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**Regeneración Tlacuilolli: UCLA Raza Studies
Journal**

Title

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Permalink

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Journal

Regeneración Tlacuilolli: UCLA Raza Studies Journal, 1(1)

ISSN

2371-9575

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Publication Date

2014

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CHICANA/O MOVEMENT PEDAGOGICAL LEGACIES:

Indigenous Consciousness, Critical Pedagogy, and Constructing Paths to Decolonization

JOSÉ LUIS SERRANO NÁJERA

ABSTRACT: *The purpose of this essay is to draw from the pedagogical legacy of the CCM, and its now four-decade project in ethnic revitalization of Indigeneity, a means to better understand how cultural identity and cultural diversity are connected to human struggles to attain democracy, social equality, and build community. I focus on Chicana/o activist organizations that established educational components aimed at helping youth and adults develop a critical consciousness of Chicana/o Indigenous cultural heritage and history. I highlight two phases of Chicana/o Indigenous consciousness in education, the first one during and shortly after the influence of CCM cultural ideas, and the second one within the context of transnational Indigenous Peoples human rights movements after 1980. Although adoption of Chicana/o Indigenismo varied among these youth organizations, they all sought respect for cultural diversity understanding that different ethnic groups in a true democracy should not be forced to assimilate into the cultural values and worldviews of western civilization.*

. . . [the] Tonantzin youth challenge was formed, and
I'll tell you man, it brought new life into Tonantzin.¹
—David Luján—

INTRODUCTION

There have been various influences of Chicana/o Indigenous consciousness on Chicana/o cultural self-representation and Chicana/o activism since the Chicana/o Movement (CCM).² This is the process by which individuals relate aspects to Indigenous knowledge as a means to

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Research funding for this article was provided in part by the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center and the UCLA American Indian Studies Center with grants from the Institute of American Cultures.

find alternatives to western hegemonic thought. For Chicanas and Chicanos, Indigeneity reflects a growing historic consciousness that: 1) on the one hand, inspired nuanced critiques of the unjust legacies of colonialism, imperialism, and a critique of current global capitalism³; and 2) on the other hand attempted to “delink”⁴ Chicanas and Chicanos from the epistemic hegemony of western civilization through a revival of Indigenous culture. Chicanas and Chicanos of the late twentieth-century thus partake in a global trend of anti-colonial movements and decolonial projects that have begun to erode the universalism of western thought, and subsequently the rationale of western political hegemony.

Chicana/o Indigeneity within the context of anti-colonial thought was not possible without conscious CCM leaders who understood the importance of employing a method of teaching to inspire critical dialogue. This dialogue helped students’ questioning of self and the world and helped educators develop a varied curriculum. Educators helped peers and future generations to critically reflect on the significance of history. By reflecting on history, educators inspired continued CCM values for human and civil rights advocacy that rectified historic injustice. One of the CCM’s legacies has manifested itself in various pedagogical efforts to help youth and young adults develop critical consciousness of important CCM values. These include respect for cultural diversity and heritage, as well as a strict adherence to the democratic principles of social equality. These efforts were part of broader civil right struggles to undue generations of horrid unequal mis-education of Chicana/o children in the U.S.⁵ CCM social movement values demonstrate the long-term effect of the CCM on Chicana/o social movements and pedagogical ethos. For instance, for more than forty years, Chicana/o Studies programs in universities across the United States provide students with a social science and humanities education with curriculum on historic Mexican American civil rights struggles.⁶ The CCM has also influenced various pedagogical efforts outside of universities that have inspired youth by empowering them to take pride in the value of their cultural heritages. Paired with a historic consciousness of the unjust legacies of colonialism and capitalism, CCM activists inspired youth and young adults to utilize CCM values as a means to counter historic injustice and imagine a more egalitarian future.⁷

Although the CCM has many cultural and political ideological legacies,⁸ in this essay, I focus on Chicana/o activist organizations that established educational components aimed at helping youth and adults develop a critical consciousness of Chicana/o Indigenous cultural heritage and history. I highlight two phases of Chicana/o Indigenous

consciousness, the first one during and shortly after the influence of CCM cultural ideas, and the second one within the context of transnational Indigenous Peoples human rights movements after 1980. The development of Chicana/o consciousness of Indigeneity through critical pedagogy inspired nuanced critiques of the unjust legacies of colonialism and imperialism, a critique of current global capitalism, and a critique of public education because it re-enforced the power of colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. Through out this essay, I employ the terms critical and pedagogy that refer to a teaching method and form that sought to inspire in youth and young adults continuous questioning of the self and the world.⁹ I demonstrate how the pedagogical legacy of the CCM has produced examples of teaching and learning about democratic principles of equality while at the same time emphasizing a respect for cultural diversity. The purpose of this essay is to draw from the pedagogical legacy of the CCM, and its now four-decade project in ethnic revitalization of Indigeneity, a means to better understand how cultural identity and cultural diversity are connected to human struggles to attain democracy, social equality, and build community. Chicana and Chicano activists that utilized education to develop critical consciousness of Indigeneity and social justice formed part of broader twentieth-century trends that sparked and revitalized social movements. Attempts to establish alternative forms of education that inspired critical consciousness were integral components of twentieth-century social struggles for equality, freedom, and democracy in the Americas.¹⁰

This essay thus provides examples of activist organizations that instituted and evolved CCM values for social equality and cultural diversity in formal and informal curriculums and pedagogies. The institution and evolution of these curriculums and pedagogies changed over time as *Chicanismo* and *Indigenismo* changed in relation to developments in transnational Indigenous Peoples movements in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. As adoption of *Indigenismo* grew during and after the CCM, some Chicana/o activists' desires to rectify inequality grew into efforts to rectify global historic injustice through involvement in transnational human rights activism. As part of this activism, activists incorporated youth through educational programs that helped young people develop ways to question domination, power, culture, and oppression in social institutions. In turn, these youth developed agency and a public voice that they utilized to demand social equality among diverse peoples of the world as a requisite for true democracy.¹¹ Although adoption of Chicana/o *Indigenismo* varied among these youth organizations, they all sought the respect for cultural diversity understanding that ethnic groups

into a true democracy should not be forced to assimilate into the cultural values and worldviews of western civilization. These organizations looked towards a future where Indigenous Peoples, and other ethnic groups, had autonomous control of who formed part of their cultural communities, their cultural trajectories. From that platform, Chicana/o activists sought participation in geopolitics as equals to cultural “others” as part of a global citizenry.

CRITIQUES OF CRITICAL PEDAGOGY: INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTY VS. INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Critical pedagogies within the context of social movements make essential strides in questioning the undemocratic and unjust practices of nation-states towards its citizens. However, critical pedagogy's reliance on definitions of democracy and justice that are philosophically and culturally defined by western notions of individual rights are problematic to Indigenous Peoples concerned with upholding their rights to sovereignty.¹² Education scholar Sandy Mari Anglás Grande notes that as a result of the post-modern turn, critical pedagogy scholars have increasingly criticized essentialized notions of identity and have advocated for hybrid understandings of identity.¹³ Grande contends that although hybrid scholars are correct in noting the dangers of “authenticity” as essentialism, the emancipatory potential of fluid identities is based on rights within western principles of individual rights and do not recognize that American Indians are primarily concerned with sovereignty. Grande highlights the problem in critical theory, the ideological base of critical pedagogy, is that “. . .critical theorists retain “democracy” as the central struggle concept of liberation, they fail to recognize Indigenous peoples' historical battles to resist absorption into the “democratic imaginary”—and their contemporary struggles to retain tribal sovereignty”¹⁴ Although the western philosophical undertones of critical pedagogy contradict Indigenous Peoples' right to cultural autonomy, Grande does conclude that American Indian scholars share concerns with critical scholars. Both regard the need to use education to develop critical agency and that this work should be done through multicultural coalition building.¹⁵ Grande calls for scholars to partake in critical dialogue to develop a critical pedagogy that supports Indigenous theories of liberation and demands Indigenous communities' right to sovereignty, self-determination, and cultural survival.

Although not all Chicana/o activists have been concerned with sovereignty (although some strongly do concern themselves with this),

the discussion of cultural survival is important in describing activists' efforts to uphold and maintain an Indigenous identity. These efforts are reflected in pedagogy and curriculum since the CCM that valued the survival of Chicana/o Indigenous culture. Chicana/o activist conceptualized an alignment with an Indigenous "way of life" and an understanding of Indigenous based historicity. This formed the foundation for imagining Chicanas and Chicanos' place in the historical and cultural context of Indigenous Peoples in the Americas. As a result, Chicana/o activists used an Indigenous based pedagogy to develop younger advocates that continued working for the respect of human rights. The ways Chicana/o activists' pedagogy informed advocacy for human rights might point towards potential uses of education to nurture the cultural survival of Indigenous Peoples. This pedagogy may also establish the training necessary to participate politically in democratic transnational advocacy in a way that does not purport citizenship defined by western cultural values as a prerequisite for political and human rights.

PHASE ONE: CULTURAL REVITALIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS

The need to teach a critical consciousness of culture, history, and politics among youth and young adults inspired many CCM activists to create alternatives to public education systems. In the context of Civil Rights era educational reform, CCM activists centralized cultural relevancy in Chicana/o youth and young adult education along with access to necessary resources for an equitable education. Led by the courageous activism of young people that began in 1968 with the Chicana/o school "blow-outs," CCM activists demanded well funded educational institutions that supported their right to cultural autonomy and agency. CCM activists contended that instituting a culturally relevant education was an integral Civil Rights era reform to rectify historic socioeconomic inequality and injustice suffered by Chicanas and Chicanos in the United States.¹⁶ By the 1970s, CCM era activists began to establish alternative K-12 schools and colleges to accomplish the goal of providing youth with an education that upheld their cultural autonomy. These schools were founded in locations across the southwest and all had a desire to instill its students with the ideology and values of the CCM.

The reasons CCM activists founded these schools varied from a desire to operate autonomously from restrictive and culturally biased local school district boards to a desire to implement experimental educational pedagogies and curriculums that fostered critical consciousness.

These schools attempted to create an educational environment where children and young adults combined a value for cultural heritage and history that countered historic trends of instilled racist ideology in public schools that viewed Chicana/o culture as an educational deficit. Educators trained students to develop a critical consciousness of human rights that inspired young people to grow up with the ideological inspiration to continue to struggle for social justice.

Chicana/o Movement Alternative Schools

Many CCM activist organizations demonstrated their value for education by founding alternative schools. This supported efforts to build community, as well as train young people to continue struggling for human rights. For instance, in September 1969, the United Farm Workers (UFW) union began running its California Farm Workers Community School in Delano, CA. Although not an alternative to public education, the Community School offered its students supplemental education twice a week for three hours. The Community school sought to help students in reading, math, science, singing, crafts, painting, and Spanish. The school also trained students in social justice by having them participate in UFW picket lines as a way to teach students the importance of union organizing and the respect of workers' fundamental human rights. Spanish language instruction also demonstrated the Community School's attempt to provide Chicana/o children with a culturally relevant education. By improving their Spanish language schools, teachers helped students have a better appreciation for Chicana/o culture and better relations with their many times monolingual Spanish-speaking parents. The school relied on Union staff and community volunteers to provide students with educational services and its purpose was aligned with the broader goal of the UFW to build a movement to help the poor.¹⁷ Although the UFW exemplified the importance of education in training young people to fight for human rights, its status as an after school program limited the effects this type of education had on young people. Instead, other CCM activist organizations sought alternatives to public institutions as a means to provide complete another option besides westernized educational modes.

Along with the UFW's Community School, the Escuela Tlatelolco, founded in 1970 by the Crusade for Justice in Denver, CO, also aligned the education of young people with the broader cause of a CCM activist organization. However, unlike the Community School, Escuela Tlatelolco was an alternative and completely private school rather than an

after school program. During the late 1960s, the Crusade for Justice was active in the improvement of public education in the Denver area. The organization supported and advised high school students protesting the racist actions of a social studies high school teacher at West High School in 1969. After helping students and parents meet with school officials that ignored their demands, the students of West High led the largest school walk-outs, up to that point, in Denver's history.¹⁸ The protests influenced the Crusade for Justice to organize and host the National Chicano Youth Liberation conferences. At these conferences, the organization spurred the ideology that guided Chicana/o youth activism and educational goals through out the country. The Crusade for Justice's influence on youth activism and cultural education is most notably exhibited in the resulting *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* that called for Chicanas and Chicanos to rally behind the cultural needs of the Chicana/o community.¹⁹ Along with supporting high school protests and nationally organizing Chicana/o youth, the Crusade for Justice supported Chicana/o and African American student organizations at the local Denver college and university, as well as helped diminish racial tensions among Chicana/o and African American youth.²⁰

The Crusade for Justice's social activism in support of youth inspired the teaching philosophy behind the Escuela Tlatelolco. The Escuela Tlatelolco began functioning as a year-round private school in 1970. The school relied on volunteers as instructors, teaching assistants, administrators, cooks, and janitors who made it possible to provide education to Chicana/o youth without charging them. Escuela Tlatelolco provided education to youth of kindergarten age to undergraduate education of young adults. Students learned to speak Spanish and Indigenous languages as a way for them to take pride in their cultural heritage. As one student, Melissa Montoya, put it, "You learn what you are. . .and not to be all hidden up inside yourself like a cocoon."²¹ Escuela Tlatelolco students also participated in Crusade for Justice activities like writing articles for the prominent CCM newspaper *El Gallo*, participating in picket lines, and campaigning for La Raza Unida Party.²² These activities stemmed from the Crusade for Justice instilling the cultural and political values of the CCM into the curriculum of Escuela Tlatelolco. They also accommodated the needs of Escuela Tlatelolco students who sought a curriculum and teaching that valued their cultural heritage, which was not supported in public schools. As a result, many of the first Escuela Tlatelolco students in 1970 were organizers of student protests in 1969 that left public schools to seek a better education.²³

The Escuela Tlatelolco also offered college level instruction up to a B.A. In partnership with the Goddard College in Plainsfield, VT, the Escuela Tlatelolco offered undergraduates the opportunities to earn credits in traditional classroom settings as well as through service learning as teaching assistants for the K-12 students.²⁴ The Escuela Tlatelolco's bridging of K-12 and undergraduate education demonstrates overall CCM desires to utilize education as a way to help Chicana/o communities maintain cultural autonomy while engaging the U.S. political system as equals to whites. The Escuela Tlatelolco ultimately provided students with alternative forms of education that fostered community building, cultural pride, and political activism in ways that supported the goals of the CCM to gain equality and respect of human rights for Chicanas and Chicanos during the Civil Rights era. Consequently, efforts to find alternatives to K-12 public education grew to include providing alternatives to undergraduate and graduate education.

Along with the Escuela Tlatelolco, the Colegio Jacinto Treviño in Mercedes, TX provided a means to train educators for Chicana/o communities. The school was founded in 1969 by teachers who spent weekends working in the fields of the Rio Grande Valley and operated in an abandoned monastery. The Colegio focused on helping high school "push-outs" pass equivalency exams for high school diplomas. In 1970, the Colegio began offering graduate courses in education and in 1971 its first M.A. graduates stayed on to help teach undergraduates at the college.²⁵ Graduate students at Colegio Jacinto Treviño took courses in history of Chicana/o cultural ideology, or Chicanismo, and history courses critical of colonialism and capitalism in the Americas. Along with these history courses, these future teachers took courses in critical pedagogy guided by the writings of Paulo Freire and Frantz Fanon.²⁶ The coalescence of critical historical studies and critical pedagogy in the Colegio's curriculum demonstrates that administrators and teachers at this school knew the importance of education in training young people to be conscious of global and transnational aspects of oppressive power structures. Whether these structures were historic colonialism or global capitalism, Colegio teachers emphasized the importance of being culturally grounded in an effort to resist these global oppressive power structures. On top of fostering this critical consciousness, the importance of having graduates return to the Colegio as teachers demonstrates the mission of this school to put their ideologies into practice by ensuring students continue to pass on their lessons to future generations.

In the same context of Texas CCM activism, Juárez Lincoln University was another CCM alternative to traditional institutions of higher

learning in Austin. Juárez Lincoln held extension campuses in Denver, CO, San Antonio, TX, and Mission, TX. In 1971, Juárez Lincoln began a partnership with Antioch College of Yellow Springs, OH and offered bachelors degrees in Liberal Studies and masters degrees in Education.²⁷ The formation of Juárez Lincoln was a product of the Mexican American Youth Organization's (MAYO) political activism to improve education for Chicanas and Chicanos.²⁸ The goal of the university was to create a "un colegio Chicano" where Chicana and Chicano students would benefit from the cultural relevancy of an education based on bilingual and bicultural instruction, as well as curriculum based in Chicana/o history and culture. The philosophy behind Juárez Lincoln's pedagogy also drew its influences from Paulo Freire and CCM Chicanismo by emphasizing that students learn through involvement in community programs.

Juárez-Lincoln employed its pedagogy within a bachelors program with an interdisciplinary structure that was organized around five themes of communication, environment, social process, humanities, and professions. These themes were meant to "prepare the student to serve as a social change agent for the Chicano community. . ." ²⁹ Juárez Lincoln educators emphasized practice in the curriculum through accreditation of course credit accomplished by student service learning.³⁰ This demonstrated that faculty sought to provide students with the knowledge and experience, an essential combination of critical pedagogy, so that these students became agents of social change. The masters program in Education at Juárez Lincoln employed a degree design model that was created by each student under the auspices of an advisor.³¹ In this way, the student had more power in determining the parameters of her/his education based on the interests and goals of the student. In the context of the CCM, the faculty's emphasis on training agents of social change demonstrates the Juarez Lincoln's commitment to find practical ways of attaining the broader goals of social equality and respect for cultural difference in the era of Civil Rights and the CCM.

Concurrently with Juárez Lincoln, La Universidad Aztlán in Fresno, CA also provided Chicana and Chicano students with alternative paths to earning higher education degrees through an education informed by CCM ideology and critical pedagogy. Founded in 1970 by professors at Fresno State College, students from several San Joaquin Valley colleges, and staff from the Mobil Educational Guidance Project, La Universidad Aztlán was meant to provide Chicanas and Chicanos with an educational option that incorporated an examination of Chicana/o experience in its curriculum. Although La Universidad Aztlán sought to eventually provide a K-12, undergraduate, and graduate education, it only succeeded

in establishing a two-year junior college El Colegio de la Tierra, which was named by its first class of students. Like other CCM era alternative education projects, these Chicana/o educators accomplished much with little resources, but were nonetheless restrained by the lack of funds to accomplish much more ambitious goals.

Even so, La Universidad de Aztlan educators utilized critical pedagogy by emphasizing service learning as the primary method for students to attain knowledge through experience. El Colegio de la Tierra emphasized service learning by defining the whole San Joaquin Valley as the university campus.³² The curriculum and pedagogy of the Colegio de la Tierra was formatted as a “team learning” environment where students pushed the direction of the course. The teachers only guiding the courses by ensuring students developed critical questions. El Colegio de la Tierra, like other aforementioned examples, also provided interdisciplinary general studies courses organized around emphases on: 1) Alternatives to Education; 2) Social Organization; 3) Communication; 4) Government; 5) Community Health; 6) Humanities; 7) History; and 8) Physical Science. Students also developed independent projects that emphasized activism in Chicana/o communities.³³ The interdisciplinary organization of courses and the emphasis on in the field service learning demonstrates El Colegio de la Tierra’s commitment to utilizing education to enhance the activism of the CCM. Utilizing college education, the founders of La Universidad hoped to ensure that the efforts of the CCM to struggle for the respect Chicanas’ and Chicanos’ civil and human rights would continue among a future generation.

Although Juárez Lincoln and La Universidad Aztlan demonstrated attempts to provide alternative options to traditional educational institutions, their education models were limited to traditional milestone standards of associates, bachelors, and masters degrees. Other CCM schools sought to fill the void of adult education for students seeking skills, personal growth and other goals not limited to earning traditional degrees. La Academia de la Nueva Raza in Dixon, NM was founded in 1969 by social workers Facundo B. Valdez and Tomas C. Atencio, among others. During the 1970s, La Academia de la Nueva Raza focused on its mission to emphasize human learning based on historical and life experiences. The school founders sought to create a learning society rather than an education that served externally imposed curricular milestones. Before its dissolution in 1978, La Academia de la Nueva Raza expanded to offices in Brawley, CA, El Paso, TX, Las Cruces, NM, and Phoenix, AZ to support the adult educational needs of Chicana/o communities.³⁴ Valdez specialized in building community organizations and had

experience in educational activism through school boycotts and other forms of community organizing like helping form a cattle feedlot cooperative among Chicanos in northern New Mexico. Atencio specialized in mental health, adult education, and developed the concept of “Community Life Education.”³⁵ Perhaps Valdez and Atencio’s background in social work contributed to La Academia’s emphasis on personal development, community activism, and critical consciousness of history in New Mexico without trying to fit these goals into the traditional requirements of associates, bachelors, or masters degrees.

La Academia de la Nueva Raza’s non-institutionalized educational goals are exemplified by the efforts of staff and students to document the oral tradition of Chicanas and Chicanos of northern New Mexico. La Academia established an oral history project center in Dixon, which out-reached to the small towns of Penasco, Truchas, Chimayo, Medanales, Mora, Anton Chico, Rachitos, Las Vegas, and Cordova for oral history interviews as well as photographic documentation.³⁶ Along with programs in “personal history” and participation in performing arts, students at La Academia were able to reflect on the importance of cultural traditions, history, and personal experience as a way to gain a critical consciousness of historic injustice and methods of rectifying that injustice. La Academia provided this form of education to community members as a way to “creat[e] an awareness, conscientiousness, a thirst for justice, and a commitment to work towards a free society.”³⁷

The educators at alternative Chicana/o schools during the CCM cemented the pedagogical legacy of the CCM as a movement that sought to instill in young people a value for critical understandings of democracy and history. Through education, CCM activists and teachers also hoped to provide a space for Chicanas and Chicanos to critically reflect on their own histories, cultural heritage, and value for community. Infused with a positive value for Indigenous heritage within *Chicanismo*, critical reflections on heritage, culture, and history led to understandings of Chicana/o historicity based in Indigeneity. CCM alternative schools, along with the CCM as a whole, provided the discursive space that helped many Chicanas and Chicanos isolate their Indigenous heritage as the viable trajectory for Chicana/o community building. This realization would form the ideological basis for many forms of Chicana/o resistance to global oppressive forces through collaboration with other Indigenous Peoples of the Americas in transnational social movements.

Indigenous Consciousness Leads to Critical Indigenous Pedagogies

CCM alternative schools demonstrated the importance of striving for alternative education rooted in the CCM ideology of *Chicanismo* by providing students with nuanced views on cultural diversity and democracy. These views inspired young people to envision new possibilities in understanding their past while working towards a more just and egalitarian future. A significant outcome of these alternative schools has been their contribution to providing the educational space to discuss the importance of Chicana/o Indigenous heritage and the political significance of Indigeneity. This contribution helped spur alternative schools rooted in a philosophy that prioritized the development of Chicana/o *Indigenismo* and supported de-colonizing efforts of Indigenous Peoples across the Americas. Since the CCM, these Indigenous based K-12 schools and colleges have helped continue and develop Chicana/o *Indigenismo* ideas, as well as served as a base of support for Indigenous Peoples transnational activism and advocacy.

The Escuela de la Raza Unida in Blythe, CA exemplifies the role alternative schools had in advancing Chicana/o *Indigenismo*. Founded on May 1, 1972, the school began as out door classes in temperatures of 110 to 115 degrees Fahrenheit at Blythe City Park. Students, parents, and volunteer teachers held these classes in defiance of the local school board as a way to provide Chicana/o youth with a Chicana/o Studies curriculum. The school also depended on support from the local UFW offices for administrative space and the community center The Teen Post for library and folkloric dancing space.³⁸ The school maintained permanence into the 1990s and upheld a pedagogical philosophy that allowed for “Chicano and other students the opportunity for substantive participation in the creation, initiation and actual implementation of educational goals and objectives” as well as the fostering of critical consciousness of political, social, and economic injustice.³⁹

Much like the schools of the CCM era, the Escuela de la Raza Unida promoted culturally relevant education among Chicanas and Chicanos in an effort to develop cultural ideas utilizing critical pedagogies. In this context, Alfredo A. Figueroa, founder of the Escuela de la Raza Unida, helped make the Escuela a local base for transnational Indigenous activism and connectivity. In 1986, La Escuela was a stopping point for a pilgrimage from Ixateopan, Guerrero, México to Los Angeles, CA that honored the last Mexica Tlatoani Kuahtemok. This pilgrimage was a ritually symbolic effort by Mexican *Indigenistas* to promote the importance of Mexicans, Chicanas, and Chicanos’ Indigenous past and revitalize

Mexican and Chicana/o Indigeneity in the present. The 1986 pilgrimage inspired Figueroa and others to make the same pilgrimage in reverse to Ixateopan, Guerrero, México in 1987. This was done to maintain the Indigenous connectivity these Mexican *Indigenistas* and U.S. Chicanas and Chicanos established in 1986. The Escuela de La Raza Unida would further serve as a local center for broader transnational Indigenous Peoples efforts to build collectivity by supporting the Peace and Dignity Journeys of 1992 and 1996.⁴⁰

The role the Escuela de La Raza Unida had in supporting Chicana/o Indigenous ideas and activities demonstrates the importance of creating spaces where critical pedagogy can go hand in hand with culturally autonomous ideas that empower and motivate students. As broader developments in Chicana/o Indigeneity unfolded due to transnational communications and advocacy in the 1980s and 1990s, this CCM era alternative school demonstrates how Chicana/o connections with México helped develop local historic consciousness of Indigeneity. In turn, this historic consciousness helped keep the Escuela de la Raza Unida operational as a discursive space for discussion and development of critical political, social, and economic concerns through out the late twentieth century. This school remained a space for discussion regarding advocacy for civil rights during the CCM, and continued to do so during advocacy of human rights in the 1980s and 1990s in the context of transnational struggles for the respect of Indigenous Peoples' human rights.

Along with connections to México, Chicana/o *Indigenismo* also developed in relation to collaborative educational efforts among American Indians, Chicanas, and Chicanos since the late 1960s. These collaborative educational efforts are best exemplified in California by the opening of DQ⁴¹ University (DQU) in July 1971. DQU demonstrated the most ambitious curricular and pedagogical mission to utilize Indigeneity as the philosophical base for an educational mission to develop decolonial thought during this era. The efforts to establish an American Indian and Chicana/o university in California began in the mid 1960s when American Indian educators committed themselves to study the educational needs of American Indian and Chicana/o children in Central California. In 1967, educators, among them David Risling and Jack Forbes, founded the California Indian Education Association (CIEA). The CIEA focused its efforts on acquiring land for a school site, and in 1969, they applied for ownership of an abandoned 643 acre surplus U.S. Army communication outside of Davis, CA.⁴² Citing treaties that guaranteed return of surplus U.S. government land to American Indians, the

founders of DQU had to contend with a competing bid from the University of California, Davis (UCD). Although the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW) assured the founders of DQU that their treaty rights would be respected, the land was awarded to UCD. As a result, on November 2, 1970, American Indian and Chicana/o youth took over the site to draw media attention to what they saw as a back door deal that slighted the DQU's rightful bid to the land. The media attention forced UCD to rescind their claim and on January 14, 1971, the DHEW awarded the land to DQU board members.⁴³

The activism that led to the formation of DQU would later demonstrate its pedagogical commitment to an education that critically engaged Indigenous Peoples' right to cultural autonomy. This helped educators develop a critical consciousness of culture and politics among its students. Educators demonstrated this, like many other CCM era schools, by proiritizing seminars, workshops, fieldwork, and work-study as methods for students to learn through experience, instead of utilizing the "banking" method of the lecture format. As a result, DQU students earned college credit from experience rooted in hands on learning through community experience. DQU also offered opportunities to students that had been "pushed-out" of high school by letting them work towards their high school equivalency certificates while also working towards their A.A. or B.A. degrees.⁴⁴ Faculty and staff at DQU thus helped ensure that students negatively afflicted by the public K-12 school system received an opportunity to return to school and work towards earning their diplomas and degrees that would have otherwise been denied to them.

The curriculum at DQU offered students the opportunities to fulfill requirements in topics like English, Government, Social Sciences, History, Fine Arts, Psychology, Health, Music, Science, and Philosophy like all other public and private colleges. However, these topics were taught from a perspective that supported American Indian and Chicana/o cultural autonomy. For instance, Government courses were taught on the government and political structures of traditional tribal governments and Chicana/o political thought. Other government courses analyzed the implication of the U.S. Constitution in relation to American Indian treaty rights. DQU faculty utilized a curriculum that provided students with a political education that sought to encourage them to compare, analyze and evaluate western and Indigenous forms of governing as a way to consider political alternatives to western hegemony. Other government courses focused on the role of Chicanas in social institutions, which encouraged students to analyze and evaluate how patriarchy

influenced political thought and action towards and within Chicana/o communities. Literature, art, and music courses focused on art by American Indians, Chicanas, and Chicanos. By focusing on this art, educators encouraged students to appreciate the autonomous production of culture by Chicana/o and American Indian writers, musicians, and artists. These courses were also intended to inspire students create their own artistic and/or literary productions.⁴⁵

The curriculum at DQU also emphasized a negotiation between the student and university faculty so that the student ensured her/his education was relevant to her/his needs. As former executive director of DQU José de la Isla explained:

DQU offers a negotiable education. A mutually agreed program of study will be worked out by the student and the University. From that point it is the responsibility of the University and the student to live up to the terms of the agreement. This means hard work on both sides, but more importantly that that it means a relevant education, a people's education, and not one determined by arbitrary requirements.⁴⁶

The negotiable format of the curriculum at DQU exemplifies its commitment to provide a relevant education to Chicanas, Chicanos, and American Indians. By empowering students to create a coursework plan that related to their goals, DQU faculty and staff promoted students' ability to self-determine their educational paths based on their needs. This exercise in self-determination in combination with lessons on Chicana/o politics and American Indian sovereignty claims demonstrates the usefulness of employing a critical pedagogy. DQU staff and faculty established a space to discuss and develop broader understandings of the significance of Indigeneity in the Americas. These critical pedagogical efforts would further ideological developments that helped Chicanas and Chicanos coalesce their elaborations of Indigeneity with Indigenous Peoples' struggles to attain sovereignty in the Americas, and with de-colonial efforts across the globe.

By the 1980s, DQU became a space that fostered the development of ideas and actions to support transnational struggles to respect the sovereignty and human rights of Indigenous Peoples in the Americas and to support the sovereignty and de-colonial efforts from people across the globe. These efforts are demonstrated by DQU's hosting of the American Indian International Tribunal on September 20th to 25th 1982. The Tribunal featured statements from Rigoberta Menchu, Philip Deede of the Creek from Oklahoma, Bob Brown of the All African People's

Revolutionary Party, David Nbada and Norma Kitson of the African National Congress, and Iranian scholar Heydar Reghaby. The conference focused on the effects of U.S. domestic policies on American Indians, U.S. foreign policies on the peoples of Africa and the Middle East, and the relation between the two. Conference participants agreed on the need for international solidarity that supported American Indian sovereignty and a recognition that U.S. denial of American Indian sovereignty is intrinsically linked to U.S. imperial efforts abroad. Heydar Reghaby summed up this concern in mentioning a need for an “international consciousness” that linked sovereignty claims across the globe as part of a broadly linked effort at decolonization.⁴⁷

By hosting the American Indian International Tribunal and utilizing a critical pedagogy and culturally relevant curriculum, DQU demonstrated its critical role in the development of Chicana/o Indigeneity. By collaborating with American Indians at DQU, Chicanas and Chicanos had the opportunity to develop the critical consciousness of American Indian political claims to sovereignty, understand the importance of developing a critical consciousness of their own Indigenous heritage, and coming into contact with global trends in de-colonial politics and ideologies. As a result, Chicanas and Chicanos reevaluated their concerns for civil rights reforms through the lens of Indigenous autonomy. By partaking in transnational Indigenous Peoples’ movements, Chicanas and Chicanos also evaluated their Indigenous cultural heritage as they critically challenged and sought redress of historic human rights abuses in the United States and Mexico.⁴⁸ These contributed to the development of Chicana/o Indigeneity in ways that helped Chicanas and Chicanos conceptualize and create paths to self-determination. These paths were in conjunction with American Indian struggles for respect of their sovereignty, and in many ways, the collaboration with American Indians helped Chicanas and Chicanos gain a critical awareness of their Indigenous historicity.

Although many educators sought to build alternative educational institutions, efforts like those at the Escuela de la Raza Unida and DQU were restrained by requirements they needed to meet determined by state and federal officials that govern educational attainment. Although finding ways to navigate these requirements guarantees more exposure of critical ideas to young students, supplemental educational programs have the advantage of less restrictions and thus more room for curricular creativity and exposure to social relations. In this vein, Chicana/o cultural centers, also products of the CCM, would partake in education as a means to promote, a critical consciousness of Chicana/o Indigeneity

through culturally relevant education and critical pedagogy. These centers became a space where a reflection on Chicana/o Indigenous historicity was linked to the development of a philosophy supporting the human rights of Indigenous People across borders. This philosophy would also contribute to ideologies and solidarity in support of decolonial efforts to challenge injustice across the globe.

Indigenous Curriculum and Pedagogy at Los Centros Culturales

CCM era educational efforts to utilize cultural consciousness of Chicano and Indigenismo as a means to provide Chicana/o youth with critical teaching methods many times also took place at Chicana/o activist cultural centers. These centers attempted to provide youth with a useful education relevant to their cultural, social, economic, and political experiences. Many times, cultural centers continued after the movimiento into the late twentieth-century and beyond. Thus, in the 1980s, as Chicana/o activists aligned with changing transnational Indigenous Peoples' social movements, their efforts in cultural centers began to reflect an advocacy for Chicana/o self-determination that aligned with the transnational respect of Indigenous Peoples' human rights and sovereignty.

Many times, cultural centers partook in their own pedagogical efforts to expose young people to critical historic consciousness of Indigeneity in the Americas. During the 1980s, cultural centers like El Centro Chicano in Austin, TX began the Programa Educativo del Barrio (or "la escuelita") that implemented an Indigenous critical pedagogy to instill in youth the importance of Chicana/o Indigeneity. For these activists, Indigeneity was a vehicle to cultivate critical consciousness of decolonial ideologies and Chicana/o historicity. *La escuelita* did this utilizing a culturally relevant curriculum with a focus on history, mural art, and performing arts that targeted at risk youth in the Austin area. El Centro Chicano also sponsored youth travel to Pine Ridge Reservation in Ogala, SD where youth interacted with Sioux youth. During these interactions, Chicana/o and Sioux youth related to each other culturally through ceremonies and politically through recognition of similar experiences with poor education, poverty, and violence suffered by youth in American Indian and Chicana/o communities.⁴⁹ Thus El Centro Chicano in Austin, like DQU, helped foster critical consciousness of Chicana/o Indigeneity.

Although El Centro focused on younger children, age 3-13, their objective also to help Chicanas and Chicanos align their goals with those of American Indian children. They worked towards a future where

both communities would enjoy respect of their human rights and the opportunity for self-determination. In some ways, El Centro Chicano accomplished these goals because it did not have to rationalize its educational activities as part of fulfilling educational requirements established by westernized school boards. Nevertheless, like alternative schools, these centers are bound by the rules governing non-profit organizations as well as with the task of securing the necessary funds to ensure these programs keep going.

During the 1980s, El Centro Cultural de La Raza in San Diego, CA demonstrated how considerable success in securing funding also brought with it struggles to balance decolonial goals with the rules and regulations of non-profit organizations. Founded in 1970 by the artist collective Toltecas de Aztlan, El Centro Cultural de La Raza was a product of CCM era activism in the San Diego area. Since the mid 1960s, the artists collective Toltecas de Aztlan recognized a need for an artistic space for Chicanas and Chicanos. After a take over of Balboa Park, they founded El Centro Cultural de la Raza with the mission to encourage art of “those indigenous to the border region.”⁵⁰ The origins of El Centro Cultural de la Raza in CCM era activism would influence future advocacy for the use of arts as curriculum and pedagogy for Chicana/o youth. Through the arts, El Centro Cultural de la Raza staff sought to teach the importance of cultural autonomy, human rights, as well as help students develop a broader international consciousness. By the 1980s, the success of El Centro Cultural de la Raza allowed for it to promote and utilize its curriculum and pedagogy through various educational programs with students as young as 4 years old to teachers in training at San Diego State University.

Early in its history, El Centro Cultural de la Raza demonstrated a commitment to youth education that used art to help Chicana/o youth develop an Indigenous based sense of identity and historicity. For instance, El Centro Cultural de la Raza ran year round arts education programs during the 1970s that taught youth, ages 3-19, art and performance. El Centro Cultural de la Raza staff used an arts curriculum to help channel youth’s activities towards creative expression as a way to draw them away from drugs and violence. El Centro Cultural de la Raza also sought to use art and performance to “awaken inner potential” and promote “cultural awareness.”⁵¹ Youth accomplished their potential and awareness of cultural heritage by participating in Danza Azteca, Folkloric dance, teatro, and painting. Youth were encouraged to perform and/or exhibit their art publicly as a way to develop self-confidence and a community perspective on the value of their artistic efforts.⁵² Efforts like this

youth art program demonstrate El Centro Cultural de la Raza's commitment to an education that emphasized the role of Chicana/o cultural awareness as a base for reversing the racist public education that only valued western cultural norms.

El Centro Cultural de la Raza efforts to reverse the effects of racism in public education became rooted in Indigenous "world views." This supported the staff's objectives to help youth develop a self-determined sense of identity. As they stated in an early 1970s workshop for educators, "Here at the Centro Cultural de la Raza we are dedicated to breaking from the traditional concept of ourselves by developing awareness of our Chicano Heritage. This workshop emphasizes the need for Chicanos to be free to express themselves as Chicanos."⁵³ El Centro Cultural de la Raza curriculum builders go on further in seeing their role as nurturing Indigenous cultural and philosophical continuity among Chicana/o youth:

[Children] see themselves as part of their environment, which is an important concept in the indigenous way of living; being at one with the world. This concept should not be destroyed by the educational system, but rather cultivated and encouraged.⁵⁴

This particular workshop helped teachers nurture youth's connection to the environment by promoting Indigenous philosophical concepts through the interpretive and creative mimes. El Centro Cultural de la Raza staff helped teachers with ways of using miming to help youth self-express cultural symbolism that formed part of their heritage. Through miming that utilized Aztec, Mayan, and Toltec philosophical symbols, El Centro Cultural de la Raza staff hoped to train teachers to use Indigenous thought about the world among young children. El Centro Cultural de la Raza staff helped teachers and youth utilize Chicana/o heritage as a valuable avenue towards an Indigenous defined self-determined Chicana/o identity. El Centro Cultural de la Raza's early curriculum and its philosophical rooting in Aztec, Mayan, and Toltec cultural symbolism demonstrate a nascent Indigeneity among Chicanas and Chicanos. Although its reliance on Aztec and Toltec symbolism reflects influences of Mexican nationalist discourse of the twentieth-century, El Centro Cultural de la Raza's focus on using these symbols to empower disenfranchised youth points towards decolonial intentions more so than an attempt to build hegemonic consensus towards the goal of political domination. These decolonial intentions would later help El Centro Cultural de la Raza develop a multicultural curriculum

that emphasized the cultural rights of diverse peoples and promoted the equality of these people in ways broader than national boundaries and nationalist discourse.

By the 1980s, El Centro Cultural de la Raza used a philosophical foundation rooted in Chicana/o Indigenismo to promote a plural-cultural and multicultural curriculum and pedagogy and sought to utilize arts education as a decolonial tool. In their statement on philosophy of education, El Centro Cultural de la Raza emphasized the need for a multicultural curriculum that:

...gives learning opportunities to acquire knowledge about cultural differences, to develop interpersonal and thinking skills and attitudes that will foster the individual to get along with, feel comfortable with, and appreciate people of diverse cultural/ethnic backgrounds.⁵⁵

The staff at El Centro Cultural de la Raza goes on to state the importance of education in nurturing self-realization among youth that helps them develop a “positive self-image and concept.”⁵⁶ For Chicana/o youth, the use of Chicana/o cultural elements was necessary to accomplish positive self-image and respect for cultural diversity. El Centro Cultural de la Raza staff sought to have Chicana/o youth identify values and cultural customs of their communities to utilize them in social, educational, and cultural activities and programs at the center.⁵⁷ El Centro Cultural de la Raza’s educational staff thus rooted their multicultural education in a philosophy of Chicana/o Indigenismo so that Chicana/o youth possessed a positive view of their Indigenous heritage. This curriculum served as the conceptual foundation upon which to engage cultural others in a discussion on equality that valued cultural difference in a diverse world.

To establish a strong foundation upon which Chicana/o youth could engage in critical discussions on cultural diversity, El Centro Cultural de la Raza’s curriculum utilized Chicana/o culture to help students develop critical thinking skills, ethical principles, values, and awareness of hereditary culture. To accomplish these objectives, El Centro Cultural de la Raza’s staff identified a lack of arts education in local schools and proposed an arts education program for K-12 students to the Wolf Trap Foundation.⁵⁸ After successfully acquiring funds from the Wolf Trap Foundation, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Cultural created its Performing Arts Training and Child Development program that served 1000 Head Start program children, teachers, and parents in 1983-1984 throughout San Diego County. Through this program, professional dancers, actors, and musicians visited 25 Head Start programs. The goal of the

program was to train parents and teachers to use performing arts to help children improve self-awareness, build self-confidence, foster group awareness and social competencies, as well as foster individual artistic creativity.⁵⁹ The culmination of this program was the “Children’s Performing Arts Festival” on April, 27, 1984. During the festival, Head Start program children performed dances and plays that ranged from instruction on nutrition to appreciation of Chicana/o Indigeneity through *Danza Azteca*.⁶⁰ The program helped Chicana/o children develop positive self-image of their culture to the point where they could publicly perform Chicana/o cultural dances, as well as utilize the art form as a base for other skills, such as good nutritional habits.

El Centro Cultural de la Raza Staff’s efforts at utilizing Chicana/o cultural values based in Indigeneity were not limited to Chicana/o children. El Centro Cultural de la Raza created The Chicano Mural In-service Program utilized mural painting to promote cultural understanding among various ethnic groups. The goals of the program were to offer youth “direct, visual evidence of beliefs, attitudes and values at the heart of the barrio pictorialized in mural symbolism and its interpretation.”⁶¹ El Centro Cultural de la Raza staff described the implication of utilizing mural art to help students of all ethnicities understand the cultural and historical context of Chicana/o communities as follows:

The inservice program is an articulation of Chicano mural slides that presents a theory for understanding the nature and purpose of symbolism, defines a methodology for group interpretation of the mural, involves participants in group mural interpretation and shares with them the barrio interpretation of the mural vision.⁶²

El Centro Cultural de la Raza Cultural staff created this program to help non-Chicana/o students develop the skills for intercultural communication that was free from the racist definitions of cultural differences embedded in Western society. For instance, in partnership with teachers and students from Spanish language programs at Bird Rock and Lowell elementary schools, El Centro Cultural de la Raza staff helped non-Chicana/o children. To help them learn to speak Spanish, the staff used Chicana/o art forms to solidify these students’ Spanish language instruction with Chicana/o cultural values. These students participated in designing and painting a mural at Chicano Park in San Diego. These non-Chicana/o students would therefore be better situated to understand communication with Chicana/o communities in a way that taught students the cultural and historical context behind the Spanish language communication among and with San Diego area Chicana/o communities.

El Centro Cultural de la Raza also worked to establish ways to provide arts education and training to teenage and college age youth in the San Diego area. Between 1981 and 1983, El Centro Cultural de la Raza worked with San Diego area colleges to have college students complete their service hours at the center. These students participated in helping out with administrative tasks as well as participation and creation of art workshops.⁶³ El Centro Cultural de la Raza education staff worked with the City of San Diego's Regional Youth Employment Program that provided funds for summer jobs in 1983 to provide teenage youth with employment and cultural training. Although these teenagers primarily were responsible for clerical duties, they did have the opportunity to participate in research projects to help develop future El Centro Cultural de la Raza art projects.⁶⁴ In 1985, El Centro Cultural de la Raza education staff established the Drug Education/Prevention Theatre project to help teens stay away from drugs. Utilizing the CCM era tradition of Chicana/o Teatro,⁶⁵ El Centro Cultural de la Raza Cultural staff used a critical pedagogy to provide young Chicana/o students with ways of participating in a Drug Prevention education. These efforts provided teens with arts education rooted in Chicana/o artistic traditions demonstrate El Centro Cultural de la Raza's commitment to use a critical pedagogy and culturally relevant topics.⁶⁶ They helped youth overcome social obstacles like drug use and provide them with a means of developing self-confidence by allowing them to have input on community art projects.

El Centro Cultural de la Raza arts education was a product of a commitment to a legacy of Chicana/o activism in education, as well as the result of strong partnerships with private and government institutions. As the funding from the WolfTrap foundation and the City of San Diego's Regional Youth Employment program demonstrate, El Centro Cultural de la Raza Cultural was extremely successful in gaining funding for their programs, while at the same time maintaining certain degrees of autonomy.⁶⁷ Their interpretation of multicultural education was inclusive of diverse people's struggles to obtain human and civil rights This demonstrates El Centro Cultural de la Raza's contribution to decolonial thought in education that emphasized cultural autonomy and human rights. Moreover, El Centro Cultural de la Raza's educational efforts demonstrate the importance of rooting decolonial efforts in self-determined and critical interpretations of Indigeneity. These objectives were accomplished utilizing critical pedagogy rooted in and Indigenous philosophy so that the tensions of western individualistic values and mores were replaced by collective community efforts at self-determination.

PHASE TWO: TRANSNATIONAL CHICANA/O INDIGENISMOS AND PEDAGOGIES

The late 1980s and early 1990s marked a shift in Chicana/o Indigenismo that developed in connection with developing transnational Indigenous Peoples' Rights movements. Chicana/o participation in UN advocacy and International gatherings of Indigenous Peoples helped Chicanas and Chicanos further develop an Indigenismo that contributed to a conceptualization of many Chicanas and Chicanos' Nahuatl heritage.⁶⁸ These trends in activism and advocacy helped Chicanas and Chicanos understand the implications of their role in transnational Indigenous Peoples' social movements at the local level. Consequently, these ideological, political, and social developments also influenced the philosophy behind pedagogical efforts to instill youth with the values of Chicana/o Indigenismo. The role of education, thus, became one that utilized critical pedagogical methods, creative and performance arts, as well as ritual to further develop Chicana/o Indigenismo.

Laying the Seeds: The Xinachtli Project's Nahuatl Education

The Xinachtli project in Phoenix, AZ exemplifies pedagogical implementation of Chicana/o Indigenous philosophical thought. Founded in 1991, this project resulted from Chicana/o activists' efforts to utilize Chicana/o Indigenismo to counter the racial inequality in public schools that fostered self-doubt and destructive behavior among Chicana/o youth. Even though this was a part-time program and not a full-time alternative school, the Xinachtli project efforts demonstrated the importance of incorporating the education of youth utilizing the values of transnational Indigenous Peoples social movements. These educational efforts formed an integral part of attaining and working towards the decolonization of Chicana/o and other ethnic groups in the Americas.

The Xinachtli program began with the sole focus of elementary school students and later expanded to include junior and high school students. The program also included a parent component to ensure that Chicana/o communities had a say in their children's education, as well as provide parents with knowledge of the public education system. Xinachtli served the Valley, Murphy, Phoenix Elementary and High School, Roosevelt, Avondale, and Tolleson school districts. Through collaboration with the Phoenix Unified High School District (PUHSD), Xinachtli Director Tupac Enrique and PUHSD Title VII Specialist Deborah Ortiz obtained funding for Xinachtli sites at Camelback, North, and Carl Hayden High Schools for Limited English Proficient students.⁶⁹

Xinachtli educators were also members of the Tonatierra Chapter of the National Chicano Human Rights Council (NCHRC) and the Maricopa County Organizing Project, both of which were involved with transnational advocacy of Indigenous Peoples' Rights at the U.N. The Tonatierra chapter of the NCHRC made strong arguments in world forums that posited Chicanas and Chicanos as a distinct Indigenous population of the Americas.⁷⁰ This international activism influenced Xinachtli program objectives of the Xinachtli program. The Xinachtli program curriculum underscored historical ties to the role of education in Chicana/o activism as well as the relationship to Chicana/o Indigenismo to international Indigenous Peoples social movements. As the goal of the Xinachtli program states:

The goal of the current Xinachtli Project. . . is to plant the seed of tradition within the context of the public education format. It is a beginning. . .

The outcome of the project on the individual student is an enhanced knowledge and appreciation of the indigenous heritage and history of the Chicano-Mexicano people, and increased sense of self-worth, and an opportunity to pursue further studies in the Nahuatl culture.⁷¹

The Xinachtli Program's emphasis on helping youth develop a self-worth demonstrates the pedagogical legacy of the CCM was alive and well among Chicanas and Chicanos in Phoenix during the 1990s, albeit under new ideological influences of transnational Indigenous Peoples social movements.

Although the Xinachtli Project respected "all other native traditions that are present in the Chicano-Mexicano reality besides Nahuatl. . .," project founders operated under Nahuatl philosophical influences ". . . due to the importance of Nahuatl mythology and philology in the development of [Chicana/o-Mexicano] communities."⁷² They utilized three aspects of Nahuatl philosophy to guide their curriculum and pedagogy: "1) Tezcatlipoca—the aspect of memory and history; 2) Quetzalcoatl—the aspect of intelligence, consciousness; 3) Huitzilopochtli—the aspect of will."⁷³ The curriculum consisted of homework, maps, and presentations by Xinachtli program staff. These historic and contemporary materials made connections between Chicana/o communities and the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. For example, students were exposed to a presentation of the Tonalpohalli, or Aztec Calendar, and learned the significance of Nahuatl cosmology. Students were able to interpret these cosmological meanings in ways that related to their own lives.⁷⁴ The solidification of this knowledge was instituted through

pedagogy inclusive of performance art, Nahuatl writing exercises, and the participation of youth in Danza Azteca at the high school level.⁷⁵ The high school curriculum formed part of curriculum Xinachtli staff members named Mexicayotl Studies. They argued that Mexicayotl Studies provided educational services to students that reflected an Indigenous Mexican perspective. Utilizing this perspective, the Xinachtli program helped meet the culturally relevant educational needs of Chicana/o youth in ways that were supported by teachers and parents.⁷⁶

The effectiveness of the Xinachtli program was demonstrated by student and teacher surveys regarding the program. After asking 240 students what they liked best about the Xinachtli program presentations and curriculum, they responded with 263 positive comments. These comments highlighted the importance of learning about Chicana/o Indigeneity with responses that demonstrated the students liked learning about “Mexican history and culture,” “Learning about our ancestors and symbols,” and “Learning about Indian culture and history.” When asked what they found most important and interesting, 93 students responded that they found Aztec symbolism and philosophy most important and 73 students regarded “information about our ancestors, [and] Mexican history and culture” most important. Teachers also found the Xinachtli program curriculum valuable when 100% of them evaluated the Xinachtli activities as either above average or superior. Moreover, when answering the question regarding whether or not the Xinachtli presenter facilitated students’ positive self-esteem and promotion of their culture, 91% of them responded the presenter always did this and the other 9% responded that the presenter did this most of the time. When evaluating the relevance of Xinachtli presentations to students’ lives, 100% of teachers stated that the presenter maintained this sort of interest among students either most of the time or always.⁷⁷

As Xinachtli staff members recognized in the analysis of their surveys, the Chicana/o youth found this program appealing because it related to their culture, history, and fostered the development of their self-confidence and identity.⁷⁸ Teachers’ responses to the Xinachtli program survey demonstrated that this curriculum provided students with a way to develop a positive understanding of their cultural heritage, which helped develop among youth a pride in their cultural identity. This outcome is integral in helping youth develop the self-confidence necessary to succeed as adults and demonstrates that this must be done in a way relevant to the history and culture of students. The students’ positive responses regarding Aztec symbolism in particular also demonstrates the importance of understanding Mexica history and culture for Chicana/o and Mexican

youth. The particular historic importance of the Aztecs in regards to resistance to European colonialism becomes an important avenue for Chicana/o youth to understand their right to explore and proclaim their Indigeneity. Students explore the implications of an Indigenous positionality in broader struggles for the rights of Indigenous Peoples to rectify the injustices of colonialism and empire. Even if these students later find that they are more closely related to other Indigenous or non-Indigenous Peoples of México or the United States, their introduction to Indigeneity, vis-à-vis Aztec thought and culture as it relates to Indigenous Peoples rights in the present remains an integral political introduction to the implications of Indigenous claims to sovereignty and human rights.

Chicana/o youth in the *Xinachtli* program also understood claims of Chicana/o Indigeneity as they related to the challenges of injustice, violence, and inequality in a globalized capitalist world built on the foundation of colonialism. These political, historic, and cultural understandings are integral to train Chicana/o youth to become self-confident and self-determined young adults that can carry on the values, ethics, and morals of Indigenous Peoples' social movements. These lessons are valuable whether they inspire youth to continue activism as adults or through the promotion of self-confidence and determination through cultural activities among their families and communities.

The *Xinachtli* program staff demonstrated the ways in which the Chicana/o participation in transnational Indigenous Peoples movements is accompanied with educational efforts to help instill the values of these social movements among youth. The decolonial and self-determined perspectives of these movements were nurtured by an education that utilized critical pedagogy and a curriculum based in Indigenous philosophy. This helped youth critically understand how their history and culture affected the circumstances of their political, social, and economic positions in Western society. The effects on students were multiple and interrelated. First, students understood and developed a pride in their heritage, which helped counter racist depiction of Indigenous peoples that relegated their importance to pre-historical times. Another effect of cultural pride on Chicana/o youth was its effect on their ability to challenge racism in public education. Finally, *Xinachtli* curriculum and pedagogy created the dialogical space that would teach students the need to respect and fight for the human rights of Indigenous Peoples. This space also provided youth with the opportunity to push the ideas and values of transnational Indigenous Peoples movements in ways that helped all participants of these movements envision and then fight for avenues towards a decolonized future.

Towards Peace and Dignity: Tonantzin Indigenous Youth Group

Like the Xinachtli program in Phoenix, the Tonantzin Indigenous Youth Group (TIY) in Albuquerque, NM was an outgrowth of a Chicana/o activist organization. Beginning in 1982 the Tonantzin Land Institute advocated and focused their activism on fighting for Pueblo Indian and Chicana/o land, sovereignty, and water rights. During the late 1980s and 1990s, the Tonantzin Land Institute also served as a chapter of the National Chicano Human Rights council and supported Indigenous Peoples' testimonials to the UN. In 1991, the Tonantzin Land Institute founded TIY after receiving a grant to train youth and young adults in community organizing with an emphasis on advocacy on environmental issues.⁷⁹ Much like other CCM legacy organizations, the Tonantzin Land Institute navigated public funds in an effort to establish critical training of young people. Through out the 1990s, TIY trained youth to develop a critical consciousness of Indigenismo, Indigenous Peoples rights, and broader transnational efforts that challenged racism towards and exploitation of Indigenous Peoples. Although the Tonantzin Land Institute activists trained youth to advocate local issues, they did so in a way that helped students gain an understanding of how their local issues related to broader concerns of anti-colonization. The youth participated in local activism that connected local issues to global efforts emphasizing self worth and self-determination. Although Tonantzin activists did not necessarily conceive of this training as pedagogy, their incorporation of youth into Tonantzin Land Institute demonstrates the lasting legacy of the CCM to instill social movement values into younger generations. Whether explicitly or implicitly pedagogical, future generations learned to keep pushing for a more just and egalitarian future.

After its foundation in 1991, TIY operated out of the Tonantzin Land Institute and focused on training a core group of 15 young people to serve as youth leadership. This small youth board served as way to link hundreds of high school and college students in the Albuquerque area. The board consisted of Pueblo, Diné, and Chicana/o youth that attended West Mesa High School, UNM, and the New Mexico School of Natural Therapeutics. Many of the young adults on the board also worked as youth, drug, and alcohol counselors at non-profit organizations and in Pueblo Communities. The board sought to outreach to young people to participate in Tonantzin Land Institute activism through out the 1990s. TIY contributed heavily to the Tonantzin Land Institute's gathering of international testimonies regarding the violation of Indigenous Peoples rights in 1993. These formed part of broader global

efforts to commemorate the international year of the Worlds Indigenous Peoples.⁸⁰ TIY youth also organized protests to challenge the destruction of petroglyphs in west Albuquerque with the extension of Unser Blvd. and Paseo del Norte throughout the 1990s.⁸¹

The intent of outreaching to youth to participate in these events was to “Utilize these events as hands on community mobilization training and empowerment activities.”⁸² As the staff from the Tonantzin Land Institute explained, “It is our hope that the youth will have a clear understanding of power and its elements at any political level. It is our hope that these young people will become more active, in the issues that concern them, in their community, and as Native American Young People.”⁸³ The staff of Tonantzin demonstrated an activist tradition of using activism as pedagogy to teach youth to be critical of power and train them to develop political agency to advocate for their communities’ needs. Although Tonantzin Land Institute staff preferred the language of political organizing instead of one based on pedagogy and education, their focus on training youth exemplifies the need to teach youth empowerment strategies through experience in activism rather than through traditional classroom means. This ensured that the youth enacted and practiced ways to collaborate with others as they challenged injustice.

In addition to helping youth challenge injustice, TIY also helped Chicana/o and American Indian youth relate to one another and develop a pride for their Indigenous culture, heritage, and identity. An example of this is the primary role TIY had in coordinating the New Mexico leg of the Peace and Dignity Journeys in 1992 and 1996.⁸⁴ TIY planned the logistics of the journey, which included consulting with Pueblo elders to gain support and permission for the runners to run through the reservations. TIY youth also participated in the journey as the primary runners for the event, which affected and influenced their understanding of Indigeneity. One TIY member reflected on the run and explained that he learned the importance of land, his Indigenous heritage, the importance of sovereignty rights, the connections between Chicana/o and Pueblo communities in New Mexico, and the need for unification of Indigenous Peoples of North America with those in Central and South America. He especially underscored the importance of Chicana/o and Pueblo unity when he explained historic trends of unity between these communities dating back to the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. This TIY member thus made connections between 1990s struggles for environmental and social justice in New Mexico communities to historic relations between Native Americans, Chicanas, and Chicanos.⁸⁵

The participation of youth as leaders during the Peace and Dignity Runs exemplifies that when youth are taught to have pride in their culture and heritage they become empowered to challenge racism. TIY members were brought into broader transnational networks of Indigenous People in the context of social movements that sought to decolonize the Americas. TIY youth learned valuable lessons from transnational activism about the ways Indigenous Peoples could exist as culturally autonomous peoples and retain their rights to sovereignty. In this context, TIY members partook in an activist pedagogy that nurtured their agency and taught them to challenge unjust power while exploring the significance of their Indigeneity. TIY thus demonstrates the evolution of a CCM practice of teaching youth through activism. By the 1990s, the Tonantzin Land Institute utilized this practice in the context of transnational Indigenous Peoples social movements that helped youth envision decolonial possibilities for the future. As a result, TIY members were influenced to challenge abuses of cultural, human, and sovereignty rights through their activism.

Although the Tonantzin Land Institute demonstrated the legacy of the CCM in utilizing activism as pedagogy for youth, Tonantzin leadership had doubts as to whether working with youth was related to their overall efforts at fighting for Pueblo and Chicana/o land, sovereignty, and water rights. As former director David Luján explained, the founding of the Tonantzin Land Institute was based on working with Pueblo and Chicana/o community elders. The elders of these communities possessed the respect of the rest of the community, which made them the most important component of political organizing. Consequently, some of the leadership felt adding a youth component drew focus away from working with elders.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Tonantzin Land Institute leadership agreed with younger members of the organization and decided to give the youth group a chance. Quickly after its foundation, TIY youth changed the minds of Tonantzin Land Institute leadership that opposed the youth group. As Luján explains:

And sure enough [the] . . . Tonantzin youth challenge was formed and I'll tell you man it brought new life into Tonantzin. It was new life that brought it back alive and gave it more strength, gave it, you know, a brighter outlook y *todo eso* (and all of that) and they did a lot of good work. . . And the important thing *tambien* (also) for the [youth]. . . was that we could. . . impress upon them was this is not a youth club. . . the things they were going to be touched by were going to be. . . part of them for the rest of their life. Like water

rights and sovereignty rights. They picked them up *de volada* (right away).⁸⁷

TIY youth's vigor and strength demonstrated to the Tonantzin Land Institute's more hardened veteran activists the value of the relationship between adults and youth in activist settings. The aforementioned contributions TIY made to the Tonantzin Land Institute activism impressed adult activists. The youth injected vigor into a many times daunting social struggle, and in doing so, changed the mind of adults were at first skeptical of incorporating youth into the land and water rights organization. Moreover, the creation of a space for dialogue among youth and adults better established the ideological environment where activists determined goals for the future. Although the Tonantzin Land Institute staff referred to TIY as training for youth, the way in which they provided youth with activists training through experience exemplifies the creation of a critical pedagogy space where veteran activists and youth learned from each other and inspired each other in struggles for social justice.

The incorporation of youth in Tonantzin Land Institute activism provided hardened activists with the vigor to continue their work. Training a future generation also inspired veteran activists to continue the work of fighting for their communities' right to self-determination and sovereignty knowing a future generation would carry on their work. The outcome of the TIY program was the development of a new generation of New Mexico leaders that were influenced by the ethics and values of transnational Indigenous Peoples social movements. The former director of the Tonantzin Land Institute David Luján explains that many TIY members are now community leaders:

...well you know this was about 10 years ago so...I see a lot of them in leadership positions. They may not all be in organizing or all be in, you know, activist groups but... if they're in their in communities...they're spokespeople you can go to.⁸⁸

The TIY program thus created a group of young adults that became empowered community leaders. They helped these youth develop their agency in ways that continue the important aspect of social movements, which pass on a commitment to social justice to future generations.

The TIY program also exemplifies the extremely urgent need to provide Chicana/o and American Indian youth positive options that help them self-determine their future trajectories. As Luján explains, TIY helped youth avoid problems with substance abuse and alcoholism:

And one of the important parts of that too is that the persons, the young people that initiated that whole youth component. . . they have all been as we say in, . . . uh, in all this talk, they had been to the bottom. They had been, you know, affected by drugs, affected by drinking, and they had gotten out of that. That's why they knew the importance of bringing other young people. So their sobriety and their, you know, their respect. . . for being clean and staying away from drugs carried over to these other young people. And it was a fabulous part.⁸⁹

The role the TIY had in helping youth develop the agency to self-determine their futures best exemplifies why Chicana/o activists, since the CCM, have worked so hard to establish ways to incorporate youth into social movements. The activist training that TIY members received did much more to empower students and develop their agency than any traditional classroom curriculum. The Tonantzin Land Institute's effect on these youth was one where the youth developed the confidence, self-determination, and courage to stand up for their community's rights. With these strengths, TIY members were better able to reject the predetermined exploited, rejected, criminalized, and victimized socioeconomic roles planned for them in U.S. society that public schools reinforced through mis-education.

CONCLUSION

Since the CCM, Chicana/o activists have utilized an activist pedagogy to help develop young people's critical consciousness. Even within the context of regulations, lack of funding, or lack of access to students, these activists and educators utilized a critical pedagogy and a creative curriculum that valued diverse cultural heritage. They pushed students and youth towards critical understandings of equality and democracy while helping students develop and mature their agency. As a result, these young people began to voice their concerns regarding their role in society, and demanded respect for cultural autonomy for individuals and communities. During the CCM, this resulted in a sense of pride in cultural heritage and the ability to exist in a culturally diverse society without having to renounce cultural heritage in exchange for social and economic success. Since the CCM, many Chicanas and Chicanos' adoption and evolution of *Indigenismo* and participation with transnational Indigenous Peoples movements resulted in the evolution of this activist pedagogy to be inclusive of a critical understanding of Indigenous Peoples' rights to sovereignty. These rights have also been articulated in a moral call to participate in global struggles for decolonization. The

continued trend of activist education that instills the values of social movements in young people is indicative of a long-standing tradition among Chicana/o activist. Chicanas and Chicanos in these organizations were committed to utilize education to help younger generations continue a commitment to social justice. They were also committed to help youth develop the intellectual means to remain creative individuals that pushed all aspects of ideological and material life towards a future that is better than the present.

The educational efforts utilized by activist organizations in this essay demonstrate the potential within social movement pedagogies to develop educational models that produce self-determined, creative, and critically conscious young people. Chicana/o activists used visual and performance arts in organizations and alternative schools to develop young peoples' creativity as a means to help them develop self-confidence and self-esteem. This was a central concern among Chicana/o activists because they recognized a need to adapt curriculum and pedagogy to contest the mis-education of young people. This was an essential effort to undo the damage of a public educational system that only replicates the exploitative and discriminatory trends of Western society. These Chicana/o organizations challenged these trends by training young people to value their heritage as a means to both develop the self-esteem of youth, as well as develop their value for cultural diversity. After developing young peoples self-esteem and respect for cultural others, youth began to understand the need to commit themselves to social justice struggles. They sought the respect of their rights to politically and socially participation as equals in the institutions that governed their communities. By teaching young people through activism, these organizations helped them develop the political agency to demand respect of the human and civil rights in their communities. These Chicana/o organization also ensured a continued commitment to social justice by training young people to value the role mentorship and leadership have in ensuring community survival.

Although youth empowerment in the aforementioned Chicana/o activist organizations can be described as typical of any activist organization, their particular emphasis on Indigeneity and Indigenous sovereignty demonstrate trajectories towards decolonial thought, practice, and more egalitarian futures. The CCM established a trajectory of demanding the right to maintain self-determined cultural community identities while at the same time demanding respect of civil rights that guaranteed social, economic, and political equality. These CCM struggles promoted critical understandings of human rights that are inclusive of a community's

right to determine for itself how it can move towards a more prosperous and just future. Coupled with continued critical examination of Chicana/o Indigeneity, Chicana/o activist developed an understanding of their Indigenous heritage that became the basis for which they advocated for the rectification of historic injustice.

In cohort and communication with transnational Indigenous Peoples' social movements, Chicanas and Chicanos related their own struggles for community self-determination with those of Indigenous Peoples' sovereignty rights. The educational spaces created by these activist organizations became integral to the ideological and political understanding of human and civil rights. In these spaces, activists linked civil rights struggles to broader historic and contemporary struggles for the rectification of injustices towards Indigenous Peoples. As a result, Chicanas and Chicanos in these organizations embraced the cultural and political heritage of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas as their own. In this way, they sought an understanding of human rights that were inclusive of Indigenous Peoples right to sovereignty and advocated for those rights in transnational arenas. Their pedagogical practices thus demonstrate a mode of establishing methods of training young people to be creative, self-determined, and most importantly courageous enough to continue to challenge global injustice historically built on the exploitation and genocide of Indigenous Peoples. The youth trained by these Chicana/o activists demonstrate a way to understand the legacy of these Chicana/o social movements. Although transnational Indigenous Peoples' social movements continue to struggle for protection of their human rights, and many battles in this struggle have been lost, the value of these social movements is in the way they ensure youth empower themselves and continue a resilient resistance that in many ways has persisted since 1492.

NOTES

- ¹ David Luján, interview by José Luis Serrano Nájera, March 30, 2012.
- ² For a broader analysis of Indigenous consciousness inspired Chicana/o activism, refer to José Luis Serrano Nájera, "Making Human Rights Civil Rights: Chicana/o Indigenous Consciousness and Transnational Human Rights Advocacy since the Chicana/o Movement" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015).
- ³ These critiques of power fall in line with more globalized critiques of the "coloniality of power" that is practiced by modern nation-states and transnational corporations. For more on the "coloniality of power," refer to Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," in *Globalization and the Decolonial Option*, ed. by Walter D. Mignolo and Arturo Escobar (New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁴ Here I refer to the concept of “delinking” described in Walter Dignolo, “Delinking: The Rhetoric of Modernity, The Logic of Coloniality, and the Grammar of De-Coloniality,” in *Globalization and the Decolonial Option*, ed. by Walter D. Mignolo and Arturo Escobar (Routledge, 2010) 303–354.

⁵ For the discrimination of Chicanas and Chicanos in public schools in the United States, refer to Guadalupe San Miguel, “*Let All of Them Take Heed*”: *Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981*, 1st ed, Mexican American Monograph 11 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation*, Al Filo: Mexican American Studies Series no. 7 (Denton, Texas: UNT Press, 2013); Guadalupe San Miguel, *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston*, 1st ed, University of Houston Series in Mexican American Studies no. 3 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001); and *Chicano School Failure and Success: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by Richard Valencia, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2011).

⁶ For a history of Chicana/o Studies, refer to Rodolfo F. Acuna, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe* (Rutgers University Press, 2011). For its effects on students consciousness, refer to Elizabeth González Cárdenas, “Chicana/o Studies and Its Impact on Chicana and Chicano Undergraduate Students: The Role of a Culturally Relevant Education” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015).

⁷ For an examination of cultural ethos during the CCM, refer to Ignacio M. García, *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos among Mexican Americans* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997).

⁸ For various goals, intentions, consequences, and legacies of the CCM, refer to George Mariscal, *Brown-eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); and Juan Gómez-Quiñones and Irene Vásquez, *Making Aztlán: Ideology and Culture of the Chicana and Chicano Movement, 1966-1977* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014).

⁹ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New rev. 30th-Anniversary ed. (New York: Continuum, 2005) 83.

¹⁰ For other examples of the uses of critical pedagogy in other civil and human rights movements of the Americas, refer to Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*; and William Westerman, “Folk Schools, Popular Education, and a Pedagogy of Community Action,” in *The Critical Pedagogy Reader*, ed. by Antonia Darder, Marta P. Baltonado, and Rodolfo D. Torres, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008) 548–549.

¹¹ For a discussion on the role of cultural revitalization in a pluriversal and democratic society, refer to Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *Pensar nuestra cultura: Ensayos*, 1st ed. (México, D.F.: Alianza Editorial, 1991).

¹² For transnational efforts by Native Americans for recognition of their sovereignty, refer to Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014); and Ken S. Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples: Struggle and Survival* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

¹³ Sandy Mari Anglás Grande. "American Indian Geographies of Identity and Power: At the Crossroads of Indígena and Mestizaje," in *The Critical Pedagogy Reader*, 185–188. For critiques of essentialism in education, refer to Peter McLaren, *Revolutionary Multiculturalism: Pedagogies of Dissent for the New Millennium*, The Edge, Critical Studies in Educational Theory (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997).

¹⁴ Grande, 183.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 203.

¹⁶ For the efforts towards educational reform by CCM era youth activists, refer to Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement in Southern California 1967-1977* (Santa Barbara, Calif: Editorial La Causa, 1978); and Carlos Muñoz, *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*, Haymarket Series on North American Politics and Culture (London; New York: Verso, 1989). For an example of attempts to reform pedagogy and curriculum during the CCM, refer to Southwest Network et al., *The Recruitment, channeling, and placement of Chicano teachers: a training document distributed by Southwest Network and Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Printing and Duplicating Service, 1974).

¹⁷ Joan Kalvelage, "Cinco Ejemplos," in *Edcentric* Oct./Nov. Issue (n.d.): 31–34, Academia de la Nueva Raza and the Rio Grande Institute Records, University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research.

¹⁸ Ernesto B. Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999) 81–87.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 95–100.

²⁰ Ernesto Vigil, interview by José Luis Serrano Nájera, February 23, 2012.

²¹ Kalvelage, 6.

²² *Ibid*.

²³ Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice*, 161.

²⁴ Kalvelage, 29.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 38.

²⁶ "Colegio Jacinto Treviño Course Catalog," Raul Salinas Papers, M0774, Dept. of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif.

²⁷ "Juárez Lincoln University 1975–1976 Catalog," Raul Salinas Papers, M0774, Dept. of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif. For the progressive views of Antioch College on racial equality in the U.S., especially after WWII, refer to Burton R. Clark, *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed & Swarthmore* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co, 1970) and Kerrie Naylor, "Antioch: vision and revision," in Utah Education Policy Center, *Maverick Colleges: Ten Notable Experiments in American Undergraduate Education* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Education Policy Center, Graduate School of Education, the University of Utah, 1993).

²⁸ For a history of MAYO and their activism, refer to Armando Navarro, *Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-garde of the Chicano Movement in Texas*, 1st ed. (Austin, Tex: University of Texas Press, 1995).

²⁹ "Juárez Lincoln University 1975–1976 Catalog," Raul Salinas Papers, 22.

³⁰ “The B.A. Program,” Juárez-Lincoln Records, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin.

³¹ “Self Study,” Juárez-Lincoln Records, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin.

³² “La Universidad de Aztlan: El Colegio de la Tierra Catalog,” Academia de la Nueva Raza and the Rio Grande Institute Records, University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ La Academia was succeeded by the Rio Grande Institute in 1982, which focused on Praxis Learning and Action Research. The Rio Grande Institute was created and maintained largely due to the efforts of Consuelo Pacheco, Thomas Atencio, and others. For more on the Rio Grande Institute, refer to Academia de la Nueva Raza and the Rio Grande Institute Records, University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research.

³⁵ “La Academia Comprehensive Plan and Report,” Academia de la Nueva Raza and the Rio Grande Institute Records, University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ “The Birth of a New Educational System: A School Without Walls La Escuela de la Raza Unida!” in *Escuela de la Raza Unida: Celebrando el 20avo. Aniversario* (1992) Gustavo Gutiérrez Papers, [Accession #1995-01504] Arizona State University Libraries: Chicano Research Collection.

³⁹ Board and Staff, “Philosophy,” in *Escuela de la Raza Unida: Celebrando el 20avo. Aniversario* (1992) Gustavo Gutiérrez Papers, [Accession #1995-01504] Arizona State University Libraries: Chicano Research Collection.

⁴⁰ Alfredo A. Figueroa, “Forward,” in *Escuela de la Raza Unida: Celebrando el 20avo. Aniversario* (1992) Gustavo Gutiérrez Papers, [Accession #1995-01504] Arizona State University Libraries: Chicano Research Collection; and Alfredo Acosta Figueroa, “Ancient Footprints of the Colorado River: La Cuna de Aztlan,” revised edition (Manuscript, 2013) 71-82.

⁴¹ DQU is named after the founder of the Iroquois Confederation and Quetzalcoatl, the pre-columbian Toltec political and spiritual leader. Since the founding of DQU, board members of the university learned that the use of the Iroquois founders name should only be used in ceremonial circumstances. Thus, I will respect that decision and only use the DQU abbreviation in this text.

⁴² “A Negotiable Education,” *DQU Report* 1 no. 21 (1971): 1.

⁴³ Kalvelage, 35-36.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 37.

⁴⁵ “Central Program Courses,” *DQU Report* 1 no. 21 (1971): 4-5.

⁴⁶ José de la Isla, “Letter,” *DQU Report* 1 no. 21 (1971): 2.

⁴⁷ “American Indian International Tribunal Sept. 20-25, 1982 Davis, CA.” Raul Salinas Papers, M0774, Dept. of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif.

⁴⁸ For more on Chicana/o participation in transnational Indigenous Peoples activism, refer to Serrano Nájera, “Making Human Rights Civil Rights.”

⁴⁹ “Centro Escuelita Builds Self-Esteem,” and “Youth Attend a South Dakota Gathering,” Raul Salinas Papers, M0774, Dept. of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif.

⁵⁰ “Statement of Purpose” *Tenth Anniversary Celebration July 11, 1981: Centro Cultural de la Raza: Celebrating a Decade of Producing Indian, Mexican, and Chicano Arts and Crafts*, Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁵¹ “Human Resources Proposal Review for “Summer Creative Workshops for Youth 1974,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ “Escuelita Tolteca,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ “Chicano Culture Interdisciplinary Program,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ “Youth Projects: Preliminary Narrative,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁵⁸ “Education Committee 1983-1984,” and “Centro Education Committee 1983-1986,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ “Children’s Performing Arts Festival,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶¹ “The Chicano Mural Inservice Program: Its Analysis and Use for Increasing Cultural Awareness Among Educators,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ “Student Affirmative Action Transition Program 1981-1983,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁴ “Regional Youth Employment Program 1982-1983,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁵ For descriptions of Chicana/o Movement theater, refer to Jorge A Huerta, *Chicano Theater: Themes and Forms*, Studies in the Language and Literature of United States Hispanos (Ypsilanti, Mich: Bilingual Press, 1982). For analysis of teatro’s political

uses, refer to Harry Justin Elam, *Taking It to the Streets: The Social Protest Theater of Luis Valdez and Amiri Baraka* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997). For an examination of the most influential theater troupe, El Teatro Campesino, refer to Yolanda Broyles-González, *El Teatro Campesino: Theater in the Chicano Movement*, 1st ed (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

⁶⁶ “Drug Education/Prevention Theatre Project 1985,” Centro Cultural de la Raza Archives, CEMA 12, Department of Special Collections, University Libraries, University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁶⁷ During the 1980s, El Centro Cultural de la Raza obtained the funding sources to exist as a self-sustaining institution. This was rare for Chicana/o Schools or Arts Centers, which demonstrates the abilities of its executive board to acquire funding.

⁶⁸ For more on Chicana/o transnational Indigenous activism during the 1980s and 1990s, refer to José Luis Serrano Nájera, “Making Civil Rights Human Rights.” For more on Nahuatl philosophy, refer to Miguel León Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture; a Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind.*, trans. Jay I. Kislak, The Civilization of the American Indian Series; 67; (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

⁶⁹ “Phoenix Union High School Title VII Collaborates with the Xinachtli Project,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

⁷⁰ “Xinachtli Seed of Culture: Pilot Project for the Reintroduction of Nahuatl Culture in the Public Schools of the Chicano-Mexicano Community,” Gustavo Gutiérrez Papers, [Accession #1995-01504] Arizona State University Libraries: Chicano Research Collection. For more on the MCOP and Tonatierra transnational activism, refer to José Luis Serrano Nájera, “Making Civil Rights Human Rights.”

⁷¹ “Xinachtli Seed of Culture.”

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ “Xinachtli Project Handouts,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

⁷⁵ “Xinachtli Seed of Culture,” Gustavo Gutiérrez Papers, [Accession #1995-01504] Arizona State University Libraries: Chicano Research Collection.

⁷⁶ “Project Prime Proposal,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

⁷⁷ “Phoenix Union High School Title VII Collaborates with the Xinachtli Project,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ “Tonantzin Youth Track Proposal,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

⁸⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the Indigenous Sovereignty interviews event, refer to Serrano Nájera, “Making Human Rights Civil Rights.”

⁸¹ “La Raza Dreams,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. For TIY activism in the

1990s, refer to “Tonantzin Youth Track Proposal,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

⁸² “Tonantzin Youth Track Proposal,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ For the role of TIY in the Peace and Dignity Runs, refer to “Peace and Dignity Journeys,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

⁸⁵ “Peace and Dignity Journeys,” Tonantzin Land Institute Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

⁸⁶ Luján, interview.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

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