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Los Angeles

¡Sí Se Pudo!:

A Critical Race History of the Movements for Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA, 1990-1993

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

by

José Manuel Aguilar

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Sí Se Pudo!:

A Critical Race History of the Movements for Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA, 1990-1993

by

José M. Aguilar

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Daniel G. Solórzano, Chair

There is a paucity of scholarship that centers the experiences and resistance efforts of Students of Color in higher education institutions. More specifically, there is a need to grow Chicana/o student activism literature in the late 20th Century through a Critical Race Theory lens. This study centers the multiple people that participated in the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). By focusing on this historical moment, the dissertation contributes to a variety of academic discourses.

The theoretical framework used in this study is Critical Race History (CRH) that draws from existing scholarship in Critical Race Theory in Education, Critical Race Theory in the Law, Chicana Feminisms, and Jotería Theories. The CRH lens is used to analyze a number of academic writings that inform the topic, hundreds of archival documents in institutions as well as with individuals, and 39 oral histories of students, community leaders, faculty, staff, and administrators that witnessed and took on leadership roles during the 1990-1993 period.

The dissertation finds that the racial climate in the 1990's in California impacted the discourse on departmentalizing Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Specifically, the dissertation finds that race is complicated by elements of class and citizenship in a number of archival documents. The oral histories also surface racial, class, and citizenship tensions, and further include gender and sexuality into the narrative.

The dissertation of José M. Aguilar is approved.

Eric Avila

David G. García

Tyrone Howard

Daniel G. Solórzano, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2013

Para mi papá, Esteban Aguilar Muro (1919-2005). Le cumplí mi promesa.

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I am the son of immigrants from La Encarnación and Tuxtuac, Zacatecas, México. I am the youngest of nine, and was the first one in my family to pursue higher education. I am where I am because everyone before me hicieron camino. I am grateful to my family, who raised me and taught me the working-class values I carry with me today. I am thankful to my ancestors whose shoulders I stand on today. Gracias a mi mamá María del Socorro Hernández de Aguilar y a mi papá, Esteban Aguilar Muro por darme la mejor educación que ninguna Universidad y ningún libro me ha podido enseñar, la educación hogareña, que me demostró los valores necesarios para llegar al doctorado.²

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¹ "Hicieron camino" translates to "made a pathway."

² Translates to: "Thank you to my mother María del Socorro Hernández de Aguilar and my father, Esteban Aguilar Muro for giving me the educational lessons no university or book has taught me; the education I received at home that demonstrated to me the values needed to complete my doctorate program."

³ Translates to: "family."

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 $^{\rm 4}$ Vasquez was the 2012-2013 MEChA de UCLA Chicana/o Studies Representative.

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⁵ Translates to: "Thank you, we did it!"

VITA

May 2001 Associate of Arts Degree in General Studies

Moorpark Community College

Moorpark, California

June 2003 Bachelor of Arts Degree in Chicana/o Studies and History

UCLA

Los Angeles, California

June 2003-June 2004 Tutor, Academic Advancement Program

UCLA

Los Angeles, California

July 2004-July 2005 Project Director, MEChA Calmecac

UCLA

Los Angeles, California

September 2005- Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

September 2007 UCLA

Los Angeles, California

January 2008 – May 2010 Lecturer, Chicana/o Studies Department

California State University, Northridge

Northridge, California

January 2011-March 2011 Lecturer, Chicana/o Studies Department

California State University, Los Angeles

Los Angeles, California

Selected Presentations

Keynotes:

1st MEChA de UCLA Raza Welcome Day, September 2012. 10th MEChA de UCLA Annual Transfer Raza Day, May 2013.

Guest Lectures:

"Critical Race Theory for Incoming Students of Color." California Polytechnic University, Pomona. July 2013.

"Challenging Biological and Cultural Deficit Models Along the Chicana/o Educational Pipeline." UCLA. February 2013.

"Student Activism in Tlatelolco, Mexico and East Los Angeles, California." California Polytechnic University, Pomona. February 2011.

- "Queering Aztlán: Introduction to Chicana/o Queer Issues." UCLA. November, 2009.
- "Student of Color Activism in Southern California Higher Education Institutions." California Polytechnic University, Pomona. February 19, 2009.
- "Walk-Outs, Sit-In's, and Student Organizing." California State University, Northridge. March 29, 2008.
- "Drop-Outs or Pushed Out?: Examining Chicanas/os in the Schools." California State University, Fullerton. January 31, 2008.
- "Reclaiming the Bricks: Chicana/o Student Activism at UCLA." UCLA. September 10, 2007.
- "Toward a Chicana/o Educational Historiography: Chicana and Chicano Student Activism in Los Angeles in the 20th Century." UCLA. Thursday March 8, 2007.
- "A Historical Introduction to the Chicana/o, African American, Native American, and Asian American Student Movements." 15th Los Angeles District Empowerment Congress Conference. January 20, 2007.
- "Blowouts, Sit-ins and Student Activism: An Introduction to Student Activism in Los Angeles." UCLA. August 31, 2006.
- "Social Movements in Los Angeles: 1992 and UCLA." UCLA. January 2005.
- "Gender and Sexuality Movements in Los Angeles." UCLA. March 2005.

Panels:

- "Pedagogical Reflections in Chicana/o Studies." With Dr. Corina Benavides López, and Dr. S. Terri Gómez. National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies, San Antonio, TX, April 2013.
- "Framing and Applying a Critical Race Educational History." With Lluliana Alonso, Michaela Mares López, and Ryan Santos. 3rd Annual Critical Race Studies in Education Conference. Salt Lake City, Utah. Friday May 14, 2010.
- "Transformative Critical Race Historiography: Analyzing the Counterspaces in the 1993 Hunger Strike for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA." Annual NACCS Conference. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Friday April 10, 2009.
- "Historicizing (Im)migrant Stories: Chicana/o Transfer Students Taking the University Back to the Barrio Brick by Brick." With Corina Benavides, Rosa Jimenez, David G. García. NACCS Annual Conference. San Jose, CA. Thursday April 5, 2007.

Chapter 1: Introduction

On April 28, 1993, the eve of the United Farm Workers' leader César E. Chávez' funeral, Chancellor Charles E. Young announced that there would not be a Chicana/o Studies Department at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) (Martínez, 1998, p. 220). Young's announcement is only one of a series of events that led to the creation of the César E. Chávez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies. This dissertation analyzes the period between 1990-1993 to document a critical race history of the movements for Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA. This is not an official story, but a historical representation of perspectives. In this process, I challenge traditional notions that invoke a singular historical narrative as truth. In doing so, I value the multiple perspectives by naming a sample of the many people it took to get a department at UCLA. This was a community struggle.

I trace the struggle to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies at UCLA to 1969, with *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (1969) that established the vision to institutionalize Chicana/o Studies on all college campuses. The earliest time I found a Chicana/o Studies course being taught at UCLA was in 1968 with the High Potential Program.⁶ Within this program, selected students were assigned to take either an African American Studies or a Chicana/o Studies course. They were also enrolled in a writing course to help develop their writing skills. However, Chicana/o Studies did not become formalized until 1973, when the Interdepartmental Program (IDP) in Chicana/o Studies was established out of the Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC).⁷ The

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⁶ The High Potential Program was designed by MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana y Chicano de Aztlán) at UCLA and the Black Student Union (now, the African Student Union) to recruit Black and Chicana/o students to UCLA. The first year, 1968, they recruited 100 Black and Chicana/o students to engage in a one-year program that would transition them into UCLA academics. This program was so successful, that it became the Academic Advancement Program at UCLA in 1972. (MEChA de UCLA Archive)

⁷ The Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC) was first established in 1969, at similar times as three other Ethnic Studies Centers were established: American Indian Research Center, Asian American Research Center, and the African American Research Center.

program continued and faced risk of being disestablished by recommendation of the Faculty Senate. The program becomes suspended in February of 1990 for new majors. Between 1990-1993 is a peak of student activism on the UCLA campus and the greater Los Angeles area to ensure that Chicana/o Studies not only continue, but also become established as a department. Students rallied, engaged politicians, began letter-writing campaigns, conducted acts of civil disobedience, and staged a 14-day water-only hunger strike. After many forms of activism that students, faculty, staff, and community leaders employ, Chancellor Young and a group of hunger strikers⁸ signed an agreement to establish the César E. Chávez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies. Not quite a department, but a center with department-like characteristics. The center eventually became a department in 2005, after many more years of lobbying, and was re-named the César E. Chávez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies in 2007. It took at least 36 years for UCLA to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies. In those years, there were many strategies and challenges that organizers confronted. This dissertation focuses on 1990-1993 specifically because this time period encapsulates a major part of student organizing efforts, as well as the bulk of the work to obtain departmental hires⁹, a key goal for many students and faculty.

My Standpoint

I consider myself both an insider and outsider in conducting research on this topic. I am an insider because, like most of the narrators in this project, I also come from a working-poor background and have been involved in political People of Color struggles in high school and my

⁸ The hunger strikers are: Juan Arturo Diaz López, Marcos Aguilar, Balvina Collazo, María M. Lara, Professor Jorge R. Mancillas, Cindy Montañez, Norma Montañez, and Joaquin Manuel Ochoa.

⁹ Departmental hires are essential for autonomy and academic legitimacy in universities. This means that an academic body of faculty (via a center or department) have access to recruiting and evaluating faculty members in their field of study. This was an vital aspect Chicana/o students and faculty desired to help grow and maintain Chicana/o Studies at UCLA.

undergraduate career. More specifically, I am a product of Chicana/o Studies and activism at the UCLA campus, where the narrators and archives in this project are centered. All of the narrators in this project and archival materials are affiliated with UCLA directly as students, faculty, staff, or administrators during the time period analyzed, or indirectly as community leaders and allies in the movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Further, because of my background in Chicana/o Studies and activism, I had access to the history of UCLA student activism that many narrators referenced to tell their stories. In particular, my extensive involvement in Chicana/o and People of Color, feminist, and queer student activism on campus provided me with the insider lens to understand the tensions inherent in student activism. I participated with MEChA de UCLA, and supported an array of organizations and movements on campus during the early 2000s. In essence, the narrators in this project played a role in history whose outcome allowed me to join organizing campaigns that stood on their shoulders, to graduate with a degree in Chicana/o Studies, and write about this moment in time. As Dolores Delgado Bernal states, I utilize my cultural intuition, what she defines as "the unique viewpoints Chicana scholars bring to the research process" (1998, p. 556-557). Although I do not carry a unique Chicana viewpoint, I do carry a strong academic training in Chicana/o history, Chicana feminisms and Chicana/o queer identities, as well as a student activist viewpoint.

Time and space also make me an outsider to this topic. I was not physically present. In 1993, I was in middle school in Moorpark, California, learning a Eurocentric curriculum. UCLA was not in my frame of reference. I did not know it existed. My familiarity with Los Angeles was limited to downtown (pre-L.A. Live development) where my family lived and I spent many weekends and summers. I am a first-generation college student, the first of my entire family to go to college, a transfer student, who visited UCLA (and the West Los Angeles area for that

matter) for the first time at the Academic Advancement Program's Transfer Scholars Day¹⁰ in 2001. But upon arrival to UCLA, I quickly changed my major from English to Chicana/o Studies and History, inspired by the 1993 hunger strike history presented in Professor Juan Gómez-Quiñones' *History of Chicano Peoples* course. Sitting in lecture, listening to Gómez-Quiñones, my initial interpretation of the hunger strike was that someone before me had been willing to die so that I could have a relevant curriculum. This sparked my curiosity in the event. The research process for this dissertation has of course expanded and complicated my initial interpretation.

My insider/outsider standpoint in relation to the 1990-1993 departmentalization efforts place me in a (complex) position to study these years of activism. On one end, I lack personal memories because I was not there. And on the other, I have historical context, cultural understanding, and gratitude for this moment in history. I see my positionality as a strength to conduct this research.

Relevancy of this Project

This project is important because of several reasons. First, it challenges cultural deficit notions that Chicana/o students and their communities lack interest in education. Daniel G. Solórzano and Tara J. Yosso (2001) critique the biological and cultural theoretical arguments that explain Chicana/o educational attainment in K-PhD. Cultural deficit theories traditionally argue that cultural values are to blame for degree attainment differences between Chicanas/os and whites. I argue that cultural deficit thinking is interrelated to the belief of "color-blindness," the idea that racism is irrelevant to contemporary social issues (Bonilla Silva, 2006; Wise, 2010). Cultural deficit thinking "finds dysfunction in Chicana/o cultural values and insists such values

¹⁰ This program is designed as one of UCLA's yield events to recruit admitted underrepresented students to accept their admission to UCLA.

cause low educational and occupational attainment" (Yosso, 2006, p. 22). Cultural deficit thinking blames Chicana/o students for their own underachievement while ignoring the effects of immigration, language, culture shock, and irrelevant curriculum (Yosso, 2006).

By shifting attention to structural inequality, Solórzano and Yosso (2001) find that race and racism play a significant role in the framing of biological and cultural deficit thinking. Further, they identify that institutional and societal forms of inequality more accurately explain Chicana/o underachievement patterns. This project is in line with this literature challenging cultural deficit theories about Chicanas/os. By focusing on the movements for Chicana/o Studies, the project centralizes a historic moment of resistance to dominant ideologies that would deem its study as inferior. That is, the UCLA movements were a challenge to the administration's decision to eliminate Chicana/o Studies at its campus based on dominant discourse that dismissed the academic legitimacy of this discipline. Thus, the event itself is a flashpoint of resistance and this project is an effort to document and recognize its historical and academic significance.

Secondly, the project utilizes historical methods in educational research. In essence, it addresses major gaps in existing literature: 1) People of Color in mainstream educational history and 2) educational history methods in race-related research. Third, it utilizes an interdisciplinary approach (History, Education, Women's Studies, Chicana/o Studies, and Queer Studies) to capture the layered historical significance of the 1990-1993 movements. Fourth, the study claims the 1990s as significant for historical analysis. Although the decade is recent in time, the study places the movements for Chicana/o Studies as part of historical trends and patterns. By placing the 1990s as historic, I am able to use historical methods to develop the narrative.

Fifth, I centralize the role that race and racism (and other forms of subordination) had on the movements. I imply that a critical lens is necessary to understanding and capturing the many nuances of the movements. In doing so, I claim that the movements were framed by race and racism. I draw from Laura E. Gómez' (2007) who argues that Chicanas/os are a racial group despite the U.S. government's equivocal stance. She argues that Chicana/os are racially ambiguous in the U.S.; they hold a type of "off-white" status. After the colonization of the Southwest (México/US War 1846-1848) and through the *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* (1848), Chicanas/os are legally white, however, multiple laws at the local and state level (i.e. segregation laws), deem Chicanas/os as socially non-white. This historical framing of Chicanas/os as an ambiguous racial group in the U.S. is fundamental in understanding their social position in contemporary times.

Further, the social constructions of gender, sexuality, class, and citizenship status also greatly impact the racial analysis of this study. I intend to capture the layers and intersections to construct a narrative that is inclusive of the various issues. In doing so, I am shifting the genealogy of Chicana/o Educational History. I argue that the experiences of marginalized communities matter. Although there are several educational historians who have mapped or narrated Student of Color schooling, they do not intentionally center the intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, and immigration with theory in their analysis. My project will contribute to an array of disciplines and fields, while depending on History as its backbone.

I also place the 1990-1993 movements within Los Angeles history. In the early 1990s (much like before and today) Los Angeles experienced an identity crisis due to significant demographic shifts. Specifically, in the early 1990s, the Latina/o proportion of the population had increased to 40% of Los Angeles County. This project includes a variety of perspectives and

memories that includes many districts and residents of Los Angeles who were directly experiencing the demographic shift and associated politics. Further, this story exists within a state-wide decade of unrest, in which people organized, resisted, and challenged the 1990s conservative movement in California that included three policies that attacked Chicana/o education: Propositions 187, 209, and 227. As Eric Avila notes, "Like all cities, Los Angeles maintains a distinct identity that materialized under a unique set of political, economic, social, and geographic circumstances. And yet, to greater and lesser degrees, the city also mirrors larger processes that shape the development of cities in the United States, the West, and beyond" (2004, p. xiv). Given Avila's suggestion of Los Angeles' unique yet influential position in the United States, I find that the movements between 1990-1993 are unique to Los Angeles *and* also mirror larger tensions. I argue that the movements for Chicana/o Studies exists within local, state, national, and world climates that are mutually constitutive to the climate at UCLA.

Research Questions

The research questions that guide my work include: 1) What is the relationship between the movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA and the racial climate for Chicanas/os in California during the 1990s? This question positions the 1990s as a significant period of historical inquiry. It links patterns, trends, and shifts in Chicana/o History to the 1990s. By focusing on the 1990s in California, I will analyze how larger historical trends impact contemporary localized histories. 2) In what ways do racial, class, gendered, sexuality, and

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¹¹ These three propositions are often discussed as sister policies given their relationship in limiting civil rights for underrepresented peoples, specifically Chicanas/os and Latinas/os in California. Proposition 187 passed and denied social services to undocumented peoples in the state of California. The proposition was later found unconstitutional. Proposition 209 was passed and ended the use of Affirmative Action. This proposition still stands today. Proposition 227 passed and ended the use of Bilingual Education in public K-12 schools in California. This solidified English as the official language of learning for students in California. Together, propositions 187, 209, and 227 impact Chicana/o Students at all levels of the education pipeline by denying them access to an equitable education. As Dolores Delgado-Bernal (1999) states, "History is repeating itself, and exclusionary laws such as California's Propositions 187, 209, and 227 contribute to an antagonistic sociopolitical climate that fosters the racist practices of the de jure segregation era" (p. 102).

at UCLA? After placing the 1990s into historical context, I will investigate how the social constructions of race, class, gender, and sexuality functioned within the series of events surrounding the movements. This question in particular, frames my contribution to academic discourse on Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. After placing the movements into historical context, I see the constructs of race, class, gender, sexuality, and citizenship as essential to this project because they challenge dominant historical frameworks that view such constructs as ahistorical. Given my commitment to interdisciplinary methods for my project, this question will help capture marginalized narratives.

Dissertation Overview

I have organized this dissertation into six chapters. This first chapter is the introduction that contains the justification and research questions that guide the work. Chapter Two provides an extensive literature review that informs this study. I organized chapter two into three major literature sections: Chicana/o Educational History, Chicana/o activism history, and theoretical sources in Critical Race Theory, Chicana Feminisms, and Jotería Theories. In chapter three I identify my theoretical framework, Critical Race History, and the historical methods I utilized to gather my data: archival research and oral history. I also use existing literature to inform the theoretical framework and methods in this project.

Chapter Four focuses on the archival research I conducted. I engage in hundreds of documents found in a series of institutional and personal archives related to the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies. In chapter five, I identify some major themes and experiences of the 39 narrators I interviewed for this project using oral history as method. I conclude with

chapter six, where I summarize my findings and provide some analysis on the importance of student movements in Los Angeles and beyond.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter I identify three major areas of literature that inform my study. First, I identify general Chicana/o Educational History literature as foundational to informing my historical study. Second, I look at major contributions on Chicana/o activism history, specific to Chicana/o Studies formations. Third, I find theoretical works on Critical Race Theory in Education, Chicana Feminisms, and Jotería Theories as scholarship that frame my analytical lens. And last, this study is significantly impacted by literature on critiques of traditional History methods.

Chicana/o Educational History Literature

Chicana/o Educational History is an area of research that responds directly to the gaps in existing research in Education, History, and Chicana/o Studies. Guadalupe San Miguel (1986) claims, "...little has been written on the educational past of Chicanos" (p. 524). San Miguel (1987) further outlines the types of Chicana/o educational historical pieces written and concludes that there is a need for more empirical data, community history methods, and a synthesized interpretation of Chicana/o education (p. 477). San Miguel (1987) argues, "The historical inquiry into the education of Chicanos becomes more important once it is realized that prior to the 1960s it was, for all practical purposes, nonexistent" (p. 467). Chicana/o Educational History is then a result of the intellectual production the 1960s Chicana/o movements created and inspired. I argue that Chicana/o Educational History is an area of research that stems from Chicana/o Studies. San Miguel's call is imperative for Chicanas/os in education. My project contributes to San Miguel's (1987) call to do educational history on Chicanas/os.

Gilbert G. González' *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (1990) provides a Marxist/class-based analysis on Chicano schooling in the U.S. Southwest between 1900 and

1975. He follows the practice of periodization and identifies three major eras of schooling for Chicanos. The first period is between 1900-1950, which he identifies as the era of de jure segregation; the second period is between 1950-1965, an era that viewed Chicano culture as a barrier to Mexican-American assimilation; and thirdly, 1965-1975, the period of militancy and reform. González (1990) covers a history of Chicano education based on evidence that "the political economy (and not merely racial oppression as in most texts) as the key factor in shaping the social relations between the dominant and minority communities" (p. 14). In essence, González views the root of educational inequality for Chicanos as a class issue while exploring race.

I position González' text as foundational to Chicano educational history. Like San Miguel (1986; 1987), González (1990) calls for a "a comprehensive study of the educational history of the Chicano community..." (p. 14). His text is the first of its kind in providing a broad(er) analysis of Chicano schooling. The first period of analysis that he identifies is the era of de jure segregation; Chicanos' racial ambiguity informs that history of segregation. Secondly, he identifies Chicanos as a historically working-class group. His text is foundational in the ways it documents Chicano educational history and I utilize it to inform the way I am framing Chicanas/os historically.

Rubén Donato (1997; 2007), is another leading Chicana/o educational historian, who has done research on local community schools, like in *Mexicans and Hispanos in Colorado Schools and Communities*, 1920-1960, and a periodization historical analysis, like in *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era*. Both texts significantly contribute to the ongoing need to document narratives of Chicanas/os and schools. Specifically, they focus on the public education system, primarily K-12 education. Donato (1997; 2007) finds

that racism is a legal and social factor that led to the second-class education Chicanas/os received. In essence, he hints at the idea that contemporary conditions of Chicana/o schooling are rooted in localized *and* national de jure and de facto forms of segregation.

The next two texts I review here extend past local and periodization historical narratives to include a broader telling of Chicana/o education over time. *The Elusive Quest for Equality:* 150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education, edited by José F. Moreno (2008), provides a regional analysis of Chicana/o education from pre-Columbian times to the 1990s. The collection of essays analyze Chicana/o education as being impacted by colonialism, specifically Catholic education forced onto the indigenous in Colonial México, and Americanization schooling received after the Mexican American War of 1846-1848. The authors in the collection explore specific issues where Chicanas/os underperform, specifically in areas of testing. The text then positions history as the backbone to understand how testing discriminates against Chicanas/os with misuse of policy, language expectations, and limited access to higher education.

In Latino Education in the United States: A Narrated History from 1513-2000, Victoria-María MacDonald (2004) compiled a collection of essays and organized them into eight historical eras: 1) The Colonial Era (1513-1821) which documents schooling in Colonial México and Texas; 2) Education during the Mexican Era (1821-1848) where the role of the Catholic Church and missionary education informed the schooling indigenous peoples received; 3) Americanization and Resistance Era where the segregated transition to public schooling in the U.S. Southwest is analyzed; 4) Education and Imperialism in Puerto Rico and Cuba, 1898-1930 era where the essays expand educational historical analysis to include a broader Latina/o educational set of experiences; 5) Segregation and New Arrivals Era, 1898-1960 where the essays shift back to the U.S. Southwest and explore the role of early 20th Century activism in the

activist and legal courts to challenge segregation of Mexicans in schools; 6) Cuban Arrivals, 1959-1980 era where the essays shift to Florida to include Cuban migrations and the ways that their schooling functioned; 7) 1960-1970 era where the essays focus on the various educational actions and protests to bring equitable schooling to Chicanas/os in the Southwest; and 8) Latinos and Schooling in the 1980s and 1990s era where the authors conclude the text with contemporary legal struggles and future directions for Chicana/o and Latina/o education.

I also found three texts that focus on African American educational history as foundational and informative to my study. The first text by C. G. Woodson (1915) is titled *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861: A History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War* and provides a historical overview of Black education in an early historical time period. Woodson (1915) begins his analysis by providing a narrative that claims education as a historical right to all people and unveils how slavery and policy denied Blacks an education. His chapter nine, "Learning in Spite of Opposition" unveils non-traditional and resistant ways in which Blacks did learn in the South, despite the law prohibiting it. Woodson (1915) explores how self-education, one-on-one teaching, and freed slaves and white allies teaching blacks specifics in business and reading functioned on an everyday basis. In other words, resistance happened daily by Blacks learning outside educational institutions.

James D. Anderson (1988) furthers Woodson's (1915) historical analysis of Black education in his text, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. In this text Anderson (1988) challenges cultural deficit theories that People of Color do not value education, and by studying the time period between Reconstruction and the Great Depression, he charts the many ways that Blacks engaged with education and challenged unequal schooling, despite lacking

legal, social, and economic power. Given the economic shift to industrialization, Anderson (1988) finds that Blacks were tracked into industrial education where they were trained to be efficient workers. In other words, Blacks were only educated to perform unpaid or low paid labor.

Lastly, John L. Rury and Shirley A. Hill (2012) focus their text *The African American Struggle for Secondary Schooling, 1940-1980: Closing the Graduation Gap* on a historical analysis that builds on earlier literature of Black education, like Woodson's (1915) and Anderson's (1988) accounts. Rury and Hill (2012) utilize periodization history as well, and explore educational themes in relation to Black education in the U.S. between 1940-1980. They open their text by painting the historical picture of education in the Jim Crow South and the ongoing forms of protest and resistance that existed within that historical context. Rury and Hill (2012) value student resistance and its impact on educational reform during this time period, specifically post 1960s. They end their text by illustrating examples of ongoing underperformance and inequality for Black students in education.

Chicana/o Activism History

The Chicano Movement also was not simply a search for identity... It was a full-fledged transformation in the way Mexican Americans thought, played politics, and promoted their culture. Chicanos embarked on a struggle to make fundamental political changes, and in the process they redefined their position in American society. No more were they to be an invisible minority without history or without a voice. (García, 1997, p. 3)

As García mentions above, the 1960s Chicano Movement accomplished a lot more than reacting to racism, though I would argue reaction is a part of the consciousness process. One area where Chicanas/os made political changes was within higher education. In Los Angeles,

California, Chicana/o Students walked out in the Blowouts of 1968. Among their demands was the institutionalization of Chicana/o Studies within high school curriculum (Delgado Bernal, 1999, p. 83). Such curriculum was set into motion with the drafting of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (1969), a collective action plan that served as a blueprint for instituting Chicana/o Studies in higher education institutions. On local levels, *El Plan* was utilized to set in motion Chicana/o Studies departments throughout the nation. *El Plan* also had significant impact on the negotiations for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA in 1993.

1960s/1970s Chicana/o Student Activism

The educational conditions for Chicanas/os in Eastern¹² Los Angeles high schools were subpar. Rudy Acuña (2007) argues, "...Chicanos had an over 50 percent high school dropout rate: 53.8 percent of Chicanos dropped out at Garfield and 47.5 at Roosevelt" (p. 258). Further, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) documentary, *Taking Back the Schools*, —part of the series, *Chicano!* (1994)— identifies the four main demands made: end to corporal punishment, bilingual instruction, more Chicana/o faculty and administrators, and Chicana/o Studies. The student organizers had a clear vision for their action: to demand immediate changes (i.e. end corporal punishment) and demand changes that would have a long-term effect (i.e. Chicana/o Studies). Delgado Bernal (1999) argues, "In March 1968, well over ten thousand Chicana/o students walked out of East Los Angeles high schools to protest inferior conditions. The students boycotted classes and presented a list of...thirty-six demands, including smaller class sizes, bilingual education, and end to the vocational tracking of Chicana/o students, more emphasis on Chicano history, and community control of schools" (p. 83).

¹² I utilize the term "Eastern" to include the various districts of Los Angeles that are east of the Los Angeles River. I specifically utilize "Eastern" instead of "East" to value East Los Angeles as its own district of the city of Los Angeles.

In analyzing the 1968 Blowouts in East Los Angeles, Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) place the walkouts into world-wide perspective by identifying that students were walking out all over the world in 1968; France, México, and Italy (p. 308). The authors identify the historical legacy of transnational resistance students' led. Resistance, undoubtedly, also had an impact on Chicanas/os in East Los Angeles high schools. Although the students who walked out did not witness Chicana/o Studies institutionalized within their high school academic curriculum, they inspired communities, parents, professors, and college students to take on that struggle within higher education. Delgado Bernal (1999) argues, "As a result of the development of Chicana/o student organizations, the East L.A. school walkouts in 1968, and Chicana/o student activism in general, there was a statewide student conference in Santa Barbara, California, in [April of] 1969" (p. 84).

In *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement in Southern California, 1967-1977,* Juan Gómez-Quiñones (1977) positions student movements "in Southern California [as] part of a broader student mobilization and an even broader general political mobilization within the Mexican community" (p. 1). In essence, Gómez-Quiñones (1977) finds that the student movements in Southern California happen almost simultaneously with student movements across the Southwest, and thereby placing 1960s/1970s activism as a part of the larger civil rights movements happening in the United States. Specifically, he used archival research and interviews to tell this historical narrative. This is of significance to my project given that I use oral history and archives to tell a narrative of the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA.

El Plan de Santa Barbara

Almost a year after the East Los Angeles Blowouts, Chicanas/os gathered at UC Santa Barbara to draft El Plan de Santa Barbara. Although Santa Barbara is not close in proximity to East Los Angeles, what happened there is directly linked to the efforts of the high school students from Eastern Los Angeles and El Plan influenced future Chicana/o student activism in Los Angeles. Delgado Bernal (1999) argues, "El Plan provided the theoretical rationale for the development of Chicano Studies, a plan for recruitment and admission of Chicano students, support programs to aid in the retention of Chicano students, and the organization of Chicano Studies curricula and departments" (p. 84). The 150-page document "offered a vision and course of action for Chicanos in higher education, one of the first of its kind among the Chicana/o community" (Pardo, 1984, p. 14-15). Another significant outcome of El Plan was the unification of the various Chicana/o student organizations under the name of Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) (Delgado Bernal, 1999, p. 85; Muñoz, 2007, p. 97). El Plan outlines the two functions of MEChA: to stay connected to local Chicana/o communities and to "become a permanent, well-organized power bloc for the purpose of redirecting university attention and resources to the needs of Mexican American students and communities" (Muñoz, 2007, p. 97). El Plan is an important document, granted that it provided direction for Chicanas/os in higher education to stay connected with their local communities.

However, "...[El Plan] was confined in its scope, reflecting a limited consciousness by not including references to women, female liberation, or Chicana Studies" (Pardo, 1984, p. 14-15). Indeed, El Plan, like El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán (written at the Chicano Denver Youth Conference later that year), envisioned liberation under a patriarchal frame. The writers of the plans did not envision Chicana liberation as a substantive part of Chicano liberation; often,

individuals marginalized, threatened, raped, or pushed out Chicanas who vocalized issues relevant to them, and too often, the broader community remained silent (see Blackwell, 2011).

Inspired to challenge the Chicano perspective in the historiography of Chicano student activism, Delgado Bernal (1998; 1999) revisits the East Los Angeles Blowouts of 1968 to reframe the way leadership was defined within the writings. In her article, "Grassroots Leadership Reconceptualized," Delgado Bernal finds that Chicanas played a significant role in the organizing and developments of the Blowouts (1998). The Chicanas interviewed in her project, identify how education in their family and community served as training ground for them to organize the Blowouts. Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) argue that this level of transformational resistance "stems from their roots and their own family and personal histories" (p. 320). Further, Chicana organizers also identified the role of mentors, more specifically of other Women of Color, who served as advisors in their coming to a transformational resistance behavior (Solórzano and Delgado Bernal, 2001, p. 320). Ultimately, for Chicanas, family, community, and Women of Color womentors played an integral part in their development as leaders. What Delgado Bernal (1998) accomplishes in her research is a re-definition of what leadership in the Chicana/o movement means. Whereas Chicano historians had confined leadership to mean the roles that men played, Delgado Bernal interrupts that framework to insert Chicana leadership roles. In doing so, she identifies how without women breaking the locks on gates, passing out surveys, writing in local newspapers, and distracting the school principal, the 1968 Blowouts would not have happened the way they did. With these lessons in mind, I take a look at Chicana/o educational activism in the 1990s.

The 1990s

Chicana/o education in California suffered major legislative set backs through the passage of Propositions 187, 209, and 227 (Delgado Bernal, 1999; Acuña, 2007). These pieces of legislation specifically sought a denial of social services (education included) to undocumented immigrants, the end of affirmative action in educational institutions, and the end of bilingual education. Within this decade of anti-Chicana/o sentiments, Chicanas/os also experienced an attack on Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Under the excuse of a budget crisis, Chancellor Young announced the end of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Further, "The administration felt that the department would 'ghettoize' instructors and remove responsibility for hiring more Chicano(a) and Latino(a) faculty from traditional departments" (Soldatenko, 2005, p. 253). Between 1990 and 1993, MEChA de UCLA was negotiating a proposal with the administration on the institutionalization of a Chicana/o Studies Department.

Elizabeth Martínez (1998) lays out a historical narrative of the 1993 Hunger Strike for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA (p. 220). As someone who witnessed the activism at UCLA, and a social activist herself, Martínez tells a story that identifies the role that communities and students played in achieving the establishment of the Center for Insterdisciplinary Instruction (CII). Further, Professor Rodolfo Acuña (2011) also focuses on the hunger strike for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Acuña (2011) challenges critiques of indigenismo as well as claims that the hunger strike was sexist and homophobic, by recalling his involvement and experiences within the strike to justify a political action that did not include sexist and homophobic leadership. He specifically uses his experiences being at the UCLA campus during the hunger strike and archival and interview methods to construct his narrative.

Michael Soldatenko (2005) argues, "Sadly, the protest took a different turn on May 25 when a small group of individuals, ostensibly to increase pressure for the demands, decided to begin a hunger strike. This group manifested the presence of a male-centered, patriarchal, homophobic, nationalist, and traditional political agenda and curricular vision" (p. 248). Soldatenko's perspective outlines critiques of the Chicana/o Studies activism at UCLA. His perspective allows me to consider that there are various perspectives and experiences when recalling the 1990-1993 events at UCLA. Not everyone, it seems, was on the same page. This informs my data collection and analysis.

Further, Soldatenko (2005) argues, "Women like Blanca Gordo, Claudia Sotelo, and Gabby Valle were everywhere; they made everything work. If you needed information, you asked them. When the hunger strikers needed something, they got it. If the media needed directions and information, they were there. Without doubt, the success of the hunger strike was due to their work. They, unfortunately, have not been sufficiently praised for their accomplishments" (p. 260). Here, Soldatenko activates Dolores Delgado Bernal's (1998; 1999) reconceptualization of leadership. Whereas Martínez (1998) defines the hunger strikers as the leaders of the movement to institute Chicana/o Studies at UCLA, Soldatenko (2005) imagines the possibility of validating the work the women did, as well as the CSC who sought a pan-ethnic development at UCLA. This alternative activism history that Soldatenko provides complicates Martinez' account, challenging me to look critically at the documented accounts on the hunger strike.

Chicana/o activism history is important to my study because it provides narratives that inform the UCLA Hunger Strike. Chicana/o Educational History is imperative as foundational material; it is San Miguel and González' call to write Educational History that inspires this

project. Further, Chicana/o activism history sets the backdrop to position this dissertation as a historic event. I specifically comparatively look at the 1960s and 1990s given their relevancy; students used *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (1969) when they envisioned and negotiated the Chicana/o Studies department with UCLA administration. Further, the narratives that critique internal challenges around sexism and homophobia are important, as they inform my research data analysis. Lastly, Critical Theories literature is imperative in informing my theoretical framework. They provide critiques on traditional fields of study, like History and Education, to position my research.

Critical Theories Literature: Critical Race Theory in Education

The task for theory is to explain this situation. It is to avoid being the utopian framework, which sees race as an illusion we can somehow 'get beyond,' and also the essentialist formulation which sees race as something objective and fixed, a biological datum. (Omi and Winant, 1994, p. 55)

In the quote above, Omi and Winant (1994) express the need for theories to challenge basic perceptions of race. Critical Race Theory (CRT) was developed by lawyers of color who were frustrated by the lack of a critical race analysis in relation to the law. CRT was shortly thereafter applied to the field of Education to understand the relationship between Students of Color and unequal educational outcomes. Solórzano, Ceja and Yosso (2000) argue, "CRT offers insights, perspectives, methods, and pedagogies that guide our efforts to identify, analyze, and transform the structural and cultural aspects of education that maintain subordinate and dominant racial positions in and out of the classroom" (p. 63). Yosso (2006) further defines five tenets of CRT as they apply to education:

1. The Intercentricity of Race and Racism

- 2. The Challenge to Dominant Ideology
- 3. The Commitment to Social Justice
- 4. The Centrality of experiential knowledge of People of Color
- 5. The Interdisciplinary Perspective

Below I discuss each tenet in detail.

1. The Intercentricity of Race and Racism

This tenet argues that CRT centralizes race and racism, while also focusing on racisms' intersections with other forms of subordination, based on gender, class, sexuality, language, culture, immigrant status, phenotype, accent, and surname (Yosso, 2006). Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) argues, "Black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender" (p. 140). CRT values the layered experiences that People of Color carry in relation to their gender, class, and sexuality.

2. The Challenge to Dominant Ideology

This tenet argues that using CRT in education challenges claims that the educational system offers objectivity, meritocracy, color-blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity (Yosso, 2006). It questions the privilege white, U.S.-born, and monolingual English-speaking students have in the US (Yosso, 2006). For example, *The Bell Curve* written by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray (1994) argues that People of Color's intelligence is biologically inferior to whites. CRT challenges Herrnstein and Murray (1994) by critiquing the way intelligence is defined and the grave problems in their research methods.

3. The Commitment to Social Justice

CRT is dedicated to advancing a social justice agenda in schools and society. Acknowledging schools as political places and teaching as a political act, CRT views education as a tool to eliminate all forms of subordination and empower oppressed groups—to transform society. CRT provides researchers with the opportunities to design policy recommendations and to document moments of social movement or activism within local and larger communities of color (Yosso, 2006). It values events like the 1968 Blowouts in Eastern Los Angeles as well as the 1993 Hunger Strike for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA.

4. The Centrality of experiential knowledge of People of Color

Such knowledge is found legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination. CRT views this knowledge as a strength and draws explicitly on the lived experiences of Students of Color by analyzing "data," including oral traditions, corridos, poetry, films, actos, and humor (Yosso, 2006). For example, CRT values a song like "Cumbia del Mole" by Lila Downs whose lyrics share an ancient recipe for cooking mole, a blend of spices, chocolate, and chiles, produced by her ancestors. To the beat of cumbia (a Colombian beat), Downs records and passes down this knowledge.

5. The Interdisciplinary Perspective

CRT analyzes racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia from a historical and interdisciplinary perspective. A CRT in education works between and beyond disciplinary boundaries, drawing on multiple methods to listen to and learn from those knowledges otherwise silenced by popular discourse and academic research. CRT values the research in Sociology, Anthropology, English, Law, History, and others as necessary for researching the experiences of People of Color (Yosso,

2006). In other words, CRT understands that the limitation of staying within one field of study is too confining to research and chart the lived experiences of People of Color.

Critical Theories Literature: Chicana Feminisms

Theoretically, Chicana Feminisms are a group of critical theories that interrogate the intersection between power and colonialism, race, class, gender, and sexuality. Perhaps one of the earliest foundations of Chicana feminist works are found within Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa's (1981) text, This Bridge Called my Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color. In their introduction, Moraga and Anzaldúa (1981) claim "This Bridge Called My Back intends to reflect an uncompromised definition of feminism by women of color in the U.S." (p. xxiii). Given Moraga and Anzaldúa's significant contribution to Chicana feminisms, it is imperative to acknowledge their commitment to a "women of color" identity politic. This Bridge lays out the importance for a single goal, "...for we were interested in the writings of women of color who want nothing short of a revolution in the hands of women—who agree that that is the goal, no matter how we might disagree about the getting there or the possibility of seeing it in our own lifetimes" (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1981, pgs. xxiii-xxiv). In essence then, Chicana Feminisms is theoretically aligned with women of color and third-world feminisms, specifically engaging in the practice of "speaking back" to the dominant discourse that omits and distorts women of color experiences (Arredondo, Hurtado, Klahn, Nájera-Ramírez, and Zavella, 2003, p. 2).

I see Chicana Feminist works as seminal to my data analysis given the various hints secondary sources provide that gender inequality played a crucial role in the UCLA Hunger Strike. As Maylei Blackwell (2011) argues, "...the primacy of race and narratives that center and naturalize male dominance remain the dominant historical and theoretical models we use to teach in the field of Chicana/o Studies, thereby institutionalizing this erasure of early Chicana

feminisms in the curriculum" (p. 12). I intend to analyze the data critically, moving beyond the practice of "dropping in" Chicana names or briefly stated contributions, but looking at the 1990-1993 period as one that is impacted by gender as much as it is by race.

Critical Theories Literature: Jotería Theories

Similar to Chicana Feminist scholarship, Jotería 13 scholarship is critical in analyzing how sexuality played a role during the UCLA Hunger Strike. Specifically, Jotería Theories challenge both the heterosexist framework in traditional Chicano history and the white supremacist framework in traditional gay history. Further, Jotería theories challenge patriarchy in both areas of scholarship.

Michael Hames-García (2011) critiques the white supremacy within traditional queer theory. He argues that despite queer People of Color's interventions and interpretations within queer theories, white queer theorists have maintained their scholarship at the margins. Hames-García (2011) argues that this is done in a variety of ways. The most dangerous one is how white queer theorists reiterate over and over again that queer People of Color scholarship is on the margins. By reiterating their marginality, white queer theorists maintain the white supremacy within queer theory. Further, Hames-García (2011) also finds that queer theory genealogies maintain white theorists as foundational and introductory, in other words they are introduced first. He proposes a new genealogy that acknowledges works by Black queer writers such as James Baldwin, Barbara Smith, Audre Lorde, and The Combahee River Collective, among many others. What happens when these are inserted into queer theory? Most noticeably,

¹³Jotería is a collective term that encompasses Chicanas/os that self-identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer. The term bridges the multiplicity of race, class, gender, and sexuality that jotas/os experience. It refuses to accept "queer" as a sole identity, because "queer" is historically associated with white middle-class communities. In essence, Jotería is an expression of self-determination, embraced by Chicana/o queers to make a distinction that their experiences in the U.S. are different. Although Jotería is a term used by many Chicanas/os, the term queer is also utilized in academic and activist spaces.

most of the black authors wrote and published *before* the claimed foundational and introductory white theorists. Thus queer theory is inherently not a discourse that respects or values Queer People of Color theories and politics.

One of the major challenges for queer People of Color is the University's elitism, of not valuing the multiple genres that queer People of Color theorize through. Xicano poet Lorenzo Herrera y Lozano (2012) tackles the issue of jotos, or queer Chicanos and their "lack" of publications. In his essay titled, "Poetry of the Flesh" Herrera y Lozano (2012) says, "I come from a long line of jotos. They are my lineage" (p. 2). He further states,

There are many theories attempting to explain the fact that so few publications exist by queer brown men. Among these, the theory that they were simply too busy 'fucking in the bushes.' I refuse to believe my ancestors did not write. Yes, they may have been fucking in the bushes, but I know for a fact that poetry is written behind bushes, in bathhouses, in *cantinas* and in our *abuela's* backyard. That publishing could not or refused to catch up with their writings is not an indication of their poetic silence. There were poets among them. There are poets among us. A publisher does not make a poet. (Herrera y Lozano, 2012, p. 5)

The problem is the inherent marginalization of queer People of Color writings *and* writing styles in academia. Herrera y Lozano (2012) argues in his essay that poetry 1) is a site of remembrance, 2) a site for memory, 3) a site for revolution, 4) a site for documentation, 5) a site for audacity, 6) a site for unlocking, dismantling, and eradicating the legislation of our bodies, and 7) a site for social justice (pgs. 2-6). These identifiers link closely to Chicana Feminisms and Critical Race Theory in Education. Both Chicana Feminisms and Critical Race Theory in

Education value the experiences of the marginalized, and seek alternative ways of knowing (in Herrera y Lozano's case, poetry) to theorize.

History Theories Literature

In her text, *The Decolonial Imaginary*, Emma Pérez (1999) states the challenge of the Historian,

A historian must remain within the boundaries, the borders, the confines of the debate as it has been conceptualized if she/he is to be a legitimate heir to the field. Breaking out of the borders is like choosing to go outside, into the margins, to argue or expose that which no one will risk. Going outside the accredited realm of historiography means daring to be dubbed a-historical. It means traversing new territories and disciplines, mapping fresh terrains such as cultural studies, women's studies, ethnic studies, and of course, Chicana/o Studies. (p. xiii)

Pérez inscribes Chicanas into the larger picture of History and Chicano History by challenging the racism and patriarchy within Eurocentric and Chicano nationalist frameworks of History. Yet daring to be dubbed a-historical is what Michel Foucault (1984) calls historians to do, to displace history's authority to assure its continuity (89). Following Pérez and Foucault's arguments, Richard T. Rodríguez (2009) asserts, "As Foucault does not aim to dissolve 'History' but instead calls for its reconfiguration as genealogy (making it available to refashioned subjects and projects)..." (p. 3).

Pérez (1999) continues: "History itself has encoded upon it a tool for a liberatory consciousness...If we choose to enact the tool of history...then we begin to build another story, uncovering the untold to consciously remake the narrative" (p. 127). Pérez' claim is mirrored in the multiple resistance stories of Chicana/o students, their parents, families, and communities

laid out in this chapter. San Miguel (1987) finds through his historiography that historical studies on Chicana/o education are dominated by social control theories:

These studies, based on institutional developments, fail to take into consideration the manner in which minority group members have acted on and reacted to these delimitating circumstances. The studies—still only a few—that do take a minority perspective of education tend to view Mexicans not as passive victims of an oppressive and racist public school system but as active participants in the shaping of their own destinies. (p. 468)

Here, San Miguel (1987) and Pérez (1999) both identify the need for Chicana/o history to be innovative and to capture the complexity of historical events, to look into the community and tell the stories within. Further, I operationalize my study based on Pérez' (1999) call, historicizing and theorizing from the interstitiary spaces, where experiences of marginalized peoples (of color, women, queers, immigrants, the poor) exist.

In this chapter I have laid out a sample of four major areas of research that inform my topic: Chicana/o Educational History, Chicana/o Activism History, Critical Theories Literature, and History Theories Literature. The first two areas of literature review provide historical context to Chicanas/os in education as well as historical accounts of Chicana/o resistance in schools. This literature will specifically help answer my first two research questions for this project. And lastly, the latter two bodies of literature (Critical Theories and History Theories) inform my analytical lens and will help answer my research questions.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework, Methods, and Data Analysis

In order to answer my research questions, I utilize a Critical Race History theoretical framework, which I define below. Further, my methods will triangulate secondary sources, archival research and oral history. I utilized both institutional archives (found at UCLA) and personal archives of individuals that collected and preserved documents on their own from the time period analyzed. I also engaged with oral history methods to gather the experiences of student leaders, hunger strikers, faculty, staff, community leaders, and administrators involved with the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. I juxtaposed the archival materials and oral histories.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework I use to guide my analysis is Critical Race History¹⁴ (CRH), which builds upon Solórzano's (1997, 1998) five tenets of CRT in Education and Mari Matsuda's tenets of CRT in the Law. The tenets of CRH are:

- 1) Challenges ahistoricism: This tenet draws from Mari Matsuda's (1993) first tenet of Critical Race Theory in the Law, which directly "[c]hallenges ahistoricism and insists on a contextual/historical analysis of [education], and adopts a stance that presumes that racism has contributed to all contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage." CRH values analysis that contextualizes the role that racism has in shaping institutions, including the law, schools, the media, government, and religion.
- 2) The centrality and intersectionality of race and racism: This tenet and the four after this draw from Solórzano's (1997, 1998) definitions of tenets one through five of CRT in

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¹⁴ This theoretical framework was a result of years of conversation between Lluliana Alonso, Michaela Mares-Tamayo, Ryan E. Santos, Daniel G. Solórzano, and myself between the years 2009-2011. We were interested in pulling from existing literature to develop a theoretical framework that utilized Critical Race Theory and centered the importance of historical analysis in research.

Education. This tenet values the relationships between race, class, gender, sexuality, citizenship, and other forms of marginalization. CRH values the intersections as pivotal to understanding how race and other forms of marginalization define and reinforce each other in excluding underrepresented peoples.

- 3) The challenge to the dominant ideology: CRH values the use of historical counterstories to challenge the master narrative and its omission and distortion of the historical experiences of People of Color in society. Inspired by Yosso's (2006) definition of counterstories, historical counterstories speak to the ways that marginalized people resist majoritarian historical narratives. Thus, a historical counterstory is an artifact (including written and oral histories) that challenges historical inequalities and communicates the ways that People of Color resist throughout history.
- 4) The commitment to social justice: CRH calls for historical inquiry and research that acknowledges the experiences and contributions of People of Color in the U.S. Given the historical precedent to social inequality CRH is committed to historical production that dismantles racism and other forms of subordination.
- 5) The centrality of experiential knowledge: CRH values the experiences of People of Color as central to history making and history telling. CRH treats the perspectives, stories, and personal archives of People of Color as legitimate and valuable data.
- 6) The interdisciplinary perspective: CRH draws from a variety of fields of study (Law, Political Science, Arts, Ethnic Studies, Women's Studies, Queer Studies, Public Policy, Social Welfare, and others) to capture the complexity of historical events.

I utilize CRH as a framework to analyze the data I collect using archival and oral history methods.

On Archival Methods

Archival methods are rarely used in traditional educational research. As John H. Stanfield (1987) argues, "there is not a standard textbook on the use of archival materials in social research, and popular research-methods textbooks ignore the value of archival materials altogether" (p. 367). Although standard handbooks and courses rarely exist to teach archival methods, I was able to utilize this method of inquiry by understanding the process as one that develops between the researcher and the archive.

Stanfield (1987) claims that historical methods (i.e. archival research) are important for sociological researchers interested in historical research: "...the purpose of using archival materials as a primary data source is to develop and test historically specific theories of sociological phenomena" (p. 379). He further suggests that historical sociologists use archives to study and create theories "about social organization, social stratification, and social movements emergent in a past era" (Stanfield, 1987, p. 366). Stanfield also suggests that historical sociologists do not look for the same things in the archives as historians do.

For the historical sociologist, Stanfield (1987) proposes three steps to archival research. First, he suggests beginning with secondary sources on the topic. Specific things to look for in secondary literature include footnotes and bibliographies that may offer clues about archive collections. Second, he suggests reading theoretical literature that informs the status of the field. This will facilitate "the development of a preconceived theoretical hunch" (Stanfield, 1987, p. 371). Thirdly, he suggests digging into the archives to understand the breadth of the preserved documents and to discover the gaps between the literature and the archival materials. For my project, I utilized his recommendations and located several gaps between and within the literature and the archives. For example, most early pieces on the hunger strike and Chicana/o

activism ignore internal conflicts of gender, sexuality, and exclusive nationalism. To address these gaps, I turned to oral history methods to help gather additional data.

On Oral History

In *The Houses of History*, Green and Troupe (1999) claim, "Story-telling is generally perceived as one of the important functions of writing history. Some historians have suggested that this is the defining feature of the discipline" (p. 204). I argue that oral history is an important method to fill in the gaps in the archives. Historian Vicki Ruiz (1998) argues,

Though filtered through the lens of time and mediated by the interviewer, oral histories shed much light on individual stories of resistance, resilience, and creativity. It is not a question of 'giving' voice but of providing the space for people to express their thoughts and feelings in their own words and on their own terms. Reclaiming, contextualizing, and interpreting their memories remain the historians' tasks. (p. xiv)

As Green and Troupe (1999) and Ruiz (1998) suggest, the historian's job is to engage the stories told by participants to construct a historical narrative about a historical event, and specifically in this project, a narrative of the movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Moreover, oral history is uniquely suited to giving voice to the experience of People of Color, with its most recent revival as a historical method rooted deeply in the 1960s intellectual revolution that led universities to institute departments like Chicana/o Studies. Green and Troupe (1999) argue, "The revival of oral history derived from a new generation of historians steeped in the politics of the New Left, civil rights and feminism. Oral history was perceived as a means to empower women, the working class and ethnic minorities, allowing them to speak for themselves" (p. 231).

Thus, oral history is a valid historical method that documents participants' experiences and memories around a significant historic event, like the hunger strike, and allows for the expansion of the "official" story. In essence, such revival of oral history as method is necessary for underrepresented peoples because their stories are often not archived historically or extensively. Even for events like the movements for Chicana/o Studies, which benefited from mass media documentation, significant gaps in the archives exist: "...oral historians [seek] to understand the hidden, and often unconscious, structures which inform narratives about the past" (Green and Troupe, 1999, p. 233). I utilize oral history and archival materials to explore and expand the underlying movements that coalesced in the historical flashpoint of the hunger strike and the subsequent establishment of the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana/o Studies.

Data Collection

Below I identify the location of existing hunger strike archives found at UCLA. I briefly identify a summary of the contents in the archives. Further, I identify the types of participants I interviewed for the oral history process. I identify six categories: hunger strikers, student leaders, faculty, staff, University administration, and community leaders. I define the category of *hunger strikers* as the nine individuals who participated in the 14-day water-only hunger strike. Their names are: Marcos Aguilar, Balvina Collazo, Juan Arturo Díaz López, Maria M. Lara, Joaquín Manuel Ochoa, Cindy Montañez, Norma Montañez, and Professor Jorge R. Mancillas. I only interviewed three of the hunger strikers, who are identified in chapter five. I define *student leaders* as UCLA students involved in MEChA de UCLA or Conscious Students of Color (both student organizations at UCLA) or that took leadership positions in 1) 1990-1993 efforts to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies and/or 2) during the hunger strike. I enact Delgado

Bernal's (1998) definition of leadership reconceptualized: "I propose that a paradigmatic shift in the way we view grassroots leadership not only provides an alternative history...but it also acknowledges Chicanas as important leaders in past and present grassroots movements" (p. 114). Her paradigmatic shift influences my definition of student leaders; I intend to look at student leadership beyond only the hunger strikers (they are a separate category), and look at the multiple ways that students lead, not just traditional male political figures. I define *staff* as individuals who worked at the UCLA campus between 1990-1993 but did not hold student, faculty, or administration roles. I define *faculty* as individuals who served the role of professors and were employed at UCLA between 1990-1993. I define *University administration* as individuals who held a position in an administrative position at UCLA, specifically individuals whose job is to oversee University departments and programs. Lastly, I define *community leaders* as people not directly affiliated with UCLA, but who became involved in supporting Chicana/o Studies departmentalization.

Sample Questions for Oral Interviews:

The questions below are broad questions that I drew from for each oral history. Depending on the participant, and their respective role in the Chicana/o Studies struggle at UCLA, I asked specific questions to capture their leadership roles and memories. The questions I worked from are:

- 1) What was your role in the departmentalization process for Chicana/o Studies or the Hunger Strike?
- 2) Why did you get involved in the departmentalization process for Chicana/o Studies?
- 3) What did the hunger strike mean to UCLA?

- 4) Were there any tensions you observed during your involvement? If so, what were they?
- 5) Can you identify other people who played a significant role in these events?

 I interviewed 39 participants. The shortest interview was 45 minutes and the longest was three hours. The average length for the interviews was 1.5 hours. I recorded each interview digitally and did a thematic transcription for each one. Each participant had the opportunity to read and edit the transcription if they chose to prior to the analysis phase. Further, each participant either chose to use their legal name or they chose a pseudonym.

Table 3.1, Oral History Participant Summary

Participant Category	Number of Participants ¹⁵
Hunger Strikers	3
Undergraduate Students	18
Graduate Students	5
UCLA Staff	6
UCLA Faculty	2
UCLA Administrators	5
Community Leaders	6
TOTAL	39

I had access to seven archives related to the movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. I utilized a digital camera and portable scanner to collect the documents. A couple of personal archives were scanned by the individuals and emailed to me. I went through both the archives and oral history transcripts and coded for themes by hand.

Table 3.2, Archive Summary

Archive	Contents
MEChA de UCLA Archive	1 binder
Chicano Studies Research Center Library	3 binders
Southern Regional Library Facility	1.5 linear feet (3 boxes)
Chancellor Young University Archives	3 linear feet (6 boxes)

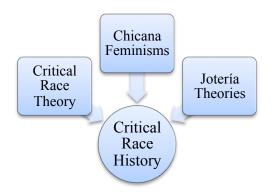
¹⁵ The total number of oral history participants is 39. Of these narrators, six had multiple roles between 1990-1993 (i.e. some graduated and began working at UCLA in various capacities).

Milo Alvarez Personal Archive	3 binders
Ryan Yokota Personal Archive	1 binder
María Lara Personal Archive	Keepsakes

Data Analysis

The Critical Race History (CRH) in Education framework guides my data analysis. The six tenets of the framework are informed by the theoretical literature found in Chapter Two, in the areas of Critical Race Theory in Education, Chicana Feminisms, and Jotería Theories. In essence, my analytical lens is layered by race, gender, and sexuality constructions (as illustrated by the Critical Race History model below). In the coding of the data, I looked for codes that denote these categories. Specifically, I utilized this lens to capture a more complete historical account of the hunger strike. The model below exemplifies how the merging of literature in CRT in Education, Chicana Feminisms, and Jotería Theories inform my understanding of the Critical Race History (CRH) framework.

Figure 3.3, Critical Race History Model



Research Question and Data Analysis Summary

The CRH theoretical lens presented above was essential in analyzing the data I gathered for this project: it centered the intersections between race, class, gender, sexuality, and citizenship in the data analysis. I triangulated the various types of sources (oral histories, archives, scholarship) to validate my findings. This type of analysis is interdisciplinary while

maintaining roots in historical methods, specifically oral history and archival research. Below is a table that illustrates the data sources I utilized to answer each of my research questions.

Table 3.4, Research Questions/Data Sources Summary

Research Questions	Data Sources	Examples of Data Sources
Q 1: What is the relationship	Secondary sources	Chicana/o Educational History
between the movements for	Archives	literature, Chicana/o activism
Chicana/o Studies at UCLA	Oral histories	literature, Chicana/o history
and the racial climate for		literature, existing archives,
Chicanas/os in California		and oral histories I will
during the 1990s?		conduct.
Q 2: In what ways do racial,	Archives	Existing archives from Young
gender, and sexuality	Oral histories	Research Library, Chicano
constructions impact the		Studies Research Center,
developments of the		Southern Regional Library
movements for Chicana/o		Facility, and MEChA de
Studies at UCLA?		UCLA; Alumni archives; oral
		histories gathered from criteria
		set above.

Chapter 4: Archival Data Analysis

In this chapter, I engage in archival research to analyze hundreds of documents found in institutional and personal archives related to the departmentalization efforts for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA between 1990-1993. I ground this archival analysis with Michel-Rolph Trouillot's claim of the relationship between archives and history: "What happened [history] leaves traces, some of which are quite concrete—buildings, dead bodies, censuses, monuments, diaries, political boundaries—that limit the range and significance of any historical narrative...history begins with bodies and artifacts..." (1995, p. 29). I see the documents I analyze as significant to constructing narratives about the movements at UCLA, as well as bodies, or memories of people who participated or led in the movements. Neither is more significant in this project and both have limitations. I value archival research as much as I do oral history, and claim them as mutually constitutive to help me tell a Critical Race History (CRH) of the departmentalization efforts. In essence, the two methods I utilized to gather data to speak to Trouillot's (1995) definition of what history is, are artifacts and bodies.

I further utilize CRH to analyze the archives and oral histories I collected. Trouillot (1995) advises:

Power does not enter the story once and for all, but at different times and from different angles. It precedes the narrative proper, contributes to its creation and to its interpretation. Thus, it remains pertinent even if we can imagine a totally scientific history, even if we relegate the historians' preferences and stakes to a separate, post-descriptive phase. In history, power begins at the source. (p. 28-29)

Given his claim of power relationship in the formation of historical narratives and sources, I value CRH as a necessary theoretical frame to question the power in archive making and in

speaking.

In the archives I analyze, there is a larger amount of documents dated between May-June of 1993 versus 1990-1992. I find that this is because the May 11th, 1993 Faculty Center sit-in and the May 25th-June 7th, 1993 hunger strike attracted media attention, and thus, the events were well documented. Below is a summary table that lists the various archives, where they are housed, and the types of documents within each archive.

Table 4.1, Summary of Archives Analyzed

Archive Name	Where is it housed?	Types of documents
MEChA de UCLA	MEChA de UCLA office	Newspaper articles, letters written
Chicana/o Studies archive		to Chancellor Young, Chicana/o
		Studies departmentalization
		Proposals (1990-1993), Meeting
		minutes
Hunger Strike Archives (5	Chicano Studies Research	Copies of the MEChA de UCLA
binders)	Center Library	Archive, newspaper articles,
		photographs
Hunger Strike Archives (1.5	UCLA's Southern Regional	Newspaper articles, letters in
linear feet)	Library Facility	support of Chicana/o Studies
Administrative Files of	UCLA University Archives,	Letters written to Chancellor
Charles E. Young, 1967-	Chancellor's Office	Young, letters from Chancellor
1997 (3.5 linear feet)		Young, email correspondence,
		newspaper articles
Student Activism Archive	UCLA University Archives	Flyers
Milo Alvarez personal	Personal archive	Student/Community/Administration
archive		meeting minutes, 1990-1993,
		Flyers,
Maria Lara personal archive	Personal archive	Photographs, hunger strike t-shirt
Raul Ruiz hunger strike	UCLA Chicano Studies	Photographs
archive	Research Library	

From these archives, I group the documents into five general types of primary documents: 1) Pre-1993 archival documents; 2) flyers and handouts; 3) *Los Angeles Times* newspaper articles; 4) letters in support of a Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA; and 5) letters against a Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA. I begin the chapter by providing historical context to 1993 with some documents that are dated between 1990 and 1992. Next, I

will analyze selected documents in each category laid out above and identify themes within them. I end this chapter by speaking to the connections between the various categories of documents.

Table 4.2, Summary of Sources Analyzed

Archive Category	Description of Sources
1) Pre-1993 Archival Documents	Letters sent to Chancellor Young between 1990-
	1993, Conference packets, Meeting minutes
2) Flyers and Handouts	Flyers and handouts related to Chicana/o Studies
	between 1990-1993. Most flyers and handouts are
	associated to student-organized events, specifically
	MEChA de UCLA and Conscious Students of
	Color.
3) Los Angeles Times Newspaper Articles	Newspaper articles related to Chicana/o Studies
	between 1990-1993 in the Los Angeles Times
	newspaper.
4) Letters in support of Chicana/o Studies	I selected 91 letters supporting Chicana/o Studies
	departmentalization written to Chancellor Young
	between May and June of 1993.
5) Letters against Chicana/o Studies	I selected 91 letters against Chicana/o Studies
	departmentalization written to Chancellor Young
	between May and June of 1993.

Pre-1993 Archival Documents

In the Milo Alvarez personal archive, a document titled "Chicano Studies Conference" provides context to the status of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA at that time. The document communicates that 1) the Chicana/o Studies program was under scrutiny by the Committee on Undergraduate Courses and Curricula (CUCC) of the Academic Senate; 2) in February of 1990, the major in Chicana/o Studies was threatened to be dismantled by the CUCC; 3) student activism intensified in the spring quarter of 1990 to challenge the CUCC's recommendation to Chancellor Young that he dismantle the Chicana/o Studies Interdepartmental Program (IDP). Further, the statement lays out steps that students, faculty, and administration were taking in

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¹⁶ This document is dated December 1, 1990.

December of 1990 to ensure a department of Chicana/o Studies. Some of these steps include the formation of a committee consisting of faculty, students and staff, a seminar to be taught in winter quarter of 1991 to develop curriculum and syllabi for a Chicana/o Studies Department, and the formation of the Faculty Recruitment Committee. The committee (comprised of faculty, staff, students, and the Deans of Humanities and Social Sciences) would be responsible for hiring at least 15 faculty over the following three to five years. This document positions the conference as a part of the steps being taken to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies at UCLA.

Analyzing archival documents like "Chicano Studies Conference" is important to construct an analysis of the departmentalization efforts of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Moreover, analyzing archives held outside the institution is important because a richer narrative is possible. How limited would the historical narrative of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA be in this project if I did not value Milo Alvarez' personal archive? Relying on institutional archives alone, I would be forced to construct a narrative of Chicana/o Studies trapped in May 11 – June 7 of 1993, silencing the multiple organizing strategies and leaderships in pre-1993 actions to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies. In essence, I am positioning personal archives as essential to the analysis of historical events.

According to a packet of documents found in the MEChA de UCLA Archive titled "MEChA Community Conference for Structure of Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA", the December 1st, 1990 conference was sponsored by MEChA de UCLA and included various academics, students, staff, and community members. The program included faculty in Chicana/o Studies¹⁷ and students from MEChA de UCLA and MEChA de California State University,

¹⁷ The faculty listed here include Rodolfo Acuña, Ada Sosa Riddell, Denise Segura, Rene Nuñez, and Juan Gómez-Quiñones.

Northridge.¹⁸ Prior to this conference, there were a series of meetings and steps that MEChA de UCLA took, alongside other faculty, staff, and community members, to arrive to the December 1st conference with some groundwork completed. Some documents in the packet include weekly schedules of meetings and steps needed to reach the December 1st conference deadline. One of those events was a scheduled "Chicana Feminism Encuentro." These particular documents are proof that the 1993 student activism had precedence. In other words, before a sit-in and a hunger strike are staged, there are several meetings and organizing strategies being used on the UCLA campus, and in the larger Los Angeles community, to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies.

Before the December 1, 1990 Chicana/o Studies conference, there were a series of meetings by the "Provost's Committee on the Restructuring of the Chicano Studies Major" between May 21, 1990 and August 21, 1990 (Milo Alvarez Archive). These meetings include MEChA de UCLA leadership, Chicana/o and Latina/o faculty, Chicano Studies Research Center staff, and University administration. The major topics discussed in these meetings included: 1) departmentalization of Chicana/o Studies; 2) developing a proposal for a Chicana/o Studies major/department; 3) the purpose of the Provost's committee; 4) faculty recruitment; and 5) Chicana/o Studies curriculum.

Amongst these topics, there is a clear tension between MEChA de UCLA leadership and UCLA administrators. As laid out in approved minutes, MEChA de UCLA representatives Mark Aguilar, ²⁰ Milo Alvarez, and Minnie Ferguson are most interested in the discussion of a

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¹⁸ The conference was held at UCLA's Dodd Hall Lecture Room 147 and its main purpose was to reveal and discuss a proposal for a Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA.

 $^{^{19}}$ This encuentro took place on November 30, 1990 from 7:00 pm - 9:00 p.m. in 2210 Campbell Hall at the UCLA campus.

²⁰ "Mark Aguilar" is the same person as "Marcos Aguilar" who is referred to in various points in this dissertation. I am using Mark in this section because that is the name used in the approved minutes I analyze.

Chicana/o Studies Department. In almost all meeting minutes, MEChA de UCLA representatives demand that the administration, specifically Provost Raymond L. Orbach, commit in writing to a Chicana/o Studies Department. Alvarez makes it clear in the minutes that the entire committee agreed on departmentalization as the goal, but that Provost Orbach would not commit to it. Further, MEChA de UCLA leadership sees departmentalization taking place with the inclusion of students in every step of the way. Administrators mostly tend to be ambiguous about how exactly a department would be implemented. For example, in one instance, Provost Carol Hartzog gives Professor Vilma Ortiz handouts that explain the departmentalization process at UCLA. In a later meeting, MEChA de UCLA leader Mark Aguilar notes that the handouts state that a proposal needs to be headed by an administrator. Hartzog at that point says that the handouts in question are unclear and under review. MEChA de UCLA leadership clearly finds it hard to believe that University administration would not know the process to establish a department. Given this documented resistance by University administrators to commit to departmentalization, it is evident why MEChA de UCLA expanded its strategy beyond the University. In other words, the prior documents of the December 1, 1990 conference are a clear indication that MEChA de UCLA shifted away from relying on negotiations with the University, and intentionally called for community support to ensure that a department be implemented.

Shortly after pulling out of the Provost meetings, MEChA de UCLA wrote "MEChA Position Paper on Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA" (MEChA de UCLA Archive). The

²¹ This position paper is dated September 27, 1990. Based on my experience as a past MEChA de UCLA member, historically, position papers are written by MEChA chapters to communicate their stance on a specific issue. In some cases, position papers are published to cut ties with specific organizations, to call out infiltration, among other things. Position papers are archived and maintained in MEChA's organizational history and is communicated to regional, state, and national MEChA memberships. Further, position papers are often circulated in community spaces, organizations, unions, and with alumni with the intention to build awareness and support on specific issues.

position paper on Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA communicates that the Chicana/o community is under attack, specifically because the University administration has not committed to a department. The position paper states that MEChA de UCLA is cognizant of the process to establish a department and calls for a proposal that is based on *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (1969). The position paper also communicates that the Provost committee was ineffective and demanded an unequivocal commitment to departmentalization by Chancellor Young and the University of California President. In essence, the position paper confirms that MEChA de UCLA was shifting away from working with administrators, knowing their limitations and suspect of their role in disrupting student activism in order to apply direct pressure on Chancellor Young.

The shift to include community support is apparent in ten letters of support for a Chicana/o Studies Department that are dated between 1990 and 1992. The letters are directed to Chancellor Young and written by: 1) Lieutenant Governor of the State of California Leo McCarthy, dated August 1, 1990; 2) Edward R. Roybal from the House of Representatives, dated January 4, 1991; 3) Jackie Goldberg, President of the Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles, dated January 25, 1991; 4) David E. Lopez of UCLA's Department of Sociology, dated January 25, 1991; 5) Linda Avila, et al.²², dated February 1, 1991; 6) Elma González, Professor of Biology, dated February 11, 1991; 7) Richard Alatorre, Councilman of the Fourteenth District of the City of Los Angeles, dated February 25, 1991; 8) Janalyn Williams Glymph of the Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles, dated February 26, 1991; 9) César E. Chávez, President of the United Farm Workers of America AFL-CIO, dated May 6, 1991 (see Appendix_); and

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²² Linda Avila, et al. represents signatures by: Linda Avila; A.A.; Richard Chabran, CSRC; Ruth Zambrana, Social Welfare; Maria Cuevas, CSRC; Lauro Flores, Spanish/Portuguese; Patricia Mendoza, UNEX; Sonia Saldivar-Hull, English; Vilma Ortiz, Sociology; Karen Sacks, Women Studies/Anthropology; Carlos Grijalva, Psychology; Jose Monleon, Spanish/Portuguese; Antonio Serrata, CSRC; David Hayes-Bautista, CSRC; George Sanchez, History; Jorge Mancillas, Anatomy and Cell Biology; Juan Gomez-Quinones, History; Daniel Solórzano, Education; Diane de Anda, Social Welfare; Cynthia Telles, NPI; Lara Medina, Catholic Center; and, Edit Villarreal, Theatre.

10) Gloria Molina, Supervisor of the First District of the County of Los Angeles.

In his letter, César E. Chávez lays out the importance of the geographical history of Los Angeles:

The University of California, Los Angeles in the 1990's is situated both historically and geographically in the midst of major transitions. As this region's population becomes increasingly Chicano/Latino, it is necessary to respond in many different ways. One of the most important developments will be educating future leaders. UCLA is in a position to do just this, benefitting both the institution and society at large. I request, on behalf of the United Farm Workers, the formation of a Chicano Studies Department with appropriate faculty and courses. Sincerely: César E. Chávez, President. (Milo Alvarez Archive)

Chávez urges Chancellor Young to value Chicanos/Latinos via a department. He justifies the need for a department based on the history of Los Angeles, encouraging Chancellor Young to see the growing Chicano/Latino demographics. In his letter, Edward R. Roybal, Member of Congress of the United States agrees with Chávez: "Latinos comprise the fastest growing community in Southern California, and, in fact, in the country...Because of the rate that our numbers are increasing, the needs of our community are ever changing, our history continually expanding and, the need for understanding of our culture is ever growing" (Roybal to Chancellor Young, January 4, 1991). Jackie Goldberg states, "Both as a teacher and as a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education, I feel it is of the highest importance that the educational institutions of our society reflect the population which they serve and depend on" (Goldberg to Chancellor Young, January 25, 1991). Further, Goldberg states, "Chicanos and other Latinos are the largest single population group in Los Angeles County. The Los Angeles Unified School District is

nearly two-thirds Latino students. For both historical and current reasons, Chicano and Latino history and culture are deserving of being singled out in all of our institutions, especially our schools and colleges" (Goldberg to Chancellor Young, January 25, 1991). Goldberg relates the demographics of Los Angeles specifically to Los Angeles schools. As President of the Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles, she invokes history and demographic shifts as significant for UCLA to establish a Chicana/o Studies Department.

The letter written by Linda Avila, et al. to Chancellor Young also mentions Los Angeles demographics in their demand for a Chicana/o Studies Department. The letter also includes language claiming Chicana and Chicano Studies as a field of knowledge: "...there is a growing mass of Chicano/Latino scholars that are enriching the contemporary discourse of the social sciences and humanities with their unique perspective" (Avila, et al. to Chancellor Young, February 1, 1991). This is of great importance, that a body of Chicana/o and Latina/o faculty communicate the legitimacy of Chicana/o Studies. Further, Avila, et al. include in their vision a graduate program in Chicana/o Studies, not just an undergraduate department. Moreover, they place responsibility on Chancellor Young to face the challenge that the existing IDP is not working and to ensure proper recruitment of faculty in order for UCLA to lead as the place where Chicana/o Studies will thrive. One last observation I made of this letter is that Avila, et al. use "Chicano/Latino" to identify the community that would benefit from Chicana/o Studies. However, although Latinos are acknowledged, Avila, et al. call for a Chicana/o Studies Department, and not a Chicano/Latino Studies Department. This speaks to the marginalization that some Latina/o students felt within the movements for departmentalization (explored in the next chapter).

Flyers and Handouts

One of the most prominent handouts found in the MEChA de UCLA Archive, the Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC) archives, and the hunger strike archive housed at the Southern Regional Library Facility at UCLA is titled "State of Aztlán: Chicana & Chicano Studies at UCLA," (see Image 4.1 in Appendix A) put together by MEChA de UCLA.²³ "State of Aztlán" contains a list of endorsers for the establishment of a Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA; quotes from letters of support; a statement from MEChA de UCLA members in support of Chicana/o Studies: a "Chronology of Struggle for Chicana and Chicano Studies Department," which highlights significant moments of activism and struggle between 1969 – December 1990; and, a "Chicana Viewpoint" section that identifies the liberation of Chicanas as important to the struggle of Chicana/o Studies departmentalization. The handout is also translated into Spanish, which demonstrates the students' connection to the larger Spanish-speaking communities in Los Angeles, mostly of Latina/o descent.

The "Chronology of Struggle for Chicana and Chicano Studies Department" opening statement identifies April of 1990 as the time in history when MEChA de UCLA committed to departmentalizing Chicana/o Studies at UCLA, a response to the Academic Senate's recommendation to suspend the Chicana/o Studies major. The statement historicizes the threat to suspend the major as a continuity of inequality targeted at Mexican Americans: "When the Mexican community speaks of access, we do so as an [sic] historical people both territorially and economically with long overdue equities. Ours, is an issue of educational equity" (MEChA, "State of Aztlán," April 1990). Further, MEChA de UCLA communicates that the departmentalization of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA is beneficial to the academy:

²³ The document is laid out as a booklet and is dated winter of 1991.

Meeting our demands will place UCLA at the forefront of progressive change in California and throughout the nation. In the North American university system, academic departments are the pillars of the University with autonomy over governance, faculty and curriculum. For those reasons, the creation of a Chicana and Chicano Studies Department at UCLA will provide all current and future students the benefit of understanding contributions made by Mexicans to the social and economic fiber of the United States. (MEChA, "State of Aztlán," April 1990)

The document represents a historical understanding of the trends and continuities Chicana/os experience in the United States over time. By claiming territorial and economic inequality, the students position their movement of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA as part of the historical trend of systemic inequality towards Chicanas/os. In other words, suspending Chicana/o Studies as a major reinforces the trend of devaluing Chicana/o contributions in educational institutions. The statement further claims that departmentalizing Chicana and Chicano Studies will strengthen UCLA by adding an additional pillar to its structure and valuing Mexicans' role in the United States.

The "Chicana Viewpoint" section in the booklet opens with the question, "What is the purpose of an education?" (MEChA, "State of Aztlán," April 1990). In answering this question, the article identifies that liberation is the purpose of education, quoting the theorist Paulo Freire, and positions Chicanas/Mexicanas as active actors in achieving liberation. The article states, "...there cannot be a liberation of a whole community without the liberation of Chicanas" (MEChA, "State of Aztlán," April 1990). In Chicana/o historical discourse, this statement is of great significance because it directly challenges an often-popular quote referenced in Chicana/o Studies, "It was the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be

liberated" (Blackwell, 2011, pgs. 138-139). This particular quote was delivered during the Denver Youth Liberation Conference in 1969 put on by the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado. Due to a lack of Chicana feminist workshops and conversations, a group of Chicanas organized a Chicana caucus open to conference attendees. The latter quote speaks to one of the tensions in Chicana/o organizing history: Do Chicana issues matter in the larger Chicana/o Movement? MEChA de UCLA uses similar language to claim the opposite: that Chicana issues do matter in the liberation of Chicana/o communities. Although further expansion of Chicana issues is not found in the document, the underlying ideology that Chicanas are agents of history is worthy of highlighting.

Aside from this particular booklet, I analyzed flyers dated between 1991-1993. The earliest flyer is titled "Pueblo Unite!!!" (dated Tuesday, December 1st, 1992) and calls for a march and rally from the corner of Wilshire and Gayley (off-campus location) to UCLA's Murphy Hall. The flyer is a MEChA de UCLA event, as it has their logo on the four corners of the flyer. In this flyer it is clear that MEChA de UCLA was the student organizing voice for the departmentalization of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. The "Pueblo Unite!!!" flyer also states, "For the past 22 years Chancellor Chuck Young has arrogantly refused to meet with the Chicana/o community. We demand a meeting with Chuck at Olvera Street!" MEChA de UCLA positions their struggle to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies as a historical one, dating back to 1970, when Chicana/o Studies courses were taught in a student-initiated High Potential Program, and the vision/demand for a Department of Chicana/o Studies was already in place. What is also evident is that MEChA de UCLA had a relationship with community organizations, specifically since it demanded that Chancellor Young meet with them at Olvera Street, the meeting place for the Olvera Street Merchants Association (OSMA).

Another flyer analyzed in this archive is titled "Join the United Farm Workers and thousands of supporters to honor the memory of César Chávez." This flyer announces the all-night vigil in Delano on Wednesday April 28th, 1993 and a march and funeral service for the deceased César Chávez on Thursday April 29th, 1993. Although the flyer is not directly about Chicana/o Studies departmentalization at UCLA, it documents the events that explain why a majority of Chicana/o activists were not at the UCLA campus on Wednesday April 28, 1993, the date that Chancellor Young officially announced that there would not be a Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA. The timing of the announcement on the day that student leaders were in Delano, California honoring Chávez raises questions of sensitivity that many participants reflect on through their oral histories in Chapter 5.

May of 1993 is a month in UCLA history where activism for Chicana/o Studies exploded. Almost daily there were a number of events taking place demanding Chicana/o Studies be departmentalized. Chronologically, the next flyer is titled "Conscious Students of Color (CSC) Stands Firmly Against the Absolvement of the Chicano Studies Library," (part of the Milo Alvarez Personal Archive) dated for a meeting on Tuesday May 11, 1993 outside the UCLA Faculty Center. This is the first flyer found where MEChA de UCLA is not organizing an event related to Chicana/o Studies. This flyer is of great significance historically because: 1) it introduces the organization Conscious Students of Color (CSC) to the UCLA community, 2) it calls for a "People of Color" representation in Chicana/o Studies efforts; and 3) it calls for the rally outside the Faculty Center, that morphs into the sit-in, a historical flashpoint further discussed in Chapter 5. Ironically, there is no proof that the Chicano Studies Library was going to be absolved. Further, MEChA de UCLA student leaders as well as University Administrators deny that the Chicano Studies Library was at-risk of being absolved, placing some suspicion on

the purpose of the gathering. Regardless, the rally organized by the CSC became a significant part of a number of events that would eventually lead to a Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA.

The next flyer in chronological order is titled "MEChA de UCLA announces a Demonstration for the establishment of a Chicana/o Studies Department," dated Wednesday May 12th, 1993. This demonstration was initially planned by MEChA de UCLA to focus only on the departmentalization efforts for Chicana/o Studies. However, the gathering at the Faculty Center, organized by CSC the day before, led to the arrest of 99 students by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), called in by then Executive Vice Chancellor Andrea Rich. The night of the 11th and the early hours of the 12th became organizing hours to bail out a number of students from jail. Thus, the flyer for the Wednesday May 12th is an example of how historical events shift future plans and organizing strategies in social movements. The arrests led hundreds of students and members of the community to join the May 12th rally, not only demanding a Chicana/o Studies Department, but also shaming the University for its treatment of Students of Color by calling in LAPD, and demanding that all charges be dropped against the arrested students.

A May 19, 1993 flyer calls for a peaceful rally to be held at the UCLA Royce Quad on May 21, 1993 and is signed by the CSC. This flyer is the first place where three demands are made: 1) Implementation of a Chicana/o Studies Department, 2) Drop all charges against the 99 UCLA students arrested on May 11, 1993 and guarantee that no academic sanctions be imposed, and 3) Promote and fully fund all Ethnic and Gender Studies curricula. These three demands would soon become part of every rally in relation to the May/June 1993 activisms, including the negotiations that funded the César E. Chávez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana

and Chicano Studies. In this flyer, the CSC identifies a number of organizations and politicians that support their demands. In contrast to the earlier flyer announcing the Faculty Center rally, this flyer emphasized the non-violent strategy of the CSC: "We are a grassroots organization that believes in the mobilization of our people to attain these goals. We do not condone violence, but we will not cease our efforts until the above demands have been met!" Perhaps given the repercussions of the violence utilized at the Faculty Center sit-in (alleged \$8,000 in damages), the CSC called for a peaceful demonstration, and looked at other non-violent forms of protest as ways to have their demands met.

There is a second and third flyer for the Friday May 21st rally, both of these by MEChA de UCLA. One flyer is in English, and the second one is in Spanish, making clear their intention to connect with Spanish-speaking communities in Los Angeles. The flyers by MEChA de UCLA list a number of guest speakers including Assemblywoman Hilda Solis, Senator Art Torres, Senator Tom Hayden, and actor Edward James Olmos. Interestingly, both the CSC and MEChA de UCLA had their own flyers for the same gathering, perhaps illustrating a tension regarding leadership style between the two organizations. This tension will be explored in further detail in Chapter 5.

The following Tuesday, May 25th, 1993 marked day one of a 14-day, water-only hunger strike. A flyer titled "Chicana/o Studies Now! Hunger Strike for Chicana/o Studies Now!" announces the beginning of a hunger strike and lists the same three demands printed on the May 19th CSC flyer. The flyer also identifies Schoenberg Quad as the location where the hunger strike would take place. The flyer does not have a MEChA de UCLA or CSC endorsement on it. Further, the phone number listed at the bottom of this flyer is not the MEChA de UCLA office number. What is clear in this flyer is that there is not one organization leading the hunger strike

announcement. Interestingly, the nine hunger strikers all came from various backgrounds on the UCLA campus and in the community, not directly affiliated, at that time, with either MEChA de UCLA or CSC.

The announcement of a hunger strike led to a number of actions and associated flyers calling for the presence of students and community members at Schoenberg Quad as a show of support for the hunger strikers. In all of these flyers, as in the earlier flyers, there is a reinterpretation of what leadership means on the UCLA campus. These flyers call for collective leadership, everyone who identifies and cares about the issue to be present. Having a large number of people at the hunger strike was a collective effort, and flyers played a significant role in informing students and local community members of gathering dates and times. There are two flyers dated Thursday May 27th, 1993, one for an 11:00 a.m. rally and the second for a 7:30 p.m. candlelight vigil and march from the Bruin Bear statue to Schoenberg Quad. MEChA de UCLA organized this vigil. There is another flyer for Thursday June 3, 1993, scheduled for a 10:30 a.m. meeting off campus at the corner of Gayley and Kinross Avenues, to start a march ending on campus at Murphy Hall. This flyer does not have a MEChA de UCLA or CSC endorsement on it. There is another prevalent flyer image titled "Support the Fast!," which has an image of five people holding a banner that says, "Chicana/o Studies NOW." In the middle of the flyer, the words "Spend your free time at Schoenberg Plaza" are found. This flyer is not dated, but is found in multiple archives related to the hunger strike.

The flyer "March in Solidarity with the Hunger Strikers Saturday June 5th" is the announcement for the historic march between Olvera Street and Schoenberg Plaza on the UCLA campus. The flyer provided people with tips on how to prepare for the 13-mile walk. The flyer lists the three demands, tells people to meet at 6:30 a.m. at Olvera Street and predicted the arrival

to Schoenberg Plaza at 3:00 p.m. This flyer reflects the ongoing leadership strategies that student activists employed between 1990-1993, to centralize the inclusion of community members into discussions and actions related to Chicana/o Studies. Moreover, the march demonstrates historical continuity of peaceful public mobilization via a pilgrimage. As in the 1960s with the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), the practice of marching through the streets of Los Angeles, California, was an effective tool to make public the demands for social justice and equity, and as a result garner support to demand a Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA.

The various forms of flyers I analyzed have a commonality: a call to action. The flyers differed in the amount of information communicated, but all used similar language to frame demands and to motivate people to action. Ultimately, the flyers called for solidarity and unity with the cause of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. This is an important element to the type of collective leadership this time period achieved. The flyers demonstrate that the organizers sought out physical bodies to show support. They called for more than learning about the topic; they called for people to disrupt their class schedule, their work schedule, their politicking in Sacramento and Washington DC, and to be present at UCLA in support of the struggle to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies. The flyers demonstrate that collective presence, and the coalition building needed to maintain it, are historically important and beneficial for Chicana/o social movements.

Newspaper Articles

In this section I analyze the *Los Angeles Times* newspaper article clippings related to Chicana/o Studies between 1990-1993. I focus specifically on the *Los Angeles Times* given the newspaper's mainstream influence. I contend that the *Los Angeles Times* shapes popular

discourse on historical events in Los Angeles and beyond. By analyzing the *Times*' articles on Chicana/o Studies at UCLA, I explore the role that media outlets have in shaping historical discourse. In essence, journalism captured by a popular and influential newspaper like the *Los Angeles Times* influences and informs common perceptions of historical events, and to some degree, marginalizes counter perspectives.

The first article, "UCLA Cuts in Chicano Studies Hit" is dated January 9, 1991 and identifies the Chicana/o Studies crisis at UCLA. The article identifies a tension between University administration and student activists, specifically MEChA de UCLA, on the future development of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. The article reports, "At the heart of the controversy...is whether to revive a money-starved Chicano studies [sic] curriculum that has deteriorated to the point that it has only 11 students majoring in the subject" (Ramos, 1991, January 9). This first article to some degree lays out both sides of the debate; Chicana/o student activists want a department and many wonder whether a department is the best model given the weak structure of the inter-departmental program. The article ends quoting Viven Bonzo, a community leader with the Olvera Street Merchants Association, who states, "When I tried to set up a meeting with Chancellor Young, he has not responded to our phone calls on three occasions" (Ramos, 1991, January 9). Bonzo's quote is an ongoing concern of student activists in pre-1993 primary documents, who found it impossible to meet with Chancellor Young to discuss departmentalization.

The second article discussing Chicana/o Studies in the *Times* is titled "UCLA Rejects Plan for Chicano Studies Department" written by Larry Gordon and dated April 29, 1993. The article opens: "After three years of controversy and study of the issue, UCLA Chancellor Charles E. Young announced Wednesday that Chicano studies [sic] will not be elevated to an

independent department...Latino activists...reacted angrily and promised to continue their efforts" (Gordon, 1993, April 29). A few things are communicated in this opening line: Chancellor Young's decision to not departmentalize Chicana/o Studies and that Latina/o activists were committed to ongoing activism. Part of the anger is the poor timing of Chancellor Young's announcement. Gordon reports:

[Chancellor] Young's announcement was an ill-timed reminder of the struggles of the Chicano rights movement, because many Chicano activists are attending today's funeral for farmworker union leader César Chávez. She (Bonzo) predicted that Chávez's death will shock people into renewed activism in pressing UCLA for the respect and autonomy that departmental standing brings to an academic subject. (Gordon, 1993, April 29)

Bonzo's prediction was right. The days to follow would bring various styles of organizing to the UCLA campus, including a Faculty Center sit-in and a hunger strike.

The first form of protest post-Chancellor Young's announcement the *Times* reports on is the Faculty Center sit-in organized by the student organization, Conscious Students of Color (CSC). The article is titled "Protesters Attack UCLA Faculty Center: Up to \$50,000 in Vandalism Follows the University's Refusal to Elevate Chicano Studies Program to Departmental Status. Police Arrest 90." This title uses key words that frame the Faculty Center sit-in: "attack," "vandalism," and "refusal," which contribute to the criminalization of Chicana/o students and activists. The *Times* further links the Faculty Center sit-in with Chancellor Young's announcement denying departmental status for Chicana/o Studies. The CSC leadership contests this claim in the next chapter, where they communicate that the purpose of the sit-in was not about Chicana/o Studies departmentalization, but about the University's threat to shut down the Chicano Studies Research Center Library due to budget cuts to Ethnic Studies centers. In other

words, the *Times* reporter (and perhaps some student activists) collapsed the struggle for a Chicana/o Studies library and Chicana/o Studies Department as the same, and in the process, the article sets a racialized tone to Chicana/o activism at UCLA with the title word choices. At this point, the reports by the *Times* shifts from reporting the struggle at UCLA, to criminalizing Chicana/o activism, without interrogating the possibility that violence was also brought on by the UC Police Department and the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) who was called in by Executive Vice Chancellor Andrea Rich.

A May 13, 1993 article titled "Reassessment, Please, in UCLA Controversy: Rethinking Chicano Studies Issue in Wake of Protest" rejects violence as a form of protest. In doing so, the author is accepting the *Times* argument that violence was only enacted by student activists. Although most narrators in the next chapter agree that some violence took place on behalf of students, they assert that most of the violence took place because of the presence of a police force. Destruction to the Faculty Center, they contend, is due in large to the police setting up a barricade against students, and the locking of the Faculty Center main entrance that denied students access to the sit-in. In other words, violence is accepted in this piece as an act by Chicana/o activist's alone, and full responsibility is placed on them, even though it was one individual who threw something through a faculty center window. There is no interrogation of the violence and physical damage that the LAPD committed. Interestingly, in addition to placing all responsibility on the students, the article does allude to the fact that this protest should encourage the University to reassess its position on Chicana/o Studies. The author alludes that the issue is not going away.

The claim that activism would not end is supported by Larry Gordon and Marina Dundjerski's article "UCLA Has 2nd Day of Protest Over Program," dated May 13, 2013. The

article refers to the May 12th rally, organized primarily by MEChA de UCLA for a Chicana/o Studies Department. Due to the May 11th arrests, the May 12th rally shifted focus to also include the demand of the dropping of all criminal charges against the students arrested. This article focuses on the tone of the rally, a critique on Eurocentricism in academic discourse. Further, this article reveals an important detail; Chancellor Young was in Japan the week of the protests leaving Executive Vice Chancellor Rich in charge of University affairs and subsequently defending her decision to call the LAPD.

An interesting turn of events is reported on May 15, 1993 in the article "Budget Threats on Chicano Studies Fail to Budget UCLA." In the article, Gordon and Dundjerski report that State Senator Art Torres (D-Los Angeles) "has persuaded a legislative subcommittee to temporarily hold up spending \$838,000 on a UCLA Law School building addition and on Friday he said he would work to block other state funding unless the 20-year-old Chicano studies program becomes a department" (1993, May 12). Although there is a strong critique here of politicians meddling in University affairs, Senator Torres' utilization of his political power to freeze monies to UCLA until Chancellor Young departmentalized Chicana and Chicano Studies, also indicated that student activists were well-connected with persuasive leadership. Further, this demonstrates that even politicians saw Chancellor Young's decision as unjust.

Executive Vice Chancellor Andrea Rich reports in a May 18, 1993 article, "Perspectives on UCLA's Ethnic Studies Decision" that "UCLA is committed to Chicano Studies, but the interdepartmental structure enriches the entire curriculum" (Rich, 1993, May 18). In this piece, Rich wishes to challenge the claim that UCLA administration does not support Chicana/o Studies, and asserts that departmental structure is not adequate for it. She supports an interdepartmental structure by claiming that "all ethnic and area studies programs at UCLA are

structured as interdepartmental programs...Given the success of these programs, it would be wrong to conclude that the interdepartmental structure is inherently inferior" (Rich, 1993, May 18). By claiming that all ethnic and area studies programs (e.g., Gender Studies) are successful, Rich argued that interdepartmental status was essentially equivalent to departmental status. However, student activists understood the differentiation as inferior. Departmental status means legitimacy, permanency, and funding that interdepartmental programs are denied.

The May 26, 1993 article, "Chicano Studies Activists Begin Hunger Strike at UCLA" announces the beginning of a water-only hunger strike to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. The article focuses on departmentalization, but does not include the other two demands found in the handouts studied above: the dropping of the charges to the 99 students arrested at the Faculty Center sit-in and secured funding for all Ethnic and Gender Studies centers. The subsequent articles dated May 30, 1993 and June 2, 1993 communicate little progress toward an agreement between the strikers and Chancellor Young. In these articles, Chancellor Young is quoted as being concerned for the hunger strikers wellbeing but remaining confident in his decision that an interdisciplinary program was best for Chicana/o Studies.

The *Times* article, "A Young Believer: Teen-age Girl is Among Hunger Strikers Calling for a Chicano Studies Department" dated June 3, 1993 shows a shift in discourse from previous articles. Whereas earlier articles had criminalized protestors and given attention to Chancellor Young's concern for the students, this article focuses on Norma Montañez, a 16-year-old high school student who decided to join her sister, Cindy Montañez (a UCLA freshman) in the hunger strike. The article shifts attention to the hunger strikers, focusing specifically on Norma's decision to join the hunger strike. Norma states: "In high school, junior high school and elementary school, they don't teach you anything about us and our people. We have been

ignorant of our culture for a long time, and I think it is time they teach us who were are, where we come from and what our history is" (Meyer, 1993, June 3). The tone used to report on the hunger strike shifts the discourse on the Chicana/o Studies Movement to empathize with the hunger strikers, even calling them "brave."

Another article dated June 6, 1993, and titled, "A Hunger for Change: Students from the Central City Join the Fight for Chicano Studies Department. The Fact Those Classes Aren't Offered 'Sets the Tone' for Racism, Says One" continues the ongoing shift in the journalism. Whereas the previous article focused on 16-year-old Norma, this article reports that racism can be a factor in denying Chicana/o Studies departmentalization. Maria Lara, one of the UCLA student hunger strikers states, "I started to crystallize in my mind that there's racism in this university, but other than the individual racist acts, the institution serves the purpose as a racist institution" (Perez, 1993, June 6). The assertion by Lara frames the University's continued opposition to departmentalization despite their hunger strike as rooted in a racist UCLA. This type of journalism, though, is possible only in relation to a non-violent form of protest, like the hunger strike. I argue that because violence was used during the Faculty Center sit-in, all responsibility was easily placed on the student activists. However, in relation to the hunger strikers who were fasting and facing death, the criminalization of student activism was not possible, and thus responsibility shifted to larger societal factors, such as racism.

Letters in Support of a Chicana/o Studies Department

An overwhelming amount of primary documents found in the multiple archives are letters in support of a Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA. The bulk of letters are post-dated between May and June of 1993 and are addressed to Chancellor Young. There are other letters of support that are written as early as 1990 and as late as 1994. The letters of support come from

alumni, local high school students, politicians, UCLA students, unions, community organizations, religious leaders, and concerned residents. In this section, I analyze 91 letters in support of departmentalizing Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. The majority of these letters are written in the context of the May 25th-June 7th hunger strike, which garnered media attention. Further, the organizing efforts of students and community members during the hunger strike led to massive letter-writing campaigns across Southern California and the nation. The letters selected constitute only a portion of the hundreds of letters of support that were written.

After engaging in literary analysis, I identify seven main themes in this letter sample. The seven themes encompass common arguments for the implementation of a Chicana/o Studies department at UCLA. Embedded in the language of the letters are also arguments related to the hunger strike (several letters were written while the hunger strike was taking place) and a fewer amount related to the Faculty Center sit-in. The themes that surface are that a Chicana/o Studies Department is justified because: 1) UCLA is a leading and prestigious University; 2) there are students and a professor on a hunger strike, it is a matter of life and death; 3) Chicanas/os and Latinas/os compose 40% of the population in Los Angeles, and therefore a significant size of a population to be studied; 4) Chicana/o history has roots in the geography of Los Angeles, and therefore is a significant area of study; 5) Chicana/o Studies provides all students with cultural awareness about Chicana/o peoples; 6) Chicana/o Studies is an emerging field of study and UCLA should be the place where such research is studied; and 7) Chicana/o Studies challenges social and institutional racism in contemporary society. I move into providing analysis of the various themes outlined.

About 20 letters make the argument that UCLA is a leading institution worldwide and carries prestige. For example, middle school student Yvonne Canchola from Blythe, California

states in her letter "UCLA is one of the most popular schools in the world and I was <u>very</u> shocked to hear they didn't have a Chicano Studies Department" (Canchola letter to Chancellor Young, June 14, 1993). Another middle school student from Blythe, California, Danielle Garnica states "When I heard UCLA didn't have a Chicano Studies Department I was shocked because I thought a well-known University would have [one]..." (Garnica letter to Chancellor Young, June 7, 1993). These two middle-school aged students express their disbelief that UCLA, in all of its prestige, would not already have a Chicana/o Studies Department in 1993. In essence, these students are critiquing and challenging Chancellor Young to view a Chicana/o Studies Department as essential to the institution.

Beyond expressing shock that a Chicana/o Studies Department does not already exist at UCLA in 1993, other letters place responsibility on UCLA to be a model for the departmentalization of Chicana/o Studies at other universities. The MEChA chapter at the University of Oregon writes in their letter:

The University of California, Los Angeles is in a prime position to be this model example for other universities to follow. For this reason you need to not only continue with your efforts to establish such a program, but strengthen them as well. By doing otherwise you are not only creating another obstacle for Chicanos to overcome, your actions will encourage a step backwards for the movimiento. Please adhere to the image and the standards UCLA has projected to other students and institutions." (MEChA de University of Oregon letter to Chancellor Young, June 1, 1993)

The claim MEChA de the University of Oregon makes pressures UCLA, as a prestigious institution, to progress *with* Chicana/o Studies, to set the example for other institutions to value Chicana/o Studies as a significant field of study that merits departmental status. The excerpt

acknowledges the power *and* responsibility that UCLA possesses; not granting departmental status means that UCLA does not value Chicanas/os enough to invest in them and that that denial will inform other institutions' views of Chicana/o Studies.

The second theme in support of a Chicana/o Studies Department demands that Young acknowledge the humanity of the hunger strikers, and the severity of the form of protest taken on by them; it is a matter of life and death. A letter to Young by "Artists in Support of Student's Demand for Chicana/o Studies Department" states, "We are gravely concerned about the fast which is taking place at the University and which threatens the physical and emotional well being of the students, the professor, families and communities. We hold you, Chancellor Young and the Board of Regents, responsible for the lives of these students" (Montoya et al. letter to Chancellor Young, June 6, 1993). The artists' statement illustrates the severity of the issue of Chicana/o Studies. This argument claims that the cause of the hunger strikers is significant and that the artist community places responsibility on the University should anything happen to the strikers.

Another letter, by Diane L. Middleton, J.D., states, "It would be tragic if [Dr. Mancillas'] health or that of any of the other demonstrators was permanently harmed as a result of the failure of the University to reach agreement on these demands" (Middleton letter to Chancellor Young, June 7, 1993). Middleton, like the artists, adds pressure on Chancellor Young to acknowledge the hunger strike as a life and death situation. Another letter by nine-year-old Christina Mariscal ends saying, "One last question: CAN'T YOU SEE THE PEOPLE DYING!!??..." (Mariscal letter to Chancellor Young, June 8, 1993). Another letter by Juan Manuel Medina from Norwalk, CA asks, "Mr. Young, where is your humanity? How can you possibly allow this

²⁴ The letter is cosigned by well-known Chicana/o artists like José Montoya, Monica Palacios, Alma López, Luis Alfaro, Guillermo Gómez Peña, Patssi Valdez, Carmen López García, Judy Baca, Elias Serna, Barbara Carrasco, Culture Clash, Ric Salinas, Laura Aguilar, Harry Gamboa, Chicano Secret Service and many others.

situation to reach such an extreme that the students and a professor would engage in a hunger strike? Remember that the consequences could be fatal. Please take into consideration that these students are the future of Los Angeles" (Medina letter translated by Ernestina Contreras to Chancellor Young, May 31, 1993). And another letter, by Mr. and Mrs. Rodriguez from Hawaiian Gardens, CA shares that their grandchildren are UCLA students, and friends with some of the strikers:

I have seen my grandchildren, their faces once filled with great visions, full of promise and hope, are faced with the possibility that one of their friends may die. We see their eyes clouded with cynicism, fear and rage at a system that believes in the status quo, unyielding, uncompromising. The days are getting critical, irreversible damage may set in, and soon death. We ask you Chancellor Young, do not allow one person to die on the steps of one of [the] greatest institutions in the world. The death of one of those persons will tear this city apart. (Mr. and Mrs. Rodríguez letter to Chancellor Young, June 7, 1993)

The letters by Medina and Mr. and Mrs. Rodríguez place the risk of death of the strikers as significant to the broader Los Angeles communities, who perhaps do not know the strikers personally, but hold their lives as valuable and their actions courageous. In other words, they are communicating solidarity with the cause for a Chicana/o Studies Department while simultaneously condemning Chancellor Young's inability to meet their demands.

The third theme argues that Chicana/os and Latinas/os comprise a growing 40% of Los Angeles demographics, and therefore, a Chicana/o Studies Department is how UCLA would meet the demographic shift in its surroundings. Assemblywoman Hilda Solis of the 57th district of the California Legislature states,

Maintaining an inter-departmental program structure for Chicana/Chicano studies is not a solution but a continuance of past policies that have been inefficient for over twenty years. With the Chicano Latino student population at UCLA for the 1992 academic year reaching 16.9%, the second largest of any principal research university in the country, it is time for a change. Latinos constitute 7.1 million people which is 25% of California's population and by the year 2010 Latinos will be 34% of California's population. Therefore, it is critical for institutions of higher education in California to lead the way nationally by meeting the educational and cultural needs of our growing Latino student population. (Solis letter to Chancellor Young, n.d.)

Assemblywoman Solis' argument solidifies the demand for a departmental structure over an inter-departmental program. Citing census data that positions the rapid growth of Chicana/os and Latinas/os in Los Angeles and California, she demonstrates that an inter-disciplinary program is not sufficient, and to some degree denies the demographic shift. In essence, Solis is challenging Chancellor Young to maintain UCLA relevant to its reality outside the ivy walls. Further, she identifies the large presence of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os at UCLA; although still underrepresented at UCLA, Solis claims the 16.2% demographic in 1992 as a significant number that justifies the need to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies.

A letter by Isaac Cardenas, Chair and Professor of Chicano Studies at California State University, Fullerton argues, "...UCLA should have taken a leadership role in the development of a department of Chicano Studies, especially given its location and the large and growing Chicano population in the area" (Cardenas letter to Chancellor Young, June 7, 1993). Further, Christina M. Guillen-Cook, R.N., claims: "By creating a [department], UCLA can serve the growing needs of the Latino community, this city, and our state. As the fastest growing

constituency in Los Angeles, it is essential that UCLA become intricately involved in the education of and research into the Latino community" (Guillen-Cook letter to Chancellor Young, June 1, 1993). James M. Soorani, M.D., states, "As a physician I work primarily with Mexican-Americans. It would be a detrimental oversight for the University not to address the needs of this community which comprises [about] half of the people in Southern California" (Soorani letter to Chancellor Young, May 28, 1993). Cardenas, Guillen-Cook, and Soorani challenge Chancellor Young to remain relevant to the needs of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. In their professional roles, they are aware of the demographic shift, understand it, and work with it. In essence, Cardenas, Guillen-Cook and Soorani challenge Young and UCLA to adequately serve Chicanas/os and Latinas/os via a department. Another letter by Harriet Newton states, "Please look around every area, every neighborhood of this city; it is overwhelmingly populated by Spanish speaking people who just moved North from México in the last hundred or more years seeking a better life as have all Americans" (Newton letter to Chancellor Young, June 2, 1993). All perspectives support what Assemblywoman Hilda Solis suggests; an inter-disciplinary program is the way for UCLA to keep Chicana/o and Latina/o communities at an arm's distance.

The fourth theme I identify suggests that Chicana/o History is rooted in Los Angeles, California, and the Southwest, and suggests the need to teach it, specifically in relation to the shifting demographics in Los Angeles. A letter by the UCLA Latino Alumni Association (ULAA) states, "The creation of a Chicana/Chicano Studies Department is not a new struggle. For over 15 years Chicanos at UCLA have urged the University to create such a department" (UCLA Latino Alumni Association letter to Chancellor Young, June 1, 1993). The ULAA makes a strong critique in their letter, historicizing the struggle for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA as one that had lasted decades up to that point. Assemblywoman Martha Escutia, of the 50th

District in the California Assembly agrees with ULAA's position: "Mexican-American students have historically been underrepresented at UCLA" (Escutia letter to Chancellor Young, May 28, 1993).

Further, several letters also explain that the historical marginalization of Chicanas/os is not only an issue at UCLA, but beyond. Shelah Potter, a high school student at Whittier Union High School shares, "I have noticed that our textbook has no Black Americans, no Native Americans nor any Mexican Americans. I feel that this is not a true representation of American History. This makes me feel discriminated against, and is unacceptable" (Potter letter to Chancellor Young, June 9, 1993). Hence the issue of representation of Chicana/o history goes beyond the University system; in a way, UCLA maintains the status quo that also omits People of Color histories in K-12 textbooks. Potter ends her letter stating, "In closing I would like to go on record as supporting my brothers and sisters who are on a hunger strike at UCLA, until the University commits to establishing a Chicano Studies Department" (Potter letter to Chancellor Young, June 9, 1993). Here, Potter demonstrates her solidarity with the hunger strikers demanding a department; embedded in their demands is the commitment to teaching Chicana/o History, and Potter identifies herself as a part of that historical struggle.

Kathleen (Kennedy) Rubin, who was a member of the UCLA Graduate Student Association in the early 1960s states,

A solution must be found to a situation where United States citizens (of whatever ethnic/racial background) are not well informed about their background and history. It is no coincidence that there is a high school and societal drop out rate among those who have not assimilated to what has been viewed as mainstream American culture. (Rubin letter to Chancellor Young, June 7, 1993)

Here, Rubin makes an important connection between the lack of relevant curriculum and the underachievement of Students of Color, in this case, specifically Chicanas/os. She suggests, then, that relevant curriculum (via Ethnic Studies) is a solution to the larger issue of educational underachievement.

Cultural awareness is the fifth theme found in the letters of support for departmentalization. Sonia Marie DeLeon, Music Director/Conductor of the Los Angeles Santa Cecilia Opera reflects on the impact Chicana/o Studies had on her life as well as her Anglo peers:

I received my B.A. and M.A. from Cal State L.A. where I majored in music. They have a Chicano studies department and I was very happy to have the opportunity to take classes and find out about my culture. Before that I never knew what a rich, wonderful culture I came from. My self-esteem went up. I always very much admired these teachers...We need to feel better about ourselves and other people need to be educated about us also. I also recall having Anglo schoolmates that specifically were going to Cal State because it did have a Chicano Studies [department]. They had B.A.'s in education but wanted a Masters degree in Chicano Studies. (DeLeon letter to Chancellor Young, June 2, 1993)

DeLeon positions herself as a Chicana who benefitted personally from Chicana/o Studies during her educational career at California State University, Los Angeles. She specifically claims that her "self-esteem went up," speaking to the theme of cultural awareness, as having a positive impact on Chicana/o Students. Further, DeLeon reflects on her Anglo peers who also valued learning about Chicanas/os at the California State University, Los Angeles campus, claiming that they wanted a Masters degree in Chicana/o Studies.

In his letter to Chancellor Young, Mark Tobey states, "What could be more valuable to

the surrounding community than a bridge towards better cross cultural awareness and understanding" (Tobey letter to Chancellor Young, June 3, 1993). Further, Bill Crane, President of the San Diego Teachers Association states, "The students' efforts to maintain and build on their own cultural background is vital in this already multicultural state of California" (Crane letter to Chancellor Young, June 1, 1993). Both Tobey and Crane see value in learning Chicana/o Studies, specifically as a way to reflect current California demographics. Deborah Gordon also agrees stating, "In a community as diverse as ours is, it [Chicana/o Studies Department] would be an outstanding and relevant way of building bridges and repairing crosscultural rifts" (Gordon letter to Chancellor Young, June 2, 1993). James E. Lubben, Chair of the Advisory Committee at the UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Don T. Nakanishi, Director of the Center agree with the idea of Chicana/o Studies as contributing to cultural awareness: "...we encourage you to initiate a long-term effort to strengthen ethnic studies so that our campus will be in a position to meet the challenges of an increasingly culturally diverse society" (Lubben and Nakanishi letter to Chancellor Young, June 3, 1993). A Chicana/o Studies Department is framed as a necessary step to increase cultural awareness. In essence, the authors of the letters are suggesting that an inter-departmental program is not sufficient to contribute to an ongoing cultural awareness practice; a department shows a commitment to that mission.

The sixth theme is that Chicana/o Studies is an emerging field of study and UCLA is the place where such research is developed. Marguerite Archie-Hudson, Chair of the California Legislature Committee on Higher Education states:

As the premier public research university in a region with a major Chicano and Latino population, UCLA has a unique opportunity and responsibility to bring its considerable resources to bear upon the educational and research needs of the community. All of the

components of an effort of national significance in Chicano Studies—major scholars in the discipline, a renowned research and service center, an extensive library collection, and the leading academic journal—are already present on the campus, ready to be woven into a cohesive strategy by a new department. (Archie-Hudson letter to Chancellor Young, May 20, 1993)

Archie-Hudson reminds Young that UCLA is already leading on a national level in relation to Chicana/o Studies; the library and the *Aztlán* journal are proof that Chicana/o Studies is valuable. She finds the Department as a logical next step in solidifying UCLA's commitment to and preeminence in Chicana/o Studies.

Joaquin Blaya, President and CEO of Telemundo Group, Inc., a Spanish-language television network in the United States and Puerto Rico agrees that UCLA is the location where a Chicana/o Studies department should be housed. Blaya states:

If there is a city in the world where the systematic study of the U.S. Chicano culture should be promoted, it is Los Angeles. The largest Latino metropolis in the nation is also the birthplace of the rich Chicano culture. By the same token, if there is a center of higher education in Los Angeles that should house a Department of Chicano Studies, that center should be the University of California, or UCLA. Given its academic importance, its geographic location and its public status, UCLA is called to be the natural seat of that department. Other universities already house Chicano Studies departments. Yet UCLA Chancellor Charles Young is determined to continue relegating the study of Chicano affairs in his university to a second-class standing. He refuses to elevate it to the category of department. It is time for Chicano studies to be given its rightful place at UCLA. (Blaya letter to Chancellor Young, June 4, 1993)

Beyond identifying UCLA as the prime location to have a department, Blaya points out that other institutions are ahead of UCLA since they already have a Chicana/o Studies Department. He further argues that Young's inability to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies places Chicana/o issues at a second-class standing. This is a significant observation by Blaya. He is both depending on UCLA's status to legitimize Chicana/o Studies but also sees that status as powerful enough to denote Chicana/o Studies as inferior.

The last theme identified in letters in support of a Chicana/o Studies Department is the role that race and racism has in the denial of a Chicana/o Studies Department. Similar to Blaya's claim that denying Chicanas/os a department at UCLA is an expression of second-class standing, a letter to MEChA de UCLA on behalf of graduate students in the Center of Afro-American Studies states, "The university's refusal to recognize the relevance, necessity and academic value of a Chicana/o Studies Department is simply indicative of the racism of this country as a whole and of the UCLA administration in particular" (Graduate Students in Afro-American Studies letter to MEChA de UCLA, n.d.). Further, Christina M. Guillen-Cook, R.N. states, "As a Latina, I know all too well the ugliness of racism and how it affects my life, the life of my children and the life of my people. Like the students, I too am committed to confronting issues of racism and adamantly support the efforts of these heroic young people" (Guillen-Cook letter to Chancellor Young, June 1, 1993). Both the graduate students in the Center of Afro-American Studies and Guillen-Cook communicate that racism is alive and well in 1993, and that the administration's inability to establish a department for Chicana/o Studies can be understood by discussing race and racism. Both critique Chancellor Young's decision as part of a larger social and institutional race-based discrimination.

Overall, the 91 letters analyzed have elements of Critical Race History (CRH) within the

text. The letters, collectively, reflect the tenets of CRH: the challenge to ahistoricism, the intercentricity of race and racism, the commitment to social justice, the use of experiential knowledge, and an interdisciplinary perspective. In essence, the letters are a sample of a diverse community that understands the struggle for departmentalization as a race-based issue. Most authors who identify themselves with a particular racial ethnic background identify as Chicana/o or Latina/o. However, there are a significant number of authors that identify as non-Chicano/Latino. This is of great interest to me because it demonstrates that allies can possess a CRH lens in contemporary social movements. The next section continues to utilize CRH to analyze letters against departmentalization.

Letters Against a Chicana/o Studies Department

Analyzing the correspondence against the departmentalization of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA sheds light on the racial climate for Chicanas/os and Latinas/os in Los Angeles, California, and beyond. In this section, I analyze 91 letters that show discontent with Chicana/o students and Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Like the letters in support of departmentalization, most of the letters against are dated between May and June of 1993.

To start, I identify four major themes within this sample of correspondence to Chancellor Young. Specifically, that Chicana/o Studies is framed as: 1) "a ghetto"; not valuable enough to be taught at UCLA; and, 2) a financial burden to the University in a time of budget cuts. Further, I identified the following themes in the framing of Chicana/o Students as: 3) foreigners/immigrants/undocumented; and, 4) tax evaders. Each theme will be illustrated by quotes from the correspondence. Further, I identify these themes as racial codes; in other words, the challenge to Chicana/o Studies at UCLA is racial.

There is significant diversity amongst the authors of the letters submitted to Chancellor

Young against Chicana/o Studies and students. Letters submitted include a significant amount of alumni, business representatives, fraternity members, and UCLA professors. It is important to note that the letters from UCLA faculty are written from professors within traditional departments including Law, Engineering, History, Geography, Astronomy, Surgery, and Computer Science, amongst others. There are also letters supporting Chancellor Young's decision by Robert Sinsheimer, University of California Santa Cruz Chancellor Emeritus and Steven Sample, President of the University of Southern California.

The first set of themes in the sample of letters identifies Chicana/o Studies as "ghetto" and/or "ghettoizing." One of the letters written to Chancellor Young came from a graduate student of History who states, "Latinos do not need to 'ghettoize' themselves and hide within a department of their own. They need to buckle down, study hard and excel within existing fields and departments" (Olivas letter to Chancellor Young, October 25, 1992). The idea of Chicana/o Studies as ghetto reinforces the white supremacist values of the traditional fields of study at UCLA. Hence the study of Chicanas/os at UCLA would assume that Chicana/o students want to be segregated or separated from other students. This is based on the assumption that Chicana/o Studies would be restricted only to Chicanas/os. Given that the term "ghetto" is heavily racially loaded, I argue that this piece of correspondence exemplifies the threat to UCLA curricula that upholds eurocentricism.

A letter by Oren C. Crothers, Chief Executive Office (CEO) of Kentucky Fried Chicken claims, "To say to future society 'I received my degree in 'Chicano Studies' from UCLA' is a bad joke on those of us who sent our sons and daughters to the same school" (Crothers letter to Chancellor Young, June 8, 1993). Crothers upholds the idea that Chicana/o Studies ghettoizes UCLA. Further, Charles Marklund, Realty Broker claims, "Ethnic studies classes are not career

oriented" (Marklund letter to Chancellor Young, June 8, 1993). Hence Crothers and Marklund consider Chicana/o Studies as inferior to already established departments at the University.

Kenneth G. Junkert from Calabasas, California shifts the responsibility of teaching history to Chicana/o parents: "I would think that any group of students could learn all they need to know about their culture from their parents and books available from any good library. That is how I learned about mine" (Junkert letter to Chancellor Young, June 1, 1993). Caroline McElroy states in her letter, "Their fast is emotional blackmail" (McElroy letter to Chancellor Young, n.d.), thereby minimizing the efforts of the hunger strike as examples of individual immaturity and therefore, similar to Junkert, framing the teaching of Chicana/o Studies as unworthy. Further, UCLA Professor of Astronomy Matthew Malkan writes,

In the 8 years I have been on the faculty here at UCLA, I have never sent any communication to your office. However, recent events have convinced me that the future of UCLA as a leading institution of higher learning is now at stake. You and Vice Chancellor Rich have the difficult task of defending the University against outside political pressures...It happens that I do not believe the...creation of a Chicano Studies Department can be justified on academic grounds. (Malkan letter to Chancellor Young, May 17, 1993)

For Malkan, Chicana/o Studies is not departmentally valuable. He asserts that Chicana/o Studies departmentalization places the prestige of UCLA at stake. In essence, Malkan and others who write against Chicana/o Studies fear the legitimacy of Chicana/o Studies on *their* campus. Communicating that Chicana/o Studies is unworthy also feeds the next theme in the letters, the idea that it is not the responsibility of UCLA to pay for Chicana/o Studies.

The second theme identifies Chicana/o Studies as a financial burden. The authors who

wrote about finances being a factor to deny Chicana/o Studies positioned themselves as alumni, taxpayers, and U.S. citizens. A postcard written to Chancellor Young reads:

Don't give into the group wanting Chicano Studies!!! We taxpayers are fed up with this crap! Let them go to U. of Mexico and study their culture We need our money spent on American Studies—Plus, we're already making cuts in courses We need more than Chicano Studies. It's taxpayers [sic] money and we're furious!!! Don't GIVE IN!!" (Anonymous, n.d.).

This piece of correspondence refers to Chicana/o Studies as an additional threat to more legitimate courses (identified by the author as American Studies) that are already impacted by the 1990s budget cuts to education. It assumes Chicana/o Studies as something foreign, un-American, and thus unworthy of budget allocation. Further, a letter on behalf of the Los Angeles Association of White People (LAAWP) reads, "If their request are given in to, we will consider other means of protest, including counter demonstrations, cutting our financial and moral support for UCLA, and all other means" (LAAWP letter to Chancellor Young, n.d.). The LAAWP took the threat of Chicana/o Studies as a threat to the legitimacy of UCLA as a whole. If a Chicana/o Studies Department was granted, this group of people would "boycott" the University. Aside from the LAAWP, Oren C. Crothers, Ignacio Cruz Lara, Craig SJ Johns, John McDonnell, and Paul B. Beach also communicated their withdrawal of financial contributions to UCLA if Chicana/o Studies is departmentalized.

Danielle Elliott also communicates her disapproval of using tax money on Chicana/o Studies: "I do not want my tax dollars to be spent in this way. Please do not succumb to extremist extortion" (Elliott letter to Chancellor Young, June 1, 1993). Here, Elliott echoes what all the other letters are assuming: that Chicanas/os do not pay taxes. Further, V. Kerlian states in

their letter: "If the Chicanos get what they want, who will be next in line? The Vietnamese, Chinese, Irish or Philippinos? Stick to your decision, the taxpayers of California are with you!" (Kerlian letter to Chancellor Young, n.d.). Kerlian further extends the idea of tax evasion to include other People of Color, and specifically also identifies the Irish, who at one point in time were considered being of color in this nation.

The third theme identified is that Chicana/o Students are foreigners, immigrants, and/or undocumented: Hand in hand with negating the relevancy of Chicana/o Studies to a place like UCLA, is negating Chicana/o students' rights and/or citizenship. The letter from the LAAWP also states, "The chicanos should start their own college, if they want, and not want the state university system coddling them" (LAAWP letter to Chancellor Young, n.d.). This claim is based on white supremacist beliefs that white people were here first and that Chicanos are in the United States illegally. It invokes racist nativism, ²⁵ assuming the erasure of the history of Chicanas/os. In essence it assumes that Chicanas/os are not from here, and therefore do not have legitimate claim to state funding for a Chicana/o Studies Department.

The fourth and final theme is that Chicana/o students are tax-evaders. The letter from the LAAWP states, "We taxpayers are fed up" (LAAWP letter to Chancellor Young, n.d.) implying that Chicana/o students are not taxpayers, or that their parents do not pay taxes. However, whether documented or not, Chicana/o students and their parents contribute greatly to taxes in the U.S. on a daily basis; taxes are collected on their income, when paying rent or buying a home, and during day-to-day purchases at stores. Ignoring that Chicanas/os also pay taxes is a convenient oversight. Further, the claim that Chicanas/os are tax-evaders is based on the often assumption that they are immigrants. Thus, the claim that they are tax evaders is problematic

²⁵ Racist nativism is explored by Pérez Huber, et al. (2008) in their article "Getting Beyond the 'Symptom,' Acknowledging the 'Disease,' Theorizing Racist Nativism" where they find that white Americans are perceived to be as native to the United States and People of Color as foreigners.

because 1) Chicanas/os are largely U.S. citizens,²⁶ and 2) Immigrants contribute to the U.S. economy.²⁷

The racial codes embedded in these correspondence pieces paint a picture of the racial hostility Chicanas/os experienced in the 1990s. The discourse in the pieces is informed by the larger historical events of anti-immigrant and anti-Latina/o legislation (California Propositions 187, 209, 227 specifically). In other words, the language of Chicana/o Studies as irrelevant and as "ghetto" and of Chicana/o students as foreigners and tax evaders largely matches the rhetoric about Chicanas/os in the 1990s, as unworthy of constitutional rights.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I used Critical Race History to analyze hundreds of documents related to the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. One of the key findings of the analysis is that MEChA de UCLA initially led the efforts to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies during that time. Their name is on most, if not all, of the documents related to 1990-1992 movements. In the archival documents, it was also evident that Chicana/o faculty and staff, as well as community leaders engaged with the students to demand a department. I find this activism and efforts between 1990-1992 as significant because they challenge the idea that the only movement that happened to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies was the hunger strike. And although this dissertation mostly documents 1990-1993, my cultural intuition tells me that 1990 forms of activism are results of earlier forms of lobbying and organizing.

Another major finding in the archival research is that the institution is not set up to

²⁶ Laura Gómez (2007) finds that today's Mexican-American population is 60% of Latinas/os in the United States. Further, the Pew Hispanic finds that in 2011, the Latina/o demographic in Los Angeles was 61% U.S. born.

²⁷ In a 2009 report, the Fiscal Policy Institute found that immigration and economic growth of metropolitan areas go hand in hand. The cities they studies include New York, Los Angeles (with the second highest immigrant population), Chicago, Dallas, Philadelphia, and others like San Diego, Tampa, Denver, Portland, and Cleveland. The also found that immigrants contribute to the economy in proportion to their share of the population (p. 2-5).

include students and community leadership in establishing a department at UCLA. In the minutes and letters written by politicians and students, it was clear that they were demanding to meet with Chancellor Young, to no avail. Further, even though the formal way to set up a department at UCLA did not include them, students and community leaders were at the forefront of the formation of the department through various organizing strategies (i.e. rallies, letter campaigns, lobbying, sit-in, and hunger strike).

Another significant set of findings are that the archives capture via the letters analyzed are: 1) the supportive letters illustrate an understanding of Chicana/o Studies as a legitimate need to address the shifting demographics and a historical continuity to Chicana/o social justice efforts; 2) the opposing letters capture racialized conversations about Chicana/o Studies and students that parallel the racial discourse about Chicana/o peoples at a statewide level.

Further, the racial climate, the anti-Latino discourse expressed in the media and legislation like Propositions 187, 209, and 227 was clearly present in the various letters against Chicana/o Studies. Those letters equated the students to criminals and framed them as undocumented. In contrast, the letters in support of Chicana/o Studies saw the issue as one of racial injustice whereas letters against Chicana/o Studies saw the issue as a "minority" of students fighting for a department they did not deserve. I find that the discourse of the 1990s is highly racial, Chicana/o students are questioned whether they and their history are significant or important enough to deserve their own department. The letters exemplify white supremacist viewpoints of whose history is legitimate.

CRH allows me to place UCLA, a public University, into historical context. Solórzano and Yosso (2001) find that institutions (like UCLA) replicate aspects of social inequality; they become stages where racism and resistance is performed. On that basis, students made demands

because they understood a public institution as responsible to meet the needs of all its citizens. Thus de-legitimizing Chicana/o Studies as unworthy maintains the white-supremacist nature of the history of the institution and the educational system. It ignores that Chicana/o Studies, at that point in time, was a thriving field of study worldwide. By 1993, Chicana and Chicano Studies was a well-established field of study across the nation and had influenced traditional departments in the academy. Those opposing Chicana/o Studies at UCLA were in essence fighting to hold UCLA back from being relevant to its citizenry.

Archival documents do not exist in a vacuum, that is, they do not tell the entire story of historical events. I find that the archival documents I analyze in this chapter are snapshots of perspectives that took place during the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies Department at UCLA. Embedded in these snapshots documented are also the silences of what was not recorded, or what was deemed insignificant to archive: "Thus the presences and absences embodied in sources (artifacts and bodies that turn an event into fact) or archives (facts collected, thematized, and processed as documents and monuments) are neither neutral or natural. They are created" (Trouillot, 1995, p. 48). What is archived and cited holds power in framing historical memory of events. My intention in this chapter was not to tell "the" history of the movement for Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA, but to provide a critical analysis of what was kept in institutions and people's personal archives. To address the silences Trouillot addresses, I see oral history, the focus of my next chapter, as a way to voice what the archives do not capture, and vice versa. In doing so, I intend to address Trouillot's observation of silences in historical sources: "Silences are inherent in history because any single event enters history with some of its constituting parts missing" (1995, p. 49).

Chapter 5: Oral History Data Analysis

I came to love oral history through Vicki L. Ruiz's book *From Out of the Shadows:*Mexican American Women in the Twentieth-Century America, assigned to me in an undergraduate Chicana/o history course at UCLA. The idea that archives are incomplete and can be complimented by people's stories fascinated me. I grew up in a family of storytellers. My own family's stories are passed down at most family gatherings, around the kitchen table and outside grill. My mother and aunts narrated those stories enough times that eventually I learned them, memorized them, and today I perform them to my younger nephews and my students. I did not know I was doing oral history until Ruiz gave me the language to understand it as a methodological tool.

When I came to survey the archives related to the 1993 hunger strike at UCLA, I remembered Ruiz's project and wondered if one day I could meet and document the oral histories of the participants of the hunger strike. The possibility of gathering these stories and analyzing them with the archives increased my intellectual curiosity.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot states in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, "Human beings participate in history both as actors and as narrators" (1995, p. 2). In this chapter, Trouillot's assertion frames the role of participants in history telling. I interviewed a sample of participants in the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies to compliment the archival research findings. The voices in this chapter represent individuals who are both actors and narrators, telling their perspectives of the movements while positioning themselves within that narrative. In this case, the roles of actors and narrators go hand in hand.

When envisioning the oral history component to this project, I was informed by my review of existing literature pertaining to Chicana/o Studies activism and the hunger strike at

UCLA, as well as my review of hundreds of primary documents found in multiple archives on campus. After reviewing the literature and archives I clarified, as Stanfield (1987) references, a few preconceived theoretical hunches: 1) The hunger strike was not the only effort in relation to the departmentalization of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Chicana/o students, faculty, administration, and community members were actively organizing and lobbying for departmental status as early as 1990; 2) There were ideological differences between what Chicana/o Studies should be about, for whom, and whether it should include a broader pan-Latino identity; 3) There were a number of women that played significant leadership roles in the movement, yet their voices were not documented in the archives or literature. I anticipated finding stories to support these hunches in the narrators' accounts.

When I created the structure for my oral history data sample, I initially created four categories: 1) Hunger strikers, 2) Students, 3) Faculty/Staff, and 4) Community members. I sent out a flyer to a number of email list-serves and Facebook pages (including the MEChA de UCLA and MEChA de UCLA Alumni page) to request interviews with people affiliated with the UCLA hunger strike. I was prepared to conduct 15-20 interviews, with 4-5 people in each of the above categories.

I received a number of email and Facebook messages from people interested in being interviewed. I also was connected to other people through word of mouth and personal connections. At the end of the data-collecting phase, I had 39 interviews, and a redefined category rubric. Although I wanted to end the interviewing process after 15-20 interviews, I chose to interview 39 people given the fact that the practice of gathering oral histories was about providing space for people to historicize their memories. Shutting down at 20 seemed contradictory to the purpose of oral history, specifically in Communities of Color.

While conducting the interviews, I realized that some of the narrator's fit more than one category, and also that some categories needed to be further subdivided. First, I created a few subcategories for the Student Leader category; I classified students between undergraduate and graduate students, and then further between MEChA de UCLA, Conscious Students of Color, and Raza Graduate Student Association subcategories. I also decided to separate Faculty and Staff, as it was evident that there is a power differential in these two categories that needs to be acknowledged. Faculty held a different role in the academy than staff. Both are important roles, but there is definitely a difference in the strategies utilized and the limitations in leadership strategies faculty had over staff and vice versa. Further, I decided to add a category specifically for University administrators. I did not plan to interview this group initially, but made connections with them and found that their perspectives helped fill some of the gaps in the archives from the administrative perspective. In sum, the categories are: 1) hunger strikers, 2) student leaders, 3) staff, 4) faculty, 5) community leaders, and 6) University administration. Below is a summary table of people interviewed, and what category(ies) they fit between 1990-1993.

Table 5.1, Summary of Narrators²⁸

Name	Category(ies)	
Anabel Perez	Undergraduate Student	
Andrea Rich	Administration – Executive Vice Chancellor	
Anthony Ortega	Community Leader	
Aria Razfar	Undergraduate Student – Conscious Students of Color	
Blanca Gordo	Undergraduate Student – Conscious Students of Color	
Carol Peterson	Administration – Vice Provost	
Charles E. Young	Administration – Chancellor	
Cindy Cruz	Graduate Student	
	Staff – Chicano Studies Research Center	
Cindy Montañez	Hunger Striker	

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²⁸ Most narrators chose to use their official names for this study. Others chose to select a pseudonym. I do not identify who selected a pseudonym to keep their anonymity.

	Undergraduate Student	
Claudia Mitchel-Kernan	Administration - Vice Chancellor of Graduate Studies	
Cristine Soto DeBerry	Undergraduate Student – Conscious Students of Color	
Cynthia Orozco	Graduate Student – Raza Graduate Student Association	
David Emiliano Zapata	Undergraduate Student – MEChA de UCLA	
Maldonado		
Enrique Aranda	Community Leader – MEChA de Cerritos College	
Frank Villalobos	Community Leader – Barrio Planners	
Gabriela	Graduate Student – Raza Graduate Student Association	
Ghassan Hasan	Undergraduate Student – Conscious Students of Color	
Isidro "Skid" Rodriguez	Staff – MEChA de UCLA Advisor	
Jacqueline Carrasco-	Undergraduate Student – MEChA de UCLA	
Mendoza		
Joaquin Ochoa	Hunger Striker	
	Undergraduate Student	
Josefina Santiago	Undergraduate Student – MEChA de UCLA	
Luna	Undergraduate Student – MEChA de UCLA	
Maria Lara Hunger Striker		
	Undergraduate Student	
Maria Soldatenko	Graduate Student – Raza Graduate Student Association	
	Staff – Chicana/o Studies Post-Doctoral Fellow	
Mario Valenzuela	Undergraduate – Conscious Students of Color	
Mike Soldatenko	Graduate Student – Raza Graduate Student Association	
Milo Alvarez	Undergraduate Student – MEChA de UCLA	
Raymond Rocco	Faculty – Political Science Department	
Richard Chabran	Staff – CSRC Librarian	
Richard Morales	Undergraduate Student – La Familia de UCLA	
Ruben Lizardo	Staff – Chicana/o Studies Counselor	
Ryan Yokota	Undergraduate Student – Conscious Students of Color	
Santiago Bernal	Undergraduate Student – La Familia de UCLA	
	Staff - AAP Tutor and Admissions Office	
Saul Sarabia	Undergraduate Student – La Gente de Aztlán	
Scott Waugh	Administration – Dean of Social Sciences Division	
Terri Griffin	Community Leader – Mothers of East Los Angeles	
Tom Hayden	Community Leader – Politician	
Vilma Ortiz	Faculty in Sociology	
Vivien Bonzo	Community – United Community and Labor Alliance	
TOTAL	39 Narrators	

Further, the table below represents the number of narrators in each of the various categories and subcategories. There are a total of 39 narrators, of which 18 were undergraduates, five were graduate students, two were faculty, six were staff, five were administrators, and six

were community leaders. Of the 18 undergraduates, there were six of those that were MEChA de UCLA members and six others that were Conscious Students of Color members. Of the five graduate students, four were members of the Raza Graduate Student Association. Some participants are in more then one category because they served multiple roles during the time period.

Table 5.2, Summary of Narrator Categories

Category	Number of Narrators
Undergraduate Students	18
MEChA de UCLA members	6
Conscious Students of Color members	6
Hunger strikers	3
Graduate Students	5
Raza Graduate Student Association Members	4
UCLA Faculty	2
UCLA Staff	6
UCLA Administration	5
Community Leaders	6
TOTAL	39

I use Critical Race History to analyze and tell a critical race history of the movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA, 1990-1993 from the narrators' perspectives. This chapter provides brief historical context and analysis of three major events between 1990-1993. The first historical flashpoint I analyze is the 1990 efforts by MEChA de UCLA through various lobbying and activist functions to institutionalize Chicana/o Studies via a department. The second movement I analyze is the May 11th, 1993 Conscious Students of Color Faculty Center sit-in. Although the sit-in was not about departmentalizing Chicana/o Studies, its timing contributed significantly to departmentalization efforts. Last, I analyze the May 25th-June 7th, 1993 hunger strike that included three demands: Chicana/o Studies departmentalization, the dropping of criminal charges of students arrested at the Faculty Center sit-in, and securing funding for the existing ethnic and women's research centers. While analyzing these historical flashpoints, I

activate my Critical Race Theory lens to specifically explore the roles that race, class, gender, and sexualities play in each of these historical events. I do not depend on a linear telling of the perspectives. Instead, I contribute a historical narrative that, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) argues, "makes connections and affirms connectedness" (p. 148) across time and space, versus a linear timeline of events. The emphasis here is to explore themes and the underlying historical structures of these events, not to establish or contest the linear timeline of an "official" account.

Brief Historical Context

In this section I analyze the oral histories that speak to pre-1990 Chicana/o Studies program and Chicana/o student organization politics. I chose these two themes specifically because they surfaced extensively in the oral histories about this time period. Further, these two themes inform the subsequent analysis of the three major flashpoints discussed later in this chapter.

Before April of 1990 UCLA had a weak Chicana/o Studies program. In her interview, Carol Petersen reflects,

The program was set up in 1973, and it had a long history of instability—problems with course offerings, faculty involvement, and student enrollments. On one side, there was the demand for a department; on the other, agreement that UCLA should have a strong Chicano Studies program and hold a key position in Chicano Studies in the country. (Personal Interview, 4/12/2013)

Here, Petersen offers an administrative perspective, that Chicana/o Studies was unstable *and* that the University agreed there was a need for a strong Chicano Studies program. Professor Raymond Rocco also suggests that the program was weak, in his interview, and further clarifies that the University was very resistant to a department of Chicana/o Studies, which is something

students and some faculty wanted. The University often challenged Chicana/o Studies as a legitimate field of study and believed "that we were going to vulcanize Latinos by creating this. That there weren't enough people in the pipeline to have legitimate research scholars, to have a full department which needed to have its compliment of senior scholars" (Rocco, Personal Interview, 4/15/2013).

Ruben Lizardo recalls the status of the program: "The program was really in its last leg. And when the students and the faculty come together about what should be done the answer was simple, let's get what we need. Let's have the control of the faculty so we can make this program work" (Personal Interview, 4/29/2013). What having control of the faculty translates to, Lizardo suggests, having departmental status. In other words, Chicana/o students and faculty eventually decide to push for a Chicana/o Studies Department, in part Lizardo claims, to stabilize the program, and in the process, legitimize Chicana/o Studies. If the program is on its last leg, students and faculty sought to solidify it by demanding departmental structure that would ensure permanent funding and faculty hires.

Professor Vilma Ortiz sat on the Chicano Studies Research Center Faculty Advisory Committee as early as 1988 and reflects, "It [Chicano Studies program] was a step-child, it was a small unit...it had very limited funding, it had a handful of courses that were cross-listed with English, History, Education, and others" (Personal Interview, 6/10/2013). As chair of the Chicana/o Studies program, she participated in multiple conversations where the goal of discussing a departmental structure was to stabilize Chicana/o Studies. Departmentalization was an ongoing discussion in response to the chronic underfunding under the CSRC that made it almost impossible for Chicana/o Studies to survive. In other words, faculty and staff understood

that the existing structure was not suitable for the survival of Chicana/o Studies, and therefore, sought departmental status as the way to guarantee its existence and growth.

Ortiz reflects on the challenge of departmentalizing Chicana/o Studies, given Chancellor Young's belief that ethnic studies did not qualify as a traditional department, and instead, should remain within the CSRC. She recalled that Chancellor Young was a political scientist, traditionally trained in the discipline of Political Science, and thus, favored the traditional model for department structure at UCLA. This coincides with the interviews I conducted with Chancellor Young, and his former administrative colleagues, where he shared that today he continues to believe that Chicana/o Studies is not worthy of departmental status. Andrea Rich, then Executive Vice-Chancellor states, "I was glad it was over but I to this day philosophically think the departmentalization of something that is interdisciplinary is not a good idea. It is so obvious to me that I don't understand the thinking against it except for the ethnic-nationalist thinking" (Personal Interview, 2/21/2013). Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, then Vice-Chancellor and Dean of the Graduate Division states, "I was not in favor of departmental status. Asian American Studies wanted to be departmentalized. The department structure has come to be validating but from an intellectual standpoint this was not ideal" (Personal Interview, 2/21/2013). Both Rich and Mitchell-Kernan agree with Chancellor Young's claim that Chicana/o Studies does not fit into the traditional department status. In her statement, Mitchell-Kernan implies that to have access to resources, it is better to be a department. This claim is of significance, because it highlights the irony of the administrative position that a strong Chicana/o Studies program was needed at UCLA, while simultaneously denying it departmental status. In the interviews as well as in the archival data, there is a lack of administration-initiated or led efforts to ensure the viability of Chicana/o Studies. If those efforts were being made, they did not include Chicana/o

faculty and students. Maintaining the program at the CSRC allowed the administration to claim support for Chicana/o Studies while keeping it at an arm's distance. Faculty and students recognized this status as a type of second-class citizenship.

The second theme discussed in pre-1990 events is the tensions within Chicana/o student organizations. Some literature pieces (Tijerina Revilla, 2004) critique MEChA as a student organization that replicated oppression on multiple levels, specifically in areas of gender and sexuality towards women and queers. Further, MEChA is known as an organization that is Mexican-centric, Aztec, and militant. Similar literature positions the creation of other organizations, (i.e. Raza Womyn, La Familia, Latin American Student Association, among others) as responses to oppressive practices in MEChA. Although this is true for the narrators in Tijerina Revilla's pieces, I find that several of the narrators in this project complicate that perspective. For example, Josefina Santiago mentions how there were multiple camps in MEChA, including those who abided to some of the stereotypes of MEChistAs, as well as a significant number of folks who challenged such stereotypes and made it safe for women, queers, and non-Mexicans to join and lead in MEChA.

Simultaneously, organizations like Raza Womyn are often romanticized as a counterspace to MEChA, in this case, as a safe space for self-identified raza womyn to reflect and organize, free of MEChA's sexism and homophobia. As with MEChA, the narrators interviewed also complicate this perspective. María Soldatenko recalls how Raza Womyn pre-1990 was apolitical, rejected Chicana feminisms, and was not a safe space for queer women. Further, Cynthia Orozco recalls that in her participation with Raza Womyn, she and Luz Calvo were the only two graduate students since it was primarily an undergraduate organization. Orozco and Calvo argued for a woman only space and urged the leadership to kick the men out.

They took on the role of mentoring undergraduate women because there were no Chicana Studies classes offered at the time. The examples from Raza Womyn demonstrate that power and oppression have a complicated interplay within various organizations and in different historical contexts. Thus, it is important to critique MEChA for its limitations, but it is also important to reflect on other organizations critically in order to challenge the dichotomy that frames MEChA as the "bad guys" and the other organizations as the "good ones." So in essence, student organization politics are not above critique; various organizations in their efforts to solidify a safe space for some, excluded *the others*. I do not intend to place judgment on either organizations mentioned here, but rather to expose the dangers of maintaining binaries that collapse the complexity of Chicana/o student organizations and activism. In other words, critiques of student organizations need to be applied across the board. Otherwise, for example, we silence the work that women and queers accomplished within MEChA so that today, the leadership and membership is largely queer/ally and feminist.

This background on the State of Chicana/o Studies and Chicana/o student organizations serves as a springboard for analyzing the stories about the movement for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA, 1990-1993. To be more specific, the following sections begin in April 1990 and end in June 1993, equaling to two years and two months of strong activity on the UCLA campus. I begin with April 24, 1990.

1990 - 1992

On April 24, 1990, MEChA de UCLA organized a rally outside Campbell Hall in response to the Academic Senate's recommendation to suspend the Chicana/o Studies program. Milo Alvarez recalls, "By 1990 we actually had a protest for Chicano Studies...I remember the

I will never forget it, it was a big deal for me...I remember we marched to Adolfo's²⁹ office to force him to sign that he supported it... Then we marched to Murphy Hall. We were trying to get into the Chancellor's office, but they closed the door on us and locked themselves inside" (Personal Interview, 2/14/2013). Students were not going to allow the suspension of the Chicana/o Studies major to proceed and lead to the dismantling of Chicana/o Studies. David Maldonado recalls, "...as I remember, the way students in MEChA de UCLA interpreted it was that they were basically trying to dismantle the major and program. Obviously we had to rally and we had to demonstrate" (Personal Interview, 1/17/2013). The Academic Senate's announcement galvanized Maldonado and MEChA de UCLA's commitment to Chicana/o Studies: "I had already committed that this was what my student experience at UCLA was going to be. That particular day was just a demonstration of what students are capable of doing. There was a long road ahead of us if we were going to have any impact on this issue. We knew there had to be an immediate response...and there was" (Personal Interview, 1/17/2013). Further, Luna, a MEChistA during 1990 recalls how the recommendation to suspend the program enraged her, and it was that rage that fueled her activism as a way to challenge the recommendation. Luna and Maldonado's reflections justify why I chose 1990 as a point of departure to study the movement for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. This is not to say that activism began in April of 1990, given that activism around Chicana/o Studies is rooted in 1960s civil rights activism and maintained at various moments between 1960 and 1990, but it signified a re-commitment to ensure that Chicana/o Studies remain on the UCLA campus. April of 1990 was the point of no return, of students committing to doing whatever it took to protect Chicana/o Studies.

²⁹ Here, Alvarez is referring to Adolfo Bermeo, Director of the Academic Advancement Program during that time.

The next step MEChA de UCLA took was to involve community leaders. Traditionally, faculty and administrators start departments at UCLA. MEChA de UCLA challenged that process and demanded a seat at the table. Given that students were limited in the existing University structure, MEChA de UCLA turned to politicians and major community leaders like Tom Hayden, Art Torres, César Chávez, and Lucille Roybal-Allard to lobby Chancellor Young in the students' favor. Hayden recalls writing several letters to Chancellor Young, Sacramento politicians, President Clinton, and Governor Wilson. He compared the letter writing as a tactic to fishing, where you cast a line and you do not know who will be responsive, or whom you will catch. He further suggests that letter writing is important because letters are official record, "not only for later, but if something goes wrong at the moment, you can say 'we warned you on the record'" (Hayden, Personal Interview, 5/9/2013).

Milo Alvarez recalls that after the April 24, 1990 action, MEChA de UCLA committed to departmentalization as the goal: "Over the summer [of 1990] we started strategizing... We [developed] our own proposal and then we organized with the community which was another step. For our planning over the summer we went to *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (1969). We thought we had to put it into practice. When we read the plan we realized that it never really happened" (Personal Interview, 2/14/2013). Alvarez also saw the proposal they were devising at UCLA as a way to get other MEChA chapters in California to start their own departments on their campus. He recalls that he, Marcos Aguilar, and Minnie Ferguson were among the students that met with Professor Gómez-Quiñones and organized the United Community and Labor Alliance (U.C.L.A.).

Vivien Bonzo, President of the Olvera Street Merchants Association (OSMA) reflects that her participation with the U.C.L.A. is rooted in her prior activist relationship with Professor

Gómez-Quiñones, Rudy Acuña, and the Mothers of East Los Angeles. She was invited to join the U.C.L.A. by MEChA de UCLA and Gómez-Quiñones. As a member, she often hosted the U.C.L.A. meetings at her restaurant, La Golondrina, on Olvera Street. She also supported behind the scenes by contacting various politicians to write letters of support for a department of Chicana/o Studies at the UCLA campus. On June 3rd, 1993, during the hunger strike at UCLA, Bonzo organized and coordinated the march from Olvera Street to the UCLA campus.³⁰

Lara, Montañez, and Ochoa reflected on the arrival of the march from Olvera Street to the UCLA campus. Montañez recalls:

Then the United Community Labor Alliance and others did this big march from Olvera Street all the way to UCLA. My parents would always say, 'we are organizing and talking to everyone and we are going to get this on the radio: *Andale vamos a ir a decirle a toda la gente que tiene que venir [a la marcha], nos tienen que dar este departamento de Chicano Studies y no los vamos a dejar [solos]*³¹.' It was awesome. It was like a marathon-Olvera Street to UCLA. It was an ultra-marathon. They gathered where the City of Los Angeles starts, a historic center for Latinas/os. They went down Wilshire Boulevard...It was a beautiful expression of a whole community wanting a university to acknowledge that community is important and deserves public dollars and a place. What we wanted was a Chicana/o Studies department. I'll never forget that day...There were community groups...immigration rights groups...high school students...It was just amazing. You just knew we were going to win. (Personal Interview, 2/2/2013)

³⁰ It is speculated that some 1,000 people participated in that march across Los Angeles.

³¹ This quote is in Spanish and translates to: "Come on, we are going to tell everyone that they have to come to the march. They have to give us a Chicana/o Studies Department. And we are not going to leave you alone."

As Montañez discusses, this march was significant. Despite the rain, thousands of people walked across Los Angeles to show support for the hunger strikers and to demand a Chicana/o Studies Department. Several narrators that participated in the march confirmed that it was a public protest, given that many people would stop and ask them what they were doing and why. The performance of the march became a political action to raise the consciousness of Los Angeles about what was happening at the UCLA campus.

Further, undergraduate student Anabel Pérez shared how she joined the march to show support for Chicana/o Studies. She recalls there being people making speeches at Olvera Street before the march began and once they arrived to the UCLA campus. Pérez reflected that being in the march felt great but: "I couldn't believe all this had to happen for them to reach an agreement. Again, I feel like: what's wrong with people wanting to learn about who they are?" (Personal Interview, 3/30/2013). The march symbolized the aspirations that the students and community members had for Chicana/o Studies.

David Maldonado recalls that the initial grand vision for Chicana/o Studies as a department whose purpose would be to serve the community inspired participation from fellow MEChA de UCLA students in the U.C.L.A.; including Milo Alvarez, Marcos Aguilar, and Minnie Ferguson. Others involved were José Gutiérrez, from One Stop Immigration, and John Fernández, then president United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA). Maldonado further states: "Juan Gómez-Quiñones was the lead UCLA faculty person involved in the U.C.L.A. coalition. We as student leaders in MEChA de UCLA met with this labor alliance on an ongoing basis during the two-three years leading up to the hunger strike" (Maldonado, Personal Interview, 1/17/2013). The U.C.L.A.'s purpose was to garner support for departmentalizing Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Several of the documents analyzed in Chapter 4, confirm their efforts through

conferences, meetings, and with University administration, to mobilize support for departmentalization.

Ruben Lizardo reflected that there probably would not be a Chicana/o Studies department today if the U.C.L.A. was not established. He further describes the coalition being made up by Chicana/o labor and community activists. Isidro Rodríguez, MEChA de UCLA advisor reflected on the role that MEChA de UCLA students had in the U.C.L.A. He recalls the students being the leading voice in the organization. However, Rodríguez also reflects on how the U.C.L.A. was not really a community –wide organization because of existing factions in the Chicana/o activist community organizations. In other words, certain people would not be invited to the meetings because of existing tensions with the leaders that made up the U.C.L.A. Rodríguez further recounts how tensions within MEChA de UCLA leadership shifted MEChA de UCLA's relationship to the U.C.L.A. A few people who were ousted from MEChA de UCLA at this time, were also the ones heavily involved in the U.C.L.A. This meant that MEChA de UCLA eventually also stops being represented in the U.C.L.A.

The internal conflicts within MEChA de UCLA led to a split within its membership. Maldonado, Alvarez, and Luna recall that in 1992 there were a lot of tensions within the group. There were two visible camps of members in the organization and the leaders in each camp were at odds with each other. Maldonado and Alvarez recount violence between members, the University of California Police Department (UCPD) being called to a MEChA de UCLA meeting by another member, and ultimately, the ousting of specific leaders in the organization. The series of events dampened the activism students in MEChA de UCLA had built. To some degree, the activism in relation to departmentalization came to a halt. New leadership was

elected for the 1992-1993 academic year and MEChA de UCLA refocused on its many projects and challenging the Greek system's racism.

Then, on April 28, 1993 Chancellor Young makes an announcement that awakens the activist spirit among the students. Several student leaders were away for the funeral services for César E. Chávez in Delano, California. Chancellor Young announces his refusal to establish a department. In relation to the announcement, Richard Morales says, "It stung" (Personal Interview, 3/12/2013). Josefina Santiago reflects that the announcement fueled the passion students already felt. When I asked Chancellor Young if he was aware that he announced his decision on the eve of Chávez' funeral he stated, "I certainly don't recall it. I can't honestly tell you at the moment that I didn't know it..." (Personal Interview, 2/21/2013). While MEChA de UCLA struggled to regroup, a new student organization, Conscious Students of Color (CSC) was formed, and their leadership found innovative strategies to make demands to the University and made a significant impact in the development of the César E. Chávez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies.

The Perfect Storm

On May 11, 1993, 99 students were arrested because they held a sit-in in the Faculty Center, demanding to meet with Chancellor Young about the budget cuts that would lead to the closure of the Chicano Studies Research Center Library (Yokota, Personal Interview, 5/9/2013). Ryan Yokota recalls that the first 16 students arrested were processed with misdemeanors then released while at UCLA. The remaining 42 male students were sent to Los Angeles County Jail; the remaining 41 female students were sent to the Sybil Brand Institute, the women's county jail (Personal Interview, 5/9/2013). Yokota was a part of a newly formed student group named Conscious Students of Color (CSC) who organized the rally and sit-in. Although the purpose of

the sit-in was specifically about the closure of the Chicano Studies library, its timing galvanized ongoing Chicana/o Studies departmental efforts.

The discussion of whether the CSRC library was going to be shut down is complicated. When interviewing Charles E. Young, Claudia Mitchel-Kernan, Andrea Rich, and Scott Waugh, they communicated that the library was never going to be shut down. Further, some of the narrators that were part of MEChA de UCLA shared that at that time they felt that CSC was irresponsible for holding a sit-in given that there was no proof that the CSRC library was going to be shut down. MEChA de UCLA member David Maldonado states: "They [CSC] were protesting the closing of the Chicano Studies Library and apparently it was never really threatened" (Personal Interview, 1/17/2013). However, Richard Chabran, then Librarian of the CSRC and Blanca Gordo, undergraduate student staff at the CSRC shared a different perspective about the CSRC library.

Richard Chabran recalls that at one point he was told by someone at the CSRC that their budget was going to be cut: "It wasn't written in a memo, 'your money is being cut,' but [it was] said to me, 'you're going to lose this position'" (Personal Interview, 5/6/2013). In essence, the CSRC faculty and staff were aware that cuts were coming to the ethnic studies centers and they would have to decide how to survive with less funds: "So some professors said, 'if we get rid of the library then we can have more money for our research'" (Chabran, Personal Interview, 5/6/2013). Other faculty also suggested making the library only accessible to graduate students and faculty. For undergraduate Blanca Gordo, this meant that the library was being shut down. In retrospect, Gordo was right. The library was going to be shut down, specifically to undergraduate students. Chabran argues that the library was definitely going to be refashioned without dialogue with the campus community. Gordo and the CSC changed that.

Blanca Gordo recalls hearing about the potential closure of the CSRC library from Richard Chabran. She understood the closure as an injustice and decided to join other students and respond by organizing a group called Friends of the Library, whose purpose was to save the CSRC library from budget cuts. Cristine Soto DeBerry, roommates with Gordo, was made aware of the CSRC library closure and decided to join the group. She recounts how the Friends of the Library decided to do something about the library around the time César E. Chávez passed. She reflects on how Chávez' passing was a very influential moment and inspired them to keep the library from closing. Soto DeBerry then reached out to CSC members to join in the cause. Here, I shift to a historical background, as told by the narrators, on the formation of the CSC

The Conscious Students of Color is a unique and important organization to the movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Mario Valenzuela recalls that the CSC was spontaneous, something that manifested itself organically: "CSC was a collective of people with similar political views, and a space for deeper consciousness, understanding, and dialogue" (Personal Interview, 5/18/2013). Aria Razfar also states that CSC was informal, not University affiliated (Personal Interview, 4/29/2013). Razfar further suggests that CSC shifted away from existing campus organization paradigms and boundaries that strictly enforced nationalist association. Ghassan Hasan recalls,

I remember there being all of these different minority groups on campus. There were the Mexican-Americans, the Muslim-Americans, the Jewish groups; everyone had their own kind of club. With my friends it was a little different because we were from everywhere, and a lot of us had mixed backgrounds. It was funny that we all gravitated towards each other because none of us were interested in fraternities, sororities, or being part of these

kind of groups within the framework of UCLA. I don't remember when that first conversation was, but I believe it was I and a few other people, Shiva, Mario Valenzuela, Pablo Murillo, Jalila. All of these people were involved in their own respective communities and organizations, but they weren't really satisfied with what they were doing. They felt they were limited in what they could do to help people because they were kind of part of the establishment. We would all hang out together and we started to talk about all these things...then the idea came up to start our own group. (Personal Interview, 5/17/2013)

Ryan Yokota recalls being introduced to CSC through Julia Lau, who at that time was the only Asian student in the organization. He supports what Hasan, Valenzuela, and Razfar suggest, that CSC was not an official UCLA organization and further suggests that it was a secret organization. He recalls his first meeting at an off-campus site and being introduced to everyone and being given a type of verbal quiz: "It's kind of like being verbally jumped in. 'How do we know you're not an agent of COINTELPRO³²? Why do you want to get involved?"" (Yokota, Personal Interview, 5/9/2013). Yokota shared his understanding of his family history in relation to internment camps and Hiroshima.³³ He shared he had a clear understanding of institutional racism and the need for People of Color to do something, especially after the 1992 uprisings.³⁴

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³² COINTELPRO stands for Counter-Intelligence Program. It was a federal program set up to secretly monitor, harass, spy, and provoke Chicana/o student movements (as well as other radical student movements). The COINTELPRO utilized FBI agents to infiltrate student organizations. The director of it was J. Edgar Hoover. The function and purpose of the COINTELPRO is discussed at length by Carlos Muñoz Jr. in his text *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (2007).

³³ Yokota reflects here on the impact of Hiroshima, the dropping of bombs by the U.S. onto Japan during WWII and internment camps in California that segregated Japanese Americans during WWII.

³⁴ The 1992 uprisings are popularly known as "the Rodney King Riots," yet, Yokota challenges the framing of the event as a riot and as only affiliated to Rodney King, and names the event uprisings, to speak to the power of community resisting the court's decision to let the policemen who beat Rodney King free.

In essence, the CSC was an organization moving organizing and political debates towards a pan-ethnic identity and politic, shifting away from race-specific organizations to a larger discussion with a Student of Color politic. I find it interesting that the collective of folks forming this organization are those who felt limited by existing race-specific organizations, specifically, those who did not "fit" into prescribed definitions of what it meant to be Chicano, Black, Native, etc. Joaquin Ochoa, one of the official hunger strikers suggests that CSC was ahead of its time, seeking collaboration and coalition building that extended beyond race-specific organizing.

However, existing organizations were concerned about the formation of CSC and its disconnect to existing organizational structures on campus. For example David Maldonado reflects on CSC's formation stating,

They [CSC] felt that the African Student Union, MEChA [de UCLA], and the Asian Pacific Coalition did not represent them. They wanted to be activists and they did not care for what they probably understood to be the bureaucratic nature of these organizations that had elected officials and accountability to members. They were all freelance activists who just wanted to be active—for good reason—but did not want to be held accountable as you would be if you were an elected leader. (Personal Interview, 1/17/2013)

Maldonado highlights the challenge that CSC brought to the existing structure for student organizations at UCLA. In essence, CSC challenged what it meant to be a student group on campus, bypassing political processes to establish itself, and sought dialogue and action without the bureaucracy. The CSC also challenged ethnic specific organizational structure and embraced People of Color who were not represented in existing established organizations (i.e. Japanese, Persian, Chilean, Chinese, Palestinian, and others). Maldonado's critique of CSC is valid from

the standpoint of a student leader who is committed to an existing structure that has a system of accountability. What is important to be noted here is that both types of organizations ended up working toward the departmentalization of Chicana/o Studies. On one end, MEChA de UCLA functioned because of a long history of organizing and commitment to Chicana/o Studies. CSC, on the other hand, functioned in the capacity it did because it did not depend on an organizational history. The possibilities for organizing strategies were endless. And they were used.

Given this historical context to Conscious Students of Color, I argue here that what is of importance is not whether the library was officially going to be shut down or not, but that various students were challenging the administration in multiple ways at the same time. Chancellor Young's announcement that there was not going to be a department of Chicana/o Studies justified the possibility of the library being shut down. It was the perfect storm. On one end, MEChA de UCLA had committed to departmentalization and CSC had committed to saving the Ethnic and Women's Studies centers from budget cuts. Both of these causes eventually merge into the agreement signed between the hunger strikers and Chancellor Young.

The CSC narrators discuss that the Faculty Center sit-in was a planned form of protest they would carry out on May 11th. Blanca Gordo reflects on how the purpose of the sit-in was to demand to speak with Chancellor Young regarding the budget cuts to ethnic studies centers. However, they did not plan the vandalism that took place, nor the arrests. Of the narrators that form part of this project, seven were arrested at the Faculty Center: Blanca Gordo, Cristine Soto, Ghassan Hasan, Maria Lara, Mario Valenzuela, Richard Morales, and Ryan Yokota. There are two themes that result from the narrators' stories regarding the experience of being jailed: 1) the students experienced harassment on behalf of the LAPD and prison guards and 2) the students experienced support and protection by many of the inmates in the jails.

Richard Morales recounts the experience of being booked at county jail:

We were taken down to Los Angeles County Jail. All the men were instructed to remove their clothing and shower in a communal shower. We were lined up in a big room going around the four walls completely naked. I felt completely degraded. (Personal Interview, 3/12/2013)

He further mentioned that each student was issued inmate clothing and sent into general population, where rapists, murderers, convicts, and child molesters were. As a queer man, Morales sought his family to bail him out, concerned that the jail system might cause him harm.

Morales was not aware that CSC had planned a sit-in at the Faculty Center. Once there, he decided to join the efforts of the other students that also chose to stay when the police called for students to dis-assemble. Another student who was arrested, Maria Lara, shares that she was part of prior conversations where,

There was very serious conversation around the legality of being arrested. I remember a lot of sensitivity around the fact that many of the students were not undocumented, but maybe legal residents and not citizens. Those individuals were encouraged to seriously consider the legal ramifications and impact that it might have on their legal status. That is the first time that the severity of the things we were doing became more a reality, certainly something that was a difficult point for me in trying to decide whether this was worth it for me or not. (Personal Interview, 2/11/2013)

Further, Lara recalls that inside the Faculty Center, they began to take over several rooms inside:

The campus police had been involved but then I remember the LAPD was called in.

Things became violent after that. We were removed by force by LAPD members...I

remember being yanked away...and being arrested by the LAPD...That evening I went to jail. (Personal Interview, 2/11/2013)

Lara's recollection of the incidents are supported by Valenzuela, Yokota, Gordo, Soto DeBerry, and Hasan who also expressed that violence began when the LAPD arrived. Members of the CSC recall that the UCPD was already inside the Faculty Center and had blocked the entryway to the students. They had turned over tables and chairs and created a barricade in the main dining area, to the right of the main entryway. Yokota asserts that the fees from the damage that were passed onto the student activists was largely done by the UCPD and the LAPD. The decision to involve LAPD is explained by Executive Vice Chancellor Andrea Rich:

It was a day like any other at the Faculty Center but it was Emeriti Day and the people were having lunch with their paintings up. Suddenly there was a noise outside, like a roar, and there was chanting. We were looking around and it got louder. There were rumors about the identity of the people, [that] they had weapons and hammers and were gang members from East L.A. Then there was an ashtray thrown through the glass window and we cleared out. The students came in and took over the building. We tried to get a hold of the police. We called the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) because the campus police were not giving good intelligence and there were not too many [of them] on campus. (Personal Interview, 2/21/2013)

Further, Claudia Mitchel-Kernan, Vice Chancellor of Graduate Studies, confirmed that Chancellor Young was not on campus that day, and on vacation in Japan. Faculty, staff, students, and community leaders loudly critiqued the way the University administration handled the sit-in. It was evident that the protestors, although they were a diverse group of UCLA

students, were collapsed to being "gang members from East L.A.," foreigners and criminals to the UCLA campus. Calling LAPD on them was Rich's solution.

Hasan recalls that the May 11th rally began as a march through the UCLA campus and ended at the Faculty Center. When CSC members and supporters arrived, they had a list of demands but no one would meet with them:

And they ignored us, and instead of starting a dialogue they sent more police and helicopters and they demanded that we vacate the premises and they threatened to put people in jail, to prosecute people, to deport people, do whatever they could to anyone who refused...I remember people who were there that were there on a student VISA and had to leave because they were worried about being deported, there were athletes that were worried about losing their scholarships...they dragged each and every one of us by hair, shirt, and any body part they could grab. They arrested us, they had a whole booking center set up in the Faculty Center and they transported us to County. (Personal Interview, 5/17/2013)

Blanca Gordo recalls how the officers would harass them during the arrests in the Faculty Center and told them they had ruined their education. Cristine Soto DeBerry also recalls,

They processed us all. We're thinking we're getting our ticket, getting processed, and heading out the back door. Instead they put us all in zip ties and lines up all the women in one room and the men in the other. We were in there for hours...so they chain us together like a chain gang—where you're handcuffed at your wrists and there's a long chain connecting all of us. (Personal Interview, May 15, 2013)

The arrests were very distressing for the students, fortunately there was also a strong community support for those arrested. All students arrested remember being led toward buses that took them to Los Angeles County Jail, and as they exited the Faculty Center, realizing,

[That] all these people were out there waiting for us. I was amazed. We were all freaked out. They were lining both sides of that sidewalk and they were saying 'your full name, and your date of birth.' So you had to yell it out and hope somebody was writing it out because they were going to try to figure out whom we all were and where we were going. We didn't know why. (Soto DeBerry, Personal Interview, May 15, 2013)

Further, Mario Valenzuela states,

It was touching because there were all kinds of people out there and people who I guess had already organized and people were designated to ask name and birthdate so we wouldn't get lost in the system. So we wanted to get out there silent, with our fist in the air, just silent. And people were asking: 'Hey, what's your name and birth date?!' and [I was] like: 'Mario. 6/72!' It was funny because we were trying to be stoic but hell no, I'm not trying to get lost in the system. (Personal Interview, 5/18/2013)

Those arrested and sent to jail had a lot of support from fellow students, families, journalists, and a lawyer that stepped up to represent the student's pro-bono.

Aside from a large community of support, those arrested recalled the overwhelming support they received from fellow inmates while in jail. Mario Valenzuela recalls that the morning after arriving to county jail, the inmates recognized them, given that the newspaper had the sit-in at UCLA on the front page. He also recalls how during a lockdown the students created community with them:

I don't know how long we were in there but at the end we had like four or five circles. All of them with different folks just talking about what had happened and people just asking us questions. There was just little dialogue circles, we were having rap sessions; all about what was happening at UCLA. And everybody just had our backs. They were like: 'Thank you. You guys make us proud. We're in here for some stupid shit but you guys are in here for fighting.' We got love [from the inmates] and the guards hated it. (Valenzuela, Personal Interview, 5/18/2013)

Valenzuela also asserts that being in jail was a horrible experience but that the inmates showed him and other students love, and that made the experience more tolerable. One of the inmates even gave him a *Reader's Digest* as a gift, and Valenzuela got it signed by a few of the other inmates. This was the type of camaraderie he experienced from the inmates. The student's experience in jail challenges deficit perceptions of prisoners as criminals that would potentially hurt the students arrested. Instead, the prisoners supported the students' efforts, and several narrators shared that to some degree, the inmates mentored them while in jail of how to stay out of trouble. Several narrators felt protected by the inmates and criminalized by the guards.

After being released from jail, several narrators reported having participated in a sweat lodge organized by Marcos Aguilar as a way to heal from the aftermath of their sit-in. Shortly after the sweat, several students, including Aguilar, Soto DeBerry, Gordo, Valenzuela, and others met to plan the next steps to keep the organizing momentum going at UCLA. Gordo states, "If you find out who was in the sweat you'll know the direct link between those who were arrested and also did the hunger strike" (Personal Interview, 4/27/2013). After much debate, it was decided that a hunger strike would take place by the collective and that decision was brought to a campus-wide town hall meeting.

"They Were Really Willing to Die³⁵"

The 14-day water only hunger strike was a grassroots event. Although nine individuals are credited for being the hunger strikers, there were many others that fasted a portion or most of the 14 days. Mario Valenzuela recalls how he, along with other CSC members fasted the first days³⁶, but were later elected to serve different roles to call attention to the hunger strike. Not everyone could be on the hunger strike, they decided. They needed media and community attention if they wanted change to come to the UCLA campus.

There are various versions about how many hunger strikers there were. I primarily use the names of the strikers whose signatures appear on the agreement signed by Chancellor Young. However, I acknowledge that this omits the many others who also fasted at various points throughout the 14 days. For this project, I gathered the oral histories of Joaquin Ochoa, Cindy Montañez, and María Lara, three of the official hunger strikers that fasted for the entire length of the strike. Interestingly, all three of these narrators were first years during the hunger strike. Ochoa was a transfer student from Watsonville, CA. Lara was a transfer student from East Los Angeles College, and Montañez was an incoming freshman from the San Fernando Valley. The narrators expressed how during their first year at UCLA there were a series of political actions that took place on the campus that exemplified the racial tensions for Chicanas/os.

Specifically, Montañez recalls MEChA de UCLA organizing to protest Alpha Gamma Rho, a fraternity on campus whose initiation ceremony involved the singing of a song titled "Lupe" that demeaned Mexican women. The song described Lupe as a sexually deviant person

³⁵ This quote is from Elizabeth Martínez' chapter on the UCLA hunger strike in her book *De Colores Means All of Us: Latina Views for a Multi-Colored Century* (1998).

³⁶ There are two narrators that shared they were solidarity hunger strikers. Anthony Ortega was from East Los Angeles College and joined the hunger strikers on day three through the end of the hunger strike. Anabel Pérez was an undergraduate student at UCLA and she fasted in solidarity for a few days to show support to the strikers.

who is dead and rotting by the end of the song.³⁷ Montañez states, "When I got to campus, in the following week there was a *Daily Bruin*³⁸ story about a fraternity singing a song to the tune of 'Gilligan's Island' mentioning women being raped with bodies full of maggots and disgusting topics like that...Of course we held a candlelight vigil and that's how I entered into UCLA...through a vigil with a very diverse group of women" (Personal Interview, 2/2/2013). This politicized her and led her to her involvement on campus with Chicana/o Studies.

Ochoa also recalls fraternity-sponsored events that were racist in nature, specifically the "Lupe" song and the infamous "Cross the Border" themed parties. He remembers being angered at the idea that a fraternity would include a song about Mexican women being prostitutes and whores. Lara, from South Central Los Angeles recalled how recent racial tensions had exploded in the local Los Angeles area:

For me, the L.A. Riots signified a huge source of tension between People of Color and privileged white Americans...they were heartbreaking for me, not because they were malicious, but because they were so frustrated with society and what they saw as a disadvantage...To me, the idea of having a department that would spend time, resources and efforts to try to understand the plight of the Latinos was very important. It was important enough that I felt it was worth me risking my health and possibly even my life. (Personal Interview, 2/11/2013)

Students from MEChA de UCLA and Conscious Students of Color took on significant leadership roles during the hunger strike. Specifically, Enrique Aranda, member of MEChA de Cerritos Community College was involved in supporting MEChA at UCLA with their efforts to

³⁷ The "Lupe" song is discussed at length in Deena González' article "'Lupe's Song': On the Origins of Mexican-Woman-Hating in the United States" in the text *Velvet Barrios*.

³⁸ The Daily Bruin is the UCLA student newspaper.

departmentalize Chicana/o Studies. He states, "During my time at Cerritos [Community College] there was a movement for Multi-Cultural Studies and I fought and created a committee called the Joaquin Murrieta Committee and we came up with a list of demands modeled after the UCLA Chicana/o Studies Movement and it worked" (Aranda, Personal Interview, 5/6/2013). Given his involvement in the regional MEChA structure, Aranda was well aware of and involved in UCLA's struggle. During the time of the hunger strike, he worked as a Teaching Assistant with Lynwood Unified School District and eventually took time off of work to be at the hunger strike camp the entire time. While at the camp, he served role as security:

The primary purpose of security was not just securing the wellbeing of the fasters of the camp; it was to ensure the absence of infiltrators, COINTELPRO...We definitely were afraid that there were possible or likely infiltrators during this process...And whether it was real or perceived, we had a big fear of government intervening and trying to co-opt or trying to change the direction of this movement...Given that it was the aftermath of the Los Angeles Uprising, we heard of people who disappeared...so there was a real, tangible sense of fear. (Aranda, Personal Interview, 5/6/2013)

Mario Valenzuela, a member of Conscious Students of Color, held several leadership roles during the hunger strike: hunger striker, logistics, setting up tents, getting water, and he was elected as a negotiator by the hunger strikers. His role, with Cristine Soto DeBerry and Ghassan Hasan, was to represent the hunger strikers in all official meetings with the University. Due to his active leadership during the strike, he was aware of safety concerns and had to strategize with other students because of death and bomb threats that were directed at the hunger strikers. They also received a lot of antagonism from fraternity members. On one particular night, Valenzuela and other security people found a guy in the bushes right by the front of Schoenberg Hall. He

was dressed in fatigues, painted up, and when security approached him, they asked him to leave and not return.

Valenzuela further recalls other members of the CSC being followed and harassed around campus and the West Los Angeles area. At one point they found out that the FBI had a presence on the UCLA campus monitoring the camp and leaders. Further, Jacqueline Carrasco, a MEChistA and undergraduate during that time, decided to join the security team:

There was a need to protect the hunger strikers. There were threats made against them, not everyone on campus supported the cause and felt inconvenienced by all the people that were providing their support at the encampment. The security component grew as the support grew and more people wanted to get involved. I was asked what I would like to help with and chose security because there was a need for it. (Personal Interview, 3/5/2013)

According to the narrators invested in security, it is clear that the organizers carried with them a historical understanding of the way that infiltration functions. They knew that historically social movements were spied on and often shut down from within. The function of security then became to monitor the space so that the larger movement, the three demands they were making, were met. They understood, based on history, that if they were not careful with infiltrators, the movement might also be shut down. Whether the threat was real or not, the role of keeping the people in the encampment feeling protected was a type of leadership that helped maintain the goals of the hunger strike.

Another significant leadership role that developed during the hunger strike was the Media Committee, headed by undergraduate Blanca Gordo. Because she was arrested and developed relationships with community leaders, Gordo was able to connect with influential people that

helped her get access to bringing media attention to the hunger strike. She specifically names Cathy Ochoa, Gilbert Cedillo, Elisa Ollos, and Eric Mann. With her team, Gordo made phone calls, passed out flyers, sent faxes, and was taught how to use the internet and email by Richard Chabran to make further connections. Her team gained access to rosters with organization and individuals of high influence in Los Angeles that responded by writing letters of support, speaking at the hunger strike camp, and even jammed the University phone lines in support of Chicana/o Studies. When I asked Gordo to reflect on her leadership she stated,

And that's what I did. I attached myself. I was there, I happened to be there. I was informed enough, moved enough, pissed-off enough, impassioned enough to even overcome my own discomfort of being out there. I didn't have time to think, just act. I was fortunate enough to be tied to people who were willing, sought me to or connected me to people and previous strategies to keep this going. I had really great mentors at that point. (Personal Interview, 4/28/2013)

Leadership, then, came in different forms. Some had a history of leading in established organizations and others did not. What fueled their decision to step up and lead was their commitment for change. Shared commitment for change, however, did not preclude conflict. To illustrate, I now focus on the contested role of Indigenismo³⁹ as the foundation to the structure, vision, and purpose of the hunger strike.

The three hunger strikers interviewed shared that they had a spiritual guide present during the entirety of the hunger strike who prayed with them and gave them teachings that

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³⁹ Indigenismo is defined as "representing a part of the new heritage that Chicanos were trying to develop. 'I am the eagle and serpent of Aztec civilization,' declared Corky González in 1969" (García, 1997,p. 71). Thus, indigenismo has roots in the Chicana/o Movements of the 1960s that celebrated the indigenous half of Chicanas/os' mestizo (mixed blood with European) identity. Further, Rodolfo Acuña (2011) finds that indigenismo is a point of contention in Chicana/o Studies and movements, whereas individuals critique it for being sexist, homophobic, and Aztec-centered. Acuña (2011) argues that indigenistas (individuals who embody indigenismo) deserve to occupy a space within Chicana/o Studies, "like Marxists, feminists, and gay students…" (p. 115).

strengthened their spirit and helped them understand the sacrifice they undertook. The narrators recalled how the Aztec dancers, the burning of sage and copal, the beat of the drum, and conversations on Indigenismo helped maintain their resolve throughout the 14 days. In contrast, some of the narrators also shared how one faction of the security team claiming adherence to Indigenismo values, defined their role as being centered on keeping peace while simultaneously performing patriarchal undertones. Specifically, some of the male volunteers of this faction of the security team walked around and physically intimidated participants. Moreover, other participants and supporters did not practice Indigenismo the way it was performed, but valued it for what it was at that moment. Several narrators found that the indigenous displays attracted the media, and thereby gained visibility across Los Angeles and beyond. Others felt that indigenismo was pushed onto the movement. At a more troubling level, the disagreements and tensions associated with the role of indigenismo and the question of who had a legitimate place in the movement contributed to moments of fear and exclusion for some.

Several narrators shared multiple examples of violence that took place within and outside the Schoenberg Quad area while the hunger strike took place. For example, some narrators recalled a prominent queer student leader being pushed from behind while walking through the quad. The narrators framed this incident as an act of homophobia. Another student was harassed and followed while she was in the quad area. She had to request that her son and his friends accompany her on campus to ensure her safety. This narrator felt that her feminist politics made her a target for violence. Another person that worked at the University received a threatening phone call advising that if he did not remove himself from the organizing space that his partner would be burnt in a car. One narrator spoke to how the movement did not allow anything non-Chicano to be at the quad. She recalled how the quad quickly became flooded with signs of

support. One of the signs was from the Women's Studies Center at UCLA; the narrator witnessed one of the hunger strike leaders asking that the banner be taken down because it was not about Chicana/o Studies.

In the paragraph above, I purposefully did not identify specific narrators' names in consideration for their privacy and safety. The inclusion of these accounts was important to highlight the level of tension present during the hunger strike. However, to be clear, the tensions about feminism, queer identities, and indigeneity involved constructive dialogue *and* violence. Not everyone involved did both, and not everyone involved was violent. What most narrators agreed on was that there was a level of mistrust and paranoia happening within the quad that led to episodes of violence among leadership and supporters. Other narrators, specifically Chicana and Latina narrators expressed that a lot of the organizing carried a chingón politics⁴⁰ tone to it. This specifically turned off the women and queers from being more involved in the display of protest. Some narrators also argued that the structure of the protest made it impossible to include feminism and queer politics.

Conclusion

It took several movements to get Chancellor Young to meet the students at the table. 1990-1993 was a period where several tactics and methods were employed by many student leaders, faculty and staff, and community leaders to demand a department for Chicana/o Studies. The conclusion of the hunger strike at UCLA did not result in immediate Chicana/o Studies departmentalization. As Ruben Lizardo recalls, Chancellor Young's insisted that a new model be devised at the campus, the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction (CII): not quite a program,

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⁴⁰ Chingón politics are explained as demonstrating "what bell hooks calls 'the effects of equating freedom with manhood, of sexualizing liberation.' Characterized by a narrow view of nationalism and a culture of domination, chignon politics, according to Elizabeth (Betita) Martínez, advocated for culture uncritically and defines concepts and styles of leadership in a patriarchal way" (Blackwell, 2011, p. 76).

and not quite a department. However, student negotiators and hunger strikers saw the CII as a way to move forward, specifically celebrating the fact that the Chancellor had agreed to faculty hires. As mentioned by Vilma Ortiz, what defines a department is faculty hires. So, although Chicana/o Studies was denied departmental status, several of the negotiators and students felt that the goal was met. Having control over faculty hires, the CII had department-like status on the UCLA campus.

It also took a variety of student organizations to employ traditional and innovative strategies to get Chancellor Young to the negotiating table. In other words, students depended on various leadership styles sometimes fragmented and sometimes coalesced. It literally took thousands of People of Color, community members, media, politicians, and Hollywood figures to convince Chancellor Young that Chicana/o Studies was worthy.

This chapter captured the perspectives of 39 narrators who witnessed the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. The first historical flashpoint unveiled that pre-1990, the Chicana/o Studies IDP was on its last leg. Narrators also shared that there was little effort from the University administration to strengthen it. Further, the narrators reflected on the complexity of student politics at UCLA. They challenged the romanticization and vilification of organizations to give voice to the progressive work that students did to include feminism and queer issues in their organizations.

Many narrators also unveiled that MEChA de UCLA led the early efforts to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies. This specific finding echoes the findings of MEChA de UCLA's leadership in the archival documents analyzed in chapter 4. In order to galvanize further support, the MEChA de UCLA leadership engaged with the U.C.L.A. to garner additional support from politicians, labor unions, and community leaders. The relationship between

MEChA de UCLA and the U.C.L.A. was extremely influential in building the movements. However, MEChA de UCLA's internal tensions led to a split that eventually severed their relationship to the U.C.L.A.

Shortly after MEChA de UCLA experienced their challenges, a new organization, CSC, formed and represented a new structure for organizing. The CSC challenged traditional ethnic-specific organizational structures at UCLA and brought innovative ways to organize to the UCLA campus. The timing of the CSC Faculty Center sit-in was the perfect storm to place Chicana/o Studies departmentalization at the forefront. The visibility of Chicana/o Studies efforts was garnered by the media that exposed that the UCLA administration was ill prepared to handle student activists and over-reacted based on racial stereotypes by calling the LAPD and having the student protestors arrested. Lastly, within the prison, the arrested students found support and respect by prisoners who valued their activism.

Ultimately, the nuanced accounts of the movements to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies at UCLA, collected via the 39 oral histories support my initial theoretical hunch: the movements were challenged *and* strengthened by the tensions hinted at through archival research and confirmed via oral history methods. Specifically, I found three tensions that I argue, challenged and strengthened the movements: 1) The role of Indigenismo, 2) the role of Chicano nationalism, and 3) the role of gender and sexuality. I argue that all of these tensions reflected in detail throughout this chapter are guided by a larger question: Who is a legitimate leader in social movements? This larger question is important. On one level, it is important for logistical reasons to define a movement's leadership and roles. For example, who sits at the table to negotiate with University administration? Who frames the movement's position to the media?

Simultaneously, the act of defining risks excludes the multiple people it takes to sustain a movement.

The hunger strike was a grassroots event, planned by a collective of students who had been arrested at the Faculty Center and wanted to keep the activist momentum going on the UCLA campus. One of the many things the hunger strike did was that it unified people. For example, MEChA de UCLA and CSC worked side by side. More specifically, MEChA de UCLA membership returned to the issue of departmentalization and invested their energy in the negotiations. MEChA de UCLA continued having an active role in shifting from a CII to a full department up to 2005. In sum, both organizations and many others were necessary to achieve the goal. The struggle for Chicana/o Studies departmentalization, then, belongs to everyone who believed in and supported the vision during the 36 years it took to gain full department status.

Chapter 6: Conclusion: Lessons and Reflections

This is a Los Angeles story. Although at the center of the movements is Chicana/o Studies departmentalization at UCLA, students, community leaders, faculty and staff made it into a regional effort. Most prevalently, different movements happened outside of the UCLA campus, including the United Community and Labor Alliance (U.C.L.A.) meetings, lobbying efforts, and the June 3, 1993 march from Olvera Street in downtown Los Angeles to the UCLA campus. Hundreds of people in the Los Angeles region became invested, whether by mailing in letters to Chancellor Young expressing their views, by physically supporting the efforts, or by taking on a leadership position. What makes this a Los Angeles story is that people within and outside the UCLA campus employed leadership roles. Local politicians, community organization members, labor union representatives, community elders, religious leaders, and families and parents of students believed and mobilized for a Chicana/o Studies Department. In this chapter, I begin by framing the movements between 1990-1993 using Robin D. G. Kelley's concept of "moving theater." I then revisit my research questions and theoretical framework. I explain how this project answered my questions and utilized a Critical Race History lens. Finally, I end by summarizing major findings and providing a brief reference to future Chicana/o Studies efforts.

Resistance as Performance

In "Congested Terrain: Resistance on Public Transportation⁴¹," Robin D. G. Kelley challenges historians to value and document unorganized resistance in the historical past to capture a more nuanced story of how racism and resistance function in everyday life. By studying archives related to buses in the Jim Crow South, he finds that public spaces become

⁴¹ This article is found in *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class.*

stages where socially marginalized groups perform resistance. In his study, he identifies the segregated buses in the Jim Crow South as moving theatres that serve "as a site[s] of performance and a site of military conflict" (1994, p. 57). He argues that "[Segregated buses] provided microcosms of race, class, and gender conflict that raged in other social spaces throughout the city (i.e., sidewalks, parks, and streets) but otherwise rarely found a place in the public record" (Kelley, 1994, p. 62). In other words, unorganized resistance, as he calls it, does not get reported. He also states, "In the public spaces of the city, the anonymity and sheer numbers of the crowd, whose movement was not directed by the discipline of work (and was therefore unpredictable), required more vigilance and violence to maintain order" (Kelley, 1994, p. 75). Here, he reflects on the relationship between power and protest and how they manifest in public space. In essence, the organization of cities and their demand for labor requires interaction between whites and Blacks, and that public space is where race and racism manifest, where People of Color resist, and where police monitor behavior to protect its white citizens.

Thus Kelley's critique to document unorganized resistance history challenges the existing historical narratives that focus only on organized resistance (i.e. Rosa Parks) and in that process, he challenges the villain/hero narrative that collapses historical events into simplistic and uncomplicated linear events. He challenges historians to capture the hidden transcript. With that intention, I wrote a dissertation that unveils the nuances of how racism and resistance functioned between 1990-1993 at UCLA. In unveiling some nuances, I expanded the stage to include more actors who participated in the movements for Chicana/o Studies. My intention was to value the multiple people involved in the movements, whether hunger strikers or supporters, in order to develop a narrative that tells a complex story. I valued leadership roles beyond traditional notions embedded in traditional social movement histories. I do not necessarily document

unorganized resistance, although there are aspects of it in the data, but I do challenge the existing literature on Chicana/o Studies departmentalization at UCLA that privileges the hunger strike as *the* historical event that took place, and the nine hunger strikers as *the* leaders who got a Chicana/o Studies Department. This dissertation expands on such literature to include those who are not documented in the stories and to value the various types of leadership employed.

Using Kelley's mapping of protest in public space, I argue that UCLA, and by extension Los Angeles, became a type of moving theatre: although the spaces remain in permanent stance, the people involved moved in and out of the spaces, performing various acts of resistance including the main function (the hunger strike) and the various supporting forms of protest including rallies, teach-ins, marches, speakers, talking circles, vigil's, indigenous dance, ceremonies, mass, etc.

Research Questions and Theoretical Framework Revisited

In this dissertation I sought to write a Critical Race History of the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. I asked some questions about my topic that helped shape the theoretical framework, literature review, and data collection of this study. The questions I asked were:

- 1) What is the relationship between the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA and the racial climate for Chicanas/os in California during the 1990s? and
- 2) How does race, class, gender, sexuality, and immigration impact the developments of these movements?

I found that the relationship between the movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA was strongly impacted by the racial climate for Chicanas/os in California during the 1990s. For example, the letters written to Chancellor Young that expressed disapproval of

departmentalization are heavily loaded with racial terms that frame Chicanas/os as criminals, unworthy, and undocumented. Their place in California and UCLA was challenged and their activism, deemed inappropriate. Further, essential to the story that Chicanas/os resisted, is that hundreds of non-Chicana/o allies supported their cause. Thus, the second question is partially answered by the participation of allies in the movements. This was not only a Chicano event. This was an event that mattered to people of diverse racial, gender, class, sexual orientation, and national origin background. I found multiple ways in which these identity markers impacted the events. On one end, they were means for solidarity building among a diversity of people. On the other end, identities were often delineated and defined to exclude and mark difference.

I applied a Critical Race History (CRH) lens on the literature and data I analyzed. In essence, I argue for the need of educational historians to utilize CRT as a theoretical frame when investigating Communities of Color. The six tenets of CRH are:

- 1) the challenge to ahistoricism;
- 2) the centrality and intersectionality of race and racism;
- 3) the challenge to dominant ideology;
- 4) the commitment to social justice;
- 5) the centrality of experiential knowledge; and
- 6) the interdisciplinary perspective offered by CRT

The first tenet of the CRH framework calls for challenging ahistoricism and the use of history to provide context for People of Color and their relationships to institutions. In chapter two, I provide a historical overview of Chicana/o and student social movements in California. Further, I analyzed the archives and oral histories (chapters four and five) to show the historical continuity of racism and resistance Chicanas/os experienced in the 1990s at UCLA, in Los

Angeles, and California. My study centralizes history; it provides a historical narrative and provides a historical analysis of the events. Ultimately, I place the 1990-1993 movements for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA in historical context, as part of a larger struggle to maintain and define Chicana/o Studies in educational institutions.

The second tenet of CRH calls for the intercentricity of race and racism in studying Communities of Color. This tenet calls for analysis of race and racism alongside gender, class, sexuality, and other forms of marginalization. In this study, I depended on the mutual constitutive relationship between race and class, race and gender, race and sexuality, and race and citizenship. Specifically, the oral histories shed light on these relationships.

The third tenet calls for challenging the dominant ideology. By centering People of Color perspectives, I accomplish this tenet. Specifically, I value students, staff, faculty, and community leaders as historical witnesses and actors. In doing so, I challenge the majoritarian story that depends on cultural deficit thinking that "finds dysfunction in [Student of Color] cultural values and insists such values cause low educational and occupational attainment" (Yosso, 2006, p. 22). The narrative in this dissertation demonstrates that the cultural values of Students of Color and their communities were strengths that led to the establishment of the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction (CII). Thus, Chicana/o students find education valuable, relevant, and integral to the advancement of their communities. To the leaders of the 1990-1993 movements, their challenge to the dominant ideology was reflected by their activism that ensured that Chicana/o Studies became a department.

The fourth tenet calls for the commitment to social justice. The topic of this dissertation speaks to this tenet directly. I value social protest, specifically of Students of Color, as significant to study and document. Further, in committing to social justice, I capture a complex

story of the 1990-1993 events that seeks social justice beyond racial equality, and that simultaneously and equally values gender, sexuality, class, and citizenship inequalities as social justice projects. In essence, I argue that social justice is needed within the institutions Students of Color attend as well as within Student of Color organizing spaces.

The fifth tenet calls for valuing experiential knowledge of Communities of Color. I value the knowledges that Students of Color possess in this study by centering them. I demonstrate that their organizing strategies, networks, and knowledge of the historical past is what informed their activisms. For example, I value the data they produced, specifically in chapter four, including the flyers, minutes, proposals, and other items they made and archived. A lot of these materials are not in institutional archives, but in personal archives by alumni that witnessed and participated in the events. Further, the method of oral history is another example of valuing experiential knowledge. By analyzing the perspectives and stories of 39 narrators, I centralize a diverse set of experiences in shaping the narrative.

The sixth tenet calls for an interdisciplinary perspective when studying Communities of Color. Although I utilized historical methods to provide a Critical Race History, I intentionally depended on theory to frame my analysis of the data. Thus, I utilized Law, Education, Sociology, and History to build a historical narrative.

Lessons

I utilized archival and oral history methods to inform my literature review on the topic. In the archival chapter I found that not all archives pertaining to the topic were in institutions. Several key documents and photographs are archived by individuals in their homes. I also found that between 1990-1993, there was a lot of activity from students, faculty and staff, and community leaders to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies. I argued that there was historical

precedence to the hunger strike. Further, I argued that my cultural intuition informed my suspicion that activism did not begin in 1990, but before that. I also found that the structure of the University is set up to not include students and community leaders. However, although that was the case, students and community leaders were at the forefront of establishing a department. They challenged the rigid structure of the University system through their organizing and activism. I also found that the archives contained hundreds of letters and statements that challenged violence as a strategy to create change. Not only was the violence in relation to the Faculty Center sit-in challenged but also was the violence inflicted by the UCPD and LAPD onto students. Lastly, I found that the archives specifically reveal racial tensions about Chicanas/os at UCLA and in California. I argued that Chicanas/os were impacted by the 1990s racial climate in California that framed all Chicanas/os as undocumented and criminals.

In the oral history chapter I organized the findings by highlighting specific historical flashpoints. The first was pre-1990, where narrators reflected on the status of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA and the state of Chicana/o student politics on campus. The narrators complicated the literature that framed organizations like MEChA de UCLA and Raza Womyn into a prescribed set of politics. The second flashpoint was the time period between 1990-1992. In this time period, the narrators spoke to the leadership that MEChA de UCLA employed in that time period to challenge the Academic Senate's recommendation to suspend the Chicana/o Studies major. They utilized various forms of organizing, specifically by supporting and participating in the U.C.L.A. that developed unique strategies to demand a department. The U.C.L.A. was a significant organization that later supported the people who embarked on the hunger strike in 1993. The narrators also found that the organizing in MEChA de UCLA shifted after 1992 because of internal conflicts.

The third historical flashpoint was the Faculty Center sit-in organized by the Conscious Students of Color (CSC). In that section, the narrators communicated the unique positionality of CSC as a non-University affiliated organization, made up primarily by students, and their role in attracting media to the abuse of the LAPD on students demanding to meet with the Chancellor regarding the threat of closing the CSRC library. The narrators also reflected on their experience being arrested and placed in Los Angeles County jail, how it was terrifying, and simultaneously rewarding because of the support the prisoners lent them. The fourth and final historical flashpoint was the hunger strike. I laid out some perspectives of the various actors involved in the event: hunger strikers, community leaders, negotiators, security, and folks invested in gathering media and community support. I also identified the tensions within the larger Chicana/o communities that came with the staging of the hunger strike.

These findings speak to the ongoing questions in Chicana/o Studies that are both important and challenging: 1) Who is a Chicano? 2) Who is a Chicana? 3) What about queers, Latinas/os, and others that do not fit into "Chicano?" 4) Who is Chicano Studies for? 5) What is the role of Indigenismo in Chicano Studies? 6) What strategies should be used in Chicana/o movements? I argue that these questions are both important and also frustrating because they help define the purpose and vision of a movement and by extension of Chicana/o Studies, but they also historically marginalize many individuals who do a lot of the organizing work and see themselves as a part of that movement. In this study, I have demonstrated how these questions impacted the movement for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA internally. The tensions mentioned by the narrators inform how the movement was a 1990s example of the current debate in Chicana/o Studies. In other words, UCLA was a stage where such debates were performed, bringing to the

forefront, the public sphere of newspapers and mass media, the ongoing tensions and daily racial and gendered microaggressions⁴² experienced throughout Los Angeles.

In reporting on internal challenges, I strive to support my claim that History is about perspectives, and not about one truth. In doing this type of history, I also reject a singular Chicano historical truth. If social movement histories are about communities coming together, then I argue that the production of History must voice the various perspectives. This often means addressing internal challenges Chicana/o student activism confronts: the way that systems of oppression are reproduced within organizing spaces.

Reflection

Although I did not know it, this research process began for me as an undergraduate at UCLA. I had a strong connection to the hunger strike, specifically because Chicana/o Studies courses were about my history. I was taught to think critically, ask questions, and find answers. In essence, I was trained to be a researcher. While participating with MEChA de UCLA, my classroom education was supplemented with lessons on Chicana/o and Student of Color activisms at the UCLA campus and beyond. One of my earliest memories with MEChA de UCLA includes a People of Color Tour that values the working-class values and People of Color activist spaces at the UCLA campus. While on that tour, I recall standing in the middle of Schoenberg Quad, the place where the hunger strike happened in May and June of 1993, and I became interested in putting piecing a narrative together with some of the historical artifacts.

MEChA de UCLA has a Chicana/o Studies binder, including a number of primary documents that I was able to look through. That binder expanded my understanding that the hunger strike was a result of years of activism that included students, faculty, staff, alumni,

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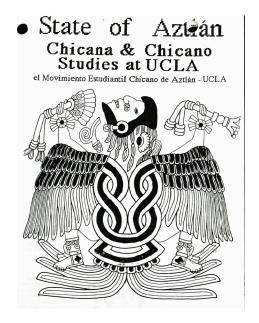
⁴² Daniel G. Solórzano (1998) defines racial microaggressions as subtle forms of racism directed at People of Color daily.

family, community leaders, and many others. What that binder did for me was that it represented the possibility to research student activism in relationship to Chicana/o Studies departmentalization at UCLA. My graduate studies focused on educational history as a growing field of study that needs more student perspectives. To be able to earn a Doctorate of Philosophy in Education by studying 1990-1993 Chicana/o Studies student activism is a huge honor. I am humbled and moved by the many stories in the archives and that the narrators shared. Each of the narrators shared and reflected on their leadership roles twenty years ago from this dissertation's publication. And this publication is just a snapshot of their experiences.

I am a researcher and writer that commits to complicating singular historical narratives that generalize historical events based on the leadership or participation of a handful of activists. This dissertation builds on existing scholarship frameworks that value collective and community history as a more complete representation of historical events. This history is not linear, flat, or absolute. It is not interested in one truth. This is what drove the study. This dissertation captured the underlying commitment to social justice expressed by the various players in the movements that allowed for a multitude of strategies to coalesce despite tensions into a collective, coherent, and community-driven response to Chancellor Young.

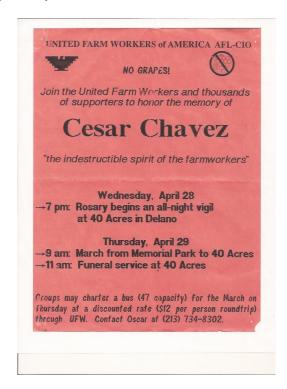
Appendix A: Images

Image 1, Cover of "State of Aztlán" Booklet



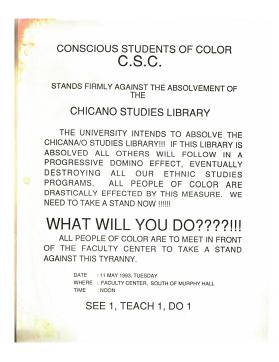
(Source: MEChA de UCLA Archive)

Image 2, Flyer for César E. Chávez Funeral Services



(Source: MEChA de UCLA Archive)

Image 3, Conscious Students of Color (CSC) May 11th Sit-In Flyer



(Source: Milo Alvarez Personal Archive)

Image 4, March to UCLA – United Community and Labor Alliance



(Source: César E. Chávez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies Archive)

Image 5, Ellie Hernández – March to UCLA



(Source: César E. Chávez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies Archive)

Image 6, Strong Chicana on Periphery - March to UCLA



(Source: César E. Chávez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies Archive)

Image 7, Police Arrive at Faculty Center



(Source: The Daily News Newspaper, May 12, 1993)

Image 8, Faculty Center Sit-in – Students Lock Arms



(Source: The Daily News Newspaper, May 12, 1993)

Image 9, Freedom City (Schoenberg Quad)



(Source Unknown)

Image 10, Mexica Dancers – March to UCLA



(Source: César E. Chávez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies Archive)

Appendix B: The Narrators' Biographies

Milo Alvarez came to UCLA during the Freshman Summer Program (FSP)⁴³ in August of 1988. As an undergraduate, Alvarez got involved with MEChA and also worked with MEChA Calmecac.⁴⁴ During his second year he got involved with FSP and the Academic Advancement Program and worked as a peer counselor and the Films and Forums Coordinator for one year. Alvarez was also External Chair of MEChA, and worked with the regional, state, and national chapters. During the 1990-1992 organizing, Alvarez played an active role as a MEChA leader and he represented MEChA during the hunger strike negotiations at UCLA.

Enrique Aranda was a member of MEChA at Cerritos Community College. Although he was not enrolled at UCLA between 1990-1993, he was involved as a supporter, as MEChA at UCLA sought support from outside local MEChA chapters.

Santiago Bernal entered UCLA the summer of 1986 as a participant in the Freshman Summer Program (FSP). He became an FSP peer counselor in '88. He graduated in 1991. After graduation, Bernal worked as an AAP tutor then he worked at the Admissions office from 1992-1999. Currently, Bernal is the Assistant Director of the Center for Community College Partnerships (CCCP). During his undergraduate career, Bernal was part of the formation of two student groups: The Latin American Student Association (LASA) and La Familia.

Vivien Bonzo is an activist and President of the Olvera Street Merchants Association. She worked behind the scenes facilitating meeting with politicians in support of the departmentalization of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. She also helped organize the march from

⁴³ The Freshman Summer Program (FSP) is run by UCLA's Academic Advancement Program and works as a summer bridge program for incoming underrepresented students the summer before their first academic year. There is also an equivalent program for incoming transfer students named the Transfer Summer Program (TSP).

 $^{^{44}}$ MEChA Calmecac is a student-initiated and student-run retention project that focuses on the retention and graduation of Chicana/o and Latina/o students at UCLA. The MEChA leadership oversees the project.

Olvera Street to UCLA during the hunger strike. Bonzo was also a member of the United Community and Labor Alliance (U.C.L.A.).

Jacqueline Carrasco-Mendoza was an undergraduate and member of MEChA at UCLA during the 1993 hunger strike for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. She started as a Freshman through FSP in 1988 and joined MEChA during her freshman year. During the hunger strike she served a role as security in Schoenberg Quad.

Richard Chabrán attended UCLA as a student for one term around 1970, and then he returned to work there between 1979 and 1993/1994. There was a period where Chabrán worked for the Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC) as a research coordinator, but most of the time he was a librarian

Dr. Cindy Cruz is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Education at UC Santa Cruz. During the early 1990s, Cruz was a graduate student in the Education Department and a staff member at the Chicano Studies Research Center

Gabriela transferred to UCLA as an undergrad and went on to enroll in a PhD program at UCLA in Political Science. During 1993 she was a graduate student and a member of the Raza Graduate Student Association (RGSA).

Dr. Blanca Gordo was an undergraduate at UCLA from 1989 to 1993. She was never officially part of any particular student group but she did support student activism while working for the Chicano Studies Research Center and as part of Academic Advancement Program (AAP). During the hunger strike, Gordo led the media committee. She also helped organize the Faculty Center sit-in on May 11, 2013, with Conscious Students of Color.

Maria Teresa (Teri) Griffin is the treasurer of Mothers of East Los Angeles (MELA) and is responsible for calling organizing and strategy meetings. During the 1993 Hunger Strike for

Chicana/o Studies at UCLA, Griffin remembers getting the mothers organized and being part of the march to UCLA.

Ghassan Hasan was an undergraduate at UCLA during 1993. He was a member of Conscious Students of Color (CSC). Prior to UCLA, Hasan had been part of the Free Palestine Movement. As a member of CSC, Hasan helped organize the Faculty Center sit-in and was also elected one of the negotiators during the hunger strike at UCLA.

Tom Hayden is the author and editor of twenty books, including the recently published *Inspiring Participatory Democracy: Student Movements from Port Huron to Today*. He has taught most recently at UCLA, Scripps College, Pitzer College, Occidental College, and the Harvard Institute of Politics. Hayden wrote many of the support letters for Chicana/o Students as early as 1990 to Chancellor Charles E. Young. He also mobilized many other politicians to write and support the student efforts.

Maria Lara was one of the official hunger strikers during the 1993 Hunger Strike for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Lara attended UCLA from 1992-1994 as a transfer student. She also was arrested during the Faculty Center sit-in.

Ruben Lizardo was a counselor and coordinator of the first Chicano Studies Interdisciplinary Program (IDP). As part of his position, he was allowed to focus on coalition building and attended meetings for the United Community and Labor Alliance (U.C.L.A.).

Luna was a transfer student to UCLA in the early 1990s. She double majored in Political Science and Chicana and Chicano Studies. Luna worked closely with MEChA in the early efforts to push for a department in Chicana/o Studies and over the years built relationships with MEChA chapters across California. She also supported the student efforts during the hunger strike in spring of 1993.

Dr. David Emiliano Zapata Maldonado entered UCLA through FSP, in the summer of 1989. While at UCLA, Maldonado was introduced to MEChA and got involved with the organization. He got involved as peer counselor for the FSP program and worked with AAP during that time. He also served as internal coordinator for MEChA during his third year. During his last two years at UCLA he was the director for MEChA Calmecac.

Dr. Claudia Mitchell-Kernan came to UCLA from Harvard University in 1973, serving as Professor of Anthropology and was eventually appointed Vice Chancellor of Graduate Studies. Since 1991, she held the responsibility for the oversight of the American Indian Studies Center, Asian American Studies Center, Bunche Center for African American Studies, the Chicano Studies Research Center, and Institute of American Cultures.

Cindy Montañez was one of the official hunger strikers during the 1993 Hunger Strike for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. She started as an undergraduate at UCLA in 1992. She was also involved in various committees after the hunger strike to implement the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction (CII).

Richard Morales was an undergraduate at UCLA from 1991 to 1996. He participated in the Latin American Student Association (LASA), the Gay and Lesbian Association (GALA), and La Familia. He was one of the students arrested during the May 11th Faculty Center sit-in.

Joaquin Ochoa was one of the official hunger strikers during the 1993 Hunger Strike for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Ochoa transferred to UCLA as a Sociology/History major from Watsonville, California.

Anthony Ortega was born and raised in East Los Angeles. He fist became involved in social action while attending Roosevelt High School from 1987-1990. Ortega was an unofficial hunger

striker during the UCLA hunger strike; he fasted at the same time as a community participant because he believed that UCLA should have a Chicana/o Studies Department.

Dr. Cynthia E. Orozco is a professor at Eastern New Mexico University, Ruidoso. She obtained her BA from the University of Texas at Austin and an MA and PhD from UCLA. Orozco was at UCLA from 1980 until 1992 when she graduated. However, she left California in 1987 to work on her dissertation and did not return until 1992 for graduation.

Dr. Vilma Ortiz is a Professor at the UCLA Department of Sociology. She served as Chair of the Chicana/o Studies Interdepartmental Program in the early 1990s and spearheaded the faculty proposal to Chancellor Young to departmentalize Chicana/o Studies.

Anabel Pérez entered UCLA in 1991 as a Freshman and participated at various points in MEChA and LASA. During the hunger strike, Pérez was a solidarity hunger striker and supported the hunger strikers while she was there.

Dr. Carol Petersen served multiple roles at UCLA in addition to her position as Vice Provost during the years 1990-1993. These roles begin with a doctoral student in English, followed by professional positions as lecturer, Assistant Director and Director of the UCLA Writing Programs, Assistant to the Executive Vice Chancellor, ten years as Vice Provost of the College of Letters and Science, eight years in Chancellor's Office of Academic Development focusing on issues of diversity, and another four years as Faculty in Residence, while continuing to teach in the Academic Advancement Program's Freshmen/Transfer Summer Programs.

Dr. Aria Razfar is a faculty affiliate with the Learning Sciences Research Institute (LSRI) and University of Illinois at Chicago's (UIC's) Department of Linguistics, and an associate professor in Curriculum and Instruction at UIC's College of Education. During 1993, he was an undergrad and member of Conscious Students of Color (CSC).

Dr. Andrea L. Rich served as Executive Vice Chancellor and Chief Operating Officer of the University of California, Los Angeles, from 1991 to 1995. She earned her Bachelors, Masters, and Doctoral degrees from UCLA.

Dr. Raymond Rocco is an Associate Professor at the UCLA Department of Political Science. Dr. Rocco arrived to UCLA in 1972 and became faculty the spring of that academic year. He had an active role working with the Chicano Studies Research Center and taught courses in Chicana/o Studies.

Isidro Rodríguez graduated from UCLA in 1988. In 1990, he became the official MEChA de UCLA advisor.

Saul Sarabia was an undergraduate from fall of 1988 to spring of 1993. As an undergraduate, he was involved with the *La Gente Newsmagazine* on campus. He was the Editor and Chief of the newsmagazine during the 1993 events. He was at the UCLA Law School from fall 1993 to spring 1996. He later came back to UCLA as a lecturer in Chicana/o Studies from 2003 to 2005. During that time he was also on staff at the Center for Study of Urban Poverty with Dr. Abel Valenzuela. In the fall of 2005 through January 2012, Sarabia ran the Critical Race Studies Program at the UCLA Law School.

Dr. Maria Soldatenko is Associate Professor of Chicano/a Latino/a Studies at Pitzer College. Dr. Gutierrez de Soldatenko was a graduate student at UCLA during the 1980s preceding the 1993 Hunger Strike for Chicana/o Studies and was completing a Post-Doctoral Fellowship at the UCLA Institute of American Cultures during the 1992-1993 academic term. While at UCLA, she taught courses in Chicana/o Studies and was a member of the RGSA while a graduate student.

Dr. Mike Soldatenko is Professor in the Chicano Studies Department at the California State University, Los Angeles. He was a graduate student at UCLA, and taught various courses in Chicana/o Studies prior to the hunger strike. As a graduate student, he was a member of the Raza Graduate Student Association.

Christine Soto De Berry was an undergraduate at UCLA from 1990 to 1994. She became part of the student movements for Chicana/o Studies through her roommate Blanca Gordo who utilized the Chicana/o Studies Resource Center and through its librarian, Richard Chabrán. The threat of closing down the library spurred her activism.

Mario Valenzuela was an undergraduate at UCLA during 1993. He was a member of Conscious Students of Color (CSC). As a member, he helped organize the Faculty Center sit-in. Valenzuela fasted the initial days of the hunger strike then served as a negotiator and security during the hunger strike. Prior to UCLA, Valenzuela had been part of protests against U.S. intervention in Latin America.

Frank Villalobos worked with Barrio City Planners in East Los Angeles. He was a founding member of Mothers of East Los Angeles (MELA). MELA was founded as a response to a proposal to build a prison in East Los Angeles. Villalobos' recounted MELA's support for the 1993 Hunger Strike for Chicana/o Studies at UCLA.

Dr. Scott Waugh began his career at UCLA in 1975 as a lecturer in the History Department. In 1984 he became a tenure track faculty member and thereafter was chair of the History Department. In 1991 he became the Dean of Social Sciences until 2007 when he became acting Executive Vice Chancellor, followed by promotion to Executive Vice Chancellor in 2008.

Ryan Yokota was an undergraduate at UCLA during 1993. He was a member of Conscious Students of Color (CSC). As a member of CSC, he helped organize the Faculty Center sit-in,

and was one of the students arrested. During the hunger strike he helped recruit Asian American students to support the hunger strikers. He returned to UCLA to complete an Asian American Studies MA program from 2003 to 2005.

Dr. Charles E. Young is currently Chancellor Emeritus and Professor at the UCLA School of Public Affairs. From 1968 to 1997, he served as Chancellor of UCLA. Dr. Young received a B.A. with honors in political science from the University of California, Riverside in 1955 and an M.A. (1957) and Ph.D. (1960) in political science from UCLA.

Appendix C: Acronyms

AAP – Academic Advancement Program

AFL-CIO – American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations

CII – Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction

COINTELPRO – Counter-Intelligence Program

CRH – Critical Race History

CRT – Critical Race Theory

CSC – Conscious Students of Color

CSRC – Chicano Studies Research Center

CUCC – Committee on Undergraduate Courses and Curricula of the Academic Senate

EVC – Executive Vice Chancellor

IDP – Interdepartmental Program

LAAWP – Los Angeles Association of White People

LAPD – Los Angeles Police Department

MEChA – Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana y Chicano de Aztlán

OSMA – Olvera Street Merchants Association

RGSA – Raza Graduate Student Association

UCLA - University of California, Los Angeles

U.C.L.A. – United Community and Labor Alliance

UCPD – University of California Police Department

UFW – United Farm Workers

ULAA – UCLA Latino Alumni Association

June 7, 1993

Professor David Lopez Acting Director Chicana and Chicano Studies Program

Dear David:

On May 25, I wrote to you outlining a process to delineate actions that would be required to ensure that the policies implemented as a part of the decision to continue the interdepartmental approach to Chicana and Chicano Studies. This process follows the most recent review of the proposed creation of a Department.

I believe the discussions which have occurred in the last several days have led to resolutions of those issues, and of other important matters as set forth below in the attached document entitled, "Framework for a Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies."

This framework, which has the appropriate approval of the Academic Senate, obviates the need for the task force which was proposed, and provides us with the tools to move forward into a new era of Chicana and Chicano Studies.

In addition to those items which I have approved with Senate concurrence, and acting on the recommendation of faculty and students of the program, I will enthusiastically propose to the Regents at their meeting later this month that they approve the naming of the Center, "Cesar Chavez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies."

Dean Scott Waugh will work with you to develop the details of various aspects of the framework which require further elaboration.

Sincerely,

Charles E Young

cc: Vice Provost Carol Hartzog Vice Chancellor Claudia Mitchell-Kernan

Associate Vice Chancellor Raymund Paredes

Dean Scott Waugh

Hembers, Committee to Administer the Interdepartment Major in Chicana and Chicano Studies

Cindy Hontanez Balvina Collazo Joaquin Ochoa

Framework for a Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies

This plan creates a new campus unit called a Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction -- a unit with a combination of features that draws on the strengths of both academic departments and interdepartmental programs.

A Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction incorporates some of the fundamental elements of UCLA's departments and programs into a new unit that will provide a greater degree of stability and autonomy for Chicana and Chicano Studies than in the past. This new structure will likely meet the needs of other interdepartmental programs in the future.

The following provisions for a Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction mark a significant departure from past practice at UCLA and will give Chicana and Chicano Studies a fundamental degree of self-determination:

- A Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction receives an allocation of permanent and temporary FTE.
- For the purpose of determining voting rights, the faculty of a Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction are those who hold permanent appointments in the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction.
- 3. Joint appointments of faculty whose academic homes are in other departments, and the use of faculty from other departments on temporary appointment, will be encouraged and will constitute the majority of faculty.
- 4. The percentage of time for permanent appointees to a Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction may run to 100 percent for a group of core faculty to insure stability of structure and leadership.
- Existing faculty could be approved to move their appointments to the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction either temporarily or permanently for up to 100 percent time.
- 6. A Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction has the same responsibilities for academic personnel actions, i.e., appointments, promotions, advancements, and terminations, as does a department, namely, full responsibility for those who hold full appointments within the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction and joint responsibility for those who hold joint appointments.

This structure preserves the essential interdisciplinary character of Chicana and Chicano Studies, and provides features of departments necessary for the stability and autonomy of the program.

It is important to stress that a Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction will draw on the talents of faculty from across the campus, with direct benefits for teaching and research in Chicana and Chicano Studies. Because many in the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction will maintain a place in departments, they will help transform the nature of the entire academic program at UCLA and reach as many students as possible. At the same time, the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction will provide the stability and autonomy that Chicana and Chicano Studies requires.

Along with the creation of a new academic unit, this plan also provides a number of other important contributions to Chicana and Chicano Studies:

The institution of joint appointments and 100% core appointments will mean immediate augmentation of the permanent budget of Chicana and Chicano Studies. The following areas have been identified as priority fields to begin building Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA: 1) political economy; 2) historical studies; 3) studies of migration; 4) studies of indigenous cultures and languages; 5) literary studies; 6) pedagogical studies; 7) health studies; 8) studies of social identity and behavior; 9) gender studies.

To ensure that the unit will thrive, four searches for Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty have been authorized for 1993-94, at least one at the senior level. These appointments can be 100% time in the Center, as determined by the members of Chicana and Chicano Studies, with the understanding that it is crucial to the success of Chicana and Chicano Studies to have a dedicated core faculty in place as quickly as possible.

For 1994-95, two additional searches can be conducted if four appointments have resulted from the 1993-94 searches. These and future searches will be conducted by the faculty of Chicana and Chicano Studies, in consultation with the Dean of Social Sciences.

It should be understood that these appointments in Chicana and Chicano Studies will not be a substitute for continuing efforts to diversify the faculty in departments across the campus in which Chicanas and Chicanos and other ethnic groups are underrepresented.

The core faculty of the Center will also constitute a committee for the promotion of Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty. In cases of 100% appointments, the Chicana and Chicano Studies recommendation will go forward to the Dean as the sole recommendation concerning promotion. In cases of joint appointments, the recommendation of Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty will go forward along with, but separate from, the recommendation of the department, thereby giving Chicana and Chicano Studies a clear and equal voice in the personnel process.

It is also envisioned that some faculty who do not have full appointments in Chicana and Chicano Studies might have full-time assignments in the Center for a period of three years or so. During this time, their full teaching and service responsibilities would be directed toward Chicana and Chicano Studies. With the new revisions to the personnel process resulting from the Pister Report, it becomes possible to reward faculty for such concentrated work at a particular stage in their academic careers. The combination of full-time appointments, joint appointments, and full-time assignments would significantly strengthen the core faculty and give crucial stability to Chicana and Chicano Studies.

The new provision of appointments in the Center will provide a resource base for hiring temporary faculty when Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty are on leave. In addition, we will provide temporary faculty and TA resources necessary to mount the core curriculum in Chicana and Chicano Studies (these resources could also be used to provide for graduate and undergraduate research assistantships at the discretion of the core faculty). In 1993-94 these resources will be all the more important because of the large number of Chicana and Chicano faculty absent through leaves or for other reasons.

Along with these regular appointments and assignments in the Center, funds can also be provided for special temporary appointments of leading figures and community scholars in Chicana and Chicano Studies, who can bring added distinction to the Center. These intellectual leaders could offer workshops, conferences, or seminars for the students and faculty, as well as the UCLA community at large. In this way Chicana and Chicano Studies would become an even more influential force in the academic environment at UCLA.

The undergraduate curriculum will continue to be developed by the Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty, subject to approval by the Academic Senate. In the future, if the faculty and students determine that it is feasible and desirable, an M.A. and a Ph.D. program can also be developed.

There will be no further budget cuts for Chicana and Chicano Studies in 1993-94 or 1994-95, and in certain areas there will be an augmentation of the budget to meet critical needs in the Center. Specifically, permanent funding will be provided for the AA II position, and additional funding will be provided for counseling and student support services, as determined by the faculty and Dean. The core budget of the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction will be an integral part of the core budget of the university. The aim will be to provide a level of staff support commensurate with the academic needs of Chicana and Chicano Studies, and in keeping with the staffing levels in the Division of Social Sciences. We will also endeavor to find support for crucial services such as the Chicana and Chicano Research Center Library.

The Dean will assist the Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty in their efforts to locate and secure outside funding for academic development.

Aside from monetary resources, space is an important element in the success in any academic program, and as the planning for north campus space goes forward in the light of changes resulting from the move of AGSM into a new building and from seismic upgrading, the needs of Chicana and Chicano Studies will have a prominent place in the discussions.

Specific elements regarding the governance of the Center, including the degree of student and/or community participation shall be determined according to University guidelines.

This new entity will be implemented by the Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty, working closely with the Dean of Social Sciences and other administrators. The first steps will be the appointment of a head of the Center and the determination of the core faculty to engage in recruitment and promotion. I propose that this new center be named:

The Cesar Chavez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies

It is understood that should the evolution and the experience of the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction warrant it, departmentalization will once again be on the table for reconsideration, and if presented by the new entity will be reviewed in good faith by the agencies of the administration and Academic Senate.

BERKELEY + DAVIS + IRVINE + LOS ANGELEN + RIVERNIDE + NAN DIEGO + NAN FRANCISCO

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR 405 HILGARD AVENUE LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024-1405

SANTA BARBARA - SANTA CRUZ

June 7, 1993

After intensive discussions, we are pleased to announce the resolution of the issues surrounding Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA that gave rise to the hunger strike from May 24, 1993 to June 7, 1993

7, 1993.	
Winston Cl Doby	Juan Arturo Diaz Lopez
Carol P. Hartzog	HUTZILIXTLITIU H-COLANI-
Claudia Mitchell-Kerhan	Cittichicosheyott Balvine (alles) Balvina Collabo
PAN A. Parecer_RAYMING A. Paredes	Maria M. Lara
Stott L. Waugh	Jorge R. Mahcillas
Charles E. Young	Arturo "Paztel" Mireles Resendi
\mathcal{O}	Cindy Montanez
	Norma Montanez
.	Joaquin Manuel Ochoa
	Jon Hayde
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A CLA OFFICE OF THE CHANCELL OF

June 7, 1993

VICE CHANCELLOR CLAUDIA MITCHELL-KERNAN: DEAN FRED EISERLING: DEAN SCOTT WAUGH:

I am writing you to place on record UCLA's continuing support for ethnic and gender studies, as well as our commitment that there will be no further budget cuts for these programs for the 1993-94 and 1994-95 academic years.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Young Chancellor

UCLA OFFICE OF THE PROVOST
COLLEGE OF LETTERS AND SCIENCE
143601

June 7, 1993 575/SW5

Administrative Head David Lopez Chicana and Chicano Studies Program 155905

Dear David:

As you well know, agreements have been reached in regard to the future of Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA. The Chancellor is writing to you separately to describe those agreements. I am writing to outline the immediate steps that need to be taken to implement those changes.

I recommend the following procedures:

- I will meet with Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty within the next two weeks to explain the nature of the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction, to obtain their support for the new center, and to discuss the crucial steps involved in implementing the procedures arising from the new arrangements. At this meeting I will act as a chair/facilitator to help guide the deliberations.
- 2. I will then call a meeting of Chicana and Chicano faculty, students, community members, and other interested faculty to discuss the next steps in implementation, including the selection of a head/chair of the center. I will also act as chair/facilitator at this meeting.
- 3. Following the decisions taken by the members of Chicana and Chicano Studies at these two meetings, I will establish an implementation committee of faculty and students. This committee will be chaired by the new head/chair of the center. The implementation committee will be charged with establishing procedures for conducting faculty searches for 1993-94, determining matters relating to the governance of the Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction, and developing plans for program and curriculum development.

I want the implementation committee to begin work on July 1, 1993, and to have a preliminary outline of its work by September 1, 1993, with the understanding that the details will be elaborated over the coming academic year, in consultation with the Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty.

Throughout this process I will work with the committee and faculty to facilitate the decisions taken regarding Chicana and Chicano Studies and to act as a liaison with the administration and Academic Senate. I hope that through this collaborative process we will be able to achieve a stable institutional base for the further building of Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA.

Sincerely,

Scott L. Waugh Dean of Social Sciences

UCLA: OFFICE OF THE PROVOST COLLEGE OF LETTERS AND SCIENCE 143801

June 7, 1993 576/SW5

Administrative Head David Lopez Chicana and Chicano Studies Program 155905

Dear David:

This is to confirm that four searches for Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty have been authorized for 1993-94, at least one at the senior level. These appointments can be 100% time in the Center, as determined by the members of Chicana and Chicano Studies, with the understanding that it is crucial to the success of Chicana and Chicano Studies to have a dedicated core faculty in place as quickly as possible.

For 1994-95, two additional searches can be conducted if four appointments have resulted from the 1993-94 searches. These six searches will be available until the positions are filled, at which time we can consider additional appointments in light of the needs of Chicana and Chicano Studies. These and future searches will be conducted by the faculty of Chicana and Chicano Studies, in consultation with the Dean of Social Sciences.

In addition, I will authorize one full temporary FTE for program development. This FTE can be used for special temporary appointments of leading figures or community scholars in Chicana and Chicano Studies, who can bring added distinction to the Center. This commitment is initially for three years, beginning in the academic year 1993-94. After three years, I fully anticipate that with the success of this effort, the commitment would be renewed

I am hopeful that these commitments will form a solid basis for the continued strengthening of Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA.

Sincerely,

Scott L. Waugh Dean of Social Sciences



UNITED FARM WORKERS of AMERICA AFL-CIO

National Headquarters: La Paz, Keene, California 93570 (805) 822-5571

6 May 1991

Charles Young, Chancellor University of California, Los Angeles 405 Hilgard Avenue Los Angeles, CA 90272

Dear Chancellor Young:

I write in support of establishing a Chicano/Chicana Studies Department at UCLA.

Like many other Chicano and Latino organizations who are encouraging the formation of this department, I consider this change necessary for both the students and the community. The University of California, Los Angeles in the 1990's is situated both historically and geographically in the midst of major transitions. As this region's population becomes increasingly Chicano/Latino, it is necessary to respond in many different ways. One of the most important developments will be educating future leaders. UCLA is in a position to do just this, benefitting both the institution and society at large.

I request, on behalf of the United Farm Workers, the formation of a Chicano Studies Department with appropriate faculty and courses.

Sincerely:

Cesar E. Chavez President

CEC: tow

cc: John Fernández

UNITED COMMUNITY/LABOR ALLIANCE

TO ESTABLISH A CHICANA/CHICANO STUDIES DEPARTMENT AT U.C.L.A.

Co-Chairs - Vivian Bonzo, John Fernandez W17 Olvera St Los Angeles, Ca 90012

PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSEMENTS (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

Association of Mexican American Educators Dr. Rudy Acuna Councilman Richard Alatorre Vivian Bonzo (Olvera St. Merchants Association) Sal Castro California Immigrant Workers Association (C.I.W.A.) Catholic Service Organization (C.S.O.) Caesar Chavez (U.F.W.) Gilbert Cedillo (S.E.I.U. Local 660) Chicano/Latino Education Committee, U.T.L.A.

Coalition for Economic Justice Bert Corona (Hermandad National Mexicana*) Norma de la Pena , U.T.L.A. House of Representatives Maria Elena Durazo (Hotel/Restaurant Employees Union*) Educational Issues Coordinating Committee John Fernandez (U.T.L.A. East Area Board of Directors) Prof. Lorenzo Flores, Chicano Studies, C.S.U.N.

L.A. City Schools Board Member Warren Furitani L.A. County Federation of Labor, A.F.L. - C.I.O. Jackie Goldberg Dr. Juan Gomez-Quinones Michael Gonzales (Local 770 U.F.C.W.) Juan Jose Guiterrez (One-Stop Immigration) Juana Guiterrez (Mothers of East L. A.*)

Assemblyman Tom Hayden L.A. City Schools Board Member Jeff Horton Instituto Del Pueblo

Mary Katz (President, CFT*) League of United Latin American Citizens (L.U.L.A.C. - San Gabriel)

Los Angeles Mexican Conservancy
M.A.L.D.E.F. (Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund) Cheech Marin

M.E.Ch.A. Central - Los Angeles M.E.Ch.A. - East L.A. College M.E.Ch.A. - U.C.LA

Mexican American Education Commission (L.A.U.S.D.*)

Mexican American Peace Corps

Mexican American Political Association (Westside, Metro Region) Supervisor Gloria Molina

Mothers of East L.A. (Santa Isabel Chapter)

Carlos Montes - Chicano Moratorium Committee Rosalio Munoz

National Association for Chicano Studies National Chicano Moratorium Committee

N.E.W.S. America

Olvera Street Merchants Association

One-Stop Immigration

Juan Parrino - Chicano Moratorium Committee Miguel Perez - Chicano Moratorium Committee

Assemblyman Richard Polanco

L.A. City Schools Board Member Leticia Quezada Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas

Jimmy Rodriguez (Local 770 U.F.C.W.) Prof. Gloria Romero, Psychology, C.S.U.L.A. Congressman Ed Roybai Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-Allard

Prof. David Sanchez, Chicano Studies, E.L.A.C.

Service Employees International Union, Locals 660, 99, and 399

Southwest Voter Registration Education Institute

(Labor Donated)

State Senator Art Torres Congressman Esteban Torres U.C.L.A. Latino Alumni Association U.C.L.A. M.E.Ch.A. Alumni Association United Farm Workers

United Food and Culinary Workers, Local 770

United Teachers of Los Angeles

United Teachers of Los Angeles, Bilingual Ed Committee Santa Monica City Councilman Tony Vasquez

Antonio Villaregosa (A.C.L.U.*) Councilwoman Rita Walters Waterfront Rail Truckers Union Assemblywoman Maxine Waters

^{*} For identification purposes only

Appendix G: Chronology of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA

1968 - Chicana/o Studies course it taught during the High Potential Program at UCLA

1973 – UCLA Chicana/o Studies Program is established

1987-1988 – Academic Senate committee recommends suspending the Chicana/o Studies major

February 1990 – UCLA suspends new admissions to Chicana/o Studies major

April 24, 1990 – MEChA holds a demonstration to protest the suspension of the Chicana/o Studies major.

December 1990 – MEChA and the United Community and Labor Alliance work together in a conference to draft a proposal for departmentalization of Chicana/o Studies

January 15, 1992 – Faculty proposal for a Chicana/o Studies department is submitted with 12 faculty signatures.

December 1, 1992 – MEChA holds a rally requesting to meet with Chancellor Young regarding their demand for a Chicana/o Studies Department.

April 28, 1993 – On the eve of César E. Chávez' wake, Chancellor Young announces his refusal to establish a Chicana/o Studies Department. Students are in Delano, CA for the funeral services.

May 11, 1993 – Concious Students of Color organize a sit-in over the welfare of the Chicana/o Studies Library budget cuts. The sit-in led to the arrest of students.

May 12, 1993 – MEChA holds a rally for the establishment of a Chicana/o Studies Department, and also to demand the release of the arrested students. Over 1,000 people show up to support.

May 25, 1993 – June 7, 1993 – The 14-day water only hunger strike takes place at UCLA's

Schoenberg Quad. Thousands of supporters visit the hunger strikers during this time period.

Appendix H: Archives Cited

MEChA de UCLA Archive

Chicano Studies Research Center Archive

Southern Regional Library Facility Archives (1.5 linear feet)

Chancellor Charles E. Young University Archives (3 linear feet)

Milo Alvarez Personal Archive

David Emiliano Zapata Personal Archive

María Lara Personal Archive

Ryan Yokota Personal Archive

César E. Chávez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies Photo Archive

Los Angeles Times Online Archives

The Daily News Newspaper Archives

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