena, missionaries imagined the mission as the ideal religious state centering and enforcing heteropatriarchal relations between everyone who lived and worked inside the mission.

The social hierarchy placed missionaries as the patriarchs and at the pinnacle of the social pyramid whiles Native Americans were placed and coded as "children" under Spanish social relations.[28] For example, social relations inside of the heterogenous space of complex sites Sánchez refers to are the imagined religious spaces in which missionaries could materialize their ideal religious and utopic world insides the mission—a Godly space on earth. These Godly spaces inside the mission simultaneously operated as a commercial violent prison space. Inside

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26. Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities: the Californio "Testimonios"* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

27. Sánchez, *Telling Identities*, 50.

28. Deborah Miranda, *Bad Indians: a Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2013).

"Godly spaces" California Natives performed under surveillance contained gendered labor while praising God. Contained inside the corridor, Indigenous peoples in the missions were starving while being forced to grow and harvest the food for the settlers.[29] Heterotopic eschatological hope and space is the imagined space in which missionaries are molding and constructing the space to their ideal religious patriarchal world. For this reason, schooling in the mission was an important tool that enforced ideological gendered and labor norms onto Native Americans—the process was violent and damaging for all who went through the Mission program.

The set of heterogeneous spaces (mission, religious, school, prison) rotates inside the space as opposing gears to operate the mission. One gear moves the social relations defined by the colonialists—the Spanish Crown (soldiers and clergymen) and ecclesiastics—with the overall goal to displace and replace Native Americans from their lands while at the same time socializing California Natives as mixed colonial gendered Spanish subjects and laborers. The opposing gear is operated by the Native subject and moves the gear through the extraction or forced labor. Native American bodies are power the missions that keep the gears locked-in place and rotating in motion always maintaining the mission, always moving. Inside of the gear remains intact. Heterotopias are the gears. The borders are the utopian representations—or the contradictory spaces that clash.

The social construction of borders, reorganization of space, and surveillance of peoples by colonial powers played an important role in how the Indian subject is racialized on the borderlands. In analyzing the historical records and secondary sources from UABC such as correspondence letters, mission records from San Diego, testimonios from *ama de llaves*, blogs,

29. Sánchez, *Telling Identities*.

social media, and news articles from each historical period to the current period. I piece together an image that is based *gente de razón* ideologies and by using TransMission hauntings these ideologies are present in our schools both in Mexico and the U.S. and how it is based on land theft. Each primary and secondary source I use there is a window to observe how Spanish colonialization changed every aspect of California land, waterways, and peoples, defined as the logic of domestication and submission by Indigenous scholar Charles Sepulveda. [30]

Surveillances and Public Lives: Monjerío, racialization, and Missionization

In Sepulveda's article, "Our Sacred Waters: Theorizing *Kuuyam* as a Decolonial Possibility," he connects how Western ideologies domesticate nature and land and, in his article, Sepulveda connects rivers and gendered Native bodies. Settler-colonizers domesticates the land from a heteropatriarchal method first by introducing foreign animals and foreign plants while at the same time dispossessing California Natives from their homeland. Sepulveda connects how young girls and women are placed in the monjerío—a physical prison within the mission for the sole purpose is to surveille and "protect" gendered Native bodies from rape and "licentious" behavior. The physical space—in this case, the monjerío, is the heterotopic eschatological hope that Sánchez theorizes about on how missionaries imagined the space. Here, the monjerío, is a space thought by the priests as a "protective" space while it was a filthy prison for the young

30. Robert H. Jackson and Edward D. Castillo, Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: the Impact of the Mission System on California Indians (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); James Sandos, "Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California," in Contested Eden (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Charles Sepulveda, "Our Sacred Waters: Theorizing Kuuyam as a Decolonial Possibility," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (February 2018): pp. 40-58; Sánchez, Telling Identities, 1995; Hackel, Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California 1769-1850, 2005.

Indigenous girls and women locked in an enclosed space for the night without ventilation and areas to relive themselves.[31] The space itself operated in various contradictory planes and there physical and social borders. The purpose of monjeríos is the carve out a physical space to control and remove rebellious behavior from Indigenous girls and women using sexuality as the motivational catalyst.[32] The enclosed space of the monjerío is supposed to be private but in fact it is public and always under surveillance.

Surveillance of "others" are traced in Maria Elena Martinez' *Genealogical Fictions* (2008). She traces the early concept of racial formation outside of the Americas by focusing on the Spanish discourse on *pureza de sangre* (blood pureness). Specifically, Martinez focused on the racial and gendered hierarchies and treatment of Spanish Muslim and Jewish people in early Spain. The systematic and forced removal of non-Catholics used by Spain was later adopted as the design used in colonial Mexico. What makes Martinez work unique within colonial racial historiography is that she goes beyond how Spanish categorized peoples based on their "blood pureness" or whiteness; instead, she highlights Spanish policies and suspicious attitudes of the converted. Spanish suspicions of recently converted Jewish and Muslim people into Catholicism plagued their conscious and routinely looked at recent converts as not full Catholic converts—or Spanish subjects.

Jewish and Muslim backgrounds "tainted" their blood from ever attaining absolvent. This led to high suspicions from Spanish representatives, and they expanded surveillance of recent converts from the public space of worship to the private—the home. In the early period of

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31. Sepulveda, Our Sacred Waters.

32. Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (London: Penguin Classics, 2010).

dispossessing and eradicating Jewish and Muslim people, Spanish representatives routinely stormed into converts (*conversos*) houses looking for non-Catholic religious paraphernalia.[33] Storming into homes to inspect and assure recent converts were upholding and practicing Catholic traditions was not the only tactic used by the Spanish, children were used as informants to surveille their parents and family.

Spanish sentiment, anxiety, and suspicion of the "other" played a role in the Americas and inside the missions. Private spaces are no longer private for recent Spanish and Catholic racialized subjects—or recent converts. Borderlands historian, Barbara O. Reyes argues and reframes gendered relations in colonial California missions in her 2009 book *Public and Private Lives.* Reyes argues that missions were indeed public spaces because it was defined by Spanish social hierarchical racial and gendered constructions. Which meant that privacy was afforded to those on the pinnacle of the racial and gendered hierarchical pyramid. Even though the Spanish attempted to replicate Spanish social, racial, and gendered constructions in colonial Californias frontier women often challenged and negotiated their positionality within the border*lands* space. Martinez work on early surveillance practices conducted by the Spanish paved to think about the way on how private spaces are no longer private and become sites of suspicion. By placing Martinez and Reyes into conversation, *pureza de sangre* and public colonial spaces, both highlight the ways that racialization begins to take place in Spain and then adopted in the Americas. The process of racialized Indigenous peoples is racialized and gendered as "other," but most specifically Indigenous bodies are settlers as suspicious and strike anxiety among settlers.

33. Martínez María Elena, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza De Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).

Returning to the mission system in Latin America, the mission machine, wherever it was built, was the first step towards primitive accumulation. Karl Marx defines primitive accumulation as the point in western history shifts from feudalism towards capitalism, mainly the possessive investment in the individual. Sánchez digs into uncovering how the mission system operated as primitive accumulation in Alta California, she argues the mission system is a microeconomic system or a microhub of heterotopic space in which there is a gendered and racial division of labor illustrated in her spatial analysis of the mission. In the same vein, Silvia Federici definition of primitive accumulation states that it survives into the present and it begins with the new sexual division of labor and the subjugation of women's labor, specifically women's reproduction functions work to reproduce for the workforce. In Alta California case the forced workforce focused on the reproduction of the Spanish gendered subject through the missions and inside Indigenous women's wombs. The mission machine birthed the Native body as a gendered Spanish subject.

The missionization project in Alta and Baja California was unique because there were women in leadership positions. Mestiza (Indigenous and white) women held one of the highest positions next to the priest in Alta California and they were known as the *Ama de Llaves* (key keeper). Well known Alta California *ama de llaves* Apolinaria Lorenzana and Eulalia Pérez were placed in leadership positions by missionaries. Their leadership position within the mission was a complex one. For one, as keepers of the keys, they were responsible for keeping inventory of the mission's stores and supplies, foodstuffs, yardage, and dry goods. In Apolinaria's case, she was more than an *ama de llaves*, she was responsible for the duties of the kitchen, responsible for being a teacher, a nurse, and the godmother of about a thousand children in Alta California. Eulalia Pérez's old age, said to be over the age of 100 years, was interviewed by Thomas Savage

in December 1877. In Testimonios (2006) translated by Beebe and Senkewicz, Eulalia and Apolinaria remember one elderly Indigenous woman was responsible for watching over the young unmarried girls and women. Eulalia recalls the monjerío's main function:

> There were a large number of neophytes at Mission San Gabriel . . . the unmarried neophytes lived in two separate quarters. The one for the women was called the monjerío and there was another one for the men. Young girls between the ages of seven and nine were brought to the monjerío. They would be raised there and would leave when they were to be married. An Indian mother would care for them in the monjerío . . . [a] blind Indian named Andresillo would stand at the door to the monjerío. [34]

In another interview with La Beata (Pious Woman) or Apolinaria remembers the monjerío and the Indigenous older woman looking over the young girls:

> The single women were under the care of an older Indian woman who was like the matron. This woman kept a close watch over them. She would go with the young women when they bathed and never took her eyes off them. In the evening after dinner, she would lock the young women up in the monjerío and make the key to the Father. [35]

In both of the above quotes Eulalia and Apolinaría (La Beata), recalled how young girls and youth were watched over by an elderly Indigenous woman who reported to them and the priests. The young women were not afforded privacy even in sleep. There is extensive documentation on the monjerío by scholars and they have come to agree that the monjerío served as an enclosure, or prison cell, for Indigenous women's and boys. Their bodies and sexuality are marked to be watched over. At night they are locked by the head matron in at night to assure that their rebelliousness is tamed and to assure that the girls and youth were not reverting to their ancestral

34. Antonia I. Castañeda, “Presidarias y Pobladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey, Alta California, 1770-1821” (dissertation, 1990), 219.

35. Rose M. Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848 (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2006), 107.

ways. Their bodies were marked for “protection” by the priests while locking them up at night. This guaranteed by the priests that their bodies were "pure" from ALL types of sin. [36] To note, ironically, the monjeríos did protect young girls and youth from rape by the soldiers. To the priests, sexual assault and rape hindered the missionization process by the priests to convert Indigenous subjects into landless gendered laborer subjects for the Crown.

Throughout this process to use of Native bodies and marriage by the missionaries were all forms of 24-hour surveillance on Indigenous bodies to reduce their anxieties as foreigners and reduce their anxieties of a rebellion and uprising and most importantly their end goal was to birth the Spanish subject. The division of labor begins with the reorganization of gender and sexuality specifically targeting Indigenous women.[37] Native American women’s bodies and sexuality is specifically the site of hyper-surveillance by priests, mestizo/as, and persons in higher rank and anyone in good standing with the missionaries. Mestizas are women of mixed heritage usually Native American and European from *Nueva España*, current day Mexico, were given the keys of the missions by missionaries to “take care.” Mestiza women taught and oversaw California Native women. Specifically, mestiza women coerced Native women on how to be “women” through various methods. One method used by *mestizas* was they hyper-surveillance of Indigenous women’s bodies and sexualities in the *monjerío*.[38] Another method was through violence of the body by locking Native women and young girls in the *monjerío*. Native women

36. Beebe and Senkewicz, 173.

37. Lugones, Maria. “The Coloniality of Gender.” *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development*, 2016, 13–33.

38. Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras," 1990. Hurtado, Albert L. *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 2005. Gutiérrez et al., *Contested Eden*, 1997.

and girls were locked in at night unable to leave until the next day. In Chapter 4, I detail locking and unlocking classroom doors and surveillance of Native girl bodies and behaviors all based in "protecting"

Saviors, Foreigners, and Gente de Razón Logics

> Generations of Californians have grown up steeped in a culture and educational system that trains them to think of Indians as passive, dumb, and disappeared. In other words, the project is so well established, in such a predictable and well-loved rut, that veering outside of the worn but comfortable mythology is all but impossible (Deborah Miranda, *Bad* Indians, xviii)

The above quote that captured my attention from Miranda's autoethnographical and historical work *Bad Indians* (year). What caught my attention is that in her book she shifts from her lived experiences as an Indigenous woman living in California and uses oral history and Indigenous archives to expose how California public schools continue to teach Californian and Baja Californian mission mythology curriculum to fourth grade students as present "well-loved" by the state.[39] This particular quote from Miranda's critical analysis on the missionization schooling program illustrates through first-hand accounts how the mission mythology is damaging to California Natives. One aspect she focuses on is the portrayal of missions as "well-loved" by the California Education Department. Miranda highlights how the California schooling perpetuate stereotypical tropes of California Natives as "passive" and "disappeared." These stereotypical tropes serve to place California Natives as people of the past and through the missionization process they "passively" unlearned their traditions and transform into whiteness.

39. Zevi Gutfreund, "Standing Up to Sugar Cubes: The Contest over Ethnic Identity in California's Fourth-Grade Mission Curriculum," *Southern California Quarterly* 92, no. 2 (2010): pp. 161-197.

At this point, white settlers now become the normative culture and in a twisted way white settler occupy the "native" category codified through genocide, forced assimilation, and policies in California.[40] Like Miranda, I too am interested in uncovering the hidden curriculum of the missionization process and how the missionization mythology continues to damage Native students, Native peoples, in the retelling of history from settler perspectives as it pertains to the construction of borders.

The history of the missionization schooling program and Miranda's statement on the missionization mythology in California places the mission and priests as "saviors" and "enlightenment" using educational methods. The educational methods were violent and not "passive" after California Natives went through the missionization process they graduated into an imperial landless gendered subject. The imperial landless gendered subjects are themes that are morph and operate into today's public schooling and are intensified on the U.S./Mexico border. I focus on how surveillance in private and public spaces, gendered violence, and infantilization of California Natives are interconnected to perpetuate and circulate throughout different time periods the "disappearing" Native, but most particularly the "dangerous" and "rebellious" Native that will eventually be situated as "foreigner."

The category of the "foreigner" as it relates to Native Americans in North America is unique and contingent on European colonial and later nations. There is a differentiation between British and Spanish colonial concepts on "foreign." The legal category of "foreign" for Native Americans shifted over time from British America in the northeast and later the newly formed

40. Clifford E. Trafzer and Joel R. Hyer, *Exterminate Them: Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Slavery of Native Americans during the California Gold Rush, 1848-1868* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1999).

nation of the United States. According to historian Kunal M. Parker in *Making Foreigners Immigration and Citizenship Law in America* (2015), there were many legal categories and statuses ranging from British subject, naturalized subject, alien, slave, free black, and Indian. [41] All British legal categories were exclusively connected to people's movements and enforced accordingly. Permission to move and established borders were based on Elizabethan poor laws (1572- early 17th century) restricted movement based on legal status primarily restricting the poor from travelling within the kingdom. Most importantly, the moment the British landed in the northeast early 17th century they lay claim to Indigenous land and categorically placed Native Americans as "aliens" on their own land.[42] Parker argues there are three distinct legal categories of "alien" category became "foreign" category relation to Native Americans and proximity to white Protestant English settlers and later to white Americans.

The first category he identified is "foreign Indians" in New England were Native Americans who lived beyond the limit of New England. "Foreign Indians" are sovereign and negotiate with European countries through treaty making. The second category is what he calls "plantation Indians." "Plantation Indians" also known as "Praying Towns" (later covered in this chapter) based on the act of 1677 the Massachusetts General Court defined the first four reservations placed within the colony and forced resettlement of the Natick, Punkapaug, Hassanimesit, and Wamesit.[43] This is the beginning of reservations blueprint in continental

41. Kunal M. Parker, *Making Foreigners: Immigration and Citizenship Law in America, 1600-2000* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 22.

42 Parker, 5.

43 Parker, 38; Yasu Kawashima, "Legal Origins of the Indian Reservation in Colonial Massachusetts," *The American Journal of Legal History* 13, no. 1 (1969), pp. 42-56.

America: strong demarcation of borders and resettlement of local tribal nations from their lands within the colony. The third category is labeled as "Individuals." "Individual" Natives were those who lived with the English settlers and ability to transfer land titles. [44] These three legal categories continued to expand within the newly formed United States.

The continuation of treaty making with Tribal Nations became the norm early in the American period—designating Tribal Nations as sovereigns and simultaneously as foreign nations stated in the U.S. constitution.[45] Later legal debates took place in the Supreme Court mid-19th century during the John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, era. Legal debates on whether Tribal nations on sovereignty, taxation, land ownership, and naturalization. Specifically, the *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1857) court case establishes that tribal nations as "foreign." In the *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* case, the Cherokee Nation argued their "foreignness" and are not under Georgia jurisdiction because they are a dependent nation under federal government. In the *Dred Scott* decision did not grant American citizenship to African descendants both enslaved and free. In addition, the *Dred Scott* case did not give Native Americans the *jus soli* principle, a child's citizenship is based and determined on place of birth, and for Native Americans who kept their tribal status and lived on tribal land were considered "foreign." The *Dred Scott* decision did not answer the question for non-tribal Native Americans who no longer maintained tribal ties, did not live on tribal land, and paid taxes.[46]

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44. Parker, *Making Foreigners*, 38.

45. Parker, 60.

46. Brad Tennant, "'Excluding Indians Not Taxed': 'Dred Scott, Standing Bear, Elk' and the Legal Status of Native Americans in the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century," *International Social Science Review* 86, no. 1/2 (2011): pp. 24-43, 28.

The connection with tracing the legal concept of "foreign" from British America and early American period is how the legal categories of "foreign" and "alien" were subscribed onto Native American bodies—specifically racialized and gendered as "foreign"—not necessarily "illegal" category. I want to point out that in some cases such as the Cherokee Nation argued to the courts that they were in fact a foreign government to maintain sovereignty over their land and peoplehood. I want to also focus on how "foreignness" category as it relates to Native Americans shifts into racialization of "brown" and "illegal" racial category later in California that will be synonymous with the racial category of "Mexican" in California and the Southwest.

How is British and American concepts of "foreign," even paternalism, connected to *Gente de Razón* logics? I covered the British and American legal categories of "foreign" and "alien" to connect how Native Americans under the Marshall trilogy legal status changed from foreign nations to domestic dependent nations under the tutelage of the federal government. The Marshall Court decision expanded federal government powers and placed tribal nations as dependents under the American government. Marshall's legal opinion is influenced by Doctrine of Discovery and his opinion that tribal nations are "ward to his guardian" and the four-stage theory of development of societies gaining traction in the eighteenth century. [47] Further the English legal thoughts, including the ecclesiastics, were influenced by Spanish legal categories on Indigenous peoplehood.[48]

47. James Muldoon, "The Cherokee Nation, John Marshall, and the Stadial Theory of Development," *UIC Law Review* 53, no. 11 (2020): pp. 1-38.

48. Cajete location in kindle 565; Kawashima, Yasu. "Legal Origins of the Indian Reservation in Colonial Massachusetts." *The American Journal of Legal History* 13, no. 1 (1969): 42–56.

In Cajete's work, he covers how missionaries from Protestant to Catholic denominations view on Native Americans and "doing good" is a long tradition based on *gente de razón* logics. "Doing good" is based on "protecting" no matter how altruistic missionaries and even the federal government is paternalistic and comes out the long tradition from the Church. "Doing good" is a common thread among Spanish and English missionaries. In George E. Tinker's work *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (1993) interrogates the concept of "doing good" from different time periods and different European colonial powers (English, French, and Spanish) he covers how the need to "protection" from missionaries were forms of cultural genocide and how they were each complicit. His analysis on different religious denominations and European colonial powers—he finds a common thread to all the missionaries and their complicity in conquest of Native Americans utilizing the "good intentions" of each missionary. Eventually, it was another form to "civilize" removing military and government powers.

To the Spanish, all forms of social interaction based on race, class, and gender was organized in a hierarchical manner. In the early periods of colonization priests operated in tandem with representations of the Spanish Crown like the Spanish military. Therefore, missionaries, according to the Spanish organization of social life, represented the highest point of their social hierarchy. Missionaries played an additional role to Spanish colonization because they were responsible for everyone's well-being, new and old Catholic converts, their role was to watch over everyone and assure all the people were "good" Catholics. They used various colonizing schooling practices to reeducate California natives to assure they would come into the Spanish fold. Spanish reeducation methods were focused in producing "good" Catholic and imperial subjects. The word *good* is used as a noun and adjective throughout primary sources

testimonios.[49] The use of the term *good* as an adjective encompasses morally right, righteousness, and virtue. While the use of the word *good* as an adjective is to be desired, acceptable, and pleasing. The use of the word *good* by Spanish missionaries was used to rationalize their methods of colonization.

California Mission scholar Steven W. Hackel covers in detail eighteenth-century Franciscan thought and missionary period in Alta California in *The Worlds of Junipero Serra* (2018) and in his book *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis* (2005). Hackel argues that Friar Junipero Serra's training under the Propaganda Fide colleges framework was to Christianize and colonize. The Franciscans, and all Catholic missionaries, believed they held authority over Indigenous peoples because Franciscans in essence led by God to "save" souls.[50] To the Franciscan missionaries, converting California Natives was their main goal. After all, in their eyes, they were doing God's work in "saving" Native Americans from their "innocent" and "childlike" state while at the same time eradicating indigenous spirituality and culture. Franciscan missionaries saw themselves conducting the *good* work of God. One way they did this is to learn the indigenous languages and cultures as Hackel explains "this hard-earned knowledge became an important weapon against native religion . . . to translate Catholic catechisms, prayers, and confessionals into Indian languages."[51] To the missionary's knowledge

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49. Junípero Serra, *Diary of Fra Junipero Serra, O. F. M.: Being an Account of His Journey from Loreto to San Diego, March 28 to June 30, 1769. The Documentary Preface to the History of the Missions of California* (North Providence, R. I: The Franciscan missionaries of Mary, 1936).

50. Hackel, 129 and Steven W. Hackel, *The Worlds of Junípero Serra: Historical Contexts and Cultural Representations* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018).

51. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 129.

meant power and control over the native body and soul. The power of the missionaries, and the Crown, is what Tinker calls cultural genocide. He defines cultural genocide as "as the effective destruction of a people by systematically or systemically (intentionally or unintentionally to achieve other goals) destroying, eroding, or undermining the integrity of the culture and system of values that defines a people and gives them life."[52] He further elaborates "best of intentions" of the Church was another form of conquest of Native peoples. Later in this chapter, in Chapter 3 and in Chapter 4, I interrogate the concept of "doing good" by researchers and school officials and how this is connected to the long tradition of *gente de razón logics.*

Historical Concepts of Gente de Razón

In Alta California, people designated as *gente de razón* was not relegated to the Spanish or white skin people. The racial categorization of people by the Spanish known as the castas categorized people based on their mixing with other ethnicities—Europeans were the pinnacle. As time passed and mixedness became more fluid categorization on phenotypes and moved towards a *gente de razón* categorization. *Gente de razón*, person with reason, acknowledged that in fact Native people were humans and with reason thus they could possess rational abilities if they "leave" behind ancestral knowledges and practices and instead embrace Christianization.[53] In Alta California and Baja California, Spanish introduced (change word) mixed-raced peoples from New Spain (Mexico) and with that introduction New Spain forced laborers were considered

52. George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), Kindle location 125-127.

53. Gloria E. Miranda, "Racial and Cultural Dimensions of 'Gente De Razón' Status in Spanish and Mexican California," *Southern California Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (1988): pp. 265-278, 268.

gente de razon. It was not until the Mexican period where the first influential aristocratic group of people emerge from the military.[54] Mission Indians once graduated from the missionization program received the "rational people" ranking. Over time *gente de razón* became synonymous with Spanish heritage and this Spanish myth continued for centuries.

Californian historian Elizabeth Hass traces California late-colonial identities in *Conquest and Historical Identities in California, 1796-1936* (1995) racial categories in the Spanish and Mexican period in Alta and Baja California, specifically "gente de razón" and "Indio." One example of how an Indigenous child if given the perfect tools will graduate into a *neofita.* Pablo Tac's story, a Luiseño born in 1822 at Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia, was sent to Rome to study at the Vatican. Tac was second generation Mission Indian and forced to leave his homeland at a young age in a foreign country away from his family and people. During his time there he learned many languages including Latin, Spanish, and Italian and wrote his manuscript titled *Conversion de los San Luiseiios de la Alta California.* Pablo Tac's lived experience in the mission and his travels and education. Tac used his schooling to write the Luiseño dictionary and through his manuscript in his own words he described how his people conceptualized borders and their relation to land. According to Hass land, "his story of encounter suggest[s] the exact way in which the land was divided and exclusively possessed by groups of villages, village nobility, and individual villagers and the relatively insular society that resulted."[55]

Mapping Indigenous borders—Tac provides an account how land was divided among regions and tribes and how boundaries overlapped. Tac was also very strategic on how he wrote

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54. E. Miranda, 269.

55. Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California: 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995),16.

about his, and his peoples, early experiences with the Spanish. Hass observes how Tac wrote passively about colonization, but my interpretation is different. On page 16, Hass highlights Tac's passivity when he wrote about his initial contact with the Spanish: "It was a great blessing that the Indians didn't kill the Spaniards when they arrived, and very admirable, because they never wanted other People to live with them, because until those days they were at war" I do not read his words as passive but with the understanding of power and different audiences. There are glimpses of double-meanings for example in this quote he is letting his reader know: 1) that his people are forgiving people and 2) his people are powerful—the chief decided to not kill the Spanish. I interpret his words as directly speaking to future Luiseños who could later pick up his writings and understand his words. Pablo Tac tact and strategic choice of words I imagine were intentionally written for his peoples futurity.

Further, Hass covers colonial identities based on *Indio* and *de Razón* and details through her research racial divisions in Alta California. Racial divisions and racial categories originate from the Spanish castas system. Unlike other regions in the Americas racial categories were more fluid and less restrictive. Indeed, due to the Law of the Indies, and under the *gracias al sacar* (thanks for taking out) decree—a legal document allowing non-white peoples to buy their way into whiteness—allowed for fluidity and upper social mobility regardless of race.[56] It was centered around class and social categories based on being a Spanish subject—this included speaking Spanish, dressing Spanish, and embodying a "Spaniard." In the g*racias a sacar* document the recipient had meet certain requirements to obtain the different legal and racial

56. Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California*, 31.

categorization. One of the most notable examples of early California and usage of *gracias a sacar* is the first afro-mixed governor under Mexican rule in Alta California Pio Pico.[57]

Haas further interrogates the concept and processes Indigenous categories of *neófita, gente de razón*, and citizenship during the Mexican period in Alta California. During the early Mexican national period—a new nation of Mexican nationals undid the casta system and under the 1821 Plan de Iguala claimed all Mexicans were equals. This laid the foundation to eliminate racialized categories and all forms of coercive and forced labor while granting citizenship under the new 1824 Mexican constitution.[58] Secularization process under the early Mexican period undid the category of *neófito* and introduced citizenship in Alta California in 1831. Hass later explains through her research that Alta California governor Solá plan to secularize the missions also incorporated transferring Mission Indians into pueblos placing the most educated in leadership positions. Although the term *neófita* was eradicated the question about who was and who was not a citizen was argued by missionaries and politicians. The term *gente* (person) was used to distinguish citizens with reason and the term *ciudadano naturales* (natural citizens) to identify California Indians. Although the official policy was to replace the term *indio* with *citizen* colonial categories continued well into the early Mexican period.[59] What is important to note during this early national period in Alta California is the relationship citizenship meant to owning land and working the land. Mission Indians did not receive loans from the missions to

57. Antonia I. Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family," *California History* 76, no. 2-3 (1997): pp. 230-259.

58. Lisbeth Haas, *Saints and Citizens Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 9.

59. Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 148.

establish *pueblos* (similar to English praying towns), continued to be exploited by the new citizens, and coercive and violent disciplinary methods were still used. Schooling under between 1820s-1830s was minimal, the *neófito* term continued to be used by youth.[60]

Indigenous views on emancipation and freedom included "return of their territories and being granted the missions they had established flourishing economies."[61] What I am interested in during this period are the ongoing debates on de *gente de razón logics* how these logics continue to shift and differentiate newly found citizens and how these logics continue to persist in today's schooling (U.S. and México). Hass' detailed archival work focuses on how different California Indian tribes understood citizenship, freedom, and emancipation while interrogating how legal concepts on citizenship were understood by Californios, missionaries, and Indigenous peoples.

TransMission Hauntings in Schooling

The continuation of gente de razón ideology continues into today's education discourse for students of color. For Native American students are heavily researched in class and are marked as "unruly," "disobedient," "uncontainable," "difficult," and "rebellious."[62] Indigenous education scholars have called attention to the over-research aspect of Indigenous studies in

60. Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 163.

61. Haas, *Saints and Citizens*, 158.

62. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999).

Education Studies.[63] Damage research—even when the researcher believes they are doing "good" are replicating *gente de razón* logics these logics continue to be present in today's schools.[64] These logics are present under what I call TransMission hauntings. TransMission hauntings engage with mission ghosts of the past and bring them to light. *TransMission Hauntings* is a framework I use to examine how multiple settler colonialities and how they operate in today's schooling in the US and Mexico. I expand from sociologist Avery Gordon's concept of hauntings to invoke the cyclical ghosts of modern forms of dispossessions and of modern systems of dispossessions of knowledge production. She defines haunting as a meeting place and methodology to describe, write, and evoke, and how a "desire to find a method of knowledge production" that arises from the historical "violences and losses of modern systems of abusive power" --that are present today but are informed by the past.

Surveillance in today's border schools everywhere from the macro level i.e., border patrol to the micro level where teachers walking into the Native Pride classroom in a local east county high school. Young girls are targeted for what they wear and how they comport themselves. Rebellious behavior are sites of state's intervention "knows better" and funnels the students outside of the school and into the criminal system. Now it is complicated, and I will go over it in the chapters more thoroughly. In some instances, from my observations, the school's intervention did change the course of some student's lives, but not in all cases. In some cases when there was not a collaboration between, parents, teachers, administrators, and the student—the school failed and just tracked the "problem" Native students. This is the connection in using *gente de razón* as

63. Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 3 (January 2009): pp. 409-428.

64. Tuck, "Suspending Damage."

a framework to argue that the state's intervention did more harm. It also meant that school administrators and counselors, state officials, knew better than the youth or parents.[65] In other cases, some Native students were pushed out of the school system because of grades and behavior. In another example, Native students with good grades received ample resources to guide them back to the school. The question here is why did some students were deemed as being "saved" and others were not?

I am thinking about surveillance of the body in the schools by controlling behavior and controlling the proximity of each youth's body that is covered in Chapter 4. For example, from my ethnographic work, the classroom known as Native Pride room was a space carved out by the community and a space that suspends surveillance of the Native body. There are moments where administrators and teachers interrupted ongoing sessions and when they entered the room there was a suspension and immediate surveillance of all bodies inside this space. They would scan the area to assure that the students are "behaving" adequately and then continued on their way without interruption. On certain occasions, teachers took it upon themselves to exert their power inside Native Pride room even though they were not invited into the room and when I was there.

Through my ethnographic work, I examine moments like the above examples to illustrate how surveillance and borders operate inside and outside of the schools—these surveillances and "doing good" are TransMission hauntings. Indigenous spaces are not private but public spaces in schools. I want to be clear that asking and being vigilance from teachers and administrators to assure all students are safe is not what I am referring to with TransMission hauntings. What I am

65. Dhillon, Jaskiran K. *Prairie Rising: Indigenous Youth, Decolonization, and the Politics of Intervention*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017. Dhillon argues the changing form of settler colonialism cloaked in settler governance. Instead, it operated to reinstate their power over curtail Indigenous educational sovereignty.

pointing out that spaces carved out by Native students in Native Pride were interrogated and questioned—not in a I am curious but in a suspicious way—because of the materials we were covering in workshops students pushed back and challenged white supremacy in their schools. At one point, due to Native Pride organization gaining recognition in their school leadership meetings—white students began to draw swastikas around campus and began to intimidate some of the students claiming, "why is there a Native American room and not a White Pride room?" White students failed to acknowledge their white privilege and normativity. Administration was able to find the students and discipline appropriately—the white students were racially invoking TransMission hauntings to center themselves which I cover in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I covered how TIE is transborder, reciprocal, knowledge comes through the land, is based on Indigenous sovereignty, and survivance. Spanish, Mexican and American colonizations are based on *gente de razón* logics that place Native Americans and Indigenous peoples from Alta and Baja California in "foreigner," "neófito," and later "Mexican" and "illegal" (I cover two racial categories in Chapter 2 and 4). *Gente de razón* logics is connected to "doing good" and "good intentions" from colonizers. These "good" intentions are forms of Indigenous dispossessions from forcibly removing and relocating California Natives from their traditional lands into the missions to building the wall on Kumeyaay sacred sites to teachers and school administrators "knowing" what is best for the Native students. Each chapter will uncover how *gente de razón* logics attempt to stymie TIE connections across time and space on the U.S./Mexico border. In the following chapter I cover how concepts of illegality affect border tribes and their fight to retain sovereignty under increased militarization.

CHAPTER 2

Baja California Norte Missions, Revolution, and Land Theft on Kumiay Territory

On a sunny Saturday sometime in 2013, during my master's training, I joined a friend conducting her fieldwork based in Tijuana, Mexico. Her work focused on the ongoing exploitation of Mexican women working in the Maquiladoras, which are sweatshops located on the border and owned by mostly American companies. She had asked me to accompany her on a critical Maquiladora tour led and organized by local San Diego and Tijuana's activists, *Ollin Calli Colectivo en Movimiento* a non-profit activist organization that sheds light on the gendered exploitation of Mexican and Central American women. Ollin Calli Colectivo en Movimiento is a collective run by former maquiladora workers with the sole purpose of supporting maquiladora laborers to expose the horrible labor conditions migrant Mexican and Central American work under. The tour started early in the morning. We met at the McDonald's close to the San Ysidro Port of entry with a group of activists, students, and supporters. We were all interested in learning how to get involved in the struggle for unionizing the maquiladoras, for fair pay, and for the right to work in a toxic-free workplace.

At the end of the tour, we stopped to have lunch at Ollin Calli Colectivo en Movimiento headquarters inside a *mercado.* During our break, I walked around to look at the small shops. I was struck by the colors of crimson reds, lemon yellows, magenta purples, and chartreuse greens *papel picado*, as well as the Mexican tissue paper banners that hung across the *mercado*. I extended my left hand as I walk my fingertips grazing the walls covered in street art—feeling the textured wall. While admiring trinkets and gadgets, I saw a cart with Indigenous jewelry. I approached the artist to ask permission to pick up a pair of earrings. Once she allowed me to pick up the earrings, I asked her what the earrings were made of. The earrings and the matching

necklace looked like they were made from a type of brown, long and thin nut. The brown nut was wrapped around with a berry red. I had never seen one like it. She told me they were *bellotas*. My Spanglish vocabulary did not know what the word *bellota* meant. I asked her embarrassingly in Spanish, "*perdona mi ignorancia ¿pero qué es una 'bellota'?" (Forgive my ignorance, but what is a* bellota?). She responded with a smile and said this is the material I work with to make my jewelry from. It is a nut that comes from a tree native to this area. She then tried to explain to me what *bellota* was and where it grew from. She struggled with her Spanish too. I was still confused, and I smiled at her and said, "*disculpe, pero soy pocha"* (Sorry, but I am pocha). A term I use when Chicana might be too long to explain.

We laughed about my comment because clearly, I am not white, and my Spanish was not "white." Unable to take out my phone and google *bellota* because of lack of internet service I was left trying to figure it out. I was also left with the awkward feeling of not knowing. Not knowing is a common feeling by many Latinx migrant children who are brought up in the States by their parents and lose their parent's language and are now confronted to speak it back home—in their parent's homeland. At the confluence of our understanding of Spanish, we were able to communicate with each other through body language and other clues to communicate the meaning of *bellota*. Later when I came home, I googled the meaning and found out that *bellota* meant acorn in Spanish. It felt foreign because it was not the acorn, I was taught about in school the chunky, short, and stubby. We continued to chat, and it was on this day I met one of the grandmothers, Maestra Yolanda Meza from Juntas de Nejí, Mexico. Juntas de Nejí is one of five[66] Kumiay communities located in Baja California, Mexico.

66. In Baja California Norte there are five federally Kumiay land grants also known as *ejidos*. According to Eduardo Garduño (2016) and Michael Wilken Robertson (2018) based on

Yolanda Meza Calles was the grandmother I met at the mercado and would be one of the four grandmothers I worked closely with for more than seven years on language revitalization and land-based pedagogy community programs. Thus, started our journey on Kumiay educational *autonomía* (sovereignty). On that sunny day, *Maestra* Yolanda and I spoke about my work with Campo. I had been working with the Campo Education Center on their educational goals in creating a charter school for primary to secondary school. The Campo community felt it important to establish a charter school for Kumeyaay children and youth, since the community struggled in the U.S. school system American school system, as well as the daily border surveillance by U.S. Customs and Border Patrol (CBP). I spoke to her about the dire situation Campo children and youth experience in public schools. *Maestra* Yolanda expressed her concern about the children in her community and the lack of resources, access, and quality education the Mexican government offers. When I expressed to her that this are similar situations in the U.S., she was taken aback to hear how Indigenous children attending public school is detrimental and soul crushing to all to all Indigenous children and youth.

Maestra

Nejí is one of the most difficult communities to travel to, compared to other Kumiay communities, and it is in the north-east section of the U.S./Mexico border, close to the Tecate Port of Entry. Juntas de Nejí is one of the first accounts of Nejí in the historical archive comes in 1879 in reference to the well-known land defender Jatñil, Kumiay leader from the Meskish clan,

their ethnographic research there are also "non-federally recognized settlements, towns, and cities" (Wilken Robertson 2018).

who lead an attack on Misión de Guadalupe in February 1840.[67] Juntas de Nejí is east in the the Tecate municipality that covers six boroughs one of which is Valle de Palmas that is close to Juntas de Nejí on the southeast entrance and in the northeast entrance to the community is El Hongo. Juntas de Nejí over time has been divided into two areas and in between the land and outside the Nejí boundaries Mexican settlers and squatters are encroaching closer to their land.

There is one main road to reach *Maestra* Yolanda's house from El Hongo, a town in the Tecate municipality. That same road goes into the closest school in the Valle de las Palmas, which most of Nejí children attend school and it is approximately an hour drive in the rugged terrain from her house. There were approximately ten to fifteen families living in Nejí at that time. Juntas de Nejí is the only Kumiay community without a school for their children. This concerned *Maestra* Yolanda's since she did not want to send her four-year-old son or any of her children and grandchildren to a Mexican public school. Due to *Maestra* Yolanda's first-hand experience with Mexican schooling, I will explain later in this chapter, she knows how detrimental Mexican schooling can be to Indigenous students and their connection to their ancestral land. Further, she worried for her children and grandchildren and their path to losing their language and heritage connected to the land. Many young people leave Nejí to work out of the community and very few return home to live on their ancestral lands.[68] With this mass exodus, the population of Nejí continues to decline. Like other Indigenous *ejido* communities,

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67 Zárate Loperena, David Andrés. "Nñait Jatñil, Soy Caballo Negro." *Estudios Fronterizos*, no. 31-32 (1993): 81–100. Jatñil, El Caballo Negro, figure will be addressed in chapter the conclusion.

68. Stanley Rodriguez, "Kumeyaay Language Loss and Revitalization" (dissertation, 2020), 4.

their community is vulnerable for settler squatting and provides a path to settlers to claim rights over the Kumiai ancestral lands.

At the time I begun working with *Maestra* Yolanda in 2013, linguist Margaret Field stated that there might be less than 50 native Tipay native speakers. Most recently in 2020, cultural bearer and educator Dr. Stanley Rodriguez from the Santa Ysabel reservation, confirmed Field's assertation that there might be less than 45 native speakers mostly residing in Baja California from his recent dissertation. Given how difficult it is to document accurate numbers of native speakers Field's and Rodriguez' statistics point to a bigger picture which is that native speakers are getting older, and the language will go with them when they pass. The dire situation in maintaining and retaining Tipay language was and continues to be one of *Maestra* Yolanda, and her sisters, goals to keep breathing life into the Tipay language and the connection to ancestral land. For this reason, it was imperative for *Maestra* Yolanda and our collaboration to focus on a long-term language revitalization communal and land-based schooling or program. She envisioned a school created, built, and maintained on Kumiay territory and led by all Kumeyaay (Kumiay) members for future generations. In chapter 3, I cover my seven-year community-based work on language revitalization centered on the land during our summer language camps led by Nejí grandmothers. This chapter dives into colonial context of educational policy faced by Kumiay from Spanish empire to contemporary Mexican rule.

Baja Missions and Public Education in Baja California Norte

This chapter will trace Baja California Norte colonization historical periods in education from missions to current day schooling practices. Baja California peninsula is divided into north and south by the 1930 boundary line into two states. Indigenous education in Mexico and Baja Norte developed as the process of elimination of the Indian subject into the Mexican national

subject—known as the process of *mestizaje*. This history is very different from the American colonization period. Although there are similarities between the American and Mexican schooling practices to eliminate the "Indian," there are unique processes and trajectories each settler-nation-state implemented. In this section, I will highlight a historical snapshot from the Spanish missionization process and succinctly connect the process well into the Mexican public schooling in Baja California Norte beginning with the mission period (1683-1834), Porfiriato period (1876-1910), revolution and action education pedagogy period (1910-1940), and intercultural period (1960-current).

Similar to the missionization process in Alta California covered in the introduction with the Franciscan Order, Baja California Norte also had a missionization process after the Jesuits were forced out by the Spanish Crown during the Bourbon Reforms in 1767.[69] It is important to note that Jesuits, unlike the Franciscans, halted and restricted settler expansion by controlling settler migration ranging from the military to artisans.[70] After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites took over missions in Baja California Norte and Sur. The Dominican Order were responsible for seven missions Santa Isabel, San Vicente Ferrer, San Miguel Arcángel, Santo Tomás de Aquino, Santa Catarina, El Descanso, and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe mostly established on Kumiay territory. In addition, two missions located outside of Kumiay territory, Misión de San Pedro and San Pablo Bicuñer were founded in 1781, had a

69. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 223.

70. Lucila de Carmen León-Velazco, "Proceso De Integración Social y Política En El Periodo Misional, 1768-1821," in *Baja California Un Presente Con Historia*, ed. Catalina Velázquez Morales, vol. 1 (Mexicali, Baja California: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 2002), pp. 123-159, 124.

direct influence on Kumiay *shiimul*, similar to clans, from the inner desert.[71] In total, nine missions on and off Kumiay traditional lands were responsible for the colonization processes in Baja California Norte.

Baja California Norte missionaries met similar fates to their northern relatives during the early period of colonization. Baja California Norte Land Defenders organized and mobilized southern *shimuls* and burned down Misión Santa Catalina in 1840; in that same year they organized another attack at Misión Santo Tomás that claimed two missionary lives. Methods utilized by the Franciscans were also applied in Baja California Norte with the focus of transforming Indigenous peoples into *gentiles, gente de razón,* racial and religious differentiation based on "progress," covered in the introduction.[72] One of the aspects from *gente de razón* logics is the use of language and social markers to mark the process into "modernization," in this case from the traditional Tipay language to Spanish subjecthood.

After the Spanish were forced out of mission lands and during the early Mexican national period, mission lands (Kumiai ancestral lands) were nationalized and became part of the state. Immediately, Baja California Norte became a district (1888-1931) to the newly established Mexican nation and later became a territory (1931-1952). It was not until 1952 when Baja California Norte obtained their statehood. Throughout each period, Baja Indigenous peoples numbers dwindled on their ancestral lands due to capitalization and modernization practices instituted by the Mexican state.

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71. Zárate Loperena, "Nñait Jatñil, Soy Caballo Negro," 86.

72. Everardo Garduño, "Los Grupos Yumanos De Baja California: ¿Indios De Paz o Indios De Guerra? Una Aproximación Desde La Teoría De La Resistencia Pasiva," *Revista De Historia De América*, no. 141 (2009): pp. 89-110.

Influenced by European and U.S. social constructions on racial categories based on whiteness as superior, Mexican racialization of Indigenous peoples during the early national period was codified in laws to eliminate the "Indian" racial category in order to birth the "modern" Mexican subject and citizen.[73] Drawing from secondary sources to provide context, the Mexican independence of 1810 liberated Nueva España and birthed the Mexican citizen. During the fight for independence, ecclesiastic leaders joined together the fight and by 1810 Father Hidalgo gave the *Grito de Dolores.* In his sermon he proclaimed his support for Mexican independence from Spain—focusing in abolishing slavery and the casta system, returning lands to the people, and backing equality in the law.[74] Other leaders followed his directive, including the future president José María Morelo who gave a decree the *Sentimientos de la nación* (National Sentiment) where he states that Native leaders, governors, and mayors are responsible for administrating their resources into their communities and at the same time denounced education for Indigenous populations. In his Plan de Igualdad of 1821, he proclaimed equality in the eyes of the law between Spanish, Black, and Indigenous peoples. The Plan de Igualdad marked everyone as a Mexican citizen without any racial differences.[75] Even though this occurred in theory, the details were left for each region on how Native peoples became equals specifically those living in the missions—which I covered in the introduction.

73. José Ramón Narváez Hernández, "Exclusión Legal Del Indígena En El Proceso De Codificación En México," *Relaciones 104* 26 (April 22, 2005): pp. 30-55, 10.

74. Elisa Ramírez Castañeda, *La Educación Indígena* (Ciudad de Mexico: UNAM, 2013), 56.

75. Ramírez Castañeda, 58.

By 1840, Veracruz, Mexico, is the first state to begin defining and codifying the racial category of "Indio" listing a series of markers of who is and who is not Indigenous.[76] The "Indian" racial category draws from southern Indigenous peoples traditions that are based on sedentary, agricultural, and close-knit societies. As a result, the Kumiay, along with hundreds of other Indigenous communities without the similar societal organization similar to those of the south of Mexico, were written out of the codes in the early 19th century.[77] Early Mexican officials were more concerned over judicial norms being pragmatic. Thus, the government when it came to Indigenous sovereignty, their take was to mainly leave Indigenous communities to govern as they pleased if it did not contradict Catholic traditions and *derecho castellano* (Castilian right). *Derecho castellano* is a judicial and institutional practice based on Roman and Germanic judicial *traditions* that stated Catholics were sole heir to human rights.[78] *Derecho castellano* also restricted mixed-faith marriages because Catholics were "free men and pure race."[79] Up until 1991, previous Mexican constitutions—colonial, republican, or post-revolutionary—did not recognize Indigenous peoples. To make matters worse, the 1857 Mexican constitution eradicated communal property affecting autonomous Indigenous communities.[80]

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76. Haas, *Saints and Citizens*.

77. Garduño, "Los Grupos Yumanos De Baja California," 2009.

78. Beatriz Bernal, "Derecho Castellano," Plataforma Digital de Economía, Derecho y otras Ciencias Sociales y Humanas (Plataforma Digital de Economía, Derecho y otras Ciencias Sociales y Humanas, June 11, 2015), https://leyderecho.org/derecho-castellano/.

79. Bernal, "Derecho Castallano."

80. Nuria González Martín, *Estudios Jurídicos En Homenaje a Marta Morineau: Derecho Romano. Historia Del Derecho* (Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006).

In the same constitution, public education became free under Article 18, which was later changed to Article 3. Under this article teaching had to keep within the principles of individual liberty which meant the downfall of the Church control over education.[81] In other words, the church and state were separated. This meant federalizing schooling was seen as key to progress in a civil society, as well as ensuring the freedom of teaching based on the government implementing a uniform curriculum based in science and prosperity. It also meant by federalizing and secularizing schooling weakened the Church's power in Mexico.

Anglophone influences leaked into the framing of Mexican schooling and pedagogy. Schools in Mexico were designed to reflect Anglophone practices. National schooling was now emphasized in teaching. Subjects taught nationally centered on the national language (Spanish), morality and civics, arithmetic, gendered manual skills, and national history. Anglophone discourses on the "Indian" question (what to do with Native children) were echoed in the Mexican early debates in Congress and media outlets.[82] Congressmembers debated on moral and character defects of the Indigenous peoples as one of the main causes that could stymie modernization in schools and for the nation. For example, legislators debated whether Indigenous peoples could abandon "their labors, their drunkenness, their saints, and their priests, to go to school[?]."[83] Many official statements and pedagogical literature focused on moral characteristics such as Mexicans (*campesinos* and Native people) drinking too much *pulque* and

81. Mary K. Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982), 17.

82. Ramírez Castañeda, *La Educación Indígena en México*, 76.

83. Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico,* 23.

laziness.[84] Moral characteristics included more than leaving behind the fields, drinking, and religions; it also meant adopting "proper" customs on vocational training, hygiene, dress styles.

Mexican functionaries quickly learned a lesson on the pitfalls of transplanting Anglophone schooling practices without context. The government intended to increase industrialized and wage production no matter the cost instead of addressing structural problems. This meant that schooling focused on vocational education to push Mexico into a developed nation. There were problems with this model in Mexico mainly because education model struggled in the urban areas, and it certainly did not succeed in rural communities. The government modeled their labor conditions and ideologies mirroring an individualistic and capitalistic principles borrowed from Anglophone countries without taking into account context. For this reason, liberal schooling failed in rural Mexico. Middle-class ideologies, urban frameworks, and liberal philosophies such as individual competition and ownership did not account for the cultural societal norms.[85]

The class and racial divide widened by the mid-19th century, and by 1877 Mexico's first dictator Porfirio Díaz (1877-80, 1884-1911) committed to unify the country under the premise of "progress." Then the new "Indian" question, under Díaz, took a different approach from previous government policy moving from marginalizing Indigenous peoples from the Mexican imaginary into the integration of the national fabric for economic prosperity and modernity. The nation was dependent on the extraction of native labor and to accomplish national goals of modernity. In order to extract labor from *campesinos* and Indigenous peoples to benefit Mexican economic

84. Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico,* 172.

85. Vaughan, 172.

"prosperity" they had to blur and eventually unify class differences. Thus, educational institutions were now used for the propagation of unity among their students who will eventually become adult citizens. A unified national imaginary was envisioned by congress where everyone eventually became phenotypically and mentally Mexican citizens, what is known today as the *mestizaje* process. *Mestizaje* ideology in Mexico is the process to remove all forms of indigeneity and replace Indigenous peoples into Mexicans. Most literature on *Mestizaje* credit the first minister of Education (Secretaría Educación Pública), José Vasconcelos Calderón, with the creation and application of *mestizaje* process during the 1920s under the Porfiriato dictatorship through education—in the following section I argue that Vasconcelos Calderón, along with Mexican functionaries, were influenced by missionization processes. Employing various methods to missionize *mestizaje* ideology, under Article 2 in the Mexican Constitution of 1917, states that rudimentary schools were to be established for Indigenous peoples for the purpose of teaching reading, writing, and speaking Spanish or also known as the *castellanización* process. Along with establishing public schools across Mexico, Indigenous peoples were used as colonization subjects to re-educate other Indigenous peoples outside of their communities into *castellanizacón.*

Baja California Norte and the Revolution

Meanwhile in Baja California Norte, the Mexican Revolution of 1910 brought about other changes to the district now turned territory. Mexican officials encouraged foreign capital investors from Europe, Canada, and the U.S. to exploit the natural resources and the people for

profit.[86] The Mexican state encouraged and recruited migration from *mestizos,* white Mexicans migrants from inner Mexico, Indigenous peoples mainly from Oaxaca, and Chinese laborers. Mexican interests in populating, modernizing, and capitalizing Baja California Norte transitioned from district to territory with the focus of moving Mexico into a modern nation-state. As previously mentioned, the government saw Indigenous peoples and campesinos as a roadblock to modernity and economic prosperity, and to clear the roadblock governmental policies began removing traditional customs and other ancestral practices. In the eyes of Mexican officials, "modernity" had no place for Indigenous peoples practicing traditional customs because now they were considered transgressions against the state.[87]

In Baja California Norte Mexican officials restricted traditional practices such as collecting acorns for *La Fiesta del Piñon*—an annual traditional gathering for acorns—the Kumiay were no longer collecting acorns on their ancestral lands but on private property belonging to the state. Areas traditionally used to collect acorns and other medicinal and ceremonial plants were in national parks and were redesignated as protected spaces for conservation purposes.[88] The conversation movement by Mexico to protect the land and keep it "pristine" placed Kumiay and other Baja Californian Norte Natives in direct opposition to the state's environmental practices. Mexican officials were ignorant of the thousand years the Kumiay stewardship of the land, such as practicing-controlled fires and planting seeds with the change of seasons which promoted a balanced ecosystem.

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86. Vaughn, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico*.

87. Eduardo Garduño, "La Frontera Norte De México: Campo De Desplazamiento, Interacción y Disputa," *El Colegio De La Frontera Norte, A.C. Tijuana* 28, no. 55 (2016): pp. 131-151, 140.

88. Garduño, "La Frontera Norte de México," 140.

The "Mexicanization" process in Mexico was based in nationalism, positivism, and the eradication of Indigenous peoples. José Vasconcelos Calderón popularized *mestizaje* in his essay *Raza Cosmica* (1925) where he stressed the mixing of the "four races"—red, yellow, black, and white—to eventually become one "superior" race to make up the Mexican citizen. These ideas were borrowed from anthropologists. For instance, in Manuel Gamio's 1916 publication "*Forjando Patria,"* he argued for the field of anthropology to be the official discipline to understand the Mexican population for the process of modernization. He claimed the importance of characterizing and categorizing natural men, a common genre in anthropology of that time what is known as race theory, and by following this process the government could take appropriate measures in implementing projects for the moderation and mestizaje of Mexico.[89] This movement would be known as Indigenismo in Mexico. Vasconcelos, along with other Mexican officials, established other educational departments to target *campesinos* and Indigenous peoples under Indigenismo ideology.

There were a series of departments established and were framed based on Indigenismo ideology. The first department based on Indigenismo was with the 1917 creation of the *Departamento de Antropología de la Secretaría de Agricultura* (Department of Anthropology of the Agriculture Secretary). Later followed with the 1921 *Departamento de Educación y Cultural para la Raza Indígena* (Department of Education and Culture for the Indigenous People). In 1923, the State converted rural schools into *Casas del Pueblo* (Community Houses). And, in 1924, the founding of the first Indigenous boarding schools *Casa del Estudiante Indígena* (House

89. Jessica Roxana Cervantes Castañón, "La Vinculación Con La Comunidad Función Sustantiva En Las Universidades Interculturales: Aproximación a Su Práctica y Tareas Pendientes" (dissertation, UNAM, 2012), 64.

of the Indigenous Student) that later transformed into the *Internado Nacional de Indios* (National Boarding School for Indians). The 1925, *Departamento de Culturas Indígenas* (Department of Indigenous Cultures) was later renamed as the Department of Rural School. Eleven years later the creation of the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas* (The Autonomous Department of Indigenous Affairs). And, by 1948, the founding of the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (Insitution of National Indigenism) also known as INI.[90] Cervantes historical tracing of each educational department by the state dedicated for Indigenous educational affairs contextualizes how the heavily the Mexican state invested in *mesitzaje* processes.

In particular, similarities of missionization and *mestizaje* process are apparent under the *Departamento de Culturas Indígenas*. Under the *Departamento de Culturas Indígenas* the *misiones culturales*, or cultural missions, were developed. The *misiones culturales* applied similar missionization process to recruit mestizos to teach Indigenous future teachers as future *misioneros.*[91] These future teachers were sent to Mexico City to train and once they completed the program, they were sent off to missionize Indigenous students into *castellano*. In addition to *castellanización*, cultural mission teachers also trained students vocationally to further develop and catapult Mexico in modernity. To Mexican official's dismay, the vocational training mission teachers received did not apply to the student's social context and market.

Historian Mary Kay Vaughan interrogates how the Mexican government and concepts of modernity in early schooling practices between 1880-1928. From her archival research, educator feelings on *campesinos* (peasants) and Indigenous peoples and thoughts on mission schools

90. Cervantes, "La Vinculación Con La Comunidad Función Sustantiva En Las Universidades Interculturales," 65.

91. Cervantes, 65.

included ". . .efficient individuals who work intelligently in the evolutionary process of our race, ceasing to be the millstone round our necks which they are today" and "The Indians form over one half the Mexican population. They will be an important factor of production when they emerge from their present conditions."[92] Both of these quotes highlight how educators, and most of Mexican *gente de razón* viewed Indigenous and peasants that just needed a little "help" to be re-educated will help both groups leave behind their identities to become a wage laborer to move the country into modernity. Vaughn's research illuminates how wrong Mexican educators and functionaries were specifically when it came to vocational training in rural settings that incorporated wage-labor education such as making soap and perfume, agriculture, and carpentry—this thinking flopped because the government did not consider outside factors. For one, vocational training required materials that were too expensive for students, there were not enough instructors to teach the material, and markets were inaccessible after students graduated from vocational schooling in rural Mexico.

Mission schooling recruited Indigenous teachers from south of Mexico and sent them across Mexico. Officials assumed all Indigenous peoples were the same with similar backgrounds, languages, and customs. What they did not consider is that although mission teachers were Indigenous that did not mean they were aware of their student's cultural context, or the local languages spoken. Instead, they opted to instruct only in Spanish—or the *castellacizion*. The mandate to instruct in Spanish continued well into the mid-20th century. Another problem, besides the missionization process, was that Indigenous teachers permanently left their communities and, in the process, became *mestizos*. *Mestizo* originates from the castas and indicates the person is mixed with Indigenous and European ancestry. In some Indigenous

92. Vaughn, *State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico*, 180.

communities define *mestizo* not by blood or interacial and interethnic mixing but by simply leaving the community and not practicing cultural traditions and integrating into *mestizo* society—basically acculturating. This means the category of *mestizo* fluctuates based on migration and community definitions While the definition and level of *mestizo* could change for each Indigenous community, the most common definition was once a tribal member left the community, they were walking into *mestizaje*.

In 1937, *misiones culturales* closed for a short period. In its absence, *escuelas normales* were born. Five years later in 1942, *misiones culturales* reopened and continue to exist today.[93] The Indigenismo ideology and policy within the Mexican and Indigenous schooling centered on the eradication of Indigenous peoples that continued well into the 1960s and 1970s. After the Gamio's death Indigenismo ideology began to collapse, and by 1982 after the peso crisis, Indigenismo policy was traded in for austerity measures placed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other types of schooling ideologies.

Centralized federal schooling for many states was not ideal. For the overreaching control of Mexico City over education pushed Baja California Norte for autonomy from the capital's control on schooling. Proximity to the U.S./Mexico border provided a leverage for autonomy in education in Baja California Norte. Parents had the choice and opportunity to send their children to American schools providing them a negotiating leverage over schooling—unlike other states.

93. Olga Sánchez Ogás, "La Educación Indígena y Pérdida Cultural: Antecedentes y Situación Actuales Comunidades Indígenas De Baja California," in *Ensayos Sobre El Presente y El Pasado Educativo De Baja California*, ed. Gabriela Cordero Arroyo (Tijuana, BC: Universidad Autónomia de Baja California, 2006), pp. 99-116, 101.

Baja California Norte Schooling

The border to the U.S. also provided an avenue for teachers to have more control over the curriculum. In the 1920s, teachers began to teach revolutionary texts into the curriculum as a representation of Baja California Norte and the influences of revolutionaries and anarchists such Pancho Villa and the Flores Magón brothers. One of the professors teaching in the late 1930s at Benito Juarez de Mexicali stated:

> *De la educación socialista fue atendido preferentemente, por considerar que el trabajo productivo capacita a los alumnos para luchar por la vida y les da de inmediato oportunidades para obtener ventajas de carácter económico y lo que se refiere a la parte social da oportunidades de obtener ventajas de carácter económico y en lo que se refiere a la parte social da oportunidad a los niños y a la escuela de participar en los problemas de la comunidad con una intervención. . .de alguna forma a resolverlos en beneficio propio.*[94]
>
> Of the socialist education it was attained preferably to consider productive work and the understanding for students on how to obtain advantages in their economic character and in which referring to the social part gives opportunity to the children and the school in participating in the community problems and how to intervene for their own benefits. [translation]

"Opportunity" and "productive work," the professor is referring to is connected to the competition with the U.S. during the early schooling period in Baja California Norte. Also, during this time, in the early 1920s, there was a push for adult literacy programs. Prohibition in the U.S. also affected schooling in Baja California Norte. Americans flocked to casinos and bars bringing their spending money to small towns like Tijuana. Additionally, this activity attracted Indigenous migrant workers from all over Mexico, mainly from southern states, searching for work opportunities. As a result, five-night schools for adults and four high schools opened

94. Marco Antonio Samaniego López, "La Educación En Baja California, La Intervención De Autoridades Locales y Nacionales, 1890-1940. Las Paradojas De Educar En La Frontera," in *Ensayos Sobre El Presente y El Pasado Educativo De Baja California*, ed. Gabriela Cordero Arroyo (Tijuana, BC: Universidad Autónomia de Baja California, 2006), pp. 119-146, 141.

between Tijuana-Mexicali-Ensenada region to assist with adult literary efforts pushed by companies for their workers.[95] However, economic abundance did not last long in the state and by the market crash of 1929, closures of casinos were ordered by president Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940). Economic hardships and the Volstead Act of 1933—prohibition-- contributed to the socialist contributions in schooling in Baja California Norte as opposed to other regions in Mexico.[96]

In this region unique circumstances and opportunities were present, which was not the case in other regions of Mexico. These opportunities meant that students and parents had leverage to negotiate with superintendents on curriculum that deviated from Mexico City. "Mexicanization" was forced in Baja California Norte to dissuade students from abandoning Mexican schooling for American schooling. In some periods, specifically during the late 1930s parents in Baja California Norte sent their children to schools in Baja Sur, located more than 500 miles away, due to lack of public schooling opportunities and refusal to send their children to an American school. Further, markets pushed for the type of schooling children received in the Baja California Norte at the end of Lazaró Cardenas presidency in 1940.

In the early 20th century and under the cultural missionary teacher program, Indigenous schooling was first established in Misión de San Miguel, which is located on Paipai territory between Rosarito and Ensenada. As previously noted, this program was not successful due to replicating an Anglophone model and lack of resources, and it closed in 1925. Baja California Norte is also home to the Yuman speaking family language tree: Kiliwa, Paipai, Cucapá (also a

95. Samaniego López, 132.

96. Samaniego López, 134.

binational tribal nation located in Arizona), and Cochimí (not Yuman speaking). As previously mentioned, in the early Indigenous schooling the Mexican government recruited and trained Indigenous teachers under the *Casa del Estudiante Indígena.* Two hundred Indigenous teachers graduated and were sent to teach "bilingually—Spanish and the local Indigenous language they were sent to teach at most often not their language." [97]

After conducting extensive research on the early Indigenous schooling early period 1910-1920s in Baja California Norte, I found Baja Indigenous youth attended schools established in their communities. They were taught by Indigenous teachers outside of their communities, known as mission teachers, on *castellanización*. One Paipai elder, Benito Peralta, from Santa Catarina recalled his first experience with Mexican schooling in 1925 at the age of eight. In Yolanda Sánchez Ogás' book chapter "La education indígena y pérdida cultural: antecedents y situación actual en las comunidades indígenas de Baja California" Peralta states:

> *En 1925 se abrió la primera escuela allá abajo, en San Miguel. Mi nanita me llevó a fuerza, yo no quería quedarme porque le tenía miedo a la maestra, cuando la vi me eché a correr, pero mi hermana grande me alcanzó y me regresó, luego me tuve que quedar y pues no entendía nada porque yo no sabía ni una palabra en español y la profesora nos daba las clases en español, después me fui quedando y aprendí a leer y escribir.*[98]
>
> In 1925, the first primary school opened down there in San Miguel. My nana (grandma) took me to school by force because I was afraid of the teacher. When I saw the teacher, I ran but my older sister caught up to me and returned me to class. I had to stay, and, well, I didn't understand nothing because I did not know one single word in Spanish and the teacher gave us class in Spanish, later I ended up staying and learned how to read and write.

97. Vaughn, *State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico*,

98. Sánchez Ogás, 102.

Mr. Peralta's testimony reinforced the common theme where Indigenous children had to learn Spanish to understand the material taught. It's worth noting the lengths his grandmother and older sister took to ensure Mr. Peralta attended school. This also demonstrates that not all Indigenous parents refused for their children to attend school to learn Spanish. These parents saw that by learning the dominant language could lead to jobs and overall gaining outside knowledge. Yet, this was not the case for all. The grandmothers I worked with remembered how their mother did not want them to go out of the community with the *blancos*. This was a term used by Indigenous Baja Californianos to describe outsiders, mainly Mexican settlers regardless of their phenotype or ethnicity. This categorization was due to the ongoing process of *castellanización*.

Boarding Schools in Baja California Norte

When doing research on schooling practices for the years between 1950s and 1980s, there is a gap in the sources for Baja California Norte. Schooling practices were still based in *castellanización*. National Indigenous education, in the 1970s, focused on a new approach from assimilation to bilingual assimilation (permitting Indigenous languages to be used in the classroom for the *castellanización*). Indigenous students were still required to be literate in Spanish, but classes could not incorporate a bilingual approach because teachers were not from the community and did not speak the local Indigenous languages—so they defaulted to Spanish.

In 1978, Indigenous education and policy came under a new department, General Department of Indigenous Education (DGEI).[99] According to Rainer Enrique Hamel, an Indigenous education in Mexico scholar, stated that Indigenous education in Indigenous schools

99. Rainer Enrique Hamel, "Indigenous Language Policy and Education in Mexico," Springer Link (Springer, Boston, MA, January 1, 1970), 3-22, 5.

continued to use Indigenous teachers to teach the core curriculum from Mexico City alongside bilingual programs. For the Baja California Norte case— I looked to the grandmothers to cover their schooling experiences in Juntas de Nejí during 1970s-1980s— Maestra Yolanda remembers there were boarding schools in each Kumiay communities, including Juntas de Nejí. Active recruitment by community and non-community members was common in assuring Indigenous children attended school. *Maestra* Yolanda recalls her time with schooling as short lived— approximately one year. Maestra Yolanda is the youngest of four sisters in her family and started school when she was as a Tipai monolingual teenager. Her older sister of a few years accompanied her to a boarding school after a team of people from the community convinced her mother to allow them to attend school away from home. *Maestra* Yolanda remembered her mother's hesitation in allowing her daughters to leave home from Monday to Friday. One of her mother's concerns over her children, young girls, attending school outside was the fear that her children would permanently lose their language and eventually leave the community. Another concern was the real possibility of sexual violence her daughters might experience from settlers.

For the first year, *Maestra* Yolanda attended school, she remembers finishing her household chores before leaving by dawn walking more than twenty miles to the boarding school located outside of her community most likely in Santa Catarina or La Huerta. At the boarding school, she remembers her first day and how she did not understand the teacher, but her enthusiasm to learn Spanish motivated her to pick up the language. Her sister and *Maestra* Yolanda, returned home every two weeks. When *Maestra* Yolanda was 12 years old and had been in school for a year, she was pulled out of school. Although she was in public school for a year, *Maestra* Yolanda picked up Spanish quickly and continued to practice after she was pulled out of school. The following years, she learned how to read and write in Spanish by reading

Mexican western graphic novels that were donated to her family by outsiders.[100] The western novels portrayed the stereotypical and violent images of Native Americans—this is how she learned to read and write in Spanish.

Indian boarding schools in Mexico are spaces where children who live in remote areas can attend school during the week and return on the weekends. According to Sánchez Ogás, boarding schools located in Santa Catarina and La Huerta community dealt with unique challenges include inadequate access to food, overcrowding, and unsafe conditions.[101] As previously mentioned, Indigenous teachers were sent to teach outside of their communities; thus, there were non-local Indigenous teachers teaching about cultures and traditions that were not relevant or were inaccurate to Indigenous children and youth. This framework poses a problem because in boarding schools, and outside of boarding schools, Indigenous teachers are teaching outside of their cultural and social context to local Indigenous students on Indigenous customs and traditions. For example, Sánchez Ogás explains that for Indian boarding school you might have a Mixtec teacher teaching Kumiai and Paipai students and vice versa.[102] Indian boarding schools had real consequences for a generation of grandparents due to the assimilation policies of *castellanización* and *mestizaje*. Boarding schools were also transborder spaces of cultural exchanges between Indigenous students from all over Mexico. Later in the chapter, I cover cultural exchanges between migrant Indigenous and local Indigenous groups.

100. Personal communication.

101. Sánchez Ogás, 104.

102. Sánchez Ogás, 104.

1960s Adoption of Interculturidad Pedagogy in Mexico

In the 1960s-1970s, regional Indigenous gatherings occurred all over Mexico and gained traction for *autonomía*. Alongside Indigenous mobilization student pushback of militarization on school campuses simultaneously took place. A mass student uprising occurred in Mexico City far from Baja California Norte, before the 1968 Summer Olympics hosted by Mexico. In 1968, one of the largest the largest anti-government student demonstrations at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) and Instituto Politécnico Nacional de México (IPN) came to fruition on August 27 and over the military arms presence on school campuses. Student uprisings picked up steam by October of 1968 when the world witnessed the massacre of students and bystanders known as the Tlatelolco massacre at the *Tres Culturas Plaza* (Three Culture Plaza)—a well-known plaza and a historic site of Indigenous resistance—a Mexica temple, a Catholic Church, and a Mexican, mestizo government building is located all on top of each other. Students and bystanders were killed, disappeared, and arrested by the Mexican government. Blood ran down the streets at the *Tres Culturas Plaza* like it once did in 1521 when the Spanish along the Tlaxcalan's ambushed Tenochtitlan. *Tres Culturas Plaza* is a physical representation how a one building over time represents colonial change in time and governance. It also represents the final site of Mexica resistance to Spanish colonization and later birthing to the mestizo (Mexican) government through rape and pillage.

I provide national context in relation education policies and Indigenous resistance. The Tlatelolco massacre exposed the state-run violent atrocities to the world and today it is now known as the Mexican Dirty war. The Tlatelolco massacre alongside Indigenous education and resistance are connected on how social movements push against militarization within the

educational realm with the worldwide coverage of the 2014 Ayotzinapa 43 disappeared (Indigenous) students who's some remains have been uncovered.

By the 1980s, the Mexican federal government launched a proposal to amend the constitution to include Indian cultural rights in the *Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas* (National Development Commission for Indigenous Tribes).[103] The commission paved the way for the 1991 amendment in the Mexican constitution to Article 4 finally recognizing Indigenous peoples' existence.[104] In 1993, Indigenous rights took the world stage with the United Nations General Assembly proclaiming it the Year of Indigenous Peoples, while also marking the "500 Years of Resistance" through resolution A/RES/47/75. The 1990s a political shift occurs towards recognition in Mexican policies and focuses on "inclusivity" in schooling practices when it came to Indigenous peoples education. The "new" assimilationist policies were adopted in education moving from biculturality to interculturality.[105] Biculturality notes and highlights two distinct separate cultures without mixing instead of the interculturality—a term borrowed from South America—maintaining that Mexican educational policies acknowledged a pluralistic integration of all languages and cultures in the classroom.[106] More precisely intercultural education policies emerged as a form to promote positive relationships among different groups of people centering anti-racism pedagogy with the intent to "work together" towards the nation's "progress." Critiques on intercultural education policies

103. Paula L. Meyer, "Indigenous Language Loss and Revitalization in Tecate, Baja California" (dissertation, San Diego State University and Claremont Graduate University, 2006), 35.

104. Hamel, 308.

105. Cervantes, 2012.

106. Hamel, 305.

made by scholars such as Ecuadorian scholar Catherine Walsh argue that intercultural polices across Latin America are based in promoting neoliberal policies for the "betterment of the nation" and economic prosperity as a unified nation.[107] In other words, interculturality policies, which continue today, are assimilationist policies that are updated from a *mestizaje* framework. For example, the promotion of bilingual education in the classroom, multiculturalism, and "working together" is a repackaged *castellanización* process. The fact that intercultural policies are not based on decolonial, anti-racist, and anti-capitalist methodologies is multiculturalism. Although, there were some shifts from interculturality into *autonomismo* (autonomous) interculturality takes a "horizontal" approach to hierarchy in the classroom in relation to cultural background, an autonomous framework attends to the needs of each Indigenous community and how they decide to make decisions based on what is best for their community.

In the early 2000s, the Department of Education continued with an interculturality framework in Mexico. In 2003, the *Ley General Sobre Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas* (General Law over Indigenous Linguistics) and a reform law in the *Ley General de Educación* (General Law of Education) passed in the legislature acknowledging legal protections for Indigenous languages under the creation of the *Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas (INALI)* (Institute of National Native Languages). These protections were fully implemented by 2006. Following in this vein, in 2007 the Baja California Norte state legislature passed the *Ley de Derechos y Cultural Indígena del Estado de Baja California* (Rights and Indigenous Cultures of the Baja California State), recognizes the Indigenous rights and affirm a duty to acknowledge

107. Catherine Walsh, *Interculturalidad, Estado, Sociedad* (Universidad Andina Simón Bolivar: Sede Ecuador: Abya-Yala, 2009), 2.

local Indigenous groups' rights of state recognized Indigenous communities. For example Article 2 states:

> *Artículo 2.- La presente Ley tiene por objeto el reconocimiento, preservación y defensa de los derechos y cultura de los indígenas del Estado de Baja California, así como el establecimiento de las obligaciones de la administración pública estatal y municipal, en la construcción de las relaciones con las comunidades indígenas y elevar el bienestar social de sus integrantes, promoviendo el desarrollo a través de programas y presupuestos específicos.*
>
> *Esta Ley reconoce los derechos colectivos, a los siguientes pueblos indígenas: Kiliwas, Kumiai, Pai pai, Cucapá y Cochimí, así como a las comunidades indígenas que conforman aquellos, los cuales habitaban en la región desde antes de la formación del Estado de Baja California, y que conservan sus propias instituciones sociales, económicas, culturales y políticas, o parte de ellas.*
>
> Article 2.- The present law objective is to recognize, preserve, and defend the rights and culture of the Indigenous peoples of the State Baja California and the establishment of obligations from the state and municipal public administration in the construction of relations with indigenous communities in elevating their peoples social well-being promoted by developing programs and specific budgets.
>
> This law recognizes the collective rights of the following indigenous communities: Kiliwas, Kumiai, Pai Pai, Cucapá and Cochimí, and such as communities who conform to and inhabit the region before the formation of the State of Baja California, and who conserve their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, or parts of them.[108]

The gesture by the State of Baja California Norte to acknowledge and agree to "preserv[ing] and defend[ing] the rights of Indigenous peoples in Baja California State" illustrates the recognition and multicultural policies are simply ceremonial. In other words, they carry no weight or actual protections from encroaching settlers. Questions that arise, how does the state "preserve" and "defend" the rights of Indigenous peoples of Baja California Norte? I do

108. No.44. Legislatura de Baja California XVIII, "Ley de Derechos y Cultura Indigena del Estado de Baja California," February 26, 2007,1-11.

want to note although they are ceremonial—state recognition, even without monies or support—does guarantee a level of protection for Baja California Norte Natives.

Current day schooling in Baja California Norte faces unique challenges for Indigenous students. Access to well-trained teachers is not available and reliable access to communities make it difficult for teachers to stay and work in the schools. For example, Juntas de Nejí does not have a public school in the community because according to the government the student numbers does not justify building a school. Further, other challenges occur in schools located within Indigenous communities. Preferential treatment is given to teachers who are chummy with school authorities in the state and federal level for their *plaza* (tenure). These teachers are given priority to tenure positions overqualified teachers. Indigenous and non-Indigenous teachers who do not have a common cultural and social understanding of the community are a detriment to the children attending classes. These teachers do not and sometimes are not willing to understand the context in which they are teaching and perpetuate stereotypical and racist notions of the vanishing "Indian" or the "backward Indian" in the classroom.

In interviews I conducted with Yolanda's grandchildren between 2013-2019, early on they hesitantly talked about their schooling experiences outside of the community. But over time, the children and youth began to feel comfortable with me and began to feel more connected to *El Rancho* (the ranch referring to Ranch Meskuish). During language camps, the children opened up and talked about their experiences at school and the racial aggression they experienced. When I started working with the *Maestra* Yolanda, eight children and youth participated in the language summer camp ages 2-10 years old in 2014. By the last year, I had built rapport with the children who were now youth. School age children attended school 52 miles (84 kilometers) away from home in a small town of Valle de las Palmas on the *Ruta de Vino* (wine route) and out

of that twelve-mile trek on a winding dirt road filled with potholes makes it nearly impossible to drive to school, especially when it rains. Other structural obstacles include access to gas and a reliable automobile. In the last year, I interviewed five youth on a grey granite rock. In that interview, it was done quickly because we were during language camp, and I could only hold their attention for so long. Most of the children I talked to were shy and not willing to talk about their schooling experiences. Then one of the older youths, decided to talk about how at first, he did not want his peers to know that he was Kumiay. He said his feelings changed with every year he attended the language camps and that today he is proud to let anyone, and everyone know he is Kumiay. For the parents it is difficult for them to make travel outside of their community for the kids to attend school either in Valle de Palmas or Santa Veronica. For that reason, *Maestra* Yolanda focused in building and creating her school—one that incorporated Kumiay traditions based off the land while teaching her children how to navigate the outside world. In the following chapter, I will go into detail how she and her community were able to obtain something close to a public school.

Land Theft: Indigenous Resistance on the Border and State Recognition

The ceremonial state and local policies of Baja California Norte passed during the early 2000s were passed without substantial monetary support and judicial consequences, therefore, making the policies powerless against "protections." Further, during the Luis Echeverria presidency of the 1960s, his government denied for years the presence of local Indigenous peoples. In fact, it took years from a well-respected elder and *Maestra* Yolanda's late uncle, Juan Meza to "prove" and challenge the Mexican government. He, along with other Indigenous

representatives, fought to have the Kumiay, and other Baja California Norte Natives, did exist, and were not extinct and continued to practice traditional knowledge.[109]

Up until the 1960s, the Mexican government, specifically the local state level Governor, were arguing that there were no "Indians" in their state as a land-grab effort. Meza tells his story in Paula Lindell Meyer's dissertation *Indigenous Language Loss and Revitalization in Tecate, Baja California* (2006) of the time when he travelled to Mexico City in 1969 and fought for their land-rights and claiming, that in fact, Kumiay did exist. Various state apparatuses were connected and slowly moving the gears for the complete vanishing of local Indigenous groups of Baja California Norte by claiming that they did not exist. They simply vanished. Governor Raúl Sánchez Díaz Martell of Baja California Norte utilized news outlets to push out the "vanishing" Indian narrative and claimed that Indigenous peoples did not exist in the state.[110]

The governor's weaponized state-run news outlets to undermine, and basically erase Baja California Norte Natives, from claiming their right to their ancestral land by disseminating the "vanishing" Indian trope. He was able to circulate the "vanishing" Indian trope due to *mestizaje* ideology that is rooted in 1) all Native Mexican people are Mexica and Nahua speaking peoples (Aztec); and b) the Mexican population are *mestizos*. *Mestizo* ideology continues to be present in today's classrooms glorifying the Mexica and Nahua speaking peoples as part of the national socialization. The circulation of the "vanished" Indian worked two-fold one to make it official through another institution that in fact there were no "Indians" in Baja California Norte and to garner support from his constituents and future investors.

109. Meyer, 140.

110. Meyer,140.

At that time, Mexican government definitions on Indigenous peoples, specifically who were and who were not Indigenous, were based on Nahua and southern Mexican traditions known for sedentary and "close-knit populations" as opposed to migratory and independent family groups.[111] *La Reforma Agraria 1910-1917* (Agrarian Land Reform) pushed by Indigenous leaders and revolutionaries established the *ejido*—communal land passed from the *ejiditario* to *campesinos* (farm workers).[112] Based on a sedentary model, *ejidos* emphasized people working the land to hold land rights. Heavy restrictions in buying and selling land were placed by government to assure the land stayed with families who worked the land. According to Garduño, the agricultural reform negatively impacted the Kumiay, and Baja California Norte Indigenous peoples, whose traditional ways were based on migratory patterns and hold a semi-sedentary life. Policies enclosed Kumiay peoples and were used to pacify rebellions.[113]

Further Juan Meza discusses with Meyer how he quickly moved to meet with President Echeverria to "prove" that he and his people do in fact exist. Claiming indigeneity in Baja California Norte by Meza, and other traditional leaders from Baja California Norte, meant the governor had to immediately halt economic development and respect Kumiay land. The Baja California Norte government argued that the lands were unoccupied and thus belongs to the public domain. To demonstrate to the Baja California Norte State and the federal government

111. Meyer, 86.

112. Fausto Kubli-García, "Pasado, Presente y Futuro De Los Derechos Indígenas En México," in *Estudios Jurídicos En Homenaje a Marta Morineau*, ed. Nuria González Martín, vol. 1 (México: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 2016), pp. 275-287.

113. Everardo Garduño, "Cuatro Ciclos De Resistencia Indígena En La Frontera México-Estados Unidos," *Revista Europea De Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe* 77 (October 2004): pp. 41-60, 49.

Meza flew to the capital and went straight into the archives in search of any documentation that "proved" the existed and his people were the rightful owners of the land for time and immemorial—in fact they never "abandoned" their land.

While Meza was researching at the *Archivo General de la Nación* (National Archives of Mexico) as he was searching, he was unable to locate where Baja California Norte documents were located. He later found out by an ally, that officials secretly moved the documents to another site, but they were able to get a hold of them and told him where he can find them.[114] The friend begged Meza not to tell no one that they helped him locate the official documents stating that the Kumiay were the rightful owners of their ejidos. Because of that friend, Meza and other leaders, were able to "prove" that were the owners and that Indigenous peoples from Baja California Norte still existed and practiced traditional cultural ceremonies with their unique languages. Meza recalls his interactions with Instituto Nacional Indigena (INI) (National Indigenous Institute)

> *...Y cuando yo llegué a una oficina de esas, dijieron, 'No en Baja California no hay indios. No hay,'dijo. 'Si hay. Yo vengo de allá mire. Traigo papeles. Traigo mi dialecto. Canto en el dialecto, hablo en el dialecto. Mi tribu se llama Kumeyaay. Yo vengo representando a todos los indios de Baja California,'dije. 'Muy bien. Pues aquí vamos a registrar,'dijo. Registraron y toda la cosa. . .*
>
> . . .and when I arrived at one of those offices they told me, "There are No Indians in Baja California." I said, "Yes, there are I am from over there. I have papers. I have my language. I sing in my language and I speak my language. The name of my tribe is Kumeyaay and I am representing all of the Indians of Baja California," I told them. "Ok. Right here we will register," they said. They registered everything.

114. Meyer, 141.

After they found the papers, on an antiquated cloth map, Meza was sent straight to President Echeverria's office to meet the president of Mexico. Meza recalls his meeting with the president of Mexico

> *. . .Ya cuando fuimos ayá, '¿Así que usted es de Baja California, señor?' 'Sí señor,' dije. . . Dijo, 'Señor,' dijo 'Mire, ahora dicen si es que hay indios en Baja California, pongo una oficina allá. Yo estoy ordenando. Yo le ordeno a usted a la Oficina Indigenista que hagan esas cosas.' 'Muy bien,' dije yo. 'Va usted, doy la orden yo, que lo atiendan bien, de palabra,' dijo. 'Quiero que se hagan las cosas, bien caliento, así. Quiero que vea, que todos los indios de Baja California , quiero que se registren bien, que chequeen bien, a ver cuántos indios hay en Baja California para poner una oficina,' dijo.*
>
> Then we got there, 'So you are from Baja California, sir? 'Yes, sir,' I said. . .He said, 'Sir,' he said, 'Look,' he said, 'Now if it's true that there are Indians in Baja California, I'll put an office there. I am ordering it.' . . .'Very well,' I said. 'You go, I give the order, that they should take good care of you, on my word,' he said . . . 'I want all of the Indians of Baja California, I want them registered well, to be well checked, to see how many Indians there are in Baja California in order to put an office there,' he said.[115]

Once Meza returned home, he organized a meeting with all of the leaders of each community in Baja California Norte to begin the process of state recognition and at this part of Meza's story takes a bizarre turn-- Meza's life was now in danger. An official plot by the Governor's Office Raúl Sánchez Díaz Martell to assassinate him was under way. In the process of recognition, he learns he was born in the United States and that the governor sent *chimitas*--government sponsored hitmen to assassinate him—to assure that his family and community would not gain state recognition. Meza was able to escape various assassination attempts, in one story he was in a high-speed car chase that closely took his life, and to save himself from state

115. Meyer, 151.

sanction assassination he took refuge in the U.S. with family extended members. For more than twenty years he created a life in the states before he returned home.

Meza's remarkable journey of survivance and land-defense to fight for his ancestral right almost cost him his life. In the trajectory he sought refuge in the U.S. and (re)connected with family members he had not connected with before his assassination attempt. Meza's experience in seeking and (re)connecting with extended family for safety purposes is a clear indication that although the physical border does not break familial ties—instead it strengthens it through state-sanctioned violence.

Current attempts of land-theft come in various forms both state-run and by Mexican settlers. For example, in 2018 President Enrique Peña Nieto inaugurated a 77 kilometer (approximately 48 miles) of freshly paved road Tecate El Sauzal Highway 3, also known as *La Ruta de Vino* (Wine Route). More than 479.1 million pesos were invested by the state and provided more than 600 jobs.[116] For years the road was left untouched and now due to wine tourism the government invested in updating the road to wine country. Wine tourism attracts tourism from the US and Europe as well as investors. Due to the uptick of wine tourist—there will be a search for more water, land, and displacement for Nejí. I want to note that for other communities such as San José de la Zorra do benefit from wine tourism by selling artisanal jewelry and Kumiay baskets. In this case, for Nejí given that the wine route does not go into the community or even close to the community run the risk of investors and land-theft Mexican colonizers encroaching on Nejí water sources and land.

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116. *Peña Nieto Inaugura Obra Carretera*, June 11, 2018, http://www.afntijuana.info/view_post.php?catid=informacion_general&postid=83630_pena_nieto_inaugura_obra_carretera.

Figure 2 Image of Mexican settlers encroaching on the entrance to Juntas de Neji. Image taken by Cynthia Vázquez March 12, 2021.

In 2021, land defenders and Mexican settlers, Valle de las Palmas is a town close to Nejí, about 40 miles away and located on the *Ruta de Vino* (wine route). Wine-tourism attracts people from the US and other countries for entertainment and investment. Queen Elizabeth II, celebrities, politicians, and other well-known hold stocks in the wine trade, rush to invest in the highly sought after in Baja land for wine making and tourism. To provide context of the "mestizo" myth in Baja California Norte and wine tourism it is important to contextualize the presence of foreigners and land theft. During the Mexican independence, an influx of Europeans from English, French, and Germans populated the region in search of riches in mining and other extractive industries.[117] After the Mexican independence the government stimulated migration to Baja Norte California through a series of policies and incentives to recruit from inner Mexico and work for mining companies owned by French, German, and American foreigners.[118] Most recently in 2021, during a drive to Nejí, before entering the community, the image above of two stallions in a picturesque Baja image with large for sale sign for property *"Venta de Terrenos*

117. Eduardo Garduño, "La Frontera Norte De México: Campo De Desplazamiento, Interacción y Disputa," *El Colegio De La Frontera Norte, A.C. Tijuana* 28, no. 55 (2016): pp. 131-151, 137.

118. Garduño, "La Frontera Norte De México," 137.

Rusticos Los Potreros" (fenced field or stable). On the image to the left inside the fence area a tractor and other construction machinery is in clear view and their presence in clearing out shrubs and other plants to start construction. According to community, the family who are taking over the land were ejido holders of Irish descent but lost it to the government for not working the land and now are encroaching more closer to community entrance.

One of the consequences in building a touristic spot close to Nejí's entrance is the risk of higher foot traffic and the extraction of scarce resources will become a problem in the near future. As a result, the government involvements in researching for "safety" purposes is a constant threat. Over the years, before the construction of the *Rancho Potreros,* while I worked with the grandmother's conversations about government officials traveling to Nejí to "test" a spring for safety purposes located on one of the grandmother's lands became more frequent. The government's argument for testing the water was mainly and purely safety reasons; however, they interrogated the government's "concerns" over water uses and safety purposes. One of the older children stated how they have drank from spring water for years and they have yet to find it "unsafe."

What we can infer here was that the government's actions were not in good will but in fact were using the premise in assuring clean water by testing it to conduct research on the land for future development purposes. I am not arguing the government does not have a duty in providing access to clean water to community members but what I am pointing out to—as the community member stated—Rancho Meskuish does not to date have access to portable water from the government and now over the years they are interested in "testing" the spring. Policies on land by the government creates the daily threat and the demolishment of ancestral and sacred sites for capitalist ventures. According to his article, "Cartografía Simbólica Sobre el Territorio

Tradicional de los Kumiai," Garduño conducted a two-month expedition to document 71, ancestral remains, cultural, and land-based sites, sacred to the Kumiay. In his research, he found the destruction of ancestral cemeteries purposely destroyed by ranchers so Kumiay, and other Indigenous peoples of Baja, do not have the sole right to their ancestral land.[119] In the continual destruction of ancestral and land-based knowledges by Mexican settlers contribute to the systematic eradication of traditional knowledges and languages connected to land. As previously stated, Baja California Norte history in "vanishing" and claiming Baja California does not have Indigenous peoples of the land for accessing the land is a customary and systematic method applied by the government and branching out to Mexican settlers shielding them from any consequences.

Figure 3 Image of fake cultural visa Bentacourt passed out to community members.

Other forms of land-theft and encroachment by Mexican settlers also come in the form of the "American promise" that is documentation. Over the years I have worked with *las Abuelas*, I heard stories about Mexican settlers attempting to defraud, mislead, and outright take over their land rights. In the summer of 2016, a woman by the name of Martha Bentacourt attended a cultural event hosted by *Centro Cultural Tijuana* (CECUT) where she recruited people from the

119. Garduño, "Cartografia Simbolica Sobre el Territorio Tradicional de los Kumiai," 105.

community to help her gain trust from Kumiay, and other tribes, communities during her workshop. She sold false hope that for a price she can obtain legal documentation through her organization *Asociación Civil Intercambio sin Fronteras* (The Association of Exchange without Borders), and provide a faster legal entry into the U.S. She claimed her services ranged from acquiring cultural passports, double nationality, tourists' visas, medical visas, and services, and even access to social security pension if they joined her organization for a low price of $35 American dollars per person or $275 dollars for families. In the image above this is a picture I took of the membership card victims signed up for to access services and documentation.

The back of the card states:

> *El asociado se identifica como personal autorizada para patícipar y obtener beneficios en la agenda del convenio establecido bajo el contracto No. 302-020, hasta su fecha de vencimiento en los programas de intercambio Sin Fronteras, A.C. siguientes: ~Suistainable and Cultural Heritage Exchange ~Kumeyaay Native Community Empowerment*
>
> The associate identified is authorized to participate and obtain benefits in the conferences established under contract No. 302-020, until expiration date for the Sin Fronteras, A.C. multicultural exchange programs in the following: ~Suistainable and Cultural Heritage Exchange ~ Kuemayaay Native Community Empowerment

The membership card stated that current members were authorized to "participate and obtain benefits" for cultural exchange programs. The wording implies the card can be used as a legal document to cross into the U.S. for cultural programs. There was a trinational border crossing program between Kumeyaay Nation, Mexico, and the U.S. but that program was discontinued. However, Bentacourt's card cannot be used as a legal document to enter the U.S.

After the initial cultural event, Bentacourt started travelling to San Antonio Necua, Nejí, and Santa Catarina to recruit more members and so began to scam community members by promising them her services if they joined her organization *Asociación Civil Intercambio sin Fronteras*. Bentacourt sold false hopes to Baja California peoples in accessing their traditional

lands in the US and services. In her recruitment process, she began to collect personal information from community members—names, telephone numbers, and other personal information. As Bentacourt was making her rounds, I received a call from *Maestra* Yolanda and she asked if Bentacourt's offering of a cultural visa, and another medical visa for her friend was legitimate. I immediately reached out to Kumeyaay representatives on border issues in the U.S. to verify the information. We found out that there were no services available similar to what Bentacourt was providing to be accurate or legitimate. Luckily, *Maestra* Yolanda did not fall for this scam, but others were not so fortunate from multiple communities. A lawsuit was filed by victims with the *System Estatal de Justicia Alternative Penal (SEJAP)*. Immediately after the lawsuit was filed, newspapers began to report on the swindle. One news article stated that one of the families paid up to $5,000 dollars and another family, in San José de la Zorra, paid Bentacourt $915 dollars.[120] When confronted by community members in a recorded conversation Bentacourt stated to the community member:

> *Eso les está dando muy mala imagen a todos ustedes, o sea, todo mundo sabe que la comunidad Kumiai son muy problemáticos; hay drogas, hay narcotráfico, como en Necua, en la Zorra y en Neji, todo mundo lo sabe, ¿sí me explico? Te voy a decir una cosa (David), yo no me beneficio ayudando a esta comunidad que está tan mal.*
>
> That is giving you a very bad image for everyone, like, the world knows that the Kumiai community are very problematic; there are drugs, there are narcotraffic, like in Necua, in the Zorra and in Nejí, everyone towns it, do I explain myself? I am going to tell you one thing (David), I do not benefit from helping that community that is in a very bad condition.

Bentacourt's feelings towards community members were clear that she saw community members as morally corrupt and thus her image as a white savior would not look "good" for her

120. Karla Lamas, "Asociación Intercambio Sin Fronteras Fraudeó a Indígenas Nativos," *Ensenada.Net*, October 10, 2017, https://www.ensenada.net/noticias/nota.php?id=50848.

or her organization "helping that community" as she put it. Bentacourt feelings and conceptions of the community is based on *gente de razón* ideologies that she is in fact the "savior" and how could she possibly benefit from providing services to a community that is plagued with "drugs" and "narcotraffic."

Community members waited months for their documents to be delivered and after months of false promises and long-winded explanations that assured community members, she was legitimate in some cases she even returned money only to come back and demand more money from community members.[121] In total communities from San Antonio Necua, Nejí, and Santa Catarina sued for a million pesos or equivalent of $ 35,000 dollars for damages. Up to date, Martha Bentacourt fled from Tijuana and possibly into the U.S. During the early investigation period, according to Kumiay members they had heard that other border Indigenous communities such as the Tohono O'odham Nation in Mexico had a run in with Bentacourt and they too were looking into her fraudulent services. Overall, people lost their life savings for documentation into their ancestral lands taken by settler. In addition to losing money, community members were worried that their private information was taken under false premises and could be used for land-theft.

Conclusion

In sum, some historians argue the level of federalization in Baja California Norte between 1840-1940 highlighting that Mexico went through a period of modernization under the Porfirio dictatorship (1876-1910) and up to the Cardenas (1934-1940) period where federalization was more central in the 1940s. What is important to note is that Baja California Norte experienced

121. "Estafan a Indígenas Que Buscan Ciudadanía," *Zeta Libre Como El Viento*, October 9, 2017, https://zetatijuana.com/2017/10/estafan-a-indigenas-que-buscan-ciudadania-en-eu/.

unique educational circumstances unlike other states or territories in Mexico. I look at the early period educational formation by the state to in Mexico and Baja California Norte to stress how *gente de razón* logics were cemented in the educational infrastructure to push *mestizaje, Mexicanization,* and capital wage laborers with the purpose to integrate Indigenous peoples into the national imaginary of Mexico nationalism and how these logics are present in today's schooling.

Early periods of Mexican schooling involved secularization, federalization, foreign influences (U.S. and Europe) on schooling, positivism, ethics, hygiene, vocational training for wage laborers for the "modern" Mexico all of these areas made up the Mexican citizenship. Mexican citizenship in schooling was created to unify the country and that meant eliminating campesinos and Indigenous peoples and birthing them into a *mestizo* wage laborer to catapult Mexico into an economic world power. Indigenous schooling during the early period intensively focused on *castellanización* of Indigenous peoples. In Baja California Norte, cultural misiones and Indigenous teachers were sent out to communities to convert local Indigenous peoples into a literate "modern" Mexican Spanish speaking laborer. Before COVID-19, Indigenous educational reforms by the state to fit Indigenous education as a multicultural plurality nation-state. One that "embraces" difference within the Mexican citizenship, but this is a recent phenomenon that continues to fall under *mestizaje* framework.

Meeting *Maestra* Yolanda on that summer day back in 2013, led us into creating the language camps that helped fight land theft from Mexican settlers and foreigners. TransMissionization policies from the mission period right into the Mexican morphed in various educational policies that were based on the *gente de razón* logics. In Baja California Norte TransMission policies adapted were unlike the capital and nearby regions. Due to the state's

proximity to the border, locals and Indigenous tribes were able to maintain more autonomy than other regions of Mexico. The revolution helped California Norte natives resist colonization by Mexicans. *Maestra* Yolanda's uncle, along with other leaders from neighboring tribes, fought the state to be recognized to further stop the land theft. Today, land-theft presents itself in various forms from predators promising documentation to increase tourism—encroaching closer to native communities. Defending the land is grounded in practicing and maintaining land-based epistemologies for survivance and protection from land theft.

CHAPTER 3

Las Abuelitas of the Acorn on Land-Based Pedagogies, Reflexivity, and Refusal

In the previous chapter, I covered the history of missions, the Indigenous Mexican education system, the Baja California process to statehood, Mexican settlers, and government attempt to remove of Kumiay and other local Baja California Norte Indigenous groups, and educational and governmental policies on multiculturalism. In this chapter, positionality and research will be unpacked, specifically how American and Mexican researchers work with Nejí grandmothers. I will reflect on my positionality as a researcher and the researchers who joined the summer camps throughout the years. I wonder what it means to work outside the community and how we conduct ethical research? Later in the chapter, I highlight moments of "modalities of knowing."[122] Finally, this chapter highlights the dreams and joys from creating a school based on Kumiay traditions and language.

Community engagement and language revitalization scholar Mary Hermes states in her article "Moving Toward the Language: Reflections on Teaching in an Indigenous-Immersion School" that she "rejects the notion of 'objectivity' in research and opt instead to reveal some of my positionality, or perspective really. . .[to] understand the lens through which I view this work."[123] Hermes positionality as an insider--someone who works within her community--also reflected on several aspects of her positionality which places her outside of her community as an

122. Claudia de Lima Costa, *Translocalities/Translocalidades: Feminist Politics of Translation in the Latin/a Américas*, ed. Sonia E. Alvarez et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 135.

123. Mary Hermes, "Moving Toward the Language: Reflections on Teaching in an Indigenous-Immersion School," *Journal of American Indian Education* 46, no. 3 (2007): 55, accessed March 8, 2016, www.jstor.org/stable/24398543.

adoptee and researcher. These "outside" positionalities Hermes reveal the intricacies of how multiple identities intersect and at times clash with each other. Her experience in working with community, she reveals how she navigates in and outside her community, as well as and the downfalls and successes she experienced while working on her language revitalization ten-year project. A takeaway from her research is how she rejects "objectivity," which is an important component of her work. As a Chicana feminist and as a person heavily invested in community work, I interrogate my positionality in relation to community and will highlight similar yet unique experiences I learned from the field.

For a long time, I could not describe my feelings and experiences when working in community. I finally came to terms with the uneasy feelings. Indigenous and transborder scholar Shannon Speed's work *Rights in Rebellion* (2008) inspired hope on how researchers, specifically Indigenous and people of color, considered their positionality and worked towards dismantling white supremacy based in settler-colonialism logic. Speed detailed conducting research outside of her community on a foreign country shaped how she navigated the terrains in which intersecting and interlocking forms of oppression operated while working towards solidarity relationships. My research and goal were to recognize differences and work towards dismantling power structures while building relationships. Speed's work on research reflexivity helped me with considering and understand my diverse intersections and representations. Research reflexivity attempts to consider account how our research and analysis are vital in addressing class, gender, and political and economic situations.[124] In reflecting, Speed argues, "reflexivity

124. Shannon Speed, *Rights in Rebellion: Indigenous Struggle and Human Rights in Chiapas* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 7.

implies a continual interrogation of the relations of power inherent in research relationships."[125] Research reflexivity attempts to take into account how our research and analysis is vital in addressing class, gender, and political and economic situations.[126] Research reflexivity attempts to consider account how our research and analysis is vital in addressing class, gender, and political and economic situations.[127] In reflecting, Speed argues, "reflexivity implies a continual interrogation of the relations of power inherent in research relationships."[128]

Research reflexivity helped me deconstruct and understand the moments I felt tensions, misunderstandings, and cohesiveness while out in the field. The uneasy feelings I felt at the bottom of my gut and the frequent examination of my role as a researcher, a woman of color, and an activist while in the field pushed me to continually reflect on how to navigate structural powers while staying true to myself. For example, how would I represent myself when crossing back into the U.S.? Sometimes I used my doctoral student status to push back in my interactions with Border Patrol and law enforcement. On many occasions when I crossed into México in my grey 2005 Dodge Durango, my car was packed to the roof with classroom materials for the *escuelita.* Mexican border officials often sent me to secondary revision to explain the materials in my car and whether they will be confiscated, or if I needed to pay a fine. At these moments, my voice changed to a higher soothing pitch, and I made myself small to play, and in Spanish, I would say "*No sabía que no podía pasar las cosas. Ándale, no sea malo y deje me pasar con las*

125. Speed, 7.

126. Speed, 7.

127. Speed, 7.

128. Speed, 7.

cositas para los niñitos porque ocupan sus materiales para ir a la escuelita" (I didn't know I couldn't pass these things. C'mon, don't be so mean and let us pass with the materials. The kids need their materials so they can go to school.) I used the diminutive in Spanish that is used in Mexico as endearing and informal as a form of *cariño* (affection). I also used the "I didn't know I couldn't do that" naiveness to the men. I then explain how I am teacher, and I am volunteering my time at a local school who are in dire need of materials. Because I know how teachers are well respected in Mexico, I attempt to appeal to the officials. Most often this worked, and they let me into the country with my materials without having to pay a fine or having my car confiscated. Other times, I used my gender and familial ties, such as saying I am vising my very sick grandfather who lives in a nearby town, when crossing into Mexico to deceive Mexican migratory agents so they will not look into my vehicle since I was crossing with materials and other goods.

In this chapter, reflect on how "community of peoples" chose to work together and fight together.[129] I will also cover how white researchers came into the community to work with *Las Abuelas* under what Indigenous Canadian education scholar Eve Tuck calls a damaged-centered agenda during the summer language camps. Tuck draws from bell hooks and Linda Tuhiwai Smith on how social scientists pathologizes Black, Indigenous, and People of Color through documentation. She defines damaged-centered research as "research that operates, even *benevolently* (emphasis added), from a theory of change that establishes harm or injury in order to achieve reparation."[130] The hyper-fixation of researchers have on our pain and/or loss in our

129. Speed, 9.

130. Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 413.

communities is as an indication that we are mainly damaged and need of "help" without taking into account the structural inequalities. Instead, researchers place the responsibility for their material conditions on the communities and individuals they are working with or on to "achieve reparation."[131] Tuck antidote for damage-centered research is desire-based research—one that "not only [document] the painful elements of social realities but also the wisdom and hope."[132] Reflection, interrogating researchers, and documenting joys will be covered in the following section.

Transborder Realizations: *"Aquí y haya hay Injusticias. Los Estados Unidos es Igual que México"*

My parents migrated to the United States in the 1980s. While growing up as a working-class Chicana in California, I had the opportunity and the privilege to learn and keep my language, even though Spanish is the colonizers language, and some Mexican traditions. *Maestra* Yolanda, reminded me of my family and related to *Maestra* Yolanda on a friendship level. My upbringing and lived experiences on both sides of the border—specifically living and attending a small school in the *rancho* (ranch) my parents were brought up. My maternal and paternal grandmothers were poor and worked hard to support their children. For example, my paternal grandmother started her own restaurant and my maternal grandmother sold traditional Mexican food on the street. Selling street food is a common gendered avenue for women to resort to when their partners, or lack thereof, do not make enough to support the household. Connecting with Mexican traditional foods and how we survive a patriarchal capitalist system were often conversations *Maestra* Yolanda and I had during our drive. My connection to *Maestra* Yolanda

131. Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 412-413.

132. Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 416.

stemmed from my desire to return "home" and "belong," as children of diaspora often feel about their connection to community. These feelings of belonging illuminated commonalities between *Maestra* Yolanda and myself. To be clear, my desires to return home are not to return to being Indigenous because I am not Indigenous but to return to the place my family is from. Although I will never be able to return home because the moment my parents crossed over the familial connections and relationship to place are now ruptured.[133]

In these spaces, our desire to return "home" and (re)connect to community opened up space for challenging patriarchy and settler-colonialism and its effects of elimination and erasures. Spaces that are typically gendered such as the kitchen nourished our relationship to each other in a safe space away from the male gaze. One such example, I was prepping food with *Maestra* Yolanda's daughters who are close to my age while cooking, prepping food, and making flour tortillas we discussed our love relationships and the type of labor that goes into running a household and child rearing. From these conversations we dabbed into critiques of Mexican schooling, and Mexican politicians and corruption. These were moments of insider knowledge, carnal knowledge, on how one navigates the educational pipeline created by settlers in the U.S. and Mexico.

When I was a teenager, my parents sent me to their hometown to reform my rebellious ways. My schooling experience in Mexico helped me understand firsthand the indoctrination of Mexican nationality and the military. I remember wearing a skirt uniform while standing for an

133. I also want to be clear about my positionality and my family's background and relationship to whiteness in Mexico. Due to the consequences of castas system in Jalisco from the coast are either colonizers or victims and/or both. This entangled family history takes years of research to understand. My feelings of returning home does not leave and continue to leave a space in my heart.

hour for the Mexican national anthem and presentation of the Mexican flag. Rain or shine we were out there every Monday. I thought it was unique and strange how we had to stand for an entire hour as the *escolta* (guard)—a spot reserved for the top students— marched around the quad area. Or when students could not believe I talked back to teachers--or what I called being inquisitive. One example, while in school I confronted a teacher to stop picking on one of the students. He did not like the fact that I told him to stop and was kicked out of class for "talking back." I think sometimes they even felt taken aback by my tenacity. These experiences helped me understand how Mexican schooling operated and how they treated students. I also understood the hardships the other students endured. My experience in Mexico reminded me that I am not "Mexican" but an outsider—a foreigner. The "outsider" position in the school allowed me leverage on how I navigated and challenged power in the school. The "outsider" and "foreign" position in the school, and frankly in the country, was a position *Maestra* Yolanda and I talked about during our time together while crossing into the U.S. Through our common experiences, we were able to talk about her experiences with schooling and how her position as an Indigenous woman was marked by Mexican settlers as "foreign" and "illegal" on her ancestral land. This is a topic I cover in Chapter Two.

Between November and December of 2015, *Maestra* Yolanda worked with worked with linguists in training to document Tipai language. This opportunity for *Maestra* Yolanda provided more time for us to spend together when I picked her up. I helped by transporting *Maestra* Yolanda from Juntas de Neji to San Diego about a four-hour drive. This opportunity allowed us to know each other more in two months. Although, I had worked with *Maestra* Yolanda over the years, this was the first one-on-one time I had with her and a lot of time in a small space—the car. This is the time we exchanged knowledges and where her transborder journey also begins.

During the 10 weeks, I travelled to Valle de Palmas or Tijuana to pick up *Maestra* Yolanda. She worked with two individual groups on language documentation from 9am-2pm. During the drive we talked about things we can do in the future, working with people to create her school, and private things--we spent the ride listening to the radio while we talked. One day, *Maestra* Yolanda and I were sitting at my dining room table chatting and going through our day. Out of curiosity, I asked her about Delfina Cuero's autobiography book and if she had known her or her story. Delfina Cuero was an elderly woman whose life story in living on the border was recorded by the anthropologist Florence Shipek. *Maestra* Yolanda responded that her late mother had known her, and that she knew there was a book about Delfina's story. I walked to my bookstand and pulled out a crimson hardcover book with a black and white picture of an elderly Indigenous woman sitting on a grey rock. I handed the book to *Maestra* Yolanda. Immediately she opened the book and was reminded of stories about Delfina and her family. She began to ask me questions about what the book said or what it was about. I clumsily proceeded to translate the English text into Spanish, specifically the last chapter.

In the last chapter, Shipek described Delfina's legal situation regarding her visa and her children. Delfina's son in his late 30s was taken to the hospital in San Diego because he needed a lifesaving operation. After the operation, the female nurse came into his room to routinely clean his wounds. Delfina's son thought the nurse was initiating sexual contact. The nurse screamed because she was sexually assaulted and to Delfina's son, he thought her action meant consensual and an invitation to sexual activity. As a result of his actions, the police were called in for sexual assault, and because he did not speak English he was placed in a psychiatric ward. I am translating his story as accurate as I can with my *pocha* Spanish. *Maestra* Yolanda helped fill in some of the words in Spanish I did not know; in some instances, we were both attempting to find

the word in Spanish because she knew it in Tipai and I knew it in English. Suffice it to say, we were in a liminal space of translations attempting to piece together the words. *Maestra* Yolanda's face shifted from curiosity to disgust as I translated the text. She was in disbelief of the injustices that had occurred to Delfina's son. When I concluded the translation, she had a moment of ah-ha moment and immediately turned to me and said, *"aquí y haya hay injusticias. Los Estado Unidos es igual que México."* (Here and there are injustices. The United Sates is the same in Mexico).

Maestra Yolanda's image of the U.S. drastically changed and was no longer thought of as the perfect and all resourceful U.S. she had believed and with every time we crossed into the U.S. that image of the U.S. deteriorated. The autobiography opened conversations about border relations, mistranslations, and navigating a settler world. In documenting her language in the U.S., it opened a door for *Maestra* Yolanda to (re)connect with her *parientes* (relatives). One day on her way to work with linguist she visited Campo to meet with *parientes* from her *shiimul* to her dismay her visit with *parientes* dispelled the common misconceptions people from outside of the U.S. have on the riches and higher quality of life one has access to. Reading Cuero's story and witnessing how her *parientes* were treated by the U.S. broke her heart. She realized that her living experience in Mexico and the living experiences of her *parientes* on this side of the border were not so different after all but very similar—the wall was just another settler dispossession method placed on her people. The creation of the physical border disseminated a false narrative of the U.S. that is opposite of México. On one hand, limited access into the U.S. meant unlimited access to resources while the opposite holds true to México. What held to be true on that day for *Maestra* Yolanda was the collapse of settler lies and the heartbreaks that come from witnessing the reality.

My positionality as "other" in the U.S. and Mexico allowed me to navigate spaces that are generally not allowed because of gender, class, and racial background. Due to this positionality, I am in a position of outsider—insider—outsider. I am an outsider because I am not Indigenous. I am insider because there are parallel experiences on both sides of the border that I have lived through and understand *Maestra* Yolanda's experiences with class solidarity, as well as my experience with Mexican schooling in a pueblo. And I am an outsider because of my association with the university. Questions I reflected on were: what does it mean to work outside of your community on the border? And how do we not perpetuate and contribute to the colonial gaze? These two questions I posed I grappled with daily while working with community in Nejí and Campo over the years. I would stay up late at night thinking about the ways to not contribute to the colonial gaze while doing my work.

Benevolent Researchers

How can I "remove" myself from the university? And how can I work on community work and not contribute to supporting state surveillance? I looked for answers in the Decolonial and Indigenous scholar Audra Simpson's work "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship." Simpson argues how "modalities of knowing" and ethnographic refusal as a form of sovereignty and anthropological critique. Simpson reflects on her critical autoethnographical work *Mohawk Interruptus* (2014) interrogates her position as an Indigenous researcher in the anthropology field as she crosses international borders. Simpson reflects on how "voice" is accounted for in ethnography and how sovereignty (autonomy) is found on different levels of interlocutorship. What does it mean to the researcher when a "subject" refuses to speak on a topic? What does it mean for a researcher to refuse to write about the particular topic? Simpson calls this "multiple sovereignties at work, all of which have worked to protect, to

limit, to entrench what was already in place."[134] In other words, Simpson calls attention to how subjectivities are constantly in flux and connected to multiple sovereignties or what she defines as "modalities of knowing," as well what we decide as researchers to publish and what to leave out. The way I interpret modalities of knowing is to understand the social cues of refusal, this may look like silences, filler words, "not knowing," and out right refusing to answer questions when interviewing community members. In the interviews I conducted with children and youth in Nejí and in Campo, most often they were hesitant to answer questions about their experiences in schools.

When I first worked with *Maestra* Yolanda's grandchildren it took me about three years to interview them about their schooling experiences. For one, I was uncomfortable interviewing children early on in my work. Secondly, I wanted us to have a rapport with each other before jumping into possibly reliving difficult moments. I also understood how shy one can be in front of a camera or being recorded in any manner. Once I sat down with the pre-teen youths to talk about their schooling experiences. I noticed a trend when asked if they received different treatment by teachers or students for being Indigenous. One youth smiled at me as they played with her hands and looked away. I realized she was unsure what to say or whether they should tell me—an adult—while I recorded them. I also thought that the refusal to speak of their schooling experiences might be not knowing who would access the information once it was recorded. At that very moment, I understood I needed to focus on the language camp and allow them to talk about what they felt comfortable when they felt comfortable to do so. In those moments, when the youth pushed back, it brought me back to how teachers in Mexico punished

134. Audra Simpson, "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship," *Junctures* 9 (2007): pp. 67-80, 74.

me by making fun of me; I was not Mexican in their eyes and they spoke to me in a condescending manner or sent me out of the class when I pushed back on a statement, they made that was incorrect and disrespectful. I remembered how teachers demanded absolute obedience and respect regardless of what was being taught and how it was being taught. The hesitancy or even shyness from the children and youth most likely came out of the fear of how that information will be used and how I might judge their schooling experiences. Another possible reason the children and youth refused to answer might from fear that I could stop the interview and dismiss their schooling experiences. All of these might be possibilities of *sovereignties* at work that I experienced while working with children and youth. Even though I often reflected on my positionality this was not necessarily the case for all researchers. Instead, some of these researchers who went to Nejí to "help" and instead reiterated "knowing."

Sometime in 2018, I was introduced to another graduate student by the name of Gemma[135] by *Maestra* Yolanda and community friends. Gemma was a non-traditional white woman graduate student attending a graduate program outside of San Diego, California. When I was introduced to Gemma, we already had five years working on the language revitalization program with two of the Nejí grandmothers. When we first started organizing for the revitalization language camp it was *Maestra* Yolanda, her older sister *Maestra* Emilia, community friend Cathie and her husband Lynn, and myself. At that time, we did not have funds for food or materials. We started with small donations between Cathie and I that went toward food and materials that would last us up to two days. Cathie's and my role were to facilitate and coordinate logistics such as picking up and dropping off children, buying food and materials, and

135. Pseudonym.

in my case video recording sessions. The grandmothers directed us on how they would run their workshops. *Maestra* Yolanda's goal was to work with her children and grandchildren to teach them Kumiai traditions, culture, and language while simultaneously teaching her children and grandchildren how to navigate and integrate settler knowledge for their survivance. Up to this point, *Maestra* Yolanda and *Maestra* Emilia planned (oldest sister) out days on what they felt was necessary and checked-in with the children and youth depending on their energy levels.

By the time Gemma was introduced to the community, she had been working in special education and worked on language revitalization with Nahua speaking peoples in California. Her experience made her a strong candidate to support the language summer camps. However, what happened during the summer of 2018 would be a mix of miscommunication and power struggles associated with the anthropological gaze. Gemma was kind and motivated to assist in any way she could with the summer program. Unlike other researchers who do not stay long to build relationships, she was unique and stayed for two years. What was odd about her situation was that her current research was not in Baja California, Mexico but in California and in a different community. However, her enthusiasm and motivation afforded us to add more days to the language summer camp and teach more people. By this point, the language camp had grown from one family, including children and youth and adults from ages 2-28 years old, to more than fifteen children and grandchildren from the other grandmothers. The language camp also grew in people who led workshops inside and outside the community. After five years of providing the summer camp, the summer of 2018 was the first year we had a schedule for the entire week and had to delegate responsibilities for the volunteers.

In the mornings, breakfast was served between 8 am to 9 am. After breakfast we cleaned the tables that were going to be used by the children and youth for the language workshop.

Language class started immediately and ended a little before lunch. Because of the heat (temperatures can get as high as 100 degrees during the middle of the day and the middle of July), we ended early. After lunch, we took a break. Sometime around 4 pm, we led a walk with the children and youth. The sunset walks were captivating, because as we walked down the dirt road *Maestra* Yolanda would point out to medical plants and tell stories. In the evening, after dinner, we gathered around the bonfire the older sons prepared for us. We drank coffee and it was another moment the grandmothers talked to each other about their childhood and origin of Kumiai words.

When I first started, we started small, outside by a side of the house wall. This house was the primary house where we cooked and served food and over the years it grew. In 2016, a second language camp was built by Yolanda's family. A patio deck was constructed that protected the children and youth from the sun. In 2017, with grant money I obtained, we bought a chalkboard and placed it on the wall facing west. Slowly, *Maestra* Yolanda's vision of constructing a school was coming to fruition with every year. When Gemma's involvement began in the language revitalization summer program, the summer camp had grown exponentially. The program went from *Maestra* Yolanda's youngest child and eight grandchildren attending to up to twenty participants from neighboring families.

In 2018, the language camp grew in volunteers and participants, nothing that we have seen before we had up to twenty children and youth and more than ten adults. On one hand, the anticipation, enthusiasm, and popularity from community and volunteers for the language camp was a testament of community organizing. On the other hand, as Cathie, an American longtime friend of *Maestra* Yolanda, would say, "there are too many cooks in the kitchen." When there

are too many people involved in a project who have a variety of visions, these disparate visions could spoil the project making the experience awful.

After a coordinating meeting with community, we scheduled the language camp for two weeks between July 9 to 20, 2018. These two weeks would prove to be the most overambitious summer program we planned. *Maestra* Yolanda envisioned teaching her children and youth Tipai with a mix between traditional land-based pedagogies such as basket weaving, making traditional foods, and identifying medical plants in *el rancho* (the ranch). She also imagined preparing her children and youth for the school year by having them tutored by volunteers in math, writing, and reading. Gemma's background in early children education and experience in working with diverse backgrounds made her a strong candidate to run these workshops during the language camp.

Unfortunately, that summer the language became a series of "knowing" from the researchers. Gemma's portion of grant monies was invested in materials for the language camp and in a Mexican, non-Indigenous, primary educator from Mexico City. This person was hired to teach math, writing, and reading, something we understood Gemma would be doing. In addition to bringing up a non-indigenous educator to work at the camp, Gemma began to direct and changed the language camp to follow a more restricted schedule. Even though Gemma was present and worked hard in being part of the language summer camp, her positionality as a white researcher and her education in special education overpowered how the language camp had been run for five years. We realized at the end of camp that Gemma took up too much space and time.

As I recorded workshops and participated in cleaning, assisted in cooking, and provided any type of labor I could for the camp, I noticed tensions between Gemma and the *Maestra* Yolanda's older children (ages 20 to 30 years) and elders. Later I found out that *Maestra*

Yolanda's older children were concerned about a non-Indigenous instructor teaching the children and getting paid for it. They were also concerned over Gemma's role shifting from volunteer into a leadership position, specifically in the areas of decision making on how to run the program became a point of discussion and discord. As tensions brewed between *Maestra* Yolanda's older children and some of the grandmothers, Gemma should have been sensitive to the community's and elders' cues and pulled back to listen to the community's their needs. Gemma continued to manage the summer language camp to reflect a more colonial type of schooling—one with a rigid schedule with less Tipai and more Spanish. My experience with schedules is that each community is unique on how they run summer programs. For example, in Nejí schedules were loose and relied on how the children felt after each workshop—as well as the grandmothers. In Campo, schedules were stricter and stuck to the assigned times—although there was room for flexibility. In the past, we kept a tentative time when language workshops were instructed. This was important for the following reasons: 1) we had a small group of children and youth attend the workshops; and 2) the grandmothers did not want to overwhelm their grandchildren with too much "schoolwork." They recognized it was their vacation and needed breaks during the day. They wanted to keep the grandchildren engaged with a mix of school material and Tipai. The rigidity of the schedule of that summer felt foreign and kept the children and youth busy. Additionally, we tried a new method where we had up to three or four pods running where the kids chose what pod to join before the workshop started. As a result, exhaustion set in with the on-time rotations and with a mix of dry excessive heat—everyone felt thirsty, tired, and irritable. Unlike other years, this year tensions were high.

The educator from Mexico City kept the younger children motivated and engaged during moments of instructional fatigue. He encouraged participants to explain what they just learned or

had them run around for five minutes to get them focused again. However, he spoke mainly in Spanish. This meant the students heard and learned with Spanish compared to Tipai. *Maestra* Yolanda's older children were concerned that participants were not receiving enough Tipai workshops and not practicing Tipai. Another concern was that the Mexican educator incorporated non-schooling practices such as student comportment and "discipline." Although well intentioned, he made lotería (lottery cards) for the children with Mexican symbols instead of incorporating local symbols from Baja California Norte, Mexico. He later fixed the cards—but there was a learning curve for the instructor in attempting to understand the local context.

The experience with Gemma during that summer was difficult. She brought in funds we needed for the summer camp and connected *Maestra* Yolanda with resources. The family and community members expressed their concern about outside researchers moved from a supporting role into a managing role. This took away from what the community needed and wanted. Conflicts over how materials were to be used and managed was another concern. Debates occurred between the community and outsiders about how the school materials should be taken care of and stored properly so they could be used for the next language class and summer camp.

Again, I understood why researchers discussed how materials should be used after they were gone is a way to be frugal and ensure there is enough material in case funding does not come through for the next year. This would be the case if this was a state-funded school; however, under this circumstance materials once transferred to *Maestra* Yolanda and her sisters they were to be used however they wished. Gemma's kept reminding *Maestra* Yolanda and inventorying materials before leaving the language camp is patronizing. It assumes that community instructors are not aware of their community needs and are imprudent on how resources are distributed during and after the language camp. When I refer to surveillance, I am

also including how researchers operate within the colonial gaze and mark space of "knowing" that emerges from anthropological methods which are still used today.[136] These are the examples that came to mind while reflecting on my positionality and observing other researchers positions within the community.

These were a few examples where well-meaning educators and researchers who came into the summer program replicated colonial schooling practices. Decolonial and Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, critically challenged the "goodwill" and "well meaning" of researchers by pointing out that "goodwill" actions are damaging to Indigenous peoples by continuing to colonize. The "goodwill" of researchers who worked with the grandmothers created a monetary benefit while consciously or subconsciously applying "vanishing" and other damaging stereotypes on to the children. Standing Rock Sioux scholar and activist, Vine Deloria Jr.—instrumental in collaborating with the Red Power Movement in the 1960s—heavily critiqued anthropologists in his witty, tongue in cheek book, *Custer Died for Your Sins*. He observed how research conducted on Indigenous peoples by anthropologists place Indigenous peoples as a "vanishing" people and categorized their knowledge(s) on the land, their history, and way of life as data to be collected for "science." In his chapter "Anthropologists and Other Friends," he writes back in the same manner anthropologists write about Native peoples; as "vanishing," "barbaric," and "uncivilized" -- overall dehumanizing ways of describing Indigenous peoples.[137]

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136. A. Simpson, "On Ethnographic Refusal," 69.

137. In *Ishi in Two Worlds* (1961) by Theodora Kroeber, an anthropologist, documented Ishi's life into "modernity." Ishi was an Indigenous man, known as the "last Native" of his tribe. The only one who held knowledge of his peoples and histories. The "vanishing" Indian was a common trope among anthropologists of that time. Many believed they would vanish into white society leaving behind their customs, language, and knowledges; thus, anthropologists must recover and record everything before Native Americans "disappear." In the opening of the 50th

Deloria flips the script and critiques how research is conducted on Native peoples as an Indian ethnographer writing field notes about white anthropologists. In his field notes he describes the anthropologist as:

> readily identified on the reservations. Go into any crowd of people. Pick out a tall gaunt white man wearing Bermuda shorts, a World War II Army Force flying jacket, an Australian bush hat, [white] tennis shoes, and packing a large knapsack incorrectly strapped on his back.[138]

Deloria's humorous way of describing white anthropologists illustrates how dehumanizing and ludicrous anthropological "science" depicted Indigenous peoples. But most importantly, Deloria Jr. and Tuhiwai Smith interrogates "well-meaning" intentions from researchers and how research does not benefit the people studied. They expose how insidious white researchers and do-gooders harm Indigenous communities.

When I think of the colonial gaze, I think about colonial surveillance, and how this is connected to discipline.[139] In this case, Gemma's role as researcher and expert in her field placed her in as an authority on the subject. Her role of taking over the language camp to emulate colonial schooling replicated harmful tactics used in the summer camp. Indigenous researchers and scholars, from Vine Deloria Jr. to Devon Mihesuah, have critiqued this type of research on Native American communities. This provides a lens for me to focus on how Gemma's role

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anniversary the book opens with a quote from Theodora Krober: "It is nearly a half century since Ishi started the Modern World by accidentally wandering into it from the Stone Age. . .this history of Ishi and his people is, inexorably, part of our own history. We have absorbed their lands into our holdings. Just so me must be the responsible custodians of their tragedy, absorbing it into our tradition and morality." August 1960.

138. Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins* (Norman and London, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 79.

139. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

shifted in the language camps from support to delegating, and how this affected the community. I want to note that integrating and teaching Tipai language participants math, reading, and writing at their grade level was necessary for children and youth to gain extra schooling in subjects they struggled with in the school year. The concern was using damaging methods of teaching that require discipline and replication of colonial schooling without land-based learning context.

For example, in one of the workshops, participants were tutored in reading and writing. In some instances, the instructor had more than five participants ranging in ages between 3-10 years old. The workshop was led inside one of *Maestra* Yolanda's older children's houses. Inside the house in the living room, classroom materials from crayons, construction paper, and writing materials were available. During the session, participants often were distracted by other participants engaged in land-based teachings. At times they were interrupted by other participants making it difficult for Gemma to run the session. She was teaching participants reading comprehension. A combination of the summer heat, children playing, and interruptions frustrated the instructor. When this occurred, traditional methods of classroom management were employed this meant pressuring the students to stay still and work on their tasks. I understand how frustrating it is to try to meet learning objectives in a classroom and the importance of keeping classroom interruptions to a minimum. The difference is the children and youth were outside a four-wall classroom and were in their home—where a lateral power dynamic exists.

Early on, I learned the children and youth let instructors know when they needed to move on or when they were bored with the topic. Their behavior is often read by instructors who are not used to student centered learning crashed when attempting to apply disciplinary methods learned in a classroom setting. This meant outside instructors had to quickly learn how to engage with the participants of all ages to ensure they were learning within the context and environment

they were in—not many succeed and as a result we did not see them return the following year. Or they would complain about the children's behavior to other adults—just an earshot away from the children themselves. This created a tension between the facilitators and community members. Although community members did not openly express how they felt I picked up on their body language and their face expressions.

Not all outside facilitators were unprepared for these challenges, dynamic facilitators did join us. When these dynamic facilitators led a workshop, they held the children's attention—and adults. They had specific attributes. For instance, dynamic facilitators used their surroundings and land were more successful in holding the attention of the children and youth longer than someone who did not integrate their surrounding environment. Storytelling was another form dynamic facilitators engaged with children and youth. These facilitators—as I cover in depth in Chapter Four—are educators who understand their role within the community and adapt quickly to their surroundings

Dreaming in Tipai*: La Bellota* Summer Language Camps

We do dream and create.

---Dian Million, *Intense Dreaming: Theories, Narratives, and Our Search for Home*, 2011

Poet and Indigenous scholar Million's words pulled me to unchain the social constructions of Western epistemological borders by opening, creating, and dreaming of possibilities into material realities. They call for intense dreaming as a theoretical framework that incorporates imagining a decolonial world while calling attention to creating and (re)creating Indigenous possibilities without settler-colonialism. As I sit reading and re-reading her piece on intense dreaming, I think back to the beginning of this chapter and the bright colors of the *papel picado*, the *bellota* earrings, and our dreaming of opening an alterNative school. The beginning

of this story centered in working on Tipai language revitalization summer camps. In this next section, I will go deeper on how *Maestra* Yolanda and her sisters worked in language revitalization summer camps. I will further jump into how *Maestra* Yolanda held a semiotic relationship with her language students outside of her community to help with her teaching and promotion of Tipai language to resuscitate the language to keep on dreaming.

When I met with *Maestra* Yolanda to discuss working together back in 2013. She expressed to me she had a dream of creating a school in her community that centered on the Kumiai language, traditions, and schooling. At this point, I was working with the Campo Education Center in the U.S. One of my first meetings was with *Maestra* Yolanda, Cathie, and Lynn. They took me up to *Rancho Meskuish*—her home named after her *shiimul.* We talked about collaborating. *Maestra* Yolanda mentioned she wanted to start a small weekend class with her children and grandchildren to teach Tipai.

She showed me a *lotería* card in Tipai created and funded by National Institute of Indigenous Peoples (INI). She told me she wanted to replicate materials used in Mexican schooling for teaching language into Tipai. These would be used during the language weekend camps. In addition to materials, we would need monies for food and other schooling materials. At this conjecture, I had not received any funding for field work. For our first language camp scheduled during spring break, I was able to donate $100 U.S. dollars to the language camp. Cathie and her husband, Lynn donated another $100 dollars. With our $200 dollars, we bought food for the students. In March of 2014 during spring break, we began our first two-day language camp. There were eight grandchildren children and one of Yolanda's children between the ages of 2 and 12. The workshops started after breakfast.

Figure 4 INI Lottery Cards

Maestra Yolanda was the only native speaker and ran the workshops for the children. We were able to buy some materials for the children to use for the workshops such as white paper, crayons, pencils, and construction paper. *Maestra* Yolanda began class with full immersion by speaking Tipai to the children. At first, the children were hesitant and frustrated because they were used to speaking Spanish and asked for help in Spanish. The first day of language camp *Maestra* Yolanda focused on introductions such as "my name is" and colors in Tipai. We concluded our first language camp with a trip to another grandmother's home and held a picnic. The children played in the natural spring while we ate under the oak tree that provided shade from the midday heat.

The following year of 2015, I was accepted into the doctoral program at University of California, San Diego and received a four-year research grant. The grant helped fund materials, gas, food, stipends, and recording devices for the language camp. Slowly, *Maestra* Yolanda's dream of creating a school was coming together, but not how she had imagined with proper support from the Mexican government. I remembered Million's words on dreaming and our "effort to make sense of relations in the worlds we live, dreaming and empathizing intensely our

relations with past and present and the future without the boundaries of linear time."[140] Every time I met with *Maestra* Yolanda, we talked about the ways the summer camp could expand and what the children would learn and unlearn from the schools they were attending.

Over the years, the children and their parents voiced their concerns about the ongoing racism and anti-Indigenous sentiments administrators, teachers, and students had for the local Indigenous peoples. Once students, teachers, and/or administrators discovered they had Indigenous students in their schools, racial slurs were often used to humiliate and demean the children. Early on in 2013, many of the children expressed they did not tell their friends or anyone in school that they were Kumiai because they were did not want to go through the violence they would have to experience. So, to protect themselves from racism they kept their identity secret. The children who were open about their identity were othered by the other students. For example, one child was expelled for an academic school year for fighting. During Physical Education (P.E.), they said a young boy made fun of Kumiay because they were poor and called them *"pinche India pata rajada"* (fucking cut-foot or callous foot Indian). The Indigenous child approached the boy who made the vile comment with "*¿qué dijiste?*" (What did you say?). On this morning the young person was not having a good day and decided to respond to their vitriol with fisticuffs. The student, who incited the incident, would no longer be making racists statements because they were left with a permanent scar on their face. Defending oneself in these situations are necessary and it comes in various forms. Sometimes letting the teacher know. Other times letting your parents know. Or in this case taking issues into their hands (pun intended) to defend themselves from the years of racial aggressions.

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140. Dian Million, "Intense Dreaming: Theories, Narratives, and Our Search for Home," *American Indian Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (2011): p. 313-333,315.

In the following years, we were able to expand the language camp from two days to five days three times a year: spring break, summer break, and sometimes winter break. We continued to dream. During these language camps, the children began to look forward to the camps and slowly were immersed in learning Tipai, but most importantly learning more about themselves and their identity. *Maestra* Yolanda's vision of creating a school began to take form with the grant money. First, we bought a chalk board and hammered it outside of the house wall where there was once no metal terrace. Under the metal terrace the children started their day in the language camp. The first workshops began[141] with introductions in Tipai and then transitioned into teaching colors, animals, and numbers.

Figure 5 One of the winter language camps. Child, 9, learning Tipay words in 2017.

The image was taken during one of the winter language camps organized in December of 2017. On this chilly day with gloves and jackets on—the children were excited to see us and work on Tipai during their winter break. The children sat around the kitchen table to work to identify their surroundings. The image to the right one is of *Maestra* Yolanda and with the help of Cathie drawing and using Tipai phonetically spelled words in Spanish. Due to the fact that Tipai and Ipai language is not a written language, and each community has unique words and

141. Child, Age 9, drawing, Juntas de Nejí, Dec. 2017.

spellings—everyone phonetically spells each word how they think is pronounced. Thus, each word is unique to each person on how they spell each word.

When the weather was more agreeable, after the morning session and lunch, we took walks around the ranch with the grandmothers. These were the moments where storytelling and land-based pedagogies began. Oral literature is a rich form of cultural capital and tradition in teaching children and youth moral stories, cultural expectations, and critical deductions from the stories.[142] Oral literature ranged from storytelling to singing bird songs. These encompassed all forms of embodiment from the physical to the essence of the transference of the words, the singing, and the music from the teacher to the student. Land pedagogy connects the land as the site of knowledge and community. Simpson defines it is as the:

> context and process. The process of coming to know is a learner-led and profoundly spiritual in nature. Coming to know is the pursuit of whole body intelligence practiced in the context of freedom, and when realized collectively it generates generations of loving, creative, innovative. . .community minded individuals.[143]

Although Simpson refers to her specific Nishnaabeg community, Tipai land-based pedagogies in learning from the land centering "body intelligence" in relation to spirit and nature was ever present in the language camps through oral literatures. I remember on various occasions the women—mothers and grandmothers— slowly walking towards the main road during our afternoon hikes. The children ran around us playing in the grassy area. We talked about cooking. Then, *Maestra* Yolanda pointed at the plants around us she told stories on how to use each plant for healing purposes. On one occasion, we were walking to the spring water and *Maestra*

142. Margaret Field, "American Indian Oral Literature, Cultural Identity and Language Revitalisation: Some Considerations for Researchers," *Oral Literature in the Digital Age: Archiving Orality and Connecting with Communities*, 2013, 91.

143. B. Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy," 7.

Yolanda pointed to a grey-green plant and walked towards it. I followed her. She extended her hand to caress the plant leaves with her forefinger and thumb and then looked at me she said,*"¿Sabes cómo se llama esta planta*? "Do you know the name of this plant?" I stopped and gave her a befuddled look and I said, "*eeeeehhhh* . . . "Ummmm . . ." She said, "*Es salvia." "Ooooo si sé que es,"* "Ohh, I know what that is," I responded. "I just not seen it in its original form." She said, "*Es salvia blanca y crece natural en el monte"* "It is white sage, and it grows naturally on the hills." She plucked a leaf from the plant and handed it to me to feel and smell. She told me how they harvest the leaves to sell and use for ceremonial purposes. She explained that plucking all the leaves from the sage was unhealthy for the plant because the plant needs some leaves to grow for the next year. The goal is to nourish and sustain the plant for its lifespan and not exploit it. One only takes what one needs, she said. Most recently, there is an encroachment by illegal harvesting of white sage in Nejí. Artisanal beer producers in the area are using tribal names to sell beer and are coming into the community illegally to harvest white sage that is added into their beers. As a result, the sacred medicinal plant leaves are completely plucked leaving the plant to die. Per conversations over the years with various community and non-community members (mainly allies) are in the process lobbying Baja California Norte legislature to introducing the Savila Act to start the protect the sacred plant from being illegally extracted and in danger of being extinct from the land.

We continued to walk, and she began to point out plants and quiz the children to name the plant. The children pointed to plants and asked their grandmother what the name of the plant was and what it was used for. On some occasions, the children told me they remember how grandma, or their mom used plants from their backyard to help heal them from a scrape or a cough. In one instance, one of the girls spoke about how kids in her classroom did not know

about plants. She said her teacher was covering native plants from Baja California Norte. With pride, the girl was able to answer and helped the teacher to identify plants. She spoke about their healing properties. We found some boulders to sit on under the oak tree shade. During these moments, *Maestra* Yolanda began to tell us stories about the land, plants, and animals. The children sat around their grandmother to listen to her speak about plants or stories in Tipai and Spanish such as the Quail and Coyote. Storytelling continued well into the afternoon before dinner. After dinner, we continued the language camp close to the bonfire the men set up for us and storytelling continued well into the night under the stars.

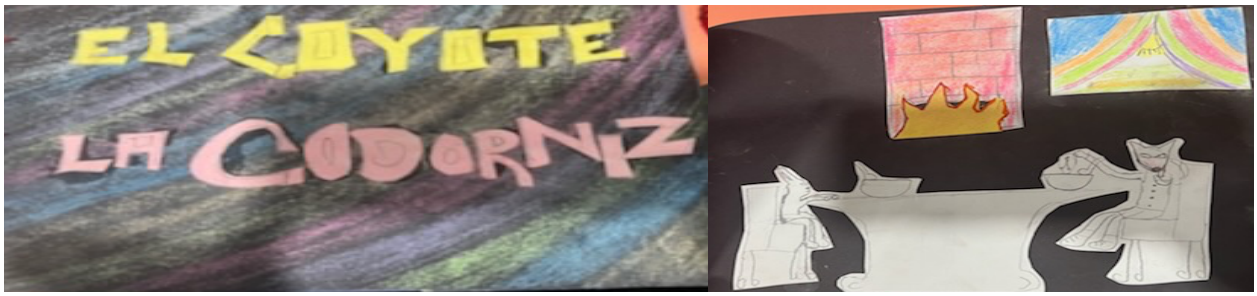

Figure 6 Image of the booklet drawn by the children during the 2018 summer camp based on the Coyote and La Codorniz story

The land and ancestral knowledge, including oral literatures, were mixed in with learning methods use in public schools. The Quail and Coyote story resonated with the children. They frequently asked their grandmother to retell the story throughout the language camp. To teach the children and youth the story, one of the facilitators from Mexico, alongside *Maestra* Yolanda, led a workshop with the children in recreating the story into a booklet. Each child was tasked with a part of the story to draw, cut-out construction paper, and compile it together. At the end of the project, each child was responsible for telling his or her part of the story.

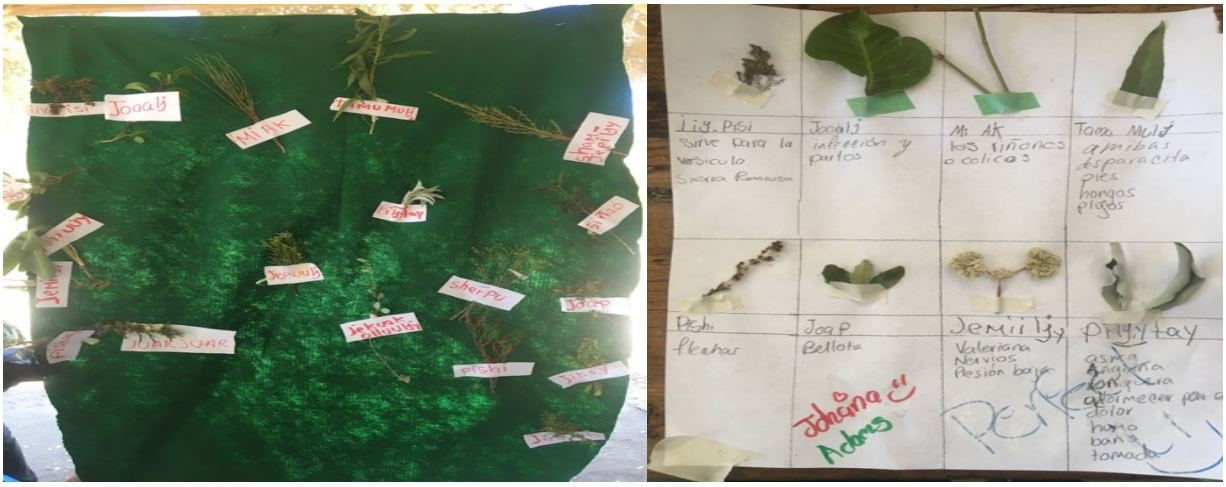

Figure 7 Language Camp 2019. Children identified medicinal plants on the ranch. Each plant is written in their Tipai words and in Spanish

In another example, the land was used as a teaching tool. *Maestra* Emilia, *Maestra* Yolanda's older sister, along with the children, picked plants in the rancho. Each plant was taped onto green felt material along with its Tipai name. *Maestra* Emilia pointed at each plant using the Tipai name, and then the children repeated the names of the plant. After the plants were named, she went through and taught the children what each plant curative role it possessed and how to use it. The children jumped for joy when they recognized a commonly used plant in their homes. At the end of the presentation, the children were tasked with finding as many plants as possible in *el rancho* and naming them.

Other land-based pedagogies included workshops on basket making. In 2019, which was our last summer camp before the pandemic of 2020 hit, *Maestra* Yolanda's older children and *Maestra* Emilia's older grandchildren took leadership and began to led workshops. One workshop, led by *Maestra* Yolanda's older son, taught the younger children basket making. In the workshop her son and other men from the community taught the boys how to make baskets. This was one of the first I saw men from the community join us in the language camps. A shift occurred in their parents—and they became more involved along with their *las abuelas* and their

children. Other subjects covered by family members included movement and migrations which were based on seasons. This dictated methods for collecting, processing, and storing basket making materials.

In the past, plants were used for everyday purposes from making clothing, furniture, tools, ceremonial, trade, and magic—and they continue to be used today.[144] The language camp workshops taught how plants are incorporated into Kumeyaay life and culture. In the basket making workshop, children were taught how to make *chiquin*—willow tree basket used for storing acorns and other seeds. In this workshop children were separated into three groups and learned from *Maestra* Yolanda, *Maestra* Emilia, or *Maestra* Yolanda's oldest son.

The use of the body, specifically the hands, was important aspects of learning in the camp—another form of land-based pedagogies. For instance, in the clay making workshop led by an archaeologist, who is also one of *Maestra* Yolanda's long-time students from Tijuana, made the clay from the ranch. In the workshop, the children and parents were working the clay and both grandmothers began to teach the children on the importance of *olla* making and stories associated with making *ollas*. In another workshop, girls learned how to sew their Bird Dancing regalia. We did not have a sewing machine, so we resorted to using a needle and thread. Each girl picked out her favorite color cloth from red to pastel pink and purple colors with turquoise, hot pink, and white small flowers and lime green and hot pink ribbons. Each grandmother walked around and then sat with the girls to teach them how to cut out their outline, how to use the needle to thread every hand stich, and how to hem the dress. These were moments of

144. Michael Wilken-Robertson, *Kumeyaay Ethnobotany: Shared Heritage of The Californias* (San Diego, CA: Sunbelt Publications, Inc., 2018), 45.

tradition intersecting with contemporary. Each young girl added her flare to represent their personality in their clothing.

After the third year in 2017, we realized the children and youth needed an outing outside of the rancho. That year after the language camp during the spring break or *semana santa* (Catholic Holy Week), we traveled to the holy site of El Álamo. The road to El Álamo was rugged. At times I felt fearful my vehicle would not make it. Fortunately, we did and arrived mid-day. Once we descended into the canyon a clear view unveiled a panoramic view of El Álamo. The view reminded me of a picturesque image of a Western film panning from the left to right of a prairie flatland. The view of sporadic shadows on the grassland and of white as linen fluffy clouds moving west with the wind was a breathtaking moment. We drove down to the prairie. Once out of the cars, the blowing wind cooled our skin from the summer heat. The prairie land was surrounded by ancient granite rocks in a semi-circle. We realized these were once subsumed in water thousands of years ago but now created the boundary that demarcate the end of the flatland and the start of the holy mountain. After we set up camp and started the fire, we began cooking to feed everyone as the children ran around and played in the grass. Cut off from the world with no access to the internet or phones, we began prepping food and materials for the evening and the next day language camp. *Maestra* Yolanda organized a series of storytelling and workshops such as rock painting, storytelling, and ethnobotany.

Figure 8 2017 Summer Camp, location El Alamo, children chalking on rocks traditional Kumiay symbols while listening to stories by Maestra Yolanda

As previously mentioned, El Álamo is one of the 71 sites, 49 of natural ten *parajes*, 19 big granite rocks, 11 hills, and nine springs looked over and maintained by Kumiai in Baja.[145] Each site has a unique meaning and healing properties. El Álamo is no different. During one of the workshops, *Maestra* Yolanda invited us to sit next to her on one of three rocks that is said to outline a young woman's body. The children and youth made a semi-circle with the *Maestra* Yolanda's adult children and friends sitting next to them told us we sat on sacred rocks known for their healing properties and fertility. She explained that a long time ago young women with infertility and pregnant women were brought to this spot to help them heal and have a successful pregnancy by birthing a healthy baby.[146] The children heard of the story understood these rocks were important to reproduction and fertility. In another workshop, the children used chalk to draw on granite rocks as a representation of ancestral rock art in a cave found in Peña Blanca Mountain and La Rumorosa.

145. Everardo Garduño, "Cartografía Simbólica Sobre El Territorio Tradicional De Los Kumiai," *Desacatos. Revista De Ciencias Sociales*, no. 55 (2016): pp. 90-109, 92

146. Garduño, " Cartografía Simbólica Sobre El Territorio Tradicional De Los Kumiai," 92.

For this language camp in 2017, I bought two GoPros with head bands. The purpose was for the children and youth to record what they were seeing. After reviewing the material, the children enjoyed recording what they were learning and at times decided to interview us by flipping the script and asking us, mainly me, questions about being out in the Alamo and how I felt. Older children were able to record some of their experiences and these experiences will be used in a documentary per *Maestra* Yolanda's request. We concluded the language camp with an Easter hunt on Sunday morning.

On July 17, 2021, the grandmothers decided to host a language camp after many losses in the community from Covid-19. The first language camp back from the quarantine was the first language camp northern relatives visited Rancho Mesquish from the Cocopah Nation, Kumeyaay Nation, and Choctaw Nation. Bird singers are a Yuman tradition in the Southwest and in Baja California Norte. On this summer camp something special occurred Maestra Yolanda along with a Bird singer from the Cocopah Nation sang together in union. He told stories from his community in English it was then translated into Spanish for the children and adults to understand. He spoke about how Bird Singing connected their peoples and went into the cycles of bird songs and meanings and which songs are still present today. He further talked about the sacred peak of Kuuchamaa is also part of Cocopah traditions and in their songs. Later *Maestra* Yolanda and the bird singer sang together while the children and adults danced.

Later that evening, two Kumeyaay relatives, also Bird Singers, joined the summer camp and taught the children how to play Peon—a traditional Kumeyaay game that encompasses singing on ones knees in front of a fire all night until a team wins all of the coyote bones. This game is well practiced in the US during Pow Wow season in the summers. However, in Baja California Norte peon was last played by elders—mainly of late Delfina Cuero's age. Before this

summer night, two years prior after one of the summer camps, the oldest grandmother accompanied me to Campo's annual Star Gathering. At the Star Gathering, she danced and reconnected with relatives. In the evening she was not prepared for what she was about to see—people playing Peon. At dusk, people joined their teams—the children were already preparing for the all-night game guzzling down candies and any type of sugar that will give them the stamina to stay up to win the grand prize for their age group. The grandmother's eyes glistened with joy, and she walked towards the elder men's group. When the men began to sing—she started singing under her breath. Later she told me she was a child last time she saw her elders play Peon. We did not stay the night to watch the multiple games played across the dirt baseball field, but we did leave with glee that evening. The Kumeyaay relatives began their Peon teachings at dusk after scavenging for wood and preparing the fire that lit the dark summer night.

The relative put on his cowboy hat and got into character—his alter ego and started telling the origin story of peon in English alongside a translator. He spoke about how it took strength, both mental and physical, to stay kneeled all night. He talked about how kneeling is used as corporal punishment and that many cannot stay kneeled for hours—but for his people kneeling while playing peon is an act of valor, endurance, and patience. I could see in the children, along the parents and grandparents faces, that they were not prepared for the evening and were full of eagerness and just pure joy to start the game. Another bird singer brought out the blankets, the coyote bones, and the sticks (used to keep track of points). On that night, the children alongside their parents, learned how to play Peon. Their vocal cords cleared, and their lips enunciated the songs. At first each team sag shyly as their tongues began to make the sounds of their *antepasados* (ancestors). The game ended at around midnight. The winning team won a little pouch of money. In the north, the pouch of money is more like a huge pot, but for their first

experience the community (children, parents, and grandparents) got a taste of what it is to play peon and the connections one makes with each other, specifically team members that one must trust they make the right decisions for the team to win.

Figure 9 Image taken by Cynthia Vázquez in 2021 children looking for palitos to play Peon

The following day, the Bird Singers taught the children how to pick their peon sticks from the land. They behind the *escuelita* (schoolhouse) and identified the plant from where they can pick from and begin the process of making their peon sticks also known as *palitos*. The children and youth ran around trying to identify which plant called their name and began with the process of picking their *palitos*. They had to be careful because some of the sticks were not straight enough or others were still green and not ready. Once they picked their stick peon sticks, they walked to the *escuelita* and began preparing their peon sticks. Clearing all the leaves on a rock assuring it was as smooth as possible. Once they finished, the Bird Singers closed the workshop with Bird songs and extended their gratitude for being invited to the language camp. Before the closing ceremony, *Maestra* Yolanda and one of the Bird Singer's reconnected with each other on how to continue the relationship that was once present with their relatives. These

were moments of transborder reconnections based in exchanging knowledges to keep dreaming in Tipai.

Conclusion

"Aquí y haya hay Injusticias. Los Estados Unidos es Igual que México" (here and in the U.S. there are injustices), I opened with *Maestra* Yolanda's quote on how she was shocked from her experiences that the U.S., along with Mexico, were responsible for the conditions under which her ***parientes*** (relatives) were living. Due to her crossing into the U.S. to conduct cultural and language preservation meetings with linguists helped her demystify the common stereotype that the U.S. is "better" and more "just" than México. Similar to Delfina's experiences with crossing over into the U.S., the reality is that transborder connections help eliminate the misconceptions from one each other—and that in reality Kumeyaay in then north and Kumiay in the south are fighting to keep land theft from occurring and most important are fighting to keep their culture and language alive even under the current conditions.

Land-based pedagogies began with a dream and over the seven years *Maestra's* Yolanda's the language camp ran by her and her sisters served more than five families from all ages, increased the participants knowledge of Tipai language, and connected everyone to the land. I recall my first meeting with *Maestra* Yolanda in Tijuana and remember her vision for creating a school outside of the grips of the government and colonial schooling—and through the language camps what started humbly grew into the language camp it is today. Million reminds us how

> Dreaming is a *communicative sacred activity*. Dreaming often allows us to creatively sidestep all the neat little boxes that obscure larger relations and syntheses of imagination . . . they form different ways of knowing, and I will ask

> that we might imagine them as *uneasy relations* and *alliances* that may acknowledge inclusion while we call for respecting boundaries.[147]

The summer language camp taught the children to continue dreaming and awakened possibilities in their education. Over the years, the children learned about their identity, their language, and their worldview while being exposed to community leaders and outside educators. Relationships were forged during these seven years. Occasionally there were uneasy relations that caused us to reevaluate how the camp should be run. In the planning meetings, we covered activities that worked and activities that were not successful—always in motion and moving forward while respecting boundaries. Dreaming allowed for creativity and imagination to materialize. In this case, a grandmother dreamed a school for her grandchildren, greatgrandchildren, and the next generation to learn and embrace their heritage.

This dream allowed a space to communicate with each other during times of tensions which created ease to strengthen the language camp. At the end of 2019, our last language camp, before the pandemic, *Maestra* Yolanda and *Maestra* Emilia conducted more than twenty language camps. Over seven years, we worked together ranging from one to two weeks. In the camps, children learned more about their legacy and gained a deep understanding and responsibility of what it means to be Kumiay. The learnings transferred into the schooling arena. Land based epistemologies helped to maintain a sense of pride in the children and grandchildren. Helped reconnect families to the land. The fear of losing their land was very real when we first started because most of the young adults left the community in search of work and easier way of life in the towns and city. Today most of the young adults moved back into the community and found ways to live off the land and their *conocimientos*.

147. Million, 315.

CHAPTER 4

Trans-Mission Hauntings and Ama de Llaves Apparitions in Contemporary California Schooling

In the middle of the night on November 4, 1775, two Kumeyaay tribal leaders and brothers organized an act of defense in a battle from the Spanish invasion of missionaries and soldiers on their homeland in what is now known today as San Diego. Carlos and Francisco[148] organized nearby *shiimull*, or territorial bands,[149] coalition to run-out the Spanish out of their lands. On that night, about eight hundred to a thousand Kumeyaay (Ipai and Tipai) land protectors ambushed Mission of San Diego de Alcalá. During the two-day ambush, the armed resistance rebels assassinated Father Luis Jayme and fatally wounded a blacksmith and carpenter.[150] The brothers burned the mission down to ashes as an act of resistance and defense but not of rebellion. The battle of November 4-5, 1775, between the Kumeyaay and the Spanish colonizers is the explosive beginning of a long battle, struggles, and resistance for the Kumeyaay to retain their ways of life. On that night, the Spanish received a welcoming by the Kumeyaay that would be remembered for all of time. The fire that burned down the mission is the light that keeps the Kumeyaay alive.

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148. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 2005. See Serra to Antoni María de Bucareli y Ursúa, Dec. 15, 1775, Monterrey, in Tibesar, ed. and trans.,*Writings of Serra II*, 401-407; And Maynard J. Geiger, *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero* Serra, O.F.M.; or *The Man Who Never Turned Back (1713-1784), 2* vols. (Washington, D.C., 1959).

149. Florence Connolly Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 7.

150. Serra to Antoni María de Bucareli y Ursúa, Dec. 15, 1775, Monterrey, in Tibesar, ed. and trans., *Writings of Serra II*, 401-407.

The 800 people present in the ransacking, burning of the mission, and assassination of the priest and two Spanish laborers is no "rebellion" but a strategic show of numbers--a battle a defense against a foreign invasion.[151] The burning down of the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá is referred to as the Kumeyaay Revolt. Revolt or rebellions are define by the Oxford Languages Dictionary as an "act of open resistance to an established government." Rebellion in the early Alta California period places the Kumeyaay, along with their relatives from Baja California, as Spanish subjects and legitimates the Spanish invasion. Today, the Kumeyaay accept "rebellion" as part of the historical narrative to indicate the ongoing fight that California Natives and Baja California Indigenous peoples are continuing to protect, guard, and defend their ancestral lands and people from land theft. On that night, the fire started by the brothers burned down the mission, and that light emanating from the flames keeps burning as the Kumeyaay defend their spirit alive for generations to come.

In this chapter, I connect the ongoing resistance, and rebellions, to fight for survivance. I draw from Avery Gordon's (1997), more precisely her methodology of examining hauntings to invoke the cyclical ghosts of modern forms of dispossessions. I use historical figures from the missions, specifically the *Ama de Llaves* figure, and bring them to the present as ghosts hauntings present in the school hallways because of TransMission hauntings and how mission racialization continues to operate in today's schooling practices. I place primary sources in conversation with contemporary Native youth schooling experiences. Specifically, I juxtapose primary sources from Mission of San Diego de Alcalá (priest's diaries and California *Testimonios* from *Ama de Llaves*, Mexican women mission key keepers) with lived experiences

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151. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 2005.

from my critical ethnographic work at a local east county high school located close to the border. I demonstrate how TransMission hauntings illuminate *gente de razón* logics in the school and highlight the metaphorical burning of the school (mission), physical school and *gente de razón* logics, by Native youth. By conjuring mission hauntings into the present, particularly from the historical figure of *ama de llaves,* I use her figure and bring her to the present to connect her presence to current day mission key keepers in today's public schools. Specifically illuminating how key stakeholders in public schools distribute or withhold resources as a type of schooling violence against Native youth and communities as a form of punishment. Punishment related to socializing and removing the "rebellious" Indian and convert Native youth into graduating into a heteronormative settler imaginary of white citizenship. I further argue that mission ghosts are present in the logics of gendered and race surveillance in Acorn High School.

During my time at the high school, Native youth used the fire within to metaphorically burn down the continuing damaging school experience on the U.S./Mexico border--which is magnified on the border. Acorn's Native Pride, a student-run organization student, mainly girls, voices were elevated during my time as a Tribal Community Liaison. We had deep and vulnerable discussions based on how inclusivity looks to each youth, how can their schooling experiences incorporate an Indigenous grounding, and how to smudge away TransMission ghosts present in their school. We saw the opportunity on how to break down physical and metaphorical borders by Native students to transform their spaces from the metaphorical ashes to construct a different world reflected in their eyes. This chapter takes place in two educational areas: 1) in their community including educational centers and Native American community college; and 2) outside the community in the local high school situated in the Acorn Unified School District. By

center youth experiences in their schooling and community context we see a light on how to envision and dream about creating and alterNative, and altarNative, spaces in their schools.

I use the Alter to change, modify, transform, and geld (neuter and cut) and I also use the word altar to denote sanctuary a place of refuge. Native spaces referenced here are influenced by critical Indigenous studies and education scholar Sandy Grande. She conceptualized AlterNative spaces in her seminal work, *Red Pedagogy* (2004), as the fourth space grounded in: "indigenous space shaped by and through a matrix of legacy, power, and ceremony."[152] Grande calls to "alter" and change the settler-coloniality landscape rooted in labor and land extraction, genocide, and capitalist consumption. She further elaborates that the "fourth space is reimagined as a transgressive space of both transience and permanence."[153] Essentially, an AlterNative vision in schooling is not based in a multicultural inclusive curriculum; instead, Grande calls for a transformative and transgressive change rooted in survivance, lived experiences, connection to land, anticapitalism, and community based. Grounding my experience at the high school and connecting to *Ama de llaves* during my time as Tribal Community Liaison in relation with working with Native youth. Our work together transformed the *Ama de llaves* figure and burned down her role (teachers and administrators) into breaking down both metaphorically and figuratively to ignite the fire within to rise from the ashes into the AlterNative spaces Native youth crave.

Native youth experiences in high school transform and transgress how they want to be supported by their parents, community leaders, teachers, and administrators. Intersecting ideas,

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152. Sandy Grande, *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004),171.

153. Grande, *Red Pedagogy*, 171.

experiences, and expectations illuminate how the fire inside the youth is used to navigate the educational pipeline and burn a path for themselves. The path began with a Native Pride, Native student-run organization and extends beyond the organization into the school. Native youth used Native Pride to imagine the fourth space to create an indigenous space, a place to belong, and support for one another. It would take three years, my last year as the Tribal Community Liaison for this to come to fruition.

To sum up, this chapter will dive deeper on how gendered brown bodies are haunted by mission ghosts from the boarding school system (the first ghosts then inherent). Details will be provided on how Transborder Indigenous Education (TIE) was used as a tool to smudge away the ghosts and keep the fire going. Finally, throughout the chapter, I will connect and reflect on my positionality throughout the transformative process.

In the Beginning: Creating Tribal Community Liaison position

On a cloudy and chilly day in the winter of 2014, I set foot in the high school to meet with the principal of Acorn High School. By this point, I had been working a year at the Campo Education Center as a volunteer.... The 50-minute drive east of San Diego toward Campo had me thinking about my positionality—a Chicana from Las Vegas, an outsider. On that grey and chilly day, I did not know what I was walking in to as a graduate student from a university. I would later find out that the Kumeyaay Nation was suing this university for holding their ancestors' hostage.

After a year of traveling to and from Campo, I was desensitized to seeing Border Patrol vehicles, men in uniform, and the checkpoint. Yet, it was never normalized. At the checkpoint and surrounded by the uniformed men, I felt like the border was closing in and I was entering a world surrounded by fences and hyper-state-vigilance.

The checkpoint represented a landmark to let me know I was only ten minutes from the high school. My heart raced every time I went through border patrol check point. On that day, I knew I was meeting the principal, and I thought to myself of all of the possible scenarios on how the meeting with the principal might go. I asked myself questions like, "how would I present myself in this situation" and "how someone, like me, who experienced being harassed by the high school administrators and teachers to drop out help Native adolescents having the same experience?" Regardless, I was determined to come back to public schooling with one goal to

support Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) students in navigating the educational pipeline.

My first impression of the high school, which became my home for three years, reminded me of a photo from the 1980s. The high school is hugged by mountain peaks located in the Laguna Mountains. This was my first time walking into an American rural school. I was shocked by the colors. The door was a dark brown. The walls were brown. The carpet was a light shade of brown. There were other shades of brown in the administration office. I thought, "This is a brown school, but I don't see many brown faces here in administration or faculty." I wondered if this was how it looked like in the 1980s.

Once inside the administration office, I felt eyes focus on me. My stomach dropped. I took shallow breaths. The pain I felt, the inadequate and not belonging feeling, was all too familiar.

After two years of working with Native students, the familiar feeling of the 'blue eyes' would not be seen inside the AlterNative space one student would go on to say,

Student 1: We were all very driven and inspired to make a change, because we've been living in that for so long and it was nice to have like a spot for Native students to be [in]. Because sometimes it can be draining not being with people like you, because people can be races[sic] and not understanding. Very much so. It was nice. And I think we got a lot done like what the [sic]fundraisers, and the workshops and stuff like that. But I feel like what could be better. . .

In 2016, I was hired by the superintendent of Acorn School District (ASD) based on Campo Education Center's (CEC) recommendation. In 2013, I began my journey with the Kumeyaay community. Anyone who has worked with Native Americans, it is imperative to develop a trusting and respectful relationship that will be long-lasting.[154] Therefore, before I was hired, I volunteered and met with the Director of the CEC and community advocates, non-Native former educators, and parents on a weekly basis for a year. Early on the discussions were based on the educational needs and visions that the community had for their youth. The group

154. To this day I continue to have deep relationships with the communities I have worked with throughout my masters and doctorate programs.

strategized on how ways to engage and compel the ASD to implement the goals and visions of Native community within the schools.

Between 2013-2014, CEC held numerous parent meetings. From these parent meetings, we identified four educational themes. The first theme was how we could encourage the district to collaborate on centering and sustaining "the fire" inside of Native children and youth. In other words, how can the school and community work together to promote pride in and acceptance of the Kumeyaay culture and language within the educational system. The first theme connects to the second one. The question is -- how does ASD and schools become more inclusive and culturally competent by recognizing the land they reside on is Kumeyaay land? Third, the theme focused on how to build and create a reciprocal relationship between Native elders and youth, teachers and Native youth, and Native parents and youth. Finally, the fourth theme was rooted in how to imagine a comprehensive Kumeyaay identity based on the past, the present, and the future.

From this point, the community comprised mainly parents and elders, I met with in 2012, began mobilizing within CEC. We met once a month to discuss how to implement all of their goals. At the same time, the Director of the CEC, and friends[155] strategized on how to meet each goal. After one year of strategizing and brainstorming, the CEC administration looked to Title VII Impact Aid program legislation to fund a Tribal Community Liaison. This funding is mandated to target Indian, Native Hawaiian, and Alaska Native Education to address their needs. Title VII is one of the most important legislations to Indian education under the self-

155. In the introduction I cover what it means to be "friends" to Nejí and Campo.

determination period in the late 1960s.[156] The birth of the self-determination period was pushed by the previous era of state sponsored ethnocidal policies based in the U.S. assimilation and indoctrination into the imaginary nationhood. One of the pathways used to domesticate, confine, and eradicate Native peoples from their lands and peoplehood was colonial schooling. Colonial schooling did not end after the colonial period ended in the early 19th century but continued on into today's public schooling. Colonial schooling methods were adopted well into the national period and public schooling over time moved from instructing Church teachings and morphed into teaching democratic ideals.[157] Before and even after California became a state in 1850, the official policy towards California Natives was enslavement as indentured laborers. De jure elimination policies were executed by California settlers under vagrant laws and minor apprenticeships. Kidnapping, selling, and killing Indigenous girls and boys was the norm in Alta California. In other words, systematic genocide was the policy to remove Native peoples from their lands.[158]

History of California American Indian Education and Title VII

By the late 19th century, California, along with fifteen other states, under the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) direction took another approach to the "Indian problem." A "new" form of

156. Grande, *Red Pedagogy*, 16.

157. K. Tsianina Lomawaima and T. L. McCarty, *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006).

158. Benjamin Madley, ""Unholy Traffic in Human Blood and Souls"" *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (2014): pp. 626-667; Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, Early California Laws and Policies Relating to California Indians. Sacramento: California State Library, 2003, 27-39.

schooling for Native Americans was born--the boarding school era (1879-1973).[159] The period meant forcibly removing and kidnapping Native children from their homes and placing them in boarding schools. Once inside the boarding school, Native children were stripped from their identity, personhood, and community. Ethnocidal methods were implemented beginning with violently stripping children out of their traditional clothing and sadistically cutting children's braided hair. Only after this dispossession of identity and culture, Native children were redressed in gendered anglicized clothing. Once the outside appearance was stripped, the second step of the ethnocidal process targeted the children's minds and souls. Inside the boarding school walls, English-only schooling and policies were enforced, and protestant ideology oozed into the quotidian life for the captive children and youth. The ethnocidal methods adopted in all Indian boarding schools were based on one mantra: "Kill the Indian. Save the man," quoted by Col. Richard Henry Pratt, the mastermind behind the Indian Boarding era. Methods of dispossession during the boarding school era were influenced by the Spanish, French, and English mission period across Turtle Island (continental U.S).[160]

Fast forward to the 1960s, this time became a defining moment in Indian education, known as the self-determination era. The self-determination era delivered a series of laws passed by Congress pushed by Indigenous educators and activists. Their efforts led to the 1972 Indian Education Act that became the foundational model for future policies on Indian education in the U.S., such as Title VII federal funding. The act encompassed a unique four-prong approach. First, it established the Office of Indian Education and the National Advisory Council on Indian

159. Grande, Sandy, *Red Pedagogy*, 16.

160. Lomawaima and McCarty, *To Remain Indian,* 2006.

Education. Secondly, it was the first and only federally funded all-encompassing act, reaching all levels of education ranging from pre-school to tertiary-school. Thirdly, the legislation recognized and focused in delivering tailored-based education unique to each Tribal Community Liaison nation's cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Finally, the act funded supportive services not provided by the BIA.[161] Overall, the 1972 Indian Education Act paved the way for Tribal Community Liaison nations to create, deliver, and sustain unique and long-lasting educational programs made by and for their communities with federal funding.

With this framing in place for Indian education, twenty years later Title VII adopted similar wording under the massive bipartisan education reform act of 2001, known as the No Child Left Behind Act. The No Child Left Behind Act implemented standardized testing for all K-12 public schooling and were to meet federal proficient standards to receive funding from the government. During this time federal funding was increased and this included Title VII otherwise known as Indian Education. According to the Bureau of Indian Education, Title VII funding is based on:

> Formula grants to Local Educational Agencies supports local educational agencies in their efforts to reform elementary school and secondary programs that serve Indian students in order ensure that such programs – (1) are based on challenging state academic content and student academic achievement standards that are used for all students; and (2) are designed to assist Indian students in meeting those standards. [162]

Title VII directly transferred power to tribal communities on how they envision reforming schools their children attend. Federal funding was the carrot Indigenous communities used to

161. "History of Indian Education - OIE," Home (US Department of Education (ED), December 19, 2005), https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oese/oie/history

162. "Supplemental Title Programs," Supplemental Title Programs | Bureau of Indian Education, accessed August 7, 2020, https://bie.edu/Programs/supprog/index.htm.

bring school districts to the reforming/negotiating table. The money motivated school districts across America to actively work with tribal communities on Indian education that was evidenced-based, culturally relevant, and sustainable. In essence, Title VII funding promotes integration of ancestral knowledge into the classroom for Native/Hawaiian/Alaska Native student achievement.

In 2013, the Campo community, the group I helped to facilitate, living on the reservation were at a breaking point with ASD. Over the years, Title VII monies were misappropriated within the school district and not allocated for the support and integration of Kumeyaay culture and language in the classrooms.[163] Two years before the community began holding ASD accountable, the first *State of American Indian and Alaskan Native Education in California* (SAIANEC) report on the current state of American Indian and Alaskan Native students in California was published in 2012. Their research revealed that for 2011 fiscal year California educational entities received $5.9 million in federal grants from the Department of the Interior under Title VII.[164] The report further broke down the numbers regarding how much funding individual school districts and local educational agencies (LEA) received from Title VII. Their

163. In that year, for example, the school district used Title VII funds to buy computers for Native students. Community members later found out that the computers were not being used by their children but was opened for all students. From my understanding there were a few things happening in this situation. For one, when Native students wanted to use the computers, they were used by non-Native students. Second, the district could not legally state that the computers bought were ONLY for Native students opening them up for a lawsuit. Third, the district used Title VII funds as a way to increase their general budget. Finally, the computers were driving a wedge between the non-Native students and Native students.

164. "The State of American Indian and Alaskan Native (AIAN) Education in California" (California Culture and Sovereign Center at California State University San Marcos), accessed November 3, 2014, http://californiatribalcollege.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Report.pdf, 19.

findings revealed that LEA received anywhere from $ 4,000 to upwards of $467,210 in 2011.[165] SAIANEC report pointed out the discrepancy between funding and the low schooling attainment numbers for Alaskan Indian and American Indian students. SAINEC's three published reports and findings on the current state of Alaskan Indian and American Indian education in California were critical in making serious interventions in public schooling and how it relates to Alaskan Indian and American Indian. As the first comprehensive report conducted and led by Native American/Indigenous scholars and undergraduate students on American Indian/Native American education, it was published by the California Culture and Sovereignty Center (CICSC) at California State University, San Marcos. First, the report was groundbreaking in the Indian education literature. It initiated an urgent state- and nation-wide conversation on the disproportionate numbers of Alaskan Indian and American Indian lower educational attainment rates. Second, the report was spearheaded by the Director of CICSC and head researcher, Dr. Joely Proudfit, a descendant of the Pechanga Band of Luiseño Mission Indians. They were asking research questions reflective of their community. Questions like: How are federal funds, like Title VII, distributed by various institutions and organizations? And how are these educational institutions and organizations held accountable to the community they are serving?

Their findings uncovered how public data on Alaskan Indian and American Indian was disjointed, inaccessible, and obscure, thus causing the underreporting for Alaskan Indian and American Indian students.[166] Inaccurate data leads to less funding; and less funding widens the gap for Alaskan Indian and American Indian student success and attainment. The intervention of

165. *State of American Indian and Alaskan Native Education in California*, 19.

166. *The State of American Indian and Alaskan Native Education in California,* V.

the SAIANEC report called attention to the lack of federal transparency on how Title VII and Title VIII funding was distributed in California. The report specifically stated, "while the funding seems on its face to be substantial, questions of whether the federal government is living up to their responsibility arise when we recall the high dropout rates of Alaskan Indian and American Indian's in California."[167] This quote echoed and supported the Native communities. It is important to emphasize the report validated what the community had been experiencing from my research. In other words, this report shined a light on inequities that Alaskan Indian and American Indian's had experienced for decades. At last, now they were being heard. This was true for the Campo Nation, as well. This is what they had been telling ASD for decades that there was a lack of transparency and accountability from ASD. The report served as an official document that ASD could no longer ignore the community needs and disregard their "illegitimate concerns from disgruntled alumni who only focused on their negative experience."[168]

In summary, SAIANEC was a seminal report on Alaskan Indian and American Indian schooling in California because it held the federal government and all the educational institutions using Title VII and Title VIII funding accountable to the community. The government's failure to ameliorate the poor Alaskan Indian and American Indian school attainment rates across K-12 pointed to a larger systemic problem. The district's accountability and transparency were key aspects for the community. These were non-negotiable moving forward on how Title VII funding

167. *The State of American Indian and Alaskan Native Education in California, 19.*

168. I heard this comment made on the daily when parents, youth, and elders brought legitimate concerns about micro-aggressions, suspension rates, pushout rates, etc . . .

was distributed after years of mishandling and incompetence from the district; thus, the Tribal Community Liaison position was born out of this struggle.

Holding the District Accountable to Native and Indigenous Students

It took more than a year to create, define duties, and hire a person for the Tribal Community Liaison position. The negotiation process between the district and the community were discussed vigorously during the Indian Education meetings. The Indian Education meetings came out the early parent meetings mentioned earlier in the chapter. The parent meetings started with less than a handful of parents and participation grew over the years to include more parents from La Posta and Manzanita Tribal Band, tribal leaders, and the CEC Director. The ASD participants included the superintendent, school administrators, teachers, academics, and community activists. This group of people from different areas of expertise within the community deliberated on how the Tribal Community Liaison would create, deliver, and sustain student success in the school. For the community they were interested in increasing Kumeyaay traditions and language with their youth while increasing graduation rates—particularly increasing A-G and college graduates from their community. I later address graduation rates and pushout later in the chapter.

To provide more context, ASD is one of four school districts in the furthermost southeast in San Diego County located twenty miles from the Tecate port of entry on the U.S/Mexico border. The district opened their doors to seven elementary schools and one high school in 1923.[169] Today, the District is responsible for two elementary schools (pre-kindergarten through eighth grade); two elementary schools (pre-kindergarten through fifth grade); two middle schools

169. "About AUSD," Acorn Unified School District, accessed November 7, 2020.

(sixth to eight grade); one high school (ninth through twelfth grade); and, one alternative school and transition program for special education students between the ages of 18 to 22.[170]

Since 1923 ASD had serve three Kumeyaay reservations: Campo, La Posta, and Manzanita, this means generations of Kumeyaay community members have attended school in the district. Putting this into perspective, Kumeyaay great-grandparents, grandparents, parents, and current youth had similar and negative experiences while attending school in the District. Common themes from Kumeyaay of all ages regarding their schooling experiences emerged, which were expressed to me during my time at Campo.[171] From day one at the CEC in Campo, community members expressed their schooling experience, which was rooted in alienation from teachers, hostile school environment towards Native Americans, teachers and administrators not caring, and targeted punitive discipline resulting in a high pushing-out rates for Native American students. Further, Native American students in the District were placed in high numbers in remedial classes, special education, alternative school, and tracked Native youth into the juvenile justice system, eventually systematically removing these students from their schools.[172] The District's treatment of Native American and Indigenous students is not a unique to Southern California; in fact, the District's treatment of Native American students is representative of a nation-wide systematic problem.[173] As a result, the Tribal Community Liaison position was

170. "About AUSD," Acorn Unified School District, accessed November 7, 2020.

171. Cynthia Vázquez (UC San Diego, 2014), pp. 1-157.

172. Vázquez (UC San Diego, 2014), pp. 1-157; *The State of American Indian and Alaskan Native Education in California, 19.*

173. *The State of American Indian and Alaskan Native Education in California.*

created with Title VII funds to serve and support Alaskan Indian and American Indian high school students navigating the educational pipeline.

In 2016, I was officially hired by the ASD as the Tribal Community Liaison. The Alaskan Indian and American Indian community envisioned the position to represent their children's needs in the school, and to improve the academic attainment rates. The District envisioned the position for someone to serve as an intermediary to represent the school and deliver news to the tribe. This meant that Tribal Community Liaison had to be "neutral" in conflict situations between the community and the district. I came into the position with one vision—to fully support Native students and the community on how to navigate conflicts and how to put pressure on the District to provide equitable education by concentrating on Kumeyaay education.

Ama de Llaves Apparations to Tribal Community Liaison

There's a stillness in the air. Heavy. White. Stillness. A dreadful feeling overcomes my body and mind. I still can't. My skin feels moist. My eyes are wide open, and I continue to see white all around me. The cast of fog begins to clear in a flash. I feel heavy and I can-not move. I hear footsteps nearby. The fog completely clears. There, right there, six feet away from me, a shadow is gliding into my periphery. I squint as hard as I can, and the shape begins to take form. The outlines of an older woman. She is suspended in the air. Her eyes stare deep into mine. She is dressed from another time. The lingering fog makes it difficult to see who she is. I ask myself, "Do I know her?" in an inquisitive voice. I see her white hair and brown wrinkled face almost looking like my maternal grandmother. It could not be so, my grandmother passed away more than fifteen years ago. "It isn't her though," I thought. I couldn't place her flower pattern dress that fell to her ankles. My anxious feeling started to drown my reason. I double-blink and rub my eyes to make sure it isn't my grandmother. . . "Who is she?" I asked myself. "Am I dreaming?" I keep looking at her and she's making gestures with her hands. Her mouth is moving, but I can't make out what she is trying to say. "Qué? (what?) ¿Qué quíeres decir? What are you trying to say? Her figure immediately disappeared. I am transported to another place.

In this place, it is bright outside. The sun is beaming. I know this place. I am back in San Diego, California. The sunlight illuminates the terracotta tiles under my feet. I have always loved that color for tile. I feel like I am floating around, my feet levitating inches from the ground, I peek around the open space building, and I see the old walls painted lime white. I am inside what looks like a bedroom, a living quarter, and notice the same older woman, but this

time she is younger and dressed in a late colonial period, her skirt almost touched the floor and "topped by a tight-fitting bodice"[174]. You know the ones that are puffy at the bottom.

Her hair is parted in the middle and her hair is up. She reaches for a set of keys as she walks, I hear the barrel of keys jingling with every step she takes. Clank. Clank. Clank. Keys banged into her body. Clank. Clank. Clank. She briskly walked outside of her bedroom in the vereda and into a beaming light that temporary blinded my eyes. My eyes adjust to the light, and I see her hand quickly move to grab a set of barrel keys and unhooks them from her keychain attached at her hip. She hands over the skeleton key to an elderly blind woman. The elderly woman was dressed differently from the younger woman. Her clothes were loose fitting and her head was covered by a white rebozo (head cloth) it reminded me of rebozos my grandmother from Mexico used to use when she went into church to pray. Immediately my eyes are drawn to her hands. You can tell they are old because they are marked with years of manual labor like my cousins who work in construction. They are dry, cracked, and hard. The exchange of keys is happening in that moment from one hand into another. The elderly blind woman walks over to the back a quadrangle-open space holding the skeleton key. My attention is on the elderly-blind woman and I follow behind her. We pass a fountain. I wonder if she knows I am there. I don't think she can see me. In fact, I don't think any of them can see me. I follow behind her and a foul odor overcomes my senses.

Eeeww. What is that smell? I shudder and recoil. She places the key into a metal padlock and unlocks the padlock to open a dark old, cracked door. It squeaked as she opened it. I can hear murmuring voices behind the door. Slowly as she opens the door and sunlight shines in, I can see a group of young and teenage girls. They looked tired and waiting to be let out. I can't believe they were locked in the small room. Inside the room it is dark and ominous.

An immediate gasp. My heart rate is pumping. I'm back in my bed. The image of the girls and keys stay with me.

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Drifting in and out of consciousness was a common occurrence for me when I was working at Acorn High School. The testimony I opened with in a dream-like state filled my head with dreadful feelings that often overcame my body the moment I stepped into the school. In a flash, my body and mind were transported back to my high school days in Las Vegas. The teacher's watchful blue eyes followed me during my adolescent years swirled in my head. Every

174. Barbara L. Voss, "`Poor People in Silk Shirts'," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 8, no. 3 (2008): pp. 414.

day I was at the school, those blue eyes stared at me in the classroom. Those watchful blue eyes had accused me of not modestly dressing for school and had to cover up. Those watchful blue eyes saw I was not punctual to class, and they disciplined me to make sure I was even when I had difficult waking up at 5 am to get to the school bus. Those watchful blue eyes observed my mouth and listened for English-only breath formed in a word cloud during class; I only speak English in their class even though mostly everyone there were Spanish-speakers anyway. I saw inside of the heart of those watchful blue eyes, as they waited with glee that one day, where I too wholeheartedly personified the settler-colonial American myth from my high school experience once I graduated.

The trauma caused by my schooling inflicted profound invisible marks inside of my body that I carry to this day. They were the similar marks that I witnessed in the high school where I worked. The trauma inflicted on Native youth by school officials was real. With every slight and every trauma (big or small), my scars were clawed into me and scarred over time. On that first day of Acorn High School, I briskly walked in through the front office doors and saw those blue eyes follow me. When I introduced myself to the Native youth, as the Tribal Community Liaison, without exchanging any words, I felt they too saw those blue eyes.

Before starting as the Tribal Community Liaison at Acorn High School, per the community recommendation, I was briefed that only one student had graduated with A-G, a state requirement by California that students must pass a series of courses for being accepted into a university, almost ten years ago. In 2006 per the community's data, once the Tribal Community Liaison position was finalized between the community and the District, I was hired to work in the position between 2015-2018; I worked for two and half academic years, in the high school

for the purpose of increasing graduation rates, advocating for students, and fostering relationships in the high school.

East of San Diego, located near the U.S.-Mexico border by Tecate, perched on the Laguna Mountains, a rural school district with less than four hundred students was founded on anti-indigenous roots. The racist moniker and mascot of a Native American man with a headdress known as the Red Skins. Seventy years later, in 1999, the racist moniker was changed from Red Skins to Red Hawks. Today the school is composed of mainly 244 Hispanic or Latino students, 127 white students, 25 Alaskan Indian and American Indian, and 11 Filipino and Black students, with majority white faculty (there are more teachers of color today than there were three years ago).[175] ASD serves up to thirty Indigenous students from the three nearby reservations, including Campo, La Posta, and Manzanita.

In the official job announcement called for someone to "collaborat[e] with the AUSD Title VII administrator and local tribal designees, assist the school district by providing outreach to tribal parents and the community." In the announcement, it further described the ideal candidate would "serve as a liaison between the schools, district Indian Education Committee, and tribal communities. Assists the school with dissemination of information to the parents and tribal communities regarding college and career readiness." It is worth noting, the latter was my focus. The job description further stated, "Attend and report to the District Indian Education Advisory Committee meetings. Assist in the identification of tribal students and with Indian registration (506 Form)." When I was interviewed, I highlighted "serve between schools, district Indian Education committee, and tribal communities," "[d]issemination of information to the

175. Education-Data, 2020, http://www.ed-data.org/school/San-Diego/Acorn- -Unified/Acorn-High.

parents and tribal communities," and "attend and report to the District Indian Education Advisory Committee meetings" were the needs the community wanted. I used these two parameters set by the community during the Indian Education Meetings as my guide when I worked with the high school students. In further analyzing the job call, I want to point out a few discrepancies on how community needs and the District needs were opposing and how these two visions collided within the Tribal Community Liaison position.

For one, the tribal community's vision focused on how to support youth and connect them to college readiness information, mentorship, and collaboration, and then report this information to the committee. The community's vision and goal are supported by experts in Indian education. For example, according to SAIANEC highlights the importance of introducing, connecting, and encouraging Native American students with college readiness resources.[176] The community's vision did not coincide with the District's vision. Primarily, the District pushed for the Tribal Community Liaison to identify as many tribal students as possible for the Impact Aid program under the 506-formula grant form or Indian registration. In the job announcement we see how one of the principal duties is to "Assists in the identification of tribal students and with Indian registration (506 Form)." Identification of tribal students attending ASD is important because for every new Alaskan Indian and American Indian student I registered, the District received more monies from the federal government.

Documentation: Impact Aid Program and Title VII Funding

People living on federal lands such as military families and Native American families do not pay state and local taxes. Thus, these monies reach the school district for services to serve their

176. Elena Hood (UC San Diego, 2019), pp. 1-239.

students they would have otherwise received if local and state taxes were collected on these lands. To make up the shortfall, the federal government has instituted federal programs to pay the shortfall that these services through the Impact Aid Program. The Impact Aid Program was set-up by the federal government to make up the loss in funding from property tax revenue due to tax-exemption for Federal property. School districts located close to military bases, reservations, low-rent property, or for conservation purposes. Thus, since 1950, under the Impact Aid Program later changed to Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965, allows funding support for districts meeting these financial challenges.[177] For ASD, an increase in funding is important and necessary for supporting tribal students; however, documentation of tribal students for federal aid continues to be an issue for the school district and the community.

Documentation by the school is a sensitive subject because of their long history of ripping Native children from their families during the boarding school era. During the late 19th and mid 20th century the U.S assimilationist education policy were to document how many Native children to later be remove from their homes to be placed in boarding schools. In knowing and being cognizant of this history, my hesitation to "document" how many Alaskan Indian and American Indian students for the federal government placed me in a uncomfortable situation, even if this was for funding purposes and originated by American Indian activists. To further elaborate, this traumatic history of ripping children from their tribal homes and being placed into boarding schools left a generation of elders and grandparents forced to relinquish their culture by brutal force has had long and damaging impact on Native American communities. In another example, the Campo parents were cautious in giving out any type of information and signing papers

177. "About Impact Aid - Impact Aid," Home, March 22, 2017, https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oese/impactaid/whatisia.html.

regarding their children that were then sent to the Federal government. The lack of transparency for decades from the District fueled this distrust. The paradox was that while the District administrators insisted on the importance of documenting the number of tribal youth in the high school in order to support the Tribal Community Liaison position and it was regularly brought up during individual meetings, the community did not want to offer this information based on their history with the government.

School administrators needed the 506 document to prove to the Federal government the enrollment of Alaskan Indian and American Indian students so that schools applying federal Indian education funding were, in fact, serving and supporting Native American students. Most often, rural districts, like AUSD, in California and other states receive between 20-50 percent less than urban school districts.[178] This is due to how state funding formula options are based on per-student and property taxes places rural districts at a disadvantage. For example, funding formula options does not take into account rural school district's unique limitations that are specific to rural schools such as aging infrastructure, the average age of schools in AUSD are over 49 years old, and the cost of being remote here transportation comes to mind. [179] Additionally, any school located close to federal lands, like military bases and Indian reservations, receive less monies from state property taxes because military bases and Indian reservations are exempt from paying state taxes. Therefore, the federal government compensates this budget shortfall to the school district. To iterate to

178. Jeffrey M. Vincent, "Small Districts, Big Challenges Barriers to Planning and Funding School Facilities in California's Rural and Small Public School Districts" (Berkeley, CA: Institute of Urban and Regional Development , 2018), pp. 1-64; David Gutierrez, "Little School on the Prairie: The Overlooked Plight of Rural Education," The Institute of Politics at Harvard University, 2011, https://iop.harvard.edu/get-involved/harvard-political-review/little-school-prairie-overlooked-plight-rural-education.

179. 2017 Long Range Facility Master Plan.

compensate for the budget shortfall, school districts need to report the number of Alaskan Indian and American Indian students they are serving living on federal land. If the school district's fail to report an accurate number of Alaskan Indian and American Indian students, they lose funds and their opportunity to "better serve" their students.

Reporting enrolled students living on federal lands (i.e., reservations) becomes tricky when it relates to Native American students. According to the 506 Title VII Eligibility defines Indian as,

> Indian means any individual who is (1) a member (as defined by the Indian tribe or band) of an Indian tribe or band, including those Indian tribe or bands terminated since 1940, and those recognized by the State in which the tribe or band reside; or (2) a descendent in the first or second degree (parent or grandparent) as described in (1); or (3) considered by the Secretary of the Interior to be an Indian for any purpose; or (4) an Eskimo or Aleut or other Alaska Native; or (5) a member of an organized Indian group that received a grant under the Indian Education Act of 1988 as it was in effect October 19, 1994.[180]

The definition is written to protect funds from people who claim indigeneity but are not indigenous. For example, this definition assures settlers do not claim indigeneity through their "Cherokee" princess grandmother's side. Analyzing and looking beyond protections for Native peoples and allocations of funding there are inconsistencies with the definition of "Indian." For me the most obvious inconsistency which ruminated in my head is how do Kumiay youth from Baja California who attend Acorn high school considered under this definition?

During my time as Tribal Community Liaison, I was able to identify self-identified Kumiay from Baja California through the help of the staff, who also had ties to Kumiay communities in Baja California Norte, primarily from San Antonio de Necua. Kumiay students

180. "Indian Education Formula Grants," Home, March 10, 2017, https://www2.ed.gov/programs/indianformula/.

from Baja were a documented and racialized as Mexican/Latinx/Chicanx peers on a regular basis when they crossed and in the school. The four students I identified from Baja Norte primarily spoke Spanish and one student was an English Language Learner (ELL), which meant they did not spoke English. Mexican/Latinx/Chicanx and Kumiay from Baja students were all documented because of a school policy that was implemented during the Clinton era in the mid-1990s.

At that time a video was leaked to the media recording transborder students crossing from Tecate into the US to attend Acorn high school in the morning. The video caught national attention during the elections. The media reported "illegal" invasion by transborder students attending AUSD schools.[181] Reports found that 90% of students were in fact documented. Nevertheless, the media, mainly conservative, pushed the "illegal" narrative and "foreign" invasion that forced AUSD to adopt tighter registration standards than other districts in the US; thus, limiting the potential for undocumented students to attend, but most importantly increasing surveillance on school campus. This story is important to note because these policies affect Kumiay students along with their transborder peers.

At this juncture, I had a rapport with the Campo Education Center, parents, and some young children attending the center but that was the extent of my relationship with the community. Asking strangers to immediately "show me their papers" as "proof" to claiming enrollment as a non-Native American was not a role I wanted to take on. The 506-form categorized different tribal memberships ranging from checking whether they are a "Federally

181. Daniel M. Weintraub, "Audits Urged to Find Mexican Pupils Illegally in U.S. Schools," Los Angeles Times (Los Angeles Times, April 29, 1994), https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1994-04-29-mn-51914-story.html.

Recognized," "State Recognized," or "Terminated." The form also included an area where applicants can write down their membership enrollment number. Again, this left me feeling uneasy every time I was placed in the situation to ask for documentation from students and parents. One of the challenges was if I failed to turn in 506 forms that meant a loss of funding for the next academic school year. In other words, this meant the district lost monies. Ultimately, this meant lost monies hurt Indigenous students because they would not receive adequate support. If I succeeded in "collecting" information and increased 506 forms from the community, it placed me as an extension of all I observing state connected to missions.

Canadian anti-colonial scholar Jaskiran Dhillon argues in her seminal work *Prairie Rising* (2017) how interventions and participations from community organizations and the state (i.e. the District) enforce and preserve social hierarchies on "who is qualified to take part, and the potentialities for the state to reinvent itself through the auspices of Indigenous community organizing while simultaneously depoliticizing the lived realities of urban [and rural] Indigenous youth."[182] In other words, the state apparatuses (criminal, social services, and schools) "pretend" to make meaningful interventions under false pretenses of "indigenous involvement." The very communities the state claims to work with actually co-op and depoliticize the structural and material circumstances these state apparatuses created over time.[183] Along with Dhillon, my work reveals that "depoliticizing" by the District occurred frequently in the Indian Education meetings. I was frequently told from personal conversations to "not bring up the past" and "why is the community so invested in living in the past." The feeling I could not shake off over this time was

182. Dhillon, *Praire Raising*, 23.

183. Dhillon, Praire Raising, 22-23.

discomfort, a deep pain in the pit of my stomach, a type of nausea one feels when food is not settled. A bumping headache and foggy brain were my constant companions. I found myself amid a challenging situation, pushed by the school district, to exclusively focus on identifying Native students. Therefore, I was forced to engage in students and their families' tribal status—which is personal information and a sensitive subject.

Trans-mission hauntings and my experience with how the blue eyes placed me in the "other" category. Now I was "blue eyes" since I was responsible for documenting and overseeing Native American students. Covered in the introduction, *Ama de Llaves,* were Mexican women mission keepers and they were used by the priests to overlook and manage the mission. They oversaw teaching gender roles through forced labor. My positionality as the child of Mexican parents born in the U.S., I was placed by school officials as the disciplinary and the collector of information of the community just like *Ama de Llaves*—not a role the community expected me to take on. I was seen by administrators and teachers as the go to person if there was a "problem" with an Indigenous student. Thus, I was the next generation of the mission keepers in their eyes, for both the administrators by keeping the Native youth in check and counting them and by the Kumeyaay community because I was, in essence, surveilling them.

Tribal Community Liaison

On the first day after as the Tribal Community Liaison during the school tour, I was called up to the office by the principal to figure out how to "motivate" two Native teenage girls who refused to do their work. I had not met these students and had no rapport with them. Yet, it now was my responsibility to figure out what was "wrong" with them and to "fix" it. I found myself in a small room with the two girls. Looking at these two young girls, I felt my stomach clench. Here I was doing something that was not in my job description. I had been quickly and awkwardly

inserted into a much larger problem. Administrators and teachers now saw me as the "fixer." In their eyes, I was someone who could help identify why these girls were rebelling and disobeying school officials and the institution, and to do something about it, about them.

I met with the girls, and we chatted. I introduced myself and talked about my background and explained to them what their situation was and why they had been called into the school office. The girls were reserved and respectful, but suspicious of my position. After all, who was I? And why was I now designated to be the Native person—the role teachers placed me whenever there was anything wrong with Native students? After the meeting, I reflected on what transpired and became enraged by being placed in this position by administrators. The school appointed me as the person who would watch over the NA students to ensure they are conducting themselves as disciplined subjects, a requirement needed to graduate. I was haunted by the similarities of the *Ama de Llaves* and the role I now found myself in at the Acorn High School.

As previously mentioned, *Ama de Llaves* were responsible for keeping inventory in the mission and they were responsible for the upkeep of gendered work that included the kitchen duties and "protecting" Indigenous boys and girls. Their role as key keepers was to understand, thwart rebellious behavior, and report back to the father (priest) of all suspicious behavior. Bringing back the story of my first day as Tribal Community Liaison and how administration placed me to "motivate" the two Alaskan Indian and American Indian girls is just one example that I was placed in by the school to help "understand" and curve rebellious behavior. According to the Local Accountability Plan and Annual Update (LCAP) 2017-2020, in 2018 Dashboard there were a 5.5% of AUSD students suspended, a slight increase of 0.6% from previous year. African American and American Indian students were in the red band which means that they are suspended at higher rates than other students. The discrepancy between the high suspension rates among their Black and

Indigenous students and how they make up less than 10% of their school population backs up education research on how BIPOC students are suspended and sent to the office at a higher rate than their non-BIPOC peers.[184]

Throughout my time at the school, most teachers were not welcoming, there were twenty-eight teachers at the high school, and out of these three were interested in what I was doing. During rare occasion teachers did welcome me to campus, but it was during they times I was prepping and setting up the classroom for the students instead of scheduling with me times to talk about the program I was setting up. For those few teachers who went out of their way to meet me, they were curious and looked around the room and watched what I was doing. They shared the Native American work, calendars, and posters they had prepared. Then, we would talk at length about how they tried to support and work with Native students. They spewed Native American facts and their knowledge on Kumeyaay and other tribal nations. Most of these "well meaning" teachers explained how they wanted to receive their master's degree or go into a doctorate program in education. As previously mentioned in the introduction and 2, "well meaning" is also translated to "good will," and "best of intentions" these interactions were awkward and were not "well meaning" they were racial aggressions based on their insecurities in working with students of color and their future schooling directions. I felt that somehow my educational background brought out some of the teachers insecurity of they not obtaining higher education degree but also felt that "how could a Chicana" obtain a doctoral degree.

To provide more context to these conversations, I was one of two Chicanx/Latinx teachers—the other brown person taught English Language Learners. She was a transborder

184. LCFF Budget Overview for Parents pg. 6.

teacher, travelled from Tecate to work at the Acorn High School. The rest of the Chicanx/Latinx staff were the school custodians. My first meeting with one of the custodians, she warmly introduced herself to me with a big smile and she shared with me her background. Mainly how she has worked and supports Latinx students and Native students from Baja—she did not do it in a statistical or forced but through her lived experiences and storytelling she shared with me. She extended her time to help me navigate the school and helped me identify Kumiay students from Baja. She went above and beyond to assist me in making sure I would succeed in the school. Over the course of my time at the high school, custodians were supportive, insightful, and respected by students. This experience for me was meaningful because I saw the clear distinction between how teachers interacted with students and how school custodians, even though their job was not to support students, they took it upon themselves to work with students and validate their experiences as first generation Mexican/Mexican-American/Chicanx/Latinx and Native students.

When I think again about the teachers, I was stunned into paralysis while they spoke in my room, in the space I was cultivating for the Native American students. I looked into their blue eyes and cringed. I painfully smiled with my mouth closed waiting for them to finish. I was afraid to open my mouth, afraid of what would spill out. These ten-minute conversations became a lifetime. I felt these interactions were microaggressions. These teachers placed me as the "everything Native person." If Native American students acted out, I was the go-to person. If Native American students did not turn in work, I was to the point person. It is worth noting that during my two-year tenure, maybe three teachers praised a few Native American students. This occurred only after they went down the list of all of the "bad" Native students. These teachers likely read these interactions as supportive; I understood these interactions as condescending.

Questions swirled in my head: why did administrators think students would open up to me on my first day of work? Why did they think it was a good idea to have me intervene on a situation I knew nothing about? Why did teachers view me as the disciplinarian as my role as Tribal Community Liaison? Was it my role to observe and discipline? This was not in the job description. This experience reminded me of when I attended a workshop with a well-known Maori scholar from New Zealand. In the workshop, these scholars recalled their experiences early in their teaching career in public schools. They taught in a high school; they were the only Maori teachers in with an all-white staff. Besides being treated as an outsider and questioned by teachers for their pedagogy, whenever there were "issues" with Maori students they were called upon to figure out what was wrong with these students and how to "fix" them. Suffice it to say, they did not stay long in their positions and moved on to another school. Their experience stayed with me, since I had been placed in a similar position, but why?

This moment brought back the images of the *Ama de llaves* roles in the missions and how Mexican women, often mestizas, were the overseers of Native girls in the missions. They were the disciplinarians. This rationale is connected to *gente de razón* logics. As Gloria E. Miranda states in, "Racial and Cultural Social Status *Gente de Razón,*" "…to label cultural mobility of tribal Mexican who had exchanged their former lifestyle for Roman Catholic. . . any European, Christianized mixed bloods (casts), and indigenous converts . . . connotes privilege and "respectability."[185] In Alta California people designated as *gente de razón,* were not relegated to the Spanish or white-skinned people. The racial categorization of people by the Spanish, known as the castas, was based on their mixing with other ethnicities; and one where Europeans were at

185. Gloria E. Miranda, "Racial and Cultural Dimensions of 'Gente De Razón' Status in Spanish and Mexican California," *Southern California Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (1988): pp. 265-278, 265.

the pinnacle of the hierarchical racial pyramid. As time passed and these racial mixes became more common, categorization on phenotypes became more fluid. Thus, labeling of the races moved towards a *gente de razón* categorization to distinguish between Indigenous and non-Indigenous.

The Reemergence of Mission Ghosts in the Hallway

Gente de razón, person with reason, acknowledged that in fact Native people were humans and with reason thus they could possess rational abilities if they "leave" behind ancestral knowledges and practices and instead embrace Christianity.[186] In my case, *gente de razón* logics were placed on me to do the labor of intervening at the moment the Native American and American Indian youth were disruptive. I was charged with intervening to "encourage" them to leave behind their rebelliousness and embrace a more agreeable and compliant behaviors in the school. Afterall, the institution saw me as an example of the g*ente de razón* logics. I was used to speak with the Indigenous youth as an intervention. I was an "example" of leaving behind my "lifestyle" from an "at-risk" statistic to a non-black student of color in graduate school. My schooling connoted privilege and respectability from the administrators—a category that would later hurt me when I worked with teachers and Native American youth. *Gente de razón* logics is not a relic of past but a haunting presence, the teeth of coloniality, that causes harm in our world. The interaction and many more would bring to mind Deborah Miranda's words in *Bad Indians:*

> Neofito (Neophyte). . . Like very young children, Indians lived by instinct and desire, not knowing what was best for them. Priests regarded themselves *in loco parentis*, fatherly overseers, with the responsibility to instruct and guide in both temporal and spiritual matters. This state of childlike existence continued for the life of the *neofita*, who, even should she live to be one hundred years old and have children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, was never legally an adult and so could not leave the mission without permission. Nor could she own land. Officially

186. E. Miranda, "Racial and Cultural Dimensions," 268.

> emancipated in 1836 by Mexico, declared citizens of the United States in 1924, are we grown up yet?[187]

My takeaway from the meeting, with the two Native American students on my first day, was that students placed me in the same category with administrators. Although, youth have a level of autonomy they are still considered under their parents and in some cases the states guardianship. I want to point out instances how parents and grandparents from the community were treated. During school and Title VII meetings, parents need on their children's education were not considered or pushed back to another meeting—not taking up the real issues parents and community members wanted to address such as suspension rates, pushing youth into alternative schools (used to reform youth who are rebellious). It would take years to undo that day and for the students to see me as an advocate. And, similar to Miranda, I too kept asking myself the same question: Are we grown up yet?

When I started working in January of 2016—halfway through the school year since it took a lot of negotiation between the district and the community to get me hired-- the school was going through a transition. The former principal was gone, and former alumni took over the school implementing changes to bring the school into the 21st century. The school was very outdated as previously mentioned in the opening of this chapter how the school was stuck with 1980s décor. Some of the changes included updating the school towards a more technological and inclusive space. These changes, the transition, meant my first year as a Tribal Community Liaison was chaotic and difficult. The American Indian students did not trust me and were aloof. I was mistrusted by teachers, as well. Further, counselors, along with administrators, were not clear of my position. Was I a disciplinarian? A counselor? A teacher? What was my role in this school and why did the community find it necessary to hire someone to advocate for their children?

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In this section, I cover how building relationship with student leadership forged a path toward creating and maintaining an AlterNative space in the school. I further examine how administrators, teachers, and staff either supported or attempted to curtail the relationship process. Then I will dovetail into how Indigenous spaces were infiltrated and surveilled by the state.

Before covering how student leadership created an AlterNative space, one that is fueled by their ancestors, a common theme throughout my time in the school was present: resistance. Education scholar, Pedro Noguera ponders on why we research resistance in *Youth Resistance Research and Theories of Change*

> I think people are drawn to resistance research because we need a sense of hope. There is hope in the belief that by resisting forms of oppression we are not just engaged in fruitless work. We see that we can actually have an impact on our reality and on the world around us through our actions we begin to believe that change is possible. Such hope is not just delusional. It's real. [188]

The resistance of the community for the school to focus on their children receiving quality and equitable education in the schools sparked hope. The idea that this quality and equitable education would also incorporate Kumeyaay traditions and culture signaled to the community that there was hope to change how administration interacted with their community and their children. Indeed, administration and teachers were held accountable by tribal leaders, parents, and advocates for the first time since the high school was built in the late 1920s. The youth took up the torch, similar to the one used by their ancestors more than three hundred years ago to burn down the mission, of resistance by defending their place and space within the high school. There

188. Pedro Noguera, "Organizing Resistance into Social Movements," in *Youth Resistance Research and Theories of Change*, ed. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 71-81, 79.

were tense moments between the Native youth and the school administration, teachers, and staff, where I acted as a mediator. For all of these exchanges (too many to count), when Native youth talked back and demanded respect from teachers from their micro aggressions, when Native youth pushed back on historically inaccurate information taught in the classrooms, and when Native youth became more involved on school campus, their resistance led to respect for the Native American, a Native American voice at the table, an increase in engagement by the youth and, ultimately, an increase in graduation rates.

At the beginning of 2016, as the Tribal Community Liaison I was responsible for identifying Native Americans attending the high school. Eighteen identified self-identified in a survey I conducted at the beginning of the school year as Tribal Community Liaison. All students self-identified as Native American with two tribal identifications. One student was on an A-G track. It was my job to develop, with these students, an on-campus Native Pride group. Our commitment to create a fourth space, was imperative. Since in the spring of 2016 semester (my first semester at the high school), four students were placed into alternative school for grades and behavioral issues.

Even though the community and the youth had identified the need for this group and the advocacy that would come out of it, we were still met with resistance from all sides. The school counselor and I had recommended establishing the Native Pride group where we would facilitate workshops on race and identity and invite community leaders to be part of the Native Pride movement, we were met with resistance. Students resisted. Administration resisted. Teachers resisted. Suffice it to say, despite the resistance, we made progress. By June of 2016, two students graduated with a high school diploma—one student received several scholarships. This was a huge accomplishment considering that the last time a (one) Native student graduated with

an A-G requirement was in 2006. Within a year of my appointment as the Tribal Community Liaison, we had doubled the number of Native students who graduated with the A-G requirement. It is important to note, meeting the A-G requirement is he steppingstone toward being accepted into a university. One of the community goals was to increase graduation rates with an A-G requirements so that Native students would continue into higher learning.

To review, in my first semester as Tribal Community Liaison, I was not successful as I had intended. Structural issues were present that did not allow me to progress. One recurring issue that persisted was that no one knew exactly what my role was in the school—an obstacle that continued on until my last year.[189] Returning in the fall of 2016, I was motivated to work with the students and teachers despite the less than welcoming greeting I had received in the spring. I now had about nine months to observe and learn about the school history, the school environment, and rural politics. I did not want to repeat my first day experience as the "fixer" or overseer of students. However, this wishful thinking did not reach teachers or students. That fall, teachers and students continued to cautiously observe me and met me with resistance for very different reasons. Teachers did not trust me because they were afraid of being labeled a racist and uncooperative, and if they were labeled this way, they might lose their job. On the other hand, students did not trust me for a number of reasons: 1) they did not know if I was a "spy" watching them and reporting back to their teachers and administration about their comportment; 2) they did not know me and I had not developed a relationship with them; 3) I was an outsider (community and ethnically); and 4) the position is temporary. All these conceptions of my

189. Unclear expectations of the position continued after I was no longer in the position.

positionality made it challenging to engage with the students. Yet, this challenge motivated and inspired me to work in building relationships with the Native youth at the high school.

Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor, an activist and scholar, critically contemplated on what resistance meant to him in his reflections. He stated,

> resistance is not a gene but a natural force of survivance. Consciousness is formed and changed by resistance, and in incredibly diverse ways. The consciousness is formed and changed by resistance must be individual to have any meaning or significance. It must have individual meaning to appreciate a sense of presence.[190]

During the one-hour drive to the high school, Vizenor words stayed with me, "consciousness is formed and changed by resistance." Resistance from the students left me wondering how I could create with them a fourth space, an Indigenous space. Did Vizenors's words of resistance is a form of survivance hold the key? Survivance for the students meant their ancestors survivance from the missions, from the boarding school era, and from contemporary schooling. These spaces were not meant for them to thrive in. If this is the case, how can we create a space with students in the school if the very foundation of the school is anti-indigenous?

A sacred space, a fourth pro-indigenous space, carved out of an anti-indigenous space was pivotal for students to thrive. Their resistance, their fire within, metaphorically burned down a space to regenerate from racial violence. At first students resisted working with me in collaborating for a fourth space at the school. In fact, it would take another full year, from fall of 2017 to spring of 2018, to accomplish the community and youth goals of a robust fourth space, a Native Pride group to support Native American students. With peer assistance from more senior students in the high school and partnering with Kumeyaay Community College (KCC), San

190. Gerald Vizenor, *Youth Resistance Research and Theories of Change*, ed. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 116.

Diego State University, and University of California, San Diego, a Native Pride student organization was born and thrived.[191]

Instructors and Facilitators "Doing Good"

Historically, the Native Pride student organization has been part of the school since the 1990s. Generations of Native Americans students have been part of Native Pride. Using the student organization as a space for students to be their authentic selves during the thirty-minute lunch break. Since 2013 during my time at the Campo Education Center and before I was hired the Tribal Community Liaison, I visited students sporadically at Native Pride meetings. The school counselor was the advisor and worked with Native students on fundraising and educational field trips. In addition, during the meetings a local tribally run mental health organization worked with the students on relationships, mental health, and self-esteem. They brought pizzas to help with the organizing—something that I later would take up to help with establishing rapport. In the fall of 2016-2017, students voted for a new Native Pride president during their lunch break. The new Native Pride president held me accountable during the school year. Even though students had met me before, I was not consistent with meeting with students during their Native Pride meetings, I occasionally dropped in to talk to them. Later, I found that consistency was key for the students to trust me.

Until 2015, meetings for Native Pride were housed in the portable classroom or the recreation room. The classroom made it difficult for the students to focus during the meetings because other students played table games. Also, the organization of the room was separated into sections: the reading section with bookcases filled with books and a couch; the play section with

191. May 9, 2013, Charter School Presentation at Campo Education Center.

the table games; and, the snack area located close to the teacher's desk, teachers were not present during Native Pride meetings besides the advisor.

People from local education and non-profit organizations came in to talk to students about their future from different organizations but based on my observations very few speakers were able to connect with the students on an authentic level before I became a co-advisor. One particular example, a representative from a recruiting jobs organization came to the Native Pride meeting talking about possible jobs students could apply for once they graduated high school. These were blue-collar entry-level jobs outside of Campo. The representative was a tall and lanky white man. When he presented, he opened with the inauthentic existential question all youth dread to answer: what do you want to do when graduate for the rest of your life? These types of questions are inappropriate in any setting but in this circumstance, it was exceptionally not welcomed by students. So naturally students were uninterested and not paying attention to the speaker as he went through his presentation. He got flustered because students were not paying attention and interrupting him as he spoke. There was tension between the speaker and students. After he left, the students and I looked at each other as a sigh of relief the presentation was over.

I reflected on the opening question, and I thought opening with questions about your personal dreams and aspirations did not sit well with students or me for that matter. Students picked up on his delivery and his uncomfortableness speaking to them. They responded with the same indifference he afforded them and now they had sat through their lunch to another lecture on their life. When outsiders came into this space, Native Pride students were uninterested, ignored the speakers, and kept to themselves. For many invited speakers, the students'

indifference was too much to bear and left the meetings frustrated the students were not cooperative and were not listening.

Over the years between 2012-2016 as a graduate student and Tribal Community Liaison (2015-2018), I observed people come and go from different organizations who were unable to connect with the Native students during my masters and doctoral training. Today, I identify these moments as moments of resistance from the Native Pride students. The students knew the speakers, who came into lecture them about college relationships and at-risk behavior, were not meaningful. As far as the students were concerned, these moments were transactions. They knew the speakers were there because they needed to meet a quota and always had surveys at the end of their talks. These talks were not individualized to the students experiences and, therefore, did not have meaning for them. What good was lecturing students on how they need to plan their adult life in a 30-minute talk when you are trying to survive?

Despite this, there were exceptional speakers who came from institutions that centered conversations on sovereignty, justice, collaboration with American Indian community, and building community connected with students on a deeper level. One exceptional speaker from a local university with a Tribal Liaison office connected with students in an authentic level. When she presented alongside her staff, they opened their presentation with a low-stakes icebreaker to connect with students and then authentically spoke to them about their experiences in the university and then went into a fun exercise with students. When they left, I noticed how each student was impacted by their presentation by how much they asked me when they were going to return. These authentic speakers were Native and non-Native BPOC with students and made meaningful changes, inspired resistance, and used various strategies to engage with the students.

First, they used fun icebreakers supported engagement with each other and the facilitator. Second, they spoke to them not at them. This was a common mistake many made, including myself early on, and these successful speakers worked with them "where they were at" throughout the activities they had scheduled. It must be noted that these speakers and Native American community leaders used a mix of engaging icebreakers and storytelling to hold students' attention. This caused resistance from the students and ignited fire that spread rapidly within the group. During these times, there was a palpable energy where their faces lit up. These moments encouraged students to resist outside the Native Pride organization, such as resistance toward teachers. Their resistance reminded me of what Vizenor's quote I used earlier in this chapter on how the "consciousness is formed and changed by resistance must be individual. . .meaning to appreciate a sense of presence."[192]

During these moments, consciousness formed but most speakers and teachers were not able to connect with students and referred to their consciousness as defiant, boisterous, and rebellious behavior. Those speakers who were successful in connecting with students emphasized individuality and a "sense of presence" something that was inauthentic to unsuccessful speakers. The inauthentic transaction that they "are there to 'help'" but did not connect with students by creating rapport with them before "helping" them. Uncertainties that stayed with me was the audacity of a stranger coming into an invited space and try to "fix" a problem from one meeting and then assuming there was a problem. This harmful thinking centered damage base narratives and material that can be retraumatizing to BIPOC communities.[193]

192. Vizenor, 116.

193. Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 2009.

Surveillance in Native Pride Room

Native students and their community knew the importance of analyzing the hierarchy within the school was critical to their survivance. The front of the Acorn High School, like many schools, administration is the first door you walk into. To the left one is "greeted" by school staff where a myriad of tasks is handled such as late slips, reasons for an absent, and logistics of school meals. The teacher's lounge was located at the front of the school next to administration. I often wondered why the architects placed the teacher's lounge close to administration—who would want to be close to their supervisor. Hauntings would come to me, and these memories were triggered by how closely the school reminded me (and I imagine the Native students and community) of mission architecture and social organization. This triggered me to think about Sánchez's work on missions and the organization of space in a hierarchical structure mirroring European society.[194] The space within the school was disjointed, each building was in their unique pods. For instance, where the teacher's lounge was located meant teachers did not congregate.

In the same academic year of 2016, I shared an office space with a non-profit organization, Helping Ways, which had an emphasis on mental health. Helping Ways partnered with schools to place mental health professionals in the schools. The office was in the high schools' counselor offices. Within the high school, two counselors were on site each with their respective offices were next to each other. This meant I "shared" a space with school counselors and mental health professionals. This meant my intention to create alterNative world, to support physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, and cultural space for Native students, was not available.

194. Sánchez, *Telling Identities,*1995.

There was no room for this vision. I envisioned a classroom, even a portable one, to create magic in that space and welcome parents, community members, and have students call that space their own.

In Las Vegas, I witnessed it for Latinx parents in an elementary school. Parents, teachers, and administrators collaborated in creating a space to support community. The way the east side elementary school supported community was by having a permanent resource center for parents and students to seek out resources based on their community needs. Because this was a heavily migrant Latinx school, most parents did not speak English, the director of the resource center connected with a local community college and they offered free or low-cost English classes for parents, citizenship workshops, leadership workshops on how schools operate, and an overall space for parents to meet and connect with their children's teachers.

The parent/student resource center fostered relationships with a vulnerable community that is in constant danger of deportation and gang violence and worked together to pave a way for parents and students to make the school theirs. I thought that we could create this type of atmosphere and environment at the Acorn High School. However, I was discouraged to have an office next to school counselors which impeded the community's needs. Per my position, I was technically a school employee with all the benefits of working inside of the district—with that came the benefit of pulling students out of class to meet with for one-on-one. The truth was voices were frequently heard outside of the office. When I called on students to meet with me, they would say they thought they were in trouble, which is why they were pulled out of class. I had to reassure them they were not in any trouble and that I was introducing myself to them. Weeks passed and students resisted coming to talk to me during my office hours. Pulling students out of their class became a hassle for teachers and staff slowly students began to wait to meet

with me on the days I came to campus. As students' demeanor shifted, I was met with resistance from the teachers to work with me.

For example, I called Native Pride students during their homeroom, like I often did, to work with them before lunch. I had arranged the science room as the space to meet. I sent out all the pink slips during homeroom. Pink slips are used as permission slips to allow students to move around freely in the school as long as they arrive to their destination. When the bell rang, the Native students trickled in the designated time (i.e., before lunch). On this day, they were a little more rambunctious than usual. Students greeted each other. Some debated about a show they say the previous evening. As students settled in and grabbed their lunch, we were interrupted by an elderly, stout, white teacher with outdated short curly gray hair. She stomped into the classroom going straight for one of the freshmen students. She yelled, "Are you supposed to be here? Why are you not in class?" The lines I heard repeatedly during my tenure were "Who gave you permission to be here?" Who gave YOU permission to be here?" In this instance, the student became paralyzed. He stopped eating her pizza, his mouth wide open as the teacher continued to yell at him. The student composed himself and yelled back at the teacher that he was supposed to be here. He went on about the fact he had received permission from his homeroom teacher to be HERE. All the while I remained standing in the front of the Native Pride organization. I froze like everyone else in the classroom watching the incident unfold.

Time slowed. All eyes were on the teacher raging. It was unbelievable what was happening. I had an out of body experience watching. When I came back to the present, when I recovered from the teacher's outburst, I felt warmth rising from my toes to my head. My heart rate sped up. Before I could say anything to the teacher, she turned her attention to me. She demanded to know if I knew the student was not doing well in his classes and why did I pull him

out of class. Immediately, I responded to her accusations that, in fact, a) I knew the student's background, and b) I requested permission from the principal and the teacher to allow him to attend the Native Pride organization meeting. The teacher marched out. The student was flustered. He repeated, "My homeroom teacher let me out." I assured him he was not in trouble and that he, like his peers, were allowed to be in the room and that no one is allowed to speak to him that way.

In one of the student interviews, Student 1 reflected on this incident and stated:

> I don't know if the teacher did that on purpose, but it was almost her not really respecting our private place and our little, because we had a room at the time, so it was like our private time, our private community. I think she felt entitled enough to walk in and just make herself comfortable and talk to another student when they were in their safe place. And I almost feel like a lack of respect and again misunderstanding from her. Maybe she didn't realize what she was doing when she was coming into our safe place but again it is misinformation and lack of respect for the community that we had[195]

The student referred to the Native Pride room as her "private time" and "private community" and that this "safe space"—a sacred space—was infiltrated by "misunderstanding," "lack of respect," and "entitle[ment]" by teachers. I think about Barbara O. Reyes' work on the missionization process in colonial California and her spatial analysis where she states: "the role and function of missionization as the foremost architect of colonization. . . whenever this process was taking place there were no private spaces."[196]

According to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a student's right to privacy is not guaranteed and most often "probable cause" is needed to search a student. Probable causes

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195. Student interview conducted August 29, 2020.

196. Reyes Bárbara, *Private Women, Public Lives: Gender and the Missions of the Californias* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010), 9.

are associated with drugs and violence.[197] Thus, a sense of criminality is inextricably correlated with the right to search and interrogate students. In this instance, bad behavior and bad grades translates to forced removal from the Native Pride safe space as student 1 stated:

> And same thing going back to the grades and stuff like that I think that was another thing that teachers also felt. IT WAS A PRIVILEGE. Like if you do good in school you can go to Native Pride. If you have good grades you can go to Native Pride.
>
> When really that should be something a place for us that we deserve to go to. We deserve to have our community. We deserve to have a voice, but I feel everyone used that like, "you guys get to a privilege." You have to do good in school [to attend Native Pride].

Student 1 critically reflected on how their teachers thought and felt they were the gatekeepers in rewarding good behavior by "allowing" students to attend culturally relevant and enrichment programs during homeroom. Resistance in this instance is clear. Students felt differently than the teachers. They felt they deserved a place safe from white supremacy. Native students challenged their teachers' authority. These N/A student members felt autonomy to attend, or not, the organization. Ultimately, they read this as rebellion against authority figures. In fact, these were forms of resistance to *loco parentis.*

Misunderstandings, as Student 1 reflected upon, occurred frequently. Here I will highlight how teachers used "deserving" and "privilege" as a reason for attendance to Native Pride program. In their eyes, students deserved to attend the program based on good behavior and grades while others were underserving because they would benefit more in attending homeroom. These beliefs I connect to *gente de razón* logics. *Good behavior* is based on "deserving" students who had obtained good grades and comported themselves adequately. One student talked about

197. "Students: Your Right to Privacy," American Civil Liberties Union, accessed November 7, 2020, https://www.aclu.org/other/students-your-right-privacy.

their privilege to attend Native Pride, although they were in some trouble because of their grades. In our conversation, she noticed how different she was treated as opposed to her peers based on her grades and potential. She interrogated the differential treatment she received—and asked why her peers cannot also be part of Native Pride?

Good behavior was the basis for Native students for being "allowed" to attend the program and teachers had *loco parentis* over allowing students to attend the program. In other words, the teachers (administration) would have preferred for struggling Native students to stay in their classrooms to watch over them. Recalling Miranda's words "this state of childlike existence. . .never legally an adult and so could not leave the mission without permission."[198] Further, the idea teachers in essence could "save" students from dropping out were similar to beliefs missionaries felt about recent converts— "save" souls from eternal damnation. Students, like their ancestors, were placed in positions in having to navigate, challenge, and push back on authority over their desires to seek out *their* community.

In reflecting on the historical moment of 1785, north of San Diego, and ten years after the Kumeyaay defense at the Battle of Mission San Diego de Alcalá, a medicine woman from the San Gabriel Valley organized a strike against Spanish missionaries close to the Mission San Gabriel on her Tongva homeland. Toypurina was her name. She used her skills as a medicine woman to recruit and organize men from eight villages to lead the failed defensive strike.[199] Toypurina was unable to fulfill her plan to burn down Mission San Gabriel because her plan was cut short by soldiers. They were waiting for the attack. The defenders were captured, punished,

198. Deborah Miranda, *Bad Indians: a Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2013).

199. Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1997.

and tortured. The opening quote by Governor Pedro Fages was shocked that the men followed orders from a woman. How could a woman led men to attack? As the above quote stated by Governor Fages the men "allowed themselves to be dominated by . . . woman."

For the Spanish, missionaries and soldiers, the egregious act of following the lead of a woman was an assault on their ideologies on gender. It challenged their authority on multiple levels from their perceived masculinity as cisgendered men and as the extension of colonial authority. For this reason, the men who were caught with Toypurina received corporal punishment, twenty lashes to be exact, for their role in the upheaval. However, their punishment did not compare to Toypurina's lifelong imprisonment.

Toypurina, received THE harshest sentence of them all—a lifelong sentence one she could not escape from. Once the missionaries took over Toypurina's punishment from the soldier's hands and imprisoned her for three years at the Mission of San Gabriel. At the end of the military tribunal Toypurina "confessed" her "sins" and "agreed" to live a "good" Christian life.[200] Translation: she was beaten and tortured until she "agreed" to confess to her sins. After she served her time and her "confession" at the mission she was sent north to Mission of San Borromeo in 1788 and she was forced to marry a Spanish soldier. She was sent into exile for the rest of her life.

At that moment in time when she when she was being tortured and imprisoned for three years, Toypurina understood that she had to negotiate with the priests to keep her life. Missionaries released her from the mission prison and forgave all her previous transgressions only if she "repented" for leading men and converted to Catholicism. After repenting, she was

200. Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1997.

given the condition for release if she agreed to live a "good" Christian moral life as a Spanish landless subject. At that moment, Toypurina's body was marked by the missionaries as a disobedient daughter needing discipline. But this historical moment is more than rehabilitation for Native woman, it marked Toypurina's body as a site of surveillance and control by the heteropatriarchal and heteropaternalist colonial system.

The trans-mission process first occurred with the physical disciplining of her body—the physical act of being exiled from her ancestral lands. The second component of the trans-mission process is using re-schooling methods on her body by renaming her and converting to Catholicism. The third, and most egregious component of trans-missions is taking control of her womb and sexuality through marriage. The border placed on Toypurina was set in her removal from her land, conversation (reeducation), and marriage. Her prison was her body and sexuality to be "watched" over by heteropatriarchal and heteropaternal Spanish invaders. Toypurina's body is marked by Spanish heteropatriarchal and heteropaternalism for a lifetime of surveillance and suspicion that is carried on from generation to generation and no right to privacy. Privacy is a right white settler possess and not extended to Native women and men by colonial heteropatriarchal and heteropaternal systems. Native bodies are sites marked by colonial authorities as "suspicious" to be watched over at all times. Settler suspicion is grounded in fear of mass revolt against settler-colonialism it is also grounded in paternalistic behavior based on a savior-paternal-complex. The border for Toypurina began at the mission and lack of privacy is extended to her body is traced to the Spanish suspicion of Indigenous peoples as "rebellious." For one, Spanish socio-political sentiments and ideologies on Indigenous peoples, even after conversion were not acknowledged as full Spanish subjects.

Returning to that day, later that afternoon, the teacher, who had created a scene, approached me to apologize profusely. Once again, I stood there with a painful smile on my face. Our interaction seemed like a lifetime. I knew deep down in my bones that her apology was not sincere. Once again, she stood upon her soapbox and said some of the students I was taking out for "fun" were suffering with their grades. She warned me that I should be more cautious when I pulled students out of homeroom. She then stated she was unaware the teacher had given permission for the student to be at the meeting. This was one example, among many, where these exchanges meant being scolded by teachers and infantilized along with Native students. In the teacher's eyes, the administration, I had removed students from their classroom to work on culturally--relevant workshops and college preparation without the teacher's permission. I had overstepped their authority and needed to be reminded of my position.

Surveillance and mistrust by teachers continued throughout my two and half years at the school. My existence as a brown woman in a position of power continued to raise mistrust by most teachers in the school. In another incident the fall or spring of 2018, a white teacher stormed into the Native Pride classroom during a session I had been facilitating with students. During this workshop, students were painting on canvas about themselves. Students were at different stages of the exercise. Another teacher decided to abruptly stomp into the classroom targeting the same student and began interrogating them. Once again, I was ignored. The student seemed scared. The workshop was ruined. Students were often made to feel guilty for being part of Native Pride. Student 2 said,

> Yeah but I feel like being part of it it's, like you know [pause] [in authoritative voice]
>
> "What are you doing?! Are you sure?! Are you even supposed to be here?!" . . . They should come in and you know [change of voice tone into teacher voice soft] "Ohh you're painting? Show me what you are painting?" You know?

Moments of infantilization (students and myself) by teachers illustrated how *gente de razón* logics operated and racial hierarchies were employed. Forced interruptions were based on suspicions and beliefs of my incompetency. A cloud of silence permeated the school when it came to racial relations. There was evidence that racial hierarchies haunted the hallways. Blue watchful and suspicious eyes observed me, judged us, in the high school. Once teachers realized that I was not their "ally," once they realized I was not the disciplinarian of Native students, their cold (blue eyes) stares followed me. They broke into the locked classroom to interrogate, surveil, and scold students. These accusations and forced interrogations from teachers were the norm during my second year at the school.

Yet, hope fueled my advocation for students during the years I worked with them. My role from a disciplinarian, a role administrators and teachers placed me in, into an advocate the role the community wanted me to enact would take time. What kept me going was to know that engaging in resistance work was to see the actual impact of our community work to change our world. This is why, when I started working with youth through Native Pride, I posed the questions to the youth about what type of support they needed. After meeting with students during the first year, I realized there were obstacles the office I shared with the mental health nonprofit and school counselors. For one, there was no privacy in that area. If students wanted to open up about their experiences within the school, that could not happen because of the location.

I found out early that one of the school counselors was the go-to person. He worked with Native students for more than eight years and was the advisor of Native Pride. I worked at the high school twice a week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, I worked from 9 am-to 3 pm and sometimes I worked on Mondays from 3 pm-9 pm when I had to drive students to their Kumeyaay language class at Kumeyaay Community College (KCC). On Tuesdays, I met with

this counselor to follow-up. His focus was on grades. He printed out grading reports, which provided the information for our conversations. He focused on students who struggled with their grades and behavior. There was a belief that bad behavior created bad grades, and if we could just figure out to tame the Native students then we would be able to improve their grades. That meant that I scheduled to meet with the students to follow-up with them about their week and if there was any support I could offer. For this, I had to take them out of class to meet with them to understand their challenges at school. During these meetings, students seemed attentive and listened to every word out of my mouth. This seemed like a milestone; I had gained the trust of these students. While meeting with students, I worked closely with the president of Native Pride to understand the day-to-day dynamics (i.e., challenges and opportunities) with teachers and students.

From my first day, students were resistant to work with me. They were suspicious of my role in the school. As previously mentioned, students (and school staff) did not know what my role was and whether I was spying on them to report back to the administration and teachers. After building rapport with students, slowly they came around. As mentioned, an important hurdle we had to overcome was being assigned a permanent space. During the first year 2016-2017, again, my proximity to the counselor's office appeared to align my position with administration and staff. Due to lack of space Native Pride was placed in the biology room with science black tables and the sinks. Once again, the room felt disjointed and sterile. Creating community in a science room felt medical and uninviting—not the ideal space to create magic.

During 2016-2017, we invited up to seven speakers: two were directors from Native American resource centers at a university, four were tribal leaders from the community, and one was from a local non-profit organization. We organized a field trip to the Museum of Man for

students in 2017. The vision for this field trip was to have students engage with research and decolonize spaces that are meant for them to belong in. Unfortunately, this field trip did not result in the outcome I had envisioned, which was taking over spaces and for them to lead conversation about their ancestors remains and cultural belongings. That year four students graduated from the district. Overall, my first year during the 2016-2017 as Tribal Community Liaison was met with resistance.

At the end of my first school 2016- 2017, I critically reflected on the successful and unsuccessful strategies that worked with students over the summer. One reflection was relationships do not happen overnight. This meant I had to rearrange everything for the following year. That summer, I planned out the school year and worked on how to foster relationships between students and teachers. I was committed to that the community's hope was not a delusion and change would blossom the following year. After meeting with community members and friends that summer, I/we came up with a plan. I reached out to the Acorn High School principal. He was going into his second year as an administrator at the school and working towards preparing student and faculty relations and improving the school environment.

In brief, my first year as the Tribal Community Liaison was met with resistance from teachers and students. Tribal Community Liaison role morphed from a disciplinarian and watchful position into a student advocate and a bridge between youth and their community with the school district—a *Ama de llaves* position. It was my role to report back to the community and assure them that my role was geared toward supporting youth beyond schooling. In other words, how could I support as the Tribal Community Liaison to build and sustain relationships with students in the AlterNative space that would blossom beyond these high school years.

This journey will be covered in the following section. We will examine how administrators, teachers, and supporting staff all played a role in manifesting misunderstandings of the Tribal Community Liaison position. There will be an explanation about how *loco parentis*—an element to *gente de razón* logics-- operated inside the school. The *gente de razón* logics infiltrated our attempt in creating the fourth space inside the school walls. The following section will detail how students created an AlterNative space of their own, how they used the fire within to burn down walls, and how hope fueled their desire to resist the colonial watchful eyes.

Native Pride Youth Leadership: "I've seen so many changes. . .
We are coming together. We are powerful"

In following Grande's vision in altering, scorching, fostering, and creating an AlterNative space the students brought this to fruition in the 2017-2018 school year. After two years of working as the Tribal Community Liaison with students at the high school, I learned from the previous lessons and my mistakes. My last school year with the Native youth, I stoked a space ignited by resistance and managed by the youth. With time and consistency, the Native student resistance became minimal. They came around. Slowly change occurred. Momentum picked up once students had a permanent space in the school, a space they called their own. This AlterNative space sparked an uptick in student membership in Native Pride from seven students to twenty students. Native students, who were once ambivalent about school activities, became involved in school politics and organizations. A sense of Native student pride and respect blossomed on school campus. This energy permeated outside of Native Pride. In this section, I will cover how students challenged the settler-coloniality landscape in the school and "reimagined a transgressive fourth space."

After some time in asking the principal to provide a space for Native students for the program, he finally found a permanent spot for us in 2017. During the summer, I prepared for the

academic year. I was excited about it. Learning from my previous mistakes and lessons I had learned, I sketched out a plan. I created a syllabus. Most importantly, I created a home for the Native students. My visions for burning down the borders would blossom that year. Grande's definition of AlterNative space is not based in a multicultural inclusive curriculum; rather, it is based in a transgressive fourth space. I had named the room the Native American Resource Center, later the Native students renamed it the Native Pride room. This was an example of how students took ownership of the space. There was a transfer of ownership in the space from a teacher-centered to a student-centered space.

In this space, we organized. We invited tribal leaders from San Diego and created magical experience twice a week. By this point, my office was moved from within the administration, counselor, and mental health space to the appointed space for the N/A students. The classroom was formerly inhabited by a history teacher. In 2017, the teacher fell ill, and his classroom was open. When we moved into the space, my vision, my commitment, was to foster a safe space outside of *gente de razón* logics from administrators and microaggressions from teachers. In doing so, I bought a couch and decorated the classroom to resemble a home. Students would later say how this space brought them tranquility, security, and trust. Student 1 said,

> To come to each other for anything we needed because I feel in the beginning no one showed up to Native Pride. Later that changed. At first, I felt like I had nowhere to go and come to but later that changed. This place is pretty much like being in my house, like I can come to anyone here and even if I don't want to talk to anyone in here just like this room. I don't know.[201]

Student 1 noted that the Native Pride room brought them feelings of being "home" and in their bedroom. They felt they could talk about their challenges and experiences when they showed up at Native Pride. At first, she noticed how "no one showed up." This same student brought up the

201. Student interview, 06/05/2018.

challenges on how their peers were resistant to each other. She said, “I know there are a lot of issues, but we are working on it. There is progress.” The progress she referred to the reparations and healing connections between students. When I started working at the high school, students felt distrustful of each other but as time continued, they began to connect and bond with each other. Student 2 commented on the changes she said,

> There’s been a lot of change. A lot. I don’t see like. People want to come and want to come to school. There hasn’t been as many fights. People have been graduating. And that’s the goal. Basically. People. We want to come to school. We want to be here. We want to be and finally part of something. We finally learned to connect to each other . . .

Intertribal fights between students ranged from disagreements between each other to physical fights. I interpreted these fights between students as a form of resistance and as protection from transMission hauntings, even from each other. TransMission hauntings is grounded in modern dispossessions, and this means schisms within the community. Trust is not given but earned and due to the long history of how transmission hauntings wedge divisions and foster conflict is a *gente de razón* logics. Logics that are based on scarcity and survival. Student 2 reflected on the divisions and feelings about their schooling experiences before holding a space on their own terms:

> a lot of native kids have been under a lot of pressure you know they just felt like you know we are nothing (from teachers). Why would we graduate? Why would we even stay here at the school? Why would we even be you know you know involved in this school at all?
>
> So involved people leave even been here for their own ceremony for our graduating seniors. So, it's proving. It's just shows that people like native group are native people are just coming back from this. . .there is support for and from each other . . .

Student 2 pondered on how they and their peers felt about school before Native Pride. Student 2 remembered a time when the school alienated them and their family. Conversations with parents

and elders echoed what students said. Alienation ranged from feelings of despair and anger to hope and resistance. Resistance for students was to push back in graduating into a system that does not value their personhood. Youth resistance in pushing back on settler violence is well documented in education studies. Tribal critical race theorist Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy expands our understandings of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to incorporate tribal peoples "liminality as both legal/political racialized beings . . . experience of colonization."[202] This means that Native Americans experience settler-colonialism in the U.S. (and in Mexico) are linked to assimilation policies from both genocide and ethnocide in schooling. In addition, McKinley Jones Brayboy highlights Indigenous peoples "desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification."[203] In all of the interviews and the 2017 school climate surveys I conducted, students echoed how negative campus racial climate affected them. One student mentioned, "they don't think I am native [sic]." Another student "they hate Natives because they think I am rich." And the summoned gendered and racialized insult toward Native girls of "they call me Pocahontas" a disconnect between being a powerful Native American woman and an object of popular culture. Each student's experienced is based on stereotypes that are grounded in colonization ideologies—*gente de razón* logics. "They don't think I am native" is based that Native people do not come in all colors—it is a form of erasure. The other two statements are based that being Native is connected to wealth and unlimited support from the U.S. government often negating the fact Native Americans are part of tribal nations and that their relationship with the federal government is based on the long

202. Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, "Tribal Critical Race Theory," *The Urban Review* 37, no. 5 (December 2006): pp. 425-446, 428.

203. Brayboy, 429-230.

tradition to treaty making. Finally, the "they call me Pocahontas" is not only a gendered epithet it erases the fact that Pocahontas from the Powhatan people was twelve when she was kidnapped and forced into Christianity and married an English man. During her time in England, she was presented to nobility and the Crown as a "civilized" native. This racial and gendered epithet is connected to *gente de razón* logics that is based on whiteness.

Parents reiterated their children's concern during parent meetings held at Campo Education Center in 2013. These concerns continued in the Indian Education meetings where I was held responsible to report. A parent brought up her concern on how negative campus racial climate affected her school age child who represented his culture through his hair. Due to ignorance and racial superiority, her son cut off his braids to avoid being targeted by non-Natives. During the meeting the parent went on to say that her son had to protect himself from bullies and was forced to fight back which resulted in more trouble for her son at the school.

Often non-Native students' cultural understandings of Native students were based on stereotypes. In the high school for the 2017-2018 racial composition is 213 Hispanic or Latino 127, 134 white, and 19 American Indian/Native American, and 5 black students.[204] In the high school, Student 2 articulated her feelings about protecting herself from a negative campus racial climate and how Native Pride offered tools to navigate racial landmines:

> but the aggression here cause I noticed that before and there's like a lot of aggression like from native kids before because they just felt so because before they felt so. . .that's why there were so many fights.
>
> They probably felt like they needed to defend themselves. They didn't know how to defend themselves because before Native Pride started we were picked on and we picked up a lot of communication skills and how to handle situations like those. How to handle racism and like racial comments to us.

204. Education-Data, 2020, http://www.ed-data.org/school/San-Diego/Acorn- -Unified/Acorn-High.

AlterNative spaces secured a level of safety for students to discuss with each other and me about negative campus racial climate they lived through every day. At the same time, students noticed the difference in school climate change—administrators pushed to reduce racial tensions between students (native/native and native/non-native).

Creating an AlterNative Space

As previously mentioned in the introduction in 2014-2015, a new administrator took over as head of the school. As a former alumnus, he understood the historical dynamics within the school. Even though he was a white administrator, he worked to understand his racial and gendered biases—something I had not seen in the previous administrator. Immediately, he started making changes in the school that he wanted to support throughout his tenure. His goals were to change racial dynamics in school, build more trust among students, and train teachers and staff to be more supportive toward students.

He instituted a series of these reforms. Every day in the morning he and the teachers waited for students to arrive at school. Because it was a rural school, almost all the students rode the bus to school because it is a rural school—created and strengthened community bonds is more challenging than a city school. Even though the administrators and school staff dealt with unforeseen challenges they did their best to change school climate by integrating restorative practices to reduce racial tensions among Native American, Mexican/Mexican-American/Chicanx/Latinx, and white students and their negative feelings on school environment repairing relations staggered in 2017. In one instance sometime in 2017, Native American students came to me concerned over what a teacher had said and done in class. This was not the first time I had heard about this teacher, but it was the first time I had more than one student

come to me about a situation that had occurred in the classroom. To provide more context, students were asked to debate each other on a current event. During the class debate non-native students, the majority, confessed their support for President Donald J. Trump. This appeared to be a tactic to rally Native American and Mexican American students to engage in a heated discussion. At the end of the debate, the Trump supporters received full points for their argumentative skills. Suspect, the teacher revealed to her students that she was a Trump supporter. Clearly, the teacher gave preferential treatment to the students who supported Trump for her political affiliation and not for argumentative skills or facts. Also, Native American, and non-Trump supportive students felt they were not heard and were treated differently than Trump supporters.

I brought this concern to the principal. He inquired more knowledge about the situation and suggested a restorative conversation. During my second year in early spring of 2018, racial tensions were on the rise between white students and Native students in the school. Student 1 felt that there was “a lot of Pride and it's not just like another club it's like we have our own room and we're going to take care of it. We have the power. We have our own voice.” Burning a space into an institution where Native students were not supposed to thrive reverberated throughout the school walls.

As a result of Native Pride, teachers began to inquire more about what we were doing during our Native Pride meetings. As previously mentioned, teachers resisted working with me. Instead, they were watchful of the work we were doing in the classroom. Students were left to feel “guilty” for wanting to join their peers during Native Pride. Student 2 pushed back on these feelings about asking for permission:

> I don’t want to feel to be made guilty for going to something like this. They made me feel guilty wanting to come here but I feel comfortable, and I had good grades.

> I kept and managed my good grades. I deserve to be here. That is just how I feel.
>
> The Reform High have been coming here. They have been doing good. It is a privilege. No one just can come in here. You don't mess around and there is stuff to do and we get stuff done.

Student 2 highlighted what it means to her to deserve being here. That meant more than having good grades. She emphasized how grades should not be the be the benchmark for students to feel "comfortable." The Native American students reiterated how the students who were part of Native Pride should feel pride and respect in creating the space they created. As student 2 commented: "there are stuff to do, and we get stuff done."

Referring to organizing and fundraising for conferences and field trips, student 2 pointed out how teachers intruding into their space made them feel

> I felt she was taking away their safe place. Their. . .you know? Their support you know. I felt they were doing good and felt comfortable and I want people to feel comfortable when they come here. Not having to worry about a teacher coming and what are we doing in here?

Students emphasized feelings they were more than the stereotypical images their teachers had of them and felt that their experiences in Native Pride were not respected by teachers. Students resisted teacher surveillance by challenging stereotypes headfirst. Over time these metaphorical borders were torn down by students. They began to look out for each other. During class Native American students worked together. They mentored and guided each other. Over time the Native Pride student seemed to be threatening the "other" students.

Over the course of my two and half years, eight students attended Kumeyaay Community College for language class for college credit, attended and queried the archives at Museum of Man, and fundraised more than $5,000 dollars to attend four Native youth conferences in Los Angeles and San Diego. Students challenged teachers and peers about what it means to be

Kumeyaay. For example, in the fall of 2016, a group of Native American girls organized with one of the history teachers to teach peers about why we should not celebrate Christopher Columbus. It was brave for this group of youth leaders to present their argument and push back on dominant savior discourse.

Students often referred about how the lack of respect and misunderstanding fueled their need to push back on stereotypical generalizations. Based on the Tribal Community Liaison experience, students felt their school environment changed and as a result to reconnected with one another. Their light shone bright and expelled the haunting. In other words, students used their inner light to burn down to ashes of the metaphorical colonial wall. Student 2 witnessed the inner power illuminate a path towards camaraderie, "We finally learned to connect to each other." This inner light transformed a space where they were not supposed to thrive. It was fueled by the desire to burn down walls; it was fueled by the desire to "be part of something."

The Native American students burned down and fortified their bond within their AlterNative space. This space meant a place outside of school surveillance or colonial watchful eyes and summoned the power that comes from their ancestors. Student 1 reflected on the space and magic they created together with their peers and what it meant to them

> Is everyone like a lot of Pride to and it's not just like another club it's like we have our own room and we're going to take care of it. We have the power. We have our own voice.

Student 2 felt that the space was now transformed for them to "have our own part in this school basically." At this point, I realized students did not see as the present-day *Ama de llaves*, or the community for that matter, instead my role was seen as the opportunity to break down physical and metaphorical borders in the school. The Tribal Community Liaison was a position created by community to support youth while they navigate school. For students this position demonstrated

to them that they are supported. For administration and teachers this position was seen as a method to discipline and "understand" Native American and Alaskan Indians students into reforming and becoming "good" students.

Conclusion

This chapter I tried to weave in Kumeyaay understandings on rebellion, struggles, and resistance in their schools as a form of AlterNative spaces. I brought to light the transMissions hauntings in their schools. I trace how Kumeyaay students used the fire within to clear a way to burn their mission ghosts to present a protected space from the anti-indigenous space. AlterNative space, fueled by their ancestors, guided them to resist and persist to create a space to flourish. *Loco parentis* and *gente de razón* logics operated in a circular fashion in attempt to infiltrate and regulate resistant behavior towards colonial schooling. In creating Native Pride in the school, students were able to create a space away from *gente de razón* logics and *Ama de Llaves* apparations that were employed by current day schooling practices.

I further elaborate how *loco parentis* focused on youth but also on parents and grandparents when it came to them expressing their children's and grandchildren's needs. *Ama de Llaves* figure comes to life on my body and how administrators and teachers viewed my position as opposed to how the community viewed my position. I reflect on Antonia I. Castañeda's piece "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848," she emphasized how women during the early Spanish and Mexican negotiated a women's role in Alta California for reasons of survival and resistance contested their racialized and gendered role. In other words, this meant that *Ama de llaves* and other gendered roles were contested and resisted the gender inequality and patriarchal structures. The *Ama de Llaves* historical figure placed on my

body by administrators and educators provided an avenue for me to contest and negotiate my position of power to support Native American students.

In the final section, Native students demonstrated how to (re)connect with each other by burning down TransMission hauntings and *gente de razón* logics. They found each other in a space they did not think existed for them. From their imagination they created their own space they called home in a place that was built on *gente de razón* logics. Overcoming historical and present challenges, students were able to reconnect with each other and form bonds that are unbreakable. Organizing in the school challenged teachers and their peers to eradicate their *gente de razón* logics and to prod away colonial watchful eyes. My positionality as Tribal Community Liaison paved the way for us to build a bridge together.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion: The Presidio and Land Defenders Futures

On June 30, 2020, Kumeyaay land defenders and supporters gathered in East County San Diego, close to Campo Indian Reservation, wearing traditional regalia and masks due to COVID-19, to stop the dynamite blasting of a mile on sacred land and cultural sites on the U.S./Mexico border by the US Army Corps of Engineers headed by U.S. Customs and Border Patrol (CBP). The Kumeyaay are one of seven federally recognized tribes split into two in the southern and northern border. Under President Donald J. Trump's national "zero-tolerance" border policy, CBP blasted a way and continued the construction of the wall as a deterrent policy to stop Mexican, Central American, and Caribbean migrations into the U.S. The physical wall might be a "impassable physical barrier" to the U.S., but for the Kumeyaay people, and all border tribes, the wall is an ever-encroaching on Indigenous sovereignty, settler overreaching police power, and hyper surveillance on traditional lands and peoples. [205] Direct action by Kumeyaay land defenders, and other border tribes, to end settler imposition of tribal sovereignty is a long history the Kumeyaay know all too well, and can be traced back to the mission period during the 1770s. In recent years, increased state surveillance and border security is an impediment of Kumeyaay land-based practices and Indigenous migrations. One central question how are state surveillances reminiscences of the past mission and presidio hauntings on the U.S./Mexico border? How do these ideologies violate Indigenous sovereignties? And how are the Kumeyaay people defending their right to privacy and territory?

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205. Helen Horvath, "Kumeyaay Protest Halts Dynamite Blasting at Border Wall," *East County Magazine*, June 2020.

In this dissertation, I covered how missions and presidios ideologies continue to be present in schools and how *gente de razón* logics are intertwined under "doing good" rhetoric in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, I covered how Indigenous concepts of borders were utilized by traditional leaders as resistance both historically and most recently up to the 1960s (later in the conclusion I will cover recent resistances on the border). Chapter 3 I go over my seven-year critical ethnographic work in Juntas de Nejí and my work with the grandmothers on their journey to resuscitate Tipay. I further go into how the grandmothers utilize land-based pedagogies and TIE to breathe back life to their language while I reflect on what it means to conduct research and positionality as part of my role of documenting the language summer camps. Chapter 4 is the continuation of my critical ethnographic research at Acorn High School and Campo Education Center. I highlight how racialized and gendered ideologies that originate from *gente de razón* logics and the *Ama de Llaves* figure comes alive in the high school halls. In this chapter, I interrogate how the ama de llaves figure and comes to life from a transmission haunting. I further interrogate how the ama de llaves figure was placed on my body by administrators and teachers to "discipline" Native students into "good" and "well-behaved" students. In this conclusion, I go over how increased surveillance on the U.S./México by CBP is based on *TransMission* hauntings directly connected to the *presidio* and illegalities.

***Línea de Defensa*: Indigenous Illegality on the U.S./Mexico Border**

Returning to Delfina Cuero during the 1960s, she asked in her autobiography, "Is there room for us in America? Can we come home legally?"[206] Cuero's question on her legal status in the United States as an Indigenous woman is often relegated to undocumented peoples—mainly

206. Cuero and Shipek, *The Autobiography of Delfina Cuero,* 67.

Mexicans in California. In this case, an Indigenous woman was inquiring what it meant to be "legal" on her ancestral lands where her lineage could trace back for more than 10,000 years. By centering Delfina Cuero's question on legality is based on TransMission hauntings that center *gente de razón logics* when it comes to racialization on the border. The concept and discourses on border(s) infringe on Indigenous sovereignty—mainly restricts and contains ancestral migrations and land-based pedagogies and center surveillance, protection of the state, and physical obstruction. Currently, the U.S. and Mexico settlers are gatekeepers of the border and decide who is allowed in and who is not into the nation-state. By analyzing newspaper reports in the U.S. and Mexico, blogs, social media posts, CBP documents, historical correspondence, and personal interviews I found an entryway to trace the historical discourse on who is policed and who is not "allowed in" as a gendered project to "protect" the settler nation from "illegal" invasion over time. Illegality, I argue, is racialized as a logic used on Native bodies as the settler move to dispossession. Illegality is traced from the missionization and presidio apparatus to current day forms of dispossession from the hetero settler nation.

In this section, I opened with Delfina Cuero's testimony as a method to interrogate the question of legality and documentation for Indigenous peoples living on the U.S./México border and how nation-state surveillance operates and shifts over a period time. Native peoples living on the U.S./México border experience racialization by the nation-state differently than other ethnic groups covered living on the border. Covered in Chapter 1, Indigenous peoples are sovereign nations and have been under surveillance since the beginning stages of colonization.[207] In

207. Robert H. Jackson and Edward D. Castillo, Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: the Impact of the Mission System on California Indians (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Michael Connolly Miskwish, Kumeyaay a History Textbook Precontact to 1893, vol. 1 (El Cajon, CA: Sycuan Press, 2007); Kent G. Lightfoot, Indians,

Chapter 1, I traced the legal category of "foreigner" and "alien" as it relates to American Indians in the continental U.S. The legal "foreign" category in the U.S. places Tribal Nations as foreign governments as it relates to the relationship with the U.S. On one hand, the "foreign" category places Tribal Nations in the footing with the U.S. federal government. On the other hand, "foreignness" places tribal nations as foreigners on their traditional lands and thus places tribal nations as ward of the state. In her auto-ethnographical work *Mohawk Interruptus* (2014), Audra Simpson situates her argument within the U.S./Canada context and border crossings. Her argument focuses on how First peoples caught between multiple settler-colonial states navigate the corridor (border) as Indigenous peoples most specifically as Iroquois and Haudenaenosaunee people and First Nations of the northeast. She states that the right to cross settler-borders as Native or First Peoples is most often contingent in demonstrating the burden of proof or settler-documentation as proof of legality. Further, Simpson states that Indigenous peoples caught between the Canada/US border are not "foreign," but instead travel outside of the legal boundaries of citizenship and foreign status.[208] Coming back to Cuero's testimony and how Simpson's concept of being caught between foreign status and citizenship Cuero speaks to the caught in betweenness. When Cuero was interviewed by anthropologist Florence Shipek sometime between the late 1960s and early 1970s a political shift was occurring in restricting traditional migrations.

In order to trace the word "illegal" in Alta and Baja California I begin in the early 18th century—otherwise known as the mission period. After covering the missionization as a

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Missionaries, and Merchants: the Legacy of Colonial Encounters on8 the California Frontiers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Rosaura Sánchez, Telling Identities: the Californio Testimonios (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

208. English and American concept of foreignness in chapter 1.

gendered project, I will jump into the Customs and Border Patrol era beginning in the 1920's in Alta and Baja California and how CBP is a racialized and gendered logics is a move towards dispossessing Indigenous peoples from their lands. The following section will cover how racialized bodies are used to police and surveille the land and police Indigenous peoples living on their land. And, finally, the last section will cover how Kumeyaay land defenders are currently defending and blocking the construction of the wall.

Presidios were known as the *línea defensa* (line of defense) against Native attacks to assure that colonization was steady and that missionaries were protected. Priest traveled with the military both played a role in the ongoing colonization of California Natives. Presidios were built of adobe-wall fort often by soldiers and forced labor by Natives. Between 1781-1796 about 55 soldiers with families lived in the presidio later increased up to 190 people.[209] Soldiers, known as *soldados de cuero* (leather-jacket soldiers) were mainly married recruits from the New Spain and later the Mexican states of Sonora, and Sinaloa—along with married settlers with families.[210] Mestizo married soldiers with families, and settlers, were "models of acculturation—of Christianization and Hispanicization—for Indian people."[211] A small percentage of soldiers were convict laborers from Mexico City and other parts of New Spain. Presidios operated semi-autonomously because the mission and presidio needed each other to survive during the early

209. Jack S. Williams, "San Diego Presidio: A Vanished Military Community of Upper California," *Historical Archaeology* 38, no. 3 (2004): pp. 121-134, 122.

210. A. I. Castaneda, "Hispanas and Hispanos in a Mestizo Society," *OAH Magazine of History* 14, no. 4 (January 2000): pp. 29-33, https://doi.org/10.1093/maghis/14.4.29, 30.

211. Castañeda, "Hispanas and Hispanos in a Mestizo Society," 30.

colonization period through criminalized Indian, gentile, and neophyte labor.[212] At one point both institutions went against each other with the purpose of managing Indian labor.

The *Presidio* and Mission of San Diego are both extensions of the Spanish Crown and operated simultaneously to colonize Native Americans. These two institutions had a tumultuous relationship with each other. For one, they wrestled with each other in the political arena and eventually it materialized in a form of a letter sent to the Crown by Serra. In that letter Serra pleaded with the Crown to control all goods and to shift the power from the military to the Church so the Church can manage the land and the people as well as producing goods for the military.[213] At first the Spanish Crown was reluctant to transfer power to the Franciscans since at this point in time the King had forcibly removed the Jesuits from the Americas for wielding too much power away from the Crown. Nevertheless, Serra convinced the Crown that it was beneficial and cheap to have the mission produce goods for the soldiers on the backs of Native Americans. And, so the King, gave in and granted Serra power to produce goods for the soldiers and control the land. Franciscan missionaries had it all—they controlled the people, the land, and the livestock in Alta California.[214]

What is important to note is that Mestizo soldiers were used to surveille the land and the people while at the same time were used as examples of *gente de razón* for acculturating California Indians. The wives of soldiers schooled recently baptized Native American children.

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212. Hackel, *Children of the Coyote*, 296-319.

213. Hackel, Steven W., "Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California." In *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush*, ed. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 113-114.

214. Sandos, James. *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. (New Haven: Yale University, 2004), 85.

Furthermore, soldiers were incentivized to marry Native women by giving them land holdings. Because soldiers were mixed race, they had the opportunity to move up in the class social categories through the *gracias de sacar* petitions to become *gente de razón* regardless of race. These military families received land grants and with their whiteness granted by the Crown would later create their own society based on land holdings they became Californios—erasing their past and racial makeup.[215] California scholars are beginning to address how the mission are the first incarceration systems in California and how these systems are present in today's California carceral state.[216] The mission, the military, and later the schools focused on who were "exemplary" *gente de razón* by placing mestizos/as in roles of leadership in the mission, the presidio, and schools. TransMission hauntings are later present on the border on how Border Patrol actively recruits Latino men to protect the U.S. and reproduce concepts of *gente de razón* through a gendered project on the border.

TransMexicanization Brown Il/legalities

Cuero's experience on how she remembered the border provides first hand historical insight on how her family lived through the slow expulsion from their lands, restriction of movement, and limitation of traditional migrations by the settler nation all based on documentation. Every year, she remembered how her family were pushed eastward further and further away from home and moving closer towards the 1,800 million-year gray metamorphic rocks of Laguna Mountains located thirty miles east of San Diego. As Shipek recorded Cuero's

215. Castañeda, "Hispanas and Hispanos in a Mestizo Society," 32.

216. Madley, Benjamin. "California's First Mass Incarceration System." *Pacific Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2019): 14–47.

life story, she emphasized the fluidity of the U.S.-Mexico border stating, "My grandfather crossed the line first. In those day's we didn't know there was a line, only that nobody chased them away from ha-a." [217] Cuero's memory of the border was basically nonexistent in her life as she states she (they), "didn't know there was a line" dividing her people, but what Cuero does remember is that her family were chased by settlers (white and East Asian) from her ancestral lands and over time they were forced to travel further southeast into the mountains and south into Mexico.

In order to understand Delfina's life story in relation to the U.S.-Mexico border we have to understand the historical context in which Cuero's story was recorded by Shipek. In Cuero's life, Shipek extracts Cuero's memories on the everchanging border, the landscape (San Diego), and how Cuero's family were targets of increased surveillance and policing by the state. Cuero was subjected to gendered violence by Mexican settlers (husbands) and marked as "foreign" by the nation-state on her homeland pushed into Mexico. The shift in border policies and move from fluidity towards a fixed border, Kumeyaay affected migration patterns and slowly over time pushout tribal members from their lands and pushed towards the mountains and into México. In Cuero's case, she was forced out of her home into Mexico and once placed there by American settlers it was assumed, she was Mexican and thus had legal recourse in the Mexican system for gendered violence.

How does this connect to the marking of Indigenous peoples as "foreign" and how does surveillance technologies play a role in the production of the "foreign" subject in colonial Kumeyaay land? First, the mission architecturally is the blueprint used by missionaries across the Americas and it is erected and constructed by forced Indian labor. The end result of the physical

217. Kumeyaay word for willow.

object is to hyper-surveille and imprison Indigenous peoples. Sánchez describes how the design of the mission in Alta California reflected racial and gendered hierarchies as well as serving as a mission panopticon to surveille all bodies inside and outside of the mission and was similarly in the presidios.

Throughout this process to use Native bodies and marriage by the missionaries were all forms of 24-hour surveillance on Indigenous bodies to reduce their anxieties as foreigners and reduce their anxieties of a rebellion and uprising and most importantly their end goal was to birth the Spanish subject. In using these cases, I focused on how these techniques alongside (re)education and violent tools were used to discipline native bodies and how they play a role in the gendered and racial "suspicion" of Native peoples. Missionaries and soldiers distrusted Indigenous peoples and were always on high-alert waiting for the next uprising while simultaneously the missionaries overworked California Natives through the use of transMissionization hauntings to remove the **mark** of Indigenous peoples and replaced with as a Spanish subject or the landless-gendered laborer Spanish subject. Although, the mission period ended in 1833 the legacy transMissions surveillances continue to enclose, incarcerate, and surveille Native bodies living on the U.S/México border.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1 and 4, the use of mixed-raced peoples and children was a common and modern tactic used by the priests in assuring that recent converts were not reverting to their old ways—and these tactics continue today. In her work La Migra! Historian Kelly Lytle Hernández traces the rise of the consolidation of policing powers in the U.S.-México corridor from its early inceptions up to the 1950s. She argues that the Border Patrol and surveillance and policing of the southern border arose from economic demands, nativist anxieties, and operated according to the individual interests and community investments. The

border operated as sites of racial and inequitable distribution of rights between subjects.[218] Lytle-Hernández's work uncovers the binational dimensions on how the U.S. and Mexico controlled migration and how the border project was "the ultimate expression of national sovereignty and nation-bound interests."[219] To further elaborate, the Border Patrol was invested in maintaining racial inequalities and levels of suspicion to protect national sovereignty, she uses the concept of "Mexican Brown." Her archival research revealed the use of Border Patrol language was laced with suspicious, gendered, and class often describing undocumented migrants as "Mexican male; about 5'5 to 5'8; dark brown hair; brown eyes; dark complexion; wearing huaraches."[220] Her analytical term Mexican Brown as stated in her research "arises as a conceptual tool because, regardless of immigration or citizenship status, it was Mexican Brown rather than abstract Mexicans who lived within the Border Patrol's sphere of suspicion."[221]

I expand on Lytle-Hernández's use of Mexican Brown as an analytical tool of the Mexicanization of the legal/illegal dichotomy on how surveillance of Kumeyaay people on their ancestral land is connected to Mexican Brown of non/belonging or legal/illegal dichotomy. Placing Lytle-Hernández work with Indigenous studies scholar Amrah Naomi Solomón-Johnson's dissertation entitled, "Returning to Yuma: Regeneración and futures of autonomy" (2019), transcolonial carceral transfiguration "**marks space** bounded, extractable, accumulable alongside **marking bodies** for death (my emphasis), dispossession, and disappearance through

218. Lytle-Hernández Kelly, Migra!: A History of the U.S. Border Patrol (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 5.

219. Lytle-Hernández, 9.

220. Lytle-Hernández, 10.

221. Lytle-Hernández, 10.

the nexus of extraction, genocide, slavery, war, radicalization, partition, and gendering regimes of domination" (xii). She further pushes colonial carceralities in grounding the reproduction of "marking bodies" in the overlapping and multiple colonial reproductions or in what she calls transfigurations of colonial carceral space. Colonial carceral spaces she states are "interrelat[able] and reinforce each other in a transcolonial zone" (76). Transcolonial carceral zones with Mexican brown, specifically the Alta and Baja California and on Kumeyaay territory, the markings of colonial carceral transfiguration spaces originate from the missions and transfigure into state surveillance and policing like CBP.

Anti-immigrant sentiment is constructed as the anti-Indian or anti-Mexicanness that is connected to the Manifest Destiny doctrine. Manifest Destiny doctrine as imagined by Anglo-American settlers during the 19th century justified their thirst to land grabbing and defended their "right to do so." Anglo-Americans believed they were granted divine justification in the dispossessing Mexicans and Native Americans from their lands.[222] It was believed by Anglo-Americans that it was their responsibility to take care of the land by exploiting it because Mexicans, as a mixed-race people, were not able to do so. These discourses illuminate the connections between Spanish missionary ideologies in their paternalistic views of California Natives and how in the late 1800s this discourse is used by Anglo-American settlers.

Racialization of Mexicans in the Southwest by white settlers led by Manifest Destiny in the 19th century racialized Mexicans as mixed raced between Indians and Europeans and

222. Mexicans also dispossessed Native Americans be clear in the shift here and how Mexicans also had an anti-indigeneity method that is present today. However, the difference here is that Anglo Americans instituted laws to eradicate, basically genocide, on California Natives. Benjamin Madley's article, "Systems of California Indian Servitude under U.S. Rule" is a good source on California laws targeting genocide on Natives. Ngai, Mae M. "Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America." Essay. In *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, 56–90. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014.

because of the miscegenation of Mexicans they were categorized as "uncivilized" to own land.[223] The stereotype of the Mexican as a criminal is linked to the "Indian" racial category socially constructed by the Spanish castas. Native criminality origins are traced to the racial and social category of "savage" as Native scholar Luana Ross states, " 'savages,' [as legitimiz[ed] by white Anglos] the removal of Natives from the westward path of civilization's progress....[and] criminal meant to be other than Euro-American . . . Euro-Americans sought to delegitimize Native worlds and attacked their constructs . . . were torn down, eroded, and replaced."[224] Ross connects Native criminality with anti-indigeneity in the United States. How does criminality and anti-indigeneity play out in Mexico? In Mexico, the racial category of "Indian" is connected to Ross's Native criminality that is the category of "Indian" is also connected to "backwardness" and "savage." Even though, this chapter will not cover how the Mexican government criminalizes and marks Kumiay as "foreign" on their land my dissertation does cover this in chapter three. In this chapter, I analyze how social and racial categories in Mexico and its northern border are interconnected and operate simultaneously with the US to dispossess Native and Indigenous peoples.

To sum up, criminalization and racialization of Indigenous bodies are grounded in removing the marked (Native) body from the land. Employing Manifest Destiny ideology was not only anti-Mexican but anti-Indigenous. This ideology is based on the "civilized/uncivilized" and "lawful/criminal." In Mexico, the marked body is connected to the racial category of "Indian." The transfiguration of colonial carceral space in the dispossession of the marked body

223. Reginald Horsman, *The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Harvard University Press, 1981).

224. Luana Ross, Inventing the Savage: the Social Construction of Native American Criminality (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000), 16 and 14.

and operates by contracting and expanding surveillance of the land and people as it sees fit on the border. The discourses shift over time such as the use of "protecting," "progressing," and “criminalization.”

Kumeyaay Migrations and U.S. Border Patrol:
This is our land, and we've been here for thousands of years. It's tough when you're being stopped all the time and asked if you belong there

The legal concept of “foreign” from British American and to eastern United States is based on the relationship as equals based on treaty making placing Native Americans as foreign nation. Foreigness is based on the *jus solis* rule—citizenship is granted by place of birth—a right that Native Americans did not have because of their status as individual tribal nations as foreign and thus not born within the legal borders of British and American territories. The first large scale deportation on American soil was the physical expulsion of Cherokee from their land known as the trail of tears during the Jacksonian period.[225] In the Southwest, California Indians was placed in a unique position due to the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe.

One of the major border shifts occurs in 1848 when the Treaty of Guadalupe is drawn to demarcate two different nation-states: the U.S. and México. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ended the Mexican American war 1846-1848 and as a result, México ceded more than 500,000 miles of land in the Southwest. Mexican territory ceded included portions of California, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and Utah. For the Kumeyaay, the treaty marked the end of a new war and the beginning of another. The colonial markings on Kumeyaay ancestral lands attempted to rupture thousands of years of migrations and interconnections between peoples on

225. Parker, *Making Foreigners*, 2016.

the newly acquired American land. Currently, the Kumeyaay Nation does not have an official treaty with the United States government.

At that time Delfina's testimony, she recalls how Kumeyaay elders practiced traditional modes of land-based knowledges and moved in a cyclical motion from the oceans to the mountains in search of food sources in the early American period. However, by the late 1900s, there was an influx of Asian immigrants and American squatters pushing in more inland and settling on non-mission Kumeyaay lands and moving further east into the mountains.[226] Policing and surveillance began to increase during the 1920's on the San Diego-Tijuana border by CBP. The concept of illegal entry and deportation of "diseased" and "dirty" Mexicans was informed by U.S. policy sometime in the 1920's. The policy first focused on Chinese immigrant's illegality and then shifted to Mexicans after the 1910-20 Mexican Revolution. American national anxiety over non-white people arose and to reduce settler anxiety of being taken over the formation of CBP was created to subsume and a centralized national law enforcement.[227]

According to Alexandra Minna Stern in her book chapter "Nationalism on the Line: Masculinity Race and the Creation of the U.S. Border Patrol 1910-1948" argues that CBP was created as a testing site for different conceptions of manhood like protecting the motherland and "playing Indian." In other words, CBP in Texas and Arizona, was built from the Spanish legacy of *el Presidio* (solider garrison) and morphed into a gendered and racialized project of state formation in a later period. Minna Stern's analysis of CBP as a gendered project captures the early concepts of national masculinities in the U.S. that fluctuates between patriotism and

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226. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure*, 1988.

227. Samuel Truett, Elliott Young, and Alexandra Minna Stern, in *Continental Crossroads Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 300.

paternalism. She further elaborates early surveillance technologies like the science of tracking and hunting is an appropriation from Native Americans ways of knowing or land-based knowledges. By "playing Indian" CBP cannibalized the Native subject to suppress the "modern-man." I further push Minna-Stern's argument that in fact CBP's concept of "primitive masculinity" and "playing-Indian" to defend the motherland is also a form of embodying the "Native." By forcefully removing Indigenous peoples from their lands through mass genocide the settler becomes the "Native." Thus, laying claim to the land by usurping actual Indigenous knowledges they molt into the "Native."

In her research, Minna Stern uncovered how early in CBP's creation the agency was "long concerned with running Indians and poor Mexicans across the line." [228] By the 1930's, the U.S. Congress temporary checkpoints began to appear in East County San Diego or what is called today as old Campo Station close to the Campo-Tecate border. Fast forward to 1956, the border checkpoints were fully operated by full-time policing.[229] During the World War II era, Camp Lockett was built in close proximity to Old Campo Border Patrol station Buffalo soldiers, black soldiers who fought in the Civil War and continued to serve in the military as far back as 1878, were sent to Camp Lockett to help white settlers settle the land and then later patrol the terrain after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941. At this point in time, returning to Delfina she remembers how more conscious her family were of the border as more fluid during her childhood.

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228. Minna Stern, in *Continental Crossroads Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History*, 306.

229. "Campo Station," Campo Station | U.S. Customs and Border Protection, March 11, 2014, https://www.cbp.gov/border-security/along-us-borders/border-patrol-sectors/san-diego-sector-california/campo-station.9

El Diablo and la Frontera

This is not to say that all Kumeyaay were not aware of the border at this time, from my archival research I found a notable case I call El Diablo (the Devil) in 1899 and the assault of Nejí.[230] In 1899, there was a standoff between the Mexican government and Kumiay Natives from Nejí. The Juez de Tecate and his people were attending a wedding in Neji and received news that there were cattle missing and that the culprits where Native from rancho Nejí. Juez de Tecate and his people march at 9 pm to the community. They arrived at dawn with four auxiliary men, they identified the remains of the cattle and then turn their investigation to find out leader of that community. His name was El Diablo. Once the soldiers talked to El Diablo and provided him background information about what happened things tuned to the worse. The El Juez had two armed men while El Diablo had a few more armed me than El Juez did, and tensions run high. At this point a shoot-out occurs. The Neji Natives injured El Juez and another man while El Juez people killed some Native men. El Diablo and his men were fugitives, and the concern of the Mexican government was that they might have crossed over to the *frontera* (border). Agustin Sangines later goes on to say that El Diablo and his people did not fear going to jail because in jail they would be fed. Sangines later pleads with General Porfirio Diaz if captured these men should be set free because prison doesn't scare them and El Juez is alive and well.

In the archive tells us that there was more at play here. One, El Diablo and his people were most likely starving and killing the cattle was a form of not only resistance but survivance. Secondly, the way that Sangines saw it, going after El Diablo was a waste of resources and most likely already in the United States. Thirdly, in this case the border shielded El Diablo from

230 IIH UABC, *correspondencía* Col. Porfirio Diaz, expediente 9.51; 1-3, 9.57, 1-4. *El* Diablo Story.

Mexican retribution. All these possible outcomes played a role in the shoot-out and the escaped El Diablo. What I found in the archive is that it illuminates how most Kumeyaay people saw the border as fluid and traditional migration patterns were practiced until 1969. In addition, CBP's mission to push Native Americans and Mexicans to the other side (Mexico) is an exertion of power but also a *Gente de Razón* logics. This is illustrated during the President Richard Nixon administration, when they mandated surprise inspections at any border crossings. Surveillance drastically increased with time at the U.S.-México border.

A major shift occurred at the border in the mid-1990s. On September 17, 1994, then-President Bill Clinton, implemented Operation Gatekeeper. Operation Gatekeeper policy marked for the first time in U.S. history the construction of the wall and the erection of it was to be built on Kumeyaay homeland. It was also the first-time major surveillance of the land and the people included surveillance technologies. Around the same time in Baja California, a year before Operation Gatekeeper, Kumeyaay from Baja California were now able to use their status cards from the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) to cross into the US without issues. After the implementation of Operation Gatekeeper, transborder crossings were becoming difficult over time with the increased scrutiny of documentation by settler-nations now required "legal" documentation to enter the U.S. In 1997, it is reported by tribal members that increase stops and searches on Campo Reservation are becoming more prevalent. And in 1997 the American Indian Report, scientist and Campo tribal member Michael Miskwish Connolly reminded settlers that, "This is our land, and we've been here for thousands of years. It's tough when you're being

stopped all the time and asked if you belong there." His statement brings attention to how difficult it was becoming to live on his ancestral lands.[231]

Restrictions of movements became the norm and documentation to live on the border was a requirement to exist and migrate. Anti-Indigeneity of brown bodies are sites of criminality were marked by the settler-nation. The transMissions hauntings restraints Connolly and Cuero of their freedom of movement with the ongoing misracialization as "foreign" and non-belonging, even if he has thousands of years connections to the land is now criminal—the burden of proof is now placed on the individual.[232]

Response by the Kumeyaay Nation to the intensified harassment by border patrol hits a tipping point and in 1998 the Kumeyaay Nation formed the Kumeyaay Border Task Force. The task force was tasked with the goals to alleviate restrictions on border crossings from Kumeyaay in México, negotiate with the United States and México, and to build an ongoing relationship with Border Patrol.[233] The (re)connections with relatives continued, and on October 16, 1999, there was a transborder gathering at the sacred site of Tecate Mountain or Kuuchamaa, located close to Campo. For this event, Mexican cards (INI) were allowed to use for Kumiai in México to travel to the United States. However, there were some restrictions on these cards for the event 1) attendees had to cross in the Tecate Port of Entry; 2) were "allowed" to travel up to 25 miles north of the border; 3) stay in the US for no more than 72 hours. In the press release, a tribal

231. Eileen M. Luna-Firebaugh, “The Border Crossed Us: Border Crossing Issues of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas,” Wicazo Sa Review 17, no. 1 (2002): pp. 159-181, 169.

232. Audra Simpson, Mohawk Interruptus, 2004.

233. Indianz Com, “Kumeyaay Nation Strengthens Cross-Border Ties,” Indianz (Indianz, March 26, 1970), https://www.indianz.com/News/2008/007737.asp.

member and coordinator Louie Guassac from Mesa Grande stated, "It's good progress. We're moving forward... The task force in San Diego County is working with the U.S. authorities to secure rights for the 1,000 or so Baja Kumiai to cross the border giving them 'pass and repass' privileges."[234] The Border Task Force pushed to loosen travel between relatives while at the same time providing "official" documents to Kumiai members in Baja. Currently, the Border Task continues to support Kumiai from Baja in providing services to obtain "legal" documents. Even with the multiple tri-national negotiations and cooperation between nations, border crossings for Kumiai in Baja became more difficult after 9/11.

The post 9/11 the national discourse radically shifted border surveillance from "good progress" and "moving forward" to securing the border in the south. Now the southern border became the site of intense focus and regulation by the U.S. government and "protecting our borders" discourse and now under the George W. Bush administration, they took a neo-nativist approach that became U.S. policy.[235] The irony in the shifting narrative towards a neo-nativist discourse and "protecting the border" was that the 9/11 plane hijackers did not enter from the southern border point of entry, instead, they came in legally by flying into John F. Kennedy airport and Miami airport. As the neo-nativist policy increased during the Bush era, structural changes were occurring. For one, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was reorganized and placed under the newly created Homeland Security Department. This change now meant that immigration enforcement was under new management in the Homeland Security

234. Roy Cook, "Tecate Mt. Historically Significant Gathering," Tecate Gathering, October 16, 1999, http://www.americanindiansource.com/tecate.html.

235. Bill Ong Hing, "Misusing Immigration Policies in the Name of Homeland Security" 6, no. 1 (2006): pp. 195-224, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41949511.

Department. This also meant a shift to the criminalization of undocumented migrants guided under the terrorist umbrella. All migrants and immigrants, especially those with a brown color, were seen and treated with suspicion by the U.S. [236]Although, these policies mainly targeted Muslim, Sikhs, and Arab people with the rise of Islamophobia, the surge in policing also had an adverse effect on border tribes. As Guassac stated for a conference organized in 2008, "crossing the southern border has been more difficult. After Sept. 11, 2001, security measures at the border made passage even more difficult." [237]

Guassac was not wrong about the difficulty that arose for Kumiai border crossings under a post-9/11 world. By 2015, under the Barrack Obama presidency, Border Patrol increased up to 20,000 agents who were now patrolling the borders as opposed to 9,212 agents in 2000 and 4,139 agents in 1992.[238] This boost in personnel meant an increase of border agents patrolling tribal land and people. In 2019, the U.S. administration is continuing to push for an expansion of the U.S.-México border by building a wall, increase surveillance, and place more restrictions on Kumeyaay practicing land-based knowledges and migrations.

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236. Ong Hing, “Misusing Immigration Policies,” 2006.

237. Michael Lujan Bevacqua, “Kumeyaay Border Task Force,” Kumeyaay Border Task Force, January 1, 1970, http://futures0308.blogspot.com/2008/01/kumeyaay-border-task-force.html.

238. Daniel Denvir, “Obama Created a Deportation Machine. Soon It Will Be Trump's | Daniel Denvir,” The Guardian (Guardian News and Media, November 21, 2016), https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/21/obama-deportation-mcahine-damage-trump.

Show me your papers! Borders and Walls on Kumeyaay Land

In the middle of the night, approximately thirty miles east of San Diego in East County CBP agents are on a mission to find undocumented migrants on an Indian reservation located just a few feet away from the U.S/Mexico border. In their search for undocumented migrants, they approached a "suspicious" fenced home on the reservation. For the CBP it was necessary for them to access the property to locate any foreign intruders coming into the United States illegally. They used bolt cutters to cut open a locked chain-link fence to gain access to the land and home. As they continued on with their search, CBP agents began to surround the house that was under the oak tree. In sync, agents shinned their florescent lights from their flashlights all over the property. They walked closer to the home. Their lights flashing all over the house and the land. They flashed their lights directly into all the windows from the home looking for undocumented migrants. They peeked into the window hoping they would find the foreign intruders and the smugglers. On this night, they did not find what they were looking for instead they woke up the family. The family was shaken. On that night, agents failed to apprehend foreign intruders and smugglers. But they did not leave unnoticed. CBP boot prints were left all over the property. The trail of boot prints on the land, a broken lock, and left the front entrance gate open marked the home and the family as "illegals." The family was rattled in the middle of the night, and they were reminded that they did not possess the privilege of privacy on their ancestral lands.

In another case, again, in East County San Diego and close the reservation, this time in the mid-afternoon, CBP searched, stopped, and interrogated a dark brown older Indigenous man in a blue Silverado truck. The truck and the man were closely parked to the U.S./Mexico border by Tecate in a grassy area. He was just feet outside of his reservation and on his ancestral land

practicing traditional forms of knowledge, picking medicinal plants and sticks. The elder was preparing for the upcoming youth workshop on the traditional use of medicinal plants led by knowledge holders on his reservation. What the CBP agents did not see an elder practice traditional forms of ancestral knowledge; instead, they saw a "suspicious" brown man, possibly a Mexican, in the middle of the shrubs and grass looking for something. The elder was even more suspicious because he was in the grass looking that action made him look "illegal." The traditional activity to gather and look for medicinal plants and sticks to play peon, the traditional game, was "illegal" to the CBP. The agents probably asked themselves: Why was he there? What is he doing? What is he looking for? Was he holding stakeout?

On that afternoon, the older Indigenous man was interrogated for about an hour by CBP. He was questioned about her whereabouts, his purpose, and his papers. CBP looked around inside and outside of the truck to make sure he was not harboring undocumented people. After the lengthy exchange that went on for more than an hour, the elder was "allowed" by CBP to continue with his gathering of traditional materials for the workshop.

In both cases, a family and an elder from the Campo Band of Kumeyaay were left with the damages. Once again, they were targeted and reminded by the nation-state that they indeed do not belong to their lands. Native peoples living on the U.S.-Mexico border experience racialization by the nation-state differently. For one, they are in a unique situation by living close to the border. Their proximity to the border places a target on Native Americans as racialized subjects. Under the racial category of Mexican Brown does not afford them privacy or rights. The illegality of their being (existence), or the mark, places Indigenous peoples living close to the border on perpetual surveillance by the settler-nation. Everyday activities like sleeping or walking are subject to interrogations and harassment by the state. Privacy, even in the confines

of a home, is no longer private but a public space. Today, Indigenous peoples living on the border, their native bodies are marked as sites of intense surveillance.

Kuuchama Peak Weeps: Bilateral Incision Erecting the Wall

On January 25, 2017, President Donald J. Trump signed the *Executive Order: Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements* for border security. This executive order built on from the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (INA), the Secure Fence Act of 2006 (Secure Fence Act), and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA). Immigration policies supported and enforced by both political parties to push the limits of the law paved way for more state surveillance and criminalization of brown people. For example, the Secure Fence Act was pushed and passed by President George W. Bush after the 9/11 attacks. As a result of the 9/11 attacks on the U.S., Congress was focused on "national security" and passed the Real ID in 2005, that created, issued, and enforced national identification system states must adhere. In other words, the Real ID would restrict free travel for people who do hold proper documentation, specifically fly. Further, the Real ID gave carte blanc to the newly create Department of Homeland Security to bypass any checks and balances and waive all laws to build a wall under the auspice of "national security."[239] Following the Real ID Act, the Secure Fence Act authorization exacerbated the speedy construction of the wall with funding. Up to 2005, 4.15 miles have been constructed and by 2008 the construction of the wall and it reached up to 295.37 miles constructed.[240] The *Executive Order: Border Security and*

239. "History of Border Wall," Border Wall a Brief History (Ay Mariposa Film), accessed January 27, 2021, https://www.aymariposafilm.com/border-wall-a-brief-history.

240. Leonardo Castañeda, Brandon Quester, and Jim Tinsky, "America's Wall," America's Wall: A Modern Structure (iNewsource.org Data Collection).

Immigration Enforcement Improvements goal is three-fold: expediate the construction of the wall along the U.S./Mexico border for "border security" reasons, increase border patrol agents, apprehend more migrants.

Figure 10 Uploaded video on AFSC-San Diego Video Facebook on June 21, 2018, on the U.S./Mexico border. Video credit: María Teresa Fernandez

A year after the *Executive Order: Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements* was signed by President Trump on June 21, 2018, construction crews began to take down the primary border wall. On the bottom a still shot of a video recorded by a local activist, captured the moment construction workers started taking down the primary wall with crosses on them. On the image to the right, the crosses were placed on the steel wall to remember all of the migrants who perished on their journeys. Taking down the steel wall with a knucklebloom loader desecrating the memorial family, friends, and local activists constructed began the lengthy process to build Trump's wall. Fast forward to 2019, the U.S. Supreme Court approved funding for President Trump's wall. As a result, the government is working in record speed to construct the wall without taking into consideration the environmental impacts and the impact on Kumeyaay sacred sites. One of the most sacred sites is the Tecate Peak or KUUCHAMAA is being incised and destroyed by the construction of the wall. In Florence

Shipek's article, "KUUCHAMAA: The Kumeyaay Sacred Mountain" published in 1985, traced the mountain's history and relationship to the Kumeyaay people through her ethnographic work with elders. After speaking and meeting with elders, Shipek uncovered the relationship the Kumeyaay peoples have to the land. At that time, very few anthropologists wrote on Kumeyaay religious tradition as they were focusing on ethnobotany and other customary traditions. Shipek's interviews revealed the Kumeyaay relation to the land as a higher creator-god relationship. Their higher-order relationship is as follows: "humans to God, humans to humans, and humans to nature." Kumeyaay cosmology and relationship to the land are based on a reciprocal relationship and exchange with the land.[241] It is believed by elders that speaking about the mountain without permission is an assault on the mountain and therefore it is prohibited to speak about the mountain unless you are appointed and practiced traditional medicine. It is also believed if someone speaks badly or walks on the mountain without permission from the mountain then they are at risk of losing their life. To assure that this bad fortune does not befall on the person they have to conduct a series of rituals to cleanse themselves.

In one of Shipek's interviews, an elder stated, "Only good power, that is the power to help people, could be acquired here. Spiritual songs, healing rituals, and special healing herbal knowledge was taught in dreams on the mountain. All such knowledge came in song, fasting, and dreams given by Kuuchamaa."[242] If "only good power" and "special healing" is acquired in this space, what does it mean when the settler nation destroys the site with steel bars? The construction of the wall on Kumeyaay land, most specifically the building of the wall on the

241. Florence C. Shipek, “KUUCHAMAA: The Kumeyaay Sacred Mountain” 7, no. 1 (1985): pp. 67-74, 67.

242. Shipek, “KUUCHAMAA: The Kumeyaay Sacred Mountain”,70.

sacred mountain violates Kumeyaay rights. The dispossession of Kuuchama to the Kumeyaay is another move by the settler nation to remind the Kumeyaay that they are "illegals."

Figure 11 Image taken from Tecate Baja California showing how the U.S. started construction on the wall. The heavy machinery is removing the rusty border wall. We get a glimpse of the border left exposed making visible Campo Indian Reservation.

The image above was taken in November 2019, the removal of the old barrier between the Tecate-Campo border began bulldozing. In the image to the right is a screenshot taken from a two-minute video taken by transborder crossers. It was recorded at the exact moment two heavy machinery located on the U.S. side, reached over like claws to remove the trees from its roots. Tearing the tree apart to make space for the new wall. In the final shot of the video, the tree branches are gone and left exposed. What these images represent are the settler methods used by the U.S. government to bulldoze and eliminate all that in its way to "serve and protect" the settler-nation interests.

Figure 12 Snapshot image from uploaded video on Facebook on November 11, 2019.

The transMission hauntings continue to remove and eliminate sacred sites to make way to fencing the land and people for surveillance purposes. The building of the wall without taking into consideration how it will affect Kumeyaay communities living close to the border. For one, sacred thousand-year sites will be destroyed. Some sites have already been damaged by the wall. For example, ten years ago, in March 2009, a group of activists and journalists hiked the peak of documenting the latest border wall the year before. In their observations, they saw visible deep scars carved by the wall.

Figure 13 Image taken by the hikers demonstrates how the wall contributes to ecological damages.

When they hiked up the mountain alongside the border, they had a closer look at the cement-filled trenches, the panels of the wall resembling the steel-bars to look like people in jail. In one of the images taken by the hikers, he observed how one of the trees located on the other side of the wall was "fenced" in and indeed looking at the image below we see how the tree looks

behind the steel bars as if trying to get out. Their branches reaching over the fence. At the time the image was taken, the fence was freshly up six months and what the activists observed was heavy erosion on the steel, even sections were missing and washed out. What does this say about the wall? It says, that Kuuchamaa will not be fenced. Kuuchamaa is hurting and will not be tamed by the government's mission to keep out "illegals" from entering the U.S.

On the border, Indigenous peoples living, resting, or practicing land-based knowledges on their ancestral lands is difficult such as the case of the elderly man practicing traditional land-based knowledges. Indigenous peoples existing are living and placed within the defined confines of the reservation, the border, and the mark. Their brown bodies serve as a constant reminder by the settler-nation state that they are placed as "foreign" on their lands. In both cases, many more, each individual from Campo was reminded that in fact, they did not possess the right for privacy. This is a common occurrence in Campo. Border Patrol speeding on tribal lands and interrogating Kumeyaay for their papers. Native people who are phenotypically darker skin are misracialized as undocumented migrants.

In the Campo's elder anecdote, they were harassed by the border patrol for practicing land-based knowledge—picking up twigs/sticks for the traditional game peon. These instances are not uncommon on Campo traditional lands. Tribal members are under surveillance on an everyday basis. Even under this intense scrutiny by the settler nation, Campo tribal members have found ways to resist the surveillance imposed on their bodies and land. On various occasions when tribal members drive home, they might take a dirt road that is heavily surveilled by agents to engage in a cat and mouse game. Tribal members will speed up or slow down to get the attention of the agents on the road. Often agents are left behind in the dust and sometimes agents "catch" tribal members but to their dismay, they find out that the people they were

pursuing are citizens and locals. Agents are bamboozled by tribal members as forms of resistance and reminding the settler nation representatives that they know the land and they are from the land the agents are surveilling and policing. The moments of momentary panic agents experience when engaged in these games are moments that reveal who is the foreigner on the land.

Defend the Sacred: No Wall on Indigenous Land

On June 30, 2020, former Tribal Chairwoman and council woman from La Posta Band of Mission Indians, Cynthia Parada, along with a group of women blocked the removal of the border wall during the COVID-19 pandemic. La Posta Reservation is located next to Campo Reservation which is within 2 miles of the border. By excavating and blasting to remove the steel wall the construction workers uncovered ancestral remains such as bone fragments most likely from human hand or foot, flakes left behind from grinding rock and chipped stone tools. Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) passed in 1990 to address hundreds of years of theft of ancestral remains, including human and sacred objects. This law states that repatriation of Native American human remains, and sacred objects must be returned to their rightful owners and that Indigenous Americans exercise cultural rights when it comes to cultural heritage. Once cultural objects and human remains are found in a site all construction must halt and the federal government must conduct extensive research to assure there are investigation taking place with local Tribal governments to adhere to NAGPRA. In this case, due to the White House urgency to build the wall before the election, construction workers bypassed any procedures they needed to take, and this included surveying the land and meeting with tribal

governments. Under Trump's executive order waived all paths to assure protection of sacred sites and prevention of environmental desecration.[243]

Conclusion

Transnational and transborder connections are ingrained into Kumeyaay life before and after coloniality. The Kumeyaay/Kumiai are the Indigenous peoples of the San Diego and Tijuana region. Their stories paint the landscapes of their everyday embodied experiences living under surveillance by the heteropatriarchal nation-state dating back to 1787. Overall, the community is demanding that CBP train their agents to stop the harassment. They want agents to know the community while learning about Kumeyaay land-based traditions. To conclude, I opened the conclusion with Delfina Cuero's testimony as a method to interrogate the question of legality and documentation for Indigenous peoples living on the U.S-Mexico border and how nation-state surveillance operates and shifts over a period time. Delfina's question about returning home legally for Kumeyaay people opens up a bigger discussion on the legal/illegal dichotomy and what it means to be a racialized subject read by the settler nation as "illegal." The illegality discourse is traced to the mission period and continues on today in Alta and Baja California.

What will happen to Indigenous peoples when state surveillance is not contained on the margins of the border? For example, in 2018, there were stories coming out in the newspaper of Indigenous peoples attacked for being "foreign." Earlier that year, U.S. Representative Eric Descheenie (D), a Dine lawmaker from Arizona was targeted by Trump supporters and harassed.

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243. Maia Wikler, "Indigenous Youth Are Disrupting Trump's Border Wall Construction," Teen Vogue, October 29, 2020, https://www.teenvogue.com/story/trump-border-wall-block-indigenous-tribes.

They chanted "illegal" as he gave his speech to his constituents. In that same year, two Native American brothers, Thomas Kanewakeron Gray, 19, and Lloyd Skanahwati Gray, 17, were interrogated by police officers and asked to show their papers when they joined a campus tour in Colorado because they looked "suspicious." A white woman in the group decided to call the police when the young boys refused to tell her their background, she decided they are looking "suspicious."

In another story, a 20-year-old, Nicolas Rojas, presented his Cherokee tribal ID, a federally recognized ID, to Marymount California University security guard. Rojas was denied entry to the university for being Cherokee. In all these cases, all of the "suspicious" youth and men had a darker skin complexion. Native peoples living on the U.S.-Mexico border are experiencing a level of racialization by the settler nation differently than other ethnic groups living on the border, and this is troublesome because the surveillance on native bodies removes the autonomy of the person and categorizes the marked body as "foreign" and "illegal." I close with Cuero's question, "Is there room for us in America? Can we come home legally?

The social construction of borders, reorganization of space, and surveillance of peoples by colonial powers played an important role in how the Indian subject is racialized in the borderlands. By analyzing the historical records and secondary sources there is a window to observe how Spanish colonialization changed every aspect of California land, waterways, and peoples.[244] The Spanish to change all aspects of California life is the use of re-education or

244. Robert H. Jackson and Edward D. Castillo, Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: the Impact of the Mission System on California Indians (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); James Sandos, “Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California,” in Constested Eden (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Rosaura Sánchez, Telling Identities: the Californio Testimonios (Minneapolis: University. of Minnesota Press, 1995); Steven W. Hackel, Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis

colonial schooling through surveillance. The re-education in the missions of Native peoples incorporated Catholicism, Spanish subjecthood, and forced removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands.[245] The mission alongside the presidio enforced and expanded surveillance technologies to discipline and gender native bodies by colonial representatives to assure that the systematic racialization of the "Indian" occurred through various techniques of surveillance of the Native gendered body. On Kumeyaay territory, the mission in conjunction with the *presidio* operated in a circular motion by extracting Indigenous and mixed-race gendered, sexual, and manual labor necessary to maintain the mission afloat and semi-independent from the Crown and the military.

Implications of this work

My work is heavily grounded in community and their needs. In this project, I highlighted how intergenerational Indigenous ways of knowing based on land-based pedagogies is the antidote to the pushout rates, revitalization of Tipay language, and resistance to land theft on the U.S./Mexico border. I utilize the border as a site of analysis to interrogate how Latinidad, specifically mestizos and later Latinx bodies, are weaponized as a form of state surveillances on Indigenous bodies in the schools and on the border. I traced how *gente de razón* logics and TransMission hauntings in the Californias are product of the mission and the presidio systems. In examining how multiple settler colonialism works in union continually operate to dispossess

Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California 1769-1850 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

245. Deborah A. Miranda, "Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California," GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 16, no. 1-2 (2010): pp. 253-284; K. Tsianina. Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006).

border tribes from their sovereignty and land. Although multiple colonialities are operating from an anti-Indigenous system—there is hope. My intergenerational work with the grandmothers from Juntas de Nejí and youth project at Acorn High School provide a glimpse how two communities separated by the border are practicing TIE and land-based pedagogies to keep the fire alive.

As a result of my seven-year community work at Juntas de Nejí children gained an understanding of who they are and maintained a relationship with their land through the summer camps. We started with less than 10 children and now have up to 20 children and youth attending language camps (no longer summer but monthly). In Campo, the Title VII Tribal Community Liaison position helped cultivate Native youth leadership at Acorn High School. AlterNative space—a space where youth (re)connected with each other and burned down the metaphorical borders between their communities and lit the fire inside to secure more than $5,000 dollars raised in fundraising. Their fire also increased 20% of high school graduation rates. After having a conversation with a community member, my time as the Tribal Community Liaison position helped address community needs at the high school level and now Acorn High School will hire a full-time staff to fully support Indigenous students. Overall, I hope my work serves as an example on how to institutionalize positions to support Indigenous students in their local high schools.

Recommendations for Future Research

There is a need to understand how multiple settler-colonialisms and multiple institutions symbiotically operate to dispossess Indigenous peoples. Further research needs to be done particularly how schooling based on the border affect Native students. And finally, further

research needs to be conducted on how hyper militarization of the border infringes on Indigenous migrations and what are the long-term consequences of building the wall.

Strengths and Weaknesses

In this work I cover how TIE is a term that centers Indigenous practices of education and how intertribal interactions are also transborder and are transnational sites where transmission of knowledges and experiences are exchanged. I further interrogate how *gente de razón* logics replicate colonial racializations originating from the mission and presidio systems that are present in today's border schools.

Areas to work on

In this dissertation, I do not cover how racialization of Black and white natives operate on the U.S./Mexico border. Although, I briefly cover how the U.S. military used Buffalo Soldiers as border patrol to surveille the land and people crossing, I am interested in understanding this time for my next project. I also do not go into how Kumeyaay and Black soldiers formed relationships with each other during the World War II era and how some Buffalo soldiers integrated into specific communities. Further, I do not interrogate what it means for white presenting natives crossing the border, how they experience schooling, and how they are racialized by school officials and border patrol. Also, there is a gap on how do *gente de razón* logics affect white and black presenting natives on the border. These are all areas I plan to expand for my book manuscript.

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