

**We Are Aztlán!**

# **We Are Aztlán!**

Chicanx Histories  
on the Northern Borderlands

Edited by Jerry García



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In Memory

Carlos S. Maldonado  
(1953-2008)

and

John E. Kicza  
(1953-2016)

Friends and Mentors

*On the cover:* Farmworker children at a meeting at La Escuelita (The Little School) in Yakima, ca. 1970. From the Irwin Nash Collection of Photographs of Yakima Valley Migrant Labor, 1967-1976. *Courtesy of Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries, PC8901f3.*

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## INTRODUCTION

# We Are Aztlán!

*Jerry García, Editor*

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... This land was Mexican once, was Indian always.  
And will be again.—*Gloria Anzaldúa*<sup>1</sup>

Historians, sociologists, demographers, and scholars in other fields are taking greater notice of the rapidly increasing presence of Chicanxs<sup>2</sup> throughout the United States. Chicanxs form a majority of the overall Latinx population, which has become the largest underrepresented group in the nation. Indeed, there are significant Chicanx communities in all fifty states. This book has assembled scholars to address specifically the historical and current conditions of Chicanxs beyond the well-studied U.S. Southwest. Ten Chicanx scholars present some of their latest research, offering academic and non-academic perspectives on the Pacific Northwest and the Midwest.<sup>3</sup> The papers have a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary focus, addressing colonialism, gender, history, immigration, labor, literature, sociology, education, and religion.

This volume builds on the historiography of the Chicanx presence in the Pacific Northwest and Midwest by examining various forms of resistance, community mobilization, culture, and how people negotiated their precarious position in regions that lacked a critical mass of Chicanxs. Here *El Movimiento* (the Chicanx movement) and the Chicanx experience are set beyond the boundaries of the Southwest, offering readers insight into distinct strategies developed in mobilizing communities in the northern borderlands. In this manner we gain a better understanding of the contested terrain of race, race relations, political mobilization,

and community. More important, this volume illuminates how Chicaxs overcame racialization, marginalization, and isolation by using their sense of identity and the search for social justice.

Another aim is to situate the Chicax experience in the Pacific Northwest and the Midwest within the national narrative and *El Movimiento*. The articles provide critical scholarship from an academic perspective, but also discuss the personal lived experience far removed from the U.S.-Mexican borderlands. The presence and history of Chicaxs in the Northwest and Midwest have commonalities with the Southwest and California, especially regarding their treatment and marginalization. However, because the field of Chicax studies has established a monolithic approach to its master narrative—that the Chicax experience is predicated on the Southwest experience—the important contributions made by regions outside of that zone are marginalized or not seen as central to the experience or the Chicax movement. We argue that there are a multiplicity of lived experiences and identities within the field of Chicax studies and the community. Thus, a goal of this book is to insert and weave together the regional histories of the Northwest and Midwest into the national Chicax experience.

*We Are Aztlán! Chicax Histories in the Northern Borderlands* remains a study of borderlands history and its experience, but shifts geographically to the northern borderlands, an area not only neglected by the field of Chicax studies, but by borderlands history as well. More specifically, *We Are Aztlán!* examines Chicaxs along the U.S.-Canada border in the states of Oregon, Washington, and Michigan. Chicax studies scholars in the Pacific Northwest and Great Lakes<sup>4</sup> region have advocated for a broader approach to the field and the collection of essays in this volume represent that continued effort. Once it is understood that scholarship on the Mexican experience in the Midwest and the Pacific Northwest has been continuous for over one hundred years, any notion that these regions are new to the field dissipates.

These articles also challenge the accepted narrative of the origins of *El Movimiento*, which embodied “not only patriarchal practices, but also a nationalist ideology,” that confined the overall movement to a narrow geographical space.<sup>5</sup> Michael Soldatenko, in his study on the genesis of the field of Chicax studies, argues that the standard narrative begins with

a “creation myth,” which homogenized the Chicax student movement and *El Movimiento*. Soldatenko suggests that the field move away from this homogenization by placing greater emphasis and importance on the multiplicity and particularity among student protests. Although Soldatenko primarily used California universities and colleges as examples of student protests, *We Are Aztlán* extends the movement to the Pacific Northwest and Midwest, in particular Seattle and Yakima, Washington, Mt. Angel and Woodburn, Oregon, and [Azt]lansing (East Lansing), Michigan.<sup>6</sup>

Rodolfo F. Acuña, in *The Making of Chicano Studies: In the Trenches of Academe*, provides a brief examination of the Chicax student movement at the University of Washington and Washington State University and by doing so expands, albeit in limited fashion, the national narrative of the Chicax movement beyond California and Texas.<sup>7</sup> When we include regions outside California and the southern borderlands it becomes apparent the Chicax Movement, and in this specific case, the student movement, resonated nationally. Thus, Michigan, Washington, Minnesota, Oregon, Idaho, and other areas of the United States embody the essence of *El Movimiento* and Aztlán. The collection of articles in this book is one attempt to nudge the field into a broader trajectory and understanding of the overall Chicax experience, but also to remind the field that the presence of Mexicans in these regions is not new.

## WE ARE AZTLÁN!

Aztlán, the legendary and mythical homeland of the Mexica, who founded the Aztec Empire, became perhaps the strongest unifying symbol of the Chicax movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. For Chicaxs, dispossessed and marginalized since their incorporation into the United States, Aztlán symbolized a homeland, a connection to a land long indigenous, but stolen by conquest and later usurped by the encroachment of the expansionist empire of the United States. According to Luis Leal, Aztlán emerged as a symbol in the 1960s with two distinguishing characteristics: one, a geographic region that encompassed the conquered territories of Northern Mexico after the 1848 Mexican-American War, which gave Chicaxs a sense of belonging—a homeland; two, and more important to this collection, Aztlán signaled the spiritual

union of Chicax within the heart, no matter where they may live or where they find themselves.<sup>8</sup> “In this respect, the saga of Aztlán functions to provide identity, location, and meaning for a people who were previously directionless in their collective existential pilgrimage through earth,” wrote Michael Pina, or as art historian Dylan Miner articulates, “Aztlán...became the metaphor used to refer to the collective ‘national’ identity and consciousness of Chicax.”<sup>9</sup>

As the Chicax experience moved beyond the 1970s, the meaning of Aztlán has taken twists, turns, and criticisms. Aztlán is no longer confined to a rigid unmovable location; rather, this symbol of unity has transformed into the metaphorical and shifted with the movement of people who carry within them the liberatory essence of Aztlán. For example, the 2004 publication by Chon A. Noriega and Wendy Belcher, *I AM AZTLÁN: The Personal Essay in Chicano Studies*, quotes Rudolfo A. Anaya’s novel *Heart of Aztlán* (1976), specifically the protagonists’ search for the Chicax homeland and the realization that its location is not in the past or defined by space; instead he discovers that Aztlán exists spiritually within him:

*Time stood still, and in that enduring moment he felt the rhythm of the heart of Aztlán beat to the measure of his own heart. Dreams and visions became reality, and reality was but the thin substance of myth and legend. A joyful power coursed from the dark womb-heart of the earth into his soul and he cried out I AM AZTLÁN!*<sup>10</sup>

With this proclamation, *I AM AZTLÁN* jettisoned the monolithic approach to the concept of a homeland for Chicax and instead positions it within the lived experience of those yearning for liberation in its many manifestations. As the editors articulated, “We focus on the process of self-naming—the ubiquitous ‘I am...’—because it is found not just in early Chicano literary, performing, and visual arts, but in Chicano scholarship as well.”<sup>11</sup> Further, the editors argued that incorporating the personal challenged conventional scholarship from non-Chicax scholars, who rarely used the “I” or the personal. Several contributors to our collection position their research from this perspective. Along with rigorous inquiry, intertwined throughout the articles is the personal experience of individuals, which conveys a level of intimacy often missing from scholarly studies.<sup>12</sup>

Because the Pacific Northwest and Midwest are significant regions of the United States, what follows is demographic information in order to provide the reader with a brief historical overview of the growth of the Mexican population in those areas over the past one hundred years. We also provide information on the scholarship produced on Mexican communities in the Northwest and Midwest during the same period.

#### A BRIEF DEMOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Consisting of twelve states, the region known as the Midwest is a massive geographical zone with a population of nearly 68 million (see note 3 for list of states). Based on U.S. Census data the total Hispanic population in this region is approximately 5 million, with people of Mexican origin representing 3.5 million of that total.<sup>13</sup> In this volume Michigan is examined as part of the Great Lakes region. The state of Michigan has a population of 9.9 million people, with Hispanics numbering 476,283 or 4.8 percent of the total population. The most populated state in the Midwest is Illinois, which currently has a population of 12.8 million people with over 2 million individuals of Hispanic origin or 16.7 percent of the state’s total population.<sup>14</sup>

Although Oregon and Washington are the primary Pacific Northwest states examined in the anthology, as a comparison we include demographics on Idaho. These three states have a total population of 12.6 million people with an overall Hispanic population of more than 1.5 million individuals.<sup>15</sup> Broken down individually, Oregon has a total population of 4 million people with Hispanics numbering approximately 500,000 or 12.5 percent of the total population of the state. Washington State has a total population of 7.1 million individuals with people of Hispanic ancestry numbering 874,782 or 12.2 percent of the total state population. The state of Idaho consists of 1.6 million individuals with Hispanics numbering 198,860 people or 12 percent of the total population. Hispanics in the three Pacific Northwest states make up a significant portion of each state’s overall population. As in the Midwest, the origins of this population are deep-rooted.

The Mexican presence in the Pacific Northwest can be traced to the late eighteenth century with the arrival of Spanish explorers to the

region, and later during the mid- to late-nineteenth century, Mexican mule packers hired by companies and early settlers of the Northwest. However, scholarship on these historical moments did not emerge until the twentieth century, including Chicana research that provided insight to the significant contributions of Mexicans. In the Pacific Northwest, early twentieth-century Mexican communities remained largely invisible because of the small and transient nature of the population. Scholarship on Mexican communities in the Pacific Northwest during this period is also limited because there simply were no studies conducted on Mexicans in this region similar to the studies commissioned by the University of Chicago or by individuals such as Paul S. Taylor or George T. Edson. Nevertheless, the first four decades of the twentieth century saw a steady increase in the number of Mexicans in the Northwest. The need for food production during World War I, immigration restrictions on Europeans and Asians, and the Mexican Revolution all contributed to the movement of Mexicans away from the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and into areas such as the Pacific Northwest and Midwest. The 1930 census (see below) provides an indication of the small Mexican population in the Pacific Northwest. However, the transitory nature of the Mexican population during this era as Mexican migrants traveled from region to region seeking employment, especially in agriculture, made it easy for them to be overlooked by census enumerators.

Another important contrast to the Midwest is that the Mexican community developed at a slower pace in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, which can be attributed to the gradual development of permanent labor-intensive agriculture in the Northwest. The expansion of reclamation projects during the early- to mid-twentieth century—especially in North Central Washington’s Columbia Basin, the Puyallup and Skagit Valleys in Western Washington, the Willamette and Hood River Valleys in Oregon, and Snake River Valley in Idaho—brought water to these semi-desert regions. The result of these efforts not only meant increased acreage for agriculture, but a need for laborers. For example, the Mexican population in Washington in 1930 was approximately 562 individuals, in Oregon, 1,568, and in Idaho, 1,278.<sup>16</sup> This population would not grow in any significant manner until after World War II, coinciding with the

completion of major government-funded projects that siphoned water from the Columbia and Snake Rivers.

In contrast, and during the same period, Michigan had a Mexican population of 13,336, Iowa, 4,295, Kansas, 19,150, and Minnesota, 13,336.<sup>17</sup> These selected Midwest states provided greater economic opportunities where agriculture was better established, as in Minnesota and Iowa, which attracted thousands of Mexican laborers to the sugar beet industry. In the Midwest, Mexicans were not only recruited for agriculture, but also to the railroad industry in Iowa and Kansas, and the factory floors of the automobile industry in Michigan, which provided long-term permanent employment.<sup>18</sup> The post-World War II era brought employment opportunities in the Pacific Northwest, which in turn stimulated population growth in the region.

The 1940s introduced a shift in the presence of Mexicans throughout the United States. The outbreak of World War II, the internment of Japanese Americans, and the need for the United States to control the flow of labor from Mexico led to the creation of the Mexican farm and railroad labor programs popularly known as the Bracero Program. This was an emergency labor mechanism utilized by the U.S. government, in agreement with the Mexican government, that brought tens of thousands of Mexican laborers to the area. In fact, from 1943 to 1947 nearly fifty thousand braceros entered the Pacific Northwest as emergency labor, second only to California during the same period.<sup>19</sup> Like braceros in other areas, many of these workers broke their contracts and did not return to Mexico. Others went to Mexico, then re-entered the United States and returned to their places of employment without contracts, before gaining employment visas and becoming permanent residents.<sup>20</sup> Historian Erasmo Gamboa wrote that “the Chicano community in the Pacific Northwest had its genesis in the Bracero program...and the program was a watershed moment for Chicano communities in the Northwest.”<sup>21</sup> Gamboa, in one early exposé on the Chicana community in the Northwest, made a critical observation:

Chicano Culture in the Pacific Northwest is truly distinct because of certain historical and regional factors. Principal among these factors are the migration patterns of Chicanos and Mexicans... Moreover, [in

the 1940s] most of the migrants to Washington came from Texas... As people migrated to Washington state they brought this culture relatively unchanged... Once in the Northwest both the geographical distance and isolation from the Southwest and the alienation from the local Anglo culture guaranteed that the cultural matrix of the communities would remain in a near state of encapsulation and consequently unvaried.<sup>22</sup>

For Midwest Mexican communities the decades leading up to World War II provided opportunities, but also economic hardships. When Mexicans became exempt from the provisions of the 1917 Immigration Act, the formal recruitment of Mexican workers for the sugar beet fields of the Midwest commenced and by the end of the decade thousands had been recruited.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, according to historian Dennis (Dionicio) Valdés, the recruitment for Mexican labor increased through the 1920s and by 1927 over 15,000 Mexicans were working in the beet fields in the Midwest.<sup>24</sup> These migrants were vulnerable to economic contraction in the sugar beet industry, and the automobile industry, the other major employer of Mexicans in the Midwest, which faced a crisis as the Great Depression intensified in the early 1930s and continued throughout the decade.

Mexicans in the Midwest experienced two different periods of economic hardship. The first began in the early 1920s when a national depression impacted the agriculture and automobile industries. The late 1920s depression slowed further movement of Mexicans into the Midwest and many became scapegoats for the economic ills of this period.<sup>25</sup> With the onset of the Great Depression during the 1930s the Mexican population working in the automobile industry were the first to be fired in favor of "American" citizens, and the thousands who had migrated north for the agriculture season found themselves without employment or struggling to survive on depressed wages. As the bottom fell out of the economy Mexicans previously employed in such places as Detroit found it difficult to find relief from the city or U.S. government because of rampant discrimination.<sup>26</sup> As the depression became entrenched and prolonged many cities throughout the United States began to implement repatriation or the mass deportation of people of Mexican ancestry. Formal efforts to deport Mexicans commenced in states such as Indiana, Illinois, and Minnesota.<sup>27</sup> The city of Detroit implemented a program for the

removal of Mexican and Mexican Americans with the help of the U.S. and Mexican governments.

In the Pacific Northwest, Mexicans also faced deportation as a result of the economic depression. At McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary, located in Steilacoom, Washington, ninety Mexican inmates in 1932 were deported to Mexico to save costs for the institution.<sup>28</sup> Scholars Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez also report in their path-breaking study, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s*, that Mexicans repatriated to the U.S.-Mexican border included families from Washington, Idaho, and Montana who complained of maltreatment and hardship encountered during repatriation.<sup>29</sup>

With U.S. involvement in World War II, the Great Depression began to subside in the late 1930s and in the 1940s the Midwest again began to import bracero labor. A total of 28,156 braceros were utilized in the Midwest during the war period, whereas over 50,000 were used in the Pacific Northwest. The smaller number of braceros in the Midwest is attributed to a larger domestic Chicana labor force. The use of braceros in the Midwest increased after the war period until the program's demise in the 1960s, which is in contrast to the Pacific Northwest, where the Bracero Program, by and large, ended in the late 1940s.<sup>30</sup>

The post-World War II period brought significant change to the Mexican population in the Midwest and Pacific Northwest. In the late 1960s Michigan had one of the largest migrant labor populations in the country, and the Midwest overall employed over 200,000 migrants in agriculture. Table 1 shows the significant increase of the Mexican population in selected Midwestern states from the 1930s to the second half of the twentieth century. And, although agriculture played an important role bringing Mexicans to the region, the majority of the Mexican population lived in urban zones such as Detroit, Minneapolis, Kansas City, and Chicago.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, the increase in the Hispanic population in the United States commenced with the economic restructuring that began in the 1970s.

Although the origins of the Chicana community in the Pacific Northwest are found prior to World War II, the region witnessed a significant increase in its Mexican population during and following the war period.

Table 1  
Mexican Population in the Midwest

State	Mexican Foreign Stock				
	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930
Ohio	13,349	9,960	5,959	2,792	3,099
Indiana	18,325	14,041	8,677	4,530	7,589
Illinois	117,268	63,063	34,538	23,545	20,963
Michigan	31,067	24,298	16,540	9,474	9,921
Wisconsin	9,160	6,705	3,272	1,716	1,853
Minnesota	4,575	3,436	3,305	2,976	2,448
Iowa	4,546	3,374	3,973	3,959	2,760
Missouri	8,353	8,159	5,862	4,783	3,482
Nebraska	5,552	5,858	6,023	5,333	4,178
Kansas	13,728	12,972	13,429	13,742	12,900
Total	225,923	151,866	101,578	72,476	69,193

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, *Census of Population, 1850-1970*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC. See Gilbert Cárdenas, "Los Desarraigados: Chicanos in the Midwestern Region of the United States," *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 7 (Thematic Issue—Chicanos in the Midwest, Gilbert Cárdenas, Special Issue Editor) no. 2 (Summer 1976): 153-186.

In 1947 the U.S. government ended its subsidy for transporting bracero workers from Mexico to their U.S. destinations. For Northwest growers, transporting Mexican labor from the U.S.-Mexico border to the Pacific Northwest became cost prohibitive. Subsequently, growers and labor contractors began to heavily recruit domestic labor from the state of Texas (resulting in the Tejano diaspora). Although Mexican Americans resided in the Northwest long before the 1940s, the population remained relatively stagnant for reasons already discussed. The post-World II movement of Tejano labor began a decades-long migration to the Northwest that became the foundation for many communities throughout the region.

In general, the permanent movement and settlement of Mexican labor to the Pacific Northwest can be divided into four periods. From 1900 through the 1930s the initial movement of ethnic Mexicans to the region consisted of small numbers of permanent and itinerant residents who worked in the sugar beet and fishing industries. The 1940s wit-

nessed the recruitment of Braceros and Mexican American labor to the Northwest, with many becoming permanent fixtures in region. During the 1950s through the 1980s, hundreds of thousands of migrants moved to the Northwest from the state of Texas in what became known as the Tejano diaspora. In fact, one study indicates that in 1957, Oregon was the recipient of the sixth largest movement of Tejanos in the country.<sup>32</sup> From 1970 to 1980 the Spanish-speaking populations of Oregon and Idaho doubled, with Washington not far behind.<sup>33</sup> The decades of the 1980s through the 2000s represent a shift from domestic migration to international immigration, primarily from Mexico, but also significant numbers from Central America.

In 1970 there were 760,000 Mexican-born residents in the United States and by the year 2000 that number had increased to 8.8 million.<sup>34</sup> Countless studies have examined the dramatic increase of the U.S. Mexican population since the 1970s. Most of these studies point to economic restructuring, which saw the U.S. economy shift from heavy industry and manufacturing to service, manual labor, and labor-intensive manufacturing industries that drew heavily on immigrant labor.<sup>35</sup> The economic crises that shook Mexico in the 1980s and 1990s also contributed to this immigration. It should also be noted the transnational nature of the movement of Mexicans to the United States became more pronounced when coupled with the embeddedness of immigrant labor into the country's economic structure. By the beginning of the twenty-first century the migration of Mexicans beyond the U.S.-Mexico border region included the movement both to rural agricultural zones and to urban centers. For example, Seattle, between 1990 and 2000, saw a 105 percent increase in its Mexican population and Portland, Oregon, witnessed a 175 percent surge during the same period.<sup>36</sup> The movement of Mexicans to the United States during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries represents one of the longest sustained movements of human migration in history. Table 2 is a representation of that movement to the Pacific Northwest.

#### SCHOLARSHIP ON THE REGIONS

To better understand the history of the Chicano presence in the Pacific Northwest and Midwest, we provide a brief overview of some of the

Table 2  
Hispanic Population in the Pacific Northwest

State	2015	2010	2000	1990	1980	1970
Washington	879,410	790,000	441,509	214,570	121,570	70,734
Oregon	511,168	450,062	275,214	112,707	84,835	44,000
Idaho	201,901	182,000	101,690	52,927	42,377	27,932
Total	1,592,479	1,422,062	818,413	380,204	248,782	142,666

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Quick Facts, Oregon; Washington State, Office of Financial Management: Data Center; U.S. Census Bureau, Quick Facts, Idaho; Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division, Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States Regions, Divisions, and States; U.S. Census, Table 99 1980; U.S. Census, Table 135 1990.

studies from these regions. Grounding our book within the well-established scholarship of these two areas highlights and better situates this collection. We also believe it is important to illuminate the research and scholarship advanced by pioneering scholars of twentieth and early twenty-first century that reinforce the Chicana presence in these regions and the scholarship produced on these communities.

Forty years ago Gilberto Cárdenas echoed similar sentiments in a special thematic issue of *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research*:

The Southwest regional approach has also failed to incorporate an adequate perspective toward the Chicano experience outside (north) of its boundaries. Thus, apart from the numerous problems associated with the study of the Chicano and Chicano Studies in the Southwest, the regional approach as a conceptual category has become a major limitation. The historical presence of Chicanos outside the Southwest suggests that the scope of Chicano Studies must be expanded to include a national perspective.<sup>37</sup>

In his article in the same issue of *Aztlán*, “Los Desarraigados: Chicanos in the Midwestern Region of the United States,” Cárdenas provided a scathing critique of the early approach of Chicano studies and its lack of inclusion. Cárdenas was especially concerned with research and policy

position papers on the Mexican origin community in the United States that only provided figures for California and the Southwest, rendering other regions with substantial Mexican enclaves invisible.<sup>38</sup>

In the decades since Gilberto Cárdenas wrote those words, scholarship on the Midwest and Pacific Northwest has expanded dramatically, but an inclusive national perspective of Chicana studies remains elusive. Research on both communities has grown since “el grito de Cárdenas” in *Aztlán*’s special issues on the Midwest, and we believe it is imperative to demonstrate the early twentieth century scholarship and its continuity into the twenty-first century. Scholars such as Dionicio N. Valdés, Zaragoza Vargas, Louise Año Nuevo-Kerr, and others initiated the pioneering work, along with the earlier studies by the University of Chicago organized in the 1920s that provided our first understanding of the Mexican presence in the Midwest.<sup>39</sup>

For example, the groundbreaking work, *The Mexicans in Chicago* (1931), by Robert C. Jones and Louise R. Wilson, gave one of the first detailed accounts of the Mexican experience in the Midwest.<sup>40</sup> Others such as Paul S. Taylor, George T. Edson, and Manuel Gamio originated research on Mexicans in the Midwest during this period as well. Taylor also provided field notes and research on the recruitment of Mexican railroad section gangs to the Pacific Northwest and the movement of California’s Mexican migrant workers to Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.<sup>41</sup> In fact, scholars doing historical research on Mexicans in the Midwest and Pacific Northwest often refer to these early pioneering scholars.

Paul S. Taylor’s papers are located at the University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library and primarily consist of research in the field of agriculture including studies on Mexicans in the United States, migrant workers, and the farm worker strikes of the 1930s and 1960s. Also in this collection are field reports conducted by George T. Edson on sugar beet workers in the north and north central states of Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin from 1926 to 1927.<sup>42</sup> Taylor and Edson’s extensive research and vast field reports on the Mexican presence in the Midwest and beyond remain as relevant today as they were nearly a century ago.<sup>43</sup>

Anthropologist and sociologist Dr. Manuel Gamio did widespread research on Mexican immigration and labor in both Mexico and the

United States. Important to our understanding of the Mexican experience in the Midwest are Gamio's publications *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment* (1930), *The Life Story of the Mexican Immigrant* (1931), and *El inmigrante mexicano: La historia de su vida* (1969). Each of these publications contains interviews with Mexican immigrants who came to the United States in the early years of the twentieth century.<sup>44</sup> A significant number of immigrants interviewed indicated they were recruited in Mexico and contracted to work in the railroad and automobile industries in such places as Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, and Michigan.<sup>45</sup>

Norman D. Humphrey and John Thaden conducted research on Mexican communities in Michigan during the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>46</sup> The second half of the twentieth century saw the emergence of sociologist Julian Samora conducting research on Chicanxs in Chicago.<sup>47</sup> Samora eventually trained a cadre of Chicane scholars who continued research on Mexicans in the Midwest. Although not a complete list of early scholarship on the Midwest, the above-mentioned individuals and their work provide a solid indication of the presence of the Mexican communities in the Midwest during the early twentieth century.

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed the continuation of scholarship on the Mexican diaspora throughout the Great Lakes region and the appearance of research on Chicanxs in the Pacific Northwest. Mentioned earlier is Gilbert Cárdenas' seminal work in the journal *Aztlán*, aptly titled "Chicanos in the Midwest."<sup>48</sup> This significant thematic issue provides important scholarship on the Chicane experience throughout the Midwest ranging from demographics, to comparative study on the Midwest and Southwest, to Chicane teatro. More important are Cárdenas' introduction, "Who Are the Midwestern Chicanos: Implications for Chicano Studies," and his article, "Los Desarraigados: Chicanos in the Midwestern Region of the United States." Through these articles Cárdenas made the call to expand the master narrative of Chicane studies beyond California and the Southwest, a sentiment that remains as valid today as it was forty years ago.<sup>49</sup>

The expansion of Chicane scholarship on the Midwest is seen through important publications during the 1990s, such as Chicane and labor historian Dionicio Nodín Valdés' two important books: *Al Norte: Agri-*

*cultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917–1970* (1991), and *Barrios Norteños: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century* (2000). *Al Norte*, a meticulously researched book, examines the important role of agriculture in the recruitment and movement of Mexican labor into the upper Midwest from the early to late twentieth century. More important, the book focuses on the class struggle between capitalist employers and seasonal farmworkers, providing a strong class analysis of the lived experience of Chicane in the region.

With the publication of *Barrios Norteños*, Valdés shifted from the rural to the urban setting, but remained focused on the Chicane community. Valdés argued that *Barrios* was a sequel to *Al Norte* and continued the social history he began with the former book. Up until the publication of *Barrios Norteños* the urban history of Chicanxs in the Midwest had remained an untold story. Valdés argued that the field of Chicane studies had failed to examine and recognize *El Movimiento* from a national perspective. To broaden this perspective, *Barrios Norteños* provides an analysis of the movement as it developed in the 1960s and 1970s in St. Paul, Minnesota. Dionicio Valdés' contributions to the historiography of Chicane studies are important as he provided some of the first sweeping scholarship on the Midwestern Chicane experience.

Another important piece of scholarship for our understanding of the midwestern Mexican experience is Zaragoza Vargas' *Proletarians of the North: A History of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917–1933* (1993). Here Vargas provides one of the first historical analysis of the Mexican industrial worker in the automobile industry between the end of World War I and 1933, especially in the Ford Motor Company in Detroit. Vargas maps the contours of Mexican migration to the Midwest from such places as Texas and Mexico. By focusing on Detroit we are able to see the development of Mexican colonias, residential patterns, founding of Mexican businesses, and the situation of Mexican women.

Our understanding of the Mexican experience in the Midwest was further developed with the publication of Gabriela Arredondo's *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916–1939* (2008). Arredondo's study is a stark reminder that Mexicans in the Midwest, and Chicago in particular, developed distinct communities that challenge the Southwest-centric perspective approach to the Mexican experience in the United

States. This book expands our knowledge of the Mexican experience in the United States, providing additional insight into urban experiences outside the Southwest; illuminating gender differences in response to life in Chicago; and broadening our understanding of the racialization of Mexicans in the United States.

Shifting to another state of the Midwest, Marc S. Rodriguez's book, *The Tejano Diaspora: Mexican Americanism and Ethnic Politics in Texas and Wisconsin* (2011), provides important insight into the history, experiences, and organizing in Chicano communities in Texas and Wisconsin. A more recent publication by Theresa Delgado, *Latina Lives in Milwaukee* (2015), uses oral histories to illuminate the experiences and lives of Latinas—Chicanas, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Salvadoran Americans—in this Midwestern city.<sup>50</sup> Delgado submits that her approach, in moving beyond just the Mexican experiences, provides a richer understanding of the experience of Latinas/os in regards to how Latinas organized socially, culturally, and politically.

The Midwest has a significant number of universities with established departments and programs specializing in the Chicano/Latino experience; over twenty-seven schools offer some type of degree in the field of Chicano/Latino studies.<sup>51</sup> Michigan, a focus of this volume, is home to some well-established programs. One of the oldest is located at Wayne State University. The Center for Chicano-Boricua Studies (CBS) originated as the Latino en Marcha Leadership Training Program in 1971 created by Wayne State, Latin Americans for Social and Economic Development (LA SED), and New Detroit, Inc. In 1972 it became an academic center.

Before creating its Chicano/Latino studies program, Michigan State University (MSU) developed the Julian Samora Research Institute in 1989, considered one of the leading research institutes on Latinxs in the Midwest. Since 1999 MSU has offered an undergraduate specialization in Chicano/Latino studies. Like some others throughout the country, the creation of this program was student driven, prolonged, and met with resistance by university administrators. Nevertheless, students at MSU overcame this struggle through persistence and perseverance (see Ernesto Todd Mireles' chapter in this volume for detailed analysis). This crucial victory set the stage for another vital development, the establishment of the second PhD program in the country in Chicano/Latino studies

in 2007. Three individuals who worked tirelessly on this creation were Ernesto Todd Mireles, Theresa Meléndez, and Dionicio Valdés, all contributors to this volume.

In the Pacific Northwest, research and scholarship on the Chicano experience gradually emerged in the early 1970s as graduate programs were expanded.<sup>52</sup> Some of the rationalizations for the slow development of Chicano scholarship in this region, especially in comparison to the Midwest, were that the region simply was not producing individuals who studied this experience, or the examination of the Mexican experience was not deemed a legitimate area of study by mainstream academics who controlled graduate studies. Nevertheless, in the early 1970s a handful of master's and doctoral studies from the region's universities examined Chicanos from the historical, educational, migrant, and political perspectives. In 1971 Anne Marjorie Brunton produced "The Decision to Settle: A Study of Mexican-American Migrants" as her doctoral dissertation from Washington State University.<sup>53</sup> In 1973 Erasmo Gamboa wrote two important pieces: "A History of the Chicano People and the Development of Agriculture in the Yakima Valley, Washington," his master's thesis from the University of Washington, and, what is believed to be one of the earliest publications on Chicanos in the Northwest, "Chicanos in the Northwest: An Historical Perspective," in *El Grito*.<sup>54</sup>

José Manuel Romero produced "The Political Evolution of the Farm Workers," as his master's thesis at the University of Oregon in 1973.<sup>55</sup> In 1974 Jesus Lemos Jr. wrote "A History of the Chicano Political Involvement and the Organizational Efforts of the United Farm Workers Union in the Yakima Valley, Washington" as his master's thesis at the University of Washington.<sup>56</sup> Also in 1974 Senon Monreal Valadez produced "An Exploratory Study of Chicano Parents' Perceptions of School and the Education of Their Children in Two Oregon Community Settings," as a PhD dissertation from the University of Oregon.<sup>57</sup> In 1974 Richard W. Slatta produced "Chicanos in Oregon: An Historical Overview," as his master's thesis from Portland State University.<sup>58</sup> Slatta's thesis evolved into the second published article on Chicanos in the Pacific Northwest, "Chicanos in the Pacific Northwest: An Historical Overview of Oregon's Chicanos," which appeared in *Aztlán* in 1975.<sup>59</sup> Overall, these theses and

dissertations indicate that the Chicano population in the Northwest had become more visible and warranted scholarly attention. However, it would not be until the 1980s that additional scholarship appeared in academic journals and university presses. For example, in 1980 Patricia K. Ourada published what was considered the most thorough documentation of the Hispanic community in Idaho, *Migrant Workers in Idaho*.<sup>60</sup>

Perhaps the first published material on the Chicano experience in the Pacific Northwest is a little-known, out-of-print booklet written by Erasmo Gamboa in 1971. This publication, simply titled *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest: An Historical Overview* began a more than forty-year publishing career that revolved around the Chicano experience in the Northwest.<sup>61</sup> Gamboa's book *Mexican Labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947* (1990), based on his PhD dissertation from the University of Washington, was the first major publication to begin the process of inserting the Northwest Chicano experience into the national narrative of Chicano studies, as well as bringing that history to the general population. At the time of this writing the University of Washington Press is set to release Professor Gamboa's next publication *Mexican Railroaders: The Forgotten World War II Story of Mexican Workers in the U.S. West* (2016), which examines Mexican railroad workers in the Pacific Northwest and beyond.<sup>62</sup> Gamboa's voluminous production of historical and cultural literature is responsible for inspiring and encouraging students throughout the region to engage and study the Chicano experience in the Northwest.

The 1990s and early 2000s brought additional research and scholarship on the Chicano experience in the Pacific Northwest. Isabelle Valle, an investigative reporter, published *Fields of Toil: A Migrant Family's Journey* (1994), which explored the migratory patterns of a Mexican family from South Texas to the Pacific Northwest, specifically the southeastern Washington community of Walla Walla.<sup>63</sup> Another example, and one of the few book length studies on Chicano in Idaho was the 1995 book *Los Dos Mundos*, a unique ethnographic study of a small Idaho community with a large Mexican population examines many dimensions of the impact race relations have on everyday life for rural Mexican Americans. The late Robert C. Dash from Willamette University published in 1996 "Mexican Labor and Oregon Agriculture: The Changing Terrain of Con-

flict," which provided an understanding of the efforts by the Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN) (Northwest Treeplanters and Farmworkers United) union to organize Mexican migrant farmworkers in the Willamette Valley, Oregon.<sup>64</sup>

The arrival of Carlos S. Maldonado in 1987 as the new director of the Chicano Education Program at Eastern Washington University (EWU) ushered in further development of Chicano studies in the state of Washington and the region. Maldonado, a product of the Tejano diaspora in Oregon, and a graduate of the University of Oregon, wrote a PhD dissertation "The Longest Running Death in History: A History of Colegio César Chávez, 1973-1983" (1986), that eventually was published by Routledge Press as *Colegio Cesar Chavez, 1973-1983: A Chicano Struggle for Educational Self-Determination* (2000). Colegio César Chávez was located at Mt. Angel, Oregon, and was the first accredited, four-year independent college for Chicano students in the United States, and during the 1970s became a bastion of radicalism and activism for the Pacific Northwest.

Since the advent of the Chicano movement in the Pacific Northwest, the region has struggled to establish stand-alone Chicano Studies programs. University of Washington's program was eventually merged into American Ethnic Studies, and Washington State's disappeared altogether. Oregon State University and the University of Oregon each have a derivative of an ethnic studies program with a Chicano-Latino track. In Idaho, Boise State University currently offers a minor in Latin American and Latino studies. However, it should be noted that a Chicano studies curriculum was developed at numerous institutions of higher education throughout the Northwest. One of earliest institutions to do so was Yakima Valley Community College, which began offering courses in 1971.<sup>65</sup> Currently, there are three institutions with stand-alone Chicano studies programs in the Northwest: Eastern Washington University (The Chicano Education Program); Yakima Valley Community College (Chicano Studies); and Portland State University (The Chicano/Latino Studies Program).

Eastern Washington University established its Chicano Education Program in 1977 and will celebrate its fortieth year in 2017. For nearly a decade after its inception its primary focus was on student support

services, recruitment, and the teaching of Chicano studies courses. With Maldonado's hire in 1987 the program began to concentrate on the importance of Chicano scholarship in the Pacific Northwest. Pushing this agenda, Maldonado founded the Pacific Northwest National Association for Chicano Studies Foco and was the National Coordinator of the National Association for Chicano Studies (NACS) from 1991 to 1992.<sup>66</sup> Maldonado brought the NACS national office to EWU where it was housed from 1992 to 2000. During that period the Pacific Northwest hosted the national NACS conference in Spokane, Washington (1995), where NACS was re-named National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS). It also hosted the 2000 national conference in Portland, Oregon. Furthermore, Maldonado was co-editor of *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest* (1995), the first comprehensive examination of the Chicano experience in the region.<sup>67</sup>

In 2001, Antonia I. Castañeda published "Que Se Pudieran Defender (So You Could Defend Yourselves): Chicanas, Regional History, and National Discourse." This important article "centered on gendered, sexualized, racialized, and historicized lives of working-class Chicana bodies and the transregional migration of farm workers from Texas to Washington state during the mid-twentieth century."<sup>68</sup> Professor Castañeda examined the lives of Chicanas in such places as Idaho and Washington providing crucial and missing research on Chicanas in the Northwest.

In 2005 and following in the vein of *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*, the book *Memory, Community, and Activism: Mexican Migration and Labor in the Pacific Northwest* was published, providing another comprehensive examination of the Chicano experience.<sup>69</sup> University of Oregon anthropologist Lynn Stephen has published several books on the Mexican Indigenous experience in Oregon as well as the farmworker movement in the state. Stephen's *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon* (2007) provides an insightful account of Mexican Mixtec and Zapotec indigenous communities as they traversed the multiple borders on their way to the U.S. and eventually Oregon. Stephens also explores the involvement of these groups in labor organizing with such groups as Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN).<sup>70</sup> Individuals seeking a solid understanding of the farmworker movement in Oregon will find it in Stephens' *The Story of*

*PCUN and the Farmworker Movement in Oregon* (2012).<sup>71</sup> Mario Jimenez Sifuentes' recent publication, *Of Forest and Fields: Mexican Labor in the Pacific Northwest* (2016) is a concise examination of the evolution of the movement of Mexican labor to the region. At the heart of this study is the genesis and evolution of the Willamette Valley Immigration Project (WVIP), which morphed into PCUN.<sup>72</sup>

In 2008 Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish wrote *Viva La Raza: A History of Chicano Identity and Resistance*.<sup>73</sup> Their book describes heroic battles, surveys the Raza youth movement, focuses attention on the role of women, and examines issues such as police brutality, the emergence of Chicana feminism, Chicano lesbians and gays, and the role of radical organizations. Alaniz provides broad examination of the Chicano Movement, but important to this study are the sections that examine the Pacific Northwest. The authors provide some insight to the movement in the state of Washington in Appendix 1: "Farmworker Organizing in the Yakima Valley" and Appendix 2: "Uproar at the University of Washington."<sup>74</sup> The publication in 2010 of *Mexicans in Oregon: Their Stories, Their Lives* by Erlinda Gonzales-Berry and Marcela Mendoza is one of the first books on Mexicans in Oregon. This important volume sheds new light on the stories and lives of Mexicanos in Oregon, including why migrants come to Oregon fields, an overview of various occupations, their experiences when settling, and how they adapt to life in the United States.<sup>75</sup>

Lastly, providing additional insight to the Chicano movement in the Northwest is Glenn Anthony May's publication *Sonny Montes and Mexican American Activism in Oregon* (2011).<sup>76</sup> May's book both examines the role of Montes as Chicano in Oregon began to demand their full rights as citizens and equal treatment, and serves as broader examination of the Chicano movement in Oregon.

Overall, the late twentieth and early twenty-first century ushered in important research on the Midwest and Pacific Northwest. The Hispanic populations in both regions underwent considerable change from the early to mid-twentieth century, with the Mexican population representing the largest segment of the overall Hispanic diaspora. The Mexican population in the Midwest garnered early attention from social scientists and later historians and sociologists. The Midwest and its twelve states have enjoyed a longer duration of research for the reasons discussed.

Research on the Chicana experience in the Pacific Northwest came late in the twentieth century, but during the last twenty-five years research on the region has been continuous.

Like other states in the region, Idaho has seen considerable growth in its Hispanic population during the last twenty years, and Mexicans have been present in the state since the late nineteenth century. Today, Hispanics represent over 12 percent of Idaho's population at nearly 200,000 individuals, with 85 percent of Mexican origin.<sup>77</sup> Although a handful of studies in article and book form have been published, there has not been the intense examination of the community that we have seen in Oregon and Washington. The exception to this is the research conducted by Erasmo Gamboa, Errol Jones, Kathleen R. Hodges, Richard Baker, and Laurie Mercier.<sup>78</sup> The overwhelming majority of information on Idaho's Mexican community is in the form of newspaper articles, government reports, and ephemera.<sup>79</sup> Reasons for this disparity are similar to what the region as a whole experienced earlier in the twentieth century, specifically, Idaho's universities are not producing individuals with the academic training to conduct the rigorous research needed to explore the rich Chicana experience. However, Erasmo Gamboa and others have laid the foundation for continued research with the Idaho Hispanic Oral History Project, the Mexican American Oral History Project, and the Latino Experience in Idaho. In all, these oral history projects contain over sixty oral histories that have been under-utilized by scholars.<sup>80</sup>

#### THE BOOK

*We Are Aztlán!* is divided into three parts: Empire, Aztlán, and Sovereignty; *El Movimiento* in the Northern Borderlands; and Community, Labor, and Immigration.

Part I—Empire, Aztlán, and Sovereignty provides a broad, theoretical overview of the Chicana experience as it relates to labor and capitalism. Both articles in this section critique colonialism and settler-colonialism, and capitalism. This section also provides personal insight into the lived experience and the role of settler-colonialism on the northern borderlands of Michigan-Canada. The chapters provide a foundation for the remainder of the book by illustrating the importance of the northern borderlands and its link to the overall Chicana experience.

Part Two—*El Movimiento* in the Northern Borderlands, features articles that provide path-breaking case studies that examine community mobilization and the Chicana Movement in the state of Washington; a critical assessment of the Chicano movement and the establishment of Chicano studies at Michigan State University; and an examination of the often-neglected role of Chicanas in Oregon during the Chicano movement.

Recognizing that the movement of Mexicans to the United States is one of the longest sustained labor movements in history, the articles in Part Three—Migration, Race, and Community attest to the fact that Mexican communities have been long established in regions beyond the Southwest. The three articles in this section explore the movement of Mexican origin people to Oregon, Michigan, and Washington. This exploration provides insight to community development, identity, and race relations.

#### CONCLUSION

Resounding the declaration issued by *I AM AZTLÁN: The Personal Essay in Chicano Studies*, the authors of this collection cry out *We Are Aztlán!* The articles affirm their place in Chicana studies and claim the Pacific Northwest and Midwest as embodiments of Aztlán. All the articles in this collection are based on meticulous research using primary and secondary sources, as well as oral history and the personal experience. Nearly all of the contributors are original inhabitants of the Pacific Northwest, the Great Lakes region, or represent the Tejano diaspora. Their roots in the regions run deep, with many born and raised to migrant farmworker parents born in Mexico or Texas, who became part of the migratory stream to these regions as early as the 1920s and 1930s.

With this anthology we are reminded that Aztlán emerged as part of the male-centered Chicano nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, Aztlán as a concept and part of the “decolonizing imaginary to signify a homeland” provides an important place for Chicanas, while simultaneously it represents a form of resistance to their unequal position within the U.S.<sup>81</sup> In this manner, the collection of articles in *We Are Aztlán!* summons the foundational document, “El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán,” to promote and illustrate that Aztlán is a collective symbol

of memory, lived experience, liberation, and spirituality regardless of geographical dispersion:

*With our hearts in our hands and our hands in the soil, we declare the independence of our mestizo nation. We are a bronze people with a bronze culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all of our brothers in the bronze continent, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, We Are Aztlán.*<sup>82</sup>

### Notes

1. Gloria Anzaldúa, "The Homeland, Aztlán/El Otro México," in *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland*, eds. Rudolfo A. Anaya and Francisco A. Lomeli (Albuquerque: Academia/El Norte Publications, 1989), 193.
2. Since at least 2014, student organizations, academics, and institutions of higher education have shifted toward the identifiers "Chicanx" and "Latinx," born out of a collective aim to move beyond the masculine-centric "Chicano" and "Latino" and the gender inclusive but binary embedded Latin@. (This definition is taken from the María R. Scharrón and Alan A. Aja discussion on Latinx at www.latinorebels.com.) In this introduction I prefer Chicanx(s) and Latinx(s) in an attempt at inclusiveness and to move beyond the binary model of Chicana/o and Latina/o; however, like other contributors to this collection, I have chosen to use a variety of these terms, as well as Mexican American, Xicano, and Tejano.
3. According to the U.S. Census Bureau the Midwest consists of twelve states: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. In this volume the two Midwestern states discussed are Michigan and Iowa.
4. The Great Lakes region of North America is generally considered to be the U.S. states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, and the Canadian province of Ontario. Although not traditionally included, within our collection Iowa is integrated as part of the region.
5. Michel Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: A Genesis of a Discipline* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 10.
6. *Ibid.*, 14–15.
7. Rodolfo F. Acuña, *The Making of Chicanx Studies: In The Trenches of Academe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 56–57.
8. Luis Leal, "In Search of Aztlán," in *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland*, Rudolfo A. Anaya and Francisco A. Lomeli, eds. (Albuquerque: Academia/El Norte Publications, 1989), 8.
9. Michael Pina, "The Archaic, Historical and Mythicized Dimensions of Aztlán," in *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland*, 37. Dylan A.T. Miner, *Creating Aztlán: Chicano Art, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Lowriding Across Turtle Island*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 13.
10. Chon A. Noriega and Wendy Belcher, eds., *I AM AZTLÁN: The Personal Essay in Chicano Studies* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press, Regents of the University of California, 2004).
11. *Ibid.*, v.
12. Jerry García, "The Measure of a Cock: Mexican Cockfighting, Culture, and Masculinity," in Noriega and Belcher, eds., *I AM AZTLÁN*, 109–38. One of my first publications is located within this collection. *I AM AZTLÁN* allowed me to share the personal experience of my childhood, which resembled many of the experiences in the collection, but with one major difference. My adolescent years were not spent along the U.S.-Mexican border or in some major Chicano or Latino enclave such as Chicago or Los Angeles, but rather along the U.S.-Canadian borderlands, the state of Washington.
13. United States Census Bureau, Quick Facts, Hispanic or Latino Percent, July 2014 and 2015. See also Demographics: Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics for each Midwestern and Pacific Northwest state.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Jerry García and Gilberto García, *Memory, Community, and Activism: Mexican Migration and Labor in the Pacific Northwest* (East Lansing: Michigan State University and Julian Samora Research Institute, 2005), 2. See also U.S. Census of the Population, 1930.
17. *Ibid.*
18. For a full discussion on the recruitment of Mexican labor to the Midwest see the following: Dennis Nodín Valdés, *Al Norte: Agriculture Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917-1970* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); Zaragoza Vargas, *Proletarians of the North: A History of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917-1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Dionicio Nodín Valdés, *Barrios Norteños: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).
19. Erasmo Gamboa, *Mexican Labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 58. The number of braceros who came to the Pacific Northwest is 46,934.
20. The best-known study on the bracero program in the Pacific Northwest remains Erasmo Gamboa's *Mexican Labor and World War II*.
21. *Ibid.*, 131.
22. Erasmo Gamboa, "Raíces," *Metamorfosis 2* (Teatro En El Noroeste), no. 1&2 (1979): 3.
23. Valdés, *Al Norte*, 8-9. According to Valdés the 1917 Immigration Act exempted Mexican workers from the literacy test and eight-dollar head tax. Furthermore, sugar beet companies introduced the use of *Enganchistas* (recruiters) and sent

- them to the U.S.-Mexico border and into Mexico, and by 1920 the Michigan, Holland-Saint Louis, Columbia, and Continental sugar companies had recruited more than five thousand Mexican workers for the Michigan and Ohio beet fields.
24. *Ibid.*, 10–11.
  25. Vargas, *Proletarians of the North*, 78–79.
  26. *Ibid.*, 170–71.
  27. Valdés, *Al Norte*, 30–31.
  28. Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s*, 2nd ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 65.
  29. *Ibid.*, 142.
  30. Gilbert Cárdenas, “Los Desarraigados: Chicanos in the Midwestern Region of the United States,” in “Chicanos in the Midwest,” ed. Gilbert Cardenas, special issue, *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 7, 153–86. Hereafter cited as Cárdenas, “Los Desarraigados.”
  31. Cárdenas, “Los Desarraigados,” 155.
  32. Mario Jimenez Sifuentes, *Of Forests and Fields: Mexican Labor in the Pacific Northwest* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2016), 36–37.
  33. Erasmo Gamboa, “A Social Portrait: Chicano and Latino People of the Pacific Northwest,” in Lauro Flores, et al., *Chicano and Latino Artists in the Pacific Northwest*. (Olympia, WA: Evergreen State College, 1984), 8–11.
  34. David G. Gutiérrez, ed., *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States Since 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 62.
  35. *Ibid.*
  36. *Ibid.*, 67–68.
  37. Gilbert Cárdenas, “Introduction—Who Are the Midwestern Chicanos: Implications for Chicano Studies,” in “Chicanos in the Midwest,” ed. Gilbert Cárdenas, special issue, *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 7, no. 2 (1976): 141–52.
  38. Cárdenas, “Los Desarraigados,” 156–57.
  39. Louise Año Nuevo Kerr, “The Chicano Experience in Chicago: 1920–1970” (Ph.D. diss. University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1976); Valdés, *Al Norte*; Vargas, *Proletarians of the North*.
  40. See Robert Redfield, “Mexicans in Chicago, 1924–1925,” Robert Redfield Papers, Special Collections, University of Chicago; Robert C. Jones and Louise R. Wilson, *The Mexicans in Chicago* (Chicago: Comity Commission of the Chicago Federation, 1931); Edith Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago 1908–1935* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).
  41. Gamboa, *Mexican Labor and World War II*, 9, 13.
  42. For Paul S. Taylor, see: Paul Schuster Taylor Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; *Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, University of California Publications in Economics, vol. 7, no. 2. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1932); “Migratory Farm Labor in the United States,” *Monthly Labor Review* 44 (March 1937), 537–49; “Mexicans in Detroit, Michigan,” 1928, Paul S. Taylor Collection Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. See also George T. Edson, “Mexicans in Our Northcentral States,” 1927, Paul S. Taylor Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 24.
  43. Vargas, *Proletarians of the North*. Includes an extensive bibliography on the studies examining the Mexican and Chicano experience in the Midwest.
  44. Manuel Gamio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930); *The Life Story of the Mexican Immigrant* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1931).
  45. *Ibid.*, *The Life Story of the Mexican Immigrant*, 226–27.
  46. Norman D. Humphrey, “Mexican Repatriation from Michigan: Public Assistance in Historical Perspective,” *Social Service Review* 15 (September 1941), 497–513; “The Migration and Settlement of Detroit Mexicans,” *Economic Geography* 19 (October 1943), 358–61; “The Detroit Mexican Immigrant and Naturalization,” *Social Forces* 22 (March 1944), 332–35; “Employment Patterns of Mexicans in Detroit,” *Monthly Labor Review* 61 (November 1945), 913–23.
  47. Julian Samora and Richard A. Lamanna, “Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago,” *Mexican-American Study Project*, University of California, Los Angeles, July 1967.
  48. Cárdenas, “Chicanos in the Midwest,” special issue, *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research*.
  49. Cárdenas, “Who Are the Midwestern Chicanos,” in “Chicanos in the Midwest,” special issue, *Aztlán*, 141–52; “Los Desarraigados.”
  50. Theresa Delgadillo, *Latina Lives in Milwaukee* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015).
  51. Acuña, *The Making of Chicana Studies*. See Appendix: Academic Programs in Chicana Studies and Related Areas, 273.
  52. Two studies emerged in 1967: Nadine Frances Nelson, “Health Resources Utilized for Various Health Conditions as Reported by Twenty-Five Mexican-American Mothers in the Yakima Valley, Washington” (master’s thesis, University of Washington, 1967); and Joan Soderstrom, “An Investigation of Mexican-American Migrant Children Population in Idaho and the Educational Opportunities Provided by Select School Districts” (master’s thesis, Idaho State University, 1967).
  53. Anne Marjorie Brunton, “The Decision to Settle: A Study of Mexican-American Migrant” (PhD diss., Washington State University, 1971).
  54. Erasmo Gamboa, “A History of the Chicano People and the Development of Agriculture in the Yakima Valley, Washington” (master’s thesis, University of Washington, 1973); Erasmo Gamboa, “Chicanos in the Northwest: An Historical Perspective,” *El Grito* 6, no. 4 (Summer 1973): 57–70.

55. José Manuel Romero, "The Political Evolution of the Farm Workers" (master's thesis, University of Oregon, 1973).
56. Jesus Lemos Jr., "A History of the Chicano Political Involvement and the Organizational Efforts of the United Farm Workers Union in the Yakima Valley, Washington" (master's thesis, University of Washington, 1974).
57. Senon Monreal Valadez, "An Exploratory Study of Chicano Parents' Perceptions of School and the Education of Their Children in Two Oregon Community Settings" (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 1974).
58. Richard Wayne Slatta, "Chicanos in Oregon: An Historical Overview" (master's thesis, Portland State University, 1974).
59. Richard W. Slatta, "Chicanos in the Pacific Northwest: An Historical Overview of Oregon's Chicanos," *Aztlán* 6, no. 3 (Fall 1975): 327–40. See also Richard W. Slatta, "Chicanos in Oregon: An Historical Overview" (master's thesis, Portland State University, 1974); Richard W. Slatta and Maxine P. Atkinson, "The 'Spanish Origin Population' of Oregon and Washington: A Demographic Profile, 1980," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (July 1984): 108–16.
60. Patricia K. Ourada, *Migrant Workers in Idaho*, (Boise: Boise State University, 1980).
61. Erasmo Gamboa, *Chicanos in the Northwest: A Historical Perspective* (Sacramento: Montal Education Associates, 1971).
62. Erasmo Gamboa, *Mexican Railroaders: The Forgotten World War II Story of Mexican Workers in the U.S. West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016). The following is a partial list of Gamboa's publications not included elsewhere in these notes: "Mexican Migration into Washington State: A History, 1940–1950," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (July 1981): 121–31; "Mexican Labor in the Pacific Northwest, 1943–1947: A Photographic Essay," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (October 1982): 175–81; "Braceros in the Pacific Northwest: Laborers on the Domestic Front, 1942–1947," *Pacific Historical Review* 56 (August 1987); "Washington's Mexican Heritage: A View into the Spanish Explorations, 1774–1792," *Columbia* 3 (Fall 1989); "Mexican Mule Packers and Oregon's Second Regiment Mounted Volunteers, 1855–1856," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 92 (Spring 1991); and *Nosotros—The Hispanic People of Oregon: Essays and Recollections*, Erasmo Gamboa and Carolyn M. Buan, eds. (Portland: Oregon Council for the Humanities, 1995).
63. Isabel Valle, *Fields of Toil: A Migrant Family's Journey* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1994).
64. Richard Mabbutt, "Hispanics in Idaho: Concerns and Challenges," Boise: Idaho Human Rights Commission, 1990; Padilla, Fernando, "The Mexicanization of the Lower Yakima Valley," *Revista Apple* 2, no. 1-2 (Spring 1991): 59–63; Richard Baker, *Los Dos Mundos* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995); Robert C. Dash, "Mexican Labor and Oregon Agriculture: The Changing Terrain of Conflict," in *Agriculture and Human Values* 13, no. 1 (Fall 1996): 10–20; Jerry García, "A Chicana in Northern Aztlán: An Oral History of Dora Sánchez Treviño," in "Varieties of Women's Oral History," special issue, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 18, no. 2, (1998): 16–52.
65. Gilberto García, "Organizational Activity and Political Empowerment: Chicano Politics in the Pacific Northwest," in *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*, Carlos S. Maldonado and Gilberto García, eds., 2nd ed. (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 2001), 76.
66. The National Association for Chicano Studies (NACS) adopted the new name of the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) at the 1995 national conference in Spokane, Washington, in recognition of the contributions Chicanas have made to the association and the experience of Chicans.
67. Maldonado and García, eds., *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1995, 1998, 2001).
68. Antonia I. Castañeda, "Que Se Pudieran Defender (So You Could Defend Yourselves): Chicanas, Regional History, and National Discourse," in "Women's West," special issue, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 22, no. 3 (2001): 116–42.
69. García and García, eds. *Memory, Community, and Activism*. Another excellent example of emerging scholarship during this period is E. Mark Moreno, "Mexican American Street Gangs, Migration, and Violence in the Yakima Valley," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 97, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 131–38.
70. Lynn Stephen, *Transborder Lives: Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
71. Lynn Stephen, *The Story of PCUN and the Farmworker Movement in Oregon* (Eugene: University of Oregon, Center for Latino/a and Latin American Studies, 2012).
72. Mario Jimenez Sifuentes, *Of Forests and Fields: Mexican Labor in the Pacific Northwest* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2016).
73. Yolanda Alaniz, *Viva La Raza: A History of Chicano Identity and Resistance* (Seattle: Red Letters Press, 2008).
74. Ibid., Appendix 1 and 2, 287–326.
75. Erlinda Gonzales-Berry and Marcela Mendoza, *Mexicans in Oregon: Their Stories, Their Lives* (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2010).
76. Glenn Anthony May, *Sonny Montes and Mexican American Activism in Oregon* (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2011).
77. Cyndi MacFarland, "Growing Hispanic Population Part of Idaho's History," *Idaho State Journal*, August 15, 2015. Accessed April 15, 2016 at [www.idahostatejournal.com/members/growing-hispanic-population-part-of-idaho-s-history/article\\_f65db386-4315-11e5-b41e-e731d99a9f78.html](http://www.idahostatejournal.com/members/growing-hispanic-population-part-of-idaho-s-history/article_f65db386-4315-11e5-b41e-e731d99a9f78.html)
78. Errol Jones and Kathleen R. Hodges, "A Long Struggle: Mexican Farm Workers in Idaho, 1918–1935," in García and García, *Memory, Community, and Activism*,

41–84. This article provides an excellent analysis of the Mexican experience between post World War I and the Great Depression. See also Erasmo Gamboa, *Voces Hispanas: Hispanic Voices of Idaho: Excerpts from the Idaho Hispanic Oral Project*, Boise: Idaho Humanities Council, 1992; Laurie Mercier, “Idaho’s Latin Americans,” in Laurie Mercier et al., *Idaho’s Ethnic Heritage Guide* (Boise: Idaho’s Ethnic Heritage Project, 1990); Laurie Mercier, “Creating a New Community in the North: Mexican Americans of the Yellowstone Valley,” in *Stories From an Open Country*, ed. William L. Lang (Billings, MT: Western Heritage Center, 1995).

79. The following are examples: “Profile of the Hispanic Population of Idaho,” Boise: Idaho Department of Commerce, 1990; Richard Mabbutt, “Hispanics in Idaho: Concerns and Challenges,” Idaho Human Rights Commission, Research Report, Spring 1990; Hispanic Youth—Dropout Prevention, Report of the Task Force On the Participation of Hispanic Students in Vocational Education Programs, Boise: State Division of Vocation Education, 1990; “Report of the Task Force on Hispanic Education,” State of Idaho Board of Education, January 18, 1991.
80. Gamboa, *Voces Hispanas*; “Oral History Projects,” *Idaho State Historical Society*, accessed on April 15, 2016, at [history.idaho.gov/oral-history-projects](http://history.idaho.gov/oral-history-projects). The Idaho State Historical Society houses the various oral history transcripts on the Hispanic communities mentioned. Very few have been digitized.
81. Maylei Blackwell, *Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 102–103.
82. Anaya and Lomelí, eds., “El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán,” 1–5.

## PART ONE

# EMPIRE AND BORDERS

## Empire, Colonialism, and Mexican Labor in Greater Aztlán

*Dionicio Valdés*

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A notable feature of the third wave of Chicana/o studies theory in the twenty-first century is the resuscitation of internal colonial theory, which focuses on the descendants of the conquered and enslaved people of the United States, particularly Native Americans, Mexicans, and African Americans.<sup>1</sup> Popularized in the 1970s, it came under attack by a second generation of scholars in the 1980s and 1990s, some demonstrating flaws and adding to an already rich criticism in Chicano studies and other disciplines, others openly rejecting it as outmoded, inapplicable, and not even worthy of discussion.<sup>2</sup> The latter were influenced in particular by current trends in post-colonialism, post-structuralism, and especially post-modernism, arguing that internal colonialism and other efforts to generalize about society and broad characteristics of the population were totalizing, inconsistent with their own experiences, and therefore invalid.

Unfortunately, those who rejected systemic analysis in effect deterred theoretical discussion and engagement, which left a vacuum in efforts to understand the broader forces that explain inequality and other aspects of the Mexican experience. Despite our internal divisions and individual successes, the Mexican population as a group continues to enjoy far fewer fruits of our labor than the majority population, and it is necessary to examine inequality systematically to deal with it more effectively. It is necessary to approach theory and generalization on different levels, and this essay is a modest effort in this direction.