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Latina Political Participation

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Introduction

Contemporary Latinas and Latinos constitute a growing political influence in American politics. Moreover, in 2000 Latinas/Latinos reached a demographic milestone, surpassing African Americans in becoming the largest ethnic minority group in the United States (see Ennis, et al. 2011 and Grieco and Cassidy 2001 under General Overviews). However, despite important political gains made over the past thirty-five years, Latinas and Latinos continue to experience significant structural and resource barriers to their political incorporation, resulting in enduring forms of marginalization for the population. Latinas specifically inherit a long history of political activism dating back to early resistance against US expansion both in Mexico and the Caribbean and encompassing traditional forms of political behavior including voting and holding elective office. However, because their participation has been concentrated in nontraditional and nonelectoral activities, accounts of their leadership and contributions are frequently overlooked if not diminished. This article provides an overview of Latina political participation beginning in the late 19th century, highlighting literature on the two largest populations of Latinas in the United States: Mexican American and Puerto Rican women. Whether organizing immigrant activists in response to restrictive legislation proposed in Congress, providing feminist critiques of leaders in the Chicano movement, or mobilizing voter turnout in key elections, Latinas have always engaged in politics, and their history of participation is central not only to our understanding of racial, ethnic, and gender politics specifically, but American politics generally.

General Overviews

Publications by or about Latinas in the United States, particularly their political activism, were infrequent until the late 20th century, when social-protest movements gave rise to a surge in Chicana and Latina scholarship. Occasional references to Latinas in the late 19th and early 20th centuries exist in anthropological accounts of immigration (Gamio 1931). However, initial efforts to account for Chicano and Latino history in the United States relegated questions of gender and Latinas specifically to secondary status (Acuña 1972). In short, most of what we know about Latina politics in this early period comes from biographical sketches and archival research produced since the early 1980s (see also *Latina Responses to Colonization and US Expansion*). Historical accounts of Latina political engagements followed the history of Latina/o immigration, labor activism, and resistance to assimilation through the early 20th century. The formation of Chicana and Latina feminist movements in the 1970s and the institutionalization of this discourse in universities, conferences, small presses, and research centers generated a wave of new scholarship by Latina activists (see *Chicano and Latino Social Movements and Chicana and Latina Activism*). The publication of biographical data, bibliographies, and an encyclopedia dedicated to historic Latina figures and organizations shed light on significant contributions and filled gaps in US history (National Women's History Project 1991, Ruiz and Sánchez Korrol 2005, Ruiz and Sánchez Korrol 2006, Stoner 2000). However, such comprehensive accounts don't interrogate the technologies of politics and power or attend to questions of agency, organizational mobilization, and activism. In effect, they lack the focus on political history, theory, process and development, and what Latinas' engagement and marginalization from American politics

say about the nature of democracy in the United States. A critical body of literature documenting much of Latinas' involvement in nontraditional politics exists in the humanities, while a separate body of scholarship on Latina political behavior and electoral politics has emerged in the fields of political science and social science. The decentralized nature of this research has yielded little consensus with regard to methods, terminology, or even the meaning of "politics." Thus, as the population of Latinas and Latinos expands, resulting in greater demographic and political diversity, the need to properly understand the history of Latina activism also increases (Ennis, et al. 2011; Grieco and Cassidy 2001). This article provides a pathway to understanding various forms of Latina political participation in the United States, bringing together resources across time (highlighting the late 19th and 20th centuries), topic (nontraditional and traditional forms of political participation), population (highlighting Mexican American and Puerto Rican women), and discipline.

Acuña, Rodolfo. *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle toward Liberation*. San Francisco: Canfield, 1972.

The first broad historical account of Chicanos in the United States, documenting conflict from the colonization of the Southwest to the Chicano movement. Subsequent editions were substantially revised and expanded, but the first edition was highly critiqued for its failure to address gender and substantially include Chicanas and Latinas.

Ennis, Sharon R., Merarys Ríos-Vargas, and Nora G. Albert. *The Hispanic Population: 2010*. United States Census Bureau 2010 Census Brief. Washington, DC: Economics and Statistics Administration, US Department of Commerce, 2011.

Review of census data on Hispanic-origin population from the 2010 US Census.

Gamio, Manuel. *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.

One of the earliest published studies of Mexican labor in the United States, produced by a noted Mexican anthropologist and sociologist. Provides analysis of statistics and autobiographic material, highlighting economic conditions, context of migration, and racial and ethnic tensions in the United States, with passing reference to women and family. Republished in 1971 (New York: Dover).

Grieco, Elizabeth M., and Rachel C. Cassidy. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin*. United States Census Bureau 2000 Census Brief. Washington, DC: Economics and Statistics Administration, US Department of Commerce, 2001.

Review of census data on Hispanic-origin population from the 2000 US Census. Documenting the substantive increase of Latinas/Latinos in the United States, specifically surpassing African Americans as the largest racial/ethnic minority population.

National Women's History Project. *Las Mujeres: Mexican American / Chicana Women*. Windsor, CA: National Women's History Project, 1991.

Biographies of seventeen Mexican American women whose lives significantly shaped US history, including land, labor, and civil-rights activists. Figures include Doña María del Carmen Calvillo, Jovita Idár, María L. de Hernández, Alicia Dickerson Montemayor, Luisa Moreno, Romana Acosta Bañuelos, Dolores Huerta, and Martha Cotera.

Ruiz, Vicki, and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, eds. *Latina Legacies: Identity, Biography, and Community*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

A critical reading of US history as told through the lives of prominent Latinas in the 19th and 20th centuries. Useful as an analytical accompaniment to the *Latina Encyclopedia* by Harold Augenbraum and Ilan Stavans (Danbury, CT : Grolier Academic Reference, 2005), particularly the interpretation of the early development of the United States and the way race, class, and gender figured centrally in this history.

Ruiz, Vicki, and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, eds. *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia*. 3 vols. Bloomington:

Indiana University Press, 2006.

Comprehensive overview of Latinas in the United States includes nearly six hundred entries (and three hundred photographs) highlighting prominent Latinas, organizations, and events. Includes introductory essays elucidating regional, generational, ethnic, and cultural differences between subgroups.

Stoner, K. Lynn, ed. *Cuban and Cuban-American Women: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

Comprehensive review of primary and secondary sources, documenting history of Cuban women on the island and in the United States. Part II is most relevant to understanding Latina politics in the United States, highlighting Cuban American women's history from 1868 to 1997 and including themes of exile, family, labor studies, political organization, and race.

Mestizaje, Hybridity, and Intersectionality

Debates around the naming of Latinas/Latinos in the United States occupy a significant portion of the Chicana/o and Latina/o studies and cover a number of topics, ranging from tensions between pan-ethnic identifiers and national-origin terms to the level of theoretical or political opposition connoted in a specific name. The term "Latina," while referring to women from Latin America residing in the United States, is itself a contested identity, one constantly being negotiated and redefined in relationship to macro- and micro-level forces, while simultaneously building on previous waves of identity and resistance. Important to these debates is the introduction of theoretical concepts that seek to explain, elucidate, and empower Latina experiences in the United States. In particular, concepts of *mestizaje*, hybridity, and intersectionality deserve attention both for their effectiveness in framing the simultaneous modes of difference embodied in the lived experiences of Latinas as well as for their theoretical saliency outside Chicana/o and Latina/o studies. While the concept of triple oppression has been a feature in Chicana and Latina scholarship for decades (Córdova, et al. 1993), few works capture the way both philosophical and political borders produce complex forms of *mestiza* consciousness and identity more so than Gloria Anzaldúa's path-breaking multilingual essays (Anzaldúa 1987). More-recent scholarship expands on work in *mestizaje* and intersectionality, specifically engaging these issues both as platforms for identity and political change (Barvosa 2008, Sandoval 2000), and as vehicles for the production of new research (Blea 1992, Hawkesworth 2006). In short, concepts of *mestizaje*, hybridity, and intersectionality, which originated in the lived experiences of women of color, including Latinas and African American women, have gained purchase as they have been exported to allied fields such as feminist studies, political theory, and comparative political analysis. In the process, the intellectual scholarship around these concepts has expanded to questions of multiple and countervailing conditions of power—as well as embodied subjectivities of race, class, gender, and sexuality—but equally to debates about methodology and epistemology that make use of hybridity, *mestizaje*, and intersectionality in the production of new knowledge on politics.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands: The New Mestiza / La Frontera*. San Francisco: Spinsters / Aunt Lute, 1987.

Groundbreaking collection of essays and poems in English, Spanish, and Nahuatl, exploring the philosophical and cultural meaning of borders, especially as they are manifested in the identity of Chicanas and Latinas. Highlights formation of "mestiza consciousness."

Barvosa, Edwina. *Wealth of Selves: Multiple Identities, Mestiza Consciousness, and the Subject of Politics*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008.

Important theoretical analysis bringing work in hybridity, *mestizaje*, and intersectionality into conversation with political theory, philosophy, and psychology to address how a decentered and multiple subjectivity can also produce substantive and coherent political practice.

Blea, Irene I. *La Chicana and the Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender*. New York: Praeger, 1992.

Analysis of contemporaneous scholarship in race, class, and gender and the production of meaning surrounding “Chicana” identity and terminology. Advances the use of Chicana feminist theory drawn from multiplicity of conflict to develop new research.

Córdova, Teresa, Norma Cantú, Gilberto Cárdenas, Juan García, and Christine M. Sierra, eds. *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender*. Papers presented at the Twelfth Annual Conference of the National Association for Chicano Studies, held in 1984 at the University of Texas at Austin. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1993.

Early interdisciplinary anthology highlights the forms of multiple discrimination and “triple oppression” experienced by Chicanas and Latinas. Originally published in 1986 (Colorado Springs, CO: National Association for Chicano Studies).

Hawkesworth, Mary. *Feminist Inquiry: From Political Conviction to Methodological Innovation*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

Thoroughly traces development of feminist epistemology and methodology in Western thought, including use of intersectionality both as a theory and method. Provides compelling case for use of intersectionality as a tool across multiple disciplines to advance social justice.

Sandoval, Chela. *Methodology of the Oppressed*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Develops a sophisticated theory of resistance (both political and philosophical) rooted in “third world feminism.” Advances use of *mestizaje* both as an embodied subject and a method.

Critical Anthologies

As the political activism of Latinas expanded and connections were forged across racial, ethnic, and national identities; regions; and sexual-preference and gender identities, writing by Latinas reflected this increasing complexity in the construct of *Latinidad*. Nowhere was this kind of engaged scholarship more clearly demonstrated than in the groundbreaking anthology edited by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981). Bringing together Chicanas, Mexicanas, and Puerto Rican and Cuban women, along with Asian American and African American women writers, this anthology was both attentive to the intersections of race, gender, and sexual identity as manifest in the lived experiences of women of color, and assertive of a radical subjectivity sometimes absent in earlier writing. Moreover, this work brought lesbians of color and questions of sexuality, sexual preferences, and heterosexism into the center of Latina feminist writing. Publication of this anthology also signaled a new era of feminist scholarship, with the success of feminist publishing houses such as Aunt Lute Books and Third Woman Press. While Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981 wasn't the first collection of critical writing on Chicana and Latina engagements with power, discrimination, and resistance (Melville 1980), it did bring experiences of Chicanas and Latinas into conversation with women of color across the United States and provided comparative analysis on the internal and external struggles for justice. Equally important, the success of Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981 was extended in subsequent anthologies (Anzaldúa 1990) and ushered in a wave of collective work in the form of critical anthologies by and about Latinas, in specialized fields such as historiography (Del Castillo 1990, De la Torre and Pesquera 1993) and with attention to specific ethnic and regional identities (Acosta-Belén 1986) and sexual preferences (Trujillo 1991). Moreover, their work demonstrated the interdisciplinary nature of Chicana and Latina scholarship and created multiple avenues for building theory and analysis around Latina activism and political practice.

Acosta-Belén, Edna, ed. *The Puerto Rican Woman: Perspectives on Culture, History, and Society*. 2d ed. New York: Praeger, 1986.

Interdisciplinary essays examine the family, education, and labor force participation and development of Puerto Rican women. Centrally focused on women in Puerto Rico but includes important early work on Puerto Rican women's status on the mainland.

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

Collection of academic and interpretive essays and poems by women of color that extend the critiques and analysis of Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981.

De la Torre, Adela and Beatriz M. Pesquera, eds. *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Essays in anthropology, cultural studies, history, labor studies, and sociology extend the range of Chicana scholarship into new areas of inquiry. Essays by Antonia Castañeda (pp. 15–34), Deena González (pp. 75–91), and Vicki Ruiz (pp. 109–130) are especially compelling for political conflict and strategies of resistance in early US history.

Del Castillo, Adelaida R., ed. *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History*. Papers from the Mexicana/Chicana Women's History International Symposium, held in Santa Monica, California, in 1982. Encino, CA: Floricanto, 1990.

Essays highlighting issues in Chicana historiography, from theoretical critiques of method to debates on gender ideology, patriarchy, and feminist activism in Mexico and the Southwest. Collection revised and reprinted in 2005.

Latina Feminist Group. *Telling to Live: Latina Feminist Testimonios*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

Collection of essays by prominent Latina feminists and founders of modern Latina scholarship. Sections I (“Genealogies of Empowerment,” pp. 25–156) and II (“Alchemies of Erasure,” pp. 167–250) are particularly poignant for nuanced details describing challenges faced as youth and in early development of the field. As stated in the introduction, “In forging political connections with feminists of color, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other Latina writers facilitated a process of theorizing through social activism and autobiographical writing.” (p. 5).

Melville, Margarita B., ed. *Twice a Minority: Mexican American Women*. St Louis, MO: C. V. Mosby, 1980.

Collection of research in political and cultural anthropology (with the exclusion of substantive material on labor participation). Thematic highlights include challenges to reproduction, acculturation, family, development of gender roles and identity, health and social networks, and feminism.

Moraga, Cherrie, and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. Watertown, MA: Persephone, 1981.

Groundbreaking collection of essays by feminists of color, critically challenging subordination by white feminists and masculine nationalists while asserting Third World feminist subjectivities. Third edition published in 2001 (Berkeley, CA: Third Woman).

Trujillo, Carla, ed. *Chicana Lesbians: The Girls Our Mothers Warned Us About*. Berkeley, CA: Third Woman, 1991.

Collection of essays devoted to Chicana and Latina lesbians and intersections of sexual preferences and identities with questions of race, gender, and class.

Latina Responses to Colonization and US Expansion

While academic studies of Latina political participation in early US history have been infrequent, contemporary scholars have unearthed historical evidence of Latinas engaging with various institutions of power—from the church to the state—and have reinterpreted key political developments in US history in light of these accounts. Central to the early political involvement of Latinas are two moments that redefined the borders between the United States and Latin America: the annexation of northern Mexico in the Southwest at the end of the US-Mexico War (as a condition of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo) and the acquisition of Cuba and Puerto Rico at the end of the Spanish-American War (as a condition of the 1898 Treaty of Paris). Mexican American women living in the Southwest under Spanish and Mexican rule were part of resistance efforts to westward expansion, such as the Bear Flag Revolt of 1846 (Beebe and Senkewicz 2006), and figured prominently in struggles to retain land (Dunbar-Ortiz 2007, Lyon 2008). In particular, Luna 1999 highlights the case of Modesta Avila, arrested for obstructing the Santa Fe Railroad for posting a heavy sign reading “this land belongs to me and if the railroad wants to run here, they will have to pay me ten thousand dollars” (p. 115). Moreover, the work in Nalbone 2000 notes the presence of gender and racial conflict in the experiences of Puerto Rican women such as Lola Rodríguez de Tió—poet and author of the Puerto Rican national anthem—whose feminist approach to nationalism forced her to spend most of her life in exile. Puerto Rican women also figured in debates around immigration, nationalization, and citizenship, as in the court case of Isabel González, whose struggle to migrate to New York after the Spanish-American War laid the groundwork for subsequent Puerto Rican citizenship in the United States (Erman 2008). Finally, owing to the complexity of their class and political standing, Latinas were both affected by the process of US expansion and served as agents of colonization (Lyon 2008). In both instances the emerging research on their political participation gives us a better picture of how US political foundations are gendered and racialized and how US expansion into territories of Latin America changed the political conditions for women.

Beebe, Rose Marie, and Robert M. Senkewicz. *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815–1848*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2006.

Valuable testimonials from thirteen women, mostly Latinas, who lived in California under Spanish and Mexican rule. Includes testimonies from Rosalía Vallejo, military commander Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo’s sister who was present at the Bear Flag Revolt in 1846—and Apolinaria Lorenzana, prominent figure in the establishment of Mission Santa Bárbara.

Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. *Roots of Resistance: A History of Land Tenure in New Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.

Centered on US expansion in the Southwest in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The author examines the struggles for land among indigenous and Mexican communities, and how these affected their contemporaneous political and economic formations. Particular attention is paid throughout to shifts in gendered relationships and erosion of democratic norms benefiting women, as a result of capitalist interventions.

Erman, Sam. “Meanings of Citizenship in the U.S. Empire: Puerto Rico, Isabel Gonzalez, and the Supreme Court, 1898 to 1905.” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 27.4 (Summer 2008): 5–33.

Examination of *Gonzalez v. Williams*, a case that centered on Isabel Gonzalez and her attempt to acquire US citizenship and migrate from Puerto Rico to New York. Case prominently effected the eventual conferral of US citizenship on Puerto Ricans. Available online by subscription.

Luna, Guadalupe T. “‘This Land Belongs To Me’: Chicanas, Land Grant Adjudication, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.” *Harvard Latino Law Review* 3 (Fall 1999): 115–162.

Critical legal analysis of race and gender in US land struggles. Highlights resistance efforts by Chicana land grant holder at end of US-Mexico war. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Lyon, Mary Lou. “Juana Briones de Miranda: The First Woman Settler of San Francisco.” *California Territorial Quarterly* 73 (Spring 2008): 4–14.

The life, travels, and acquisitions of Juana Briones, who was raised in and around mission life at the beginning of the 19th century and acquired large amounts of land in the San Francisco Bay area, serving as a key person in the development of the region.

Nalbone, Lisa. "Lola Rodríguez de Tió and Luis Llorens Torres: Literary Precursors of Puerto Rican Ideology." *Secolas Annals* 32 (2000): 125–131.

Examination of political ideology, nationalism, and gender conflict within the context of Puerto Rico's independence movement from Spain, through the work of two poets, Lola Rodríguez de Tió (author of the Puerto Rican national anthem) and Luis Llorens Torres.

Early-20th-Century Political Participation

Throughout the first half of the 20th century, *de jure* and *de facto* forms of discrimination served to disenfranchise both women and racial minorities. While all native-born or naturalized men, with the exclusion of American Indians and those ineligible for citizenship, were enfranchised with the ratification of the 14th Amendment in 1868, sex-based barriers to voting were not removed from the Constitution until more than fifty years later, with the ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920. Yet, even with barriers to *de jure* discrimination lifted, it would take years (and a civil-rights movement) to address the *de facto* traditions, norms and customs that continued to keep racial minorities and particularly women of color from the polling booths. Much like African American women, Latinas experienced the dual impacts both of racial and gendered forms of exclusion, keeping them from the ballot box and elective office until late in the 20th century. However, these barriers to political participation did not prevent Latinas from taking part in issues that affected their communities and their families and cultivating a political voice. For much of the 20th century, Latinas expressed their political interests in unions, church groups, community organizations, and other nontraditional political organizations. Isolated from the formal channels of politics, Mexican American women in the early 20th century played significant roles in mutual aid societies (*mutualistas*) and small community-centered organizations (González 2003). Over the 1930s and through the 1940s, Latinas used the lessons learned in these organizations to gain a political foothold in larger organizations such as the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (Calderón and Zamora 1990, Durón 1984, Ruiz 1987). While they were excluded from participating in traditional political venues, we see in Sánchez 1994 that Latinas became targets for Americanization programs intended to properly assimilate newly arrived immigrants. Through the political exposure gained in community groups and labor unions, several Latinas such as Emma Tenayuca and Luisa Moreno emerged as prominent leaders in strikes in Arizona, California, Colorado, and New Mexico (Durón 1984, Ruiz 2004). Moreover, as more Latinas moved from informal labor to greater participation in the formal labor market, historians and anthropologists noted the formation of shifts in gendered dynamics in Latina/o family life as well as expansion of expressions of Latina political identities (Ruiz 1987).

Calderón, Roberto R., and Emilio Zamora. "Manuela Solis y Sager and Emma B. Tenayuca: A Tribute." Paper presented at the Mexicana/Chicana Women's History International Symposium, held in Santa Monica, California, in 1982. In *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History*. Edited by Adelaida R. Del Castillo, 269–281. Encino, CA: Floricanto, 1990.

Examines the political development of Latinas in the early 20th century, from small community-centered organizations to leadership roles in larger church organizations and labor unions, as seen through the experiences of two prominent Mexican American women. Revised and reprinted in 2005 (Mountain View, CA: Floricanto).

Durón, Clementina. "Mexican Women and Labor Conflict in Los Angeles: The ILGWU Dressmakers' Strike of 1933." *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 15.1 (1984): 145–161.

Historical analysis of the labor struggles of Mexican American garment workers in Los Angeles in the early 20th century, their ascendancy to leadership in the ILGWU, and their successful organizing efforts in the 1933 strike, which affected industry across the region. Available online by subscription.

González, Gabriela. “Carolina Munguía and Emma Tenayuca: The Politics of Benevolence and Radical Reform.” In *Special Issue: Gender on the Borderlands. Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 24.2–3 (2003): 200–229.

Comparison of two politically active women in the 1930s: Munguía, a mother and wife who organized through the church, and Tenayuca, a prominent labor organizer who embraced communism and whose political beliefs often clashed with gendered social norms. Available online by subscription.

Ruiz, Vicki L. *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930–1950.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

Historical account of Mexican American women’s successful labor organizing and political mobilization through UCAPAWA in the 1930s and 1940s.

Ruiz, Vicki L. “Una Mujer sin Fronteras: Luisa Moreno and Latina Labor Activism.” *Pacific Historical Review* 73.1 (February 2004): 1–20.

Examination of Luisa Moreno, a transcontinental Latina union organizer, who served as vice president of UCAPAWA and as a prominent figure in civil-rights organizations such as the Congress of Spanish-Speaking Peoples. Available online by subscription.

Sánchez, George J. “‘Go After the Women’: Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman, 1915–1929.” In *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women’s History.* 2d ed. Edited by Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois, 284–297. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Chronicles proliferation of Americanization programs, designed to “assimilate” Mexican immigrants by stripping them of their cultural identity and substituting the English language, American customs, and Protestant traditions. Highlights the gendered nature of these programs as Mexican women became the target.

Chicano and Latino Social Movements and Chicana and Latina Activism

During the 1960s and 1970s, social-justice movements predicated on race/ethnicity, class, and gender emerged across the country, presenting unique challenges and opportunities to women of color generally and Latinas specifically. Caught between struggles for gendered and racial justice, Latinas participated strongly in both movements while eventually transforming them. A key dynamic in this period was the marginalization of Latina feminism by strains of feminist theory that privileged white feminists and by the dominance of Chicano/Latino nationalism that grounded the movements in Latino masculinity. The challenges and contributions of Chicanas and Latinas both in gendered and race-based movements are documented in Blackwell 2011 and Roth 2004, while García 1997 chronicles the simultaneous emergence of Chicana and Latina feminist discourses. Following a tradition of African American feminists, Chicanas and Latinas asserted their own identity as women of color, simultaneously confronting racial, ethnic, class, gender, and sexual inequality (Cotera 1976, Mirandé and Enríquez 1979). Moreover, Latinas formed independent support networks, community groups, and publishing outlets to express their political consciousness. Notable among these efforts were feminist journals and community newspapers such as *Regeneración*, *Encuentro Femenil*, and *Las Hijas de Cuauhtemoc* (García 1997). Chicana feminists also wrote for periodicals such as *Aztlán*, *El Magazin de Tejas*, *La Raza*, *Consafos*, *De Colores*, *La Luz*, and *Palante*, distributed principally in Latina/o communities. Oropeza and Espinoza 2006 follows noted Chicana feminist Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez, who wrote a regular column for the largest movement newspaper, *El Grito del Norte*. By the early 1980s, Chicana feminists’ organized regional and national conferences were bringing together academics and activists. In 1983 these efforts produced the Chicana caucus of the National Association of Chicano Studies (NACS) and MALCS (Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambios Sociales), two organizations attentive to critical analyses of power and discrimination in the Chicana/o community. This was followed in 1984 by the first NACS conference dedicated exclusively to examinations of gender, and the inauguration of the annual Chicana/Latina summer research institute of MALCS in 1985 (Córdova, et al. 1993) (see also *Mestizaje*, Hybridity, and Intersectionality). Finally, building on work in nontraditional politics, Latinas achieved regional and national recognition in this era, with their participation in La Raza Unida Party, the Young Lords,

and the National Women's Political Caucus (Morales 2009).

Blackwell, Maylei. *Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011.

Focused on the development of Chicana feminist, student, and community organizations in the Southwest, this book provides much-needed analysis of the involvement, obstacles, and enduring gendered tensions surrounding Chicana participation in the Chicano movement.

Córdova, Teresa, Norma Cantú, Gilberto Cárdenas, Juan García, and Christine M. Sierra, eds. *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender*. Papers presented at the Twelfth Annual Conference of the National Association for Chicano Studies, held in 1984 at the University of Texas at Austin. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1993.

Collection of essays from the historic 1984 conference of the National Association for Chicano Studies, the first conference in the association's history that was focused on women. Articles explore themes in history, language, literature, and politics. Significant theoretical development of intersectionality in relationship to Chicanas. Originally published in 1986 (Colorado Springs, CO: National Association for Chicano Studies).

Cotera, Martha. *Profile of the Mexican American Woman*. Austin, TX: National Educational Laboratory Publishers, 1976.

Early analysis of Mexican American women in the United States, produced by noted Chicana feminist under contract with the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Highlights Chicana history from pre-Columbian period through Chicano movement, and thematic attention to issues of family, identity, education, labor, health, housing, professional development, and conflicts with Chicanos.

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

Significant collection of original writings by Chicanas, including hard-to-find work by noted feminists (e.g., Martha Cotera, Enriqueta Longeaux y Vásquez, and Anna Nieto Gomez) and organizations (e.g., Las Hijas de Cuauhtémoc). Introductory essay by Alma García (pp. 1–21) provides arguably the best overview of key themes, debates, and conflicts in the development of Chicana feminist intellectual history. As the book specifically states, Latinas in this period “did not simply decry their victimization, but more importantly displayed their agency in combating injustice . . . the gender contradictions that shaped their daily lives produced a feminist awakening that was ultimately channeled into a proliferation of feminist documents” (p. 9).

Mirandé, Alfredo, and Evangelina Enríquez. *La Chicana: The Mexican-American Woman*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Early comprehensive analysis of Mexican American women's experiences and history from pre-Columbian society to the modern era of the Chicano movement, highlighting theoretical and sociological “dualities.” One of the first such accounts published by a university press, problematic for its nationalist and linear reading of history, and deterministic analysis of inequality.

Morales, Iris. *Palante, Siempre Palante! The Young Lords*, 1996. DVD. New York: Latino Education Network Service, 2009.

Documentary chronicling the Young Lords, a radical activist group based in New York dedicated to addressing race, class, and gender inequality in the Puerto Rican community. Written, produced, and codirected by Iris Morales—prominent member of the organizing committee, serving as deputy minister of education and leader of the Women's Union.

Roth, Benita. *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Using intersectionality and social-movement theory, this book examines the emergence of feminist critiques and movements among women of color during the 1960s and 1970s. Chapter 4 highlights specific histories of Chicanas in the United States.

Oropeza, Lorena, and Dionne Espinoza, eds. *Enriqueta Vasquez and the Chicano Movement: Writings from El Grito del Norte*. Houston, TX: Arte Público, 2006.

Collection of essays written by noted Chicana feminist Enriqueta Vásquez and published as part of her regular column in Chicano newspaper that was central to the development of the Chicano movement. Introductory and concluding essays contextualize her life and significance to the formation of Chicana feminist thought.

Latinas and Traditional Electoral Political Participation

The inequalities exposed in the course of race-based and gendered social movements of the 1960s and 1970s also led to the passage of significant federal legislation that altered the future of Latina/o political participation, most notably the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the expansion of the Voting Rights Act in 1975 to include language minorities. These laws provided federal scrutiny to a history of *de facto* discrimination that had excluded Latinas and Latinos, and by virtue of their passage, new opportunities were opened up for Latinas/Latinos to register, vote, and successfully run for public office. Despite changes mandated by these laws and despite the rich history of participation in nonelectoral political outlets, Latinas continued to face structural and resource restrictions that obstructed their electoral participation. As a result, the levels at which Latinas participate in electoral politics, particularly as voters, have regularly fallen below their population numbers (Verba, et al. 1995). Owing in part to their lower levels of electoral participation, along with other factors, including the relatively small number of Latinas receiving advanced degrees in political science, and the failure of the discipline to thoroughly engage questions of race and gender politics, research on traditional forms of Latina political participation is still an emerging field (Sierra and Sosa-Riddell 1994). Hardy-Fanta 1993 and Garcia, et al. 2008 have addressed this gap, providing case studies, interviews, qualitative observations, and testimonies of Latinas in elective office. The collection of large-scale survey data dedicated to examining Latina/o political behavior (including the Latino National Political Survey [1989–1990], the Latino National Survey [2005–2006], and the Gender and Multicultural Leadership Project [2006]), and their analysis through sophisticated, empirically driven research, have provided new avenues for analyzing Latina and Latino political opinion (Fraga, et al. 2008; Montoya 1996; Hardy-Fanta, et al. 2006). Finally, early-21st-century research in political theory by Latinas has advanced gendered, race-related, and intersectional critiques of the discipline while adding new frames of analysis, methods, tools of inquiry, and questions to the growing body of work regarding traditional forms of Latina political participation (Beltrán 2010) (see also *Mestizaje*, Hybridity, and Intersectionality).

Beltrán, Cristina. *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Provides critical and timely analysis of Latina/o political behavior and research in Latina/o politics that supplants complexity and diversity in favor of mythology of unity. Brings to bear significant work in feminist and cultural theory to advance more nuanced and democratic reading of Latina/o engagements with politics.

Fraga, Luis R., John A. Garcia, Rodney Hero, Michael Jones-Correa, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary M. Segura. *Latino National Survey (LNS)*, 2006. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2008.

Large-scale survey (8,634 completed interviews) of Latinos/Hispanics in the United States. Responses were collected from November 2005 through August 2006 and include broad range of topics from demographic descriptors (with various gender markers) to political opinions and policy preferences. Survey conducted in English or Spanish, at discretion of respondent.

García, Sonia R., Valerie Martinez-Ebers, Irasema Coronado, Sharon A. Navarro, and Patricia A. Jaramillo. *Políticas: Latina Public Officials in Texas*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.

Examines history of political participation and the distinct leadership of Latinas elected to public office in Texas (state with the largest number of Latina/o elected officials). Highlights women who were “firsts” in their office. Builds impressive compendium of case studies through oral histories and archival research.

Hardy-Fanta, Carol. *Latina Politics, Latino Politics: Gender, Culture, and Political Participation in Boston*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.

Groundbreaking study of gender differences in political participation between Latinas and Latinos in Massachusetts. Particularly significant for documenting different meaning of politics held by Latinas, and how this affects their participation, organizational behaviors, outcomes, and perceptions of their own work.

Hardy-Fanta, Carol, Pei-te Lien, Dianne M. Pinderhughes, and Christine Marie Sierra. “Gender, Race, and Descriptive Representation in the United States: Findings from the Gender and Multicultural Leadership Project.” *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 28.3–4 (2006): 7–41.

Initial findings from first comprehensive survey of elected officials of color in the United States; highlights the role of women of color in building ranks of minority office holders and their political incorporation. Authors published more-extensive survey findings pertaining to Latinas through website of the Gender and Multicultural Leadership Project. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Montoya, Lisa J. “Latino Gender Differences in Public Opinion: Results from the Latino National Political Survey.” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18.2 (1996): 255–276.

Research from the first large-scale public opinion surveys of Latinas and Latinos in the United States (specifically Mexican Americans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans). Found significant gender gap on attitudes toward social welfare and women’s social and political roles. Findings distinct from later research by Gender and Multicultural Leadership Project. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Sierra, Christine Marie. “Latinas and Electoral Politics: Movin’ On Up.” In *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*. 2d ed. Edited by Susan J. Carroll and Richard L. Fox, 144–164. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Examines the role Latinas played as voters, candidates for office, and political mobilizers in various state and national elections in the United States during the early 21st century.

Sierra, Christine Marie, and Adaljiza Sosa-Riddell. “Chicanas as Political Actors: Rare Literature, Complex Practice.” *National Political Science Review* 4 (1994): 297–317.

Important critique of the discipline of political science, and an examination of Latina political practice from two of the first Latinas in the profession.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Findings from the 1995 Participation in America II, comparing electoral activity across ethnic and gender groups. Latinas consistently demonstrated lower patterns of participation in voting, campaign work, campaign contributions, and contact with public officials than all other racial/ethnic and gendered groups.

By the early 1990s the political economies between United States and Latin America had shifted, ushering in an intensification of globalization in the region, along with new challenges to transnational activism. An emerging body of research documented the effects of this process on Latinas and specifically how the shifting economic, cultural, and political patterns altered the very identity of Latinas and Latin American women while aligning and constricting relations in unexpected ways (Segura and Zavella 2007). In particular, research from the Pew Hispanic Center documents the “feminization” of immigration (Fry 2006), Zavella 2011 captures the daily struggles with economic constraint and nativism faced by the new population of Mexican immigrants. Staudt 2008 and Peña 2007 examine the mounting violence against women along the US–Mexico border, particularly the deaths and disappearances of more than four hundred women in Ciudad Juárez—a site of intensive global industrial expansion—since 1993. Finally, Sampaio 2004 examines the efforts among Latinas in the United States to forge transnational political alliances with women in Latin America to produce sustainable alternatives to globalization.

Fry, Richard. *Gender and Migration*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center, 2006.

Statistical research from the Pew Hispanic Center, documenting the “feminization” of immigration: namely, the steady increase in admission of women from Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean to the United States since the early 1990s. As a result, Latinas outnumber Latinos among legal adult immigrants to the United States.

Peña, Milagros. *Latina Activists across Borders: Women’s Grassroots Organizing in Mexico and Texas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Utilizes unique oral-history, conversational approach to develop a richly layered comparative analysis of Latina community organizing in Michoacán, Mexico, and the greater El Paso / Ciudad Juárez area.

Sampaio, Anna. “Transnational Feminisms in a New Global Matrix.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6.2 (June 2004): 181–206.

Using ethnographic case study approach, the author examines the prospects and challenges to transnational organizing among Chicanas, Latinas, and Latin American women, in the context of globalization. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Segura, Denise A., and Patricia Zavella, eds. *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands: A Reader*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007.

Set in the context of globalization and the changing political landscape between the United States and Mexico, the book examines shifts in meaning, opportunity, violence, and struggle, particularly for Mexican immigrant women. Part 3 significant for its interrogation of violence as a consequence of globalization and the ensuing genocide in Ciudad Juárez.

Staudt, Kathleen. *Violence and Activism at the Border: Gender, Fear, and Everyday Life in Ciudad Juárez*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.

Comprehensive cross-national analysis of femicide and the normalization of violence against women along the US-Mexico border. Examines key theories, case studies, and organizations dealing with violence against Latinas in Ciudad Juárez. Documentation and analysis of testimonies, thoughts, and strategies of resistance among Latinas in the border region is particularly compelling.

Zavella, Patricia. *I’m Neither Here nor There: The Mexicans’ Quotidian Struggles with Migration and Poverty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.

Using transnational ethnographic research, the author examines the struggle for agency among Mexican immigrants, in the context of restrictive economic and cultural conditions. Zavella is particularly attentive to the way immigration experiences are gendered and racialized, creating different experiences, obstacles, and opportunities for Latin American women.