UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Schooling La Raza: A Chicana/o Cultural History of Education, 1968-2008

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

in

Literature

by

Melissa Martha Hidalgo

Committee in charge:

Professor Shelley Streeby, Chair
Professor Rosemary George
Professor Lisa Lowe
Professor Olga Vásquez
Professor Meg Wesling

2011

This Dissertation of Melissa Martha Hidalgo is approved, and is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2011

EPIGRAPH

To tell a story is to construct a history, to assert a vision of reality. A history links the living with ancestors and divinities across spatial and temporal dimensions, moving back to retrieve lineage lessons and forward to cast a vision of what might be.

Joni L. Jones

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could not have written this dissertation without the support, patience, and love of the many special people, including family, friends, fellow teachers and students, and others who have touched my life along this journey. I also thank the Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship award for providing much needed financial support for the writing of this dissertation from 2009-2010.

I thank Shelley Streeby, my dissertation advisor and committee chair. Thank you for being a good teacher and for pushing me to do the hard work I needed to do in order to write a dissertation I am proud of. Your sharp guidance, good humor, encouragement, and patience through many drafts and versions of this project proved to be invaluable throughout this process.

I also thank my dissertation committee members: Lisa Lowe, Rosemary George, Meg Wesling, and Olga Vásquez. Thank you all for believing in this project and supporting my vision from the start. Each of you contributed something special that made this project fly, and this dissertation benefited greatly from your collective insights. I have learned so much from your guidance and wisdom, and I'm proud to have worked with you all.

I thank my many professors and mentors, from my undergraduate years at UC Berkeley through my graduate years at UC San Diego. My formal education journey took me from Northern California to Chicago and Indiana before I made it back home to Southern California. I met and learned from many wonderful professors who guided and inspired me along the way. I want to thank Curtis Márez, Kris Gutiérrez, David Lloyd, Manuel Luís Martínez, Mary Pat Brady, Christine Farris, and Steve Watt. Many

professors and colleagues at UC San Diego helped make my experience there in Literature and Cultural Studies a happy and productive one. I thank Sara Johnson and Rosaura Sánchez for their much appreciated mentorship when I first arrived in the department. I also thank Ana Minvielle, Thom Hill, and Nicole King for all of their help and encouragement.

I thank my many students and my teacher friends who are fighting the good fight in our public schools. I thank the Chicana/o Studies Department at Cal State Fullerton, especially Sonia Vélez and Alexandro Gradilla. And I thank my friends throughout the Hacienda La Puente Unified School District for your support hard work in our schools. I thank my many teachers, past and present, especially Miss Bruno, Mrs. Fenaroli, and Coach Blume. One teacher in particular has had the most impact in my life, and I fell in love with literature in her tenth grade honors British literature class. Thank you, Pat Walker, for your love, support, for a place to live, and the room of my own. And even though you gave me a B+ in Honors English, you are still my favorite teacher.

I thank those who walk in the world as Artists and for doing the necessary work of making powerful, healing art for our gente. Thank you to Virginia Grise and Ricardo Bracho for your beautiful plays. Mil heartfelt thank yous to Adelina Anthony, Cherríe Moraga, and my Pa, Sharon Bridgforth. Your work is meaningful. It's medicina. It has fed and sustained me. And each of you has touched my life in the most inspirational of ways. Thank you for Teatro Q, delta dandi, and Digging Up the Dirt, and for bringing out the artist in me.

I thank my incredible support system made up of good friends, colleagues, mentors, and writing partners. Special thanks to Alexandro Gradilla and Betty Tapia,

Laura Fugikawa, Mirasol Riojas, Karla Legaspy, Porschia Baker, Laura Placencia, Robin Silbergleid, and Gabriela Nuñez. And I give much love and thanks to two fierce femme academics in my life, Micaela Díaz-Sánchez and Stacy Macías. Thank you for the writing company and conferences and all the meals and time together. Thank you for the inspiration and for reminding me why we do this work and that what we do is important. La Stacy, mil gracias for being there with me and seeing me through the end of this thing. I deeply appreciate and I'm so thankful for your committed friendship, love, and loyalty. Thank you for reminding me that we don't ever have to, nor should we, do this work alone.

To all my friends and familia, thank you for your patience and for keeping the faith at the times I (almost) lost mine. There are many of you. Much love to Margaret Fajardo, Angela Lesaca, Alexis de la Rocha, Isela Reza, Robin Silbergleid, Denise Curry, Gloria Galván, Luisa García, Maria Malagón, Lisa and Ernie from Vinatero, Beatmo and Tamales Fatales, the Marrone Family, my parents' friends from church, anyone who has kept me company, helped me to relax and have fun, gone with me to a Dodger game or concert—thank you.

And my family. Thank you to my beautiful familia. My biggest supporters and cheerleaders and there since Day One. Mil gracias and much love to my grandparents, Petra y Cristobal Mora and Guadalupe y Miguel Hidalgo. My mother, Martha Mora Hidalgo; my father, Deacon Hector Miguel Hidalgo; my sisters Monica Christina Hidalgo and Melinda "Danda" Hidalgo Carrillo; my goddaughter Chloe; my little nieces Camillie and the Bean; my compadre, Nathan; and my bro, Brandon. I thank my aunties and uncles and cousins on both sides of the familia, from Cali to Tejas. Words here are not

enough, nor will they probably ever be enough, for all you have done for me, for all the candles lit and prayers offered. Your love, your patience, your enduring strength and encouragement are my foundation and what keeps me going.

For my loved ones who passed during the writing of this dissertation. I know you all were up there helping me through this: my Grandma-Mom, Petra Mora; my dear friend, Wayne Walker; my cuz, Beth Montes; and my first love, Deb Oldenburger. I carry loving memories of all of you, and thank you for the love and strength you send from above.

This dissertation is for my family—for Mike, Martha, Melinda, and Monica—with love and gratitude.

VITA

1996	Bachelor of Arts, University of California at Berkeley
1997	Master of Arts, University of Chicago
1997-2000	Indiana University Ph.D. program
2001	Lecturer, Mount San Antonio College, Walnut, California
2002-2004	Teacher, La Puente High School
2003	Instructor, Migrant Student Leadership Institute, UCLA
2004-2007	Teaching Assistant, Muir College Writing Program, UCSD
2008-09	Substitute Teacher
2009-2010	Ford Foundation Dissertation Year Fellowship
2010-2011	Lecturer, California State University, Fullerton
2011	Doctor of Philosophy, University of California at San Diego

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Schooling La Raza: A Chicana/o Cultural History of Education, 1968-2008

by

Melissa Martha Hidalgo

Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

University of California, San Diego, 2011

Professor Shelley Streeby, Chair

My dissertation, "Schooling La Raza: A Chicana/o Cultural History of Education, 1968-2008," interrogates the function of memory, the politics of representation, and the educational formation of subjectivity in the creation of what I am calling a Chicana/o cultural history of schooling. I focus on the integral role that schooling and educational processes play in the formation of Chicana/o subjectivity as expressed in various forms of cultural production that emerged in the decades after the Movimiento era. I synthesize theories of gender, sexuality, racial formation, multiculturalism, and critical pedagogy in my analyses of Chicana/o cultural production of schooling and education. I argue that formal and informal educational spaces and pedagogical relationships play a central role

in activating the emergence and articulation of racialized, gendered, and non-normative or queer identity formations in an array of recent cultural production by Chicanas/os.

The artistic and cultural expressions I examine in this project provide an avenue for understanding how Chicanas/os remember and recreate moments of individual and collective educational struggle in the post-Movimiento, 'multicultural' decades of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. These works of Chicana and Chicano cultural production, I argue, attest to the simultaneous oppression and potential liberation of schooling and education in this country for Chicanas/os and other racialized and subjugated groups. In short, "Schooling La Raza" analyzes historical shifts in ideologies of and relationships to education and schooling, while opening up space to imagine alternative possibilities for the liberation of the educated Chicana/o subject.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the contradictory conditions of what it means for Chicanas and Chicanos to get an education in the United States. In what follows, I focus on the integral role that schooling and educational processes play in the formation of Chicana/o subjectivity as expressed in various forms of cultural production that emerged in the decades after the Movimiento era. The artistic and cultural expressions I examine in this project provide an avenue for understanding how Chicanas/os remember and recreate moments of individual and collective educational struggle in the post-Movimiento, 'multicultural' decades of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. More specifically, the fiction, autobiographical novels, docudramas, and performances of this period invite us to consider the function of memory, the politics of representation, and the educational formation of identity in the creation of what I am calling a Chicana/o cultural history of schooling. How do Chicana/o writers, artists, and other producers of cultural texts narrate educational experiences? What stories do they tell about school? How do these works challenge, resist, or subvert the aims of schooling? How do they express the potential for liberation, transformation, and freedom from domination and oppression through educational endeavors? What role does "school" play in the formation of Chicana/o subjectivities and movements? And what does it mean for Chicanas/os[1] to fight for, ask,

[1]I recognize "Chicana/o" as an historical term that came into popular use during the late 1960s social movements. However, not everyone of Mexican or Latino descent here in the US would claim the term "Chicana/o" as a self-identifier. Primarily because of the "radical" politics of the 1960s that are associated with the term, populations of Mexicans or Mexican Americans, who generally were more politically conservative, eschewed "Chicana/o" as a descriptor of identity. In Chapter 1, I say more about the political, historical, and cultural distinctions between what George Sánchez refers to as the "Mexican American generation" and their children who would later call themselves Chicanas/os. Throughout this dissertation, while I will use "Chicana/o" to denote the literature, the people, the politics, the movement, and the history associated with the term, I also speak generally and descriptively of Mexican American and other US Latinos, or *Raza*, in relation to education. In my discussions of the novels, autobiographies,

and 'get' an education in the US? In posing these questions, I foreground the aspects of Chicana/o identities that are most influenced by 'school,' as well as other formal and informal educational experiences and pedagogical relationships. I turn to representations, narratives, and histories of schooling as represented in an array of Chicana/o cultural texts that, when taken together, help us to identify and articulate how Chicana/o subjectivity formations emerge in educational spaces and pedagogical relationships.

I began to look for answers to these questions in my own backyard. I began this project in earnest in early 2008, the year that marks the fortieth anniversary of the 1968 East Los Angeles high school walkouts.[2] Living in East L.A., less than three blocks away from my childhood family home, put me in the center of many community and state-wide commemorations, celebrations, conferences, and other organized acts of public remembering—held at East Los Angeles College, Hazard Park, and other East L.A. landmarks and spaces associated with the walkouts—that took place beginning in March of 2008 and continued throughout the year. I watched *Walkout*, the Edward James Olmos docudrama about the 1968 Blowouts, and I attended conferences and other events featuring many of the student activists and their renowned teacher-mentor, Sal Castro. These 40th anniversary events were well-attended by current high school students and former 1968 student activists from Lincoln, Garfield, Roosevelt, Belmont, and Wilson High Schools, as well as area Chicana/o-Latina/o and Ethnic Studies faculty, community

---

performances, and films in the chapters that follow, I will be specific and make distinctions when necessary or appropriate.

[2] The 1968 East L.A. Blowouts were not the first of such student boycotts—"blowouts" were recorded as early as 1910 in Texas (Valencia 43), but they were the largest according to most historians of Chicana/o social movements.

members, and activists. In question-and-answer sessions and in conversations, many of us wondered, Y qué? Now what?

Forty years later, we recognized that Chicanas/os in East L.A. and elsewhere still drop out of high school at the same or higher rates. We still are "underrepresented" in colleges and universities, as students and faculty, given the size of our population. And our public schools continue to fail us miserably. In the post-No Child Left Behind years and in the current era of "Racing to the Top," when education equals learning how to fill in the right bubbles on a standardized test; when teachers are routinely blamed for schools' failures and students' under-performance; when the teaching of critical thinking and literacy skills is jettisoned by the imperatives of teaching to the test; when school districts hire former business executives with no classroom experience to principal a school; when East Los Angeles Schools such as Roosevelt High School are dubbed "dropout factories;" in the midst of celebrating the walkouts, we also asked: Is this the education we fought for in 1968?

These questions were the catalyst for this project, inspired by the moment of the fortieth anniversary of the East L.A. Blowouts, yet guided by the persistent concerns about what "school" means and has meant for Chicanas/os and Mexican Americans living in California and across the US. The forty years between 1968 and 2008 provide a rich and relevant context through which to explore and articulate the complex and shifting social, historical, and political relations between Chicanas/os and schooling/education in the United States. 1968 was a significant year for mass protests and social change across the globe, particularly for student movements. Richard M. Nixon, an Orange County native and graduate of Whittier College in east Los Angeles

county, succeeded Lyndon B. Johnson as the US President. In 1968, the US was in the midst of the Vietnam War, which saw a disproportionate amount of Chicanos and Mexican American get drafted and die for the United States. El Teatro Campesino, a Chicana/o farmworker collective theater group, addressed Chicanos'/as' involvement in the war in their *actos* called "Vietnam Campesino" and "Soldado Razo," providing one of many cultural responses to the war and its direct impact on Chicana/o and Mexican American lives conscripted into service. Other significant moments in 1968 include the massacre of student protesters in Mexico City, days before the Olympic Games, during which US African American track and field athletes, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, raised their single black-gloved fists in defiance and protest against the US's legacy of racism against blacks and other non-white populations. These brief historical flashpoints serve as reminders of the climate of civil unrest that agitated thousands of students and others to challenge state violence, discrimination, warmongering, racism, and other forms of oppression.

As George Lipsitz reminds us in *American Studies in a Moment of Danger* (2001), these struggles of the 1960s "played important roles in expanding access to education," which included "efforts to diversify the curriculum, the faculty, and the student body, to include women, people of color, and other unrepresented or underrepresented groups in both the curriculum and the classroom" (xv). For Chicanas/os in the 1960s, especially for those East L.A. students who walked out en masse in 1968, these struggles meant, among other things, creating apertures for access to higher education by changing the existing tracking system format that kept the majority of Chicanas/os and Mexican Americans shut out of colleges and universities. But the

decades that followed 1968 included other significant moments that provide important points of reference that matter and which relate to Chicana/o educational struggles, including the 1970 Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War; the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act signed by Reagan; California's statewide propositions passed by voters in the 1990s that ended affirmative action admissions policies and bilingual education in public schools; and recent anti-immigrant legislation passed in Arizona and now Georgia.

California is a particularly important site of Chicana/o political movements and, alongside Texas, figures most prominently in all of the cultural works I engage in the dissertation. Though there were many Chicano movements across the country, concentrated in Tejas, New Mexico, and the US Southwest, California was the site of high-profile Chicano struggles for justice on many fronts, from César Chávez's unionization efforts among farmworkers in the rural and agricultural central San Joaquin Valley to the urban struggles faced by barrio students in East L.A. and other cities. East L.A. in particular is most synonymous with urban Chicana/o activism defined by two key moments: the 1968 East L.A. high school blowouts and the 1970 Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War. These two events crystallized the urgent implications for students and youth in the Movimiento Era.[3] They encapsulated the height of Chicanas'/os' push for educational equality as students, their families, and community members began to publicly identify and protest the disproportionate numbers of

[3] Many historical accounts of the Movimiento era, including Chicana feminist critiques, have been written and released in the decades that follow. A sampling includes: Jorge Mariscal, *Aztlán and Viet Nam: Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the War* (1999); Carlos Muñoz, Jr., *Youth, Identity, and Power: The Chicano Movement* (1989); Alma García, ed., *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*, and Renee Tajima-Peña's 2008 film, *Calavera Highway*.

Chicanas/os and Mexican Americans dying in Vietnam, while decrying the discriminatory educational policies and practices that essentially tracked Chicanas/os and Mexican American students away from higher education. Other student boycotts and protests arose in Chicana/o communities and school districts across the country, including marches in South Texas, Northern California, and throughout the borderlands of the US Southwest. In terms of Chicana/o histories of education, the Blowouts and Moratorium position East L.A. as one epicenter of many Chicana/o students' struggles for educational equality.

The events that transpired in East Los Angeles high schools in 1968 that came to be known as the Blowouts were a series of organized student walkouts that empowered the predominantly working-class Chicana/o student population to boycott their classes and demand quality education from their high schools. They inspired other significant moments of Chicana/o student activism in the years that followed, notably *El Plan de Santa Barbara* in 1969, a document calling for an increased presence of Chicanas/os in higher education. And they raised questions that pertained to Chicanas'/os' educational retention, progress, successes, and failures, which many of them recognized as forms of institutionalized racism. Tomás Almaguer discusses how public schools and the education system, along with "jobs, land, legal rights, and housing" were among the "basic structures of opportunity initially institutionalized to retain privileged access to social rewards for European Americans" (210). As such, high school counselors routinely directed Chicana/o students, save for a handful of the most 'promising' students, away from college preparatory academic tracks and towards the low-skilled tracks that included typing and secretarial classes for the girls, woodshop and auto shop classes for

the boys. Students were upset at their schools' inferior conditions, compared to high schools on the Westside of L.A., where (affluent white) students were rewarded for speaking Spanish and learning other foreign languages, while Mexican students in East L.A. caught speaking Spanish in class often suffered humiliating treatment at the hands of their overwhelmingly white teachers and administrators. The range of discriminatory practices that defined the schooling experience for the majority of students at Wilson, Garfield, Belmont, Roosevelt, and Lincoln High Schools prompted them to rally, protest, and march to the school board offices near Hazard Park to demand changes and seek a just, equal education.

Although a small percentage of Mexican Americans and Chicanas/os also attend(ed) private schools, especially Catholic parochial schools, the social movements and struggles related to Chicanas'/os' quest for a better and more equitable education took hold in, and were aimed at, the public education system, including public higher education and university systems. As such, the contemporary Chicana/o cultural texts and artistic expressions I explore here reflect, represent, and respond to the public school experience and the dominant discourses that shape schooling and education. The 1968 walkouts and the era of Chicana/o movimiento activism in general were instrumental in generating the conditions for the creation and circulation of many cultural texts, both immediately after the events and in the 'multicultural' decades that followed.

Before I turn to a discussion of the particular cultural forms that anchor this project and the other key theoretical frameworks that inform my analyses of them, I want to first set up one of the important contexts for my project, which is the discourse of multiculturalism and its various incarnations in the decades following the Movimiento

era through the beginning of the new millennium. In particular, this project is invested in demonstrating Chicanas'/os' vexed relationship to "multicultural" educational practices and policies designed to benefit them. In the United States, "Multiculturalism" is commonly understood as a set of social and institutional practices and strategies that aim to acknowledge, represent, and sometimes celebrate the cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity of this country. US multiculturalism is defined and has been defined in many ways, in the service of multiple political and social projects, purposes, and agendas. Throughout the dissertation, I am interested primarily in US multiculturalism's impact on and implications for schooling and as educational policy that has particular meanings for Chicana/o and other students of color.

In *Pedagogy and the Politics of Hope: Theory, Culture, and Schooling*, Henry A. Giroux writes, "Multiculturalism has become a central discourse in the struggle over issues regarding national identity, the construction of historical memory, the purpose of schooling, and the meaning of democracy….[M]ost of these battles have been waged in the university around curriculum changes and in polemic exchanges in the public media" (Giroux 234). US multiculturalism as educational ideology and policy emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, after social and civil struggles in the 1960s. Prior to the middle twentieth century, the "monocultural, ethnoracial Eurovision" that "had become cemented in the U.S." (Goldberg 4, 11) as educational and institutional practice had gone unchallenged, until the social and civil rights movements in the 1960s. In the 1970s and 1980s, colleges and universities saw the establishment of Ethnic Studies programs, Women's Studies programs, and an increase of writing by women and people of color on course syllabi. Because of these institutionalized successes to diversify students, faculty,

and curriculum, particularly in public K-12 and higher education, the neoconservative era of Reagan and Bush in the 1980s saw defenders of what E.D. Hirsch has called a "common culture" rush to dismantle liberal efforts to honor America's diversity in its classrooms.[4]

The neoconservatism of the 1980s gave way to a seeming compromise in the form of "color blindness" (Gordon and Newfield 3) in the 1990s, usually conflated with "tolerance" in educational practices rooted in liberalism, which always rewards and values individual achievement above that of the community or group. However, what tends to happen is that a pedagogy and curriculum of liberal individualism that champions "tolerance" still reaffirms the supremacy of (white) European experiences, texts, and cultures as exemplary of the "universal." Furthermore, tolerance as pedagogy "serve[s] interpersonal ends, such as the promotion of mutual respect between individuals belonging to various race, gender, class, and religious groups" (Buras and Motter 246). Such an ideology flattens and reduces the histories of social relations—including those that explain the existence of bussing and integration practices in an effort to equalize access to "good schools"—to an individual level.

The dominant and mainstream practices of multiculturalism in the 1990s and through the millennium that were steeped in liberal attempts to "teach tolerance" were met with resistance by radical pedagogy practitioners for its inability to adequately and meaningfully engage or respond to such issues of institutionalized racism, classism, heterosexism, and homophobia. That is, tolerance-oriented pedagogy and curriculum that

[4] It is worth noting that 1986 was a special year for many "illegal" Mexicans in California, for in that year, Ronald Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act, granting them and three million others amnesty.

became popular in the 1990s, especially in low-performing urban or barrio schools, has severe limits,[5] as it does not account for or open up critical discussions of race, gender, power, and privilege, and as a result, often turns a blind eye toward homophobia and other forms of discrimination. In response, calls for critical, radical, and "insurgent multiculturalism[s]" challenged the feel-good multiculturalism that pervaded schools in the forms of cultural celebrations of food and dance, or calendar month-long 'awareness' of "African American Heritage" (February) or "Hispanic Heritage" (mid-September to mid-October) accompanied by requisite nods to the achievements of Dr. Martin Luther King and César Chávez. Critical multiculturalism as defined by such practitioners as Gordon and Newfield exposes liberal multiculturalism as essentially a neoliberal project, with aims of 'solving the problem' of ineffective and 'low performing' public schools. Critical multiculturalism helps us to understand that dominant conceptions of multiculturalism, which are often linked to neoliberal solutions of privatization, attempt to offer "minority" student populations a version of education that works best in the service of corporate projects of economic competition and expansion. On the other hand, critical pedagogy scholars such as Henry A. Giroux urge teachers and students to engage an "insurgent multiculturalism," or deploy multiculturalism as a critical pedagogical tool "which allows teachers and students to understand how power works in the interest of dominant social relations, and how such relations can be challenged and transformed" (*Pedagogy* 247). Doing so unmasks the otherwise benevolent aims of most recent and

[5] Erin Gruwell's Freedom Writers project at Long Beach Wilson High School in the 1990s is perhaps the most popular example of tolerance-oriented pedagogy, spawning classroom manuals for teachers and even a popular movie, *Freedom Writers* (2007), starring Oscar-winner Hilary Swank.

current efforts at increasing diversity at all levels in educational institutions, and at the same time, pushes multiculturalism to commit to its radical roots.

I ground my project in these challenges to liberal multiculturalism and I embrace a critical and radical approach to thinking about multiculturalism and its particular impact on Chicana/o students, teachers, artists, and academics. Accordingly, my project intervenes in these ongoing debates about multiculturalism and all its pertinent educational forms, by offering an analysis of intersections of education, race, and sexuality that are often skirted by common notions of multiculturalism. These debates surrounding multiculturalism and education serve as one important historical, political, and social context for understanding the complexities and specificities of Chicana/o educational experiences, struggles for education, and community activism depicted in the cultural works at the center of this project.

As a cultural history of Chicana/o education, my project is necessarily grounded in cultural work produced during and after the Movimiento era, as well as larger official and unofficial histories of education and schooling in the United States, particularly during and after Reconstruction and at the dawn of US imperialism at the turn of the 19th century. These contexts also inform the distinctions I make between "education" and "schooling" throughout this project. Both terms, broadly conceived, help us to trace a history of education in the US that is deeply entrenched in contradictory ideologies of oppression and liberation for Chicanas/os and other people of color.

While related and often co-constitutive, "education" and "schooling" do not always denote the same things. In the broadest sense, and regarding this project, "education" can refer to different processes of knowledge formation and dissemination.

These include the pedagogical, social, and cultural practices associated with formal K-12 schooling in the US, as well as higher education training in the disciplined fields of academic knowledge in the university. Education is often touted as a positive thing, a path to economic and social success, something worth acquiring, and therefore is rarely imbued with negative connotations. While "education" is often synonymous with institutionalized forms of learning and knowledge production, it also speaks to the informal and life-long intellectual formation of a person. As such, I often make the distinction between "formal" education (going to school or university, learning the subjects, acquiring academic training) and "informal education" (the knowledge and critical thinking skills once acquires outside of officially demarcated and institutionalized spaces of learning) in articulating the various models of Chicana/o educational formation that appear in the cultural work at the center of this project.

On the other hand, I use "schooling" to refer more to the compulsory, usually public, education process that has histories rooted in US nation-building and imperialism, colonialism, and Anglo/Euro hegemony. "Schooling" in the US is imposed by law and often carries violent connotations, especially when viewed through the experiences of racialized groups who have suffered particular forms of violence in the name of education. Here is where critical or radical pedagogy is another important framework for my project. As Giroux explains in *Pedagogy and the Politics of Hope*, "Essential to this project [of radical pedagogy] is a fundamental concern with the question of how we can make schooling meaningful in order to make it critical, and how we can make it critical in order to make it emancipatory" (71). In order for us to recognize the urgency of emancipatory education, we can look to the examples of the post-Reconstruction-era

Freedman's Bureau schools for the masses of freed slaves, Native American boarding schools, and Americanization programs for Mexican Americans in California and Texas.

In such educational endeavors, the official project of US schooling entailed transmitting English-language and Protestant American culture and practices by violently stripping these groups of their languages, customs, and histories. In the nineteenth century, the subject of education in the US as it affects non-white populations can generally be thought about in two ways: one, as a colonizing force and extension of US military violence; and two, as a benevolent civilizing mission, led by white Northerners invested in helping slaves make the adjustment from bondage to liberty, and later, in helping Mexican Americans to acculturate to US American ways of living. This history is one that couples military force with education in the formation of an obedient, law-abiding, Christian, white citizen. During Reconstruction, for example, Freedmen's schools were founded to provide education to Southern blacks, who were now faced with the prospect of learning how to conduct themselves in a manner befitting free citizens. Around the same time, during the mid- to late-nineteenth century, Native American children were sent to boarding schools to learn how to assimilate to the hegemonic whiteness that was "Americanization."[6] And from Haiti to Hawai'i, from Puerto Rico to the Philippines, the United States' efforts to expand its empire to overseas territories and conquer the natives abroad was not only a military endeavor but also included schooling and teachers as part of the completion of the imperial project. Especially in territories such as the Philippines and Hawai'i, for example, where the natives were constructed and

[6]For example, a 1902 Carlisle Indian Industrial Training School Catalog blithely claims, "Just as [Indians] have become one with each other through association in the School, so by going out to live among them have they become one with the white race, and thus ended the differences and solved their own problems." Quoted in Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 114.

represented as infantilized, racially inferior objects in need of Uncle Sam's 'benevolence,' the alignment of the soldier and the schoolteacher as the primary instruments of civilization confirmed the gendered and racialized dimensions of US imperialism. Given this trajectory that links schooling and education to the "Americanization" of natives, conquered peoples, former slaves, and immigrants, US schools have often worked in conjunction with other state or state-sanctioned institutions—the military, the church—to assimilate and regulate potentially threatening (non-white, non-English-speaking, usually immigrant) groups. Over the course of US history, these groups included newly freed slaves, Native Americans, and Mexicans and Chicanos in California, Texas, and Arizona.

At the same time, mostly out of necessity and the increased chances of economic survival, these groups also embraced education as a path to racial uplift and social mobility, the key to success in the United States. While these works engage memories of violence and injustice associated with Chicanas'/os' "schooling," "education" often connotes the potential for freedom, independence, and growth. Tellingly, the stories, narratives, experiences, and historical perspectives of people of color in this country, especially African American, Native American, and Mexican/Latin American student populations (still the most underrepresented groups in higher education), reveal the simultaneous oppression and liberation of schooling in the US, along with the shared hope that education can "work for us." This sentiment has special resonance in 2008, not only the year of the fortieth anniversary of the Blowouts, but also the year the US elected its first black president in the hope that things would change. That is, after eight years of George W. Bush's neoconservative administration that saw, among other things, an

escalation of warfare, the US invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, the curbing of civil liberties under the PATRIOT Act, and the implementation of the educational legislation referred to as No Child Left Behind, US voters expressed their discontent with conservative leadership and voted for Barack Obama. Obama represented hope for change. He told the nation, "Tonight, we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity and unyielding hope. For that is the true genius of America — that America can change." "Yes, we can" reverberated throughout his acceptance speech after the results of the 2008 presidential election, resonating with César Chávez's assertion that "Si, Se Puede."[7] What has changed, however, particularly regarding public education, immigration policy, and continued wars of aggression, is yet to be seen.

So why look at Chicana and Chicano cultural production to access and explore questions of educational formation and subjectivity? Why docudramas, autobiographical novels, and live performance? I look at these forms because collectively, these works teach us that we cannot fully understand the complexities and contradictions of contemporary Chicana/o educational experiences without locating them alongside the histories and narratives of education of other racialized and colonized groups in the United States, as well as within the larger contexts of US imperialism, expansionism, and later, neoliberal corporate domination. As Laura Elisa Pérez writes in her essay, "El Desorden, Nationalism, and Chicana/o Aesthetics," "Chicana/o productions of

[7] See transcript of Barack Obama's victory speech, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=96624326.

knowledge, art, and the very media in which to circulate the former in the second half of the 1960s through the 1970s played crucial roles in constructing the idea of Aztlán and Chicana/o identity, and ovulating it into found spaces in U.S. national identity discourse….Excluded from "white" American media, Chicana/os created their own presses, journals, newspapers, galleries, *talleres*, *teatros*, films, television, and radio programs—*and*, crucially, their own ideological and aesthetic norms—from material and discursive resources culled in large part from the dominant culture" (22). Pérez points to one of the contradictions inherent in creating oppositional narratives "culled in large part from the dominant culture," or using what Audre Lorde would call "the master's tools." Nevertheless, these works participate in larger efforts to critically dissect dominant constructions of Chicana/o educational experiences, while also offering challenges and alternatives to the very institutions many Chicanas/os wish to access and become part of.

Building on this work, I argue for the viability and necessity of a pedagogically grounded analysis of cultural texts that are widely read, taught, and otherwise disseminated through mainstream and alternative media outlets. In particular, this project foregrounds docudramas, both limited and mainstream releases; novels by Chicana feminist writers; queer Chicano autobiographical novels; and performances, including plays and comedic performances. I approach my analyses of these texts through a framework of cultural memory as articulated by Marita Sturken in *Tangled Memories* and George Lipsitz in *Time Passages*, furthered by formulations of Chicana/o cultural production and its roles in articulating, reflecting, and preserving key moments of Chicana/o cultural memory-making.

The docudramas I engage are *Walkout*, the 2006 film directed by Edward James

Olmos that told one story of the 1968 East L.A. school blowouts, and the 1988 film about Jaime Escalante's advanced math class defying the odds at Garfield High School, *Stand and Deliver*. In my discussions of these two films, I build on Sturken's definition of docudrama in her study of cultural memory and the nation *Tangled Memories*. In Sturken's formulation, docudrama films "meld historical fact and dramatic form" in a "cultural reenactment of the original drama." She continues: "Docudramas are a primary source of historical information. They afford a means through which uncomfortable histories of traumatic events can be smoothed over, retold, and ascribed new meaning" (85-6). As films that enjoyed varying success—HBO premiered *Walkout*, while *Stand and Deliver* is considered a mainstream Hollywood release—these two movies reach wider audiences and act as pedagogical texts. As films, they are "cultural artifacts and social-history evidence about the times in which they were made" while "reshaping our memories of the past" (Lipsitz 164). This holds true for both *Walkout* and *Stand and Deliver*, films which engage "uncomfortable histories" head-on in order to provide a means of healing for aggrieved communities through the construction of shared cultural memories of significant events in the history of Chicana/o schooling and education.

On one level, these various works reflect the contentious project of educational multiculturalism and its uneven attempts to both provide for and manage Chicana/o teaching and learning. On other levels, these artistic and cultural expressions that I examine in this project provide an avenue for understanding how Chicanas/os remember and recreate moments of individual and collective educational struggle in the last several decades. Here is where cultural memory is another important element in my project, especially the ways in which certain events, community movements, and collective and

individualized educational experiences are remembered, recreated, and represented in the films, novels, and performances at the center of this project. As Sturken writes, "Cultural memory is produced through objects, images, and representations….Memory is articulated through processes of representation" (9). In what follows, I suggest that cultural memory tells us more than official histories and records can about how and why actual people 'on the ground' are moved one way or another, or not, by social movements and community activism, whether in 1968 or 2008.

As Lipsitz suggests in *American Studies in a Moment of Danger,* official archives tell us little about the motivations and feelings of those who struggle and demonstrate against injustice, and so we have to go to their "cultural practices and products [like] film and fiction" (xi). For Chicanas and Chicanos who were not part of the majority who walked out, or for those who were marginalized within the Movimiento, such as women and queer people, Chicana feminist novels and performances provide a counter-narrative to otherwise patriarchal constructions of key Chicana/o historical moments, including those related to education. Therefore, I include novels by Chicana feminists such as Helena Maria Viramontes (*Their Dogs Came with Them*) and Terri de la Peña (*Margins*), both of which provide challenges to dominant histories of Chicano movements, while presenting an alternative way of understanding women's and queers' contributions to Chicana/o struggles for education. I also examine queer Chicano autobiographical literature, including José Antonio Villarreal's *Pocho* to Arturo Islas's *The Rain God*, two works that call attention to the central role education and pedagogical relationships play in the formation and articulation of queer, non-normative Chicano identities.

Finally, I look at performances, including *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!*, a solo performance by queer Xicana performer, Adelina Anthony, and a staged play, Ricardo Bracho's *Sissy.* As two works steeped in a Chicano/a teatro tradition committed to exposing injustice and working towards creating new realities and possibilities for queers, women, and other marginalized members of the community, *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* and *Sissy* challenge normative characterizations of Chicana/o struggles for education. For performance scholars such as Davíd Román, "Performance studies begins with the premise that performance—in all its possibility, from theatre to ritual and from public to private—is a cultural practice fundamental to cultural formations of individual subjectivity and social negotiations of communal identity and that sets as its project an investigation of this process" (152). Performance is key in witnessing the process of subject formation through interactions with the audience, as well as offering new ways to envision social change through collective imagination during the moment of participatory teatro-making.

This project attempts to intervene in ongoing debates about education and formations of race, gender, and sexuality by foregrounding the centrality of 'school' and the collective struggle for education in the formation of Chicana/o subjectivities. I foreground issues of sexuality and gender in my work, particularly as it pertains to queerness and non-normative gender identity in the service of a non-heteronormative critique of most of Chicano history. I follow such queer Chicana theorists as Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, who encourages us to "engage questions of lesbian Chicana and gay Chicano subjectivities" (Haggerty and Zimmerman 125) in order to analyze multiple iterations of discrimination undergirded by heteronormativity, homophobia, and

misogyny that often go unquestioned in Chicana/o-Latina/o cultural practices. While I understand queerness as indicating non-normative gender and sexual identities, behaviors, and practices, the term also refers to a reading practice that challenges normative texts. Highlighting the queer figures in works such as Viramontes's *Their Dogs Came with Them*, Islas's *The Rain God*, and Anthony's *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* exposes the heteronormative and patriarchal ideologies that structure much of our educational experiences. In order to access issues of sexuality and queerness as they relate to schooling and education, I engage theories of critical pedagogy, another important theoretical tool in my project, which ask us to consider the extent to which education, when undertaken in equitable and non-oppressive ways, provides liberation, transformation, and freedom from domination. It asks racialized and other non-dominant groups of students and teachers to consider the classroom as one kind of transformative, emancipatory space within an otherwise oppressive institution.

Critical feminist, women of color, and queer pedagogical theories extend the liberatory aims of critical pedagogy by articulating the particular ways in which women and queer people experience the workings of the dominant educational and university power structures. In particular, I build on seminal work by bell hooks, Audre Lorde, and Cherríe Moraga in an effort to establish an analytical framework for identifying how 'other' bodies create spaces of resistance in institutional settings, while underscoring the necessity to build other networks of knowledge production apart from the 'academy' and other official educational spaces. Moraga's theory of the flesh and Lorde's notion of "the master's house" to describe the academic environment for women of color helps us to

name the different ways in which women's and queer bodies disruptively and productively occupy and alter 'official' spaces of the institution.

While Lorde and Moraga assert the necessity to build our own spaces outside of the institution in order to instigate genuine structural changes that might be more inclusive, others call for collective action and other forms of "guerilla warfare in the liberatory project of building coalitions" (Harris 376) that seek to subvert the "prevailing myths" of middle-class success ostensibly guaranteed with an education. As Laura Harris explains, "When Audre Lorde made her statement about the master's house, she did not mean do not get an education, do not speak forcefully, do no write critical essays, and do not live every day in the fray of the battle (you always are there). I believe she meant do not think the battle is ever done, do not think that because you made it everyone can, and do not ever buy into the prevailing myths" (379). Such contradictions, complexities, and compromises entailed by the educational process are better understood through these theoretical interventions, all of which contribute to a more robust engagement of a range of contemporary works of Chicana and Chicano cultural production that together convey the complex and shifting social, historical, and political relations between Chicanas/os and their schooling/education in the US.

Each chapter in this dissertation engages a set of theoretical lenses, synthesizing multiculturalism, gender, sexuality, racial formation, and critical pedagogy to help us understand the central role 'school' plays in activating the emergence and articulation of racialized, gendered, and non-normative or queer identity formations for Chicanas/os that are also determined by specific historical, social, and cultural conditions. I begin with an examination of the Chicana/o student movements in the late 1960s, focusing specifically

on the East L.A. walkouts and their impact on Chicana/o youth politicization and identity. In Chapter 1, "'Demand, Protest, Organize:' Memories and Counter-Memories of the 1968 East Los Angeles High School Blowouts," I analyze how the historical moment of late 1960s Chicano/a student activism is remembered and represented in contemporary Chicano/a works, such as the HBO film, *Walkout* (2006), Viramontes's novel, *Their Dogs Came with Them* (2007), and Anthony's solo performance work, *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* (2002-08). Building on Sturken's formulation of cultural memory, I demonstrate that these works, though produced roughly forty years after the events they depict, offer competing narratives of the history and significance of the East L.A. walkouts. Together, they reveal how divergent representations, experiences, and perspectives on the walkouts and of the Chicano/a Student Movement contribute to the (re)writing of canonical Chicano history and struggles related to educational reform. Such a rewriting entails the incorporation of otherwise marginalized perspectives, such as the queer and the female, as well as a re-imagining of historical events that includes those experiences that may challenge popular versions of 'what really happened' during the Movimiento era.

Next, I move from an analysis of the collective struggle for education to an examination of individual Chicanos' relationship to schooling, specifically queer Chicanos' persistent desire for educational spaces and relationships as a 'way out' of the heteronormative, repressive, and otherwise undesirable familial and social expectations. In Chapter 2, "Soft Hands: A Genealogy of the Educational Formation of Queer Chicano Identities from Villarreal's *Pocho* (1959) to Bracho's *Sissy* (2008)," I argue that, for the queer protagonists in *Pocho*, *Sissy*, and Islas's novel, *The Rain God* (1984), education

serves a largely ameliorative function for those sons who require the space and resources provided by "books" or "school" to realize their queerness or identities as non-normative male subjects. Doing so requires a retrospective queer reading of Villarreal's seminal Chicano novel, *Pocho*, that situates it as possibly the first queer Chicano novel and thereby serves to highlight a 'lineage' of the figure of the educated queer Chicano/Latino male, while identifying the centrality of "school" to the formation of a critical gay/queer identity and subjectivity.

Chapter 3, "Profesora Power: Chicana Feminist Pedagogy in Terri de la Peña's *Margins* (1992) and Adelina Anthony's *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* (2002)" continues the discussion of educational and pedagogical formations of queer identity and subjectivity. If Chapter 2 is concerned primarily with the queer Chicano male student as a subject of pedagogical formation, then Chapter 3 turns our attention to the queer(ed) Chicana female professor as a transformative figure of pedagogical power. Accordingly, this chapter centers de la Peña's novel, *Margins* (1992) and revisits Anthony's solo performance of a femme professor in *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!*. I argue that when taken together, the fictional pedagogical figures of Professor Camille Zamora and La Profesora Mama Chocha mobilize feminist and queer pedagogy as multidimensional praxis in ways that productively transform the academy for both the Chicana professor and her (queer) students.

From practices of feminist pedagogy in Chapter 3, I turn to a well-known representation of paternalistic pedagogy in a climate of competition and scholastic achievement. In Chapter 4, "The Ganas to Compete: Jaime Escalante's "Manly" Pedagogy and the Politics of Teaching "Calcúlus" in *Stand and Deliver* (1988)," I revisit

the docudrama that made East L.A.'s Garfield High School, and its star calculus teacher, internationally famous. I analyze the film within the larger context of the current climate of "crises" in public education and their perceived neoliberal and legislative remedies, from George W. Bush's "No Child Left Behind" (2002) to President Obama's "Race to the Top" (2009) education-reform packages. Therefore, this chapter reframes *Stand and Deliver* as a film that examines the impact of neoliberalism upon practices of teaching and learning aimed at reforming "urban" (portrayed in these films as lower- to- working class Chicana/o-Latina/o, African-American, and youth of color) students, their teachers, and their schools.

In the Epilogue, I return to the moments that defined educational policy and race relations in 2008 and beyond, while reflecting on the urgency of the current state of public education in this country. For Chicanas/os, Latinas/os, particularly those who live in Arizona or along the US-Mexico border, we are again faced with racist and legislative threats to the very fields of knowledge that Chicana/o student activists fought to have institutionalized in 1968 and in the decades that followed. The dismantling of public education, from kindergarten to the state university, continues to disproportionally impact Chicana/s and other low-income and traditionally underrepresented populations of color.

As an interdisciplinary examination of the centrality of schooling and pedagogy in the Chicana/o cultural and historical imaginary, my project is in conversation with work undertaken in other fields and draws from such as disciplines as education and critical pedagogy, ethnic studies, history, critical race and gender studies, and queer studies. Generally speaking, I ground my analyses in cultural studies, more specifically Chicana/o cultural studies, and critical pedagogy. Cultural studies as a methodology encourages the

juxtapositions of various texts across and within genres and historical moments so as to allow a more complex approach to engaging critical questions of race, gender, and sexuality, nationality, class, and other factors that heavily influence a person's educational trajectory. "Contemporary formations of Chicana/o cultural studies," according to noted Chicana cultural studies scholar Angie Chabram-Dernersesian, "emerge with full force in the 1990s amid a number of contradictory social processes" as a critical discourse. Furthermore, "Chicana/o cultural studies maneuver[s] its way into the very heart of the social text with its engagements of social history, ideology, social movements" (*Reader* 3-5). Following Chabram-Dernersesian, I suggest that the cultural production and artistic expressions examined in this project are social texts that participate in the creation of oppositional discourses that imagine alternative possibilities for the liberatory existence of the educated Chicana/o subject.

In her introduction to her edited collection of foundational essays, *The Chicana/o Cultural Studies Reader*, Chabram-Dernersesian writes, "Because Chicana/o cultural studies interventions are not only concerned with staking out cultural productions that matter but also with the social realities they reference, these interventions engage the contexts and transformative potential of cultural productions" (xix). I imagine my project as one such intervention that calls attention to the "transformative potential of cultural productions" in helping us (Chicana/os) to make sense of our educated lives. Chabram-Dernersesian includes a section devoted to academe, which underscores the desire and necessity to think about Chicanas'/os' complex and contradictory relationships in/to academic institutions. These and other essays about higher education and Chicana/o academics are central to my analyses, and they prompt us to consider the wider range of

the educational and 'schooling' project beyond the academy, and encompassing other levels of education. As such, this project is one intervention into Chicana/o cultural studies by bringing pedagogy, schooling, and education to bear on how we think and teach about the process of knowledge formation, acquisition, and dissemination as it relates to collective and individual struggles for/in education.

This project is indebted to the scholars, teachers, and students who have forged a field of Chicana/o cultural production studies that encourages—charges—us 'educated Chicanas/os' to continue to challenge, rethink, and advocate for new ways of understanding. I follow such Chicana/o Cultural Studies scholars and practitioners as Yarbro-Bejarano, José Davíd Saldívar, Mary Pat Brady, Rosa Linda Fregoso, and others who understand the significant contributions of Cultural Studies as a field descended from British and American cultural studies traditions, while staking new claims, engaging new readings, and creating new pathways for future Chicana/o cultural expressions that challenge dominant constructions of culture. The contributors to the Chabram-Dernersesian's most recent edited volume, *The Chicana/o Cultural Studies Forum: Critical and Ethnographic Practices,* acknowledge that while Chicana/o Cultural Studies is framed by British formulations of cultural studies, such as those advanced by Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy, it also "does not duplicate the traditional cultural studies map," partly because "Chicana/o subjects have had to negotiate successive histories of conquest and colonization; proletarianization; class stratification and cultural repression/subordination; racial, linguistic, gender, and sexual discrimination; geographical and territorial displacement; and a condition of pervasive disempowerment, especially in the areas of education, health, politics, and citizenship" (*Forum* 4).

Education is a generative site for the negotiation of all of these areas that shape subjectivity, and I foreground it precisely to access, examine, and interrogate its influence on how Chicanas/os come to understand themselves as schooled subjects.

The texts, histories, and experiences at the center of this project collectively trace a larger history in which the question of educating people of color in the US has always been politically charged and fraught with crisis. They also attest to the significant role of educational experiences, whether formal or informal, public or private, in the emergence and formation of Chicana/o subjectivities and the possibility of liberation through education. These works of Chicana and Chicano cultural production, I argue, attest to the simultaneous oppression and potential liberation of schooling and education in this country for Chicanas/os and other racialized and subjugated groups. In short, "Schooling La Raza" analyzes historical shifts in ideologies of and relationships to education and schooling, while opening up space to imagine alternative possibilities for the liberation of the educated Chicana/o subject.

CHAPTER 1

Demand, Protest, Organize:"[8] Remembering the 1968 East Los Angeles High School Blowouts, 2006-08

[M]emory plays a critical role in the formation of history. Pulling at the entangled strings of history and memory, especially as they work together at sites of public history and culture, is a daunting but necessary task.
--Richard R. Flores (*Remembering the Alamo*, 2002)

What memories tell us, more than anything, is the stakes held by individuals and institutions in attributing meaning to the past.
–Marita Sturken (*Tangled Memories,* 1997)

Introduction.

One morning in March of 1968, hundreds and eventually thousands of Chicana and Chicano students and their supporters marched out of Lincoln, Garfield, Belmont, Roosevelt, and Wilson High Schools in East Los Angeles. The students protested educational inequality and the overall poor state of their schools, and they demanded, among other things, facilities equal to those of the more affluent Westside schools, as well as an inclusive curriculum that reflected the history of Mexican Americans and Chicanos in the US. They were tired of the overall substandard education that, among other things, tracked them away from college and towards the low-skilled labor pool. They were upset at their schools' inferior conditions and the humiliating treatment they often suffered at the hands of their overwhelmingly white[9] teachers and administrators, who paddled students for speaking Spanish and locked the bathrooms during school hours. The high school students, with the help of their teacher, Sal Castro, the Brown

[8] From Viramontes's novel, *Their Dogs Came With Them* (2007)

[9] The majority of school administrators and teachers at this time were white USAmericans (rooted in histories of imperialism and mission education.) See also Lipsitz (1998) on "the possessive investment in whiteness."

Berets, and Chicano/a college student activists from UCLA and other area universities organized what many historians call the first major mass-resistance to institutional racism by Mexican Americans in the history of the US. The events that came to be known as "the Blowouts" lasted several weeks and were responsible for inspiring waves of similar student protests across California, the US Southwest, and Texas in 1968. The following year, with these students' demands in mind, a prominent group of Chicano/a university student and faculty leaders wrote and published *El Plan de Santa Barbara* in 1969. *El Plan* established a vision of higher education that they believed would better serve Chicanos/as and their communities through the establishment of Chicano Studies programs and improvements to K-12 education that would prepare Chicano/a students for university work.

Now, forty years later, Chicanas/os are remembering and commemorating both the Blowouts and *El Plan de Santa Barbara* as important moments in the history of Chicano educational struggles.[10] The walkouts and *El Plan,* as examples of Civil Rights-era activism, were largely responsible for the emergence of new identity formations, discourses, and epistemologies in Chicano communities, especially as they related to education and its role in securing Chicano self-determination through a University education. However, recent 40th anniversary celebrations of the East L.A. walkouts, as well as a handful of contemporary Chicana/o texts, raise questions about the function of memory in the creation of a Chicana/o cultural history of schooling, specifically about

[10] As of this writing, there have been at least four academic conferences and several smaller campus events that incorporate "40 years after" the blowouts and Chicano Student Movement as their theme (CSU Northridge, East LA College, UC Santa Barbara, SFSU), as well as ongoing commemorative events, appearances, lectures and panels that feature Bobby Verdugo, Paula Crisostomo, and Sal Castro. At least one 40th anniversary event commemorating and celebrating the writing of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (1969) is currently in the works, to be held at UC Santa Barbara.

what it means for Chicanas and Chicanos to remember and recreate historical moments of educational struggle, both individual and collective, at a time when many questions about the state of education for Chicanas/os and Latinas/os[11] in the US. remain. Here, I am primarily interested in not only the ways in which the Blowouts are being commemorated 40 years later, but also how this historical moment of late 1960s Chicano/a student activism is remembered and represented in two contemporary texts, the HBO film *Walkout* (2006) and Helena Maria Viramontes's novel *Their Dogs Came with Them* (2007). As in the 40th Anniversary commemorations, both *Walkout* and *Their Dogs Came with Them* engage collective and individual memories of the blowouts and Chicano/a student activism in 1968 East LA as the basis for textual representations that often contradict each other. Their respective narratives of these events call into question what form these memories take and the purposes for which they operate in the constitution of what could be called a collective Chicano/a cultural history of educational struggles, past and present.

My analysis of these recent Chicana/o texts is informed by Marita Sturken's discussion of cultural memory. She writes,

> The process of cultural memory is bound up in complex political stakes and meanings. It both defines a culture and is the means by which its divisions and conflicting agendas are revealed. To define a memory as cultural is, in effect, to enter into a debate about what memory means. This process does not efface the individual but rather involves the interaction of individuals in the creation of cultural meaning. Cultural memory is a field of cultural negotiation through which different stories vie for a place in history. (1)

[11] I include Latinas/os when I refer to recent/the present time (post 1980s) to account for the growing populations of non-Mexican Latinas/os who still align themselves with Chicano causes. A current UCLA student and MEChA member tells me that many of their student members claim Salvadoran, Honduran, Nicaraguan, Guatemalan, and other "half or non-Chicano/Mexicano" Latinoamerican ancestry.

The "complex political stakes" I am concerned with here are those related to the education and the schooling process for Mexican American-Chicanas/os,[12] particularly what it means to ask for institutional access and equality, and what such institutional inclusion implies for how we teach Chicana/o history to future students. Sturken's formulation makes visible how sometimes contradictory and competing stories intersect and "vie for a place" in (re)creating Chicana/o educational history, while providing a productive framework for examining whose memories count as historical 'truth' and why. *Walkout, Their Dogs Came with Them,* and other recent works, such as queer Xicana artist Adelina Anthony's theatrical work *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* (2006), comprise part of the "field of cultural negotiations" through which divergent representations, experiences, and perspectives on the walkouts (and of the Chicano/a Student Movement 'in general'). As such, they challenge traditional, patriarchal narratives of 1960s Chicano/a movements by contributing to a (re)writing of canonical Chicano history and the historical events.

To echo Flores, I aim to begin "pulling at the entangled strings of history and memory as they work together at sites of public history and culture," sites which include cultural production, educational curricula, and community-based commemorative events. This chapter is primarily concerned with the memories that inspire contemporary representations of the East Los Angeles student strikes. Chapter 1 is organized into two

[12] I recognize "Chicana/o" as an historical term which came into popular use during the late 1960s social movements, but not everyone here in the US of Mexican or Latino descent would claim the term "Chicana/o" as a self-identifier. While I will use "Chicana/o" to denote the literature, the people, the politics, the movement, and the history associated with the term, I also speak of Mexican American and other U.S. Latinos, or *Raza*, in relation to education. I will be specific and make distinctions when necessary or appropriate.

main parts: the historical and the cultural. Part 1 of the chapter looks at the historical moment of 1968-1969 and opens with a discussion of the East Los Angeles walkouts of 1968 and the writing of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* at the University of California at Santa Barbara in 1969. These were two moments that shaped the educational conditions for Chicanas/os across California, Texas, the US Southwest, and the rest of the country in the years immediately following these peak years of Chicana/o student activism. Additionally, the walkouts and the publication of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* provide a rich historical framework for this chapter and the larger project because these events were partially responsible for generating the conditions for the creation and circulation of many cultural texts, such as docudramas, novels, and theatrical performances, both immediately after the event and in the decades that followed.

Part 2 of this chapter moves into an analysis of two contemporary texts about the Blowouts, *Walkout* (2006) and Helena Maria Viramontes's novel, *Their Dogs Came with Them* (2007). *Walkout,* a docudrama directed by Edward James Olmos, debuted nationwide on HBO[13] on March 18, 2006 and has been promoted as "The True Story" [14] of the East L.A. Blowouts. The film represents the collective memory of a select group of individuals—including teacher Sal Castro and student leaders Paula Crisóstomo, Bobby Verdugo, and Vicki Castro—whose stories and experiences comprise a large part of what the film tells us about what happened in East L.A. schools in 1968. That is, in *Walkout*, the memories of those most closely involved with the making of the film provide the

[13] As an HBO release, the film was limited to paid subscribers. The film later got more circulation after it was released on DVD.

[14] A *Democracy Now!* headline for a March 2008 interview with Moctesuma Esparza reads: "*Walkout*: The True Story of the Historic 1968 Chicano Student Walkout in East L.A." (www.democracynow.org/2006/3/29/…)

basis for representing the events in the form of a docudrama, which tends to affirm these memories as historical truth. While these student leaders' story permits a rich understanding of the events leading up to the Blowouts, there are/were of course many "true stories" of the walkouts, as Viramontes reminds us.

A text published nearly forty years after the events it depicts, Viramontes's novel *Their Dogs Came with Them* provides a narrative of the student walkouts and Movimiento-era politics in 1968 through her politically detached characters who struggle to acquire a meaningful education as they search for better options than the ones they are given as Mexican Americans living in 1960s East Los Angeles. As a contemporary novel set in East Los Angeles during the decade of 1960-1970, *Their Dogs Came with Them* provides a new and important multivocal perspective of Chicana/o student activism in the peak years of El Movimiento as a representation that complicates and unsettles the version put forth in *Walkout*. That is, through *Walkout,* the stories and experiences of many of the higher-profile participants and activists from 1968 have effectively become the representative (hi)story of the student walkouts, a version challenged and countered by Viramontes and others who lived through the same events but remember different things about them, such as who walked out and why. I conclude the chapter with a brief discussion of some recent 40th Anniversary celebrations and Anthony's character, "Papi Duro,"[15] recently performed as part of UC Irvine's 40th Anniversary event.[16] An "old-

[15] "Papi Duro" is the second component of Anthony's *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* stage show. I cite her unpublished script, updated in 2009.

[16] Held in Spring 2008, UC Irvine's month-long *Mes de la Raza* celebration took as its theme "68 Vive! La Lucha Sigue! 40 years and the struggle lives on," which also featured a keynote address by Sal Castro.

school Chicana dyke" and self-proclaimed "living legend of the Xicano movimiento,"[17] Anthony's Papi Duro character reminds contemporary audiences of the *jotería*[18] who also contributed to the struggles for Chicana/o educational rights. Placed within the context of 40th Anniversary of the Blowouts celebrations that occurred recently on campuses throughout the state, as well as alongside Viramontes's novel and Olmos's docudrama, Anthony's queer rendering of Chicanismo reminds us that all these textual renderings of Movimiento-era student activism are "bound up in complex political stakes and meanings" that are shaped by, among other things, gender, sexuality, race, nationality, and institutional affiliations. Ultimately, these texts and events participate in a collective remembrance of Chicano-era student activism that contribute to new ways of understanding the histories of these educational struggles.

1. A Paradoxical Agenda: The East LA Chicano Student Movement and the Struggle for Identity, Power, and (Higher) Education, 1968-1969

We wanted a piece of the American apple pie. We wanted a piece of the American Dream….What we wanted was: get an education. That was what we really wanted, to have the possibility of fulfilling our life's dreams and goals.
--Moctesuma Esparza[19] (*Walkout* DVD commentary, 2006)

For the have-nots, the discourse of boundaries and the realization of being excluded will probably trigger the desire to be incorporated or assimilated. This response is expected and quite understandable since all the ideological apparatuses of the state continually preach the possibility of getting in, of making it.
–Rosaura Sánchez ("Ethnicity, Ideology, and Academia.")

- **"Educate, Don't Discriminate": The 1968 East Los Angeles High School Walkouts**

[17] Anthony's description of this character.
[18] Term used in the queer Chicana/o-Latina/o community to mean queer Chicanas/os-Latinas/os.
[19] Esparza is Executive Producer of *Walkout* and helped to organize the 1968 events while a student at UCLA.

The generation that came of age in the 1960s and walked out in 1968 was shaped by a history that compelled many Mexican Americans to seek inclusion and full participation in the US in the face of decades of exclusionary practices. The Chicano/a students' demands for equality, inclusion, and the possibility of full economic and political participation in mainstream US society through access to a university education was something many aspired to precisely because these rights were generally denied to their parents and grandparents in previous generations. Yet, who "we" are and "what we wanted" collectively and individually as Chicanas/os (and why) can mean many things. Some, like Esparza, insist that "We [students who walked out] wanted a piece of the American Dream." His film, *Walkout*, reflects this decidedly mainstream ideological position that, in retrospect, suggests that perhaps the Chicano Movement, at least as depicted in East L.A., was never really about an actual "revolt of the cockroach people"[20] and the transformation of existing institutions, but rather, the inclusion of "the cockroach people" into these national institutions as rights-bearing citizens, or (paradoxically), as 'Chicano-Americans.'

However, as Sánchez reminds us, these assimilationist desires to 'make it in "America"' are not surprising, given the power behind those Ideological State Apparatuses that promote the myth of an "American Dream" that promises success to those individuals who, by their own determination, hard work, and conformity to the rules, will achieve middle-class economic security. For many Chicanos in the late 1960s, achieving the "American Dream" meant that they would finally be recognized as rights-bearing "Americans" in ways that many of their parents and grandparents were not.

[20] I reference Oscar Zeta Acosta's 1973 novel, *The Revolt of the Cockroach People*.

These Chicanos wanted to be recognized as US citizens instead of (illegal) immigrants who are fit to participate economically and politically in US society. They wanted education to work for them to provide the most secure path to obtaining that little "piece of the American apple pie," as Esparza and his fellow students believed. They recognized that in 1968, their barrio schools were not preparing them adequately for life in this country. To the extent that they demanded bilingual education, inclusion of Mexican and Chicano/a history into school curricula, and recognition of their racialized otherness, the Movimiento generation's struggles for education in 1968 and 1969 took on different ideological valences that on some levels represented a departure from their predecessors' more conservative assimilationist approaches to gaining access to quality education.

The students' politics and activism—the walkouts, boycotts, sit-ins, marches—indeed represented a boldly radical approach to reforming US education and to making schooling relevant to the lives of young Chicanos/as living north of the border. However, what is radical is not necessarily leftist or revolutionary, as some recent scholarship on the Movimiento era reminds us.[21] Nevertheless, it is important to remember that Mexican American desires for inclusion and full political participation in a US nation that has historically imagined itself as white and Protestant are entrenched in the contradictions and conflicts that emerge when a racialized and oppressed group looks to historically racist and elitist institutions (the courts, the schools, the universities) for equality, power, and legitimization, all for the sake of surviving or having to 'make it' as individuals living in this country.

---

[21] Laura Pulido points out that the Brown Berets were radical but not left (7), while Manuel L. Martínez remarks that Chicano activists such as Oscar Z. Acosta were "radicals making conventional demands" (167-9).

In exercising their constitutional rights to assemble and by asking for equal treatment and protection under the law and in schools while actively resisting the way the system worked against them, the 'Chicano-American' students in 1968 exposed what Chicana feminist historian Alma García describes as a "paradoxical agenda of civil rights and equal opportunity demands, on the one hand, and a more separatist ethnic nationalist rebellion, on the other. The paradox revealed not a monolithic political base and community, but a Chicano movement that evolved from various struggles with specific leaders, agendas, and organizational strategies and tactics" (2). To be sure, the early leaders of the Chicano Movement each rose to political prominence through distinct and sometimes oppositional platforms. In this sense, there was not one Chicano Movement, but several *movements* with other goals and issues related to Chicanos that were largely determined by history, class, and geography.[22] Canonical Chicano history teaches us that for Cesar Chávez in California's agricultural heartlands, organizing *campesinos*, or migrant farmworkers and forming labor unions was his top political priority. For Reies López-Tijerina in New Mexico, the *Movimiento* was about utilizing the courts to regain the land-grants for those (descendants of) Hispanos and Mexicanos who lost their land under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. For Corky González in Denver and Sal Castro in East L.A., it was about the mobilization and education of primarily urban students, youth, and artists to produce a guiding plan for the future of Chicanos in Aztlán. Some Chicano leaders aligned themselves with politically radical groups such as the Black Panthers and Brown Berets, while others shied away from such "militant" and "communist" politics and advocated instead for more conventional demands, such as

[22] I am grateful to Micaela Diaz-Sanchez and Laura Fugikawa for their insightful remarks here.

legal representation and institutional equality. Still others looked with skepticism at the student movement because its goal of equal and higher education was seen as an urban youth issue, too limited in scope for the Chicano Movement as a whole, assuming such a thing existed. The many different political agendas serving multiple sectors of the Chicano/Mexican American community attest to the heterogeneity of the movement and its varying goals, educational and otherwise.

While Mexican Americans-Chicanas/os protested and challenged other forms of educational discrimination before the 1968 walkouts, what distinguishes this struggle from the others is the focus, in a way that was not emphasized in previous decades, on demanding higher education and a public high school education system that recognized Chicanos/as as non-white, racialized people who want more than merely to survive in this country: they wanted to be included in its institutions and provided the same opportunity to succeed by getting an education. Some of these strategies of inclusion practiced in the US, such as Anglicizing the pronunciation of our Spanish-sounding names, or claiming our white, European roots first, emerge in legal cases such as the Orange County *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946-7) school segregation case. In 1946, elementary school student Sylvia Méndez's parents sued the district for barring her, on the basis of her dark skin and Spanish surname, from attending a predominantly white school in their neighborhood. In what can be described as "differential racialization" (Pulido 23), Méndez's parents presented an argument that rested on their family's insistence (and in broader terms, that generation's insistence) that they were racially white and therefore "deserving the same social status and civic position" as white "American" people (Haney

López 205). As Laura Pulido writes in her study of coalition-based Los Angeles radical movements, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles*,

> Differential racialization refers to the fact that different groups are racialized in distinct kinds of ways. What this means is that a particular set of racial meanings are attached to different racial/ethnic groups that not only affect their class position and racial standing but also are a function of it. Thus there is a dialectic between the discursive and the material…. In analyzing contemporary forms of differential racialization, one must always consider a group's history of incorporation and economic integration[23] [in the U.S.]. (24)

Mendez was very much about that generation's response to society's "negative racialization" (Haney López 205) of darker-skinned Mexican Americans that often aligned them with black USAmericans. This 'racial profiling' prompted many Mexican Americans to adopt assimilationist practices to ensure more favorable and equal representation under the law. As descendents of Europeans (Spaniards, Germans, Czechs, Austrian, to name a few of the groups who have settled in Mexico since the Conquest) who were largely Christian (Catholic), many Mexican Americans including the Méndezes appealed to their whiteness as a strategy of inclusion in this country, which meant rejecting any assignation of dark/indio or black identity. Civil cases such as the *Mendez* lawsuit demonstrate that class, race, and immigration status alter the stakes for Chicano/a desire for inclusion and create undeniable differences within the Mexican-

[23]Here, it is useful to consider Tomás Almaguer, who points out that the U.S. annexation of California and its admission to the Union circa 1848-1850 was a major turning point in the economic organization of what was once Mexican California. Moving from a hacienda-based rancho economy to the Euro/Anglo free labor model required many Mexicans to adopt capitalist values such as "free labor, individualism, market relations, and private property" (*Fault Lines* 33) in order to adapt to the dominant order. Manuel L. Martínez observes that much of the radical Chicano-era politics unsuccessfully tried to deny that "the Mexican American was clearly already profoundly implicated within the material, cultural, political, and social history of the United States" thanks to this "dialectical process that had been in operation for over a hundred years" (*Counterculture* 205).

Chicana/o communities in this country. These differences account for some of the divergent political goals and desires articulated by Chicanas/os over the past forty years.

The activism of the late 1960s represents a shift in these attitudes towards race, attributed to the undeniable influence of Black civil rights struggles since the late 1950s. Unlike the plaintiffs in 1946's *Mendez* case, the walkout students began to see themselves as non-white people who, as Mexicans in the US, had endured a legacy of racist US American practices that include, among other things, Anglo-Euro conquests of their land, the exploitation of immigrant labor (the Bracero Program), mass deportations ("Operation Wetback") and Americanization Programs in the 1930s, and the racist roundup of random Mexicans during the Zoot Suit Riots and Sleepy Lagoon Trial in the 1940s. The East LA walkouts, like other mass protest movements of the late 1960s, took shape partly in response to this long history of racism, white supremacy, and escalating US militarism in the public schooling endeavor. The Blowouts were a particular kind of response to institutional inequality that was largely inspired by other models of mass-resistance and political activism of the era, from protests against the Vietnam War to the emerging feminist and gay-rights movements, and especially the struggles related to African American civil rights.

Like those of their African American counterparts,[24] many of the Chicano/a students' demands in the late 1960s were steeped in reform-oriented goals, especially when it came to the advancement of Mexican Americans-Chicanos/as in higher education. The Blowouts specifically addressed educational inequality and organized

[24] *Walkout* references the bus boycotts and other moments of AfricanAmerican civil rights history, but the filmmakers disavow any association with more radical groups like the Black Panthers. In my analysis of the film, I will say more about the ways in which the Chicano/a student leaders in East L.A. embraced some aspects of Black activism while rejecting others.

parents and students to demand a list of reforms that would raise the quality of education for East LA's predominantly Chicana/o and Latina/o students (Bernal 77). In *Occupied America*, Rodolfo Acuña writes that among the items on the students' list of grievances and demands made to the school board was a charge that "the curriculum was designed to obscure the Chicanos' struggle and to condition students to be content with low-skilled jobs" (363), jobs that were largely determined by gender, such as Home Economics or clerical/secretarial classes for female students and Auto Shop or janitorial work for males.[25] Chicano historian Carlos Muñoz, Jr. recalls being a student at Belmont High during this time, "when Mexican American students were automatically labeled as woodshop majors."[26] Significantly, these gendered academic tracks grew out of post-World War I Americanization programs aimed at Mexicans living and working in the US Groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), for example, sought to "get the Mexican woman out of her home" and into the workplace, whereby she might alter her 'traditional' Mexican values and adopt a more "American way of life" characterized by the Protestant work ethic. Americanization programs for men that focused on their employment were undermined by their migratory patterns. The idea to "go after the women" and to influence married men's home lives assumed stable, heteronormative, patriarchal family structures, while implying women's perceived malleability to "American" norms. Women were supposedly 'easier to sway' than the men and would encourage their children to embrace the "American way of life" at home that was reinforced every day at school (G. Sánchez 95-101).

---

[25] See also Sonia López (1977) in A. García, *Chicana Feminist Thought*.

[26] *Los Angeles Times,* "Thousands honor '68 walkouts by Mexican American students." Mar. 9, 2008.

Many of the student activists in 1968 rejected this race- and gender-tracked education, a form of exclusion and discrimination, and sought equality partly through radical activism and partly through reform-oriented methods to achieve the goal of increasing the presence of raza at colleges and universities. They believed higher education to be a way out of the dead-end jobs many Mexican-Chicana/o students faced after high school, the jobs so many of their parents and dropout peers worked. The majority of Chicano/a students who attended the East L.A. high schools, and even those minority Mexican American students who attended other predominantly white high schools in other parts of Los Angeles, were not encouraged to take the "Academic" or college-prep route. Instead, teachers and counselors for the most part funneled Mexican American-Chicana/o students through the vocational-technical classes that stressed manual labor and offered little employment opportunities beyond (usually gendered) service work. The legacy of the Americanization programs that characterized Mexican American education in the 1930s took hold in the tracking practices in barrio schools in the 1960s, prompting students to protest in record numbers.

Significantly, it was the issue of schooling that motivated many students to fight and take political action in the form of non-violent protests at the peak of the civil rights movements. For this generation of young, politically-aware Chicana/o students, their struggle for education meant in many ways to be firmly rooted in a growing consciousness of one's racial otherness in the struggle for quality schooling, access to higher education, and other civil rights. In short, Chicana/o education activists wanted the University to serve Chicanos/as, but in order for it to do so, high schools needed to make sure Chicanas/os got there.

- **"Making the University Work for Us": *El Plan de Santa Barbara* and the Forging of an Educated Chicano/a Identity**

In response to these students' demands, a prominent group of Chicano/a university student and faculty leaders wrote and published *El Plan de Santa Barbara* in 1969, which established a vision of higher education that they believed would better serve Chicanos/as and their communities. *El Plan de Santa Barbara* was a collectively-authored "Chicano Plan for Higher Education" that grew out of the famous 1969 Chicano youth conference in Denver a few months before. Part manifesto, part curriculum proposal, and wholly fundamental to the establishment of MEChA[27] clubs and Chicano/a Studies departments, *El Plan de Santa Barbara* calls for the rights of Chicanos to gain access to privileged realms of information, knowledge, and culture by navigating an institution that historically has not served the interests of people of color and that, in fact, has often perpetuated a racially and economically stratified society. Their goal was for Chicanos to "influence decision-making within and without the university and college systems" (*El Plan* 10-11). As Armando Trujillo writes, "[Chicano leaders] sought to create a 'subject-position' for a Chicano/a 'educated person,' specifically a bilingual, culturally proud, communally-oriented individual" (121). *El Plan*'s writers advocated the creation of positive and productive relationships between the University and its Chicano/a students' communities through such programs as outreach, counseling services, Chicano Veterans benefits, and health care. *El Plan de Santa Barbara* was instrumental in the formation of this new model of Chicano identity and subjectivity that

[27] Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano/a de Aztlán. Formerly UMAS (United Mexican American Students).

was defined largely through its aspirations for higher education to produce new generations of socially and politically conscious Chicanas and Chicanos who would come back to serve their communities. An interesting text that reflects the "paradoxical agenda" of Chicano Movement-era struggles, *El Plan de Santa Barbara* represents a formative moment in the creation of an ideology of education for Chicanos that has and continues to be modified and challenged in Chicana/o literature, film, performance, and other cultural production.

The Educated Chicana/o as a discursive formation (A. Trujillo 121) of this particular historical moment arises out of the document's vexed message about higher education institutional inclusion in the form of more Chicano/a students, faculty, administrators, and Chicano Studies departments. *El Plan* is colored with *Movimiento* ideology that carries with it a critique of the racist, mainstreaming effects of US education, a system that it also advocates as one solution to Chicano liberation. For example, it decries the "criminally deficient" K-12 public education system and deplorable conditions of barrio schools, calling for new models of schooling the Chicano/a by providing a "socially relevant" education that foregrounds, among other things, the study of Mexican Americans' "contributions to American culture and society" (104). Importantly, *El Plan* also calls for students to act. It places them first in the decision-making processes that would lead to their success, urging them to collaborate with Chicano/a faculty, administrators, and community leaders in forging mutually beneficial relationships, thereby suggesting some sort of transformation of the hierarchies embedded in educational institutions.

However, whether Chicanos/as and their communities have reaped great rewards from the nation's colleges and universities since the inception of Chicano/a Studies departments, classes, and student retention programs is a complicated question. So why the emphasis on the university? What does it have to offer to Chicanas/os, and why should Chicanas/os want to pursue higher education? To what extent can and does the university "work for us"? *El Plan*'s vision of equalizing education and fighting institutional racism via inclusion in the institution is necessarily marked by conflict and contradiction. As many Chicana feminists pointed out in the late 1960s and early 1970s, demanding access to a sexist, racist, and elitist institution such as the university did little to change the overall condition of Chicanas/os in the US, although some agreed that it was important to persist in efforts to make it "a better place for us to be" (Córdova 20) because institutions of higher education often have the resources to provide those pedagogical spaces that allow for much of what *El Plan* calls for. While *El Plan* acknowledges that not everyone in the Chicano Movement would support the cause of higher education, it insists that Chicanos must acknowledge "the reality" of the university and the power it confers through its production of knowledge. Power, *El Plan* argues, must be seized by Chicanos because it will not be given to them in an Anglo-dominant society, and the way to do this is through the university.

According to *El Plan*, "The inescapable fact is that Chicanos must come to grips with the reality of the university in modern society….The university is a powerful modern institution because it generates and distributes knowledge, which is power" (77). The statement continues:

> [W]hat we are demanding is nothing less than to use those

> resources which we ourselves have given, directly and indirectly, to the university. For decades Chicanos have supported, through taxation of our income and exploitation of our labor, institutions of higher education. In return we have received virtually nothing. Indeed, the university has contributed mightily to the oppression of our people by its massive one-sided involvement with agribusiness, urban dislocation, and war, as well as by its racist admissions and employment policies. (77)

The inherent contradiction of seeking to "free their individual life style from the standardized criteria of Anglo-American culture" (*El Plan* 93) from an institution which "has contributed mightily to the oppression" of Chicanos/as is at the core of the struggle and complicates those efforts aimed at reforming university practices and policies.[28] This passage speaks precisely to what Teresa Córdova describes as the exploitative colonial relations of the university, in which the university not only "appropriate[s] the resources of those they colonize, whether it be land, minerals, water, taxes, or people," but "impose[s] unequal relations" of power (18-9). For the writers of *El Plan*, an important part of undoing years of colonialism, assimilation and inculcation by an educational institution that disseminated Anglo-Euro values would be the institution of Chicano Studies programs as a way of legitimizing and rendering "relevant" the lives and experiences of "barrio and colonia" students (94). In this way, the *Plan* writers envision a "strategic use of an education that places value on what we value" as the only hope for Chicano liberation and self-determination. What "we," the framers of *El Plan,* value are Chicano Studies programs, conceived as a way to undo the damage of US education,

[28] This contradiction is also a central theme in many of the personal struggles of those educated Chicanas/os who write about the often painful journey of "getting an education" in this country. I explore this further in Chapter 2.

teach Chicano/a students their history, validate their experiences, and provide them with the knowledge/power to change themselves and their communities upon graduation. (95)

However, Chicana feminists remember the Blowouts and *El Plan de Santa Barbara* quite differently than do Chicanos, and their critique of the larger Chicano Movement(s) in general and of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* in particular illuminates their gender-conscious vision of inclusive and relevant higher education as a catalyst for Chicano *and* Chicana liberation. They point to the institutional sexism that mars the educational experience for many Chicana students and faculty, not to mention the overall masculinist tone that permeates the *Plan* itself. Sexism at the university and within El Movimiento and other gender-related issues raised by Chicanas are not addressed in *El Plan*. Although it was collectively written by a group of students and faculty, at least five of whom were women,[29] *El Plan de Santa Barbara* is decidedly male-oriented, a "Man-ifesto"[30] imbued with Enlightenment rhetoric about how the university's purpose is to help "man" "seek his true self" and to "contribute to the formation of a complete *man* who truly values life and freedom" (*El Plan* 9-10, my emphasis). In the years immediately following the publication of *El Plan,* Chicana feminists resolutely responded to its blindness to La Chicana's issues by organizing their own conferences and committees on education to change policies presented in *El Plan*.

---

[29] The Appendix to *El Plan de Santa Barbara* lists 33 people who were on the Chicano Coordinating Committee on Higher Education/Steering Committee. Thanks to Castulo de la Rocha for remembering who was who on this list and for talking with me about how the document was produced. (De la Rocha was a member of this committee as a student at U.C. Santa Barbara. He graduated from Roosevelt High School a year before the walkouts.)

[30] Mary Pardo's term. See "A Selective Evaluation of *El Plan de Santa Barbara*," La Gente (March/April 1984). For example, *El Plan*'s curriculum proposal for Chicano Studies programs at California universities includes classes on or about "The Chicano Family, The Chicano Child, Chicano Culture, History, Art," but nothing that made visible La Mujer/La Chicana.

The First National Chicanas Conference held in Houston, Texas in 1971 inspired an upsurge of Chicana students' involvement on campuses across California and the U.S. Southwest. The Chicano Committee on Higher Education's Chicana policy weekend, held at San Diego State University in 1971, states, "[I]t was unanimously resolved that El Plan de Santa Barbara (the bible of CCHE and other higher education policy-making organizations) be revised to include the Chicana and her vital role in el movimiento" (A. García 164-5). Their critical perspective suggests an inflated significance assigned to "the bible" of Chicano education by the decision-makers in Chicano-related higher education. In 1973, Ana NietoGómez, herself a contributor to *El Plan de Santa Barbara* while a student at California State University, Long Beach, proposed her vision for Chicana education and self-realization in *Encuentro Femenil*, a Chicana feminist journal she co-founded.[31] Her curriculum would put *la mujer* at the center of classes on education, literary history starting with Sor Juana de la Cruz, and other relevant issues to the Chicana. The focus on a curriculum and an education that spoke specifically to Chicanas and their issues as mujeres en El Movimiento reflected their insistence on challenging Chicanos' vision of what was worth learning, studying, and teaching in Chicano Studies programs.

The recommendations advanced in *El Plan* speak only to the institution of Chicano Studies programs and MEChA groups on campuses, but not necessarily to their survival after the fact, one of the limits of asking for institutional inclusion. It is also

---

[31] NietoGómez published many articles about Chicanas, Chicana feminism, and education in many Chicano/a journals and publications in the years following *EPdSB*. *Encuentro Feminil* arose out of the Chicana feminist newspaper, *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc,* founded at CSULB by NietoGómez, Adelaida Del Castillo, and other Chicana feminists. See Alma García, Chicana Feminist Thought, for selections of her work.

important to recognize that the liberalism that undergirds these aspirations (C. Muñoz 65) often produces conservative outcomes and other times converges with (neo)conservatism towards ideologically similar ends, particularly when it comes to advocating for the formation of the individual "man"/individual and promising his liberty, most often associated with ideas of individual (male) freedom. But, as Foucault reminds us, "The liberty of men is never assured by the institutions and laws that are intended to guarantee them" (Rabinow 245). Liberalism and its associations with elitist and middle class notions of privileged individuality have economic implications that favor market capitalism (Williams 179-81; Singh 141). Individual 'freedom' is not granted or enjoyed evenly by all members of society partly because institutions (such as the courts and schools) that ostensibly protect individual freedom, which includes the freedom to own property and otherwise pursue "the American Dream," often succeed in organizing people into hierarchical relations and maintaining asymmetrical relations of power, whether through curriculum, admissions policies, hiring practices, and other mechanisms of management. While *El Plan de Santa Barbara* can be read as a bold statement about the reclamation of resources that have been stripped and stolen from Mexicans-Chicanas/os over the course of a history of US imperialist policies that have displaced and disposed of native peoples and Mexicans-Chicanas/os "for decades," it is also important to recognize that the limits of the "paradoxical agenda" of Chicano/a educational inclusion that manifested in the walkouts in 1968 and the writing of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* 1969 still persist in many ways at all levels of education.

Forty years after the Blowouts and the publication of *El Plan de Santa Barbara*, barrio students' access to quality public education and to higher education remain the top

priority for many Chicana/o activists, educators, and researchers. At a panel discussion celebrating the 40th anniversary of the 1968 walkouts, Dr. Carlos Haro insisted that "education is the only answer" to Chicano/a community and individual empowerment.[32] This is the challenge in the face of the dismal dropout/pushout and graduation rates in California and nationwide that rival pre-1968 figures. The current post-Bush-era of wartime spending and corporate favoritism continues to render unnecessary and expendable the programs essential to the recruitment and retention of brown/raza and other students of color at schools and colleges across the country. Currently, the numbers of Mexican Americans-Chicanas/os at California colleges and universities remain depressingly low and stand to be reduced even further by impending budget cuts that threaten to shut out even qualified applicants.[33] It is even harder to envision the university "working for us" when the broken Chicano Educational Pipeline sees only 4 of 100 students graduate with a B.A.[34] Or when education means 'raising test scores' in a world of high-stakes standardized testing created by George W. Bush's educational reform bill, "No Child Left Behind" (2001-2) and perpetuated by Obama's current "Race to the Top" education initiative. Is this the institution we want access to? Is this the education we're asking for? While the vision of Chicano higher education put forth in *El Plan* might have been limited from a more contemporary perspective, at the time of its publication, it is a

[32]I attended the panel discussion, which was held on May 8, 2008, at East Los Angeles College. Sal Castro, Bobby Verdugo, and Paula Crisóstomo—the teacher and two of his students who were portrayed in *Walkout*—were also present. Haro is the Director of the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center and currently teaches classes on Chicana/o Education. He participated in the 1968 East L.A. walkouts while a student and member of UMAS (United Mexican American Students) at UCLA.

[33] For example, Chicano system-wide enrollment in the University of California over the past 5 years has hovered in the 11-12% range, compared to other groups (3% AfricanAmerican, 31-33% AsianAmerican, 31-34% White.) See http://www.ucop.edu/news/factsheets/Flowfrc_8907.pdf. Recent news about the California budget crisis reflects the severity of the cuts at all levels, reflected in UC and CSU's decision to cut first-year enrollment next year by thousands.

[34] I refer to Daniel G. Solórzano's research.

critical document that emerged from a particular moment in Chicano history where the urgency of the situation demanded an immediate solution from community leaders and academics.

2. Chicana/o Cultural Memory Forty Years Later: Representing, Recreating, and Reliving the East LA Blowouts

There is a battle 'for truth,' or at least 'around truth,'…a battle about the status of truth and the economic and political role it plays. 'Truth' is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements.
--Michel Foucault ("Truth and Power," ca. mid-1970s.)

Many people came of age in East L.A. during the era of radical Chicano/a student activism, and everyone who went to school in East L.A. during this time has different memories of how things went down at their schools and in their communities. As we now know, the Chicano/a student movements in East L.A. and around the country were greatly responsible for producing generations of educated Chicanos and Chicanas who contributed to genuine social or institutional change. Many went on to become prolific artists, writers, teachers, musicians, filmmakers, CEOs, politicians, lawyers, educational administrators, and other cultural workers and producers, and many continue to serve primarily Chicano/a and immigrant communities as social workers, healthcare workers and providers, artists, educators, civic leaders, and other cultural figures in and around Los Angeles, fulfilling a vision set forth in *El Plan de Santa Barbara*. It is well documented that their activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s created unprecedented opportunity for many Chicanas'/os' educational advancement and success. The more high-profile names that are often attached to the East LA Chicano Student Movement include those student leaders—Moctesuma Esparza, Sal Castro, Paula Crisóstomo, and others—who are also associated with the film. Part of my concern here is how their

recollections of the events constitute what has been promoted as "The True Story" of the walkouts, and what stories are left out as a result.

With the release of *Walkout* and Viramontes's *Their Dogs Came with Them*, as well as in recent 40th anniversary commemorations of the 1968 East L.A. walkouts, there is a renewed "battle for truth" about what the walkouts and the larger Chicano Student Movement meant then and what it means now. These texts and cultural expressions participate in the creation of a Chicano/a cultural memory of the East L.A. walkouts, revealing the layers of "truth" that constitute these histories. That is, there were many 'truths' to what constituted Chicano/a student activism. Some positioned themselves with the more visible leaders and activists in the community, such as the Brown Berets and the high school walkout organizers, and walked out in the belief that their actions would result in a realization of their demands. Other students chose to disavow what they viewed as disruptive, radical Chicano politics and opted instead to either stay in class or join the walkouts to ditch school. Many people lived through this moment, so it is important to consider whose memories get to count as history, including those which inform the production and circulation of cultural and pedagogical texts.

In the following section, I read *Walkout* and *Their Dogs Came with Them* as contemporary texts that are among recent efforts to look back at this moment of Chicano/a community upheaval and transformation in East Los Angeles. On one level, they work together as contemporary texts and on other levels, diverge and work independently as a film and a novel to retrieve and rewrite a hopeful but often violent and short-lived historical moment that has typically been lost or erased from dominant educational discourses. At the same time, the film and the novel call into question how

we teach students about these events by affirming and challenging canonical versions of what Chicano/a history looks like, a history that continues to impact how Chicanas/os conceive of the ongoing struggle for educational equality and access in this country. Though at times they contradict each other, I read *Walkout* and *Their Dogs Came with Them* together in this current 40th anniversary context for how they each remember the Blowouts as part of a greater effort to imagine a viable educational future for Chicanas/os living in the U.S.

- **"Our historical document"[35]: Re-creating the 'True Story' of the 1968 East L.A. Blowouts in HBO's *Walkout* (2006)**

Ah, the memories this brings back to me. It's so real. All of us who lived through it, who I've had the honor of seeing the movie with, the real Paula, the real Bobby, the real Carlos Montes, the real David Sanchez, all of those people, Vicki Castro, they see this and they see everything else you did, Eddie, and it sends chills up and down our spines, the power of how you recreated this, how real it feels, and how real it *is*.
--Moctesuma Esparza (To *Walkout* director Edward James Olmos, DVD commentary, 2006)

Esparza's comments in the epigraph indicate the significance of memories for constituting the basis for recreating and reliving history, in this case through Olmos's film. Esparza and "the real" walkout students become the basis for a docudrama that, according to a *Democracy Now!* news headline, tells "The True Story of the Historic 1968 Chicano Student Walkout in East L.A." To paraphrase Foucault in an earlier epigraph, how *Walkout*'s version of the Blowouts comes to be "The True Story" has much to do with the filmmakers' access to the mechanisms of marketing, exposure, and promotion of their story. *Walkout* debuted on HBO, a premium cable network, in mid-March of 2006. Esparza and Olmos promoted the film by hosting viewings across the US, educating audiences about the film's value as a "manual" for student organizing. Many of

[35] Moctesuma Esparza's description of the movie.

the actual students, teachers, and community organizers portrayed in the film—Verdugo, Esparza, Paula Crisostomo, Sal Castro, and others—are often featured speakers at screenings and other events where the film is shown, and are themselves featured in the film or have contributed significantly to its production, promotion, and distribution. However, it reaffirms the univocality of 'their version' of the Blowouts while attaching this history to a select group of individuals tied to the film.

The Myspace.com page[36] and recent screenings of the film at local high schools point to the efforts by the filmmakers and activists to reach today's youth, to make the events of the sixties and more specifically, the 'bygone' Chicano Student Movement, relevant and important. Olmos claims that his film "works better today" (DVD commentary) when placed in the current social and political contexts of the Iraq War, the recent 2006 immigrants' rights May Day marches, the 40th Anniversary of the Blowouts celebrations taking place across the state, and the massive budget cuts to public education, in part because it has become a sort of (un)official "public textbook" (Cortés 84, 101) of the Blowouts that teaches students about an important moment of Chicano history. Because of its accessibility and high visibility during many 40th anniversary events[37], it has gained a certain currency as an inspirational film with pedagogical value that motivates students to action while teaching them the connection between historical

[36] The value of the internet and the social networking site, Myspace.com, to community building and as a teaching tool is not lost on Bobby Verdugo, who created a Myspace page devoted to the film and the 1968 Blowouts to reach and teach youth about the walkouts, Chicano history, and organizing. Verdugo was one of the 1968 student organizers at Lincoln and a main character portrayed in *Walkout.*

[37] For example, an image of a *Walkout* movie poster appears prominently on the Myspace.com page established by Bobby Verdugo and the 40th Anniversary Committee, while several posted fliers for events announce receptions and screenings of the HBO movie as part of commemorative celebrations at colleges and universities across the state.

events and their current educational struggles.[38] Olmos is aware that "This story [of the walkouts in East L.A.] isn't really known by anyone except for the students that participated, in the schools that were walking out" (Olmos, HBO interview), so it is easily adapted as a history lesson about "Chicanos."[39] The film functions as both a docudrama and a public textbook because it shapes values and knowledge, circulating through schools and the community as an accessible record of an event often erased from history books, Chicano cultural memory, and the larger national memory of "the 60s."

In order to discuss the various pedagogical functions and implications of *Walkout* as a "public textbook," it is useful think of the film first as a docudrama. Marita Sturken defines docudrama as a "cultural reenactment of the original drama" where "fragments of memory are made whole" (85). She continues:

> Docudramas are a primary source of historical information. They afford a means through which uncomfortable histories of traumatic events can be smoothed over, retold, and ascribed new meaning….Although they are necessarily less complete and less accurate than historical texts, they have greater cultural significance because they reach mass audiences and younger

[38] Throughout the DVD commentary, both Esparza and Olmos discuss how the film's circulation by youths on the internet garnered support and inspired walkouts for immigrants' rights in 2006. The promotion of the film involved the filmmakers' screening it in twenty cities before it premiered on HBO in March of 2006, one week before the walkouts began. Olmos and Esparza note the coincidence and credit their film with inspiring all this student activism with its "do-it-yourself" approach to organizing. It would be interesting to find out the extent to which the film actually influenced students.

[39] In 2006, for example, the year *Walkout* was released, the enrollment of Chicana/o students in the University of California system was under ten percent, certainly not a number that reflects the populations of Chicana/o and Latina/o students in California's public schools. The film provides hopeful statistics about the rise of Chicanas/os in college in the two years or so following the 1968 walkouts. Inspiring for certain, but we know those numbers are back down to lows that rival pre-1968 numbers. To his credit, Olmos did want to include more statistics about how the numbers of Chicana/o students in college are down again, no doubt due to recent legislation such as Propositions 209, 227, and SB-1. However, HBO Films advised against it, asking Olmos to omit those statistics so as to end the film on a more positive, uplifting note. Throughout filming, Olmos never lost sight of the imperative to tell the students' stories. As one actor in the film describes it: "He always told us that we need to tell these kids' stories because no one else has and no one is ever really going to. He always emphasized the political importance of the Chicano students' struggle." (Alexis de la Rocha, interview.)

> people who may have little prior knowledge of the war.
> (Sturken 85-6)

Films such as *Walkout* and, to an even greater extent, *Stand and Deliver* (1988), "reach mass audiences and younger people who may have little prior knowledge" of the history of Chicano educational struggles due to curricular blindness/bias in how schools teach US history. The film's pedagogical power lies in both its narrative of student empowerment via its representation of a select group of student leaders and in the 'truth-status' that is conferred upon it as docudrama based on true events. The film weaves in actual news footage from the 1968 events into its own recreation of the events and concludes with interviews of the "real people" portrayed in the film, including filmmaker Esparza. As such, it is easily adopted as a quick and accessible classroom lesson on "Chicano history" told from the point of view of the people who were there. Yet, as a narrative film, *Walkout* "is necessarily less accurate" than the historical events it depicts (Sturken 86). Its version of the East LA walkouts relies primarily on the collective memories and experiences of several key participants who, as adults, played significant roles in the production and promotion of the film, which has implications for whose memories get to count in the telling of this history. If *Walkout* operates as a public textbook, what new meanings does it ascribe to these events? What does it teach us about who walked out and why?

As a collectively-produced docudrama, *Walkout* contains the multiple perspectives of a large group of individual student leaders and community activists that were concentrated mainly at Lincoln High School, including Bobby Verdugo, Vicki Castro, Paula Crisóstomo, and Lincoln history teacher Sal Castro. The makers of

Walkout, a decidedly all-male crew,[40] agreed that although the story of the blowouts could have been told "from a thousand different points of view," including teacher Sal Castro's and the male police informant's, they chose to narrate the events from "a woman's point of view," telling their story primarily from Paula's perspective.[41] This is significant for a few reasons. First, in privileging Paula's story, *Walkout* affirms the young Chicana's experiences during this historical moment. As many Chicana feminists point out, young Chicanas' contributions to student activist movements have typically been ignored, their voices silenced, in a largely male-oriented perspective of Chicano history. Indeed, the focus on Paula's life, family and political involvement draws attention to gendered aspects of political activism, which range from paternalism in immigrant families of color to the growing feminist consciousness among young Chicanas in the movement.

Additionally, the focus on Paula's story places the blowouts and other student movements across the nation during that time within the larger historical context of US militarism, which has gendered implications for the men in her life. We learn from the film that Paula's mother is Mexican American and her father is a Filipino immigrant who served in the US Navy. In the film, Paula represents the high-achieving student whose political awakening and subsequent activism inspires the entire student body to organize the boycotts and empower themselves to change their substandard schooling conditions. She and the other students in *Walkout* are conscious of the stakes of education in the age

---

[40] The film is directed by Edward James Olmos and executive produced by Moctesuma Esparza, from a script written by Marcus DeLeon, Ernie Contreras, and Timothy Sexton, based on a story by Victor Villaseñor.

[41] Comments made by Olmos and Esparza in the film commentary, found in the "Special Features" section of the *Walkout* DVD.

of war, in which predominantly low-income, non-white students are academically tracked into military service or directly into the service work labor force. She knows her father's lack of choices as a poor young man in the Philippines sent him into the US military. Therefore, the sense of urgency hits home when, during the age of the Vietnam War, her older brother may be drafted. She articulates this concern as one of her reasons for her involvement in the struggle for education.

From the opening frames of the film, *Walkout* makes it clear to viewers that this is Paula's story, which in some ways "ascribes new meaning" to more traditional, male-oriented versions of Movimiento-era activism. Shots of Alexa Vega, the young actress who plays Paula, fade to cutaway shots of actual footage of a hunger-striking César Chávez, marching Chicana Brown Berets, and police in riot gear tangling with student demonstrators. Paula's character functions as a sort of prism through which 'the big picture' of Movimiento-era activism gets refracted and makes recognizable the myriad elements that comprise a history of the walkouts. That Paula is a "Chilipina," or half Chicana-half Filipina, alludes to the history of Filipino-Chicano[42] solidarity in other movements, such as the California farmworkers' struggle. Indeed, there has been some criticism aimed at *Walkout* and the larger Chicano Movement in general for its "chauvinism towards Filipinos" during their joint struggles for liberation. This is partially reflected in the filmmakers' decision to cast a Latino actor, Yancey Arias, to play the part of Panfilo Crisóstomo, Paula's Filipino father.[43] The relationship between Paula and her father is particularly antagonistic at the beginning of the film. Paula develops a critical

---

[43] See "*Walkout*: A Critical Review," by Arturo P. Garcia. http://la.indymedia.org/news/2006/03/152481.php

consciousness and embraces a Chicana identity, the plot goes, as a way of resisting her father's conservative politics, defying his wishes that she stay home and be obedient instead of protesting in the streets with "those agitators" who do not respect "this country." This father-daughter struggle is, among other things, an attempt to dramatize the Chicana/o generation's sharp departure from many of their parents' generation's more conservative views about what it means to be a good student. Read another way, the focus on Paula and her father permits the filmmakers to retrospectively acknowledge the bi-racial and otherwise 'multicultural' elements of Chicano history that were often denied in a movement most concerned with cultural nationalism.

Walkout is very much a Chicano film that is invested in crafting a Chicano/a history of educational struggle that does not totally ignore the coalition-based multiculturalism that characterized the larger civil rights-era struggles, out of which emerged the East LA blowouts. The film on some levels acknowledges the walkouts as a multicultural student movement inspired by African American models of peaceful protest undergirded by what Gaines describes as racial uplift ideologies.[44] In doing so, *Walkout* reveals the extent to which the Chicano/a student leaders embraced some ideological aspects of protest while rejecting others. Several scenes capture the presence and support of some African American and working-class white students who marched in solidarity with the majority-Chicano students. The mise-en-scene includes a few white students and

[44] Kevin Gaines's discussion of uplift ideology is useful here. "Uplift, among its other connotations, also represented the struggle for a positive black identity in a deeply racist society, turning the pejorative designation of race into a source of dignity and self-affirmation through an ideology of class differentiation, self-help, and interdependence" (*Uplifting the Race* 3). Self-help and affirmation—uplift—through education is echoed by the filmmakers in many of their comments about their purposes for telling their story of the walkouts. I say more about Gaines's formulation of African American uplift as it connects to Chicano-Latino ideologies represented in *Stand in Deliver* in Chapter 4.

Black Panthers marching alongside Brown Berets as they chant, "Free the East L.A. Thirteen."[45] As Paula explains to her fellow students, "Our schools *are* the back of the bus," invoking Dr. M.L. King's Montgomery, Alabama bus boycotts of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Certainly, Mexican American and Chicana/o students of the 1960s understood the significance of African American movements for civil rights and institutional reform based on the eradication of racist practices, and they drew from those examples. The student activists of 1968 were forging new identities for themselves that were influenced by the Black Power movement's "explicit articulation of a non-White identity as a basis for community solidarity and mobilization" (Haney López 212). However, filmmakers Olmos and Esparza insist, in retrospect, that they were all clean-cut, middle-class kids and that "we ain't no Black Panthers" (*Walkout* DVD commentary), thereby disassociating themselves with what they viewed as ideologies that were more revolutionary, militant, and communist in nature and aligning themselves instead with liberal ideologies of individual freedom and institutional inclusion.

The film highlights questions of curricular inclusion, both in its representation of Sal Castro and in its function as a docudrama. The film's first scene takes place in Mr. Castro's US history classroom, where the students first learn that Chicano history has been systematically erased. The students dutifully look through the pages for the parts about Chicanos and Mexicans when Mr. Castro asks them to "read the part about the Chicano regiments" at Gettysburg. The students do not find this information in their books. Mr. Castro then explains that "it never happened. We were never there. We lost

[45] Reference to Sal Castro, Moctesuma Esparza, and 11 others who were arrested on conspiracy charges for organizing the walkouts. Oscar Z. Acosta served as their attorney.

our legacy because we're not in this book." Here, Castro speaks to the centrality of the curriculum and the politics of representation at the level of the textbook which sanctions the dissemination of a white supremacist, European-based version of "American history." On one hand, his critiques are justified. The history of people of color in the US has been systematically erased from many a school curriculum. But at what cost inclusion, visibility, representation? Any critique of barrio education's ties to militarism highlighted in the film by Paula's character is undermined by Sal Castro's emphasis on Mexicanos'/Chicanos' heritage of US military service. Ever the teacher, a frustrated Sal Castro in recent lectures admonishes reporters and audience members for not knowing who Ellen Ochoa is (an astronaut), or about the Mexican troops who helped Lincoln at Gettysburg. Castro still insists that "we want American heroes with Spanish surnames" and recognition in US history books that "we were there," that Mexicanos/Chicanos share in the founding of "America." [46] Castro wants high schools and colleges to teach their brown students the history of their ancestors' contributions to "building America." He rattles off a list of military endeavors in which "your [Mexican] ancestors" participated that today's Mexican-Chicana/o students "should be proud of."[47]

Castro's understanding of being included in USAmerican history means to remember the sacrifices Mexicans made in US *military* battles. This teaches students that military service to the United States is the only thing worth remembering and learning

---

[46] From Castro's keynote talk at 40th Anniversary panel at East Los Angeles College, May 08, 2008.

[47] The list includes "9,000 Mexican troops led by Fernando Galvez to Valley Forge to help George Washington fight the British;" "29,000 young men, Chicanos, Latinos, fighting in the Civil War for the North and another 9,000 fighting in the South;" the "Chicanitos from New Mexico" who were part of Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders fighting in Cuba during the Spanish-American War ("I bet they don't teach you *that* at Roosevelt High School"); 500,000 MexicanAmerican troops fighting in the "Great War;" the "tons of Spanish surnames" on the Vietnam Veterans Wall in D.C. (Castro lecture, May 2008) Roosevelt High's mascot is "The Rough Riders."

about 'our' Chicano history. Castro, a Korean-War veteran, like his contemporary Oscar Z. Acosta, can be described as "a radical making conventional demands; he is a Chicano with Mexican American desires; he is a Mexican American who longs to achieve success within a liberalized and inclusive America" (M. Martínez 169). Both Castro and Acosta, who was Castro's and the East L.A. 13's lawyer, want to be included in "American history."[48] Curricular/institutional inclusion in this way is important to the extent that it makes legible a people's history that has been suppressed. However, it leaves little room to question what it means for Mexican-Chicanos to serve in the US military, or to critically engage hegemonic concepts of "America" or the "American Dream." Castro's information does not challenge or question what it means for Mexican-Chicanos to serve in the US military, then and now. [49] Framing the goals of Chicano/a education in terms of service to US nation-building through military endeavors, or as an individual path to middle-class "American Dream" successes, severely limits and has limited other ways of thinking about the possibilities of Chicano/a liberation through education.[50] In Castro's, Esparza's, and Olmos's formulations, whose involvement in the film make them

---

[48] Acosta explains, "A hundred years [after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo], Chicanos turn to the government and ask for justice, for education, for food, for jobs, for freedom and the pursuit of happiness" (*Revolt* 161), echoing the constitutional guarantees of the nation.

[49]In the age of a new war in Iraq, we continue to see disproportionate numbers of Chicanos and Latinos serving on the front lines, thanks to what some have called the "poverty draft" and to the increased presence of military recruiters at low-performing "ghetto" or "*barrio*" schools, due to the provisions laid out in No Child Left Behind. Especially at this wartime moment, I am not sure how much celebrating how many Mexican troops were at Gettysburg would suffice as adequate additions to the school curriculum.

Section 9528 (Armed Forces Recruiter Access to Students and Student Recruiting Information) of NCLB states: "Each local educational agency receiving assistance under this Act shall provide, on a request made by military recruiters or an institution of higher education, access to secondary school students (*sic*) names, addresses, and telephone listings […and…] shall provide military recruiters the same access to secondary school students as is provided generally to post secondary educational institutions or to prospective employers of those students."

[50] The idea of liberation through education, that classrooms can be spaces for critical consciousness, comes from critical pedagogy and writers/educators/theorists such as Paolo Freire, bell hooks, and Henry Giroux.

synonymous with "The Blowouts," education becomes a vehicle to securing middle-class social and economic status in the US through conventional means, rather than a potentially liberating and transformative tool for creating new avenues and models of success that do not have to be tied to, or determined by, middle-class consumerism or nationalism.

At the end of the film when the East L.A. 13 are released from jail, Paula Crisóstomo tells her former boyfriend-turned-police informant, "The schools may not have changed, but *we* did." This line embodies dual messages. On the one hand, it points to the value of an education—one very much tied to schools but often taken to the streets and other spaces outside of actual classrooms—that works for personal and community transformation in the fact of systematic oppression. On the other hand, the line speaks to the limits, if not impossibility, of fundamentally changing 'the system.' Nevertheless, such involvement in activism does serve one's personal and educational development, however informal.[51] *Walkout*'s message of student empowerment and racial unity in the face of racism is certainly important, offering hope to many of today's students facing similar schooling conditions. As a triumphant narrative, *Walkout* ensures that we *remember* that the students 'won': they exercised their constitutional rights, accomplished their goals of organizing the walkouts, and the East L.A. 13 were released, charges dropped. The film compels audiences to remember the pride, success, and feeling of accomplishment Paula and her classmates undoubtedly felt, thereby "ascribing new

[51] Steve Salas tells me, "when you get involved in a movimiento, any movimiento, it makes you smarter." Steve and his brother, Rudy Salas, is a member of the Salas Brothers and co-founder of the East L.A. band, Tierra. They were recently featured in the PBS documentary, *Chicano Rock!* (2008). He graduated from Lincoln High School and participated in the 1968 walkouts and 1970 Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War.

meaning" to the event forty years later.[52] Remembering the walkouts in this way affirms canonical narratives of Chicano history that valorize individual leaders of the Movimiento while suggesting that the history of Chicano/a educational struggles happened only in East LA to a particular population of students. At the same time, *Walkout* reminds us that these struggles continue and that a few walkouts, in the end, really do not change the system. As Julian Nava asks wryly in the film, "did the Watts riots really change anything?"[53] *Walkout* asks us to rethink how we teach critical moments of Chicano/a educational struggle by emphasizing the complexity of "The True Story" of the East LA blowouts and of fighting for personal *and* institutional transformation.

- **Unmoved by the Movement: Counter-memories of the Blowouts in Viramontes's *Their Dogs Came With Them* (2007)**

I set the novel in this decade [1960-1970] because of the radical changes happening within the nation and within the community. The discontent with the Vietnam war, the rising power of the disenfranchised and the growing political consciousness planted by Civil rights, Chicano, and feminist movements all contributed to a chaotic questioning, a disruption of thinking and living. Business was no longer "as usual." Though these were violent and exciting times, there were many who weren't touched by these movements, left out.
--Helena Maria Viramontes (Interview with Daniel Olivas, April 2007)

Literature plays a special role in the articulation of counter-memory. As public texts touching audiences with historical memories, popular novels have some responsibility for historical accuracy in order to be perceived as credible. At the very least, they cannot disregard collective historical memory.
–George Lipsitz (*Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture)*

Helena Maria Viramontes remembers some of the "radical changes" brought on by mass movements and urban development that impacted daily life indelibly for those

[52] In actuality, the students threatened a walkout only if their demands weren't met. After a play was canceled at Belmont High, the students got upset and walked out prematurely. The mass-protest involving all five area high schools did not occur until several days later, after they organized themselves more effectively.

[53] Director E.J. Olmos makes a cameo appearance in *Walkout* as Dr. Julian Nava, the first Mexican American voted to the LA School Board.

residents of East Los Angeles in the 1960s. Born and raised in East Los Angeles and having attended Garfield High School during the walkouts, Viramontes opens her novel by recalling images of "earthmoving" bulldozers razing whole neighborhoods to clear the way for the construction of the 5-60-710 Freeway interchanges, displacing whole communities of raza and effectively severing the Eastside from the rest of Los Angeles.[54] Around this time, students at Garfield and other Eastside schools were preparing to protest in mass numbers the dismal quality of education provided to them by their schools. The murder of Chicano journalist Ruben Salazar during the 1970 Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War brought a violent close to the chaos that characterized East L.A. in the 1960s. For Viramontes, "collective historical memory" of these literally earth-moving changes provides the rich context of her recent novel, *Their Dogs Came With Them* (2007).

Viramontes's novel functions as a counter-memory when placed alongside *Walkout* by bringing a multidimensionality and multivocality to the history of the East LA blowouts that at times is missing from the film's rendering of them. In the case of *Walkout*, the filmmakers' memories are parlayed into a docudrama that tries to speak for the particular historical moment of the Blowouts. This takes on special significance when we ask whose memories dominate the narratives. The novel is a non-linear narrative of life in East L.A. that draws on collective memory and features multiple perspectives from characters whose lives intersect in ways often unbeknownst to them, thereby rendering

[54] Viramontes continues: "I thought it interesting to begin the novel with the coming of the freeways. I do remember a time when there weren't any freeways, and then I do remember the neighborhood, whole city blocks abandoned, then chewed up, our neighbors disappeared. It devastated, amputated East L.A. from the rest of the city. The bulldozers resembled the conqueror's ships coming to colonize a second time and I felt a real desire to portray the lives of those who disappeared." (Olivas interview)

"the history" of Chicano/a East LA in the 1960s into "many histories" that also represent historical truth. The concept of counter-memory is complex and has been discussed in many ways. Foucault's, Sturken's, and Lipsitz's definitions of counter-memory permit an understanding of how Viramontes's novel is a "public text" that, while it is fiction, mediates and therefore bears some responsibility to history and collective memory. (Lipsitz, *Time Passages* 229) That is, not only does Viramontes's novel counter the representations of Chicano/a students and 1968 East L.A., but it counters dominant perceptions of Chicano Movimiento history by remembering what they typically forget: the stories told by those untouched by the activism that have been silenced or marginalized. The collective stories of Ermila Zumaya; her schoolmates Lollie, Rini, and Mousie; of USC student Ben Brady; of Ermila's (closeted, queer) cholo gang-leader boyfriend, Alfonso; and of transsexual 'boy-girl' gangmember, Turtle, make visible and give voice to the typically submerged or concealed experiences of young Chicanas, bi-racial Mexican Americans, and queer people during the height of Chicano/a activism in East LA Collectively, these characters and their stories participate in the construction a counter-history of the walkouts and of East L.A. Chicano Movement politics in general.

The importance of *Their Dogs Came with Them* lies in its willingness to pose difficult questions about the value and function of formal education in the Chicano community of the 1960s and of the 'radical' solutions proposed by activists. Viramontes points out that for every Paula Crisóstomo and Bobby Verdugo, there was an Ermila Zumaya and Ben Brady, politically disengaged and more consumed with the violence in their personal lives than in fighting for education. Viramontes pays attention to the lesser-known experiences and 'truths' for many Chicana/o students who felt alienated from the

activists' politics, or who simply were uninspired by its antiracist education reform goals. Through Ermila, Ben, and the other students depicted in the novel, Viramontes reminds readers that there was a population of the Chicana/o youth who, for various reasons, were detached and uninvested in the education offered by their schools and yet did not believe in the solutions proposed by activist Chicanas/os who thought organizing and boycotts were the best, most effective strategies of protest. While these social forces no doubt impacted the educational/subject formation of Ermila and her friends—they all shared in the substandard schooling experience and had good reason to walkout in earnest—such grievances were not enough to motivate the girls towards the sort of political action that many of their peers were invested in doing. That is, the novel exposes some of the shortcomings of organized resistance when it fails to motivate the very people it ostensibly serves. Taken another way, the novel also raises the point that people are motivated by many reasons to take political action, and that a lot of action taken to the streets that is not immediately seen as productive or political actually does have political motivations. This point is best seen through Viramontes's portrayal of her four young protagonists.

For Ermila, Lollie, Rini, and Mousie, the drama in their personal lives takes precedence over the drama of collective action against 'the system.' Viramontes suggests, for example, that Ermila's missing parents have something to do with their leftist politics, thereby repelling their daughter from similar action. For the girls at Garfield, the walkouts are merely a distraction from the seriousness of their personal lives rather than a moment of deep social, historical, political, and educational impact. Rather, they passively resist the political aims of the movement, not necessarily because they are

conservative, but because they do not see how walking out will change their lives. In some 1968 media reports of the strikes, news cameras captured interviews of the more conservative students who would insist that "[t]he majority of the students at Garfield High School do not condone or accept the methods" practiced by the "militant" Brown Berets and other Chicano/a activists. For many students who did not buy into the protests, the Blowouts represented a "sad time" during which many students were "embarrassed" or "uncomfortable" (*Chicano!* Part 3, VHS). [55] Regardless of how many students felt "embarrassed" or were simply unaffected by the protests, there existed a population of students who did not participate at all, who avoided contact with the "agitators," or who took part in the walkouts for fun, like Ermila and her friends. This detachment points to the conflicting interests of students, while exposing the shortcomings of some of the movement's strategies of mobilizing and unifying Chicano/a students.

Through Ermila and her girlfriends, Viramontes presents a more critical look at the Blowouts 'excitement' from the perspective of a student who might, on the surface, be more concerned about her boyfriend's whereabouts than in marching for educational equality. Who cares about demonstrating when your parents have been missing since you

[55] This view is dramatized in *Walkout*, represented by the lone 'conservative' student who stays put when the rest of his class gets up to join the walkouts. My own family history also reflects this side of the story. While both of my parents graduated high school in 1969 (they would have been juniors in 1968) and went to East L.A.-area high schools, they did not participate in the walkouts or any form of "1960s activism," and so did not have those stories to tell their daughters. My father went to Catholic school and when he got to ELAC in 1969, he says he was "annoyed" at what he viewed as disruptive Chicano radicals because all he wanted to do was attend class. My mother went to a predominantly white school in Bell Gardens where Mexicans were the minority at the time. She was the oldest of nine children and had to come home right after school. My grandmother "would not allow" my mom to participate in anything even if she wanted to. My parents' circumstances speak to a population of Mexican Americans (my parents never used the word "Chicano" to identify themselves) living in East LA who, for many reasons, did not participate in any *movimiento* actions. I didn't know about the Chicano Movement until I got to Indiana University (!) and took independent study classes in Chicana/o Literature, and I didn't know there was such a thing as the Blowouts until I began my research for this project a few years ago.

were an infant, "disappeared forever" somewhere in Latin America (58), or after your brother "had returned from Vietnam in so many pieces" (59), or when your mother struggles from sunup to sundown as a sweatshop seamstress, or when your mother's boyfriend fondles you and all you want is to take revenge on him? (187) The girls' more pressing personal concerns are rooted in sexual abuse and histories of patriarchy, but such concerns detract from any serious engagement on their part in any sort of community political action that aims to reform schools. In a key passage, Viramontes describes Ermila's and her girlfriends' attitude towards the planned blowouts at Garfield High School in East L.A.:

> Treacherous winds, the freaky rainstorm struck, the streets coursed into navigable rivers. Consequently, the planned student walkout at Garfield High became impossible, a huge disappointment for the girlfriends. Not that Ermila and the girlfriends viewed themselves as politically active; they had attended one meeting of the Young Citizens for Community Action at Garfield, where they were given copies of a newsletter with the bold words **Demand, Protest, Organize, Grievances or Grief. You decide!** After the meeting, Ermila and Mousie rolled the flyers up into party horns, tooting and yelling, joyriding with Alfonso and his McBride homies in his newly customized Impala. Regardless of their detachment, the girls had participated in the initial blowouts, the student insurrections for the fun of it, ditching school, rabble-rousing, everyone else thinking they held up banners or raised fists to demand a better education, declare Chicano power. (49-50)

For Ermila and the girls, their preference for fun and "rabble-rousing" together come first; that they roll up their Young Citizens for Community Action[56] flyers "into party horns, tooting and yelling" after the one meeting they attended indicates their disinterest

[56] Moctesuma Esparza explains that the Young Citizens for Community Action was started in 1965. "The group eventually changed its name into Young Chicanos for Community Action and then evolved into the Brown Berets and UMAS (United Mexican American Students)." From an interview by Juan Gonzalez and Amy Goodman for *Democracy Now!*, March 29, 2006. www. democracynow.org.

in and political "detachment" from the politically motivated students who demand changes to their schools. Yet the girls' actions could also be read as resistance on their part: to school, to their more politically committed peers, to the Chicano Movement, to the conformity of "everyone else." As Viramontes writes, "They stood around the table, dressed in various shapes and sizes of the same brand of blue jeans they had purchased together at the First Street Store. [T]he girlfriends stuck to straight-legged Levi's blue jeans in order to make a statement about togetherness and nonconformity" (56). Together, Ermila and the girls do not conform to the political action sweeping through their schools and through their lives. Instead, they view with a mocking distrust the ones who "held up banners or raised fists to demand a better education," as if "declar[ing] Chicano power" is a waste of time that won't bring about any immediate changes or relief to their own lives, in effect resisting the efforts of the walkouts.

However, that is not to suggest that Ermila is not politically un-conscious or acutely aware of the racist, classist, and sexist conditions that inform the Mexican-Chicana/o experience in the US, specifically in (East) Los Angeles.[57] In spite of the failings of her formal education, Ermila develops the kind of critical mind that helps her to realize that she wants more to do with her life than "wait for the likes of Alfonso" (177), her boyfriend and leader of the McBride gang.[58] Ermila is a prolific "reader" of her

[57] A top student in spite of herself, Ermila is the most academically successful of her group, the only one who remembers to take her books to school. (57) Orphaned as a toddler and kicked around foster homes until her maternal grandparents adopt her at age five, Ermila was tracked into Special Education classes during her elementary school years. The students' "Negro teacher" (130), Miss Eastman, would begin the school day by feeding them cereal and milk because "the children learn better with a full stomach" (130), an indication of the poverty that already puts many of them at an educational disadvantage, which is then compounded by the overcrowded conditions of the classroom and the students' actual or perceived disabilities.

[58] Alfonso is described as "a nineteen year old man whose signature revealed he had not made it past middle school" (65) because "[s]omehow no one missed the fact that [he] stopped coming to school

community and its consumption by changes and 'progress,' and her attitude as the novel progresses is increasingly one of critical awareness of the systematic workings that create the conditions for the homelessness, poverty, ineffective schooling, and displacements in her world. In the novel, Ermila from an early age and from the opening chapter is always looking and observing, studying the adult actions that comprise her world: from la viejita Chavela's displacement by the freeway's "earthmovers" across the street, to the women who line up for early-morning busses to their jobs in the city's factories and wealthy-people's homes. Ermila's insights into the lived experiences of those close to her were learned through her ardent attention to her surroundings. Her friends and their families' lives provide Ermila with a critical perspective on how the racist, gendered, capitalist system works against her, the people in her community, and those she loves. Such insights into the unjust workings of institutions were most likely not taught or learned in the classroom, especially given her Special Ed tracking.

This amounts in one way to a critique of formal education. Here, what counts as valuable knowledge is gained outside of institutionalized schooling and in more informal, community spaces that serve as "class" (196) in other productive ways. Viramontes's critique of the gendered and racial implications of the tracking system plays out in what Ermila later recognizes as "fucked-up options" for working brown people, especially women who end up as maids, domestics, and seamstresses in L.A. and the Westside (176). Even Concha the beautician has to supplement her income by providing other services to her mostly-male clients. In a pivotal scene involving the bleak options faced

---

after his suspension was over" (Viramontes 303) in the seventh grade. He dropped out and turned to selling drugs and gangbanging to support himself, unfortunately an all too common experience for many young people, especially the boys, who fall through the cracks of the broken Chicano Educational Pipeline. (Daniel G. Solórzano's term)

by Lollie and Lollie's mother, Ermila dares to ask, "What kind of fucked-up options are these?" (Viramontes 193). Because even though Rini "secretly likes" (57) the Home Economics classes, Ermila begins to realize that women's working lives and economic (in)dependence are determined largely by institutionalized forms of capitalism and patriarchy. Ermila and her friends' resistance to gender-tracked education and other forms of injustice they face daily does not take the public protest form like the walkouts. Instead, they protest injustices in their daily lives in their own ways, often taking matters into their own hands. The girls ditch school one day to vandalize the car belonging to Jan, a man who dated Rini's mother and who one day made vulgar sexual advances towards Rini. While their families think they are at school, they meet at Concha's Salon before going together, like "outlaw indias about to circle the wagon train" (198), to scrub with steel wool the word "PUTO" on his car, their own form of public protest. Viramontes demonstrates that the girls are their own and only support system when institutions—including family, educational, etc.—fail them. Theirs is a powerful budding-feminist bond that relies on their stories of survival in the face of male-centric world "which only gave them one story to tell" (62).

It is not hard to figure out why Ermila and her friends are disengaged and detached in the first place from the schooling experience, or why they shoplift rum and drink to pass the rest of the day while the blowouts distract everyone else. Within the novel, other questions arise that complicate the goals of the walkouts. What to make, for example, of the young Chicana who gets something out of and really likes her Home Ec class, or the "at-risk" Chicano whose Auto Shop class is the only thing that keeps him in school? On the contrary, what to make of the 'smart' brown student whose family has

sacrificed for and prepared him his whole life to attend college, only for him to resent being there in the first place? Through the story of Ben Brady, Viramontes reveals some of the ironies of educational expectations that promised boys that their "intelligence would raise the family to levels of professional respectability" (116) while their sisters were "relegated" to less-privileged positions. That is, though he has been tracked to attend college on a full scholarship, Ben has no inclination to pursue the higher education that has been saved for him because he would rather be an artist.

Like Ermila and the girls, Ben's personal problems overshadow any meaningful engagement with the higher educational opportunity provided to him. Ben Brady represents a figure of fractured masculinity whose academic promise is undermined by his personal trauma but is supposed to be the path to his livelihood. In many ways, he is not 'man enough' to fulfill his father's expectations, countering many stereotypes of self-reliant, physically-capable masculinity. When we first see Ben Brady, known as "Ben the student," at Mama and Papa Tomás's church ministry, he is lined up with the other needy parishioners waiting to be fed. Ben is filthy and is likened to a street person with his palms caked with dirt, grime on his skin, "dressed in dirty blue jeans and brown beret" (89), a brown beret given to him by a pre-law Chicana (118) who must have assumed he was down with the cause. We learn that he was hit by a cement truck when he was eleven years old and suffers from debilitating physical and mental health pain that torments him and detracts from his educational efforts once he enters USC. Therefore, he is physically unfit to perform what would be considered 'traditional' masculine duties, such as fighting in the army like his father did, or belligerently pursuing *Movimiento* goals and women like the macho Chicanos on his campus.

Ironically, though he wears his characteristic brown beret, Ben disassociates himself from the Brown Berets and all Chicano movement politics. For Ben Brady at USC, the Chicano Movement was too alienating and aggressive for his tastes, and so he refuses to be "caught up" in their causes. Ben Brady, whose name comes from his Oklahoman Anglo father, whose name does not match his "muddied" brown appearance inherited from his Mexican mother (106), is a figure of racial ambiguity who is simultaneously alienated from and embraced by the Chicano militants on his campus. As a boy, Ben was teased often, especially by the Mexican boys at school who made fun of him for thinking his last name made him white and who made him feel that he was 'not a real' Mexican. Perhaps this is the reason why "[h]e resisted being lifted up into a gathering mass of swirling political storms." In an important passage describing Ben's educational situation, Viramontes writes,

> By the time Ben graduated from James A. Garfield High School, he had become an Eastside celebrity a second time for his near-perfect SAT scores. In a community rife with conflict and upheaval, Ben's story was a lapse, a breather, a burning reminder of individual accomplishment against all the odds. Demonstrators who protested for a better education held Ben up as an example of someone with the capacity to achieve because of Chicano alma and corazón. To those who believed protesting was a waste of time, Ben exemplified hard work and no excuses. (117)

Unlike his younger female counterparts, Ben's educational path was already mapped out, his "future already set in motion" and planned for him by his father at the expense of his older sister's options. Although Ben's path to USC was in a way predetermined for him, he begrudgingly accepts his full scholarship, registering for classes "without question and without desire" (117). Despite his lack of enthusiasm for the educational opportunity he

has been granted, Ben is still is celebrated for the academic success attributed to his "Chicano alma and corazón," or "ganas" as it is later called by Jaime Escalante in *Stand and Deliver* (1988). "Ganas" operates much like the "self-reliance" and "hard work" ethic passed down to Ben by his Anglo, army-veteran father[59] from Oklahoma (101). Both sides want to claim Ben—the white and brown, the pro-Chicano demonstrators and those against protesting—and he inadvertently pleases both, but Ben belongs on/to neither side. Despite being interpellated by the Chicano militants because of his brown, Mexican appearance, Ben refuses to be clearly defined as a Chicano, and for that reason, he refused to belong to a fluid movement" (118). The Mexican boys who hated and bullied him at school become "the braided Chicano Power militants" who "brandished clipboards pushing a petition on him….And finally, when he said he wasn't a Chicano, they replied that if you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem" (Viramontes 118). This description of the Brown Berets on campus amplifies their hypermasculine approach to a hapless Ben, while also exposing the dangerously dichotomous rhetoric of 'with-us/against-us' exclusivity that, to its detriment, often characterized "Chicano Power" politics.

Viramontes vividly represents Chicano/a alienation and disassociation rather than unity and heroic activism. Her novel critiques formal schooling and what 'counts' as knowledge, as education, while contributing untold stories about a critical historical moment. In many ways, Viramontes exposes the failures of a compulsory schooling system that has historically and continues to Leave Many Students Behind, especially the

[59] "Ben's father learned self-reliance from the Oklahoma flatlands, where he spent his first seventeen years and then because he was on his own, he joined the army. An important survival lesson in case a wife disappears and a man is left with two children to raise in foreign territory" (Viramontes 101).

brown students that dominate East L.A. schools, and points to the inability of the Chicano Student Movement to reach, impact, and matter to every student. She raises questions that challenge the inclusion and reformist desires of those who ask for equal rights and education. For, if the schools and the rest of the system fail Chicanos/as more than they help, why ask for education? An education that, in Ermila's sharp perspective, perpetuates a system that thrives on the exploitation of immigrant labor by tracking its students down this path. The political apathy, disengagement, and strife that marked many young people's experiences in the late 1960s resonate in the characters of Ermila Zumaya and Ben Brady, but that is not to say that there are not other ways of critically participating in community-building and self-transformation. In the multivocality of the novel, Viramontes capture the complexities, unevenness, and problematics of student activism, while giving life to what historians and critics have identified as the contradictions of the Chicana/o civil rights and student movements. Ermila and Ben's political detachment and complicated personal lives permit a critique of the limits of movements, organized around rights, formal education, and inclusionist desires. Through them, Viramontes also questions whose experiences get to 'count' as history. Her novel engages in a looking-back at this era and "resurrects"[60] the histories of those who were unmoved by the Movimiento, yet whose experiences and memories now comprise such important elements that deepen our understanding of Chicana/o history.

[60] I refer to C. Moraga in the next epigraph.

Looking Back, Looking Forward: A Conclusion

I mourn the dissolution of an active Chicano Movement possibly more strongly than my generational counterparts because during its 'classic period,' I was unable to act publicly….For me, 'El Movimiento' has never been a thing of the past, it has retreated into subterranean uncontaminated soils awaiting resurrection in a 'queerer,' more feminist generation."
–Cherríe Moraga (*The Last Generation*, 1993)

During the 60's and 70's while the machos pontificated with the speeches their overworked and undervalued mujeres wrote, pos, who do you think took care of all those fierce, sangre-caliente Xicanas? That's right, esas, cholitas like me, who because of our slickety-lick eh-style, were better known as old school pa-chupas.
--Adelina Anthony as "Papi Duro" (2006-09)

Moraga is like many other Chicanas/os who, as youths, were unable to act publicly during El Movimiento's "classic period" for whatever reason. She longs to see El Movimiento resurrected in new ways, remembered in new ways, particularly through queer and feminist forms that challenge dominant Movimiento ideologies of patriarchal family and heteronormativity. Moraga and her contemporary, Viramontes, as high-profile Chicana feminist artists and intellectuals, have contributed greatly to this ongoing re-vision of traditional, heteronormative, hero-oriented Chicano history narratives by centering (often) queer women and giving voice to community struggles through typically marginalized figures. Currently, the "classic period" of Chicano/a history is re-enacted every time Adelina Anthony performs her character, "Papi Duro," an old-school Movimiento-era butcha who remembers "the 60's and 70's" differently from how the "machos" tell it.

The second half of Anthony's popular and critically-acclaimed one-woman show, *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!,* "Papi Duro" was a featured performance during U.C. Irvine's month-long 40th Anniversary celebration commemorating the 1968 Chicano/a student strikes. The act involves Agent Papi Duro, a self-described "old-school Chicana dyke" and "living legend of the Xicano movimiento." Agent Duro teaches a class of

young "F.B.I." recruits how to be the next generation of "Fearless Butcha Instigators" by training for covert sex missions like "Operation Panocha" and "Operation Gaykeeper." Throughout the act, Papi Duro 'tests' her recruits' knowledge of important cultural touchstones, such as "pan-indigenous history," multiethnic "coalitional politics," and *The L Word*, all references that provide context for many of her 'lessons' on leveraging queerness to transform a colonized and oppressive world. She plays up the fact that her "recruits" often do not know or learn about their history in their fancy colleges, so she takes it upon herself as an "old-school butch" to teach them. As Agent Duro tells her recruits, "Listen up. I know that some of you, because of the sacrifices working class Xicanas and other chingonas like me made back in the Civil Rights day, some of you got access to a college education y qué bueno cuz that's what we fought for" (Anthony, *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!*).

Placed within the context of other recent texts that participate in a 'looking-back' to the 1960's, Anthony's performances as Papi Duro become "inter-generational dialogues" that create spaces for new ways of understanding our history as (educated) Chicanas/os and how we got where we are as such. In remembering the "sacrifices" made by queer and working class Chicanas, Papi Duro reminds her class that they are the beneficiaries of the great educational, civil, and other social justice struggles undertaken by their elders in previous generations.[61] That Anthony, a Xicana-Indígena lesbian multi-disciplinary artist,[62] performs this comedic piece almost exclusively on college campuses throughout the country underscores "Papi Duro's" queer pedagogical function as what

[61] Information culled from various post-performance Q&As, interviews, and conversations with Anthony. UC Irvine, May 2008; USC April 2008, February 2009.

[62] See www.adelinaanthony.com

Anthony describes as a "cultural intervention" in the usually "male-driven," heterosexual storytelling about El Movimiento. That is, through Papi Duro, Anthony destabilizes canonical versions of Chicana/o history, rewriting it to acknowledge and respect women's typically "undervalued" work and contributions. As well, because her campus shows typically draw queer people/students of color, it is important to consider the ways in which Anthony's performance itself claims critical space for the safe expression of marginalized identities within often racist and (hetero)sexist institutions of higher education. For this generation, Anthony's character embodies a response to Moraga's call for a queer Xicana[63] feminist re-telling of Movimiento-era history.

Last year, the City of Los Angeles issued a press release commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Blowouts, while the Los Angeles Unified School Board passed a resolution "to note the moment in L.A. history." One such celebration took place exactly forty years after the 1968 walkouts, on March 8, 2008, when thousands of Chicana/o students and community members, including Sal Castro and many of the former students who organized and participated in the 1968 walkouts, commemorated the event by re-enacting the 1.5 mile march from Lincoln High School to Hazard Park in Boyle Heights, East L.A. As Sturken writes, "Reenactment is a cathartic means for people to find closure in an event" (Sturken 43). Closure for many of these activists comes when they view the movie together, sharing in their memories of what they lived through, and sharing what they know with younger Chicanas/os, who may not have even heard of the Blowouts in their school. For others, there is no closure to be had because they simply were not

[63] On spelling "Chicana" as "Xicana," see Ana Castillo, *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma* (1994). For Anthony, Moraga, and others, "Xicana" privileges our indigenous ancestry and rejecting colonization. For Castillo, it is a way to "rescue" the concept of Chicana feminism from "academic theoretical abstraction" (11).

involved. Yet I think "closure" also has its own limits because the event is never really 'over' when it is reenacted. Forty years later, the moment of the East L.A. walkouts is remembered, reenacted, and relived in many ways and in many kinds of spaces, from MySpace.com to conferences and celebrations commemorating the student activists.

Taken together, the conferences and panels, the film and novel, the theatrical performance, all represent forms of cultural production that participate in ongoing efforts to remember an event that clearly has implications for how Chicanas/os currently (re)see and think about our educational goals. They remind us of the need to make schooling work for students and teachers in more productive, counter-hegemonic ways. To various extents, *Walkout, Their Dogs Came with Them,* and "Papi Duro" challenge and ultimately destabilize canonical Chicano history specifically as memory projects that render history a changeable script. (Sturken 89) Looking at the history of the East L.A. Blowouts and Movimiento-era politics through the 40th anniversary celebrations and these recent cultural texts permits a critical looking-back at a central moment in Chicano educational history and at the ways in which memory—and whose memory/ies—shapes this history, while raising important questions about the uses of education in current struggles for racial and economic justice in the US.

CHAPTER 2

Soft Hands[64]: A Genealogy of the Educational Formation of Queer Chicano Identities from Villarreal's *Pocho* (1959) to Bracho's *Sissy* (2008)

"Already I can see that books are your life…But all this reading, my son," she asked. "All this studying—surely it is for something?"
--José Antonio Villarreal, *Pocho* (1959)

As he sat in his apartment studying me, I leafed through a novel by Collette. The man rose, visibly angered. 'Do you read books?' he asked me sharply. 'Yes,' I answered. 'Then Im sorry, I dont want you anymore,' he said; 'really masculine men dont read!'
–John Rechy, *City of Night* (1963)

Books is the best cuz they quiet—filled with words but not loud like this house…Books is quiet with nobody calling you joto maricon faggot sissy or yelling at you to come in off the street already.
--Ricardo A. Bracho, *Sissy* (2008)

Introduction.

When a queer Chicano literary tradition is invoked, it is usually defined by the works of 'the three' most prominent gay Chicano/Mexican American writers—John Rechy, Arturo Islas, and Richard Rodriguez.[65] John Rechy's groundbreaking, critically-acclaimed novel, *City of Night* (1963), is often called the first gay/queer Chicano novel not only because it was written by a gay Chicano, but also because it features an openly gay narrator-protagonist who we know only as "Youngman," bi-racial Chicano (his mother is Mexican, his father is Scottish) and "sexual outlaw" from El Paso, Texas, who makes a living as a hustler in the "streetworlds" of New York, Los Angeles, and New

[64] From Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger of Memory* (1982). Rodriguez discusses how his father teased him for having "soft hands" from reading and writing (56, 127), and that he "would never know what 'real work' is" (127). (Thanks to Rosemary George for suggesting "Soft Hands" as a title for this chapter.)
[65]For example, see Frederick L. Aldama, *Brown on Brown*; Anthony Viego, "The Place of Gay Male Chicano Literature in Queer Chicana/o Cultural Work;" and Manuel de Jesús Hernández-G., "U.S. Latino Lesbigay Literature and Cultural Production."

Orleans.[66] Rechy's novel, *City of Night,* arrives only four years after the publication of José Antonio Villarreal's novel, *Pocho* (1959), which is generally recognized as the first Chicano novel.[67]

Rechy and Villarreal can be considered contemporaries, their respective novels reflections of their struggles with racism, heteronormativity, and citizenship in the years just prior to the rise of the civil rights movements. As Rechy states, "Since as far back as 1959, I was writing about 'Mexican-Americans,' and identifying myself as such…Still, I've known the question to be asked, whether or not I'm a 'real Chicano writer.' Why? Because I wrote also about homosexuality?"[68] Rechy's comments reveal the striking homophobia that permeates traditional Chicano nationalist conceptions of what 'real' Chicano writing is or looks like, and the message is clear: conventionally, there is no room for homosexuality in 'real' Chicano literature, and any discussion of it immediately excludes an otherwise "Chicano" work from being recognized as such.

While my immediate concern in this chapter is not so much the question of why *Pocho* is considered a 'proper' Chicano novel in a way that *City of Night* is not, it is an important place to begin a discussion of the larger issues of canonicity, literary

---

[66] Like the other narrator-protagonists discussed in this chapter, Youngman is understood to be Rechy's fictional persona. Rechy attended Columbia University "until [he] discovered the world of Times Square" and the "streetworld" that pulled him away from his formal studies (Rechy xi-xiii). Therefore, Youngman is presumably a college dropout. There are many things to say about *City of Night* and Youngman's queer intellectualism, especially with regards to this genealogy/lineage of queer Chicano work that I have outlined in this chapter. While Youngman is queer and Chicano and educated, as a street hustler, he also deviates in interesting ways from the more 'proper' models of educated queer masculinity embodied by Richard Rubio, Miguel Chico, and Sissy. In future work, I'd like to address Rechy/Youngman in this context.

[67] While there are novels and other literary works written before 1959 that can be called "Chicano/a" novels, it is important to keep in mind Bruce-Novoa's framework of 1959-1970 and the seven novels he cites that were published in these years. Historically, these works are considered to be the first group/generation of Chicano-era literary works.

[68] I cite Debra Castillo's interview with John Rechy, published in *diacritics,* Spring 1995, pp. 113-25.

conventions, and normative categorizations that deem one text or set of texts as legitimate transmitters of (legitimate) knowledge while disqualifying others. Just as Rechy challenges conventional understandings of Chicano/a literature, Villarreal's *Pocho* asks us to expand our notion of what is or could be considered queer or 'gay' literature—and more widely, queer artistic cultural production—to include not solely those works created by self-identified gay or queer men, or those which otherwise overtly feature "homosexual" or queer themes. Towards that end, I offer a reading of Villarreal's *Pocho* (1959) that situates it as the first queer Chicano novel, one that precedes Rechy's in prefiguring other queer Chicano literature written and published in the decades that follow.

I do not claim to be the first to recognize that before *City of Night*, *Pocho* was the first Chicano novel to explore queer elements and "homosexual" themes. In a 1986 essay, Chicano literary critic Bruce-Novoa identified Villarreal's novel as the first of a seminal group of Chicano novels published between 1959 and 1970 "to give central importance to homosexuality" (98). He in fact argues that Rechy's *City of Night* "logically extends [*Pocho*]," and that it "commences where [*Pocho*] ends" after the protagonist, like Richard Rubio in Pocho, "leaves home to explore the dark side of U.S. society" ("Homosexuality" 100-1). The similarities extend to each protagonist's queerness or 'ruined' masculinity as figured through their preference for books, for in the vivid streetworlds of prostitutes, gamblers, 'tricks,' drag-queens, transsexuals, and other criminal(ized) groups, Youngman is immediately recognized as an outcast among outcasts because he is an "Intellectual" who reads Collette and makes casual references to literary figures such as "Mrs Haversham of *Great Expectations*" (Rechy 278). He is well-read in European classics,

and as the second epigraph demonstrates, his 'school smarts' and propensity for "reading books" are often derided by the streetfolk and his potential tricks. In a sense, in the informal 'lawless' world of the street, Youngman's literariness, his bookishness, queers him among queers.

Bruce-Novoa's reading of Richard Rubio as Youngman's predecessor serves to highlight the queer continuities of "homosexuality" as a subject treated and represented in several canonical Chicano works of fiction since *Pocho*'s publication. More recently, in his study of Mexican masculinity, Robert McKee Irwin points out that in *Pocho*, normative Mexican masculinity as embodied by Richard's father, Juan Rubio, is constantly destabilized, while son "Richard's sexuality seems always to be in question" (218). These analyses of *Pocho*, specifically its central male characters, provide necessary traction for my own reading of it as a queer *Bildungsroman* that specifically calls attention to the central role education and pedagogical relationships ("the books") play in the formation and articulation of queer, non-normative Chicano identities.

Aside from referring to the sexual orientation of the author when appropriate, I use "queer" here to emphasize a work's thematic treatment of the protagonist's (or another character's) implied or explicit homosexuality, homoerotic desires, and otherwise non-heteronormative or non-traditional gender and sexual practices. However, in understanding *Pocho* as a queer text, the point then is not to suggest that Villarreal is gay, or that even his semiautobiogaphical protagonist, Richard Rubio, is gay. It is not to limit our analysis of 'the queer' in *Pocho* to the novel's 'gay' thematic elements, although performing such an analysis is a required and critically important first step. Rather, it is to highlight the queer possibilities of *Pocho* in order to identify ways in which this

otherwise normative text challenges and critiques conventional categorizations ("canonical," "nationalist," "gay/lesbian") of Chicano literature.

1. Pochos, Sissies, and Boys Who Love Books: Reading Villarreal with Islas with Bracho

Part 1 of this chapter analyzes Villarreal's 1959 novel, *Pocho*, to illustrate its function as a starting point of a genealogy of queer Chicano literature and cultural production. I read its protagonist, Richard Rubio, alongside two queer Chicano protagonists from later works by novelist Arturo Islas and playwright Ricardo Bracho. Mine is a retrospective queering, a reading of a canonical text, *Pocho*, that is made possible by juxtaposing it with similar, and later, queer Chicano works, such as Islas's *The Rain God* and Bracho's play, *Sissy*. Accordingly, Part 2 of this chapter examines the character of Miguel Chico in Islas's novel, *The Rain God* and its companion novel, *Migrant Souls* (1990). I conclude this chapter with a discussion of Bracho's eponymous protagonist, Sissy, who clearly descends from Miguel Chico and Richard Rubio before him in that, as a queer boy, he finds solace and meaning in books. Collectively, these works by Villarreal, Islas, and Bracho amplify the largely ameliorative function of education for those sons who require the space and resources to realize their queerness or identities as non-normative male subjects. In other words, as we will see, the protagonists who desire and pursue (higher) education often do so out of necessity, as the only "way out," not just out of their socioeconomic circumstances, but out of the proverbial closet and other repressive situations.

I take the following claim by David William Foster as one conceptual guide for this chapter. In *El Ambiente Nuestro: Chicano/Latino Homoerotic Writing,* Foster writes:

> [T]he creation of a Chicano cultural consciousness allows for a rereading of innumerable works written before the Chicano movement that can now be claimed to be foreshadowings, harbingers, pre-texts of a properly speaking Chicano literary tradition: knowledge (and ideology) at a particular point in time creates the conditions for the rereading of cultural production prior to that time. (112)

Analyzing Villarreal's, Islas's, and Bracho's representations of queer masculinity with and against each other allows us to recognize the historical shifts and continuities of queer/non-normative masculine self-formation through several generations of Chicano writing that become legible and traceable through a retrospective queering of *Pocho*. In positioning *Pocho* as a "harbinger" of subsequent gay/queer Chicano texts, including those by John Rechy, Arturo Islas, Richard Rodriguez, Rigoberto González, and Ricardo Bracho, we will see that Richard Rubio, the hero of *Pocho*, "foreshadows" his 'descendents,' Miguel Chico, Islas's queer protagonist-narrator and fictional persona (Márquez 4) in *The Rain God* and *Migrant Souls,* and Sissy, Ricardo Bracho's eponymous protagonist of his recent play, *Sissy* (2008), who in turn reminds us of both his literary predecessors.

I read these literary and cultural works retrospectively in an effort to trace a genealogy of queer Chicano educational formation, reflected most prominently in the three works I have chosen to examine in this chapter. In this sense, it is important to consider Foucault's statements on "genealogical projects," which should be undertaken in order to excavate unofficial "buried and disqualified knowledges," or what he calls "subjugated knowledges" (8). In "Society Must Be Defended," Foucault explains that in one sense, "subjugated knowledges" can be understood to mean those knowledges that have been systematically "disqualified [as] hierarchically inferior, knowledges that are

below the required level of scientificity," in short, "knowledge from below, what people know" (Foucault 7-8). Foucault helps us articulate the mechanisms through which power operates within educational institutions in the systematic exclusion "subjugated knowledges." Schools and universities are among those institutions whose hierarchies and ideological hegemonies have historically deemed irrelevant or "inferior" "what people (without power) know," including what queer Chicanos know and write about. Here is where genealogies are important, for they are "antisciences [and] about the insurrection of knowledges" against the "centralizing power-effects that are bound up with the institutionalization" of scientific discourses (Foucault 9). The insurrection of subjugated knowledges, according to Foucault, is what makes critique possible.

As a method of critique, a retrospective queering as genealogical excavation brings into sharper focus how Villarreal's *Pocho* (1959), Islas's *The Rain God* (1984), and Bracho's *Sissy* (2008) draw attention to several thematic continuities across three generations of queer Chicano literary and cultural production. More specifically, these three queer Chicano works together articulate the deep cultural anxieties about the purposes of education for second-generation Chicano-Mexican American boys/sons, revealing the profoundly gendered aspects of what it means for a Mexican American/Chicano to 'get an education' in the US In particular, the epigraphs confirm how "books" becomes a sort of leitmotif that makes legible or traceable as a recurring theme the homophobic anxiety, usually expressed by parents, that surrounds the Mexican American/Chicano son's desire for intellectual space and his insistent prioritization of education over familial demands and expectations.

For queer protagonists Richard Rubio (*Pocho*), Miguel Chico (*The Rain God*), and Sissy (*Sissy*), it is literally "the books" and all that they imply—wanting to do well in school, desiring higher education, preferring to read rather than engage in physical or sexual pursuits—that appear to threaten traditional perceptions of heteronormative Mexican American/Chicano masculinity. Implied in the first epigraph is the understanding that 'education' was/is a means to an (economic) end and, when most 'useful' or legitimate for sons, would lead to "something" substantial and tangible, preferably a middle-class job as a lawyer, doctor, businessperson, entrepreneur, social worker, or other professional. Those boys who prefer books for books' sake are always suspect, their manliness, desires, and intentions questioned by their families or other, more "macho," peers (Coronado 238).

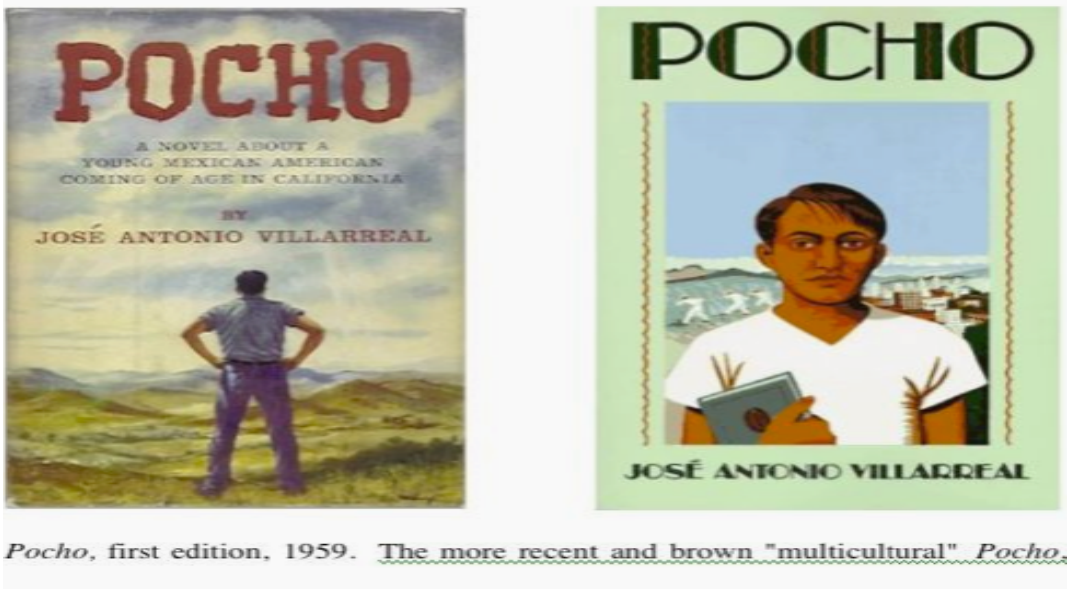
However, while "education" [69] is often synonymous with institutionalized forms of learning and knowledge production, it also speaks to the informal life-long intellectual formation of a person. For Villarreal's Richard Rubio, Islas's Miguel Chico, and Bracho's Sissy, their "books" symbolize the education they seek to acquire by formal and informal means. They articulate the centrality and at times, necessity, of formal and informal education to the formation of a queer or non-normative masculine identity. Higher education in particular promises Richard Rubio and Miguel Chico the

[69] Broadly conceived, "education" can refer to different processes of knowledge formation and dissemination, which includes those pedagogical, social, and cultural practices associated with K-12 schooling in the U.S. While related, "education" and "schooling" do not always denote the same things. For me, "schooling" refers more to the compulsory, usually public, education process that has histories rooted in U.S. nation-building and imperialism, colonialism, and Anglo/Euro hegemony. "Schooling" is imposed by law and often carries violent connotations, particularly when viewed from the experiences of people of color in this country (Freedman's Bureau, Native American boarding schools, Americanization programs for Mexicans) whose languages, customs, histories, and cultural practices have been systematically stripped and replaced by English and "American" ways that were transmitted primarily through the educational culture of US public schools.

"Humboldtian ideal" [70] of self-interested intellectual pursuit in the form of leisurely study. However, while all three protagonists admit to the pleasures of reading and their need to be left alone with their books, their needs extend beyond the simple acquisition of leisure time. For the queer figures of Richard Rubio, Miguel Chico, and Sissy, I would argue, studying or reading "too much" is one of the few safe options they have for self-realization and the formation of their identities as queer or non-normative Chicano boys-becoming-men, away from the scrutinizing gaze of their families. They desire education because in many ways it provides a refuge from the gendered imperatives of being a son in a family whose expectations are shaped by the Catholic Church and middle-class Mexican ideals. The queer Chicano figures in these works read, study, and pursue education quite literally to live.

- **"And he knew that he could never again be wholly Mexican": Education as Ruination and Liberation in José Antonio Villarreal's *Pocho: A Novel About a Young Mexican American Coming of Age in California* (1959)**

[70] Chomsky refers to the writing of Wilhelm von Humboldt who, writing in the 1790s, defined the university as "noting other than the spiritual life of those human beings who are moved by external leisure or internal pressures toward learning and research." (Qtd. in Chomsky 298) While Humboldt's liberal humanist view of (higher) education may be challenged, he promotes education as meeting the "human need to discover and create" and "come to understand…this culture and the social structure in which it is rooted" (Chomsky 298-301).



(Figure 1. *Pocho* cover illustrations from 1959 and 1994.)

"I've always heard in that word *pocho* a loss of some virility. It's hard to explain."
–Richard Rodriguez, interview, 2000

The 1968 school blowouts in East Los Angeles and other parts of the U.S. Southwest were emblematic of Chicanas'/os'-Mexican Americans' long history of struggle for educational access and equality in this country that began in the 1930s with the rise of a new second generation of Mexican Americans. *Pocho*, which features a second-generation protagonist in Richard Rubio, is set primarily in Santa Clara, California and, like many canonical Chicano works, spans from about a decade after the Mexican Revolution to the onset of the World War II, roughly from the 1920s to the early 1940s.[71] In his seminal study *Becoming Mexican American*, George Sánchez argues that during this time, the school, along with the family and the workplace, "most clearly framed the experience of Mexican American adolescents and young adults in Los

[71] Bruce-Novoa on Villarreal, *Chicano Authors,* 137.

Angeles" (257). Despite separate and unequal access to quality education[72], however, groups such as the Mexican American Movement (MAM), a student organization formed in 1934 and existing until 1950, "emphasized the progress of Mexican American people through education," specifically college education, as the only "weapon" that would effectively combat discrimination while providing individual Mexican Americans-Chicanas/os the tools required for social and economic advancement, individual growth, and intellectual development (G. Sánchez 255-7).

Many canonical Chicano literary representations[73] of the educated Mexican American/ Chicano[74] male set in these pre-Movimento decades between the 1930s and 1960s reflect this "second-generation" attitude that education, creating opportunity for "self-help," (G. Sánchez 258), is something to be valued and attained, provided that such intellectual endeavors result in gender-appropriate outcomes. In *Pocho,* for example, Richard Rubio's father would permit him to continue his education beyond high school provided that Richard studies law or medicine to become a lawyer or a doctor (Villarreal 62), but not to be a writer. Accordingly, the original 1959 cover of *Pocho* features a decidedly masculine figure, young, and facing his future of what would seem endless possibilities (Figure 1). The young man in this image has dark hair, light skin, and wears what appears to be denim jeans and a dark short-sleeved shirt with rolled-up sleeves,

---

[72] Inequalities rooted in "Americanization" programs specifically aimed at Mexicans that were introduced in schools when previous "Americanization" efforts to impact immigrants' home life largely failed (G. Sánchez 98-105), thus beginning the formal 'pochification process.'

[73] For example, Ernesto Galarza's *Barrio Boy* (1971), Oscar Zeta Acosta's *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* (1972), Tomás Rivera's *…Y no se lo tragó la tierra/And the Earth Did Not Devour Him* (1987), and Américo Paredes's *George Washington Gómez* (1990).

[74] I will use "Mexican American/Chicano" or "Chicano/a-Mexican American" interchangeably and together as a descriptive. I am aware of the historical specificities and denotations of each term, as well as the fact that not all Mexican Americans identify as Chicano/a, and vice versa. I will be more specific in my usage when appropriate and necessary in my discussions of each work.

suggesting his working-class status and possible future of upward class mobility. Unencumbered by books or anything else at the moment that might impede his progress, he stands in a confidently wide, manly stance, hands on his hips as he surveys the land spread out before him, his back towards the viewer as he faces the rugged, rolling terrain of flatlands and hills of rural central California. The empty, frontier-like expanse of land before him resonates with so many other "traditional" US American narratives of the myth of unbridled freedom, privilege, and opportunity that awaits any young and presumably educated young man who chooses to follow a righteous and productive path. The message reflected in this pre-Chicano-era representation is one of rugged (white) masculinity and individuality.

A stark contrast to the first edition, the 1994 "brown," "'multicultural'" version of *Pocho* replaces the light-skinned, masculine figure with a softer, browner, more pensive boy in a form-fitting white v-neck t-shirt. His stare is solid and determined, but there is also a sadness or look of longing conveyed by his prominent indio features. No longer 'white,' this Richard Rubio now faces his viewer, engaging the viewer and revealing a feminized countenance of uncertainty rather than assertive masculine confidence—"the loss of virility," the softening of his masculinity, hinting to the possibility that we may (now) re-read Richard "Pocho" Rubio as queer. His desire for knowledge, intellectual ambition, and studiousness are all represented by the book that he clutches in his right hand, holding it close to himself. Behind him are two scenes that seem to convey the 'before/past' and 'after/future' possibilities of a life transformed by books, but also important reminders of his family's racial and ethnic background, as well as the traditional expectations from which he distances himself. Over his right shoulder, sun-

baked campesinos like his father work the fields, backs hunched in the bright daylight. Over his left shoulder appear white buildings, an urban landscape that contrasts with rural paisano life which in 1994 is no longer the only option (or a suitable one) for an educated young (Chicano) man. He stands before us, bridging two worlds as a Pocho-in-the-making; undeniably, what makes Richard a pocho—what "ruins" him as a Mexican and thus, as a man—is his book(s).

That the subtitle is dropped in 1994, the title now simply *Pocho,* is significant. A quick online[75] search for the definition of "pocho" reveals layers of meaning and connotation that inform how we read the novel. When translated to English, "pocho," an adjective, means "off-color," "over-ripe," and "Americanized" (www.spanishdict.com/translate). An online Spanish dictionary defines "pocho" as "Que está podrido o empieza a pudrirse" (rotten) or "Que no tiene buena salud" (unhealthy). Off-color, over-ripe, rotten, unhealthy. In a word, ruined, "never again wholly Mexican," which is the most common translation of "pocho." While "pocho" usually refers to the loss of language and generational ties to Mexico in the process of becoming North Americanized, the main definition of "off-color" also carries racialized implications. To be a pocho is to have been whitened, to have figuratively lost the 'color'—the brownness—of being Mexican (such as in the 1959 illustration). Ironically, the second cover illustration represents a non-white, 'browner' Richard Rubio, which suggests that it is not just cultural or racial 'ruination' that takes place during the education process, but also the 'ruination' of normative gender identity and practices. In other words, one can be 'brown' but still be a

[75] Neither the 4th Edition of the *University of Chicago Spanish-English/English-Spanish* nor the 2nd Edition of the *Random House Spanish-English/English Spanish* dictionaries contained entries for "pocho."

pocho, the idea of "pocho" extending beyond race, language, and "Americanized" cultural practices, to gender, sexuality, and perceived queerness. Villarreal expresses this primarily as a generational anxiety rooted in the apparent belief that too much education somehow ruins Chicanos not just linguistically, culturally, and racially, but also as 'proper' men.

Before I continue, I want to turn to two passages from José Angel Gutiérrez's memoir, *The Making of a Chicano Militant* (1998).[76] Gutiérrez's comments reflect a decidedly mainstream (read: mostly sexist and homophobic) Chicano-era context for understanding "pocho," "agavachado," and "joto" as terms that are imbued with history that has shaped the schooling conditions for and social relations between/amongst Mexican immigrants, Mexican Americans and Chicanos/as in the United States. Placed alongside the two different *Pocho* cover illustrations, we can start to see how conceptions of "pocho" as whitewashed Mexican get conflated with ideas of what constitutes queerness. Describing his school days in south Texas and beginnings of his political activism, Gutiérrez writes:

> During these years of the 1950s, my generation began calling themselves Chicanos…The Mexicans called us *Pochos*, meaning Mexicans who are trying to be Anglos and not succeeding very well. Success at being a pocho meant you spoke good English, without a trace of an accent, and dressed like a gringo, with loafers or Hush Puppies, button-down collars, Levi's jeans, and no hats, much less a cowboy hat. You denied being Mexican as best you could and tried to hang around with Anglos. If you could cover up your Mexicanness, then you were called *agavachado*. (22)

[76] Gutiérrez is heterosexual a Chicano/Tejano lawyer and judge from south Texas. He was a leading activist in 1960s and 1970s Cristal City, TX politics, and helped to co-found the La Raza Unida Party.

In this passage, "pocho" and "agavachado" are interchangeable descriptors for Chicanos who "could cover up" and actively deny their Mexicanness by socializing with Anglos. Gutiérrez does fall into some essentialist traps by suggesting that all Anglos wore the 'uniform' of "loafers or Hush Puppies." In a way, his essentialism about the Anglos at school exposes the same essentialist views about Chicanos, as if there was only one conformist, 'acceptable' way to 'be,' identify, or dress like a Chicano. Those Mexican students who spoke English without an accent and dressed "like gringos" (how did Chicanos dress?) were read as pocho, but underlying these racial anxieties are also gender anxieties about those (male) pochos who were 'too white.'

As early as 1945 in New Mexico, *pochismo* was defined as "Mexican slang for a 'rapidly increasing vocabulary of bastardized words that which are neither Spanish nor Yanqui."[77] A 1946 article on *pochismo* indicates that it is a hybrid of English and Spanish and has come to be a "type of popular slang in Mexico."[78] Sometime during the 1960s and 1970s is when "pocho" became a term that many Chicanos/Mexican Americans started claiming for themselves.[79] That Richard Rubio declares that he is a "pocho" because of the unique Spanish he speaks (Villarreal 165) reflects the 1940s understanding of "pocho." In this sense, "pocho" is an identity both assigned (by Mexicans to Chicanos) and claimed (by Chicanos), one based on the linguistic characteristics of Chicanos/as and Mexican Americans born and/or raised on the U.S. side of the border. Whereas in 1945

---

[77] "Pochismo." *American Speech* vol. 20, no. 3 (Oct. 1945), p. 235. JSTOR 08/03/09.

[78] William E. Wilson, "A Note on 'Pochismo.'" *The Modern Language Journal* vol. 30, no. 6 (Oct. 1946), p. 345-6. JSTOR 08/03/09. It is also interesting to note that the US Border Patrol and professional baseball were two areas in which this 'new slang' emerged most prolifically.

[79] See Aida Hurtado, Patricia Gurin, and Timothy Peng, "Social Identities—A Framework for Studying the Adaptations of Immigrants and Ethnics: The Adaptations of Mexicans in the United States." *Social Problems* vol. 41, no. 1. Special Issue on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America (Feb. 1994), p. 129-51. JSTOR 08/03/09.

the basis for being a "pocho" was primarily linguistic, by the 1950s and 1960s, pochismo also became more about dress and conformity to 'gringo' or non-Chicano standards of conduct.

However, in the next passage, Gutiérrez makes another interesting association with acting 'like a gringo.'

> In my time Chicanos didn't read poems, give speeches, partner in a debate team or act in plays. Chicanos also didn't hang around with Anglos, and Anglos avoided Chicanos as study partners, social friends, and dates. One's own Chicano group of friends would also apply severe peer pressure not to become white-acting, or agavachado. The only one who I knew of who did become agavachado by always hanging out with Anglos and entering speech competitions was a boy named Hector, who was a year or two ahead of me. Chicanos called him *joto* (queer) because of his effeminate ways, and because he hung around during school hours with two other Anglo classmates who were considered "queer" looking. (47)

This time, Gutiérrez connects cultural and gender/sexual 'ruination' in the term "agavachado." "White-acting" and "queer" become are now associated with being a "pocho," the whiteness now conflated with sexual and gender non-normativity in some interesting ways. Within the school context, "white-acting" and "queer" means taking certain classes, and both are to be avoided if one was a self-respecting (heterosexual) Chicano.[80] Did "joto" Hector hang out with Anglos because he was queer and therefore, felt safer with them? Were the Anglo classmates "considered 'queer' looking" because they were white, perhaps dressed a certain way? In this case, queer Chicanos' alliances

[80] The other thing to think about is how 'white' comes to mean 'queer' or less-than-masculine in the Mexican/Chicano context. Did Chicanos not read poems or act in plays because of the gay stigma attached to them, or because that was something only white students got to do in the first place? Could it be because perhaps those classes were not usually part of the Chicanos' tracked curriculum that placed boys in auto or wood shop and girls in home economics or secretarial classes, and so as 'college prep' courses, creative writing, debate, and drama classes or other extracurricular activities were inaccessible to the majority of Chicano/a students?

with Anglos in those speech classes and other activities arise partly out of need and come as a result of the fear and alienation they feel around 'their own' community, where 'macho' attitudes about gender and sexuality often prevail. One only need consider Arturo Islas, who wrote the following about the Chicano community and the fears of coming out to his own gente: "I expect them to destroy me, at least to harm me in some way. I do not feel 'them' to be a source of emotional support."[81]

In other words, the queer Chicano boy in school will find spaces of belonging that for other reasons are deemed 'white' or 'Anglo' spaces, such as speech or poetry classes (or the university), but even then, may not always fully belong on racial grounds. We learn through Islas, for example, how certain 'white' spaces like the university are often the only spaces for queer Chicanos/as to productively challenge heteronormativity, even with the costs of working within such an institution. While Gutiérrez's statements can be read as the more likely representation of Chicano men who deemed those classes not masculine enough (until they figure out that such classes affords them "access to the Anglo girls," as Gutiérrez later discovers), his observations and comments ultimately help us to think about how "pocho," when aimed at Mexican/Chicano boys/men, comes to mean 'ruined' in not just a racial or cultural sense, but in the sense of being 'ruined' as Chicano men. *Pocho*, therefore, represents the emergence of a model of queer Mexican/Chicano masculinity that is created in what are typically considered feminized and Anglo/Eurocentric educational spaces.

[81] Islas continues: "Much of my feeling can be traced to childhood terrors about being Mexican and about Mexicans. How easily, automatically, compulsively, they turn human beings, ideas, etc. into potentially harmful monsters." Qtd. in Aldama's biography of Islas, *Dancing with Ghosts*, fn. 3, p 171.

- **'You bring out the Pocho in me:'[82] Reading Richard Rubio**

We meet nine-year-old Richard in Chapter 2 of *Pocho* as he is returning from his first confession, carrying his new hat in one hand and a picture of the Virgin Mary in the other hand. The framed photo was a prize for being the youngest in his class to know the catechism, and Richard takes pride in it not so much for its religious importance but for its recognition of his classroom success (32). Here, Villarreal begins to clue us into Richard's intellectual priorities. That we meet him as he comes back from confession implies that he is already/has been a sinner, according to Catholic doctrine, but also in the sense of non-normative masculine and potentially queer behavior.[83] Interestingly, Juan Rubio, a man who beats his wife on occasion and regularly engages in extramarital affairs, is never referred to or implicated as a "sinner." He is simply being a man and has every right to do so. That young Richard is already labeled a sinner is Villarreal's way of opening up a sort of pandora's box of 'pocho' possibilities, or the different ways Richard is being 'ruined' by his desire for reading and education. His "frail hands," "thin elbows," "high cheekbones," and "small chin" are characteristics not of a strong, stout 'macho' man, but of a "miniature replica" of his mother (34). These descriptions immediately feminize Richard, who takes after his mother rather than his father in physical stature. These physical characteristics, coupled with his intellectualism, amounted to the "sissy" (Villarreal 95) that Juan Rubio saw was his son.

[82] I reference a poem by Sandra Cisneros, "You Bring out the Mexican in Me," in *Loose Woman* (1994).

[83] The language of "sinner" as code for "queer" appears also in Islas's work.

Juan Rubio represents a model of heteronormative, sexually aggressive Mexican masculinity[84] with which his son, Richard, disidentifies. For José Muñoz,

> disidentification does not dispel those contradictory elements; rather, like a melancholic subject holding on to a lost object, a disidentifying subject works to hold on to this object and invest it with new life….[To disidentify] is not to willfully evacuate that politically dubious or shameful components within an identificatory locus. Rather, it is the reworking of those energies that do not elide the "harmful" or contradictory components of any identity. It is an acceptance of the necessary interjection that has occurred in such situations. (12)

Richard attempts to "hold on to" his masculinity and "invest it with new life" via education and worldly pursuits as opposed to emulating his father. In order to exist in the world on his own terms, Richard Rubio is required to occupy contradictory positionalities which necessarily requires a constant process of disidentification from his father, Juan Rubio. For a man like Juan Rubio, "[h]omosexuality signifies the extreme opposite of maleness… synonymous with death" (Bruce-Novoa, "Homosexuality" 98). In this light, Richard's choice to join the U.S. Navy appears to be based not on patriotic allegiance to the U.S. (R. Saldívar 64), but informed by his desire to *live* on his own terms: "[B]ut now [Richard] must also go to war. It was his only alternative—to get away from this place

---

[84] Juan Rubio "had been a cavalry officer in Villa's army" (Villarreal 1). To Juan Rubio, being a Mexican and being a man are mutually defining; as he tells his son, Richard, it is good to be a man "because to a Mexican being *that* is the most important thing" (Villarreal 131). Héctor Carrillo describes how nation and gender converge in the term "macho/machismo" during post-Revolutionary Mexico. He cites Mexican scholar Carlos Monsiváis's research that identified two patterns of Mexican nationalism that emerged largely as a way of resisting 'modern' U.S. influences that infiltrated the border via radio, film, and television media. Carrillo explains that one of the movements developed among leftist intelligentsia [who] created a romantic view of Mexico…that idealized our pre-Columbian indigenous past and the heroes that freed us from foreign invaders….The second [Mexican nationalist movement], advanced by the conservative elite, created a nationalistic discourse that aimed to rescue the true *mexicanidad* (Mexicanness) by emphasizing the moral norms of the 19th century well-to-do families, which were fundamentally the values of Catholicism and machismo….Together, these two nationalistic responses to the arrival of North American values helped construct what promoted the association of Mexico and *mexicanidad* with machismo. (225)

was the only good he could get from it….There was nothing to be done now except run away from the insidious tragedy of such an existence" (Villarreal 185-6) dictated by "traditions" from which he desperately seeks to free himself, most reliably through books. He yearns for the space to study and learn the more he begins to understand the impossible and undesirable family and cultural traditions he is expected to uphold.

His resistance to his parents' expectations is often suspected as latent queerness; that is, Richard Rubio's joto potential is figured mainly through what he desires (education, meaningful personal relationships with other key male figures in his life) and what he does not (sex, girls, marriage). In a key scene, Richard Rubio defends his desire to go to college to his mother, who reinforces her husband's belief that the only reason their son should get an education is "for something," i.e., to be a doctor or a lawyer. Better yet, they imply, Richard should just stop at high school and "learn how to make more money" so that he can provide a "nice home" for his future wife and children. Richard vehemently disagrees with his parents' reductive view of higher education. He pleads with his mother,

> I want to learn, and that is all. I do not want to be something—I *am*. I do not care about making a lot of money and about what people think and about the family in the way you speak. I have to learn as much as I can, so that *I* can live…learn for *me*, for *myself*….I do not know that I will find time to make a family, for the important thing is that I must learn, Mamá. (Villarreal 62-4, original emphasis)

His Cartesian sense of self diverges sharply from his mother's sense of what he should do with himself. His mother calls his "kind of thinking wrong and unnatural" (Villarreal 64) and believes he should give himself over to "duty," tradition, and God, for which marriage and the creation of a family are the only acceptable ends. However, Richard

needs to pursue education not for economic security or other normative imperatives, but for himself, so that he "can live." As the novel progresses, we learn that Richard means this quite literally, for he does not plan to live simply to reproduce and work a job in a factory. While Richard is partly motivated by the "Humboldtian ideal" of learning for the sake of edifying oneself, he also commits himself to intellectual pursuits as his "way out" of marriage and other traditions and expectations that he sees as confining and destructive to his soul (Villarreal 63). He knows that "there must be more" than what is between his legs and "put[ting] it to use" (Villarreal 131) for procreation or to satisfy one's sexual urges. In declaring his educational intentions to his mother, he expresses his refusal to participate in the (hetero)normative expectations that to his parents are an inevitable and "natural" part of life.

The rhetoric of what Richard considers "natural" versus what is "unnatural" serves to further destabilize normative constructs of masculinity and sexuality while asserting the importance of understanding the emotional and intellectual elements of "being a man." On one hand, Richard does not enjoy sex, thinking it to be "unnatural" on some levels (113) and dismissing it as merely a "bodily function" (129) he prefers to satisfy by masturbating. Other times, he exhibits an ambiguous attitude towards sex; when the other neighborhood boys are busy making sexual advances towards Zelda, the only girl on the block, Richard does not participate (113). Although he eventually has sex with Zelda (141), it is an act that serves only to reaffirm the masculine dominance he first asserted over her[85] when he manipulated her into essentially having group sex with all the

[85] Zelda was the neighborhood tomboy who intimidated Richard when they were young, so this act could also be read as an attempt to recoup his 'natural' masculinity.

neighborhood boys in one session (118-9). It is this misogynistic power play that most vividly reveals that he does not care to cultivate the kind of love for and emotional connection to Zelda in the way he wants to with his masculine best friend, Ricky Malatesta.

What Richard considers "natural" is not sexual activity with Zelda, but emotional closeness to Ricky. In other words, Richard does not identify his feelings of love and affection for his best friend, Ricky, until after his experiences with the more explicitly (and tragically) queer character, Joe Pete, with whom Richard identifies and admires as an intellectual model of what he could be. At this point, it is necessary to consider Richard's association with Joe Pete in order to understand how and why he is able to articulate his affection for Ricky Malatesta.

Although he never calls himself gay, homosexual, or queer, João Pedro "Joe Pete" Manõel is coded as queer long before he admits to "being strongly attracted to men" (84): he is a single man in his forties, with no wife or family, who "was not a workingman" and instead was well-educated, well-traveled, and had the highest taste in food, art, and other sensual pleasures (79). Joe Pete defies his father's mandate that he go to university to be a lawyer and instead, turns to "reading the classics, the greatest books ever written," as he tells young Richard. (83) It is important to know that Richard from very early on is critical of school teachers; they tease him about his lack of English language knowledge (34), they misguide him away from college prep courses and into "automechanics or welding or some shop course" (108), and Richard resents the fact that his teachers do not "direct" his reading (86, 103). Richard levels his strongest critique at teachers who "teach us all kinds of things, and sometimes they're not really honest about it….Sometimes I

read things in books that show me teachers are wrong sometimes" (71). He learns from books and Joe Pete what teachers don't teach him as part of his official education in school. To Richard, Joe Pete "is the smartest person [he] know[s], smarter even than my teachers" (85). Therefore, Richard is drawn to Joe Pete specifically because his intelligence is a worldly one cultivated informally through travel and by reading "great" books. In this respect, Joe Pete is an important pedagogical figure in young Richard's life, helping him develop into an individual capable of educating himself outside the formal institutions when they fall short of their purpose.

In the end, after Joe Pete is accused of sexually molesting the town's children and impregnating a teen girl, and is thereafter run out of town, Richard is the only one who defends him. The police try to manipulate Richard into lying and admitting that Joe Pete "touched him" because they cannot believe that he and Joe Pete spent so much time together "just" talking, sitting, and thinking (89). The knowledge Richard gains through his reading and friendship with Joe Pete leads him to understand the compulsory heterosexuality of his father, Juan's, ideal of Mexican masculinity that supports the "demands of tradition, of culture, of the social structure on an individual" (95) that Richard eventually condemns. Despite his scandalous end in the novel, Joe Pete leaves an indelible impression on young Richard, who commits to and tries to emulate his model of intellectuality.

Perhaps an unintended consequence of time spent with Joe Pete is Richard's new-found ability to express his love for his best friend, Ricky Malatesta. After spending a day together in San Jose, Ricky and Richard engage in the following conversation:

> Ricky said, “Gee, we had a lot of fun, huh, Richard?”
> “Yeah. We always have fun together,” he answered, and added quite naturally,
> “That’s because we love each other.”
> “What the hell did you say?” asked Ricky suspiciously.
> “Just that I love you, that’s all,” said Richard, his good mood making him unaware of his friend’s fear.
> “Hey, you’re not going queer, are you? ‘Cause if you are, I…”
> But Richard could not hear for the roaring in his heart. Everything was spoiled now. (112)

Richard’s feelings for his friend are unquestionable to him, and he assumes that Ricky shares in the love they (“we”) feel for “each other.” There is also a purity to his feelings that becomes “spoiled” once Ricky reacts with “fear” to what Richard tells him, after which Richard backtracks and claims only his own feelings: “Just that I love you, that’s all.” Although from this point on, Richard has to suppress his “quite natural” feelings for Ricky (112), who connects his friend’s possible queerness to “read[ing] all that poetry and stuff” (113), the organization of the narrative in a way suggests that it is Richard’s association with Joe Pete and his understanding of Joe Pete’s (natural) attraction to men that allows him to recognize and then voice his feelings for Ricky in a way he never does for Zelda or any other girl/woman in the novel. At one point, Joe Pete opens up to Richard about his own homosexual activities through sharing stories about his past, including his first sexual encounter with another man (87). Rather than react with negativity, however, young Richard tells him that he “thinks” he understands, though is “unsure,” about what Joe Pete means by his feelings. Looking back at how Joe Pete interacted with and what he shared with young Richard Rubio, we can see that Joe Pete in a way has ‘taught’ Richard about the “natural” occurrence of same-sex desire, which Richard recognizes in his relationship with Ricky Malatesta.

Final thoughts: The case for *Pocho* as a queer *Bildungsroman*

The novel's subtitle, "A Novel about a Young Mexican American Coming of Age in California," places *Pocho* in a larger tradition of the *Bildungsroman*, a (typically male) coming-of-age novel and account of individual self-formation, therefore part of a traditional literary canon. As Lisa Lowe writes in *Immigrant Acts*,

> The bildungsroman emerged as the primary form for narrating the development of the individual from youthful innocence to civilized maturity, the telos of which is the reconciliation of the individual with the social order. The novel of formation has a special status among the works selected for a canon, for it elicits the reader's identification with the bildung narrative of ethical formation, itself a narrative of the individual's relinquishing of particularity and difference through identification with an idealized 'national' form of subjectivity. (98)

It is useful to think about *Pocho* in Lowe's terms in order to recognize its normativity as "the first Chicano novel," which itself has "special status" among canonical works. As a novel of identity formation modeled after James Joyce's classic of Western literature, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, (Bruce-Novoa, *Chicano Authors*, 37), *Pocho* is otherwise taken for granted to be a traditional (and thus, heteronormative) Chicano text about a Mexican boy growing up in "America." On the surface, this is true. Villarreal tells the story of young Richard Rubio's trials and tribulations as young man growing up in rural California who ends up joining the U.S. Navy. It would seem that in doing so, Richard has "reconciled himself" to the "social order" that otherwise qualifies as an appropriately assimilated male subject.

However, part of the beauty of *Pocho* lies in its queer potential. Richard Rubio demonstrates queer potential and non-normative masculine behavior through intimations

of bisexuality, affection towards men, alliances with known "queers," and his avid pursuit of an intellectual life as a writer. In these key thematic ways, he departs from more conventional models of virile, masculine Chicano boys-turned-men that abound in other *bildungsroman*-type Chicano texts written before and after it.[86] Its non-normativity on many levels, from its treatment of "homosexuality" as a central theme or 'issue' to its function as a progenitor of a body of queer Chicano literary and cultural production, qualifies *Pocho* as a queer text. As Sandra K. Soto explains,

> Queering normative texts is an enormously useful project, because it conscientiously illuminates the iterations, tautologies, and narrative devices that occlude the constructedness of—as well as the labor entailed in reproducing—normativity (in relation to, for instance, citizenship, sexuality, racialization, or literary conventions). Moreover, queering can appropriate the most intractable foundations of normativity and transgressively infuse them with innovative queer meanings. (238)

Throughout the novel, we see Richard struggle to come to terms with normativity and its "harmful, contradictory components" (J. Muñoz 12) that profoundly shape his emerging identity.

As a potentially joto son of a macho Mexican man, Richard Rubio is constantly negotiating his co-constitutive identities—Mexican, American, pocho, man, student, intellectual, writer, son—that, according to José Muñoz, are "formed in response to the

[86] For example, Américo Paredes's *George Washington Gómez* (written from 1936-1940 and published in 1990) and Ernesto Galarza's *Barrio Boy* (1971). In such works, the young men emerge from the educational process ideally as heterosexual future family-men, ready to make positive contributions to his family, community, and/or nation by becoming laywers, or military men. This is not to ignore the psychological damage inflicted by schools and teachers that most, if not all, of these protagonists suffered. I do not mean to imply that the protagonists in all these works are 'the same' with regards to how they are portrayed or how they experience education in the US. There are problems as well with these hegemonic discourses of compulsory heterosexuality and nationalism that shape education (sometimes unevenly) for straight Chicano-Mexican American men. Often, their education came at particular prices to them. (Regretfully, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to elaborate on these works.)

cultural logics of hetero-normativity, white supremacy, and misogyny" (5). Richard acknowledges that he is a man who, on one hand, knows he is a "sissy" (Villarreal 95) and loves his best friend, Richard. On the other hand, Richard is prone to aggressive displays of 'machismo' when he hits his sister for being out too late with a boy (Villarreal 147), an act that reaffirms his position of male privilege bestowed upon him by his family as the only son. In his struggle to "rework" these masculine "energies" in an effort to transform the conditions by which he lives, Richard Rubio undergoes a process of self-formation that requires him to "resist the imposition of cultural and political norms, both traditional Mexican ones as well as new American ones" (R. Saldívar 64), therefore resisting "identification with an idealized 'national' form of subjectivity" (Lowe 98) that typically characterizes the *Bildungsroman*. In doing so, Richard Rubio creates the distance from his family, and especially his father, that he needs in order to "free himself," be himself, and come to his own understanding of himself as a pocho.

Part 2. "Studying his way out": Miguel Chico's Queer Intellectualism in Arturo Islas's *The Rain God* (1984) and *Migrant Souls* (1990)[87]

The universities have, on an unprecedented scale, come to be *the* center of intellectual life. Not only scientists and scholars but also writers and artists are drawn to the academic community…With the depoliticization of American society in the 1950s and the narrowing of the range of social thought, the university seems to have become, for many students, almost the only center of intellectual stimulation. –Noam Chomsky, "The Function of the University in a Time of Crisis" (1969)

"Oh, my dear Miguelito," [Mama Chona] said to him just after his first year at the university, "you are going to be the best-educated member of this family." –*The Rain God*

[87]As his biographer describes, Islas "studied his way out of El Paso, Texas, to become the first Chicano to graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, no less) from Stanford in 1960" (Aldama, *Dancing with Ghosts* xii). Islas arrived at Stanford University in 1956 "at a time when Chicano students were few and far between" ("Memorial Resolution"). A "scholarship boy" like his contemporary, Richard Rodriguez, Arturo Islas continued his studies at Stanford, becoming the first Chicano to earn a Ph.D. in English in 1971 (Aldama, *Dancing with Ghosts* xii). At Stanford, Islas taught popular literature and writing courses both on campus and in the community around the university until his death of AIDS-related complications in 1991.

The Rain God and its companion novel, *Migrant Souls* were the only novels published during Arturo Islas's lifetime. Set geographically in the U.S.-Mexico border regions of Texas and New Mexico and in Northern California, *The Rain God* and *Migrant Souls* together span three generations of Angel family history, from the decades following the Mexican Revolution through the early 1980s. According to Islas's biographer, Frederick Luis Aldama, "Islas invented one of the first narrator-protagonists who was overtly gay and Chicano" (xiii) in Miguel Chico, the primary figure in *The Rain God* and *Migrant Souls*.[88] As Islas's fictional persona, Miguel Chico figures prominently in both works as a narrator-protagonist who rewrites the history of his family, from his grandmother Mama Chona's arrival in the U.S. after the Mexican Revolution to his own moments of professional success as a university professor and writer in the "multicultural" decades of the 1970s and 1980s.

In both *The Rain God* and *Migrant Souls*, education and his subsequent life as an academic are figured as Miguel Chico's "way out," not just out of "the barrio" in his West Texas border town, but as a means of survival by writing himself and his other queer relatives out of the closet and into the (hi)story of his family. Islas makes the compelling case that for Miguel Chico, higher education and his career as an academic and novelist are intimately linked to his literal survival. *The Rain God* in particular represents what Marta Sánchez calls "Mickie's exorcism of the repressed forces that have ensnared his family for three generations" (288). These repressed (or repressive) forces,

[88]Miguel Chico first made appearances in several short stories written by Islas while he was an undergraduate at Stanford. "The Blind," a short story published by San Francisco literary magazine *Zyzzyva* in 1986, featured the relationship between Miguel Chico and Sam Godwin, who also appear in Migrant Souls. "Día de los Muertos" was the unpublished manuscript which eventually became The Rain God and also featured the Miguel Chico character. (Aldama 38-40)

most prominently "patriarchy and all it connotes in terms of family practices and gender roles, ethnic and class prejudices, and religious beliefs" (R. Sánchez 118), cast Miguel Chico as a "sinner" whose only 'redemption' is being "the best-educated member" of his family, an education that authorizes him as the sole writer of a queer-centered history of his family.

The opening passages of *The Rain God* establish Miguel Chico as an oppositional figure, a "sinner" in a family of Angels whose only salvation is his academic success. We meet Miguel Chico as he lays on the gurney in a hospital recovery room after a major operation. Throughout the whole novel, he is physically debilitated due to a medical malpractice incident that requires him to be reliant on "plastic appliances" for the rest of his life (*RG* 7). Islas writes,

> Miguel Chico knew that Mama Chona's family held contradictory feelings toward him. Because he was still not married and seldom visited them in the desert, they suspected that he, too, belonged on the list of sinners. Still, they were proud of his academic achievements. He had been the first in his generation to leave home immediately following high school after being admitted to a private and prestigious university…" (*RG* 4-5)

His admission to a "private and prestigious university" is only the beginning of Miguel Chico's academic success. In *Migrant Souls*, we learn that he holds a Ph.D. and wrote his dissertation on Henry James (*MS* 188), and that he is now a university professor who has recently published his first novel (*MS* 210). He has made the university and intellectual realm his life's work, which keeps him relatively free of his family's scrutiny. Despite their suspicions of his homosexuality because "he was still not married," "they were still proud" of him, which suggests that in some ways, Miguel Chico's education is viewed by

himself and his family as a form of compensation for his perceived lacks (of his own wife/family, of a healthy man's body).

However, bringing pride to his family is not necessarily Miguel Chico's motivation for pursuing his studies as avidly as he does. It is a way for him to "ignore his body" (*RG* 96) while at the same time, making an effort to understand how it is he came to be. Ignoring his body, or the body, is reflected in his course of study at the university, where he quits his pre-med body-focused courses to study literature, which gave him "another way to study the mind" (*RG* 28). Additionally, the move from pre-med courses (and thus a more 'manly' profession as a medical doctor) to literature creates the critical emotional and physical distance Miguel Chico needs, from his father in particular, in order to live out his 'alternative' masculinity away from his family's scrutiny. However, his change in coursework heightens his family's—particularly his father's—suspicions about his sexuality. As a survival mechanism, Miguel Chico leverages the knowledge he gains in graduate school to appoint himself the "family analyst" (*RG* 28) whose interest in them is "purely intellectual" (*RG* 90), one indication that he keeps them at a distance for his own sake. So as a Chicano academic residing in the Bay Area, away from the desert and his family, he is allowed to be out, but at home, he is "semicloseted," a figure that "shuttles" between two spaces in identity negotiations (J. Muñoz 32). For Miguel Chico, identity is largely cultivated through the external world of education and knowledge production. That is, Miguel Chico, a chronically-ill figure of tortured queerness, seeks his only refuge from the oppression of his fervently religious, nationalist, and patriarchal family in the intellectual spaces he has carved out for himself through his academic life and his life as a writer.

Miguel Chico's educational formation is largely articulated through the women in his life, including Mama Chona and "people like Maria" (*RG* 28), the nursemaid who helped to raise and care for him as a boy. Importantly, Miguel's educational formation is centered on these two key female family members. Though deemed an "uneducated" Indian because she crossed the border daily to work "illegally" in the U.S. (*RG* 13), Maria is the one who bought young Miguel Chico "paper doll books" (*RG* 15) and made him a "long white dress" that he "would dance and swirl around" in (*RG* 21). Along with his mother, Juanita, Maria would encourage Miguel Chico to do what he liked to do, despite his father's warnings that they were "turning his son into a *joto*" (*RG* 16). Maria's willingness to challenge Miguel Grande's sexist and heteronormative expectations for his son by encouraging the boy's feminine self-awareness indicates that perhaps she was Miguel Chico's first 'teacher' in non-normative gender practices.

The primary pedagogical figure in Miguel Chico's early life and an advocate of his pursuit of higher education is his paternal grandmother and Angel family matriarch, Encarnación Olmeca de Angel, known to the family as Mama Chona.[89] A devout "holier than thou" Mexican Catholic (*RG* 15) who is proud of her and her family's "Spanish conquistador" heritage while disdaining "anything Mexican or Indian because somehow it was impure" (*RG* 27), Mama Chona is "the transmitter of patriarchal and capitalist practices and discourses" (R. Sánchez 122). It is her "dream" Miguel Chico is fulfilling when he becomes a university professor (*RG* 5). Mama Chona values intelligence and

[89] There are other female family members who loom large in Miguel Chico's imagination, though not much is said about how they impacted him in the way that Mama Chona has. For example, an older cousin, Serena, is mentioned in *Migrant Souls* as having earned a master's degree and teaches P.E. Serena is also presumed to be a lesbian, as she has lived for twelve years with another woman, Mary Margaret Ryan. (*MS* 105-6)

education, albeit in a problematic way. That is, on one hand, her awareness of the racist, monolingual schooling practices in the US motivates her to teach Miguel Chico to read in Spanish before he began his formal education in "American schools" (*RG* 160) because she believes that "a truly educated person speaks more than one language fluently" (*RG* 142). On the other hand, her values are rooted in the internalized racist and class hierarchies that deem Indians savage and "impure" while uncritically celebrating the "pure" Castilian Spanish heritage of her family.

As Miguel Chico's childhood tutor in reading, writing, language, and storytelling (*RG* 161, 164-5), Mama Chona represents the female embodiment of official knowledge and is the primary shaper of the younger generation of Angel men, including Miguel Chico, his ambiguously queer cousin and Uncle Felix's son, JoEl, and Mama Chona's adopted son, Roberto. As such, Mama Chona, as head of the Angel clan, legitimates Miguel Chico's scholarly achievements in the family's (though not his father's) eyes. Whereas Mama Chona values education and the privileges that higher education's cultural capital[90] bestows upon her grandchildren (*RG* 164), therefore validating her grandson's intellectual commitments, Miguel Chico's father, Miguel Grande, distrusts his son's education: "He believed that all college professors without exception were Communists" (77), and he blames it partly for "ruining" Miguel Chico, for turning his son into a "delicate" and "effeminate" man (94). However, for Miguel Chico, education

[90] I reference John Guillory's articulation of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital," where it is implied that "class is the proper social context for analyzing the school and is literary curriculum" (*Cultural Capital* viii). The literary syllabus in particular "constitutes capital in two senses: First, it is *linguistic* capital, the means by which one attains to a socially credentialed and therefore valued speech, otherwise known as 'Standard English.' And second, it is *symbolic* capital, a kind of knowledge-capital whose possession can be displayed upon request and which thereby entitles its possessor to the cultural and material rewards of the well-educated person" (ix).

and intellectual pursuits necessarily mean a welcome alienation from family in order to find the space for the relatively safe expression of his homoerotic desires and queer masculinity, though not without particular costs of ostensibly being a beneficiary of multiculturalist educational trends.

Although Miguel Chico evidently values the university as an intellectual and somewhat free space for his self-formation, this is not to suggest that 'school' is always the perfect space or solution for him. At least, it is important to see that Miguel Chico's path to "prestige" also reflects the exclusivity of higher education predicated on the historical and social conditions that made it inaccessible for some time to Mexicans. As a first-generation college student, Miguel Chico arrives at the university on scholarship "before it was fashionable or expedient to accept students from his background" (*RG* 4-5). The word "fashionable" suggests a trendy, momentary, though eventually impermanent commitment on the part of the university to "students of his background," or working-class students from Mexican families. In *Migrant Souls*, Islas tells us something else about Miguel Chico, who at that point has already published his first novel and has been teaching English at a university.

> Miguel Chico's novel had been written during a sabbatical leave when he decided to make fiction instead of criticize it. A modest, semi-autobiographical work, it was published by a small California press that quickly went out of business. *Tlaloc* was an academic, if not commercial, success and its author became known as an ethnic writer. After seeing what the world did to books, he returned humbly to the classroom and to criticism. (*MS* 210)

At this point, Islas conflates himself with his character, which reminds us of the historical context of multiculturalism to which Islas the writer is responding.[91] His time at Stanford as an undergraduate in the late 1950s, a Ph.D. student through 1971, and a faculty member through the 1980s encompass critical years of institutional and political transformation marked by multiculturalism's inclusionary efforts, which are most immediately visible in the realm of classroom syllabi and the formal study of literary and cultural works by writers of color.[92] This passage in *Migrant Souls* indicates as much through its description of how *Tlaloc*'s success created the conditions for its author to "bec[o]me known as an ethnic writer" in a post-Civil Rights/Chicano Movimiento era of increasing demand for and visibility of writing by people of color. However, "ethnic" tends to become a catch-all term that levels the particularities and historical differences of groups of color in the US, partially a result of popular (mis)understandings of "multiculturalism."

US multiculturalism has been defined in many ways and has been put to the service of multiple political and social projects, purposes, and agendas. Multiculturalism is commonly understood as a set of social and institutional practices and strategies which aim to acknowledge, represent, and sometimes celebrate the cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity of this country. Educational policies and practices implemented in response to multiculturalism's call to "benefit [students] of color" (Newfield and Gordon 98)

---

[91] Antonio Márquez has analyzed *The Rain God* and *Migrant Souls* for their "historical imagination," Islas's narrative skill that "meshes autobiography, biography, myth, history, and fiction,…offer[ing] a historicity that places the characters in relation to history and culture [while] it discloses the author's recasting or interpretation of history" (5). This is effective for helping us to think about the Islas/Miguel Chico conflation and how both "recast" history on many levels.

[92] As Guillory affirms, "If works by Afro-American, Latin-American, or postcolonial writers are read now in formal programs of university study, this fact may be the immediate result of a political project of inclusion, or the affirmation of cultural diversity" (*Cultural Capital* 41).

sometimes produce outcomes that do not serve these students and, by extension, faculty and authors of color, as intended. As Guillory writes, "In order to accomplish the cultural task of appropriation, however, the school must traverse the heavily mined terrain of a certain alienation produced by the formal study of cultural works. We should not forget that the effects of this alienation are sometimes permanent" (41). As an author whose novel enjoyed "academic success" (*MS* 210) because of "fashionable" multiculturalism, only to be alienated from his own work, Islas/Miguel Chico levels his strongest critiques at institutionalized multiculturalism and its policies that permit a handful of 'minority' students, academics, and writers the opportunity to succeed in traditionally exclusionary environments.[93] His description of "*Tlaloc's*" success ultimately reflects Miguel Chico's distrust with the institutional co-optation and the publishing mechanisms ("what the world did to his books") that interpellate "minority" writers and texts to serve one project, which is "ethnic" diversity, while silencing or ignoring issues of sexual and gender diversity.

Despite his frustration with the reductive tokenism that characterizes the worst parts of multicultural policies, Miguel Chico nevertheless returns to his work in the classroom and continues his life as a writer and literary critic. For Miguel Chico, educational achievements and his intellectuality have always been the way to transcend his ill body and survive as a gay Chicano. However, in order to see precisely the value of the intellectual life/school for Miguel Chico despite its faults, it is important to consider him alongside his Uncle Felix, his father Miguel Grande's oldest brother and a figure of tragic queerness. For Miguel Chico, higher education and intellectual life are not just a

[93]A sentiment echoed by Richard Rodriguez in his work.

means of compensating for and a way to ignore his ruined body, chronic illness, and less-than-manly physicality: it is also a way to be safely homosexual in ways that his Uncle was never able to be.

Uncle Felix, a known "joto" with a wife and family who nevertheless engages in sexual relations with younger men, dies after he is brutally beaten by an eighteen-year-old soldier from the army base. On the night he is murdered, Felix had attempted to seduce the army private, whom he met at a bar near the base.[94] Felix mistakes the young man's silence for possible romantic "consent" (*RG* 137), prompting Felix to invite him along on a drive into the canyon to admire the moon and desert landscape at dusk. He places his hand on the soldier's knee, sending the army private into a murderous rage (*RG* 137-8). Felix's death and the motives for the soldier's "self-defense" became a local media sensation, and the "sexual implications" of his murder scandalized the family (*RG* 85-6). His prohibited queer desires, and the fact that he must fulfill them furtively (under the guise of giving "physical examinations" to the male workers at his factory) and on the 'downlow' (he is, after all, married with four grown children), eventually kill him.

Felix's story, well-known though never discussed in the Angel family, functions as a sort of cautionary tale about the dangers and tragedy associated with being a joto, particularly in Texas in the 1950s and early 1960s. The risks associated with being out or known as a joto in the repressive desert town that claimed his uncle are too much for Miguel Chico,[95] who reconciles his own tormented queerness by redeeming his uncle's

---

[94] In *Migrant Souls*, we find out that Felix was murdered "in the sixties," though no year is given.

[95] This could be why he is not yet out as a gay man in *The Rain God*; in *The Rain God*, Islas only insinuates Miguel Chico's queerness by associating it with the life he has as a writer and intellectual. Later, in *Migrant Souls*, we are introduced to Miguel Chico as a gay man whose primary romantic relationship had been with Sam Godwin, a Rhodes Scholar from New Mexico. (*MS* 208)

sordid memory in a revision of the dominant narratives of his family's history propagated by his father (Miguel Grande) and grandmother (Mama Chona). Writing is central to how Miguel Chico views himself and makes sense of his identity formation while coming to terms with the hostility and repression of the homophobia that characterizes his life and family's life in the desert. He realizes as much at the point of his near-death after his operation, when he reflects on how he made it through his harrowing medical ordeal alive: "Perhaps he had survived…to tell others about Mama Chona and people like Maria. He could then go on to shape himself, if not completely free of their influence and distortions, at least with some knowledge of them. He believed in the power of knowledge" (*RG* 28).

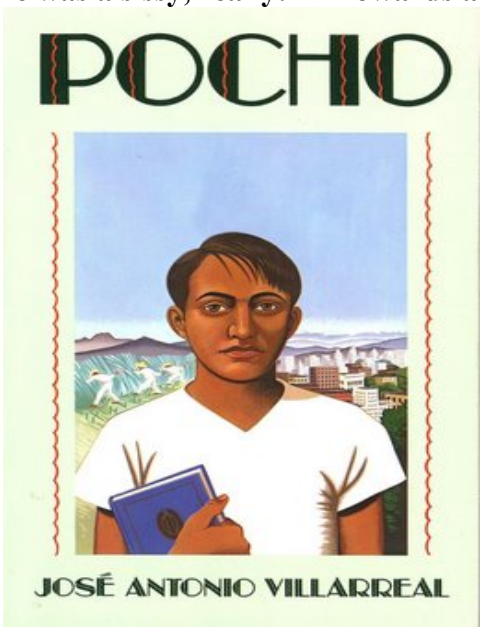
Miguel Chico understands that the story of his family and the memory of his uncle depend on his own survival, albeit in a form that he re-writes by "arranging various facts, adding others, reordering time schemes, putting himself in situations and places he had never been in" (*RG* 28). The key here is in Miguel Chico's desire to "shape himself," to form his own identity and sense of place in his family by "putting himself" where "he had never been," which he does primarily through aligning himself with "people like Maria" (the maligned "illegal" domestic worker who raised Miguel Chico and bought him paper dolls), his mentally-ill cousin, JoEl, and especially his joto Uncle Felix. Writing from the perspective of a marginalized gay member of the family, Miguel Chico privileges these underregarded family members' stories, 'what they knew.' As Miguel Chico sits at his study and imagines his uncle's final moments of life in the desert (*RG* 114), eventually writing about it, he ultimately "restructures the family and life around the homosexual uncle" (Bruce-Novoa, "Homosexuality," 103), thus centering the life of

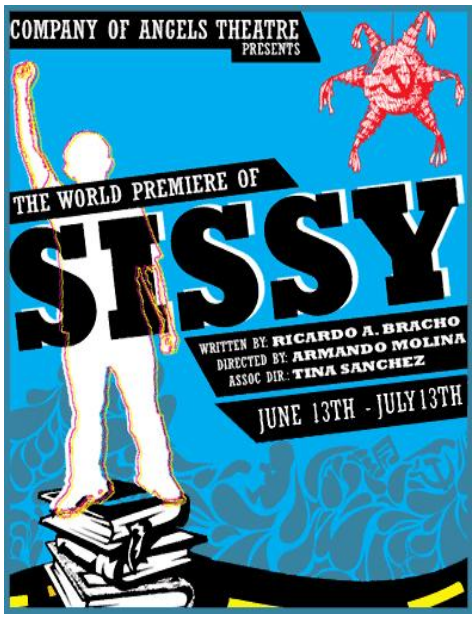
the Angels on the story of Uncle Felix, the "Rain God," the novel's namesake and the titular head of the Angel family.

In resurrecting and restoring Felix's truth in this way, Miguel Chico/Islas writes what could be called a "ghost story." As Avery Gordon explains, "to write stories concerning exclusions and invisibilities is to write ghost stories. To write ghost stories implies that ghosts are real, that is to say, that they produce material effects" (Gordon 17) It is important to emphasize that the novel ends with the arrival of Felix's ghost and the sensory "material effects" that become the guiding inspiration for Miguel Chico's queer-centric family history. Miguel Chico conjures the ghost in the final scene, in which Mama Chona, on her deathbed, sees her dead oldest son: "Even Felix had finally come to visit her. He was standing between Miguel Chico and JoEl….Miguel Chico felt the Rain God come into a room….He smelled like the desert after a rainstorm" (*RG* 179-80). Uncle Felix is restored as an innocent, child-like son of the dying matriarch rather than left as a memory of a violently murdered joto. His ghost stands between Miguel Chico and his troubled, sexually-ambiguous son, JoEl, a symbolic triangle or lineage of the queer Angel men with whom Miguel Chico peacefully aligns himself. For Miguel, writing the "ghost story" means more than just making visible and known his Uncle Felix's and, by extension, his own homosexuality.[96] In re-writing dominant narratives, Miguel Chico engages in an effort to uncover the otherwise "subjugated knowledges" that have been buried or invalidated by the traditional, nationalistic, Mexican-Catholic mythology that dominates the official story of the Angel family.

[96] For Islas, we might also understand the "material effects" resulting from the contributions made by his novel, *The Rain God*, which is now generally considered required reading in many "multicultural" or Chicano/a literature course, a canonical Chicano text that nevertheless 're-arranges' Mexican American/Chicano histories on the border in important non-normative ways.

"He was a sissy, really:"[97] Towards a Conclusion.





(Figure 2: From *Pocho* to *Sissy*.)

This here book is Paul Robeson's autobiography Here I Stand. He was the smartest man in the world. Could sing, act, write, march and move the masses as my parents and their friends like to say. But what I like best is how beautiful he is….I know I'm not supposed to think men are beautiful but that's alright. –Ricardo A. Bracho, *Sissy* (2008)[98]

These opening lines, spoken by the eponymous protagonist of Ricardo Bracho's 2008 play, *Sissy*, place Sissy firmly within a lineage of queer Chicano cultural production that can be traced nearly fifty years back to *Pocho*. More specifically, the play is part of a long line of queer Chicano representations of identity formation and the fundamental role education or "books" play in the young Chicanos' ability to recognize and articulation their queerness. *Sissy* premiered in Los Angeles at the Company of Angels Theatre in July of 2008. It is set in Culver City, California, in 1979, on the day of Sissy's twelfth birthday, during which he escapes from his family unnoticed to wander the streets of Hollywood by himself. When placed alongside the character of Richard Rubio, a twelve-

[97] Villarreal, *Pocho* , p.95, in reference to Richard Rubio.

[98] Page citations and quotes are from an unpublished script of *Sissy* provided to me by Ricardo A. Bracho.

year old Mexican American growing up in rural Santa Clara, California in the 1930s and early 1940s, Sissy draws attention to key historical shifts and continuities in the articulation of queer/non-normative masculine self-formation that are reconfigured through several generations of queer Chicano writing and cultural work about 'coming of age' in the US.

There is an uncanny match between Sissy's lines and the cover of *Pocho,* for we could quite possibly hear Richard Rubio speak these lines about "this here book" that he holds. However, while Sissy is a queer character descended from Richard Rubio and Miguel Chico, he also represents the emergence of a new generation of queer and educated or well-read Chicano youth. Bracho presents us with a more triumphant and confident model of an educated, queer/non-normative masculine subject in Sissy, and his theatrical work highlights a 'lineage' of the educated queer Chicano/Latino figure over the past fifty years. For in Sissy, unlike his literary predecessors, we witness a fearless and self-identifying queer Chicano youth, buoyed by his books and uplifted by his recognition that being a queer Latino does not have to mean being a tragic figure.[99]

According to Ricardo Bracho,[100] the historical setting of late 1970's Los Angeles, and 1979 Culver City in particular, provides important cultural contexts for understanding the dramatic action in the play. In Sissy's world, among the more prominent historical events of 1979 include the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua—for his

[99] This is reflected most vividly in the last scene of the play, which ends with Sissy getting his unique brand of revenge on "The Cabrones Brothers," the neighborhood bullies and his nemeses who tease him about being a joto. While the Cabrones Bros. are passed out from drinking too much pilfered beer, Sissy and Mana, his sister, tie them up. Mana hands Sissy her lipstick, who proceeds to write "Sissy was here" on each of their foreheads before kissing each boy on the cheek, raising his fist in triumph/victory, and dancing off stage to X's punk classic, "Los Angeles."

[100] The following comments are based on information culled from an interview with Bracho and Xavi Moreno (actor who portrayed "Sissy") conducted on October 29, 2009, at the Company of Angels Theatre in the Alexandria Hotel, Downtown Los Angeles.

birthday, Sissy would rather have a burro or Somoza piñata rather than the "Uncle Sam" piñata his father offers (5). The revolutions in Latin America preoccupy Sissy's father, referred to as "Daddy," who neglects to wish his son a happy birthday because there are more pressing events that preclude any parties or celebrations. He tells his father, "But Daddy? Just no revolution today. Only birthday" (5). Sissy challenges his father, unabashedly stating his preference for "Chinese jacks" and dancing to Diana Ross over playing sports, even when Daddy presents Sissy with a baseball glove for a birthday present under the delusion that his son would play little league (8). His father insists that Sissy undertake 'normal' boy activities and questions him for not wanting to go camping, join a little league baseball team, or "like the things" that other boys like (8). Rather, in a critique of his father's heteronormative gender expectations, Sissy asserts that yes, he is a boy, "but not like other boys" (9). Sissy maintains his self-confidence in the knowledge that he is different from other boys because he thinks men like Paul Robeson[101] are attractive and is not afraid to say so. He does not let his father intimidate him into betraying his own sense of being another kind of boy, and he succeeds in navigating his own identity formation on his own terms primarily because he is armed with the same political knowledge and sense of (social) justice that influences Daddy's activism.

In a notable departure from its literary predecessors *Pocho*, *The Rain God*, and *Migrant Souls*, in which the Mexican fathers were working men who distrusted education

[101] Bracho distributed a "Sissy Glossary," included as part of the printed program, which served as a lexicon of radical history, providing a clear context for Sissy's historical references. The entry for Paul Robeson reads: "Paul Robeson (1898-1976): African American Shakespearean actor, singer of Negro spirituals, civil rights activist, lawyer, fighter against Spanish fascism in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, named All-American in football for Rutgers University. Played professional football, scholar, staunch supporter of The Soviet Union. Son of a runaway slave, picketed the White House, refused to sing in front of segregated audiences, learned 20 languages, started a crusade against lynching, wrote autobiography called **Here I Stand**. Law career ended when a stenographer said, 'I never take dictation from a nigger.'" (Definition provided by Natalie Smith Parra.)

and deemed intellectual pursuits a waste of time, *Sissy* features an educated father, a doctor who is also an activist influenced by leftist philosophy, people's revolutionary movements, and African-American history.[102] Sissy's educational formation is articulated primarily through his relationship with his largely absent father, the only "Mexican father on this street or neighborhood [who] got a M.D. and a Ph.D." (9). Daddy prioritizes his political agenda over his son, even to the point of forgetting to wish him a happy birthday. Interestingly, no actors play the roles of Sissy's father and mother.[103] Instead, "Mami's" and "Daddy's" onstage presence is indicated only through musical cues, lighting changes, and Sissy's dialogue with each of them. Thus, they are looming figures in Sissy's imagination, a mother and father whose revolutionary politics and radical activism profoundly influence their relationship with their son in ways that prompt Sissy to both resist their teachings and embrace those he finds valuable and useful for expressing his queerness.

In the opening monologue, Sissy recites a list of radical thinkers and political theorists who have undoubtedly impacted his father's philosophies and thus, his own epistemological mechanisms for understanding and expressing his queerness. For Sissy, the books he reads endow him with a sharply critical view of schooling and his teacher, who only "wants us to sing that bullshit song getting to know you from that imperialist piece of crap the King and I" (1). From Malcom X and W.E.B. DuBois, to Fanon's *The*

[102] Bracho adds that the culture of the black/African American population in late 1970s Los Angeles and Culver City are also important influences on Sissy's formation and understanding himself as a person of color in the U.S. A young Mexican-born Chicano who listens to Stevie Wonder, Marvin Gaye, the Jackson 5, and Diana Ross, Sissy's 'black influences' extend beyond the intellectual to the musical and pop-cultural. As Bracho explains, "L.A. was not a brown town," in the late 1970s, but there were "pockets" of majority-black communities in which a few Mexicans and other South American immigrants resided. These influences shine in *Sissy* through Bracho's choice of soundtrack and the disco-inspired dance sequences that punctuate the play's dramatic action.

[103] Sissy's "Mami" only makes one appearance in the play.

Wretched of the Earth to "that movie The Salt of the Earth" (1), his informally-acquired knowledge reflects a veritable pantheon of black history, socialist philosophy, and anti-imperialist theory, familiar to him because he was raised by a father who "likes communists" (1) and a mother who thinks "*People* Magazine" is "The People" and contains socialist articles (7). Importantly, Sissy's intellectual role-models are largely African American radicals and groups such as the Black Panthers, signaling a shift from his predecessors' influences—rather than read Shakespeare, Dickens, Collette, or James, Sissy reads *Here I Stand*, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, *The Communist Manifesto*, and "this book on 50 exceptional Negro women" (1).

Despite the most heteronormative intentions of his father, Sissy approaches his 'studies' in a way that enables him to admire Paul Robeson as a desirable male beauty who "wear all gold" in *Emperor Jones* "and is more beautiful than the dad on Good Times and even Malcolm" (1). However, Sissy can also separate the aesthetics of what makes Paul Robeson a beautiful man from the politics of racist representations of black men on film. In other words, he can express his admiration for Robeson despite the fact that this particular representation of Robeson in *Emperor Jones* stems from what Sissy recognizes as "some awful racist jungle king shit" (1). His critical knowledge of the racist, sexist, homophobic, and nationalist legacies that shape the lives of people like him draws him to certain people he meets while wandering alone in Hollywood, such as Herself, "a black drag queen hooker" (28), and Doña Centroamericana, an immigrant who was a teacher in her country until she came to the US where she now works as a "janitor, jardinera, cocinera y maestro para casi no money" (35). Sissy's open admiration for Paul Robeson's masculine beauty, as well as his willingness to engage the sort of

streetfolks we might find in Rechy's *City of Night*, are character traits that reflect Sissy's self-recognition of his own matter-of-fact queerness that emerges in the interconnectedness of his intellectual interests and homoerotic desires. Significantly, his observations about imperialism and racism are not a result of official school learning, but of a critical 'self-schooling' that Sissy negotiates both at home with his parents, as well as in the counterspaces of his neighborhood and those created through his interactions with the other social outcasts on the streets of Hollywood.

***

In his recent study of gender and the family in Chicana/o cultural politics, *Next of Kin*, Richard T. Rodríguez states, "One needs to recognize that the cultural production of Chicano gay men is both in the emergent stage as well as contingent upon 'recovery work'" (139). *Sissy* is a welcome contribution to an archive of queer Chicano/Latino cultural and literary production that is said "not to exist" (R.T. Rodríguez 135), though only when we limit our understanding of what 'counts' as cultural work to the literary. In Rodríguez's formulation, an archive of cultural production by queer/gay Chicanos includes not just "books and articles" (Rodríguez 137), but also performances, art, oral histories, recent writing, and other modes of (self-) representation and production (Rodríguez 139-40) that reveal the multidimensional experiences and expressions of gay Chicano men.[104] With this chapter, I join a collective endeavor to document, recover, and unmask the "subjugated knowledges" of queer/gay Chicano men. This process of selecting a new set of relevant texts that comprise a living archive of queer Chicano

[104] These include Sissy and Bracho's other productions, as well as work by emerging queer Chicano/Latino "joto" artists, like the Los Angeles/San Jose/Las Vegas-based Xicano performance group, La MariColectiva," and other recent and forthcoming work by more established queer Chicano cultural workers, such as acclaimed artist Hector Silva and celebrated playwright Luis Alfaro.

production represents a transformative effort to reconsider what a larger canon of Chicano/a cultural and literary production looks like. In doing so, we can recognize the continuities explored by Villarreal, Islas, and now Bracho, who collectively present critical narratives of queer Chicano self-formation that teach us about how racialized, gendered, and sexual identities are mediated and formed by the educational experience.

CHAPTER 3

Profesora Power: Chicana Feminist Pedagogy in Terri de la Peña's *Margins* (1992) and Adelina Anthony's *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* (2002)

I want to believe that our pedagogical and artists' acts of resistance can do some damage to the cultural hegemony of Euro-America and, in the process, do some good for the growing consciousness of our nation. So I teach Chicano/a Nation in my own language. –Cherríe Moraga, *Loving in the War Years*

Introduction: Teaching in the Patrón's House.

In her essay, "Out of Our Revolutionary Minds: Towards a Pedagogy of Revolt," Cherríe Moraga insists on practicing "the art of teaching people how to teach themselves through their own cultural symbols, languages, [and] values" (*Loving* 190) as a critical tool of resisting or "do[ing] some damage" to the neoliberal trappings of institutionalized higher education in the United States. She aims her most incisive critique at the impact of the culture and practices of the US American corporate "patrón-university"—what Audre Lorde referred to a few years before as "the master's house"—on education and the (neo)liberal ideologies that underpin its function.[105] Though Lorde invokes the intellectual world of Western academia when she refers to "the master's house," she levels her critique specifically at the discursive hegemony of "white American feminist theory" in the academy. She exposes the irony of being asked to speak at an academic conference on feminism at an elite university[106] as a black lesbian feminist poet, while

[105]Cary Nelson and Steve Watt provide at least twelve characteristics of the many "overlapping meanings of the corporate university" in their book, *Academic Keywords*. For example, they point to the increasing over-reliance on and exploitation of part-time or adjunct faculty in higher education, the "winnowing away of tenured faculty lines," threats to academic freedom for those with tenure, an increased climate of competition, and the construction of students as consumers as among the signs of the corporate university's "management"-style administration and operation of higher education. See especially their entries on "Academic Freedom," "Accountability," "The Corporate University," and "Part-Time Faculty." I will also say more about neoliberal educational practices and ideologies in Chapter 4.

[106] New York University in 1979. See Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," in *This Bridge Called My Back*.

the conference itself embarrassingly lacked/excluded the presence and contributions of other black, third world, lesbian, and other women of color voices, perspectives, experiences, bodies. This example of a hegemonic intellectual practice is one of several ways in which academic knowledge and its production—even in the fields that purport to engage in critical studies of social, cultural, political, and economic injustice—reflect and reinforce hierarchical divisions and categorizations of knowledge, of what is worth teaching and learning in the university, and furthermore, of who is allowed to teach there.

As lesbian women of color feminists in theory and practice, one of Lorde's and Moraga's primary concerns about formal higher education is the separation of ourselves *from* ourselves and our alienation from our communities in the pursuit of it.[107] They remind us that for subordinated and marginalized groups, in particular for queer women and lesbians of color, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house…they will never enable us to bring about genuine change" (Lorde 99). Therefore, as long as we occupy space there, it is necessary to develop our own tools of resistance to bring about *some* change, beginning with what we know based on our lived experiences. I begin this chapter with Lorde and Moraga because they provide critical insights into the many contradictions and conflicts of what it means for subordinated subjects to teach and learn in the academy. They help us to begin to imagine what "the art of revolutionary teaching" could look like in artistic cultural production, which then helps us to imagine the promises of a critical pedagogical praxis in action in actual university settings and

[107] Alienation from one's family and community is a common theme in many education and schooling stories by members of working-class, immigrant, and other marginalized groups. One example that resonates here is Alice Walker's short story, "Everyday Use," which narrates the story of the oldest daughter in a black family who leaves home for college. She returns a changed woman to a family who no longer recognizes her nor cares for the 'education' she received at the university.

beyond. In the context of Chicana, queer, and women of color higher-educational experiences, what does it look like to "teach people to teach themselves through their own cultural symbols, languages, and values"? In what ways can we identify those "cultural symbols, languages, and values" among our students? And how would they serve pedagogically productive engagements that occur between, say, a Chicana professor and her queer students at a university? To what extent are feminist acts of pedagogical resistance possible in today's "patrón-corporate university"? These questions take on further significance when applied to a specifically Chicana and queer context, one in which both the professor and her students are Chicana and/or queer, and where their shared symbols, languages, and values are critical sources of knowledge.

This chapter examines the Chicana professor characters in Terri de la Peña's novel *Margins* (1992) and Adelina Anthony's solo performance *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* (2002) in an effort to begin addressing these questions. An analysis of the novel and performance from the perspective of the Chicana professor opens up multiple levels of understanding how power and pedagogical relations operate in the contemporary neoliberal US university, as well as what it means for a feminist woman of color to negotiate power in and out of the classroom in ways that are counterhegemonic and productive for her and her students. I turn to de la Peña's novel and Anthony's solo performance in part because they make important contributions to the range of Chicana/US Latina cultural production that critically explores, reflects, shapes, and articulates the lived experiences of Chicana/Latina lesbians and queer women. More specifically, however, *Margins* and *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* are, to my knowledge, two of the very few, if not only, fictional representations currently in circulation that

specifically address the experiences of Chicana professors in the academy.[108]

As queer Chicana artists working in different genres, Anthony and de la Peña present us with two different models of Chicana feminist professors and their critical pedagogy-in-practice that together demonstrate what it looks like to transform dominant models and methods of what we learn, how we learn it, and who we learn it from. As such, I argue that Professor Camille Zamora in *Margins* and La Profesora Mama Chocha in *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!*[109] offer a way to theorize and envision pedagogical acts of resistance, acts grounded in a specifically Chicana feminist and queer politics of consciousness. Together, these works reveal the Chicana feminist profesora as a dynamic and shifting figure of gendered and sexualized power whose sustainability, and that of her students, depends on her constant re-creation and participation in the co-creation (with her students) of institutionalized spaces and discourses. In doing so, they make room for traditionally undervalued, omitted, or otherwise silenced queer and Chicana histories, experiences, and epistemologies in the classroom and academe.

This chapter is divided into three parts. Part 1 provides an introduction to Terri de la Peña and Adelina Anthony, including a brief overview of the two works I discuss here and the respective specific historical-cultural-political moments that situate and contextualize each work. I include in Part 1 a discussion of the primary theoretical framework of feminist pedagogy that guides this chapter and my analysis of *Margins*, *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!,* and the Chicana professor characters featured in each work. I then turn to a closer examination and more detailed discussion of each work in Parts 2

---

[108] It is worth noting that Adelina Anthony is also featured in an upcoming film, *Almost There,* written and directed by UCLA MFA film student Masami Kawai. Kawai wrote the part of a femme Chicana lesbian art professor expressly for Anthony (Interview, May 2010).

[109] Occasionally, I will refer to it hereafter as *MST!*.

and 3. Part 2 focuses on a closer examination of the educational aspects and implications of de la Peña's novel as the first Chicana/ Latina lesbian novel, with particular attention paid to Professor Camille Zamora, her interactions with her students, and how she negotiates resistance as a newly tenured faculty member in the English department. Part 3 focuses on Anthony's solo performance work and the role of La Profesora Mama Chocha. Anthony's embodiment of a "fierce femme" professor opens up critical space for the consideration of the queer facets of feminist pedagogy. In particular, Anthony's work leads to a fruitful discussion about Chicana and women of color feminist theories of the body and the place of the erotic in a critical feminist pedagogy. I conclude the chapter by revisiting the novel and performance together, including what such a juxtaposition of texts, contexts, and genres productively generates for our own thinking about how women professors operate in our official and unofficial capacities.

Part 1. Artists' Acts of Pedagogical Resistance on the Page and Stage: Professor Camille Zamora and La Profesora Mama Chocha as Models of Chicana Feminist Pedagogy

Terri de la Peña was working as an administrative assistant at UCLA when she published her first novel, *Margins*, in 1992 (S. Fernández 71; Brady 95). A Chicana lesbian writer whose oeuvre includes two other novels (*Faults*, 1993 and *Latin Saints*, 1994), poetry, and children's books, de la Peña arrives in the latter part of what could be called the first-generation of Chicana lesbian voices to emerge on the literary, cultural, and academic scenes in the 1980s and early 1990s. With *Margins*, de la Peña makes a notable contribution to this larger body of cultural production with her coming-out novel,

identified by one critic as "the first Latina lesbian coming-out novel" (L. Torres 8),[110] one that also offers a rare portrait of academic life for a Chicana professor and her student. *Margins* narrates the story of Veronica Melendez, a twenty-two year old graduate student in UCLA's English department and aspiring writer who "dabbles in fiction" (de la Peña 11). The novel follows Veronica in the wake of the tragic death of her best friend and long-time lover, Joanna, as she struggles to regain purpose and focus in her life. A major figure in Veronica's healing process and development as a writer is her mentor, Professor Camille Zamora, a Chicana professor of English on the verge of receiving tenure in her department.

On many levels, de la Peña's novel resonates in general with national discussions about multicultural education[111] during a time when the US witnessed a shift in national leadership from the conservative Republican Reagan-Bush I era to the neoliberal Democratic presidency of Bill Clinton. During this time, debates about "culture wars," multiculturalism, and affirmative action practices in university admissions and hiring circulated widely in various discursive circles, most prominently in mainstream news media and academic scholarship. Until it was banned by California voters in 1998, affirmative action was practiced as a policy primarily aimed at diversifying the student

---

[110] See also the Online Archive of California, which notes *Margins* as "the first Chicano [sic] lesbian novel." http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt3199p5rj/. I will say more about the critical reception of *Margins* in the Professor Zamora section.

[111] US liberal multiculturalism, as a project that began with the civil rights movements in the US of the 1960s and 1970s, has taken many shapes and forms in the service of many projects. In education, particularly higher education, we see such 'multicultural' policies aimed at increasing racial, cultural, or gender diversity in the forms of affirmative action admissions and hiring practices. In future versions of this chapter, I will say more about the contradictory conditions of 'benefiting' from such policies. For a range of critiques of US liberal multiculturalism and the move to radicalize multiculturalist practices, see the Chicago Cultural Studies Gorup, "Critical Multiculturalism;" Gordon and Newfield's edited volume, *Mapping Multiculturalism*; Buras and Motter, "Towards a Subaltern Cosmopolitan Multiculturalism," and Spivak's comments about US liberal multiculturalism in "Interview with Gayatri Spivak."

body and faculty ranks throughout the University of California system, even though the novel attests to still small numbers of Chicanas at UCLA during this moment of ostensible diversification. Liberal multicultural educational policy is one key context for understanding Professor Zamora's position as a 'token' but tenured Chicana professor in the English department who takes personal and professional risks in the name of transforming academic space.

Additionally, in the year after *Margin*'s publication, heated and contentious debates arose in public and private about power, sex, and what constitutes sexual harassment, ushered into the national consciousness by Anita Hill during the Clarence Thomas Supreme Court confirmation hearings in late 1993. In the same year, feminist professor Jane Gallop was accused of sexual harassment by two of her graduate students, prompting a proliferation of essays that revisited and reconsidered the practice of feminist pedagogy and its material consequences for both the professor and the student(s). The 1990s also saw a surge of academic engagement with critical and feminist pedagogy as a practice, including work by such theorists as bell hooks, Henry Giroux, and Peter McLaren. As we will see, these few historical flashpoints and national discussions serve as brief touchstones, ways to identify the some of the larger discourses and public discussions that reverberate throughout *Margins*. The novel's broad interplay with issues of separate, though sometimes related, discourses of US liberal multiculturalism and sexual harassment allow us to identify the more specific ways in which Professor Camille Zamora negotiates the gendered and racialized power dynamics and relations—between herself and her students, between herself and her department—that shape her existence as a Chicana feminist professor and mentor at UCLA.

Like *Margins*, Adelina Anthony's critically acclaimed[112] comedic performance piece, *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!,* features a Chicana university professor in the character of La Profesora Mama Chocha. Anthony, a performance artist, poet, actor, and community arts teacher, modeled her La Profesora Mama Chocha character after many of the "fierce femme Chicana/Latina academics" she knew and encountered while a graduate student at UCLA and Stanford in the late 1990s.[113] A self-identified Xicana-Indígena lesbian multi-disciplinary artist, Anthony's extensive performance repertoire includes original stand-up comedy (*La Angry Xicana?!*), dramatic solo performances (*Bruising for Besos*), and exploratory performance poetry as part of the queer Chicana/o artist collective, Tragic Bitches. In 2010, Anthony co-founded with mentor Cherríe Moraga See-what Productions, a production company that primarily aims to support and provide opportunities to create political and artistic work by queer Xicanas and Xicanos. Anthony is a rising figure in the world of Chicana/Latina and queer performance art and cultural production, and her show *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* is her most popular comedy, one which she continues to perform.[114]

Anthony debuted *MST!* in its current form in 2002. In it, she explores the social, political, and personal dynamics of queer Xicana sexuality through the 'teachings' of her two femme and butch characters, La Profesora Mama Chocha and "FBI" Agent Papi

---

[112] *MST!* was nominated and then selected as Best Solo Performance by Premios Sin Limite 2008 (NY). In 2007, the show was nominated for Best Solo Performance by *L.A. Weekly*. See www.adelinaanthony.com.

[113] I have seen at least five performances of *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* between December of 2007 and March of 2009. I have had many conversations with Anthony about this work, La Profesora Mama Chocha in particular, and much of my information about her choices and inspiration for the character is culled from these conversations and other post-show Q&A sessions.

[114] Anthony most recently performed the "Mama Chocha" excerpt at the University of Vermont on March 18, 2011.

Duro.[115] The first half of *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* pivots around La Profesora Mama Chocha, a self-identified Xicana femme lesbiana. La Profesora Mama Chocha is Anthony's comedic rendering of a part-time college professor and fledgling scholar of "tortillerismo," or the cultural origins of Chicana lesbian sex. In *MST!* in general, and in particular through La Profesora Mama Chocha, Anthony provides a cutting though comedic commentary about the economic, gendered, sexualized, and racialized realities of working and attempting to participate in the production of 'academic' knowledge.

Consideration of such artistic "acts of resistance" as *Margins* and *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* is meant to inform our understanding of the 'real-life' implications of what it means to engage in meaningful feminist pedagogy in academic spaces. In this chapter, I argue that when taken together, the fictional pedagogical figures of Professor Camille Zamora and La Profesora Mama Chocha amplify how feminist and queer pedagogy as multidimensional praxis functions to productively transform the actual normative and hegemonic spaces of the academy—"the master's house/patrón university"—for both the Chicana professor and her (queer) students.

My reading of Anthony's and de la Peña's works is informed primarily by the critical lenses of feminist pedagogy in general and Chicana/Third World/Women of Color feminism in particular. Feminist and queer critical pedagogical frameworks are themselves animated by the foundational critical and liberatory pedagogical theories

[115] In Chapter 1, I briefly discussed Papi Duro, an "old-school dyke" and product of the Chicano Movimiento. Although it is beyond the scope of this section to discuss Papi Duro as a butch pedagogical figure who operates quite differently than her femme counterpart, La Profesora Mama Chocha, it is something worth exploring in the future.

espoused by Paolo Freire and others in the 1980s.[116] According to feminist pedagogy theorist Carmen Luke, critical pedagogy's project of emancipatory education "centered on hope, liberation, and equality," was part of a "third wave" of new educational sociology that countered previous work which emphasized structural determinism in reproducing class and social inequalities while "mov[ing] towards the removal of agency from history" (26). She continues:

> Critical pedagogy theoretically is founded on first generation Frankfurt School critical theory, on Gramsci's concept of hegemony and associated concepts of the (organic intellectual) subject and (counter-hegemonic) practice, and on Freire's educational theory and practice of "conscientization"….Taken together, Frankfurt School negative critique, Gramscian counter-hegemonic practice, and Freireian conscientization thus provide a powerful agenda for emancipatory education. (27-8)

For all its worth as a productive and promising educational project, critical pedagogy as defined by its primary (progressive white male) theorists nevertheless has its limitations regarding gender, sexuality, and race or ethnicity. Feminist pedagogy theorists invested in critical pedagogy criticize its gender-neutral construction of the critical individual subject. As Luke suggests, "By its failure to address female teachers and female students in terms other than the insistent reference to 'gender,' which skirts altogether the politics of gender that structure the possibilities (of critique) for women teachers and female students, the (textual) discourse of critical pedagogy constructs and addresses an androgynous and colorless subject" (39). Such a humanist construction of "androgynous and colorless" teachers and students elides the material realities of race, gender,

[116] See *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Prominent scholars included Peter McLaren, Stanley Aronowitz, Michel Apple, and Henry Giroux.

sexuality, class, and immigration status, for example, that follow students' and teachers' experiences into the classroom. Furthermore, "skirting the politics of gender," race, and class in considering how power dynamics operate in formal classroom settings drains teaching of its radical, transgressive potential.

Feminist, women of color, and queer pedagogical theories extend the liberatory intentions of critical pedagogy by providing more nuanced understandings of the particular ways in which women and queer people experience the oppressive workings of the dominant educational and university power structures. They also help us to identify the practices they (we) engage to productively operate within these structures and transform them. Carolyn Shrewsbury writes, "Feminist pedagogy is concerned with gender justice and overcoming oppressions…[It] includes a recognition of the power implications of traditional schooling and of the limitations of traditional meanings of the concept of power that embody relations of domination…. Feminist pedagogy ultimately seeks a transformation of the academy" (Shrewsbury 8-10). Canadian lesbian educators Mary Bryson and Suzette de Castell define queer pedagogy as "a radical form of educative praxis implemented deliberately to interfere with, to intervene in, the production of 'normalcy' in schooled subjects" (285). "Normalcy" refers not solely to sexuality or gender, but can also mean the 'norming' of linguistic practices in school (i.e., English-only policies) or any other means by which dominant ideologies otherwise restrict what we learn, how we learn, and who we are supposed to be in the classroom.

The "transformation of the academy" is one message that is prevalent in both *Margins* and *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!.* Yet, any consideration of feminist and therefore queer pedagogy must begin by acknowledging the influence of one's lived

experiences in how s/he learns or otherwise engages in official manners of teaching and learning. There are several ways many feminist pedagogues acknowledge what could be called "the personal" in formal educational settings. For example, a professor might ask her students to write on a given topic based on a particular personal experience or memory. In this case, following a main tenet of critical feminist pedagogy, "the personal" is mobilized by students and teachers as a way to access the conventions of 'legitimate' academic writing. In their own ways, *Margins* and *MST!* demonstrate that acknowledging students' lived experiences also means understanding the corporeal and the erotic in the joint project of shared knowledge production and dissemination both in and out of the classroom. That is, the works by de la Peña and Anthony demonstrate that feminist pedagogy as praxis is necessarily a project that requires personal involvement in its implications and actualities with particular meanings and implications for the (woman of color) professor or teacher, who may not be taken as seriously by students as male professors, and who may be subject to gendered and sexualized forms of oppression by both students and colleagues.

As we turn to looking more closely at the individual works by de la Peña and Anthony, and in thinking of their representations of the teaching Chicana body, it will help to engage the work of feminists of color such as bell hooks, Gayatri Spivak, Cherríe Moraga, and Audre Lorde.[117] Moraga's "Theory in the Flesh" and Lorde's "The Erotic as Power" are particularly useful for drawing attention to and articulating a pedagogy of

[117] Other important work by women of color scholar-artists-teachers such as Gloria Anzaldúa, Barbara Christian, Barbara Smith, and Laura A. Harris help us to understand both the commonalities shared by queer and women of color in the academy, as well as the nuances of their individualized experiences. See especially the two collections edited by Anzaldúa, *Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras* (1995) and *This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation* (2002, co-edited with AnaLouise Keating).

resistance that refuses the disembodiment that characterizes much of Western ways of knowing. Moraga, Lorde, and others insist on centering the body, particularly the "othered" non-white, non-Western female bodies, as our primary source of knowledge. These critical approaches provide us with the vocabularies with which to understand and articulate the multidimensional, often contradictory, and potentially liberating experiences of Chicana feminist educators and their students. As frameworks for analyzing the Chicana professors in the novel and performance, Chicana feminist pedagogy as theory and praxis creates an aperture for the interrogation of the economic, political, and social structures that shape and often determine (but not pre-determine) the conditions of teaching and learning for 'minorities' in the university. De la Peña's and Anthony's work suggests that for alternative, non-hegemonic efforts at teaching (and learning) to be effective educational tools of resistance, particularly for subordinated groups, requires a constant negotiation of power and difference on the part of both the professor/"authority" figure and the student. Together, they help forge a definition of a queer Chicana feminist pedagogy that is necessarily defined by meaningful acts of resistance against the homogenizing and potentially dehumanizing impact of neoliberal education in the US.

Part 2. Professor Camille Zamora: Mentoring in the Margins

De la Peña's first novel, *Margins*, is considered to be the first Chicana/Latina lesbian coming-out novel (S. Fernández 72). As such, it has warranted considerable scholarly attention from Chicana/o and Latina/o critics of Chicana lesbian literature. Most academic discussions of *Margins* engage themes such as Chicana identity, lesbian desire,

queer girlhood, family, and coming out,[118] and tend to focus only on the primary characters of Veronica Melendez, her recently deceased lover, Joanna, and her new romantic interest, Tejana lesbian film student René Talamantes. The relative lack of critical attention paid to the Professor Zamora character reaffirms her marginalized status in the novel. It is true that Professor Zamora actually appears quite sparingly in *Margin*'s pages, and at best, she is a secondary or tertiary character after Veronica, René, and others. Nevertheless, I would contend that a significantly large part of Veronica's personal healing process, professional success as a graduate student, and emerging identity as a Chicana lesbian fiction writer is due to the persistent support of her mentor and professor at UCLA, Camille Zamora. Despite her infrequent appearance in the novel, Professor Zamora warrants our attention as a dynamic pedagogical figure who is pivotal in creating alternative and resistant spaces of belonging for her herself and her students.

The analyses of *Margins* by Salvador Fernández and Mary Pat Brady are particularly useful in my attempt to mobilize Professor Zamora as a productive way of exploring the novel's consideration of the educational discourses that shape the pedagogical relationship between Camille Zamora, her primary student Veronica, and the other students across the campus, including René Talamantes. First, in his essay "Coming-Out and the Politics of Identity in the Narrative of Terri de la Peña," Fernández describes *Margins* as a coming-out narrative that features a young Chicana lesbian

---

[118] See Catrióna Rueda Esquibel, *With Her Machete in Her Hand* and Marivel T. Danielson, *Homecoming Queers: Desire and Difference in Chicana Latina Cultural Production.* Esquibel explores coming out themes and lesbian girlhood in *Margins* through the relationship between Veronica and her first lesbian love relationship with the recently deceased Joanna. Esquibel situates her analysis of *Margin*'s portrayal of an intense relationship between two young Chicanas alongside other Chicana novels that explore the intimate and sometimes erotic relationships between girls and young Chicana women. Danielson's work looks at articulations of home, homecoming, and queer desire in other work by de la Peña, including her poetry.

coming to terms with her identity as a lesbian after the tragic death of her long time friend and lover, Joanna. Fernández's analysis of de la Peña's early work, including *Margins*, highlights her "representation of lesbian eroticism [as] both a literary and sociocultural act of transgression" (73)—literary in its narrative shift "from a male-dominated to a female-centered erotic discourse," and sociocultural in its "deconstruct[ion] of hermetic space that characterizes Mexican/Chicano society" (S. Fernández 73). Fernández identifies these spaces of transgression, created by the novel itself and within the novel by Veronica's stories about her lesbian relationships, as what Emma Pérez terms "un sitio y una lengua." In Fernández's formulation, "Pérez establishes that Chicana lesbian works emerge from *un sitio y una lengua* (a space and a language) that rejects the colonial ideology, the byproducts of colonialism, capitalist patriarchy, sexism, racism, and homophobia" (S. Fernández 69).

For Pérez, the creation of Chicana lesbian "spaces and languages, sites and discourses, apart from male-defined and/or Eurocentric arenas" (92) is a Spivakian project of "strategic essentialism," which Pérez describes as a dynamic and dialectical process of exercising an empowering identity politics of resistance within hegemonic structures and the accompanying discursive projects and ideologies "that serve only to disempower and depoliticize marginalized groups" (E. Pérez 87-8). The inherently political action of creating decolonized spaces, both apart from and within structures of domination and regulation, is always an ongoing dialectical process.[119] Fernandez's articulation of *Margins* in Pérez's terms, "sitio y lengua," helps us to identify and

[119]Denise Taliaferro Baszile describes the "liberal paradox of diversity" on college campuses, which is "always in dialectical tension with the hidden transcripts of both the subordinate and dominant groups" (131). In the educational endeavor, the "tensions, dilemmas, [and] conflicts" over difference "are complicated by and mediated through performances of power, pedagogy, and protest" (131).

describe the counterspaces that emerge at UCLA which are largely predicated on Zamora's interactions with Veronica, René, and other students. In *Margins*, I suggest that these alternative spaces of empowerment, knowledge formation, and dissemination emerge wherever and whenever Professor Zamora engages her students on and off campus.

In order to understand the "sitios"/spaces of resistance created through Zamora's pedagogical exchanges, I turn to Mary Pat Brady's deft analysis of spatiality and the university as a "regulatory arena" in *Margins*, or a space that regulates citizenship by reinforcing power relations through dominant categories of race, gender, and sexuality. That is, while the university "provide[s] modules of mildly liberated space" (Brady 90), it nevertheless functions to regulate modes of teaching and learning in several ways, from curricular impositions to faculty hiring. As Brady writes, "*Margins* offers a provocative opportunity to examine further the complex interplay between sexuality, race, gender, and the regulation of space" (87) through the novel's mappings of various public and private spaces, including the university. I suggest that such interplays are augmented in pedagogical relationships informed by the gendered, racialized, and sexualized subjectivities of both the professor and student(s). Furthermore, such relationships in turn are impacted, or regulated, by such institutional modes as those we see Professor Zamora and to an extent, Veronica, encounter, including English department curriculum and liberal multicultural educational policies aimed at increasing campus "diversity," for example.

Brady, Fernández, and Pérez provide the necessary traction for me to make a case for the centrality of Zamora as a transgressive pedagogical figure who actively creates

spaces of belonging in an institution that has historically and systematically excluded women in ways which undermines or dilutes their power, whether as students or professors. Through the Professor Zamora character arc, de la Peña highlights what I would call the educational 'sitios y lenguas,' the possible counter-spaces of resistance and contestation that emerge primarily as a result of the professor's Chicana feminist pedagogical practices in response to institutional "regulatory functions" and discourses.

Zamora straddles multiple worlds—as a Chicana and professor at a large research university, as a scholar and producer of academic knowledge, as a mentor and personal advisor to her students, and as a Chicana in her community—in the service of education and community-building. Her efforts to negotiate spaces of belonging for herself and the queer female students of color with whom she most frequently interacts are not always confined solely to the classroom and very often, necessarily, cross into other less formal realms. This is underscored in the narrative by when, where, and in what capacity we see Professor Zamora appear. Importantly, we never see Professor Zamora teaching or otherwise engaging students formally in a classroom or other official setting. That is, while we know Professor Zamora does teach—she proudly proclaims to her writing student, Veronica, "I *teach* Chicana lit. Don't expect *me* to write it" (4)—we never see her in the traditional domain of the professor in literature and popular culture, which is the classroom or lecture hall. Instead, de la Peña places Zamora in other key spaces both within and outside of the university; we see Zamora in her office (3, 314), a film screening at a campus theater (91), and an off-campus bookstore (327), which is notably her final appearance in the novel. In this way, de la Peña emphasizes the importance and need for semi-formal relationships between professor and students that occur both within

and outside of official/formal realms. While this characterizes many kinds of pedagogical relationships, the connections between a teacher and student who share common backgrounds, communities, and other facets of identity provides even greater potential for meaningful educational exchanges.

In feminist pedagogy, lived experience and one's personal interactions with her/his world are mobilized as a teaching technique of resistance and re-creation. As feminist pedagogy scholar Jane Gallop writes in her book, *Anecdotal Theory*, "Breaking down the barrier between the professional and the personal has been central in the feminist effort to expand the institution of knowledge to include what and how women know" (55). Black feminist pedagogy theorist bell hooks urges us to teach in a way that enables transgression, or what she calls the "movement against and beyond boundaries" (12), including those boundaries drawn for or by us between the personal and the professional, the appropriate and the inappropriate, the oppressive and the liberatory. In *Teaching to Transgress*, hooks writes, "to educate as the practice of freedom" means to understand that our work as teachers "is not merely to share information but to share in the intellectual and spiritual growth of our students. To teach in a manner that respects and cares for the souls of our students is essential if we are to provide the necessary conditions where learning can most deeply and intimately begin" (13), Here, when the personal is the queer, the woman, the otherwise racialized, gendered, or sexualized, teaching with the body and placing lived experience at the center is one strategy of resistance against the silencing, colonizing, negating effects of the academic system of knowledge production. Central to understanding Pérez's notion of "un sitio y una lengua"

is to recognize the racialized, gendered, and linguistic implications of what such 'sites/spaces' look like in the academy, as well as the languages used in their creation.

In her official role as a professor nearing tenure, Zamora represents the university and English Department, functioning in many ways as the institutional guarantor of her students' success. More informally, she represents her students' mentor, advisor, cheerleader, and ally. The implications of Zamora's formal and informal pedagogical methods are rendered most prominently in *Margins* through Zamora's and Veronica's mentor-mentee relationship. On one level, it frames the narrative action for Veronica, providing her with incentives (publication, a teaching assistant job) for her to write through the pain of losing her best friend and long-time lover, Joanna, in a car accident. On another level, it illustrates the necessarily intimate places Camille Zamora must access in order to successfully do her work in "providing the conditions" (hooks 13) for Veronica's intellectual and creative development, which is inextricably entwined with the private, often personal process of healing from the loss of a lover. "Even Camille Zamora, for all her encouragement, considered Veronica different from the other Chicana students" (de la Peña 5) therefore prompting the professor's attentiveness to her "moody and idiosyncratic" student. Veronica's state calls for a solid mentor figure who helps her stay on track.

In their book, *Academic Keywords*, Cary Nelson and Steve Watt write,

> Mentoring refers to all the individual guidance faculty often have to give students to ensure their success, and it has special relevance to the support and guidance various disadvantaged populations have needed as they entered the academy in increasing numbers….The mentor's role is to help students to recognize and define their own interests; then, to draw the best work out of them, shaping it to assure

> that it is realistically achievable and that it will be recognized as important and interesting to others. (Nelson and Watt 162-4)

In Nelson and Watt's estimation, the role of a good mentor, particularly for those first-generation college students from "disadvantaged populations," is indispensible for many reasons. In *Margins*, de la Peña reminds us that Chicana graduate students and professors were the "tokens" (101, 220), despite official diversification efforts, at the UCLA campus in the late 1980s and early 1990s. As such, the retention and successful advancement of Chicana/o students, who are often first-generation college students, depends largely on whether they have access to good mentors, supportive communities, and other factors that affirm their place at the university and the contributions they make to the academic and creative life there and beyond.

Discourses of liberal multiculturalism and "diversity," for example, structure the educational experiences for many "token" Chicanas/(os) in ways that simultaneously include them and marginalize or exclude them, which has implications for both students and teachers/professors. For Veronica, these discourses impact her place in the department as a graduate student. At one point, Veronica bemoans to her mother that "the English Department won't hold my slot open forever—Chicana grad student or not" (de la Peña 66), a comment that indicates her awareness that perhaps she is an affirmative action admit for whom the English department is "holding a slot." Here, de la Peña reminds us of the contradictions of being a "Chicana graduate student," which under affirmative action, momentarily includes her but only with temporary value, lest the department 'gives away' her slot to someone else. Once she's 'in,' Veronica has to figure out how to stay, succeed, and finish her graduate degree. For Zamora, who is granted

tenure by a "new department chair [who] claims he's all for innovation and diversity" (315), her 'token' status also means that she plays an indispensible role in her queer Chicana student's retention.

Zamora's position as a newly tenured Chicana professor in the English Department benefits both her and her student in specific ways, even while the relationship is imbued with and structured in large part by academic tokenism. "What a difference tenure makes" (314) for Professor Zamora, who promptly prepares a "new upper-division class—Contemporary Womanist Fiction," for which Zamora will assign "Audre Lorde, Sandra Cisneros, Mitsuye Yamada—Native American, Jewish and lesbian writers, too" (314). What Zamora refers to is the academic freedom secured by tenure[120] to create classes that are relevant to her and the lives of her students, while contributing to the curricular diversity in an otherwise traditional set of English department course offerings. Zamora's course includes radical and lesbian women of color writers, challenging traditional canons of (English) literary knowledge. Furthermore, Zamora's tenure and increased professional power augment the productive teaching and learning relationship between her and Veronica, as the new class Zamora creates benefits Veronica personally and professionally when Zamora invites her to serve as her teaching assistant.

Importantly, in asking her student to assist her in creating her new class, Zamora opens up an opportunity for collaborative learning and knowledge formation for both parties involved. When Veronica offers to help Zamora put together the reading list for

[120] Critical theorists of education point out that in an increasingly corporate, privatized, post-9/11/01 environment, tenure is under fire and can be threatened, as UCSD showed us all in the Richard Dominguez case. See also Aronowitz, "Subaltern in Paradise" and Plater, "Using Tenure: Citizenship within the New Academic Workforce."

this class, the Professor does not object. Her inclusion of Veronica's input reveals another dimension to Zamora's and her student's working relationship which, in practice, is collaborative, collective, and not always hierarchical, but also quite essential to Veronica's understanding of herself as a Chicana lesbian and queer woman of color. This scene exemplifies Zamora's practice of feminist pedagogy, which seeks not to wield power to dominate or to "limit the power of some," but to "increase the power of all actors" in producing and sharing knowledge. As a feminist professor, Zamora holds "a view of power as creative community energy" that is a recognizable strategy of "counteract[ing] unequal power arrangements" in the classroom (Shrewsbury 10). As Gayatri Spivak concedes, "It's not possible to dismiss liberal multiculturalism, because in some cases, it's the best one has. It's the alliance that one performs when one is trying to decolonize the canon at the university" ("Interview" 42). The alliance forged by Zamora and her student is due largely to the professor's new tenure-power benefits Veronica in important ways, primarily as a way to offer her employment as a teaching assistant in this new class. More importantly, this job, though a formal educational mechanism, potentially creates enormous inroads for Veronica's own development of a critical Chicana lesbian identity in conversation and community with those lesbians and woman of color writers who came before her.

As we are seeing, the professional outcomes of Veronica's and Zamora's relationship rest primarily on the formal and informal connections they create and sustain, and which often rely on their shared experiences of being (queer) Chicanas in academe. On and off campus, Zamora interacts with her primarily queer and Latina students in ways informed by "their own cultural symbols, languages, and values"

(Moraga, *Loving* 190). To outsiders, it could appear that Professor Zamora pays too much attention to Veronica, or that her particular practices of feminist pedagogy border on the unprofessional or inappropriate, especially given Zamora's personal involvement in facilitating the romantic relationship between Veronica and René Talamantes. Although described by René Talamantes as "too discreet to get personal" (256) about her students' (and her own) private lives, Professor Zamora does "get personal" to the extent that Veronica permits her. The attentiveness that characterizes the majority of Zamora's interactions with Veronica is largely rooted in their shared identity as Chicanas. Zamora naturally weaves Spanish with her English as she speaks to her student, and she expresses subtle signs of her affection for Veronica: a "light graze of her student's arm" here (4), a "touch [of] her student's hand" there (315), an open admission to Veronica, "I've missed you—and I hear René did, too" (315), interestingly aligning herself with her student's romantic partner. And although Zamora is "satisfied" with her role in playing the matchmaker between Veronica and Talamantes, she is especially invested in Veronica's success as a writer and is committed to her Chicana lesbian student's wellbeing and professional security in the department. However, such feminist strategies of engaging students are not without risks to both the professor and the student, especially when there could be real consequences for professors who engage students individually and amiably for the sake of more effective and meaningful student learning.[121]

[121] Personalizing pedagogy is not without its risks. Gallop is perhaps most (in)famously known as the "Feminist Accused of Sexual Harassment," when in 1992, two female students each accused the feminist professor of committing sexual harassment. In *Anecdotal Theory,* Gallop tells us that after "a lengthy and thorough investigation, which looked into not only the two complaints but also my relations with students in general[,] no evidence whatsoever, either of discrimination or of harassment, was found….(53).

Though it would seem that Zamora intentionally blurs the lines between her professional and personal interest in Veronica, it is not in a way that exploits Veronica or otherwise creates a hostile learning environment for her. Rather, their interactions are based on a mutual understanding of Veronica's post-accident state and what is required of her to heal through writing. Veronica frequently invokes Zamora's name to her friends, family, and lovers, whether in frustration or excitement. Her frustration with her "over-zealous Chicana professor" (70) registers a sometimes-contentious attitude that reveals how students do not always respond to or find relevant a professor's methods. However, Veronica's complaint about Zamora's persistence does reaffirm the Profe's commitment to her Chicana lesbian student's success. Everyone in Veronica's life, including her family and René, recognizes the positive impact the professor has made on her, despite Veronica's struggles with graduate school since the car accident that killed Joanna. Veronica is aware that if she does not re-commit to her writing, the English department "won't hold [her] spot open forever" (66). Therefore, despite Veronica's complaints about "that woman and her damn motivating ways" (97), she realizes that Zamora is her main conduit for her retention in the program and a way to heal from the ramifications of the accident. Veronica ultimately realizes that she not only "like[s] the attention [Zamora] gives" to her (97), but seeks it out as well. Through Zamora's attentiveness and vigilance, Veronica learns the importance of writing for herself in her own process of emotional healing. Therefore, Veronica willingly capitulates to 'what Zamora wants': "If Zamora wants Chicana stories from me, that's what she's getting" (de la Peña 271).

In this way, de la Peña's narrative attention to Zamora's manner of interactions with her queer student asks us to rethink our notions of what constitutes effective, alternative feminist pedagogy and what could be considered unwanted sexual contact, or sexual harassment. Through her illustration of their mentor-mentee dynamic, De la Peña insists that as queer and feminist figures, Zamora and Veronica precisely challenge on feminist grounds the co-opting of women's bodies by heterosexist patriarchal practices and discourses,[122] academic or otherwise (social, cultural, etc.), thereby imagining an academic world, a sitio, where feminist pedagogy as praxis can occur and even thrive.

Perhaps the best indicator of the success of Professor Zamora's pedagogical relationship with Veronica, or the effectiveness of any practice of critical (feminist) pedagogy, is to assess what the students have learned. In Veronica's case, by the end of the novel, she publishes two of her short stories, participates in her first public reading of her creative work, and agrees to serve as Zamora's teaching assistant. She is also sufficiently emotionally healed and begins a fulfilling new relationship with another Chicana lesbian graduate student, thanks largely to Zamora's involvement. Such transformative relationships are not always easy or pain-free. They are often contentious and antagonistic, as we see in the novel, but these conflicts are part of the struggle to create positive ways of belonging in the university.

---

[122] Through her case, Gallop calls attention to the contradictions and the heterosexism that inform most sexual harassment policies in higher education: "Because sexual harassment policy is written for sex-blind universal application, the category proscribed by the university as unprofessional can, ironically, encompass feminist pedagogy itself" (55). See also *Feminist Accused of Sexual Harassment*. This does not mean, however, that the (heterosexist) standards that define campus/workplace sexual harassment policy do not apply to queer people and what would constitute appropriate boundaries between them, a point made clear by Zamora's own awareness about not 'getting too personal with her students.

Though de la Peña most consistently portrays Camille Zamora as the consummate professional attempting to secure tenure in her department, she also suggests that part of the professor's pedagogical allure, effectiveness, and power lies in the queer implications of her interactions with the other Chicana graduate students on campus, who are served best by Zamora. The professor's interactions with her queer students are mutually informative and participate in the dialectical process of "seiz[ing] sociosexual power that creates our own *sitio y lengua*" (E. Pérez 162) both on and off campus. The last time we see Camille Zamora in the novel, she is attending an event that showcases the artwork of her two student-acquaintances, Veronica and René. The reading and film screening at Sisterhood Bookstore, the ultimate "sitio y lengua" as one "rooted in both the words and silence of Third-World-Identitied-Third-World-Women who create a place apart from white men and women and from men of color" (E. Pérez 161-2), symbolizes an inaugural phase in the next generation of Chicana lesbian artists and filmmakers ushered in by Camille Zamora who, after all, introduced Veronica and René.

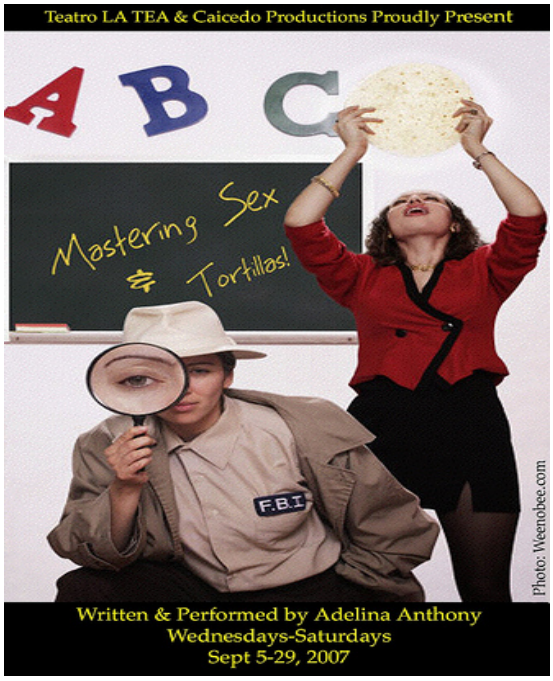
Professor Camilla Zamora, a queer ally, actively promotes activity, interaction, and community-building on a campus where such a community is multiply marginalized. For the lesbian students of color on campus, particularly for Veronica, René Talamantes, and to an extent, Michi (a Japanese-American lesbian and Joanna's best friend), Camille Zamora is a welcome presence in an otherwise bleak landscape dominated by white male professors. Furthermore, her presence and, to an extent, her identity in the novel are largely defined through her relationships with her lesbian students and the Chicana-Latina lesbian and feminist community with which she identifies and which she serves

with dedication and enthusiasm. In doing so, Professor Zamora speaks to and against dominant discourses that define the academic experience for women.

Part 3. Titillating Teaching Techniques: Chicana Femme-inist Pedagogy in Adelina Anthony's *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!*

We teach with ourselves as our own most effective visual aids. –Indira Karamcheti, "Caliban in the Classroom" (1995)

Además, I don't apologize for my pedagogical techniques which are quite risqué. It's the only way I can guarantee you will be learning from a pro. –La Profesora Mama Chocha



(Figure 3. *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!*)

Like *Margins*, Anthony's acclaimed comedic[123] performance piece, *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!,* features a Chicana university professor in the character of La Profesora Mama Chocha.[124] The first half of *MST!* pivots around La Profesora Mama

[123] Comedy as a theatrical genre and set of devices is another important element in Anthony's work. Although I address comedy later in this section as a feature of Chicano teatro, I will expand my discussion of comedy as critique in future versions of this chapter.

[124] "Chocha" is a Spanish slang term for "pussy."

Chocha,[125] a self-identified Xicana femme lesbiana. Mama Chocha is a travelling part-time purveyor of college seminars devoted to the study and understanding of what she terms "tortillerismo," or the cultural origins of Chicana lesbian sex. Anthony's comedic rendering of a professor, a figure familiar to her mostly college and university student audiences, and her 'taboo' area of pedagogical and scholarly interest, functions as an irreverent and thus subversive critical queer-eye commentary on the social, political, and personal dynamics of queer Xicana sexuality as they clash with the dominant structural and discursive configurations of such arenas as higher education.

In this chapter, I argue that Anthony's performance of La Profesora in *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* offers a way to think about what I would call a queer Chicana femme-inist pedagogy, or a set of teaching (and learning) practices grounded in Chicana feminist politics and ideology that is specifically femme (and therefore, queer) in presentation and erotic in pedagogical power. Anthony's embodiment of a particular kind of femme-inist performance-as-pedagogy, which hinges on the attentiveness and willing participation of her audience members (collectively as her 'class' and individually as hand-picked 'student volunteers'), effectively transforms and re-creates transgressive institutionalized educational spaces that have traditionally silenced or omitted queer and Chicana voices.

It is significant that Anthony, a Xicana-Indígena lesbian multi-disciplinary artist, most often performs *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* or excerpts of it primarily on college campuses. That she does so both as commissioned work (usually by women of color, queer, and/or Raza student groups) and as part of conferences and other "cultural"

[125] In Chapter 1, I briefly discussed the second half of the show, featuring Mama Chocha's butch counterpart, Agent Papi Duro.

campus events underscores its multiple pedagogical functions as both a comedic, theatrical performance of teaching, and as a work that teaches the 'students'/audience what official curricula of higher education often do not. As Deborah Paredez writes in *Selenidad: Selena, Latinos, and the Performance of Memory*, "Performance accumulates much of its power as a spatial practice. Live performance, by its localized and ephemeral nature, offers a way to account for the specificity of historical, geographical, and political location" (33). Anthony's show takes place "right now, Mamita," at wherever campus or community she happens to be, from the University of Southern California to the University of Vermont. Because her campus shows typically draw queer people/students of color, it is worth recognizing the ways in which Anthony's performance itself, as well as the content, claims community space for the relatively safe expression of marginalized identities in often racist and (hetero)sexist institutions of higher education, themselves shaped by the socio-cultural climate of their geographic location.

One of these typically marginalized identities is the queer femme. La Profesora Mama Chocha is a character Anthony describes in the script[126] as "a very high femme and ultra-dramatic Chicana professor who teaches lesbianism 101 from a 'tortillera' point of view." La Profesora Mama Chocha oozes with teasing and tantalizing sexuality as she bursts into the 'classroom' to start her seminar, flirting with her lover, Dolores, on the phone, and wearing the markers of high femme-inity: a tight black mini skirt, a revealing little red blazer, and tacones (high heels). (See Figure 3)[127] It might help to

[126] I cite an unpublished manuscript of *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* that was provided to me by Adelina Anthony. The script was last updated in 2008.

[127] See Parkin and Prosser, "An academic affair." Joan Parkin describes her teaching outfit, comprised of the "usual femme attire (tight skirt, slight pumps, red lipstick, black leather jacket, my hair tossed into that recently fucked style)" (444-5).

think of Anthony's embodiment of La Profesora Mama Chocha, for example, as one that resonates with such mainstream images[128] as 'The Hot Teacher' of the Van Halen "Hot for Teacher" sort, or even a Shakira,[129] in her tight skirt, "plunging neckline" power-red blazer, and bountiful cascading hair.

The relationship with Dolores, who we find out is a former student, plays out in melodramatic fashion in front of La Profe's amused "students," who enjoy a voyeuristic moment with their professor before their "class" officially begins. It also serves to frame the first act of *MST!*, La Profesora's half of the show, becoming one of La Profe's "titillating" teaching techniques, a perpetual example to her class of what to do and what not to do in romantic "tortillera" relationships. After an engaging lesson on "the cultural origins" of Chicana lesbian sex, La Profe ends her class early to 'hook up' with Dolores, who is apparently outside of La Profe's classroom waiting to seduce her, thus ending Act One.

Signficantly, the show *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* opens with La Profesora, the femme's act, and closes with 'the butch,' thereby situating La Profesora already as an oppositional femme model. That is, La Profesora is a model of what Harris and Crocker call "femme as a sustained gender identity," defined not by the butch but by her desires. In *Femme: Feminists, Lesbians, and Bad Girls*, they write,

> [F]emme gender identity is not simply role-playing in

---

[128] As of this writing, several billboards across Los Angeles add to this image. They announce the release of *Bad Teacher* (2011), a new Hollywood film released by Columbia Pictures, starring Cameron Diaz and Justin Timberlake. The billboard features yet another sexualized (albeit disembodied?) image of a female teacher, this time in the form of Diaz and her legs resting lazily atop her desk while she is passed out, wearing sunglasses, (Christian Louboutin) stilettos, and a provocative pout.

[129] Anthony has joked about her "güera looks" and sometimes 'Shakira-looking' appearance in her other solo shows such as *La Angry Xicana?* As La Profesora Mama Chocha states, "But don't blame your light-skinned Latina sisters, blame the pinche Spanish colonizers!" (15)

> which certain sets of clothes or behaviors are on a daily basis easily assumed or discarded. Femme queerness is sustained gender identity, a chosen rather than assigned femininity….Rather than being defined by the outer trappings of femininity, femme gender is linked to a particular set of desiring relationships which occurs in butch-femme as well as other sites. (Harris and Crocker 5)

Harris and Crocker as femme lesbian scholars counter dominant perceptions of the femme as "lesbian who adopts a passive, feminine role" (*OED* online) vis-à-vis the butch and the butch only, by positing another way to understand femme lesbian identity as an empowered, active identity defined by desires rather than outer appearances. La Profe, we learn, prefers femme women, evidenced by Dolores and Anthony's scripted choice to always pick a femme interlocutor from the audience (Anthony 4), thereby disrupting expectations of 'automatic' femme-butch romantic coupling.[130]

In La Profesora, the femme is an active agent in pursuing the objects of her desires[131] that are, in the example of Dolores, linked to the site of the classroom and rendered through the erotic. For example, we see this occur in *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* in Anthony's organization of her performance in terms of the classroom

---

[130] In cinema, Kara Keeling describes "the black femme function" (as opposed to just "femme") as an affective process as, "a potential for self-valorization and creativity that is imminent in and generated by the cinematic itself" (7). In *The Witch's Flight: The Cinematic, The Black Femme, and the Image of Common Sense,* Keeling presents a construction of the figure of the black femme, one which is problematic for Keeling. When applied to other representations of lesbians/queer women of color, Keeling's formulation of (the black) femme exposes the "problematic" conditions under which the black femme character "is produced within the very structures she might challenge…[therefore], it is also the case that expressions of those [embodied black femme] experiences currently are not amenable to furthering existing hegemonic socioeconomic arrangements" (*Flight* 144). Here, Keeling's articulation presents a useful way to consider the sustainability of "femme" constructs and the performance of femme-inist pedagogy within hegemonic "arrangements." Furthermore, Keeling and others such as Jill Dolan articulate the significance of "affectivity" in performances of race and sexuality. In future versions of this chapter, I plan to further engage issues of affect and femme-inity as presented in Anthony's performance of La Profesora. I would also engage Stacy I. Macías's work-in-progress about racialized and queer femininity, including femme subjectivities and identities in contemporary Chicana and Latina cultural production.

[131] See also Joan Nestle, "The femme question," and Hollibaugh and Moraga, "What we're rollin' around in bed with," for more nuanced discussions of butch-femme identities, sexual expression, and desire.

space,[132] thereby transforming the audience into a class of college-aged queer, presumably female, students of color who have the most to gain from La Profe's teachings. She refers to the class collectively as "jotitas," "mujeres," "future tortilleras," and other terms that indicate a shared identity as "pussy loving maricona jotas" (7), interpellating everyone in the audience as young queer Chicana/Latinas who could stand to learn a thing or two from 'the Pro.' Such a re-imagining of college populations as predominantly Chicana/ Latina queer women or other queer people of color is an example of an imaginary space of transgression and possibility created by the practice of (live) performance (Paredez 33). Thus, the deliberate move to address everyone as queer Chicana/Latina women serves primarily to expose and critique the social, economic, and educational conditions faced most often by poor people of color has the most impact when, depending on where Anthony is performing *MST!*, the majority of the audience may be largely white or non-Latina/Chicana, or not all queer-identified.

In this way, Anthony's performance of La Profesora "embodies a reflection on culture and difference that develops new critical spaces" (Arrizón 15) where queer women of color experiences take center stage in the bodies of the performer and the audience member. The audience members, as "beginner" students of "tortillerismo," are implicated in La Profesora's lessons either as unwitting participants or through collective identification with the individual 'student' deliberately chosen by La Profe to help her

[132] The space of the classroom itself is a conflicted space of institutionalized teaching and learning that presents its own set of contradictions. The Chicago Critical Studies Group provides a useful assessment of the complexities of the multicultural classroom space as a site for the expression of identity politics and the alternative knowledges produced there (547). Bell hooks writes of the classroom as a "location of possibility" despite its limitations: "The academy is not paradise. But learning is a place where paradise can be created. The classroom, with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility, [where] we have the opportunity to…collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress" (207). See also Soja's forumation of space as a social construction as a way of understanding how power relations are shaped in the classroom (81).

demonstrate various 'lessons' to the rest of the class. As she surveys the class for "the lucky student [she will] take home tonight for some one-on-one tutoring" (12), La Profe puckers her lips and saunters over to an unsuspecting femme audience member, ropes her, sometimes straddles her, and proceeds to 'seduce' her: "What's your name, Preciosa? I want you to keep my rope warm for me, okay? Oooh, que obedient, asi me gustan. You see, class, I expect all of you to do the same" (13). In another moment, La Profe might look lustily at another student while cooing, "Quien quiere extra credit?"

In these interactions, La Profe mirrors her students' queer desires, in some ways playfully exploiting her knowledge of their lives as "jotitas" with love problems of their own to her advantage. Audience interactions such as these are critical to Anthony's articulation of queer desire as a pedagogical tool through La Profe's high femme-inity. In doing so, Anthony compels us as an audience, and as La Profe's 'students,' to acknowledge and reckon with the queer eroticism that undergirds her power as a provocative and in-control 'femme-inist' professor who believes that her "risqué pedagogical techniques" are the "only way [she] can guarantee you will be learning from a pro" (10). Through her insistent infusion of the erotic and as pedagogical power in ways that her butcha counterpart does not, La Profesora invites and entices her audience/ students to be mindful of our desires as a potentially productive (though also distracting and potentially destructive) part of the 'femme-inist' pedagogical practices that support the emergence of a critical consciousness which has the potential to transform otherwise rigid and proscribed learning spaces.

In thinking of the erotic here, I turn to Audre Lorde's 1984 essay, "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power." In it, Lorde makes the case for understanding the erotic as

something not solely related to the sexual, but as a way to harness the potentially liberating power of the sensual that comes with "deep sharing" of experiences. Lorde writes, "The very word *erotic* comes from the Greek word *eros*, the personification of love in all its aspects—born of Chaos, and personifying creative power and harmony. When I speak of the erotic, then, I speak of it as an assertion of the lifeforce of women; of that creative energy empowered, the knowledge and use of which we are now reclaiming in our language, our history, our dancing, our loving, our work, our lives" (55). In the halls of academe, intense intellectual exchange and learning are, often enough, characterized by the erotic. Indeed, the work of feminist pedagogy theorists such as Gallop, hooks, Luke, Jennifer Gore, and Naomi Scheman testifies to undeniably "erotic dimension" of a feminist classroom (Shrewsbury 9). They write about desire and the "recognizably erotic feelings" (Gallop 105) that often arise in 'purely' pedagogical spaces, arguing that the eros/love/eroticism that propels feminist pedagogy must not and should not be discarded or ignored in order for effective teaching and learning to occur.[133]

However, thinking of the erotic strictly in terms of sex is reductive and prevents us from considering other possibilities it creates. In Lorde's articulation, "our erotic knowledge" is the "bridge" that connects the spiritual and the political. The erotic is "enormously powerful and creative," and "[r]ecognizing the power of the erotic within our lives can give us the energy to pursue genuine change within our world" (59). In recognizing the erotic as a creative force with potentially transformative power, Lorde helps us to see how a performance such as Anthony's, and a character such as La

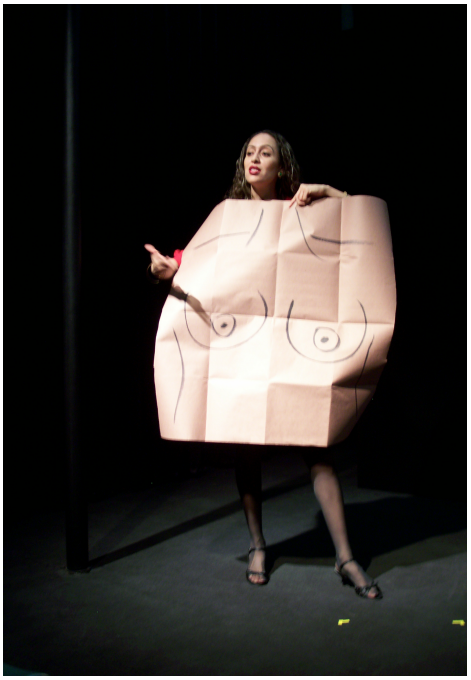
[133] I address some of these risks in the preceding section on *Margins.*

Profesora Mama Chocha, comedically renders the erotic—not limited to the sexual but extending to the deep sharing of personal experience—as a powerful tool in her performance of academic knowledge acquisition and production.

As a performance characterized by queer eroticism and lesbian desire (let's not forget that La Profesora Mama Chocha roughly translates to "Professor Pussy"), Anthony's Chicana lesbian diva professor figure "allow[s] for an additional element of corporeality so important to marginalized subjects combating silence and erasure" (Danielson 121), in this case, within the academy. And "in the world of performance," where an artist embodies her text, "we no longer read words. We read the performer, her expression, her gestures, her orality, and her silence" (Danielson 121). This is why, in the final analysis, it matters that Mama Chocha is a femme and is doubtlessly read as such (and, in turn, that Agent Papi Duro is butch). Anthony's embodiment and performance of La Profe's particular brand of queer Chicana high-femme-ininity—from La Profesora's costume to her mannerisms—informs how she interacts with her 'students,' serving as a reminder of the inescapable importance of La Profe's queer femme identity to her methodology. Furthermore, it provides a way to understand how she as a professor might elicit a particular kind of pedagogical power that comes with being a femme figure.

During moments of direct audience engagement, Anthony performs the ultra-attentive erotic femme as one way to critique the academy as an institution and to draw attention to the inequalities that continue to persist long after the Chicano/a and Civil Rights movements. This convergence of the femme, the erotic, and the pedagogical in the service of critique occurs during one of the more memorable 'instructional' moments imparted by La Profesora Mama Chocha on her research on "T.L.C.: Titty-Loving

Cochinas" (See Figure 4), the subject of her dissertation. In an effort to illustrate the findings of her cutting-edge research on "Titty Loving Cochinas," La Profe warns her students, "I'm going to expose my tetas for the section on how to properly fondle the breast" (10), thus providing a mental image to supplement the crude outline of breasts she has drawn on a large white paper (11) and provoking laughter in the audience, even more so after she draws a little hair on one of the nipples in an effort "reflect" everyone in her research (11-12).



(Figure 4: "T.L.C.: Titty Loving Cochinas")[134]

No PowerPoint for La Profe, whose "rasquachi queer Chicana production" is one way Anthony calls attention to the lack of funding and other institutional failures in supporting such work. However, even though La Profesora holds a "Ph.D.," or "Pura Horny Divaship" from the "University of Womyn," and even though she is competently

[134] Photo courtesy of Adelina Anthony.

versed in the current academic discourse of her field, "transnational feminism," La Profe understands that her work on the "socio-economic-political context" of "Mexican pussy" and the "the cultural origins" of Chicana lesbian sex might cast her as an "academic quack" (*MST!* 16) in the academy.

However, while Anthony seems to be poking fun at the kind of subject material that sometimes *does* pass as legitimate academic subject matter, she also concedes to her students that we ultimately must still 'play along,' follow the rules of the institution, engage with disciplinary discourses and languages that shape our academic work, and obtain the traditional/proper credentials in order to gain limited access to these spaces to do our work. This is the "conformist path" that "queers of color and other minority subjects need to follow…if they hope to survive a hostile public sphere" (J. Muñoz 5). For as Jill Dolan points out, "At conferences, scholars of gay and lesbian studies and queer theory present research meant to test out new knowledge and challenge received academic wisdom. Taken out of context, this scholarship, which of necessity melds personal, often unexamined, experience and histories with rigorous analysis and insight, is easy to dismiss or ridicule" (54). So to counter any criticism of her "empirical research" into the origins of what she terms *tortillerismo*, and to deter any accusations of academic quackery, La Profe plays the part of the good academic mindful of the discourse she engages by developing her own 'official' terminology—her "lengua" to go back to Emma Pérez's formulation of "un sitio y una lengua"—in making her own intervention into the "study" of "T.L.C." With her students, she rehearses the value of using her "Universal Cultural Resources" (such as the garlic nan bread of "our Indian sisters"), her "Specific Cultural Resources" (tortillas, her Tejana cowgirl sensitivities),

and the "global and local" implications of "employing her queer woman of color lens" to studying the "widespread cultural phenomenon" of "T.L.C."

It makes sense that Anthony first developed her character while a graduate student at UCLA and Stanford. Accordingly, her La Profesora character reflects a self-conscious use of academic discourse, including references to critical language and theoretical frameworks, that were gleaned largely in part from the 'theory' Anthony encountered in her graduate coursework.[135] La Profe's command of academic jargon-speak, which has the effect of legitimating her subject matter and 'queer woman of color' methodology, is also an appropriation of a language she must use to do her work in the academy. In doing so, she demystifies it, making it more accessible to her 'students'/audience, and thus democratizing intellectual knowledge production. The academic references are a key element to the show's success and why her jokes work so well on university and college campuses, which tend to be attended mostly by students and faculty in the arts and humanities. Their laughter and enthusiastic response are rooted in their recognition of themselves and the awkward linguistic mandates of academic discourse with which they are no doubt familiar. In this way, Anthony/La Profe exposes the limits and hegemonic constructions of what counts as "official" scholarship in the academy and who is allowed to participate in its production.

On its own, *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* is a rich work that lends itself to the examination of 'non-normative' queer Chicana bodies and how they may productively inhabit and transform 'normative' space for themselves and their students. For many reasons here and elsewhere, I have placed much of the burden of analysis on the two

[135] Personal conversation with Anthony, October 2010.

teaching figures that anchor the two acts that comprise the show—the femme, La Profesora Mama Chocha, and the butch, Agent Papi Duro. However, as teachers, they are only as effective to the extent that their students are productively engaged in the learning process, and in this case, this depends on Anthony's chemistry and level of interaction with her audience and the audience members' willingness to put themselves in the hands of the performer. To close, I would like to consider some dynamics of the performance[136] aspect of Anthony's work that helps us to more deeply appreciate the role of the audience in her comedic work.[137]

I find David Román's definition of performance appropriate for my purposes. In his essay, "Latino Performance and Identity," Román writes, "The term performance, in its most generous employment, suggests not only conventional theatre but any number of cultural occasions and social processes that involve ritual, movement, sound, and/or voice on the one hand, and the various individual and communal roles that socialized subjects embody in the world, on the other" (152). His emphasis on "individual and communal roles" in the cultural practice of "social negotiations of communal identity" is especially important when viewing Anthony's work as part of a larger tradition of Latino peformance, which "has historically been by, for, and about Latinos" (Román 153). As such, the "unwavering critical connection between performer and audience" (Huerta 3)

[136]In the course of completing this chapter, and in light of the Chicana/o theater and performance class I'm currently teaching at Cal State Fullerton, I have just begun to scratch the surface in expanding my own knowledge of performance studies in general, and Latina/Chicana theater and performance in general. In future versions of this chapter, I plan to say more about performance as a genre and its implications in thinking about pedagogy.

[137] Here, I would also consider Anthony's most recent comedic solo performance of La Hocicona Series, "a comedy triptych." La Profesora Mama Chocha is in some ways 'reincarnated' as Anthony's character, "La Angry Xicana?!" and helps to make visible the pedagogical continuities between *MST!* and the characters featured in the recent series.

that characterizes Chicano teatro in general is rendered in particular ways in Anthony's work.

I follow Alicia Arrizón, who places the work of other Chicana lesbian performance artists in the Chicano teatro context, in viewing Anthony's work as a kind of an updated and extended acto in the El Teatro Campesino tradition.[138] Like other Chicana feminist theater and performance work that emerged in the 1990s and after, Anthony's work is both rooted in and divergent from larger Chicano performance histories and traditions. She uses a predominance of humor, including improvisational and ad-lib devices to explore the socio-political realities of queer Chicana lives in the US. In her feminist study of Chicano teatro, *El Teatro Campesino*, Yolanda Broyles-González discusses the central role of humor and the comic figure in the Mexican carpa performance tradition, itself a predecessor of the Chicano teatro/El Teatro Campesino movement. She writes,

> Prime among the performance conventions of the *carpa* and the Teatro Campesino was a strong reliance on comedic technique and forms (particularly the comic sketch), on musical performance and dancelike movement. Virtually all explorations into social phenomena were conveyed through the medium of humor, often accompanied by music. The overriding tone of social critique and reflection was raucous….Yet in essence this humor was dead serious" (27).

[138] "The actos: Inspire the audience to social action. Illuminate specific points about social problems. Satirize the opposition. Show or hint at a solution. Express what people are feeling." See Luis Valdez, *Early Works*. Houston: Arte Public Press, 1971.Arrizón's work focuses on Chicana artists Nao Bustamante and Laura Esparza. See *Latina Performance: Traversing the Stage*. For more histories and analyses of El Teatro Campesino and the founding of a Chicano teatro performance tradition, see J. Huerta, *Chicano Theater* (1982) and *Chicano Drama* (2000), Yolanda Broyles-González, *El Teatro Campesino: Theater in the Chicano Movement* (1994), and Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, "Chicanas' Experience in Collective Theatre: Ideology and Form" (1985).

These characteristics aptly describe La Profesora, from her sultry dance to the Shakira music that plays during the show, to the scene where La Profesora is 'riding a pussy' the way she would ride a bucking bronco. They also amplify the seriousness of her humorous portrayal of an underpaid, underappreciated, and over-worked part-time faculty member who often has to hustle from teaching gig to teaching gig just to secure a livelihood.

Broyles-González and other scholars of Chicana/o-Latina/o performance help us to identify each performance of Anthony's La Profesora Mama Chocha's "tortilleras" seminars (or of Agent Papi Duro's "Fearless Butcha Instigator" workshops in Act 2 of the show) as a theatrically-grounded and comedically-informed pedagogical practice of critical resistance. La Profesora and her students encounter and critique the legacies of racism, sexism, homophobia, and violent histories that shape public and intimate life for the world's lesbian and gay people of color, queer Chicanas in particular. As such, her work sets Anthony firmly in the tradition of Chicano teatro practices, which rely on comedic improvisational acting toward the political purpose of mobilizing audiences to work in the collective building of alternative spaces and traditions of expression. Anthony as La Profesora transforms the space of the theater/classroom into her non-traditional educational domain[139] wherein she 're-educates' her students/audience about

[139] Another way to understand the audience's role in Anthony's creation of alternative classroom space is through what Jill Dolan discusses as a "utopian performative." In her book, *Utopia in Performance*, she writes, "Utopian performatives describe small but profound moments in which performance calls the attention of the audience in a way that lifts everyone slightly out of the present, into a hopeful feeling of what the world might be like if every moment of our lives were as emotionally voluminous, generous, aesthetically striking, and intersubjectively intense" (5). For Dolan, to be an audience member is to make "a social choice," or to "elect to spend an evening or afternoon not only with a set of performers enacting a certain narrative arc or aesthetic trajectory, but with a group of other people, sometimes familiar, sometimes strange" (Dolan 10). In this way, "Audiences form temporary communities, sites of public discourse that, along with the intense experiences of utopian performatives, can model new investments in and interactions with variously constituted public spheres" (10).

how to productively inhabit those structures that otherwise seek to silence or erase our bodies and histories. Therefore, with every performance, Anthony actively challenges hegemonic constructions of acceptable belonging for queer Chicanas/os in institutionalized instructional spaces as both students and as the professor.

Conclusion: "Higher Education Desperately Needs Us"

Before La Profesora Mama Chocha ends her seminar, she reminds her students that she is performing a public service for queer raza by sharing her knowledge base of "Specific Cultural Resources" for understanding the origins of "jota" sex. "Mujeres," she says, "This is the kind of information we must share tonight…Trust me, ladies, higher education desperately needs us. Clearly, we must mentor" (22). To mentor, as Professor Zamora showed us ten years earlier, means to access and involve on some level the personalized experiences of both participants in the important work of training the next generation of scholars. In my own years as an undergraduate, I would have been thrilled to encounter a Chicana or Latina professor-mentor. In four years of public education at California's flagship university, I never once had a woman of color professor, let alone a Chicana or Latina (or Chicano/Latino, for that matter) professor, either in the English department (my major) or elsewhere. Not until I graduated and went to graduate school in Chicago as an M.A. student did I work with my first Chicano professor. I would take two more years, as a Ph.D. student at Indiana University's Department of English, before I would work with my first Chicana professor. I bring to my analysis of these works, including my engagement with Anthony's performance as an audience member, my lived

realities, 'what I know' and have experienced, as an out queer/butch Chicana and graduate student, a former high school teacher, and current university lecturer. The long-time graduate student part of me readily identifies with Veronica Melendez, while the feminist teacher and future professor in me joyfully connects with Professor Zamora and La Profesora (although more so with Papi Duro). More than anything, these texts compel me and others who share similar educational experiences to consider what it means to both be a student and to practice feminist pedagogy in an actual university classroom as a (butch Chicana) professor-to-be. As a butch lesbian, I understand well that my teaching body in the classroom is often a "visual aid," whether I intend for it to be or not. In my four years teaching in high school, for example, and even in a fair share of college classrooms, students' initial reaction to me clearly depended on what they *saw* and how they 'read' me: I was clearly "different" than their other female teachers. I had and still have, as many lesbian teachers have reported hearing, that "dyky" look (Khayatt 6; Jiménez 219). My visible queerness and non-normative gender identity, and the range of responses it elicits compel me to think about the ways in which my body disrupted that space because of my butchness, and how it might be different were I more 'femme' or normative in my gender identity as a woman. I cannot help but think about the implications—pedagogical or otherwise—of such disruptions, and I am especially attentive to them whether experienced in actual classrooms or witnessed in a performance.

In this section's opening epigraph, Indira Karamcheti reminds us of the corporeality and visibility of teaching, especially when the teacher inhabits a female, queer, and/or racialized body. Our bodies can be visual aids or distractions, depending on

the dynamics of the classrooms, universities, and other academic spaces we occupy. For many of us who take the task of feminist teaching seriously, we know it's a risky business. On student evaluations, our "passionate" or "emotional" actions in and out of the classroom are often misunderstood by students and colleagues as "excessive" or "inappropriate." Our bodies betray us in this sense, and therefore render us as un-objective and therefore not fit for delivering scholarly information. Together, however, de la Peña and Anthony contribute to our understanding of how Chicana bodies may productively inhabit and transform 'normative' spaces for themselves and their students in 'the master's house.'

CHAPTER 4

The Ganas to Compete: Jaime Escalante's "Manly" Pedagogy and the Politics of Teaching "Calcúlus" in *Stand and Deliver* (1988)

They don't understand that these kids need the competition….They're lazy, most of them. You give them more time, they go home and watch television, or ride their motorcycles, or go to McDonald's. Empty set. But if they got through calculus, they have something. –Jaime Escalante[140]

Indeed, he seeks every opportunity to impose his ethic of achievement, success, and hard work on [his students]. His reason, as expressed to me, is simple: "My values are better than theirs." His way of doing this is direct, manly, no nonsense. –William J. Bennett[141]

Neoliberalism's loudest message is that there is no alternative to the status quo. –Robert McChesney[142]

Introduction.

In 1988, twenty years after the East L.A. high school blowouts, Garfield High School found itself back on the national radar with the release of Ramón Menéndez's docudrama, *Stand and Deliver*. The film, set in 1982, stars Edward James Olmos as Jaime Escalante (a role which earned Olmos an Academy Award nomination), Garfield's embattled electronics worker-turned-high school calculus teacher. Escalante meets resistance from the administration and the students when he attempts to establish an Advanced Placement math program at his low-performing school, which is on the verge of losing its accreditation. Like most public schools in impoverished neighborhoods, Garfield High "lack[s] the resources to implement the changes" (*S&D*) required by the district and accreditation committee, reflected in the school's dire shortage of qualified teachers to teach its subjects. The message from the school's administration is that the last thing Garfield High School needs is an Advanced Placement Calculus class when the

[140] Quoted in Mathews, pg. 225.

[141] William J. Bennett, commenting on Escalante and *Stand and Deliver*. *The Devaluing of America*, p. 85.

[142] From his Introduction to Noam Chomsky's *Profit Over People: Neoliberalism and the Global Order*.

students at Garfield "can't even pass basic math." Yet Escalante persists and proceeds to teach calculus to his "burros," or basic math students, with the goal that the entire class take the AP calculus exam at the end of the year. By the end of the film, his students do take the exam, though not before Educational Testing Services (ETS) accuses them of cheating. They re-take the exam, pass it again, and quell any suspicions of their inabilities or perceived handicaps as East LA barrio students "with Spanish surnames" (*S&D*). The students and their unorthodox teacher emerge victorious by the film's end.

In this chapter, I analyze the film's themes of individualism, competition, and excellence in public math and science education in the context of the current political climate that increasingly favors privatization and corporate 'leadership'/takeover of public schools by charter school companies like Green Dot and KIPP (Knowledge is Power Program), while advocating for federal spending to invigorate US math and science curriculum in the name of global economic competition. The film helps us think about the contradictions of what it means for people of color, particularly Chicanas/os-Latinas/os, to get an education at a moment when ethnic studies programs are being criminalized in some parts of the country, while federal funding to steer "Hispanic" and other minority students into the so-called STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) fields is dramatically increased and applauded. In *Stand and Deliver* and now, the message is that an education in the STEM fields is the only valued/valuable way to integrate immigrants, Chicanas/os, poor, and otherwise previously 'underperforming' students into a corporate 'national' project of competing in a global economy.

A key analytical framework for my analysis of public education in general, and *Stand and Deliver* more specifically, is neoliberalism. In what follows, I draw on the

work of a wide range of social and cultural critics in American Studies and other fields. More specifically, I build on critical education theorists' analyses of neoliberalism as it applies to public education and the specific ways neoliberal capitalism uses public schools to serve its rapidly globalizing needs.[143] First, I turn to Elizabeth "Betita" Martínez and Arnoldo García's definition in their essay, "What is Neo-liberalism? A brief definition for U.S. activists," originally published in 1996 by the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights. In this essay, they associate neoliberalism with "Reaganomics," after the policies advocated and instituted by the Ronald Reagan administration, which resembled those of the United Kingdom's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. They highlight the "five main points of neo-liberalism" that include: "1) The Rule of the Market, 2) Cutting Public Expenditure for Social Service, 3) Deregulation, 4) Privatization, and 5) Eliminating the Concept of "Public Good" or "Community." Another useful definition comes from Nikhil Pal Singh's "Liberalism" keyword entry in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies* (2007). Singh identifies the 1970s as the decade that witnessed a shift to "neoliberalism."[144] He writes, "A hybrid (like all forms of liberalism), neoliberalism resurrects "pre-Keynesian" assumptions that free markets automatically generate civic order and economic prosperity, even while it gradually eviscerates democratic norms of political participation by an informed citizenry, re-imagining both individuals and groups as primarly 'entrepreneurial actors'"

[143] For more on neoliberal policies and education in the US, see also: Michael Singh, Jane Kenway, and Michael W. Apple, "Globalizing Education: Perspectives from Above and Below" in *Globalizing Education* (2005) and Stanley Aronowitz, "Subaltern in Paradise: Knowledge Production in the Corporate Academy" in *The Subaltern Speak: Curriculum, Power, and Educational Struggles* (2006).

[144] For more historicization of the advent of the current era of neoliberalism, see David Harvey's essay, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction" (2007). In it, he identifies the 1973 US-backed coup and assassination of democratically elected Chilean president, Salvador Allende, on Sept. 11, 1973. (26)

(Singh 144, citing W.Brown). Together, these definitions work together to illuminate the multiple neoliberal ideologies consolidated by institutions of education, and they infuse the concept of "ganas" in *Stand and Deliver* with a special meaning derived from ideologies that privilege individualism over group efforts at success.

Escalante turned the Spanish word into pedagogical gold at Garfield, with "ganas" meaning more than its dictionary definitions within the framework of AP Calculus. Two online dictionaries[145] tell us that "ganas" is the informal "tu" (or "you") form of the verb ganar, which means to earn, to win, or to gain. In common usage, "ganas" means to desire, to be in the mood for, to have the urge or feeling to do something, which suggests individual preferences and proclivities. Interestingly, one dictionary's first three definitions for "ganar" are "to gain, to get or obtain (adquirir or acquire), as profit or advantage," "to gain, to win (premio or prize)," and "to gain, to have the overplus in comparative computation." The word rings with implications of individualized drive and desire to achieve, "to gain, to get, to obtain as profit or advantage," while eliding the collective, group effort to both teach and learn AP Calculus at Garfield.[146]

Escalante's high national profile in the 1980s was due largely to the success of the film that featured the 1982 class of AP Calculus students at Garfield High School. *Stand and Deliver* portrays Escalante as a Latino immigrant educator who challenges the institutional racism in education and the discriminatory mechanisms that bar his students from the "system that they're now finally qualified to be a part of" (*S&D*). His pedagogy of competition is driven by a philosophy of "ganas," or desire and individual

[145]www.spanishdict.com and the Oxford Spanish Dictionary online.

[146] According to "Mr Gabe's Spanish Slang Dictionary," "ganas" also has a more vulgar slang meaning for "balls," thus locating desire and urge in male genitalia, thereby reinforcing the masculinist undertones of Escalante's one-word motto.

determination to succeed despite "your problems." The film's celebration of a "manly pedagogy" of paternalism and competition ultimately reaffirms a 1980s conservative mode of education that validates and rewards neoliberal solutions as the key to reforming public education's perceived failures.

I organize this chapter into two main parts. In Part 1, "The Best Movie Ever Made About Teaching:" *Stand and Deliver* and Other True Hollywood Stories About Teachers,"[147] I analyze *Stand and Deliver* as a pedagogical tool and part of a genre of Hollywood films, which speaks to the incredible reach of this film and the impact of Escalante's teaching methods in the world of education because of it. Part 1 also emphasizes the film's form as a docudrama, a technology of memory that reconstructs historical narratives as 'truths.' Part 2, "Math is the Great Equalizer:" Uplifting the Raza in *Stand and Deliver*; Or, Teaching "*calcúlus*" to basic math *burros* in the *barrio,*" focuses on what I call Escalante's pedagogy of competition, paying close attention to the subject of math and the political implications of teaching AP Calculus at an otherwise 'underperforming' school. I conclude the chapter by analyzing Culture Clash's 1992 comedy sketch, "Stand and Deliver Pizza," thereby connecting the film to other forms of remembering Escalante and challenging the dominant narrative version put forth by the film. In the end, we will see that although *Stand and Deliver* (and Escalante) at times may seem to challenge the institutional racism and the for-profit gatekeeping world of standardized testing, any critique of racism and other educational injustices is quickly tempered by the film's overarching conservatism and its faithful insistence that math

[147] Jay Mathews, 2010. Mathews also authored the biography, *Escalante: The Best Teacher in America* (1988).

education is the only valuable path to leveling the playing field for barrio students, thereby securing them a place as among the "best-trained workers" in a globally competitive economy.

Part 1. "The Best Movie Ever Made About Teaching:" *Stand and Deliver* and Other True Hollywood Stories About Teachers[148]

The entertainment industry is the second largest export—second only to military aircraft, and it is estimated that a successful film is seen by 10,000,000 people in theaters, and millions more when it is aired on cable and exported to foreign markets.[149]

One brief showing of *Stand and Deliver* on television [was] seen by three to four million people [in the UK] while the combined yearly circulation of the top twenty-five professional education journals are read by little more than 250,000 practitioners.[150]

As the epigraphs suggest, we cannot underestimate the global pedagogical power and reach of a film made in the United States, particularly one backed by commercial, mainstream, corporate Hollywood mechanisms of production and distribution. *Stand and Deliver* minted Jaime Escalante as "America's most famous teacher" (Bennett 84), an educational celebrity who was hailed as a model teacher for his dedication and success with his "disadvantaged" students. In the over twenty years since its theatrical release, *Stand and Deliver* has enjoyed a lasting power beyond its initial box-office success due to such factors as exportation to foreign markets, broadcasts on cable and syndicated television, and repeated classroom screenings in high schools and colleges. Middle and high school teachers still show this film to their students; substitute teachers will often encounter *Stand and Deliver* as the movie to show the students for the day; and scholarly

---

[148] Jay Mathews, 2010. Mathews also authored the biography, *Escalante: The Best Teacher in America* (1988).
[149] Henry A. Giroux (citing Edward Asner), *Breaking into the Movies* (2002).
[150] From Susan Ellsmore, *Carry On, Teachers!* (1995), p.viii.

journals in engineering and education have discussed the film's portrayal of Jaime Escalante's pedagogical successes in teaching advanced math.

Jay Mathews[151], a *Washington Post* columnist and Escalante biographer, proclaims that *Stand and Deliver* is the "best movie ever made about teaching." With such widespread international press and high praise, including countless positive reviews in such "foreign markets" as the UK, Australia, and Canada,[152] the film has enjoyed consistent circulation on television airwaves, DVD collections, and in classrooms. Furthermore, such attention speaks to the incredible reach of this film in particular and the impact of Escalante's teaching methods in the world of education. Currently, especially in light of Jaime Escalante's recent death in March 2010, there is a renewed interest in *Stand and Deliver*, and it continues to reach new audiences. Therefore, *Stand and Deliver* continues to be a pedagogical force in many classrooms and other public and private sites of engagement.

---

[151] In a keynote address at the ASCD (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development) annual conference, called "From Jaime Escalante to KIPP," Mathews links the KIPP schools founders to Escalante through teaching methods and ideology. (See http://ascd.typepad.com/blog/2011/03/from-jaime-escalante-to-kipp.html). Mathews's most recent book, *Work Hard. Be Nice.: How Two Inspired Teachers Created the Most Promising Schools in America* (2009), praises the efforts of Mike Feinberg and Dave Levin. Feinberg and Levin, alums of the Teach for America program, started the KIPP (Knowledge is Power Program) chain of charter schools. They are featured in the recent film, *Waiting for "Superman*" (2010), directed by Oscar winning director, Davis Guggenheim (*An Inconvenient Truth),* about the dismal state of public schools and the privatized charter programs that can save America's students. The film profiles Daisy, the Latina fifth grader from Boyle Heights in East L.A., who wishes to attend a KIPP school in her neighborhood rather than attend a middle school that would feed her to Roosevelt High School. In general, *Waiting for Superman,* the group of students it profiles, and Mathews's book offers many productive was to think further about racialized masculinity, discourses of benevolence, and pedagogy as they converge in neoliberal educational practices, and I will explore these interplays and representations in future versions of this chapter.

[152] A sampling of headlines for film reviews of *Stand and Deliver* based on a recent LexisNexis Academic search of English-language newspapers: "Stand and Deliver is in a class of its own" (Sydney, Australia *Sun Herald*), "Few Films About Teachers Earn A Passing Grade; But 'Stand And Deliver' Stands Out In The Field, Experts Agree" (*USA Today*); "The Noble Stand" (*Washington Post*).

The film was released in Los Angeles and New York in March of 1988 and opened nationwide in April of 1988. As Chicano film critic Chon Noriega writes, *Stand and Deliver* was among four "Hispanic" movies released between the summer of 1987 and the spring of 1988 that garnered national attention as "Hispanic Crossover" hits: Luis Valdez's Ritchie Valens biopic, *La Bamba* (1987); Cheech Marin's immigration comedy, *Born in East L.A.* (1987); Robert Redford's farmworker resistance film, *The Milagro Beanfield War* (1988), and *Stand and Deliver*. Like these films, *Stand and Deliver* tells a specifically Chicano-Latino story, this time about teaching and learning in the 1980s, and thus, it is specifically a film by, for, and about "Hispanics." Following Carlos Cortés's work, Noriega reminds us that "film does not operate alone," nor does it "exist as a pristine text, but in mediation with media coverage and audience expectations" (Noriega, "Discursive Analysis" 3). In the case of *Stand and Deliver,* positive media coverage and reviews buoyed its success during this cultural moment and helped deliver to audiences an inspirational story that was both new and not so new: new because, to my knowledge, the film is the first (and only one) in the Hollywood genre of high school teacher films to feature a Latino teacher and a thoroughly (exclusively?) Mexican American/Latino group of students and not so new because it is part of a recognizable genre of recent Hollywood docudrama films based on "true stories" of teachers charged with teaching underperforming, troubled, "ghetto/barrio" youth. As such, *Stand and Deliver'*s pedagogical power lies in both its Hollywood narrative investment in the super-teacher genre and in the truth-status that is conferred upon it as docudrama based on the actual events that took place at Garfield High School in 1982.

To be fair, *Stand and Deliver* did not begin as a "Hollywood" film project, nor was it was commissioned by a major studio for production. Rather, *Stand and Deliver* began as an independent film first optioned for television by PBS's American Playhouse. David Rosen explains that once Menéndez, then a recent graduate of UCLA's film school, secured a $12,000 "scripting grant" from American Playhouse, other sponsors followed suit, including a second grant of $500,000 from American Playhouse for the television rights, as well as contributions from the National Science Foundation, Atlantic Richfield Corporation (better known as ARCO), the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Ford Foundation, and "product placement fees from Pepsi and Anheuser-Busch" (Rosen 250-1). Such funding sources are appropriately aligned with the content of the film and speak to how private science and technology firms endorse its message. *Stand and Deliver*'s message of the need for advanced math at 'failing' public high school is what launched the film, and thus Escalante and his calculus students at Garfield High School, into the mainstream as another Hollywood film about 'good teachers' and 'bad students.'

In considering the reach of *Stand and Deliver*, and in order to understand its teaching function as a film, it is useful to turn to Giroux's articulation of how movies operate as "public pedagogy." In *Breaking into the Movies: Film and the Culture of Politics* (2002), Giroux reminds us that films carry the "potency and power of the movie industry" that "influences the popular imagination and public consciousness" (6). In this view, films, especially those about dedicated teachers, challenging students, and schools-in-crises, function as "teaching machines" in the service and construction of a public pedagogy. He writes,

> [T]he growing popularity of film as a compelling mode of communication and form of public pedagogy —a visual technology that functions as a powerful teaching machine that intentionally tries to influence the production of meaning, subject positions, identities, and experience— suggests how important it has become as a site of cultural politics….[Films] also play an important role in putting particular ideologies and values into public conversation, and offer a pedagogical space for addressing how a society views itself and the public world of power, events, politics, and institutions. (Giroux 6, 10).

Much of the film's pedagogical potency is derived from its dual function as a mainstream Hollywood docudrama, or a fictionalized narrative motion picture based on true events, about an inspirational teacher working in a 'tough' school, and as a specifically Latino movie released in the late 1980s during the so-called "Decade of the Hispanic" along with the others mentioned by Noriega.

At this point, is useful to refer to Marita Sturken's definition of "docudrama" and how it functions as a technology of cultural memory in the reconstruction and reenactment of historical events. As Sturken writes,

> History and cultural memory converge in very particular ways in the form of the docudrama. As a melding of historical fact and dramatic form, the docudrama is in essence a mimetic interpretation of the past….The cinematic docudrama exerts significant influence in the construction of meaning…For much of the American public, docudramas are a primary source of historical information…*Like a memorial*, the docudrama offers closure, a process that can subsume cultural memory and personal memory into history. (85, my emphasis)

Thinking of the *Stand and Deliver* as a memorial, and foregrounding its memorializing and remembering function, is especially productive and important to consider now, in the wake of Escalante's recent death. In ways it did not before, *Stand and Deliver* now gains a particular currency and carries more weight as a technology of remembrance. Now, it

functions as a sort of biopic about Escalante, the man and teacher, rather than just another true Hollywood teacher story about inspirational teachers helping students to succeed. It has the potential to "offer closure" for those who knew him and who never did, but knew his legacy. In this way, the film "subsume[s] cultural memory and personal memory into history" (Sturken 85), in this case, one that is reduced to and narrated as Escalante's story.

Like Olmos's film, *Walkout*, a docudrama of the 1968 East Los Angeles high school walkouts that claimed to tell "The True Story" of the blowouts from the collective accounts of a handful of student activists who helped to organize them, *Stand and Deliver* performs several pedagogical functions within multiple contexts that help ascribe historical meaning to it. However, in this new posthumous context, the film participates in the construction of another "great-man" myth behind Garfield's AP Calculus program. Here, I follow Chicana feminist critic Yolanda Broyles-González and her critical reading of Chicano teatro and movimiento constructions of Luis Valdez as the "great man" behind El Teatro Campesino. In her book, *El Teatro Campesino: Theater in the Chicano Movement,* Broyles-González writes,

> A dominant strain in the [historical] writings of El Teatro Campesino is an absolute male-centeredness. The history of the company has been constructed as the history of the life and times of Luis Valdez. As such, El Teatro Campesino history has been shaped into a male-dominated hierarchical structure that replicates oppressive dominant tendencies within society. That historical construct un-self-consciously replicates patriarchal structures and correspondingly eclipses any oppositional dynamics as well as broader historical contexts and the collective accomplishments of the Teatro Campesino ensemble. (xiii)

Here, Broyles-González challenges traditional Chicano versions of El Teatro Campesino by offering another way to view the group's history, including its collaborative work of creating teatro to inspire and mobilize farmworkers to join the movement. Valdez is often and erroneously credited for having written the actos by himself, as the volume of *Actos and Early Works* suggest. However, El Teatro Campesinos actos were collectively written and performed as an ensemble. Though they performed plays written by Valdez while he was a student at San Jose State, the actos that mobilized farmworkers to join la huelga (the UFW grape strike of the mid-1960s in Delano, CA) were written with the combined talents and insights of the group of campesinos. Broyles-González's feminist lens helps us to see *Stand and Deliver* as performing a similar function for Escalante, casting him as the 'great man' credited with saving Garfield High School.

Stand and Deliver's treatment of Escalante and his barrio students' AP Calculus success, and thus a large part of the film's allure, lies in its implication that Escalante achieved this monumental feat all by himself and in one year. The filmmakers' focus on Escalante and various biographical aspects[153] of his life and career trajectory serve as a central organizing framework of the docudrama's representation of him, thus perpetuating a narrative of the noble community servant who leaves a secure job in the private sector at an electronics firm to teach high school math in a historically "low-performing," barrio public school. The film focuses on Escalante as the dedicated teacher

[153] One key biographical fact erased by the docudrama is the fact that Escalante is an immigrant from Bolivia. In casting the Chicano actor from East L.A., Edward James Olmos, to portray Escalante on screen, the filmmakers elide important national and ethnic differences between and among Chicanas/os and Latinas/os, including citizenship status ('native born' US Chicanas/os versus immigrant Bolivian) that account for important distinctions between/among these groups. In future versions of this chapter, I will say more about the Olmos-Escalante relationship on screen and off screen, particularly as it pertains to recent memorializations of Escalante since his passing. See the conclusion of this chapter for a brief discussion of Culture Clash's performance/conflation of Olmos and Escalante in their skit, "Stand and Deliver Pizza."

who works overtime, including weekends and summers, to ensure that his “burros” not only qualify to take the AP Calculus test, but pass it in order to obtain college credit. The film’s story-telling, punctuated by the last shot of a victorious Escalante walking solo down the hallway, statistics of how many Garfield students went on to take AP Calculus in the following years scrolling on the screen as we watch Escalante exit the building, reaffirms that message that Escalante did this all by himself in a short amount of time. In actuality, the changes took place very slowly over several years and with the help of two or three key colleagues. Escalante arrived at Garfield HS in 1974 (Mathews 80), and not until 1982 did the first of Escalante’s students attempt the AP Calculus exam. Chon Noriega points out that “former students and Escalante himself also explain that, unlike the film, there were no gang members or cholos in the class; in fact, most students were already college-bound” (22), not the “basic math *burros*” portrayed in *Stand and Deliver*.

Perhaps most egregiously, the film also excludes any mention of Ben Jiménez, the young math teacher recruited by Escalante to help him launch the successful advanced math sequence of classes at Garfield and who was instrumental in supporting Escalante’s math program goals at Garfield and other area schools, such as Belvedere Middle School and East Los Angeles College, and Henry Gradillas, Escalante’s principal and key administrative supporter and advocate, even to the chagrin of other teachers at Garfield. Such omissions remind us that as a Hollywood film and docudrama, *Stand and Deliver* is imbued with the “capacity to give narrative truth to potentially "false" stories of history” (Sturken, “Reenactment” 71). That the film is about group of Mexican American-Chicana/o kids from the barrio who attend a ‘bad’ school, qualify to take the AP Calculus test, *and pass*, thanks to their dedicated Latino immigrant teacher, Jaime Escalante, is

notable for films in this genre. In this sense, *Stand and Deliver* is not simply another "white-(female)-teacher-saves-the-inner-city-students" film (*Blackboard Jungle*, *Dangerous Minds*, *Freedom Writers*), nor is it another movie about a "mean-and-strict-black-male-teacher-at-a-ghetto-school" (*187*, *Lean on Me*). And unlike these other films, in which the multicultural, 'inner-city' students are composed of African American, Latino/ "Hispanic," Southeast Asian, and the token Caucasian student, *Stand and Deliver* represents an all-Chicana/o-Latino group of students. Nevertheless, despite these differences it is still a mainstream film about super-teachers that in other ways resembles a large body of films produced before and after it.

By most industry accounts, *Stand and Deliver* was "critically and commercially successful" (Rosen 257), catapulting Escalante onto the national consciousness as a super-teacher, a sort of "Horatio Alger in East L.A."[154] *Stand and Deliver's* storytelling thus constructs Escalante as the sole 'super' teacher behind Garfield's years of AP Calculus success, placing him alongside other 'real-life' teaching subjects also featured as mainstream Hollywood releases: *Lean on Me* (1989), featuring Morgan Freeman as Joe Clark; *Dangerous Minds* (1995), featuring Michelle Pfieffer as LouAnne Johnson; and Hilary Swank as Erin Gruwell in *Freedom Writers* (2007).[155] Therefore, its successful box-office run, its high national profile, and the "Against All Odds" narrative that typically drives these 'super-teacher' movies make *Stand and Deliver*, with Edward

[154] I reference the title of an article by Michael Candelaria on Escalante, called "Horatio Alger in East L.A.," in *Christianity and Crisis* (May 2, 1988).

[155] These films are part of a long-standing genre of schoolroom films that feature a "charismatic teacher" movies. This genre, according to British film critic Susan Ellsmore, started with 1955's *Blackboard Jungle*.

James Olmos's star portrayal of Jaime Escalante, an easy addition to the Hollywood schoolroom docudrama genre alongside films with similar themes.

To trace some basic contours and to provide another context for reading *Stand and Deliver*, it is useful to look briefly at some of the films that comprise this super-teacher genre. In *Dangerous Minds*, Michelle Pfieffer stars as LouAnne Johnson, an ex-Marine and rookie high school teacher at the fictitious Parkmont High School in East Palo Alto, California. Miss Johnson's principal assigns her to the class no one else wants to teach, freshman English for the mostly black and brown students bussed in from the "ghetto" part of town. After a few failed attempts to successfully engage her rowdy students, Miss Johnson dramatically changes her appearance, shedding her demure, gentle school-marm style for a tough, leather-jacket, ex-Marine look. Once she has her class's attention, she proceeds to succeed in teaching them the curriculum requirements through unconventional means—teaching poetry using Bob Dylan lyrics, for example. *Dangerous Minds* is based on the autobiography by LouAnne Johnson called *My Posse Don't Do Homework* (1992). Johnson, an ex-US Marine Corps officer, turned to teaching to support herself after her divorce.

Like *Dangerous Minds*, 2007's *Freedom Writers* is also based on *The Freedom Writers Diary* (1999), about another young, white, rookie high school English teacher assigned to teach troublesome black, hispanic, and asian youth in the "inner city" of Long Beach, California. Oscar winner Hilary Swank portrays Erin Gruwell, the real-life teacher at Wilson High School whose pedagogy of tolerance successfully transforms her racially-

charged class from students of color "at war" with each other in 1992 Long Beach in the months after the Rodney King riots, to students who all just get along.[156]

These movies and others like them, released in the late 1980s and early 1990s, collectively register the social crisis of urban youth, the schools that fail them, and the dedicated teachers who motivate these "unteachable" students to succeed as individuals despite the odds. Such films celebrate the triumph of one teacher's spirited individualism—after all, "these students" succeed because of the devotion of a *single* teacher (who succeeds despite having little or no institutional support, and who often leaves the job in less than five years). However, in reading the autobiographies and biographies that form the bases for these films, we learn that all of the "star" teachers had help, whether from colleagues and fellow teachers or private donors.[157] As docudramas, they necessarily must forget certain things in order to construct another memory, itself a "form of interpretation" that is "highly selective" in narrating history and memory (Sturken 7). In singling out and celebrating the individual teacher as a narrative strategy and formula for success, such docudramas about "real-life" teachers and classroom settings necessarily erase what, in real life, has really been collaborative or made possible

---

[156] I've written elsewhere about *Dangerous Minds* and *Freedom Writers* as films that participate in the construction of a white feminine pedagogical figure, one engaged in benevolent acts of teaching, and that has historical roots in c19 US imperialist education.

[157] A striking example of a teacher's individual access to private donors in order to fund her underfunded public school teaching duties adequately—Erin Gruwell, the Long Beach High School teacher featured in Freedom Writers, gets John Tu, millionaire computer software businessman and CEO of Kingston Technology, to donate computers to her class for their use in writing and publishing their famed diaries. There is much to be said about *Freedom Writers's* portrayal of Gruwell's corporate support of her classroom teaching. That Gruwell needs funding for books for her 9th grade English students speaks volumes about public school budgets and how humanities tend to be underfunded compared to other school projects. In such films, these private donors to public schooling endeavors is celebrated (like Bill Gates in 2010's *Waiting for Superman*), while public schooling's dismal failures is cast as a system that can only be saved by corporate intervention. In future versions of this chapter, I will expand this analysis of neoliberalized public classroom pedagogy and its gendered and racialized workings for teachers, students, and curriculum.

by and with the aid of others. And too often these films rely on and perpetuate stereotypical representations of inner city students that suggest "these kids" and their schools are the cause of political and social problems in public education, which can only be remedied by maverick teachers who ground their innovative teaching methods in ideologies of both neoconservative and neoliberal individualism. In doing so, they "intentionally try to influence" the meaning of public education by uncritically privileging these ideologies, while "putting into public conversation" issues and questions about what constitutes (in)effective teaching and curriculum (Giroux 6-10), the solutions to which are generally tied securely to private or corporate endeavors, or else serve such interests.

Stand and Deliver operates like the other films in that it dramatizes the achievements and successes of the *individual* teachers (and students), while promoting the only solutions to public education system's ills in terms of corporate, neoliberal, and patriarchal agendas and practices. In doing so, the film suggests that education here is not a community project of collective exchange between students and teachers, as it might be in the case of feminist and critical classrooms. Rather, in celebrating Escalante's achievement as an individual, "manly" undertaking, *Stand and Deliver* erases the collaborative project of teaching AP Calculus at Garfield High, from preparing middle school students for the classes they will encounter at Garfield, to training new teachers to administer and teach in Escalante's math programs at East L.A. College. Such endeavors required the work of many teachers and other willing participants who were willing to put in the extra labor needed to keep the East L.A. and Garfield High School calculus pipeline going.

In 2007, the same year *Freedom Writers* opened in theaters nationwide, Warner Bros. distributed a "Double Feature" DVD that paired "two true-life tales" of heroic public school teachers and their no-nonsense approach to reforming troubled schools on one DVD: *Stand and Deliver* and *Lean on Me.* Although they share space in the Hollywood teacher docudrama genre, the commodified coupling of two movies about masculine, no-nonsense male teachers of color who shape up their ghetto/barrio students and schools, provides a stark contrast to films such as *Dangerous Minds* and *Freedom Writers,* which feature liberal white female English teachers. One productive way to begin examining the gendered pedagogy of competition as practiced by Escalante in *Stand and Deliver* is to read it alongside Joe Clark's bullhorn-and-baseball way of managing his school in this companion film, *Lean on Me* (1989). Doing so reveals how each film participates in a neoliberal project of management, rooted in conservative ideologies of racial uplift.

Lean on Me is a docudrama based on the memoir *Laying Down the Law*, written by Joe Clark. In *Lean on Me*, a failing "ghetto" school in Paterson, New Jersey, principal Joe Clark (played by Morgan Freeman) metes out paternalistic discipline to his predominantly black students. He (in)famously strolls the hallways of his school with a bullhorn and baseball bat, ready to frighten and threaten the students into "shaping up." Principal Clark approaches his duty to 'educate' New Jersey's inner-city students with the zeal of a military man; a former US Army drill sergeant, he runs his unit of teachers and staff, including a small corps of security officers in charge of policing the campus, according to the high standards that he believes will ensure order at the school. Order, Joe Clark insists, must first be secured before real education can take place. As George

Lipstiz writes, “In keeping with the neoconservative contempt for public education, Clark brings the model of the military and the penitentiary to urban education” (145). In *Lean on Me*, both militarism and corporatism merge in Clark’s approach to reform at Eastside High School when he is charged with raising the rate of students who pass the state’s Basic Skills Test, which unleashes a range of disciplinary methods and institutional changes in the school.

Clark indicates that the keys to his success as a principal hired to reform a poorly-run, low-performing, urban high school in New Jersey are his managerial skills. In his memoir, Clark unflinchingly advocates for a corporate management mentality when it comes to “turning around” a failing school. He deploys business administration methods of what he calls “proper management,” including “planning, organization, staffing, directing, and controlling” in running his school, and he boasts, “I feel that I have performed all five of those functions well at Eastside High” (Clark, *Laying Down the Law*). In the film, Clark chastises a young black student for “getting pregnant,” but refuses to punish the boy, who is a senior honors student; he also publicly humiliates one freshman boy until he learns “discipline and respect.” These paternalistic methods function as a way to reform these students and put them on the ‘right path’ through discipline first, basic skills second. Clark’s style of “management” is militaristic and steeped in conservative ideologies of individualism and those that forcefully impart the values of obedience, allegiance, and discipline, which supposedly lead to the production of hard-working, law-abiding consumers and proper citizens of his school. Clark’s efforts in this sense assume some of the characteristics of hierarchical and classist versions of early twentieth-century racial uplift, which Kevin Gaines suggests “regarded education as

the key to liberation" (1). Clark, a member of the middle class and aligned with conservative, Republican interests, believed in emphasizing "self-help, temperance, thrift, chastity, social purity, patriarchal authority, and the accumulation of wealth" (Gaines 2) in the schools as the means to achieving success as individuals. Gaines helps us to understand how uplift ideology, which was associated with black leaders and education advocates such as Booker T. Washington, provides a relevant context for understanding how Escalante engages in his own version of uplifting la raza, guided by his philosophy of "ganas" and a fervent belief in the power of math as a great equalizer.

- **"Math is the Great Equalizer:" Uplifting the Raza in *Stand and Deliver*; Or, Teaching "*calcúlus*" to basic math *burros* in the *barrio***

You think I want to do this? The Japanese *pay* me to do this. They're tired of making everything. They want you guys to pull your own weight… –Jaime Escalante (Edward James Olmos) to his students in *Stand and Deliver*.

In describing Escalante's teaching in terms of "uplift," I borrow from Gaines's *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (1996). Gaines defines "uplift" as an "ideology of self-help" that emerged as part of the black middle class struggle for self-determination in the specific historical and cultural context of the post-Reconstruction-era. Although "uplift" shifted in meanings and ideological undertones for different groups of black elites and members of the middle and working classes, a hallmark of uplift continued to be self-help or self-reliance, usually through education. "Uplift" in the 1980s Mexican American/East L.A. context manifests in Escalante's philosophy of "ganas" and self-reliance that infuses Escalante's "direct, manly, no nonsense" (Bennett) approach to teaching calculus at Garfield. As Gaines writes, "Generally, amidst social changes wrought by industrialism, immigration,

migration, and antiblack repression, post-Reconstruction advocates of uplift transformed the race's collective historical struggles against the slave system and the planter class into a *self-appointed personal duty to reform the character and manage the behavior of blacks themselves*" (Gaines 20, my emphasis).

We see this in *Stand and Deliver* when Escalante essentially takes it upon himself as a "self-appointed personal duty to reform the character and manage the behavior of" (Gaines 20) his basic math students. I do not want to simply substitute "Chicano" for "black," or "post-Movimiento" for "post-Reconstruction," for the complexities and historical specificities of uplift ideology as elaborated by Gaines resist such simple comparisons. However, "uplift" ideology insists that we acknowledge its emergence in the midst of "social changes wrought by industrialism, immigration, migration, and antiblack repression" (20). In this light, "uplift" for Escalante and his class is one way they survive and transform their otherwise bleak realities in the face of a changing global economy that requires more from them to 'make it' in the US as racialized minorities. By varying degrees, *Lean on Me* and *Stand and Deliver* effectively endorse those disciplinary and pedagogical methods and federal education reform initiatives rooted in neoliberal individualism and competition as the only solutions to fixing schools, raising test scores, and producing graduates who will be productive workers and active consumers. Furthermore, they function on a platform of imposing masculinity, heteronormativity, and heterosexism that replicate gender hierarchies in the service of teaching calculus. These films position inner-city/barrio students, particularly poor or working-class Chicana/o-Latina/o, African American, and some groups of Asian American students, as the ones who stand to gain the most from a schooling experience

shaped by such reform tactics and ideologies of schooling. In *Stand and Deliver*, it is the largely Chicana/o-Mexican American barrio students whose only salvation lies in learning calculus and passing the Advanced Placement test.

In *Stand and Deliver*, the idea of uplift as "optimistic group advancement" (Gaines 20) provides a productive way to think about Escalante's pedagogical practices and the ideological contexts within which he operates. After the faculty meeting at which Escalante was told that the students at Garfield were not prepared to learn calculus, he volunteers to teach more classes to prepare them for it. Though he is met with exasperation and resistance from his math chair, the principal invites Escalante to try it. In a pivotal scene, Escalante strides into his classroom and delivers a message the following message to his students:

> We will begin each class with a quiz. [Students moan and complain.] There will be no free rides, no excuses. You already have two strikes against you. There are some people in this world who will assume that you know *less* than you do because of your name and your complexion. But math is the great equalizer. When you go for a job, the person giving you that job will not want to hear your problems, and neither do I. You're going to work harder than you've ever worked before. And the only thing I ask from you is ganas. Desire. If you don't have the ganas I will give it to you because I'm an expert. (*S&D*)

His proclamation that "no one wants to hear your problems and neither do I" resonates loudly with the conservative "self-help component of uplift," while his call for "education as crucial to group advancement" nevertheless "obscures social inequalities" (Gaines 21) that exist between and among groups of Chicana/o-Mexican American students. That is, as represented in the film, Escalante's teaching philosophy of "no free rides" and "you gotta have ganas" begins with his belief that it is a highly individualized

pursuit, downplaying the collaborative process of knowledge production that occurs in the pursuit of advanced studies. Furthermore, convincing his students of their right to access calculus, he also advances the belief that education functions solely as a means to an ostensibly lucrative end. To "have" calculus is to ganar, or gain/win access to, and to be well-equipped to successfully participate in, a globalized and competitive, high-tech job market that demands highly specialized training in math, science, and related fields that also carry racialized and gendered implications for who gets access, how, and at what costs.

The previous scene represents a narrative shift in the film, the moment at which Escalante decides to take it upon himself and shoulder the burden of teaching calculus to otherwise unprepared students. Escalante's quick delivery, "no-nonsense," "no excuses" mandate exemplifies his "ethic of success" that made Escalante popular with right-wing politicians. His pedagogy of ganas and competition is imbued with a heteronormative sexism that renders it a considerable foil to the queer feminist pedagogy I discussed in Chapter 3. However, in the male-dominated world of the Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) fields, such masculinist and patriarchal pedagogy is tolerated, if not rewarded and encouraged, for producing the sorts of results that are valued in this competition. Put another way, Escalante's masculine pedagogy of ganas and competition functions as a neoliberal version of uplift by reproducing dominant structures of gender hierarchies. The film shows many examples of Olmos/Escalante bantering with his students, cleverly using language and scenarios he imagines are familiar to them in order to help his students make sense of the otherwise abstract and complex concepts he is asking them to grasp. This seems like a good strategy to equalize

learning and involve student-centered knowledges towards a common classroom goal. However, his examples and the ways he involves students are problematic. For example, throughout the film, Escalante will explain math problems in terms of many more girlfriends one "gigolo" has over another, naturalizing male competition for "girlfriends" in ways that celebrate male privilege. He also picks on female students for having "too many boyfriends."

In his book, *The Devaluing of America* (1992), William J. Bennett describes what he sees as the essence of Escalante's gift as a teacher: "Indeed, he seeks every opportunity to impose his ethic of achievement, success, and hard work on [his students]. His reason, as expressed to me, is simple: "My values are better than theirs." His way of doing this is direct, manly, no nonsense." Bennett served as Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Education from 1985-1988, and his fawning over Jaime Escalante, "America's most famous teacher" (84), registers his stamp of approval for Escalante's paternalistic, imposing pedagogical philosophy and his "direct, manly, no nonsense" way of teaching that produces favorable educational outcomes in the eyes of conservatives like himself. However, the "manly" endeavor taken on by the Bolivian immigrant to teach advanced math to "lazy" and predominantly Mexican American basic math students in East Los Angeles that became the subject of admiration among conservative education advocates in the 1980s also advanced, as I have suggested, heteronormative and hetersexist constructions of knowledge. In contrast to Joe Clark's drill-sergeant tactics, Escalante performs "the benevolent dictator," as one movie critic described him,[158] whose "cool

[158] See "'Stand and Deliver' Shows That Tough Guys Do Math," a March 30, 1988 film review of *Stand and Deliver* by Hal Lipper published in the St. Petersburg (FL) *Times.* The reviewer describes (Olmos's performance of) Escalante's classroom demeanor: "His emotional tempering is as extreme. He

benevolence" works in favor of his students. After all, he's sacrificing much of his own time and not getting paid extra for giving them something useful: "if they get through calculus, then they have something." In this way, *Stand and Deliver* underscores how neoliberalism structures Escalante's masculinist pedagogy of competition.

Nation-wide, it was rare to find a middle-class high school in 1982 that could produce more than a handful of AP Calculus-qualified students. The fact that a "barrio" high school in East Los Angeles produced eighteen qualified students in AP Caluclus in one year itself was a notable feat, and high school math departments across the country took notice of Escalante's and his collaborators' work at Garfield (Mathews 2). Escalante's push to teach AP[159] Calculus at Garfield stems from his "ethic of achievement, success, and hard work" (Bennett 85) that reflects his own "ganas" to see Garfield do more than simply maintain its accreditation through a basic skills-heavy curriculum. He pushed his "lazy" students because, as Escalante believed, "if they got through calculus, they have something" (Mathews 225). In this formulation, that "something" is only measurable in terms of calculus's economic value and potentially profitable returns for those who "get through" it successfully.

---

coolly taunts, badgers and challenges students. He embarrasses school officials. He baits people - whispering in their ears, teasing them in front of peers - to force them to do what he deems best. He's a benevolent dictator, one who cares for his subjects."

[159]Advanced Placement exams are supposed to be the equivalent of a college level introductory course. Mathews suggests that the AP program was founded in 1956 (108). A quick online search tells us that the Ford Foundation was instrumental in providing the initial funding for what would become the AP tests (Wikipedia), which started as a program between three elite East Coast preparatory schools (The Lawrenceville School, Phillips Academy, and Phillips Exeter) and three Ivy League universities (Harvard, Princeton, and Yale). In future drafts, I will do more research on the origins of the AP program and elaborate on the AP calculus exam in particular.

To echo Angel Guzmán, Lou Diamond Phillips's cholo "tough guy" character in *Stand and Deliver,* "What's *calculus?*" A page from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's website tells us this about calculus:

> Calculus, by giving engineers and you the ability to model and control systems gives them (and potentially you) extraordinary power over the material world. The development of calculus and its applications to physics and engineering is probably the most significant factor in the development of modern science beyond where it was in the days of Archimedes. And this was responsible for the industrial revolution and everything that has followed from it including almost all the major advances of the last few centuries.[160]

These passages suggest that calculus in particular occupies a certain status as an elite subject that carries with it "extraordinary power," with roots in the Greek science and mathematics tradition and important implications for a nation's success and ability to compete with other nations for technological supremacy. The presence of a competitive math and science curriculum, especially at the high school level, signifies rigor, excellence, an eye toward *individual* "progress," and the competitive mettle of a nation. In this way, calculus and its prioritization are often barometers for the country's progress in developing globally competitive mathematics education programs in its schools. Therefore, it is not an accident that the federal government prioritizes math and science programs for special funding considerations and for excellence in math and science and that a nation's output in the so-called STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Math) fields correlates to national power and global dominance through technological prowess.

---

[160] "What is calculus and why do we study it?" (http://www.math.mit.edu/~djk/calculus_beginners/chapter01/section02.html). Accessed 09 December 2010.

Education laws such as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), passed by George W. Bush in 2001, and public education financial incentive packages such as Barack Obama's Race to the Top Fund (RTTT), instituted in 2009, continue to privilege "scientifically based instruction programs" (NCLB) and "reinvigorating math and science education" (RTTT) by calling explicitly for more funding for these programs in more schools, often at the expense of other programs and areas of study, particularly the humanities, the arts, and certain social science programs like ethnic studies. For example, NCLB essentially mandates "high-quality academic assessments," or standardized testing heavy in math, science, and reading in an effort to "close the achievement gap between high- and low-performing children."[161] Though Race to the Top reaffirms NCLB's emphasis on "rigorous standards and high-quality assessments,"[162] it singles out and prioritizes a specifically math- and science-centered program of study for America's schools in ways that NCLB does not. Race to the Top is a competitive grant program that provides public schools money that is contingent on raising test scores—states have to apply for this money, creating an environment of economic competition and unequal access to public funds. Tellingly, RTTP stipulates that "Demonstrating and sustaining education reform" means "promoting collaborations between business leaders, educators, and other stakeholders to raise student achievement and close achievement gaps, and by

[161] I cite Sec. 1001, "Statement of Purpose," of the No Child Left Behind Act. All citations from here forward can be found in the document at http://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/index.html. When I taught high school English for two years from 2002-04, I saw first-hand the disproportionate emphasis on teaching to the test in areas counted most by the "API" scores, or what the State of California terms the Academic Performance Index, which measures schools' progress based on test scores. At the time, over 50% of the 'weight' of the test was in Reading ("English") and nearly 40% in Math.

[162] I cite the "Race to the Top Factsheet," found at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/fact-sheet-race-top. There is much more to say about NCLB and RTTT in terms of their impact on public education and how such policies conform public education to fit the corporate neoliberalism's needs. I will elaborate on the discourses and finer points of both bills in future versions of this chapter.

expanding support for high-performing public charter schools, reinvigorating math and science education, and promoting other conditions favorable to innovation and reform."

Furthermore, creating public education models that conform to and are confined by market demands is increasingly, "plausibly justified on the grounds of national economic survival in the face of global competition" (Raduntz 244). In this context, both NCLB and RTTT function as national justification for funding some programs and areas of study over overs. Helen Raduntz's formulation of "marketized education" helps us to understand the neoliberal imperatives that drive both Bush's and Obama's recent education reform legislation. In her essay, "The Marketization of Education within the Global Capitalist Economy," Raduntz explains, "Adopted by business as the new orthodoxy, the ideology of neoliberalism supports individualism, consumerism, competition, and minimal governmental interference, which, it is claimed, will induce self-reliance, initiative, and creativity, attributes a marketized education system would promote" (234). By "marketized" education, Raduntz means the processes within capitalism that shape education "to conform to market requirements," which has widespread implications for public education at all levels (242). "Education" in the current neoliberal contexts of Race to the Top means privileging STEM programs, as well as others that serve the needs of "business leaders" and others whose interests are shaped by neoliberal imperatives.

In general, math and science constitute forms of privileged knowledge in the sense that the competitive, advanced classes in the math and science that teach marketable skills are generally offered only at high-performing, privileged schools. *Stand and Deliver* also uncritically attests to the racialized and classed avenues by which most

U.S. high school students would study advanced math and sciences. In the film, Escalante takes his class to his former place of employment, the computer electronics firm for which his white male neighbor still works. The rag-tag raza group of Garfield High School students stands out in a clean-looking, antiseptic, monochromatic environment of white men in white lab coats doing important things with computers. Escalante's neighbor and former co-worker invites him over to look at the advanced computer program using a form of calculus. When Escalante marvels at its 'real-life' uses for the benefit of his interested students, the co-worker informs him that his daughter is learning this program at her high school. This scene exemplifies one way that advanced math becomes the domain of privileged white students at elite private schools, thus revealing its classed, elite status that not everyone has access to. On the other hand, such knowledge is racialized in another way, as a stereotypical construction of advanced math and science as the domain of Japanese and other Asian "math whiz-kids."

In *Stand and Deliver*, and for Jaime Escalante, a Bolivian immigrant who left a job in the private sector as an electronics specialist to teach math in a public high school, the privilege of learning calculus and the prestige of passing the AP test are tied primarily to the potential earning power that passing the AP test could enable. Another revealing scene depicts Escalante and his students laboring on a hot, steamy day in the middle of summer, in miserable conditions. When they complain of the stuffiness and heat in their locker-room-turned-summer-school-classroom, he tells them, "You think I want to do this? The Japanese *pay* me to do this. They're tired of making everything. They want you

guys to pull your own weight, so they can go take vacations on Mount *Fuji*."[163] Within the context of the film, set in 1982 Los Angeles, a globalized city, this scene speaks to the rising importance of Japan and the Pacific Rim to the U.S. and California economy in ways that are increasingly technical and economic. Here, Escalante implies that the "Hispanic" students must 'measure up' to the successes of their so-called model minority Asian peers, a problematic outcome of neoconservative education that perpetuates the stereotypes of Asian students as math-and-science whiz kids and of Chicana/o-Latina/o students as lazy and remedial. After all, Olmos/Escalante tells his students, "neither the Greeks nor the Romans were capable of using the concept of zero. It was your ancestors, the Mayas, who first contemplated the zero, the absence of value. You *burros* have math in your blood!" An empowering statement to consider, one that sounds politically progressive and student-centered as it attempts to naturalize math for them as brown students descended from indios. Yet, it is a comment deployed by Escalante ultimately to contractually obligate his students to the business of learning "calculus inch by inch," starting with algebra because, as he tells them in the film, "if the only thing you know how to do is add and subtract, you will only be prepared to pump gas or deep-fry chicken for a living."

Escalante's "Japanese" comment on one level reflects a class and race bias to his understanding of what constitutes "pulling your own weight," as well as the conservative politics surrounding the uses of education as a means to profitable gain. For Escalante, the acquisition of basic math skills is not enough if his students expect to be competitive

[163] In the film, Olmos pronounces it "*fuchi,*" Spanish slang for "stinky" or "smelly." I also thank Margaret Fajardo for her comments about this quote from the film.

in the globalized labor market, where US-educated workers would be vying with "the Japanese" and other international workers for the same prestigious, high-technology jobs.[164] In his essay "Are Markets in Education Democratic? Neoliberal Globalism, Vouchers, and the Politics of Choice," critical pedagogy theorist Michael W. Apple helps us to see Escalante's fried-chicken lesson as one that reflects the conditions "behind the stress on higher standards, more rigorous testing, education for employment, and a much closer relationship between education and the economy in general," which was marked by "the incitation of racialized fears about losing jobs and money in international competition with Japan, the 'Asian Tiger' economies, Mexico, and elsewhere" (213). David Harvey adds to this discussion in his essay, "Neoliberalism as Creative Distruction." He writes, "[T]he 1980s…belonged to Japan, the East Asian "Tigers," and West Germany as powerhouses of the global economy….In Japan, independent unions were weak or nonexistent, but state investment in technological and organizational change and the tight relationships between corporations and financial institutions generated an astonishing export-led growth performance, very much at the expense of other capitalist economies such as the United Kingdom and the United States" (33).

By invoking the Japanese academic and technological prowess and supremacy as a motivator for this students to get the ganas to compete, Escalante exposes his interest in producing future workers who have the advanced skills to compete in what critical educators Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux call a "changing world economy and the new international division of labor" (13). This is illustrated aptly in the scene in which

[164] Apple explains this view of "students as human capital:" "The world is intensely competitive economically, and students—as future workers—must be given the requisite skills and the dispositions to compete efficiently and effectively" (214).

Escalante and Frank are driving in Frank's mechanically-questionable car, and Escalante asks Frank, "wouldn't you rather design these things than fix them?" Frank, failing calculus and resisting Escalante's methods throughout the film, is poised to be one of those students Escalante fears will only "pump gas" and fix cars for a living, rather than striving to do more. Frank lacks ganas to achieve what Escalante deems valuable, not what Frank thinks is important for his own path to success. Escalante insists that his students, "burros" whose birthright it is to learn math, "pull their own weight" in a world where there are "no free rides," and his mission is to prepare his students to compete on the level of the powerhouse Japanese automobile and electronics manufacturers, or acquire enough of the advanced skills to possibly be hired by one of them. Success in AP Calculus in particular, therefore, has far-reaching implications beyond the students and the school.

In such a climate, the public sector, teaching in particular, also stands to lose otherwise qualified workers to more lucrative jobs, as the film suggests in its example of a Japanese-American male math teacher quitting to take "a job in aerospace,"[165] further underscoring the lures of the private sector in ways that undermine the public sector. Therefore, in order to produce acceptable results in terms of the calculus program and Advanced Placement exam, Escalante must "demand 'excellence'" from both his students and his school. For Aronowitz and Giroux, "'excellence'…usually mean[s] that schools should offer more rigorous science and math curriculum—a notion keeping with the conservative idea that the mastery of techniques is equivalent to progress" (14). I

[165] Indeed, Escalante himself was ready to go back to his old job at a computer manufacturing company after his first day teaching at Garfield (Mathews 82-3).

would venture to guess that had he taught Creative Writing or Music or some other unworthy (or unprofitable)[166] subject, Jaime Escalante would not have become a national education hero and darling of neoconservative education reformers.

According to the "Escalantese Glossary" in Jay Mathews's biography, *Escalante: The Best Teacher in America*, "Mickey Mouse" was Escalante's term for "such classes as woodworking, plastics, marching band, cheerleading, or any sport that takes time from math" (308). In this way, he trivializes other ways students engage in productive educational experiences, and in doing so, devalues the cultural capital to be gained by studying a humanities, arts, and/or social science based curriculum. He renders such courses inadequate and not nearly as important as calculus, effectively sealing off other areas of study and knowledge to students who may not be interested in learning math or partaking in its promised rewards.

His tenet that "math is the great equalizer" suggests it holds the power to provide equal opportunity for those who master it. However, touting math as the "great equalizer" obscures the institutional racism that often prevents even qualified students of color from accessing higher education. It also renders other areas of study worthless, upholding math and other so-called STEM fields (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics) as the 'only' legitimate way(s) to access higher education and lift oneself up from poverty. Though no mention of it is made in the film, Escalante also opposed bilingual education. As a favorite of neoconservatives in the 1980s and 1990s, Escalante could be counted on by the likes of Bennett and Ronald Unz, author of California's Proposition 227 ("English

[166] In her essay, "The Marketization of Education within the Global Capitalist Economy," Helen Raduntz explains that in an "onset of a truly capitalist mode of education," such "low-market-value humanities courses are being sidelined as an instrumental model of education takes hold" (242).

for the Children," 1998) for an enthusiastic endorsement of English-only education in public schools. His statements reflect the views of some Latin American immigrants to the US who immigrate "legally," speak English, and otherwise participate productively as acculturated US citizens. If he could do it, so can they. Thus, Escalante performs model immigrant citizenship and ethics that are part of his message to students, and seems to harbor judgment towards and make assumptions about the legal status of the families of his students.[167] Calculus and math in general then are constructed as fields of objective, rational, systematic, abstract knowledge, and therefore politically neutral, as opposed to the open discussion of race and identity that drive the women teachers' English classes in *Dangerous Minds* and *Freedom Writers*.

At moments, however, Escalante does seem to challenge the system on race-related grounds. While Escalante achieves his goal of coaching his students successfully through the Advanced Placement test, he and his students become enmeshed in an academic dishonesty investigation that amplifies the truth beyond the myth of success. Escalante confronts the two Educational Testing Services (ETS) officials about the cheating accusations made against his students. Not lost on the students is the discriminatory nature of ETS's charges, and they reluctantly agree to re-take the test at Escalante's urging. Furiously, he tells Dr. Ramirez (played by Cuban actor Andy Garcia), "if this was Beverly Hills High School, they wouldn't have sent *you* two to investigate....Those scores would have *never* been questioned if my kids did not have Spanish surnames and come from *barrio* schools. You *know* that!" Here, Escalante

[167] In an article that appeared in The *Washington Post* on April 4, 2010, Mathews writes, "[Escalante] was so convinced of the power of teaching that he lied to keep students with him. He said school rules forbade dropping his class. He told the parents of absent students that if he did not see their children in his classroom the next day, he would call the immigration authorities to check on their status."

identifies and exposes the institutional racism and the for-profit gatekeeping world of standardized testing. In this way, the film could be read as a potentially resistant text, one that challenges myths of meritocracy and colorblind institutions. But his message that "all we need is *ganas*" rings loud and promises the fulfillment of success after committing to hard work and dedication, even in the face of intense, historically entrenched institutional racism. Accordingly, the narrative quickly recuperates and normalizes, and thus privileges, the underpinning neoliberal ideologies of competition, individualism, and the "marketization of education," thereby reducing "education" to merely an investment that nets a return for stakeholders. Thus, the film suggests that the rewards of learning advanced math lie not in the promise of a higher education, but in the lucrative rewards of a high-tech career for which advanced math and science prepare students.

Toward a Conclusion

In 1992, Culture Clash, a Chicano-Latino performance group known for their sketch comedy and satires, debuted a skit called "Stand and Deliver Pizza (The Last Chicano Movie, 1992)."[168] Their piece lampoons Olmos's role as Escalante and juxtaposes it to Olmos's other famous role of El Pachuco in Valdez's play *Zoot Suit.* The plot is simple: Escalante, tired of teaching math in East L.A., decides to "open his own business [because he] wanted to continue to help helpless mocosos" like the "cholo homeboy from the barrio"(Ric Salinas) and the "longhaired rocker" (Richard Montoya), stereotypes that resonate with the students depicted in *Stand and Deliver*. The sketch

[168] "Stand and Deliver Pizza" is part of a larger piece called *A Bowl of Beings*, which premiered in San Francisco in 1991.

opens with the lights rising to reveal Herbert Siguenza, posing in full "drapes" as Olmos's familiar El Pachuco character, as Glen Miller's "In the Mood" fills the auditorium, hearkening back to the opening of *Zoot Suit*. He delivers his first line: "It was the secret fantasy of every vato in and out of the Pachucada to become…a math teacher." Next, the Pachuco/Zoot Suiter "snaps his fingers and makes a quick costume change onstage and transforms into Jaime Escalante, the math teacher from *Stand and Deliver*" (*Culture Clash* 98). Olmos the Pachuco now becomes Olmos as Escalante, the math teacher, in a conflation of both roles (Pachuco and Escalante) and of the actor Olmos with Escalante.

Culture Clash's skit operates on many levels, tying *Stand and Deliver* to other Chicano films like *Zoot Suit*, while situating Olmos as the uber-Chicano actor who brings a little bit of the East L.A. barrio to whichever role he performs, including that of the Bolivian math teacher from Garfield. In 1992, when this sketch was first performed, "Stand and Deliver Pizza" worked in part because of how it channeled and satirized a relatively recent film at the time (*Stand and Deliver* was released in 1988). Now, we can think of this sketch as another way to remember Escalante, though our memories of him are always filtered through Olmos. That is, we remember Escalante as Olmos.

When Jaime Escalante passed away last year, in March of 2010, Edward James Olmos was a highly visible figure at the memorial tributes honoring the late math teacher. As Escalante neared the final stages of his battle with cancer, the actor raised funds through his personal website to help Escalante pay for his treatments until his death. Furthermore, Olmos was a key figure in organizing Escalante's East Los Angeles memorial tribute, which included ceremonies at Garfield High School, and led the funeral

procession over to East Los Angeles College's football stadium, where local dignitaries, politicians, and celebrities eulogized and mourned the famed teacher who shaped generations of East L.A. calculus students. Escalante's open coffin was placed in his old classroom at Garfield, which according to Olmos, was cleaned up and decorated with complicated calculus formulas covering the chalkboard and photos of Escalante along with banners of some of his favorite sayings and strategies for his students: "Good Manners is the Way to Obtain Better Things," "The Time to Study for Final Exams Is Now!" and of course, "Ganas."[169]

Escalante's legacy in East L.A. is still felt and continues to be honored. Earlier this year, on the one-year anniversary of his death, a new elementary school in Cudahy, a community just south of East L.A., was named in honor of Jaime A. Escalante. His teaching methods also live in among the generations of teachers, new and old, who do their work with determination, with "ganas," such as the founders of the KIPP (Knowledge is Power Program) charter schools, with one location in East L.A. not too far from Roosevelt and Garfield High Schools.

Perhaps in the current climate of public school teacher layoffs, particularly in an era of federal legislation that blames "ineffective" teachers whose students do not pass national and statewide standardized assessment tests, it is especially important to remember and revisit those films that do celebrate good public school teachers, such as Jaime Escalante. It is tempting to read *Stand and Deliver* as a film that champions

---

[169] There are two photo-album memorials of Escalante that include photos from the East L.A. services. In future drafts of this chapter, I will say more about how Escalante was remembered in East L.A. and by other organizations across the country. See the *Los Angeles Times* photo essay, "Young and Old Remember Jaime Escalante" (http://www.latimes.com/news/local/la-me-escalante-pictures,0,3042578.photogallery) and "Remembering Jaime Escalante" on the FASE (Foundation for Advancements in Science and Education) site at http://www.fasenet.org/remembering-jaime.html.

inspired and effective public school teaching, that encourages the educational success of Chicana/o and Latina/o students, and that celebrates the laudable efforts of their immigrant Latino teacher to help them achieve in advanced mathematics. But the current capitalist economic crises and the increasing cuts to public education shed new light on *Stand and Deliver's* math-centered message: it takes on new meaning as a film that endorses the neoliberal "marketization" (Raduntz 231) of public education for privatized, corporate needs. While *Stand and Deliver* forges its own story riddled with complexities and contradictions about the Chicano/Latino teaching, learning, and educational success in the US, it remains a testament to an educational legacy of neoliberalism that has impacted generations of students in East L.A. and beyond.

EPILOGUE

At a panel discussion celebrating the 40th anniversary of the 1968 walkouts, Dr. Carlos Haro insisted that "education is the only answer" to Chicano/a community and individual empowerment." But is education still "the answer"? And what kind of education? On May 13, 2011, California public school teachers and professors, from K-12 to the state university, declared a "State of Emergency," organizing rallies across the state to voice their outrage at the deep cuts to public education funding, which continue to force teacher layoffs and school closures, while students struggle to obtain an education that itself is questionable. That is, what kind of public education are we rallying for, marching for, and demanding? Public education these days is dominated by statewide standards that stifle teachers' and students' creativity in favor of aligning content matter to rigid standardized tests. K-12 education in the post-No Child Left Behind era produces college students who increasingly lack communicative writing, critical thinking, and thoughtful analytical skills because they have mostly been taught how to take tests. Educational administrators routinely disregard teachers' input in matters that directly impact their job and they are denied a collective voice in the policy and decision making processes legislated by neoliberal politicians and corporate executives. We want public education, but what kind?

As Cherríe Moraga stated in her Elliott Memorial Lecture at UCSD on April 21, 2011, "Education makes us stupid." In other words, our schools don't teach us what we need to know to be critical, thoughtful, and conscious people. Public education "makes us stupid" by enforcing "standards" to be measured by tests, by criminalizing ethnic studies and bodies of knowledge that do not serve the interests of neoliberal, corporate US

America. It makes us stupid by teaching us to forget our histories, our legacies as Chicana/os and other historically subjugated peoples. Yet, like Audre Lorde before her, who told us that the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house, Moraga does not mean "don't go to school," "don't read," don't pursue education. Rather, we should question what education is teaching us, and to seek other inroads to knowledge acquisition outside of the institutions. The question of education becomes a matter of what we "educated Chicanas/os" will do with our education once we 'get it.'

Growing up, my mother always reminded my sisters and me that she and my father moved us out of East L.A. to East Whittier so that my sisters and I could attend better public schools. Looking back, I realize what a pivotal moment in my young life my parents' choice was. I was born in Montebello, a small city that borders East Los Angeles proper. Our little house was near the corner of Whittier Boulevard and Garfield Avenue, officially in East L.A. but close enough to Montebello, which means I would have attended what would be called "low-performing" Montebello public schools. My mother, a retired public library worker who always brought books home for us and encouraged us to read, was an advocate of public schools and insisted that her daughters attend them, as opposed to the Catholic schools my father went to. So in 1979, when I was five years old, my parents moved to an unincorporated part of Whittier so that I could start kindergarten in the Lowell Joint School District, a top elementary school district that fed competitive high schools in north Orange County. When we moved, my parents' realtor made it a point to let them know that we were the second "Hispanic" family on the block. Our new house bordered La Habra, Orange County, in an area that attracted young families because of the strength of the "high-performing" schools in the district.

My sisters and I were usually the token "Hispanic" kids in the predominantly white schools, and all of us always did well in school, even garnering admission to the GATE (Gifted And Talented Education) Program and earning Top 100 honors, for example. We graduated from universities and have successfully pursued post-graduate degrees and credentials, also through California public higher education channels. And we teach in California public schools. I understand now that my sisters and I were privileged Chicanas, products of "good" public schools that prepared us to be successful students and eventually graduates of California's well-regarded public higher education systems. Armed now with my dozen years' worth of teaching experience and my academically-acquired theoretical lenses, I often wonder, would we still have been as successful had we all attended the "bad" schools (or "better" Catholic schools) in Montebello? Does the fact that my sisters and I attended "good schools" make us better? If anything, it charges us with a responsibility to use our educational privilege to give back to our communities in productive and fruitful ways.

WORKS CITED

"40th Anniversary of East L.A. Walkouts." Interview with Sal Castro. *Free Speech Radio News*. March 7, 2008. http://www.fsrn.org/content/40th-anniversary-east-l..-walkouts

Acosta, Oscar Zeta. *The Revolt of the Cockroach People*. New York: Vintage, 1973.

Acuña, Rodolfo. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*. 4th ed. New York: Longman, 2000.

Aldama, Arturo J. and Naomi H. Quiñonez, eds. *Decolonial Voices: Chicana and Chicano Cultural Studies in the 21st Century*. Bloomington: Indiana U P, 2002.

Aldama, Frederick Luis. *Brown on Brown: Chicano/a Representations of Gender, Sexuality,and Ethnicity*. Austin: U Texas P, 2005.

---. *Dancing with Ghosts: A Critical Biography of Arturo Islas*. Berkeley: U California P, 2005.

Alexander, Bryant Keith, Gary L. Anderson, and Bernardo Gallegos. "Introduction: Performance in Education." *Performance Theories* 1-11.

---, eds. *Performance Theories in Education: Power, Pedagogy, and the Politics of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Alexander, M. Jacqui. *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*. Durham: Duke U P, 2005.

Almaguer, Tomás. *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*. Berkeley: U California P, 1994.

Anzaldúa, Gloria, ed. *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspective by Feminists of Color*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1990.

Anzaldúa, Gloria and AnaLouise Keating, eds. *This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation.* New York: Routledge, 2002.

Anonymous. "CCHE Conference." (Chicano Committee on Higher Education.) A. García 164-5.

Anthony, Adelina. *Mastering Sex and Tortillas!* Unpublished script. 2006-08.

Apple, Michael W. "Are Markets in Education Democratic? Neoliberal Globalism, Vouchers, and the Politics of Choice." Apple, Kenway, Singh 209-30.

Apple, Michael W., Jane Kenway, and Michael Singh, eds. *Globalizing Education: Policies, Pedagogies and Politics.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2005.

Apple, Michael W. and Kristen L. Buras, eds. *The Subaltern Speak: Curriculum, Power and Educational Struggles*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Arrizón, Alicia. *Latina Performance: Traversing the Stage*. Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1999.

---. *Queering Mestizaje: Transculturation and Performance*. Ann Arbor: U Michigan P, 2006.

Aronowitz, Stanley. "Subaltern in Paradise: Knowledge Production in the Corporate Academy." Apple and Buras 177-93.

Aronowitz, Stanley and Henry A. Giroux. *Education Still Under Siege*. 2nd ed. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1993.

Baszile, Denise Taliaferro. "When Public Performances Go Awry: Reading the Dynamics of Diversity Through Power, Pedagogy, and Protest on Campus." Alexander, Anderson, Gallegos 127-47.

Bennett, William J. *The De-Valuing of America: The Fight For Our Children and Our Culture*. New York: Summit Books, 1992.

Bernal, Dolores Delgado. "Grassroots Leadership Reconceptualized: Chicana Oral Histories and the 1968 East Los Angeles School Blowouts." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19. 2 (1998): 113-142. *JSTOR*.

---. "Historical Struggles for Educational Equity: Setting the Context for Chicana/o Schooling Today." *Charting New Terrains of Chicana(o)/Latina(o) Education*. Ed. Carlos Tejeda, Corrine Martinez, and Zeus Leonardo. Cresskill, N J: Hampton Press, Inc., 2000. 67-90.

Blume, Howard. "1968 student protesters honored." *Los Angeles Times* online. March 3, 2008. http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/thehomeroom.

Bracho, Ricardo A. *Sissy*. Unpublished manuscript. Company of Angels Theater, 2008.

Brady, Mary Pat. *Extinct Lands, Temporal Geographies: Chicana Literature and the Urgency of Space*. Durham and London: Duke U P, 2002.

Brown, Wendy. "American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-democratization." *Political Theory* 34. 6 (2006): 690-714.

Bruce-Novoa, Juan D. "José Antonio Villarreal." *Chicano Authors: Inquiry By Interview*. Austin: U Texas P, 1980.

Bruce-Novoa, "Homosexuality and the Chicano Novel." *European Perspectives on Hispanic Literature of the United States.* Ed. Genvieve Fabre. Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1988.

Broyles-González, Yolanda. *El Teatro Campesino: Theater in the Chicano Movement*. Austin: U Texas P, 1994.

Bryson, Mary and Suzanne de Castell. "Queer Pedagogy: Praxis Makes Im/Perfect." *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducuation* 18.3 (1993): 285-305.

Burgett, Bruce and Glenn Hendler, eds. *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*. New York: New York U P, 2007.

Calderón, Héctor and José Davíd Saldívar, eds. *Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture, and Ideology*. Durham: Duke U P, 1991 (1998).

Carlson, Dennis L. "Constructing the Margins: Of Multicultural Education and Curriculum Settlements." *Curriculum Inquiry* 25. 4 (1995): 407-431. *JSTOR*.

Carrier, Joseph. *De Los Otros: Intimacy and Homosexuality Among Mexican Men*. New York: Columbia U P, 1995.

Carrillo, Héctor. "Cultural Change, Hybridity, and Male Homosexuality in Mexico." *Culture, Health, & Sexuality* 1.3 (1999): 223-238. *JSTOR* Aug. 8, 2009.

Castillo, Ana. *Loverboys*. New York: Plume, 1997.

Castillo, Debra. "Interview with John Rechy." *diacritics* 25.1 (1995): 113-25.

Chabram-Dernersesian, Angie, ed. *The Chicana/o Cultural Studies Forum: Critical Ethnographies and Practices*. New York: New York U P, 2007.

---. *The Chicana/o Cultural Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Chicago Cultural Studies Group. "Critical Multiculturalism." *Critical Inquiry* 18.3 (1992): 530-555. *JSTOR*.

Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement. VHS. National Latino Communications Center and Galán Productions. KCTE-Los Angeles, 1996.

Chicano Rock! The Sounds of East Los Angeles. PBS Broadcast. December 2008.

Chomsky, Noam. *Profit Over People: Neoliberalism and the Global Order*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 1999.

---. "The Function of the University in a Time of Crisis." *For Reasons of State*. New York: New Press, 2003 (1969).

City of Los Angeles. "Thousands March for 40th Anniversary of East L.A. Walkouts: Electeds commemorate historic march leaders and legacy at Lincoln High School." News Release. March 8, 2008.

Clark, Joe. *Laying Down the Law: Joe Clark's Strategy for Saving Our Schools*. Chicago: Regnery Gateway Publishing, 1989.

Córdova, Teresa. "Power and Knowledge: Colonialism in the Academy." C. Trujillo 17-45.

Coronado, Raúl. "Bringing it back: Desire, jotos, and men." Chabram-Dernersesian 233-40.

Cortés, Carlos E. "Who Is Maria? What Is Juan? Dilemmas of Analyzing the Chicano Image in U.S. Feature Films." Noriega 83-104.

Crawford, James. *At War with Diversity: US Language Policy in an Age of Anxiety.* Great Britain: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 2000.

Cruz, C. and P. McLaren. "Queer bodies and configurations: Toward a critical pedagogy of the body." Shapiro 187-207.

Culture Clash. *Life, Death, and Revolutionary Comedy*. Theatre Communications Group, 1997.

Dangerous Minds. Dir. John N. Smith. Perf. Michelle Pfeiffer. Hollywood Pictures, 1995.

Danielson, Marivel T. *Homecoming Queers: Desire and Difference in Chicana Latina Cultural Production*. New Brunswick: Rutgers U P, 2009.

Danius, Sara, Stefan Jonsson, and Gayatri Spivak. "An Interview with Gayatri Spivak." *boundary 2* 20.2 (1993): 24-50. *JSTOR*.

de Jesús Hernández-G., Manuel. "Building a Research Agenda: U.S. Latino Lesbigay Literature and Cultural Production." Foster 287-325.

de la Peña, Terri. *Margins*. Seattle: Seal Press, 1992.

Dolan, Jill. *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater*. Ann Arbor: U Michigan P, 2005.

Ellsmore, Susan. *Carry on, Teachers! Representations of the Teaching Profession in Screen Culture*. Stoke-on-Trent, UK: Trentham Books, 2005.

El Plan de Santa Barbara: A Chicano Plan for Higher Education. Oakland: La Causa Publications, 1969. http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/00W/chicano101-1/SBplan.pdf.

Esquibel, Catrióna Rueda. *With Her Machete in Her Hand: Reading Chicana Lesbians*. Austin: U Texas P, 2006.

Fernández, Roberta. "*Abriendo caminos* in the Brotherland: Chicana Writers Respond to the Ideology of Literary Nationalism." *Frontiers* 14.2 (1994): 23-50.

Fernández, Salvador. "Coming Out Stories and the Politics of Identity in the Narrative of Terri de la Peña." Torres and Perpetua-Seva 68-77.

Flores, Richard R. *Remembering the Alamo: Memory, Modernity, and the Master Symbol.* Austin: U Texas P, 2002.

Flores Niemann, Yolanda. "The Making of a Token: A Case Study of Stereotype Threat, Stigma, Racism, and Tokenism in Academe." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 20.1 (1999): 111-34.

Foster, David William, ed. *Chicano/Latino Homoerotic Identities*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1999.

---. *El Ambiente Nuestro: Chicano/Latino Homoerotic Writing*. Tempe, AZ: Bilingual Press/Editorial Bilingüe, 2006.

Foucault, Michel. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." Rabinow 76-100.

---. *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the College de France, 1975-1976*. Trans. David Macey. New York: Picador, 2003 (1997).

Fregoso, Rosa Linda. *meXicana Encounters: The Making of Social Identities on the Borderlands*. Berkeley: U California P, 2003.

Freire, Paolo. *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. (1992). Trans. Robert R. Barr. London: Continuum, 2004.

---. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Revised 20th Anniversary Edition. New York: Continuum Publishing, 1996 (1970).

Gaines, Kevin K. *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 1996.

Gallop, Jane. *Anecdotal Theory*. Durham: Duke U P, 2002.

---. *Feminist Accused of Sexual Harassment*. Durham: Duke U P, 1997.

---, ed. *Pedagogy: The Question of Impersonation*. Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1995.

Gándara, Patricia and Frances Contreras. *The Latino Education Crisis: The Consequences of Failed Social Policies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard U P, 2009.

García, Alma, ed. *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

García, Ignacio M. "Juncture in the Road: Chicano Studies Since 'El Plan de Santa Barbara." Maciel and Ortiz 181-206.

García, Mónica. "Much more still needs to be done: Four decades after Latino students walked out of their classrooms, L.A. schools still need substantial reforms." *Los Angeles Times* online. March 8, 2008. http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/la-oe-garcia8mar08.

Gibson, Michelle and Deborah T. Meem, eds. *Femme/Butch: New Considerations of the Way We Want to Go.* New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002.

Giroux, Henry. *Breaking into the Movies: Film and the Culture of Politics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

---. *Pedagogy and the Politics of Hope: Theory, Culture, and Schooling*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

Goldberg, David Theo. *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

Gordon, Avery. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1996.

Gordon, Avery and Christopher Newfield, eds. *Mapping Multiculturalism*. Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1996.

Guillory, John. *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*. Chicago: U Chicago P, 1993.

Gutiérrez, José Angel. *The Making of a Chicano Militant*. U Wisconsin P, 1998.

Haggerty, George E. and Bonnie Zimmerman, eds. *Professions of Desire: Lesbian and Gay Studies in Literature*. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1995.

Hage, Ghassan. "Locating Multiculturalism's Other: A Critique of Practical Tolerance." *New Formations* 24 (1994): 19-34.

Haney López, Ian F. "Protest, Repression, and Race: Legal Violence and the Chicano Movement." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 150. 1 (2001): 205-244.

Hanson, Wayne and Bob Graves. "Excellence: Doing It Right the First Time. An Interview with Jaime Escalante." *Government Technology*. http://govtech.net/magazine/visions/feb98vision/escalante.php.

Harris, Laura A. "Notes from a Welfare Queen in the Ivory Tower." Anzaldúa and Keating 372-381.

Harris, Laura and Elizabeth Crocker, eds. *Femme: Feminists, Lesbians, and Bad Girls*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Hartman, Saidiya V. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. Oxford: Oxford U P, 1997.

Harvey, David. "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 610 (2007): 22-44.

Hollibaugh, Amber and Cherríe Moraga. "What we're rollin' around in bed with: Sexual silences in feminism. A conversation toward ending them." Nestle 243-53.

hooks, bell. *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Huerta, Jorge. *Chicano Drama: Performance, Society and Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2000.

Islas, Arturo. *Migrant Souls*. New York: Avon Books, 1990.

---. *The Rain God*. New York: Avon Books, 1984.

"Jaime Esalante: April 16-17 tribute planned in East Los Angeles." *Los Angeles Times*, 08 April 2010. http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/afterword/2010/04/jaime-escalante-april-1617-tribute-planned-in-east-los-angeles-.html.

Jesness, Jerry. "*Stand and Deliver* Revisited." July 2002. *Reason.com*. 07 December 2010.

Jiménez, K. P. "Can of Worms: A Queer T.A. in Teacher Ed." Kissen 215-25.

Johnson, LouAnne. *My Posse Don't Do Homework: A Funny and Inspiring Story of Teaching.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Karamcheti, Indira. "Caliban in the Classroom." Gallop 138-46.

Kennedy, Elizabeth Lapovsky and Madeline Davis. "The Hidden Voice: Fems in the 1940s and 1950s." Harris and Crocker 15-39.

Khayatt, M. D. *Lesbian Teachers: An Invisible Presence*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1992.

Kissen, Rita M., ed. *Getting Ready for Benjamin: Preparing Teachers for Sexual Diversity in the Classroom.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.

Laporte, Rita. "The butch-femme question." Nestle 208-19.

Latina Feminist Group. *Telling to Live: Latina Feminist Testimonios*. Durham: Duke U P, 2001.

Leovy, Jill. "Honoring a teacher and his legacy." *Los Angeles Times*, 17 April 2010. http://articles.latimes.com/2010/apr/17/local/la-me-escalante17-2010apr17.

Levinson, Bradley A., Douglas E. Foley, and Dorothy C. Holland, eds. *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1996.

Lipsitz, George. *American Studies in a Moment of Danger*. Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 2001.

---. *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture.* Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1990.

López, Sonia A. "The Role of the Chicana within the Student Movement." A. García 100-06.

Lorde, Audre. "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power." *Sister Outsider*. Trumansburg, NY: The Crossing Press, 1984. 53-9.

Lowe, Lisa. *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics.* Durham: Duke U P, 1996.

Luke, Carmen. "Feminist Politics in Radical Pedagogy." Luke and Gore 25-53.

Luke, Carmen and Jennifer Gore, eds. *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy*. New York: Routledge,1992.

MacDonald, Victoria-María, ed. *Latino Education in the United States: A Narrated History from 1513-2000.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Maciel, David R. and Isidro D. Ortiz, eds. *Chicanas/Chicanos at the Crossroads: Social, Economic, and Political Change.* Tucson: U Arizona P, 1996.

Mariscal, George. *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975.* Albuquerque: U New Mexico P, 2005.

Márquez, Antonio C. "The Historical Imagination in Arturo Islas's *The Rain God* and *Migrant Souls*." *MELUS* 19. 2 (1994): 3-16.

Martínez, Elizabeth. "'Chingón Politics' Die Hard: Reflections on the First Chicano Activist Reunion." C. Trujillo 123-135.

---. *500 Years of Chicana Women's History/500 Años de la Mujer Chicana*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers U P, 2008.

Martínez, Elizabeth and Arnoldo García. "What is Neoliberalism? A Brief Definition for Activists." *National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights*. (1996) Reposted on NNIR Blog: http://nnirr.blogspot.com/2010/06/what-is-neo-liberalism-brief-definition.html. Accessed May 21, 2001.

Martínez, Manuel Luis. *Countering the Counterculture: Rereading Postwar American Dissent from Jack Kerouac to Tomás Rivera*. Madison: U Wisconsin P, 2003.

Mathews, Jay. *Escalante: The Best Teacher in America*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1988.

McLaren, Peter with Preface by Paulo Freire. *Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture: Oppositional Politics in a Postmodern Era*. London and New York: 1995.

McLaren, Peter with Henry A. Giroux. "Radical Pedagogy as Cultural Politics: Beyond the discourse of critique and anti-utopianism." McLaren 29-57.

"Memorial Resolution: Arturo Islas." Stanford University, 1991. http://histsoc.stanford.edu/pdfmem/IslasA.pdf

Montoya, José. "The Movement Has Gone for It's (*sic*) Ph.D. Over at the University Or, The Gang Wars Are Back" (1974). *Information: 20 Years of Joda*. San Jose, CA: Chusma House Publications, 1992.

Moraga, Cherríe. *The Last Generation: Prose & Poetry*. Boston: South End Press, 1993.

---. *Loving in the War Years*. Boston: South End Press, 1983.

Moraga, Cherríe and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Berkeley: Third Woman Press, 1981.

Muñoz, Carlos Jr. *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*. Revised and Expanded ed. London and New York: Verso, 2007 (1989).

Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentification: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1999.

National Teachers Hall of Fame. "Jaime Escalante, 1999 Inductee." *National Teachers Hall of Fame*. Online. http://www.nthf.org/inductee/escalante.htm. 23 April 2007.

Nelson, Cary and Stephen Watt. *Academic Keywords: A Devil's Dictionary for Higher Education*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Nestle, Joan. "The femme question." *Persistent Desire* 138-47.

Nestle, Joan, ed. *The Persistent Desire: A Femme-Butch Reader*. Boston: Alyson Publications, Inc.: 1992.

NietoGómez, Anna. "The Chicana—Perspectives for Education." A. García 130-1.

Noriega, Chon, ed. *Chicanos and Film: Essays on Chicano Representation and Resistance*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992.

---. "Chicano Cinema and the Horizon of Expectations: A Discursive Analysis of Film Reviews in the Mainstream, Alternative, and Hispanic Press, 1987-88." *Aztlán* 19.2 (1988-1990): 1-32.

Olivas, Daniel. "Interview with Helena Maria Viramontes." *La Bloga*. April 2, 2007. http://labloga.blogspot.com/2007/04/interview-with-helena-mara-viramontes.html

Olmos, Edward James (Dir.) and Moctesuma Esparza (Exec. Prod.). DVD Commentary. *Walkout*.

Palumbo-Liu, David, ed. *The Ethnic Canon: Histories, Institutions and Interventions*. Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1995.

Paredez, Deborah. *Selenidad: Selena, Latinos, and the Performance of Memory*. Durham: Duke U P, 2009.

Parkin, Joan and Amanda Prosser. "An academic affair: The politics of butch-femme pleasures." Nestle 442-50.

Pérez, Emma. "Sexuality and Discourse: Notes from a Chicana Survivor." Trujillo 159-84.

Pérez, Laura Elisa. "*El desorden*, Nationalism, and Chicana/o Aesthetics." *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State*. Eds. Caren Kaplan, Norma Alarcón, and Minoo Moallem. Durham and London: Duke U P, 1999.19-46.

Pulido, Laura. *Black, Brown, Yellow and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: U California P, 2006.

Rabinow, Paul, ed. *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon, 1984.

Raduntz, Helen. "The Marketization of Education within the Global Capitalist Economy." Apple, et al 231-45.

Ramírez, Elizabeth C. *Chicanas/Latinas in American Theatre: A History of Performance*. Bloomington: Indiana U P, 2000.

Rebolledo, Tey Diana. *Women Singing in the Snow: A Cultural Analysis of Chicana Literature*. Tucson: U Arizona P, 1995.

Rebolledo, Tey Diana and Eliana S. Rivera, eds. *Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature*. Tucson: U Arizona P, 1993.

Rechy, John. *City of Night*. New York: Grove Press, 1984 (1963).

Rescola, Duke. "Activists take over L.A. streets celebrating 1968 'blowouts.'" Long Beach State *Daily 49er* online. March 10, 2008. http://www.daily49er.com

Rodriguez, Richard. *Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez*. New York: Bantam, 1982.

Rodríguez, Richard T. *Next of Kin: The Family in Chicano/a Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke U P, 2009.

Román, David. “Latino Performance and Identity.” *Aztlán* 22.2 (1997) :151-67.

Rosen, David. “Crossover: Hispanic Specialty Films.” Noriega 241-60.

Sahagun, Louis. “Thousands honor ’68 walkouts by Mexican American students.” *Los Angeles Times* online. March 9, 2008. http://www.latimes.com/new/ printedition/California/la-me chicano9mar09,1,6067641.story

Saldívar, José David. “The School of Caliban: Pan-American Autobiography.” *Multicultural Autobiography: American Lives*. Ed. James Robert Payne. Knoxville: U Tennessee P, 1993. 297-322.

Saldívar, Ramón. *Chicano Narrative: The Dialectics of Difference*. Madison: U Wisconsin P, 1990.

Sánchez, George J. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*. New York: Oxford U P, 1993.

Sánchez, Marta. “Arturo Islas’s *The Rain God*: An Alternative Tradition.” *American Literature* 62.2 (1990): 284-304.

Sánchez, Rosaura. “Ethnicity, Ideology, and Academia.” Chabram-Dernersesian 380-87.

---. “Ideological Discourses in Arturo Islas’s *The Rain God*. Calderón and Saldívar 114-26.

Sandoval, Anna. “Building up Our Resistance: Chicanas in Academia.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women’s Studies* 20.1 (1999): 86-92.

San Miguel, Guadalupe. “Actors Not Victims: Chicanas/os and the Struggle for Educational Equality.” Maciel and Ortiz 159-78.

Scheman, Naomi. “On Waking Up One Morning and Discovering We Are Them.” Gallop 106-16.

Shapiro, Sherry B., ed. *Body Movements: Pedagogy, Politics and Social Change*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, Inc., 2002.

Shrewsbury, Carolyn M. “What Is Feminist Pedagogy?” *Women’s Studies Quarterly* 21.3/4 (1993): 8-16. *JSTOR* 14 Sepember 2010.

Singh, Nikhil Pal. “Liberalism.” Burgett and Hendler 139-45.

Soldatenko-Gutiérrez, Michael. “Socrates, Curriculum, and the Chicano/a: Allan Bloom and the myth of US higher education.” Chabram-Dernersesian 413-28.

Solorzano, Daniel G., Tara J. Yosso. "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Chicana and Chicano Education." *Charting New Terrains of Chicana(o)/Latina(o) Education.* Ed. Carlos Tejeda, Corinne Martínez, Zeus Leonardo. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, Inc., 2000.

Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso, 1989.

Soto, Sandra K. "Cherríe Moraga's Going Brown: 'Reading Like a Queer.'" *GLQ* 11.2 (2005): 237-63. *Project Muse*.

Sturken, Maria. "Reenactment, Fantasy, and the Paranoia of History: Oliver Stone's Docudramas." *History and Theory* 34.4 (1997): 64-79.

---. *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, The AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*. Berkeley: U California P, 1997.

Stand and Deliver. Dir. Ramon Menendez. Perf. Edward James Olmos. Warner Bros.Pictures, 1988.

Torres, Hector A. "'I don't like labels and categories': Interview with Arturo Islas." *Conversations with Contemporary Chicana and Chicano Writers*. Albuquerque: U New Mexico P, 2007.

---."'I don't think I exist': Interview with Richard Rodriguez." *MELUS* 28.2 (2003): 164-202.

Torres Lourdes and Inmaculada Perpetua-Seva, eds. *Tortilleras: Hispanic and U.S. Latina Lesbian Expression*. Philadelphia: Temple U P, 2003.

Torres, Luis. "We stood up, and it mattered: The Chicano walkout of 1968 was about dignity and fundamental change that we're still striving for." *Los Angeles Times* online. March 8, 2008. http://www.latimes.com/news/printedition/opinion/la-oe-torres8mar08,1,7462302.
story

Trujillo, Armando L. "In Search of Aztlán: Movimiento Ideology and the Creation of a Chicano Worldview through Schooling." Levinson 119-149.

Trujillo, Carla, ed. *Chicana Lesbians: The Girls Our Mothers Warned Us About*. Berkeley: Third Woman Press, 1991.

---. *Living Chicana Theory*. Berkeley: Third Woman Press, 1998.

"UCSB Conference Commemorates 40th Anniversary of Chicano Student Walkouts." Office of Public Affairs new release. February 7, 2008. http://www.ia.ucsb.edu/pa/

Valencia, Richard R., ed. *Chicano School Failure and Success: Past, Present, and Future*. New York: Routledge, 1991.

Van Langen, Annemarie and Hetty Dekkers. "Cross-national differences in participating in tertiary science, technology, engineering, and mathematics education." *Comparative Education* 41.3 (2005): 329-50. *JSTOR* 16 Jan 2011.

Verdugo, Bobby Lee. "I Am Walking." Poem posted on Myspace.com. Feb. 21, 2008.

Viego, Anthony. "The Place of Gay Male Chicano Literature in Queer Chicana/o Cultural Work." *Discourse* 21.3 (1999): 111-31.

Villarreal, José Antonio. *Pocho*. New York: Anchor Books, 1989 (1959).

Viramontes, Helena Maria. *Their Dogs Came With Them*. New York: Atria Books, 2007.

Walkout. Dir. Edward James Olmos. HBO Films, 2006.

Waiting for Superman. Dir. Davis Guggenheim. Paramount Pictures, 2010.

Wexler, Laura. *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism.* Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 2000.

Williams, Raymond. *Keywords*. "Liberal," "Libertarian," and "Liberation." New York: Oxford U P, 1983 (1976).

Woo, Elaine. "Escalante memorial service to be held in college stadium." *Los Angeles Times*, 09 April 2010. http://articles.latimes.com/2010/apr/09/local/la-me-jaime-escalante9-2010apr09.

Yarbro-Bejarano, Yvonne. "Expanding the Categories of Race and Sexuality in Lesbian and Gay Studies." Haggerty and Zimmerman 124-35.

---. "The Female Subject in Chicano Theatre: Sexuality, 'Race,' and Class." *Theatre Journal* 38.4 (1986): 389-407.