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***IN NAHUI OLLIN*, A CYCLE OF FOUR INDIGENOUS MOVEMENTS:
MEXICAN INDIAN RIGHTS, ORAL TRADITIONS, SEXUALITIES, AND
NEW MEDIA**

by

Gabriel Santiago Estrada

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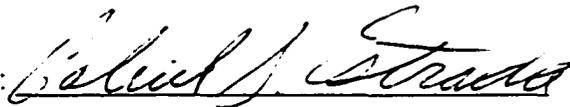
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SIGNED: 

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DEDICATION

For the Sun and the Moon,

To my Tata Chago,

My Grandma Lupe,

My Grandpa Joe,

And my Grandma Sarah,

For my parents,

Santiago C. Estrada,

And Sylvia Villalobos,

And for the future Indigenous and two-spirit generations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	7
ABSTRACT.....	8
1. EAST: <i>IN OLLIN, IN TLAKAMEH</i> : NATIVE MOVEMENT, NAHUATL MEN.....	10
<i>Indigenous Methodologies, Indigenous Movements</i>	10
<i>Indigenous Sovereignities: Changing International Hegemonies of Law</i>	19
<i>Indigenous Liberations from War, Rape, and Imprisonment Technologies</i>	32
<i>Nahuatl Cosmology and Masculinities</i>	41
2. NORTH: <i>IN HUEHUETLATOLLI</i> , THE ELDER'S WORDS:	
SPOKEN AND WRITTEN HISTORIES.....	74
<i>Caxcán Oral Traditions, History, and Homosexuality</i>	75
<i>Nahuatl Dance and Oral Traditions</i>	92
<i>Chicana/o and Mexican Sexual Histories</i>	97
3. WEST: <i>IN CIHUATLAMPA</i> , THE WOMEN'S SIDE: SCIENCE, BORDERS, AND INDIAN WOMEN.....	112
<i>Science, Ethnography, and other Indigenous Stories</i>	113
<i>Native Literatures, Methodologies, and Rarámuri Representations</i>	137
4. SOUTH: FUTURE MEDIA: THE MACHO BODY AS SOCIAL MALINCHE.....	154
<i>Indigenous Literatures and Postmodernism</i>	156
<i>Xicana/o Queer Media: Resounding Nahuatl Femininity in the Macho Body</i>	167
5. IN YOLLOTL, THE HEART: A MOVEMENT IN THE CIRCLE.....	187
WORKS CITED.....	192

TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1.1 “Amanacer,” lithograph, Juan Quezada.....	57
Figure 1.2 Aztec Sun Stone.....	59
Figure 2.1 <i>Huehucoyotzin</i> from the <i>Codex Borbonicus</i> , Lamina 4.....	79
Figure 2.2 El Rio Juchipila (<i>Xochipilli</i>).....	81
Figure 2.3 <i>Chichimec</i> Elder at the Mixton Mountain.....	83
Figure 2.4 <i>Xochipilli</i> as the God of Hallucinogens.....	85
Figure 2.5 Craig Acosta Rowe posing for <i>The Day I Kissed Mike Sanchez</i>	87
Figure 2.6 Young women offers copal to <i>Xochipilli</i>	88
Figure 2.7 <i>Tlatoani</i> holds flowers in mouth at <i>La Danza del Xuchitl</i>	89
Figure 2.8 Young <i>Caxcán</i> dances with the <i>Xuchitl</i>	89
Figure 2.9 Elderly women dances with the <i>Xuchitl</i>	90
Figure 4.1 <i>Teocalli</i> library at Nahuatl University.....	170
Figure 4.2 Mike Ruiz in <i>Latin Boys Go to Hell</i> video side cover.....	173
Figure 4.3 Orlando Cordero by his great-grandmother’s grave.....	184
Figure 5.1 <i>Two Nahuatl</i> snakes.....	188
Figure 5.2 Blue Corn.....	189

ABSTRACT

Pre-existing more hegemonic theories of Cultural Studies, Hispanic Studies, Media Arts, and Queer Studies, Nahuatl cosmologies offers an evolving political grounding for Native scholars. A *Nahuatl* cosmology of four directions represents a circle of masculinity, elders, femininity, and youth and forms the epistemology by which one can view *Nahuatl* and Xicana/o culture. In the east, Indigenous Rights directly relate to the hegemonic oppressions such as war, prison, and heterosexism that many Indigenous men face. Indigenous peoples fight those hegemonies with international legal concepts and through expressing their different epistemologies. In the north, the Caxcán oral tradition of my family contrasts with the homophobic and genocidal narratives more common in Chicano histories. I show how contemporary writers can rely more upon oral traditions and revisions to colonial records for their historical treatments of Indigenous peoples. To the west, postmodernism and feminism offer partial but incomplete analysis of *Nahuatl* cultures that *Nahuatl* women articulate in their own literatures and cosmological relations. In particular, Leslie Silko's stories are more than capable of critiquing postmodernism and ethnography, including those that describe Rarámuri peoples. To the south, I demonstrate that gay Nahuatl and Xicano men can embody the social Malinche in keeping with Nahuatl beliefs. I use the idea of the gay social Malinche to critique Troyano's film, *Latin Boys Go*

to Hell. Alternative internet sources tend to facilitate the ideas of the Social Malinche more. Together, all four movements comprise *ollin*, a social and cosmic movement that embraces different sexualities and generational changes in evolving aspects of dynamic social movements. Interweaving Western thought into the basic cosmology of Indigenous peoples, two-spirit social Malinches can open a path to political and social movement to improve their various relations.



1. EAST:

IN OLLIN, IN TLAKAMEH: NATIVE MOVEMENT, NAHUATL MEN

Indigenous Methodologies, Indigenous Movements

Driving with my grandma on Highway 76 that links the Luiseño Mission with the Pala Reservation north of San Diego, I recognize the tall reeds that hide the serpentine movements of a shallow river. “Hey, Grandma, that plant is on the Aztec calendar” I say, knowing that, unlike my deceased grandfather, she isn’t “Aztec;” she doesn’t have an interest in Aztecs, and probably can’t see the green-tan plants whiz by anyway. I usually point out bright flowers for her, like the pungent blue-purple blooms of California sage that reach out from the green shoulders of mountains or the yellow mustards that taste strangely like spicy broccoli and grow on hills that have been stripped of the native scrub by local housing and shopping mall projects. Years ago, I drove my grandma to Lake Tahoe. Descending back to Sacramento through a thick pine forest, I said, “Look grandma. Look how they grow. They like to be together.” She smiled. I wonder if she saw us in those trees, if she saw us as trees that “like being together,” or just people that like being “together” with the trees.

Like pines, reeds, or corn, Indians traditionally grow together. Indigenous fiestas and ceremonies show that social dynamic best. However, just as corn plants will stunt if you plant them too closely together, people also become unhappy if they don't give each other some growing space. I've seen that reeds don't need that much space, just lots of water, like people in a city. At Nahuatl University, I learned how *akatl*, the *Nahuatl* word for reed, differently resonates within *Chichimec*, *Nahuatl*, and other Mesoamerican cultures. I can relate that *akatl* is the symbol or energy of the East, *tlahuizcampa* or "side of light" which links *akatl* with dawn on the Aztec Calendar. According to Nahuatl University's compilation of *Nahuatl* cosmology through interviews with Central *Nahuatl* elders, readings of codices, and written analysis of Indigenous cultures, to embody *akatl* is to be "analytical" and "observant" and to be "*mixpetzoani*" of brilliant eye, awake and alert, in that eastern moment of sunrise when the senses wake up and the first impression of the world and daily plans become clearer. At Nahuatl University, I also learned that *akatl* is also a phallic symbol of masculinity in *Nahuatl* cosmology, a beginning or dawn that the earth, plants, animals, and peoples actively share. Yet, for each person in their own path of days, dawn will differ. The seasons, company, work, and questions that we become aware of each day and generation change. For example, because I now live in a city, to see *akatl* is to be in a quieter place, to walk, to think and breathe more clearly, in addition to its other meanings of masculinity and dawn. As a gay, Mexican Indian identified writer, my relationships to *akatl* and masculinity also evolve somewhat differently than they would if I were straight. My intent to write about gay Mexican Indian masculinities and social movements is a part of the larger *Nahuatl* cosmos. In

fact, *ollin*, movement, is the heart of *Nahuatl* cosmology as well as this dissertation. Because *ollin* infuses the cosmos, *Nahuatl* culture is also in continuous motion and change (Nahuatl University).

Akatl is the dawn or beginning of a cycle, but each beginning is molded by the agent who experiences it and is part of its creation. The *akatl* I experience should differ from the *akatl* that my ancestors experienced. Through my mother and father, I am a child of the Chicana and Chicano Movements of the 1970's that were closer to farm workers' rights and general social and gender equality. I am a Movimiento child. Yet, matrilineally and patrilineally, I am *Rarámuri* and *Caxcán* respectively, more commonly known as Tarahumara and Chichimecca; I am a grandchild of generations of Indigenous revolutions in Mexico that once again erupted in my grandparents' generation. In between those Indian lines of ancestry are a variety of more affluent mestizajes that include the Basque ancestry of my maternal grandfather's name, Mayagoitia, as well as the Old World mixes of Celtic, tribal African, Arab, and Jewish influences common in Spanish diasporas who mixed with Indigenous peoples and Chinese traders in Mexico. While I don't claim a pure or full-blooded Indian heritage, I also don't identify as "Hispanic" or "Latin" because, to me, that privileges Old World patriarchal classist heritage. I'm one kind of many types of mixed Indians that are found throughout the Americas. Radical Xicana/o identities allow for an inclusion of Indian diasporas who live in the U.S., so I can say that I'm from a *Rarámuri/Caxcán/Xicana/o* culture although Mexican Indian is what I more generally go by. I've mostly lived in a working class multiracial neighborhood in Sacramento, although I have stayed in upper middle class

areas of Orange County and Berkeley. My childhood was rooted on the edge of small rural/college town in Washington not far from the Rocky Mountains. As a professional student I've never grossed above average yearly working class wages, but I have been able to work less hours and enjoy some social status as a teacher. At UC Berkeley, crucial aspects of my Indigenous sense of cultural movement was never fully integrated in Chicana/o Studies which had a more feminist-Marxist leaning based upon the previous generation's work. I chose to study queer Chicana/o AIDS and cultural activism in the San Francisco barrio the Mission District through medical anthropology because those issues came to prominence during the 1980's and 1990's as death rates rose and activism increased. The reputation of American Indian Studies, proximity of strong Yaqui, and Tohono O'odham reservations, and the inclusion of Indigenous and border issues within my program of Cultural Studies is what attracted me to UA at Tucson. Here, I propose a new scholarly beginning that is more critical of Indigenismo and sexuality and more consciously grounded in international Indigenous relations. I relate Chicana/o Studies, Queer Studies, Anthropology, and now Cultural Studies to Indigenous ways through analyses of law, sexuality, social and cultural methodologies, cosmologies, and politics. As I am primarily interested in how Indigenous methodologies can integrate a different understanding of Indigenous sexual and cultural movements, I form a new *akatl*, a new beginning, a new dawn, and a new sense of masculinities.

Ideally, a variety of Indigenous methodologies decolonize Eurocentric, heterosexist, and classist scholarly discourses to increase academic accountability "to indigenous communities" (UC Santa Cruz Native Research and Pacific Research

Clusters) and to support larger political movements of Indigenous sovereignty. Although the State dominated United Nations has yet to ratify the draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, including Article 15's proclamation "...indigenous peoples...have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning" (Commission on Human Rights), Indigenous individuals of various nations continue to mobilize to create culturally appropriate education on local, state, and multinational levels. Pan-Native responses to the need to create Indigenous pedagogies are a part of a larger effort to stave off cultural genocide. In a historical Latin American educational context, Vine Deloria notes that "Early efforts by the Spanish were directed at transforming the Indian culture into an exact replica of church-dominated, administratively-controlled villages, cities and provinces that could be understood as an improved version of European Spanish society" (Deloria, qtd. in Cajete 11). What resulted was a caste system that privileged Spanish men as ideal possessors of land, elite education, and labor, as sanctified by the Catholic Church (Morner 57). Lower castes were comprised of Indians and African agricultural workers who did not need much, if any, formal education in the colonial mentality of the time that tended to continue on throughout Independence eras of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Nimipu/Chicana scholar Inés Hernández-Ávila emphasizes the sexist nature of Mexican colonization and caste systems that continue to impact contemporary Chicana/o gender relations and politics. After the decimation of Old World diseases and wars, new institutions such as the caste system assured that mixed-blooded peoples would tend to

ally themselves with the Spanish Empire and spurn their more sovereign or full-blooded Native relatives. Hernández-Ávila invokes Eduardo Galeano's description of a conflict in which Natives and Spanish confront each other. Despite the overwhelming numbers of Natives, a Spanish captain Bernal states that the victory will go him, stating that there will "be more and more of us." When an Araucanian chief asks "how, with what women?" Bernal responds "If there are no Spanish ones, we'll have yours...and we'll make children on them who will be your masters" (241), setting up a long history of antagonism between Mestizos who seek the white patriarchal privilege in a colonial system and Indians who fight for decolonization from that sexist, classist, and racist system. Hernández-Ávila interprets that Bernal's statement writing "captain Bernal...invalidated the power, consciousness, and presence of native women and what their response would be to this planned force utilization of their bodies as instruments to birth to children who would turn on their own people and be programmed to devastate them" (244). It is this sexist colonial strategy that continues to motivate the fear and prejudice that Mestizos continue to express towards Indians and Indigenous philosophies. "Why?" she continues, "Because they have bought the father's story that is seeped in misogyny and, having internalized the racism of Indian hating, they identify with him." Few Spanish or Old World women came to the Americas, a pattern different from the English pattern of colonization to the northeast. Because Native women literally reproduced Mestizo subjects of the Spanish Empire, sexism became highly racialized as European culture came to represent colonial patriarchy and Native cultures found an increasingly feminized and disempowered positions within the new colonial regimes.

However, given the complexity of colonization among differing Native groups, Wood and Haskett conclude “Spanish patriarchal social relations and cultural values most likely had an impact on indigenous culture, but with tempo and degree affected by human geography and factors that should take into account distinctions between individuals and communities, plus ethnicity and social class” (330), stressing that “women were rarely passive victims” as they created avenues of resistance to oppression and maintenance of their own traditions.

While the Mexican Revolution brought a some acceptance of Indigenous ancestry that had mostly passed through women, an elitist sense of post-Revolutionary “Indigenismo” projected that Indians must assimilate into a masculinist, Westernized society. Ronald Wright simply notes that “living Aztecs suffer discrimination while dead ones are eulogized” (252) as Eurocentric patriarchy continues in post-Revolutionary times. Even after a colonial period of Spanish Inquisition and colonization, Mexican Independence, and Revolution, the formulators of Mexican education and history continued to establish texts that viewed *Nahuatl* and other Indians contrary to the religious, linguistic, social, and racial “progress” of the Mestizo or Mexican nation that idealized men. In a Post-Revolutionary Mexico of 1925, José Vasconcelos posits in *La Raza Cosmica* that a Eurocentric Mestizo culture is racially superior to that of the Indigenous cultures of Mexico, writing “...the mixture of very distant types, as in the case of Spaniards and American Indians, has questionable results...even the most contradictory racial mixtures can have beneficial results, as long as the spiritual factor contributes to raise them...A religion such as Christianity made the American Indians

advance, in a few centuries, from cannibalism to a relative degree of civilization” (5). In subsequent years, his theories were critiqued for their obvious “anti-Indianism” in which predicated that Indians must permanently forfeit their culture to “survive the advance of progress” rooted in patriarchal Christian intolerance (Socoto qtd. in Vasconcelos 1979). In fact, Christianity seemed meant to further divide and conquer peoples of both genders. Even wealthy racially privileged women such as Sor Juana de la Cruz had difficulty in writing. Her *Respuesta*, a late seventeenth century “feminist” treatise, outlines women’s rights to think and write within a patriarchal Catholic Mexican society. Tey Diana Rebolledo reflects on Sor Juana’s “defense of education for women” in a context in which male Church leaders thought it imprudent for Sor Juana to posit that it was moral “for a woman and a nun to pursue intellectual study” (58). Sor Juana was ordered to stop her studies on the basis of her female gender. This was an order to which she complied although Rebolledo notes that Sor Juana continues to inspire Latina, Chicana and international feminists centuries later who would challenge the sexist assumptions of male Mexican writers such as Vasconcelos.

Vasconcelos’ post-Revolutionary Mexican views of an assimilationist “Indigenismo” contrast with the *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* that openly proclaims Indigenous rights to an education that will help the strengthen Indigenous cultures. In a Mexican context, the Declaration calls for an acceptance of cultures that often descend matrilineally, an acceptance that fluctuated in the last thirty years but was never truly realized. For example, while the U.S. based Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MECHA) reclaimed Mexican Indian cultures through an

Indigenist “cultural nationalism” as Muños documents in *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*, they often accepted the assimilationist tenants of Eurocentric machismo implicit within Mexican nationalistic models. Mechistas often identify as simply “La Raza,” (Muños 80), a racialized term which José Vasconcelos imbued with a sense that mixed Indian and Spanish people would be “superior” to racially pure peoples linked to the mother culture and Indigenous motherland. Given the tension between White males and Indigenous females within Mestizo cultures, many scholars are asking if indeed current machismo is any different from the pre-Columbian societies in that were uncomplicated by Whiteness. Palaversich rearticulates Indigenous peoples to three theories in which colonial and current Mexican sexism arise. The first scenario posits that machismo comes “from a profound sense of impotence and inferiority caused by the Spanish Conquest.” A second reports a “cultural emphasis on masculinity in Mexico as a Spanish cultural trait imposed on native populations” while “a third asserts that excessive masculinity had its origins in a warring Azteca society” all three of which are discussed in Mirande’s *Hombres and Machos* (645). In the chapter “Queer Aztlán: The Re-formation of Chicano Tribe,” Cherríe Moraga points out a fourth scenario of machismo that historically integrates Spanish, Anglo, and possibly Aztec sexism stating:

in reaction against Anglo-America’s emasculation of Chicano men, the male-dominated Chicano Movement embraced the most patriarchal aspects of its Mexican heritage...they took the worst of Mexican machismo and Aztec warrior bravado, combined it with some of the most oppressive male-conceived

idealizations of “traditional” Mexican womanhood and called that cultural integrity. (157)

I would offer that Mexican men are also macho in competition with the neighboring U.S. Moraga argues that fairly recent Indigenous movements are based upon colonial sexism that remain startling similar to those which constrained Sor Juana de la Cruz and other Mexican and Mexican Indian women in colonial times, exploding the ideal that the heterosexual Indigenous family as formulated in the 1970’s necessarily offers a safe haven from multiple social oppressions. If Eurocentric sexist capitalism is the root of Chicana oppressions as Moraga implies, then to analyze instances in which people challenge any of these oppressions may be to find counter-hegemonic models of resistance for Xicana/o needs. In this same mode, Moraga herself mentions “Navajo Nation” as a model for the formation of an Indigenous Chicana/o Nation. In the following sections, I continue her search for Indigenous models that challenge white male capitalistic claims to Mestizo and Native peoples and lands.

Indigenous Sovereignties: Changing International Hegemonies of Law

I relate Gramsci’s ideas of hegemony in which oppressions dynamically find challenges and acceptance from those oppressed because it allows a sense that colonization is neither a foregone conclusion, nor are its technologies the exclusive property of any race. While Gramsci’s original concerns were not meant to focus on Indigenous peoples and sexualities, Stuart Hall maintains that:

Schooling, cultural organizations, family and sexual life, the patterns and modes of civil association, churches and religions, communal or organizational forms, ethnically specific institutions, and many other such sites play an absolutely vital role in giving sustaining and reproducing different societies in a racially structured form. In any Gramscian-inflected analysis, they would cease to be relegated to a superficial place in analysis. (438-439)

Native people's reliance on Western concepts and institutions is an example of Gramsci's notion of "social hegemony" adapted to colonial circumstances in which European nations claim jurisdiction over Native groups using masculinist language and war technologies. Having paid the price of historical colonization, Indigenous cultural movements can now utilize these logical and scientific methodologies to bolster their diverse community welfares and to protect Indigenous rights that include sovereignty. Gramsci theorizes that disempowered masses, such as those of Mexican Indians, can give "consent" to "the State" imposition of social direction that is empowered by State control over the "world of production." However, the "apparatus of state coercive power... 'legally' enforces discipline on those groups who do not 'consent' either actively or passively" (12). In effect, Native Americans adopt the language of international law and science due to the hegemonic powers of those discourses. Instead of relating cultural forms of law in Native languages on Native lands, Indigenous peoples have grouped together to provide documents in English and Western legal discourse in order to define and protect "sovereignty," partially "consenting" to use hegemonic discourse as a method of "self-determination" within international systems of "European assimilation"

as Gramsci might note (416). A great challenge for Native decolonization is to adapt hegemonic language to resist further colonization while at the same time recycling traditions that differ from the sexist norms of colonial hegemony. After an analysis of Native uses of hegemonic law, I will turn to the second concern of recycling Native traditions and cosmologies that could undermine white, male, capitalistic hegemonies.

As a prisoner of the Italian state, Gramsci gained a heightened sense of the legal devices that maintained state power. Native peoples have also focused on the legal realm as a result of falling victim to centuries of international laws that privilege white male feudalism and capitalism. A group of mostly Indigenous representatives formed the United Nations Commission on Human Rights sub-committee and prepared a Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples to change the nature of Western law. “Welcoming the fact that indigenous peoples are organizing themselves for political, economic, and social and cultural enhancement and in order to bring an end to all forms of discrimination and oppression wherever they occur,” the Draft includes Article 31’s assertion that

Indigenous peoples, as a specific form of exercising their right to self determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, including culture, religion, education, information, media, health, housing, employment, social welfare, economic activities, land and resource management, environment and entry by non-members, as well as ways and means for financing these autonomous functions

(http://www.usask.ca/nativelaw/d_dir.html).¹

A central claim that I will honor throughout this work is the idea that Indigenous peoples seek to autonomously operate for their own best interests, making alliances with non-Natives or other Natives when necessary due to internal or hegemonic pressures. An implicit message in the above quote is that Indigenous people will be able to adapt the science and technologies involved in “health” and “resource management” while maintaining control of their own “economic activities.” Clearly, Indigenous peoples are capable of adopting hegemonic aspects of Western culture by making the most advanced kinds of scientific and social decisions regarding their own cultures. The ideal is that to adopt hegemonic sciences is not to adopt the sexism, classism, and racism that normally accompany those technologies.

The lack of U.N. ratification of the Draft Declaration is part of a long genealogy in which States such as the United States of America, the United States of Mexico, and the Republic of Guatemala use their economic, colonial based hegemony to legally deny that Indigenous peoples have specific autonomous rights that include accepting or rejecting technological projects that impact Native culture and land. In a contemporary context of the last forty years, these States have used organizations such as the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to forge scientific studies and enterprises that support their exclusionary multinational politics and support their own State economies. One tactic that they use is to look at the Gross National Product (GNP)

¹ While a Draft Declaration copy is also available in S. James Anaya’s *Indigenous Rights in International Law*, and in the U.N. document 34 I.L.M. 541 (1995), the online version contains interesting commentary into the anti-Indigenous sentiment within the United Nations in which States habitually negate the existence of Indigenous Nations within their borders.

of a State as an indicator of its economic success, regardless of genocidal or ecocidal consequences of producing that GNP. Medical anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes suggests an alternative method to a simple GNP analysis. She suggests counting the number of infant deaths as an indicator of how an increase in multinational and State capital impacts poor, gendered and racialized populations (280). Her application of this methodology shows a country like Brazil, which has a rising GNP, actually experiences extreme poverty, evidenced by incredible class divisions that are fueled by corrupt handling of the GNP. She terms this a “macroparasitism” of market forces that are centered in the First World and wealthy corporations worldwide. In the context of the Americas, U.S. macroparasitic policies of economic domination are tend to fund government suppression of indigenous, feminist, and socialist movements while supporting military operations of social suppression as LeFeber reports in *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America*. Noting the lack of support of Indigenous and economic rights, 1992 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Rigoberta Menchu states “I continue to think that the IMF and World Bank have a direct responsibility for the extreme poverty that plagues the majority of the world’s population” (175). To leave the science of economics to multinational corporate interests is to be complicit in the deaths of Indigenous and poor populations. The Draft’s adamant assertion of Indigenous economic rights is a necessary response to a history of a First World misuse of capitalistic and technological ventures on Indigenous lands. It is for these rights that Tonatierra, an Aztlán Xicano organization publishes the 2000 Treaty of Teotihuacan of the pan-Indigenous group of Consejo de Organizaciones y Naciones Indigenas del

Continente (CONIC). The Treaty notes that “the financial policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the InterAmerican Bank for Development have been complicit with the government states in establishing economic policy that accommodates that...has increased the levels of dependence, oppression and poverty of the Indigenous Peoples and other popular sectors of society.” While fully supporting Native American traditions, it calls for the passing of the U.N. Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples that will affect Xicanos/as and Mexican Indians in the U.S. and Mexico (<http://www.tonatierra.com/index.html/conic/treaty.htm>).²

In *Naked Science* (1996), Laura Nader momentarily grants that “science may refer to a body of knowledge distinguishable from other knowledge by specific methods of validation... science ...embodies empiricism...[and]...rationality” while critiquing its hegemonic power in relation Indigenous forms of knowledge (1). In terms of law, Native methods of knowing have little power. What upholds Indigenous sovereignty internationally is the scientific rhetoric that humans embody universal qualities that an international language of science and logic can best articulate. Hence, internationally recognized and codified methodologies of science and demography shape an understanding of how Indigenous people count in the modern world. “How many Indigenous people are there? Who counts as Indigenous? What is the status of health

² Tonatierra’s Indigenous activism stems from involvement with Toltecas en Aztlán, a Mexican Indian cultural activist group of the 1970’s. They make an important break from centuries of precedents in which Mexican Indians have argued their rights based upon their assimilation into colonial Spanish and U.S. cultures in what is now the U.S. or sovereign Native lands in the U.S. Considering laws from 1848-1947, Martha Menchaca documents that “people of Mexican descent were compelled to argue in court that they should be treated as Caucasians in order to gain the legal rights as full citizens... Their Indian ancestry linked them to people of color, subjecting them to heightened racial discrimination, while their Spanish ancestry linked them to whites, protecting them from the full impact of the racial laws of the period (583).

based upon age, ethnicity, class, and gender?" are central questions that affect international policies. "Population" is a key word within the discourse of international humanism that intersects Indigenous Rights and the scientific methodologies that support those multiple interests. States that undercount Indigenous populations do so to avoid the responsibility of consulting those populations about policies that affect them. At worst, States do not accurately count Indigenous peoples and compile realistic demographics on them in order to render any proof of genocide unavailable to Indigenous and human rights interests. It is easier for States to assimilate and murder people who do not have any scientific proof of existence.

Because of Indigenous and human rights international activism, Indigenous peoples are gaining poli-economic recognition worldwide. S. James Anaya reports that the International Labour Organization's (ILO) recognition of Indigenous People's demands for rights lead to the passing of "Convention No. 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, June 27, 1989" which recognizes "the aspirations of [indigenous] peoples to exercise control over their own institutions, ways of life and economic development and to maintain and develop their identities, languages and religions, within the framework of the States within which they live". Anaya asserts that the ILO Convention No. 169 has already benefited groups in Bolivia, Mexico, Columbia, and Norway (2). Under the United Nations, the Organization of American States (OAS) has yet to pass the Proposed American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which would further protect Native Americans, although the Indigenous Rights resolutions were passed in the 1994 UN Conference on Population and

Development, the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, the 1996 World Summit for Social Development, the second United Nations Conference on Human Settlement in 1996, and the 2001 World Conference against Racism (Anaya 4-5). In “The 2002 Tribal, State, and Federal Judges Conference: Protection of Indigenous People’s Human Rights: United States, International, and Comparative Law Perspectives,” Zion concludes that international law is gaining importance within States as companies increase their fluid movements through State boundaries and as international wars between multiple States become more common. He argues that internet technologies also facilitate monitoring of remote areas of the world for human rights violations and new changes in law, making State violations of Indigenous rights more difficult.

Based upon increasing Indigenous and human rights pressures, OAS, IMF, WB, and States are forced to come up with new policies on development in Indigenous lands. In keeping with hegemonic dynamics, those institutions are having to change in order to maintain “consent” in a Gramscian sense. However, hegemonic capitalism is slow to relinquish power. For example, the World Bank’s Draft Operational Policies (OP 4.10) on Indigenous People gives only a limited definition of whom they can accept in their demographics of Indigenous Peoples:

(a) close attachment to ancestral territories and the natural resources in them; (b) presence of customary social and political institutions; (c) economic systems primarily oriented to subsistence production; (d) an indigenous language, often different from the predominant language; and (e) self-identification and identification by others as members of a distinct cultural group.”

Ideally, this allows protection for those such as the Yanamami who face the military and encroaching logging ventures into their areas of the rainforests of South America, a plight that Donna Haraway politicizes in “The Promises of Monsters.” Rarámuris who practice subsistence farming would also benefit as economic pressure could slow the destruction of their ancestral forests in the Tarahumara Mountains and Copper Canyon (Angel Rubio 192). Both logging and drug trafficking interests use violence to steal resources and lives from Rarámuri. Of course, the immediate question is whether or not any Latin State is willing to enforce WB sanctions should they become ratified. Even so, ratification is a first and necessary step from an international perspective.

The main limitations are that “the requirements of this policy do not apply to groups who (a) have left their communities of origin and (b) moved to urban areas (c) and/or migrated to obtain wage labor” ([http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/ESSD/essd.nsf/28354584d9d97c29852567cc00780e2a/fe699bec4e64a1ef85256a6b0080b5d7?](http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/ESSD/essd.nsf/28354584d9d97c29852567cc00780e2a/fe699bec4e64a1ef85256a6b0080b5d7?OpenDocument)

OpenDocument). What that limitation does not account for is the vicious cycle of a lack of Indigenous rights. Natives face oppression from State and multinational corporate interests that force them to permanently or seasonally vacate their ancestral homes. Many times, to stay is to die or starve, yet to leave is to lose international standing as Indigenous. Euro-American, Ted Downing, notes that the World Banks identifiers violate numerous aspects of the proposed Indigenous Rights stating:

Impoverishment has led many of the world’s indigenous people to leave their communities, move to urban areas, and find temporary jobs as laborers.

Although absent, many of these people maintain close links with their

communities, hold rights to ancestral lands, and provide financial support for civil and cultural services. Such is the case of tens of thousands of Oaxacan indigenous migrants who are working in the United States and Mexico City. The proposed policy unjustifiably excludes these and millions of other indigenous peoples from eligibility. It creates an international definition that governments may use to justify claims that indigenous peoples within their borders are not really indigenous. And worse, the proposed policy thrusts an external policy wedge deep into indigenous social structure, creating two classes of people who are eligible for benefits and risk mitigation... This exclusionary clause is a direct affront to the sovereignty, traditional rights and the body politic of indigenous people. It should be immediately removed and not replaced with compromise language. (www.policykiosk.com/)

Part of his critique is that the World Bank does not mandate a review the economic projects that Indigenous peoples themselves draft. A need for Native consultation is built into Article 31's assertion that Indigenous peoples create their own economic plans. To consult Natives is critical as the WB and IMF find increasing criticism as their missions to "develop" Indigenous lands often leave the First World of "developing" companies with great profits that do not reach Indigenous peoples themselves, creating a greater division of capital that feeds race, class and gender oppression. For example, IMF and WB plans for poor populations to plant non-dietary "cash crops" often leave people even hungrier without the edible food they would have usually planted. Menchu writes about the Guatemala's unfortunate circumstance of raising coffee instead of corn in a Maya

context in *I, Rigoberta Menchu*. Should the OP 4.10 draft be implemented and adversely affect Native populations, Indigenous critiques on those documents will appear from various Indigenous nations.

To survive genocidal hegemony is a great accomplishment that many bands and even whole tribes did not get a chance to fulfill as they scattered and joined other populations. When Kickapoos won land in Texas, they became only the third small reservation in what is the U.S.'s second largest state in which most Indians merely persisted quietly or were forcibly moved to Oklahoma as in the case of the Apaches and Comanches in the mid-nineteenth century. Based upon "solid historical research" on Texas Indians, one online researcher found that "the Jumanos were a complex group of cultures. They are all gone now. Why they disappeared is one of the great unanswered questions in Texas history. ... The last records of them are from the mid 1700s in west Texas...NEWS FLASH!!! I just got an e-mail from a Jumano Indian!!!" The hegemonic demographics of genocide were being contested by Acosta who wrote:

From: "Jose A. Acosta"... Subject: re: Jumano descendants...Date...Dec....1998
 Greetings from West Texas; My name is Jose A Acosta, or Temach-tiani. I am a descendant of the Pueblo Jumanos that lived in the region of Presidio/Redford Tx, and Ojinaga Chih. Mexico... The Jumano descendants filed for federal recognition and Native American status in 1996 and is still pending at the BIA. We are proud of our heritage, however to say we simply vanished is not true...Also we are staying in contact with the Coahuiltecan group that also filed for recognition status. Some say they are extinct also, but one need only look at the people of

South Texas and see the descendants of this group. On file we have records from Spanish, Texas, and American accounts to prove our ancestry. Anything I may help with let me know. -Jose A Acosta, Jumano Tribe

At a personal level, Acosta is able to use historical records of births and genealogies to establish scientifically valid proofs that Jumanos and Coahuiltecos have persevered in Texas despite policies of Indian removal in the 1859 and the general history books (<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/II/bpi1.html>). Tainos of the U.S./Caribbean are also actively transforming Native demographics as they organize with much activity in New York and Puerto Rico. "Starting in the late 1980s, Nación Taina has grown from a handful of New York Tainos to several hundred people from the United States, Puerto Rico and Caribbean islands." Nation members hold bimonthly meeting to discuss Taino history, language, and culture (<http://www.centrelink.org/KearnsD.html>).

As Downing notes, migratory tribes such as those from Southern non-U.S. lands also exercise rights in the U.S. *El Estado del desarrollo economico y social de los pueblos indigenas de Mexico* reports that Mixtecos were able to gain funding for programs from the Instituto Nacional Indigena to fund programs in the nineties on both sides of the U.S./Mexican border. Funds for these programs came from both U.S. and Mexican sources. Alfaro suggests that Zapoteco and Mixteco border-crossing organizations are positive model for other Indigenous groups that migrate across the border (313). What neither Mexican nor U.S. States recognize is the long history of Mexican Indian migrations in pre-Columbian, colonial, Mexican, and U.S. eras to lands

now split by the U.S.-Mexican border. The Peace and Dignity Run in 2000 comprised of Indigenous peoples that included self-identified Xicanas/os was an effort to resist State borders (Ehekatl 2000), culminating in a meeting at Teotihuacan, Mexico. Part of Anzaldúa's identification as Indian in *Borderlands: The New Mestiza* (1987) is in resistance to the patriarchal norms of Spanish and Euro-American laws of patrilineal descent within Mestiza cultures and opposition to policies of genocide against Native Americans. Because of these ancient and recent migrations, Jack Forbes writes that Chicanos are "the largest single tribe or nation of Ashinibag (Indians) found in the United States today" (qtd. in Anzaldúa), a radical departure from the Latina/o, Mexican, or Hispanic identities that are more prevalent in government classifications of Mexican Indians as reported in the U.S. Census 2002 (http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTable?ds_name=D&geo_id=D&qr_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U_DP1&_lang=en). From Latin American countries of great Indigenous populations, how can it be possible that there aren't any significant mass of Indian diasporas in the U.S.? Bolivia is 71% Indian; Guatemala is 66% Indian. While Ecuador is 41%, Peru is 47% Indian. The Mexican Indigenous population over five that speaks an indigenous language is numbered at around 5.5 million in 1995 (Angel Rubio 49). The Indigenous population is 14% at 12,000,000, although some sources report 23, 000,000 Indians, or 29% of Mexico's population. At least 42,000,000 Indians, or 6.33% of pan-American populations are Indian, a number that would easily quadruple if one considers Mestizos/as, as Indigenous too (Ordenez Cifuentes 21-20). Ewen notes that "using an ethnic basis for the number of Indians who belong to a distinct cultural range as high as

forty percent of the total Mexican population. Using the wider criteria of the United States, almost ninety percent of Mexico's population that has some Indian blood and might well be considered Indigenous if they desired" (101). Auto-identification will be a key factor as Mexican Indian movements increase and decrease activity. A continuing aspect of Native American efforts for sovereignty is to utilize the hegemonic methodologies of demography to count themselves as nations and individuals, including populations that were previously uncounted or even presumed dead within official State records. Given the State forces that operate against Indigenous peoples, Natives must at least partially adopt the laws of economics and scientific methodologies to answer their own cultural questions, tabulate demography, and inform their own political agendas at the home, community, pueblo, nation or international level.

Native Peoples and War, Rape, and Imprisonment Technologies

Only after Rigoberta Menchu won the Nobel Prize 1992 did U.S. journalism began to cover the genocide of Maya in Guatemala that relied upon a military trained by the C.I.A and funded by U.S. interests for over thirty years (LeFeber 359). While Stoll's 1998 *Rigoberta Menchu and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* attacked the veracity of Menchu's story and gained front page coverage in the New York Times, Menchu's testimony and other human rights documentations of massacres offer scientific proof of State terrorism. Manz assures readers that Falla's *Massacres in the Jungle: Ixcán, Guatemala* has high "ethical standards and exceptional scholarship" (xiii) as Falla lists names of deceased in various massacres that the Guatemalan government heightened in

the 1980's, a period influenced by Reagan's strong right wing influence in Central America. Zapatistas also used a variety of internet and FAX communications to report deaths and Mexican government attacks in Chiapas communities. The 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that promised to lower Mexican prices, privatize Indigenous lands, and increase poverty, sparked the revolt. Media coverage and international support of Zapatistas that included mass protests in Mexico City, the U.S., and Europe prompted Mexico to avoid the scorched earth policies that were prevalent in Guatemala (Carrigan 439). Reporting facts to international Indigenous and human rights groups and media put pressure on the Mexican government to begin negotiations. Part of Zapatista international support comes from writers like Carrigan who report an astounding 10% infant mortality rate and 70% poverty rate in a Chiapas state that produces 47% of Mexico's gas along with high productions of oil, wood, corn, bananas, and meat (421).

Lindau and Cook note that the Zapatista San Andreas Accords that demanded a cease-fire and greater autonomy from the Mexican State show that Natives work on international, community and State levels. However, because the State did not end their attacks against the Zapatistas, its signing by both parties in 1996 meant too little in terms of actual State policy. In Acteal, 45 Indigenous peoples were massacred by State troops in 1997 (33). In an attempt to decrease continuing violence, the Commission of Pacification and Agreement (COCOPA) outlined a proposal that was to reform the Mexican Constitution. Zapatistas showed initiative in approving the 1996 COCOPA proposal, but the Mexican State refused eventually offering a weaker version in 1998 that

has never been passed by Congress. The Zapatista version of the 1996 COCOPA is worth quoting as it reflects the interests of various Indigenous groups that include *Nahuatl* peoples who had originally had input into the document through the 1996 National Congress of Indians (Stavenhagen 83). Because of the persistent genocidal and assimilationist Indigenous policy through the colonial, independent, and post-revolutionary phases of what is now Mexico, I copy the first two parts of the 1996 COCOPA revision of the 1992 Constitution Article 4 that had more vaguely promised to protect Indigenous customs:

The indigenous peoples have the right to free determination and, as an expression of this, to autonomy as part of Mexican State, such that they may:

- I. Choose their internal forms of social economic, political, and cultural organization;
- II. Apply their traditional [judicial] systems of regulation and solution for internal conflicts, respecting individual guarantees, human rights, and, in particular, the dignity and integrity of women; their proceedings, trials, and decisions will be validated by the jurisdictional authorities of the State; (Landau and Cook 32)

Other sections of the revised article 4 include rights to vote, Indigenous land, language, and communication, once again affirming that technology, economics, law, and other rational ventures will find their appropriate places within autonomous Indigenous groups without State dictatorship.

Both COCOPA and the Zapatistas are but the more visible outcomes of a long history of extremely varied activisms by Indigenous peoples who have voiced their own

ethnic and temporal concerns in a plethora of documents that are available in Chenaut and Sierra's *Pueblos Indigenas Ante el Derecho*, Gonzalez Galvan's *Panorama Del Derecho Mexicano: Derecho Indigena*, Gonzalez Guerra's *Tradiciones y Costumbres Juridicas en Comunidades Indigenas de Mexico*, and Garduno Cervantes' *El Fin del Silencio: Documentos Indigenas de Mexico*. These documents resist the hegemonic Mexican version of Indigenismo which silences Natives and directs policies of assimilation. Each of the 70 ethnic groups that Gonzalez Galvan listed have hundreds of years of resistance to colonization that they have encoded through songs, art, custom, writings and legal documents. What occurs with one group may differ in the next. For example, violence and repression have not stopped in Chiapas, and the signing of an Indigenous Rights Bill that reflects the input of Mexican Indian communities has not occurred even as privatization of Indigenous lands and eviction of Indigenous peoples in the Lacondon forest persists (<http://www.millicityweb.net/myshoshe/index-start.shtml>). Yet Oaxacan Indians have managed to pass laws that give limited autonomy to its many groups at the smaller state level. Mexican State hegemony is complex as are Native response to it.

Because capital is internationally mobile, human rights groups are an important factor in gaining international pressure to respect Indigenous Rights. In the U.S., the value of Indian lives is markedly low. While the U.S. population largely supports the "anti-terrorist" acts of Bush in Afghanistan, only alternative U.S. media makes the incredibly relevant point that:

We must remember the 30,000 Nicaraguans, the 70,000 Salvadorans, and the 200,000 Guatemalans who died at the hands of state-sponsored terrorists armed and trained by our own government... [a] tragedy...being replayed in Colombia. We share the pain of those who lost loved ones on September 11. We also share the pain of the hundreds of thousands of families in Latin America and elsewhere who have been, and who continue to be, the victims of US-sponsored terrorism (<http://www.soawne.org/S29route.html/S29route.htm>).

U.S. attacks on the Middle East have not respected international law or gone through official human rights conventions. Instead, Bush's politics of vigilante attack on Afghanistan mark a parallel with his Texan history of white lynch attacks on Mexicans and Native Americans such as the Kickapoos, oppressions that Anzaldúa documents in *Borderlands/La Frontera: the New Mestiza*. Bush's Texan cowboy version of war injures the international arena of politics, despite his new interest in curbing Israeli attacks against Palestinians that complicate his own American oil interests within Arab States. In *Rogue States: The Use of Force in World Affairs*, U.S. Jewish linguist Noam Chomsky affirms an international criticism the U.S. interventions in Latin American and Indigenous lands. Chomsky lauds U.N. attempts to hold the U.S. responsible for facilitating programs of terrorism in Latin America over the last fifty years, especially in Central America, Cuba, and Columbia (93). In *9-11*, he states "in much of the world the U.S. is regarded as a leading terrorist state...in 1986 the U.S. was condemned by the World Court for 'unlawful use of force' [international terrorism] and then vetoed a Security Council resolution calling on all states [meaning the U.S.] to adhere to

international law.” Chomsky states that President Bush’s call for a “War on Terrorism” prompted by the 9/11 bombing of the World Trade Center in 2001 will only gain respect when the U.S. lives up to its own standards of human rights by improving its record of numerous human rights violations in select Third and Fourth nations (23). A remilitarization of the Mexican-U.S. border is one consequence of the extremely defensive policies of the Bush administration this millennium.

The anti-terrorist increases in border regulation augments the State’s abilities to terrorize those who suffer most from U.S. support of anti-Indigenous terrorism in Latin America. Not surprisingly, immigrants from U.S.-funded Indigenous-based wars in Latin America are not granted political asylum in the U.S. The sometimes subtle and not so subtle violent U.S. terrorism of “illegality” continues for many and is bilaterally supported by U.S. and Latin American States. Grimes reports that “the state, as arbitrator of disparate interests, can maintain those structures that support the advanced capitalist enterprise, managing the contradictions and dislocation associated with its penetration and using migration as an escape valve” (18). Instead of social reforms, Latin American States exile or economically force immigration with capitalistic interests that the U.S. facilitates. Bustamante demonstrates that Mexican migrants in the U.S. are political scapegoats in times of increasing unemployment, even when they have “filled specific labor shortages within the United states at these times” (Grimes 15). In fact, Grimes asserts that the U.S. state and federal policy makers routinely exaggerate the numbers economic drains that Latin American diasporas bring to the U.S., while suppressing information on the net economic gains in such industries as farming and industry that

boosts the U.S. economy. In *Border Visions: Mexican Cultures of the Southwest United States*, Vélez-Ibañez argues that policies such as California's anti-immigrant Proposition 169 do affect general views of immigrants from Latin America. In fact, immigrant prejudices inform all Mexicans and Mexican Indians, regardless of their generation or link to lands that often predate U.S., Mexican, and Spanish claims to what is now recognized as the U.S. Vélez-Ibañez cites a poll in which 60% of respondents agreed that "Hispanics" were "unpatriotic". 70% agreed that "Hispanics" were "welfare dependent" while 50% agreed that "Hispanics" were "unintelligent," "lazy," and "prone to violence" (272), numbers which reflect a racism inflected by the Indigenous backgrounds from which most U.S. "Hispanics" derive to some extent along with Old world multiracial ancestry. While Indians tend to be the poorest racial group in Mexico relative to Mestizo identified or other ethnic groups (Instituto Nacional Indigena 2000), the racial hierarchy continues in the U.S. in which "Mexican" 1992 "household" and "family" incomes were 27,968 compared to "46,715" for whites. Basically, poverty rates for Mexicans were twice than those of whites. The rates of those who live below \$25,000 a year are 82% for Mexican females, 68% for Mexican males, 62.4% for Anglo females, and an amazingly low 35.1% for white males which evidences a racist patriarchal economy in Vélez-Ibañez's evaluation. Of course, Mexican and Central American Mestizo and Indian immigrants tend to be poorer than U.S. born Chicanas/os.

In terms of military service, the ethnically and economically marked peoples are the ones who most disproportionately serve in the "patriotic" role of soldier. As Jose Galeano documents in *Century of the Wind*, throughout the Americas, poor Native and

Mestizo men disproportionately serve as soldiers in and targets of State military forces, a trend that is rooted in colonial legacies. These populations also wound, kill, and rape communities that are often Indigenous or mixed-blooded, in contrast to more European and richer populations in the U.S., Costa Rica, or other Latin American States. That is, wars tend to concentrate on the poorest areas which are often the most racially marked as Indian, and the soldiers that serve State programs of genocide tend to be racially identifiable as Indian and male. Throughout the twentieth century, States managed to divide Indigenous populations through war and press racially marked Indian males into service through a variety of means that range from economic pressures, to prison, torture, and death threats (LeFeber). Violence from previous eras of colonization and wars does not merely dissipate once wars officially end. Instead, that sexualized violence tends to implode within Indigenous populations whether that population can remain at home in already oppressed communities or migrate to face a status of illegal or non-citizen in new States such as Mexico or the U.S. In *Worlds of Hurt: Reading Literatures of Trauma*, Kali Tal argues that Viet Nam soldiers, Jewish Holocaust survivors, and American sexual abuse victims all suffer from traumatic stress syndrome, an epidemiology that critiques a patriarchal American system that values suffering in male dominated wars above the trauma of women and children of any gender who face sexualized violence in a domestic sphere (4). Her redefinition of trauma posits that sexual wars occur everyday in the U.S. as a woman is raped “every 5 minutes” (Tal 247), a statistic that does not exclude Mexican and Native women in the U.S. Article 22 of the Indigenous Right Draft partially recognizes patriarchy when it states that “Particular attention shall be paid to the

rights and special needs of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and disabled persons” which is an honest but unfortunate grouping of peoples who tend to lack power in international and community politics. Clearly, both male and female Indigenous soldiers, as well as Indigenous women and children who experience domestic, sexualized violence, share a state of trauma that warrants concern internationally and internally to communities. Scientific methodologies can help identify engendered violence in a manner that works with complex community goals as opposed to singling out “sexist” traits as further evidence of racial and cultural inferiority and further fuel for racialized oppression that often targets women the most.

While Mexican and Native American Viet Nam males veterans served disproportionately in combat, both the Chicano Movement and American Indian Movement used differing versions of Indigenous identification to protest white colonial interests in Viet Nam (Madrigal). Tom Holm’s *Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls* (1998) features an epidemiological analysis of positive healing effects that Native traditions have on male Viet Nam Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome. He reports that Natives who claimed to have worked through their problems with the help of ceremonies increased healing compared to those who simply claimed to have “worked through their problem.” While both groups equally recovered from alcoholism, the ceremonial group reported to have 60% more success in alleviating anger-rage, 50% more success in alleviating drug abuse, and 45% more success in alleviating depression than the non-ceremonial group. However, male claims of recovery don’t equate to a familial assessment of that same recovery. What is more, a significant minority of men do not claim recovery, even when

they go to ceremonies (186). Because drug and alcohol addiction and domestic violence are intertwined, projects such as the STOP violence against Native women project are needed. The grant Eileen Luna directs allows for a \$450,000 budget to encourage “tribal governments to both develop and implement effective strategies tailored to address their unique circumstances in responding to violent crimes against Indian women, and to develop and enhance services provided to Indian women who are victims of violent crimes” (<http://w3.arizona.edu/~aisp/vawa.html>). The idea of rehabilitation of both victims and perpetrators of violence that Holm and Luna provide could certainly work with furthering legal systems to allow for culturally and sexually appropriate forms of judiciary treatment of Natives who break laws, yet the U.S. system is internationally mired in a different agenda.

The oppressions of Indigenous and poor peoples worldwide feed into the internal imprisonment of those same peoples who have migrated to the U.S. or have been internally colonized within U.S. The Prison Activist Resource Center proposes that the as “polarization of wealth reaches obscene proportions, both within and between nations... The ensuing social unrest and upheaval are met by the repressive state violence of an increasingly international Prison Industrial Complex” (<http://www.globalexchange.org/wto/prisons.html>). Unfortunately, but not unpredictably, U.S. prison systems heighten cycles of sexualized violence instead of increasing a prisoners’ commitment to peacefulness and rehabilitation. Wamsley reports that of 8.75 million people held in penal institutions throughout the world, about half are in the United States (1.93m), China (1.43m). and Russia (.96m), three countries with horrendous human

rights histories. Statistically, 1 in 20 American will serve time in prison, a probability greatly influenced by race, class, and gender. In "Masked Racism: Reflections on the Prison Industrial Complex," Angela Davis notes that "Homelessness, unemployment, drug addiction, mental illness, and illiteracy are only a few of the problems that disappear from public view when the human beings contending with them are relegated to cages" while reporting that 70% of prisoners are "people of color" with registered U.S. Natives having the highest "per capita" rate of internment. Of course that Native rate would vary depending upon the tribe, community, class, and gender.

The Prison Rape Reform Act of 2001 reports that 13.6% of the 1999 State prison and jail population were raped, a number of 185,000 rapes that may suffer serious underreporting due to the threats of retaliation from the rapists of both males and females. The figures are hard to estimate as the US justice department does not keep rape records for in-prison populations. However, preliminary reports indicate that too many men are ritualistically raped upon entry into the prison and jail systems and usually face multiple rapes throughout the duration of the jail or prison sentence. Women especially face the dangers of sexual violation from male guards. Those most likely to be raped are younger populations, a dynamic which feeds into a U.S. patriarchal society that targets women and children and privileges established adult males. The motivation for reporting the prisons' lack of response to hundreds and thousands of sexual violations is to reform the institution and to stop the cycling of sexual violence in and out of prison.

Vélez-Ibañez reports over a hundred years of overrepresentation of Mexicans in State prisons and jails. Perhaps most disturbing is the fact that "in 1993, the California

Youth Authority reported that 44% of offenders were Mexican youth largely between 16 and 19 years of age” in spite of the fact that Mexicans only comprised around a quarter of the teenage population in California in 1993. Mexican adult and youth percentages of jail occupancy grew 100% in twenty years while Anglo percentages dropped by 50%. Vélez-Ibañez writes “it is highly probable that these percentages reflect a created ‘tracking’ system that guarantees an almost lineal prison career for California’s Mexican youth” (195). Mexicans are put into incarceration at an increasing rate and at a young age which targets them for sexual assault. Native American incarceration is also high. Luana Ross notes that in Montana, imprisonment on reservations was replaced by higher rates of imprisonment in jails once Natives were allowed to more freely leave the imprisonment of reservations in 1944. Although Natives only compose 3.5% of the Montana population from 1944-1966, Native women comprised 25% of the female prison population, a percentage that grew to 30% by 1977 (85). High rates of imprisonment and a startling rate of prison rape is part of the cycle of domestic and sexual violence. The growing prison industrial complex offers little rehabilitation, instead opting to cycle people through its system and to inject Indigenous populations with continuing violence and a living colonial legacy.

Included within the U.N. Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous peoples is a mandate to allow Natives to pursue their own forms of law. Imprisonment for deviant behavior can cut at the values and sense of community that Indigenous peoples have a right to express. Incarceration should allow for the rehabilitation through traditional medicine for those Natives who would benefit from it. Prison sentences for men who are

abusive do take the abusive male out of women and children's lives for a while, but that prison term should not increase the violence or sicknesses of men who will reenter the Native urban, rural, or reservation community. Native models of jurisprudence are common wherever Native peoples are, but they could be more respected legally and work in conjunction with international or State laws much more. Luana Ross states that "the equation of Native criminality with the loss of sovereignty is convincing" and that Native communities should strive to reinstate their own forms of criminal rehabilitation that could also generally serve a multicultural population. While noting the possibility of failure, Ross also gives the positive example of "the Okimaw Ohci (Thunder hills) Healing Lodge, specifically designed for Native Canadian female offenders, opened on August 1995... The concept underlying this alternative prison is true rehabilitation and healing through culture-specific programming" (267). Instead of avoiding the number of rapes and focusing on the profit derived from the number of internments, an Indigenous program might count the numbers of physical, emotional, mental, spiritual healings that people achieve within the program. It may only be with statistics that Natives will be able to convince their own governments and U.S. government contacts that culturally specific judiciary programs can work. Ross herself notes:

The Alkalai Lake Band of Salish, on a reserve in Alberta, Canada, saw sobriety grow from less than 5 percent to 98 percent today. The Salish tell other Natives how they regained control over their land and their destiny by ousting white traders, setting up Native commerce, reinstating a traditionally designed council,

and gathering for community prayer. They gained control and sovereignty and they became well; criminal/deviant activity decreased (267).

The rapid decrease in the cycles of drinking and criminal behavior is hopeful for other Indigenous communities whose sicknesses are embedded in colonization. It also repudiates the hegemonic white ideology that Indians are dependent upon white social models and epidemiologies for improved health.

As they function now, prisons model sexually abusive behaviors that continue a sexual colonization that Castaneda documents historically. Prisons fuel patterns of gender imbalance and addictions that increase homophobia and sexual abuse that impacts gay Chicano rates of suicide (Moraga 159). Whatever the actual rates of rape are, U.S. male homosexuality is often linked with sexual submission, feminization, and rape, assumptions that themselves point to a devaluation of femininity and passive roles. Carrier notes that Mexicans tend to devalue effeminate men who are penetrated, while the active men are perhaps not even considered gay as their role of inserter remains “macho” with a male or female (17). However, this devaluation of the feminine is not so common among many Indian communities. For example, Beverly Chiñas reports that “Zapotecs of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec...in...Oaxaca have long been known in Mexican lore for their tolerance of gender and sex preference variations” (293). Given the religious and institutional impact of ongoing sexual colonization and imprisonment, gay Northern Paiute Randy Burns suggests that it is not surprising that homosexuality is increasingly deemed deviant in U.S. Native urban and reservation communities. Homophobia and racism caused an early lack of funding for AIDS programs that serve gay Chicano and

Native peoples who found themselves excluded from both their own heterosexist ethnic communities and their racist gay White communities. Burns recalls that “Many Indian agencies now eager to receive AIDS funding have been antigay for years” (3), now that AIDS affect heterosexuals at increasing rates. While all US populations are at risk for HIV, Kayal notes that AIDS disproportionately strikes the socially and politically disenfranchised: gay men, blacks, Latinos, prostitutes, bisexual men, and IV-drug users and their female partners and children (56). The juxtaposition of the lack of funding for gay American Indians and the long acceptance of gays in many Indians indicts colonialism as a source of homophobia.

A colonial heterosexist legacy impacts current law, forbidding the legal formation of queer unions that do not lead to a reproduction of the State patriarchal norms of the nuclear family and machismo. Monique Wittig gives a Western philosophical and State genealogy for sexism that she traces to Plato and Aristotle (81) noting that “the category of sex is the product of a heterosexual society in which men appropriate for themselves the reproduction and production of women and also their physical persons by means of a contract called the marriage contract”, a contract that cannot allow for lesbianism (6). The genealogy s/he give implies a history of colonization in which Church-State doctrines of heteronormativity spread from a circum-Mediterranean context to influence tribal peoples of Northern and Western peoples. Gay Mexican Indians along with other U.S. queers continue to lack legal support for their relationships in terms of health, marriage, work, and adoption. Javors and Reiman note that “conservative groups who are intent on curtailing the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual,

and transgender people have chosen same-sex marriage as one of the their main battlegrounds” citing the homophobic 1996 Defense of Marriage Act (293). Suzanna Walters finds a mixture of feelings towards queers. An October 1998 Time/CNN poll showed that 64% “opposed gay marriage and 57% opposed adoption by gays” (338). Bernstein reports that many states still criminalize “private consensual sodomy” which has historically lead to arrests and condemnations of gay and lesbian bars and organizations. Anti-sodomy law continue to be used to strike down legal protection in terms of “housing, employment, or public accommodations” (421). Homophobia coupled with anti-Indian sentiment create a double oppression that can often incur general material oppression as well.

The homophobia and sexism in present form are highly influenced by a neocolonialism maintained by current imprisonment, a patriarchal rape culture, and hegemonic multinational political and economic systems that attempt genocide on Native peoples in addition to generally denying Indigenous rights. A plethora of Native and human rights activists have turned to notions of Indigenous Rights and legal systems to curtail assimilation and disappearance of Native cultures. Indigenous peoples exercise self-determination in international law in order to express and protect their own cultures using the hegemonic methodologies of science, technology, and legal discourse that are more commonly claimed and utilized by Western culture needed to secure sexual, material, and Indigenous rights. Ross relates exciting findings in her review of Native models of law, medicine and rehabilitation. As Natives pursue law, they ideally become more aware of how their own cultures provide mediation and customs that could just as

well form the body of law in their own tribal context. In a compromise that acknowledges the hegemonic power of White law, both Native and White forms of laws may officially work together more than they already do in communities, tribal courts, and in the international arena. Ideally, these Native legal systems will support equality for males and females and respect the gay, lesbian, and two-spirit rights to exist on a level that heterosexuals enjoy relationships that ideally avoid the abuse and inequalities that mark many heterosexual unions.

In a Mestizo context, these various Indigenous activisms mark an important critique of interrelated Eurocentric, capitalist, and heterosexist hegemonies that form Mestizo identity. In fact, I believe that the fact that so many Natives focus on sovereignty to the exclusion of gender relations says more about the power of heterosexist hegemony within and without Native communities than it does about Native community needs. As I turn to note the central position that sexuality has within many Native cosmologies, I am shocked to note the relative lack of emphasis upon gender balance within hegemonic legal discourse and political movements. As I will argue, an Indigenous worldview that centers upon sexual balance should also express itself politically in a way that accounts for that balance by calling for further power for male, female, or mixed gendered peoples. Marilou Awiakta's writings about early Cherokee political leaders show that all genders served as political leaders, a fact that males and females accepted and actually expected upon meeting the patriarchal Whites. She writes:

“Where are your women?”... The speaker is Attakullakulla, a Cherokee chief renown for his shrewd and effective diplomacy. He has come to negotiate a treaty

with the whites. Among his delegation are women “a famous in war as in council.” Their presence also has ceremonial significance: it is meant to show honor to the other delegation. But that delegation is composed of males only; to them the absence of women is irrelevant, a trivial consideration... To the Cherokee, however, reverence for women/Mother Earth/life/spirit is interconnected. Irreverence for one is likely to mean irreverence for all. Implicit in their chief’s question, “Where are your women?” the Cherokee hear “Where is your balance?” “Where is your intent?” They see that balance is absent and are wary of the white men’s motives. They intuit the mentality of destruction (92).

Despite that legacy of women’s leadership, it wasn’t until Wilma Mankiller was elected principle chief that any U.S. Native tribe had a female chief in recent history, even if many Native women had long organized behind the official scenes of leadership or taken lesser political positions. Hundreds of years later, “Where are your women?” and “Where is your intent” are questions that we as descendants of Indigenous peoples can also ask ourselves and others. Cosmologically and politically, it becomes imperative to do so.

Nahuatl Cosmology and Masculinities

While legal battles are hegemonic, Indigenous peoples can do more than argue within the constraints of mainstream Western law. At times, I heed Arturo Aldama’s call to disrupt hegemonic narratives of Indigenous savagism by subverting “the English

language...to inscribe a polyvocal consciousness that decolonizes the federal imposition of linguistic, legal, religious, and epistemic authority” (73). Yet, as an Indigenous person, I also want to make clear that Indigenous scholars have other options than to conform to methodologies from cultural studies, feminist, pan-Indian or hybridized theories that lack tribal specificity. We can also strive to define “epistemological” differences between specific sexual categories of Native groups and “Euro-Americans” as Epple suggests (184). I look to discussions of comparative homosexualities to make her point supporting Native cosmological analysis.

Certainly, one of the grosser generalizations is that Natives and Mexican homosexuals are created by the feminization of Natives through colonization, that homosexuality is a white “colonial” behavior forced upon those males and females who are not strong enough to resist it in a process José Piedra calls “nationalizing sissies” (370). *Gay American Indians (GAI)* proposes a different view of changing homosexual roles within tribes. This group of urban Indians expresses their cultural sovereignty by ignoring the Judeo-Christian mandates against homosexuality that are not native to their own ways. Burns refers to the GAI history project, a linguistic index of traditional roles and Native names for homosexual and cross-gender behaviors that occur in 135 North American Tribes as researched by Wil Roscoe (1) proving that homosexuality did exist in accepted ways long before Whites came to the Americas.

Given the western categories of a first gender, male, and a second gender, female, Wil Roscoe postulates that Native American peoples who mix those gender roles through a cluster of behaviors such as work, dress, sexuality, and religion constitute an alternative

gender that he calls “berdache” as explorers and ethnographers did before him as he carefully indexes in *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Northern Native America* (1998). Basically, he proposes a post-structural understanding that dynamically traces changes and mediations of dualisms that Levi-Strauss more statically found among such Natives as the Zunis. A key figure for Roscoe is that Zuni kachina “Ko’lhamana” that is the ideal half male half female spirit whose half male and half female hair style, dress, and gender roles symbolized by its carrying of both the male bow and female woven basket sanctify a third gender role in Zuni society (202). Roscoe writes:

Even though Levi-Strauss analyzed Zuni mythology, in which the third gender figure Ko’lhamana is prominent, he never explored the implications of his theory. For him, it was always a matter of “bridging the gap between two and one.” The essentialism of binaries in structuralist theory means that the androgyne can never be the ontological basis for social identity... Ultimately, structuralism remains grounded in a dualism unable to question its own assumptions- that binaries are natural and that nature... can never include such nonbinary phenomena as gender diversity and homosexuality. Yet this is exactly what berdaches represent, identities distinct from male and female, combinations of the two plus everything that binary excludes. (208).

Roscoe adds to Tewa anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz’s critique of Levi-Strauss’ structuralism. Like many poststructuralists, Ortiz notes that structuralism avoids power inequalities within dualism and is too static (133). Nevertheless, Ortiz uses a revised form of structuralist “dualism” because “nothing else would have taken in as much” of

the dualistic Tewa worldview that includes a balance of north and south, or sky and earth, for example (131).

While Roscoe's poststructural work implicitly agrees with Ortiz and is used by GAI, other Natives scholars note that issues find that cross-cultural post-structural Native analyses problematic within specific Native contexts. Of course, those issues can multiply as writers compare European, Mestiza/o, and Indigenous cultures. As Roscoe writes that berdaches "share a core set of traits that justifies comparing them," he gives the example of "Specialized work roles- Male and female berdaches are typically described in terms of their preference and achievements in the work of the "opposite" sex..." along with gender, spiritual, or same-sex relations distinctions as proof of finding a third "category" of gender (8). Rather than wholly reject Roscoe's work on the male/female third gender category of "berdache," Tafoya generally affirms that providing both cross-cultural similarities that one can label with a broad "definition" as well as specific differences of cultural "context" is difficult and that one most likely leans more towards one or the other, but never be really free of either within an academic context. In a pragmatic way, Tafoya desires more tribal specific sexual context while allowing for more broad, if limited, analysis. For him, Roscoe's categories of "third gender" or "berdache" are too broad and static to fit particular understandings of gender as a Pueblo storyteller.

Carolyn Epple voices an important call to compare epistemologies using her own Navajo philosophy as an example that differs from Euro-centric categories such as the "third gender" which Roscoe provides. Instead of berdache, she chooses to refer to the

nadleehi in her own Diné language writing “That which underlies the difficulty of classifying *nadleehi*... the epistemological differences between Navajo and Euro-Americans, is also that by which we can understand them.” One important difference arises in Navajo cosmology in which categories of male and female are not opposed, but continuously recycled in defining all aspects of the cosmos as evident in the philosophy “*Sa'ah naaghai bik'eh hozho*” (SNBH) which is “everywhere.” She continues “Western epistemologies do not accommodate persons who are both herself and himself as well as everything else.” Relying upon oral interview with several *nadleehis*, she explains that a “...Navajo worldview is that everything exists as male and female, with each individual composed of male and female... The maleness and femaleness of all things, however, extend beyond the individual’s physical makeup. Every process, including thought, speech, water, and air, is thus comprised. Indeed, we, as do all things, arise from and exist as *sa'ah naaghai (male) and bik'eh hozho (female)*” (177). To categorize *nadleehi* as “berdache” apart from Navajo cosmology is to lose a dynamic context in which all aspects of the cosmos are a mix of male and female which is central to Epple’s explication of SNBH. Hence, to look, as Roscoe does, for fairly static historical traits of “mixed gender,” is to miss the larger dynamic picture of the cosmos that is already male and female in interaction with all smaller male/female aspects of that same cosmos including people, rocks, earth, sky, books, etc.

As a result of her epistemological comparison, Epple argues that context can contribute to a more culturally appropriate analysis across and within cultures. She emphasizes that poststructural analysis does provide a general sense of two-spirits that is

helpful in cross-cultural comparison. However, for her, SNBH is a metatheory for explaining a deeper understanding of the cosmological relations of sexuality. This SNBH context for two-spirit peoples was already dynamic and geared to explain power differences thousands of years before poststructuralists critiqued structuralism. Unfortunately for many Native peoples, hegemonic social theory is still often limited by binaries within Eurocentric models. Many white writers believe that what is not structural must be poststructural, and what is no longer modern must be postmodern, never acknowledging that Native are more than savages who will passively accept or aggressively utilize the racially superior models of culture that White people will once again provide to Natives who, apparently, lack any kind of idea as to what culture “really” is in a sophisticated way. If one can get beyond the colonial narrative that Whites are the master race, there is absolutely no reason why SNBH should not be recognized as a general cultural metatheory best understood within its own dynamics as opposed to a dependent comparative relationship with poststructuralism such as that offered by Roscoe.

In *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism*, Creek critic Craig Womack also interrogates the White dualistic thinking that what is not modern must be postmodern as he critiques postmodernism in his support of Native readings of Native literatures. He asks:

is the language of postmodernism an effective means of analyzing tribal worldviews given postmodernism’s skepticism about language and literature and its tendency to place them in the realm of nonrepresentation? In some ways,

might these values be antithetical to Native philosophies, as well as struggles for recognition of national and intellectual sovereignty? What changes occur in the “power of the word” concept when it is examined under a system that devalues any sense of word essence? (205)

He finds answers in a long history of Native documents of laws, letters, speeches, and stories that form a basis of literature that can guide Native critics to read the works of those within their own nation. He agrees with Cook Lynn who argues that “Reference to the body of nationalistic myths, legends, metaphors, symbols, historical persons and events, writers and their writings must form the basis of the critical discourse that functions in the name of the people; the presence of the Indian nation as cultural force a matter of principle” (14). For Womack, contemporary writing can fulfill a complementary role to the oral traditions that are a center of any nation’s culture just as ancient codices in Mexico also were used in conjunction with oral traditions (16).

Within a context of a colonial and postcolonial histories of attempted genocide and assimilation through Euro-centric pedagogies and theory, Greg Cajete (Santa Clara Pueblo) envisions that Indigenous people can renew education by “developing a contemporary, culturally based, educational process founded upon traditional Tribal values, orientations, and principles, while simultaneously using the most appropriate concepts, technologies, and content of the modern world” (17). Cajete suggests a variety of combinations of Indigenous methodologies and hegemonic pedagogies in order to affirm and professionalize Indigenous cultures. One of the most important Indigenous models that I found familiar was that of cosmological directions. He relates:

The majority of Indian tribes recognize seven sacred or elemental directions. These directions include East, West, North, South, Zenith, Nadir, and the Center. Through deep understanding and expression of the metaphoric meaning of these orientations, American Indians have intimately defined their place in the Universe... By placing themselves in the *middle* of these directions, they oriented themselves to the multidimensional field of knowledge and the phenomena of the physical and spiritual worlds. Individual tribes named and associated symbols with each direction that characterized their perceptions and experience. (37)

Cajete's general model of directions is exactly the cosmological view that I pursue in this dissertation. The difference is that I stress the *ollin*, movement, of each direction as well as its symbolic or energetic meaning. Instead of seven directions, I focus on four, with the below and above being incorporated into the fifth, or Center direction.³

Quezada's lithograph, based on ancient Paquimé patterns of the Chihuahuan desert, shares both Mesoamerican and Pueblo traits a cultural relationship that Zamudio-Taylor document in *The Road to Aztlán: Art from the Mythic Homeland*. It gives a visual analogy to a four part counter-clockwise circular movement of *nahui ollin*, 4 Movement.

³ I admire Marilou Awiatka's explanation of the four directions model for her own book on Selu, the Corn-Mother. In "Heading East by Way of Four Directions," she explains that her work is a double-woven basket that is made around four directions that represent, wounds, Mother Earth, Healing, and Selu. Double-woven means that the fibers are woven both up and down, inside and out, giving complexity and relation to the baskets parts and to Awiatka's book. While we are from different cultures, we share a general sense of the cosmos and a relationship to corn as the mother of people (35).

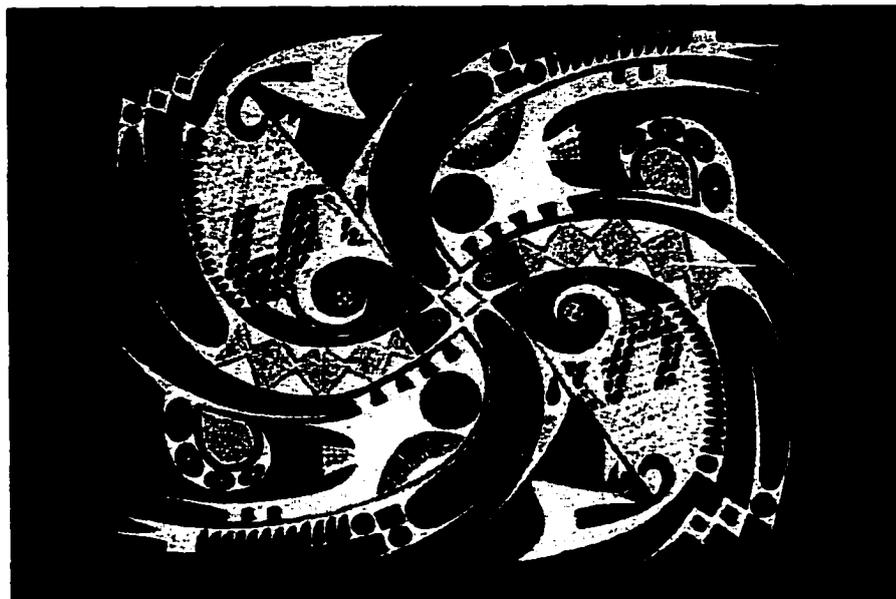


Figure 1.1

In a documentary on Mata Ortiz pottery, Juan Quezada notes that the Paquimé ruins are built in complete alignment with the four directions, a property that many ancient Pueblos and pyramids also share. To me, Quezada's image shows four alternating pictures of living and skeletal fishes in four directions around a center. To focus on the tips of the lines is to follow a sunwise direction, but the concentrate of the fishes' heads is to realize the overall earthwise movement of the piece.

I begin the essay with first direction in the east because east represents a rebirth of *Nahuatl* culture and is the direction to which we first move in dance, like the earth that rotates east to reveal or birth a new sun. One word for east in *Nahuatl* is *tlahuizcampa*, the side of light, a reference to the rising sun's light in the east. An explanation of the Aztec calendar by Nahuatl University shows that the east, *tlahuizcampa*, is represented by *akatl*, reed , which can represent the male sexual organ in its cosmic functions.

Of course, when I say that the east represents “masculinity,” I mean neither to replicate the hegemonic connotations of a separate or superior existence that maleness takes on in heterosexist capitalistic mestizaje that Paz theorizes (qtd. in Melhuus 235). Nor do I deny Rosta’s affirmation that sexist “machismo” can indeed increase within Aztec dance groups that claim to leave behind the oppressive ways of the Catholic Church and Spanish colonization (225). Instead, I continue to offer a “sketch” of the four directions that is admittedly and multiply problematic in an effort to begin to describe their circular interweaving that can facilitate internal and external cultural balance. To continue, *calli*, the western house  is the complement of the east. The western glyph of the *cihuatlampa*, direction of women, represents the sexual organs of a woman in their cosmic functions that includes “housing” new life and ideas. Western femininity finds its complement in eastern masculinity. Nahuatl University continues to offer that *miktampa*, the north direction, carries the energy of *tecpatl*, the obsidian knife , and signifies old age and death. At the university, I learned that, *huitzlampa*, or the southern sign of the rabbit, *tochtli* , is the symbol for youth, that which complements the ancient ways of the north (Nahuatl University). All four of these energetic movements balance each other out by their complementary geometrical positions as days in the Aztec Calendar. The day directly across from *tecpatl* is *tochtli* and the day directly facing *calli* is *akatl* in the calendar below. All four days are centered in each quadrant of the circle around the face of the sun below.

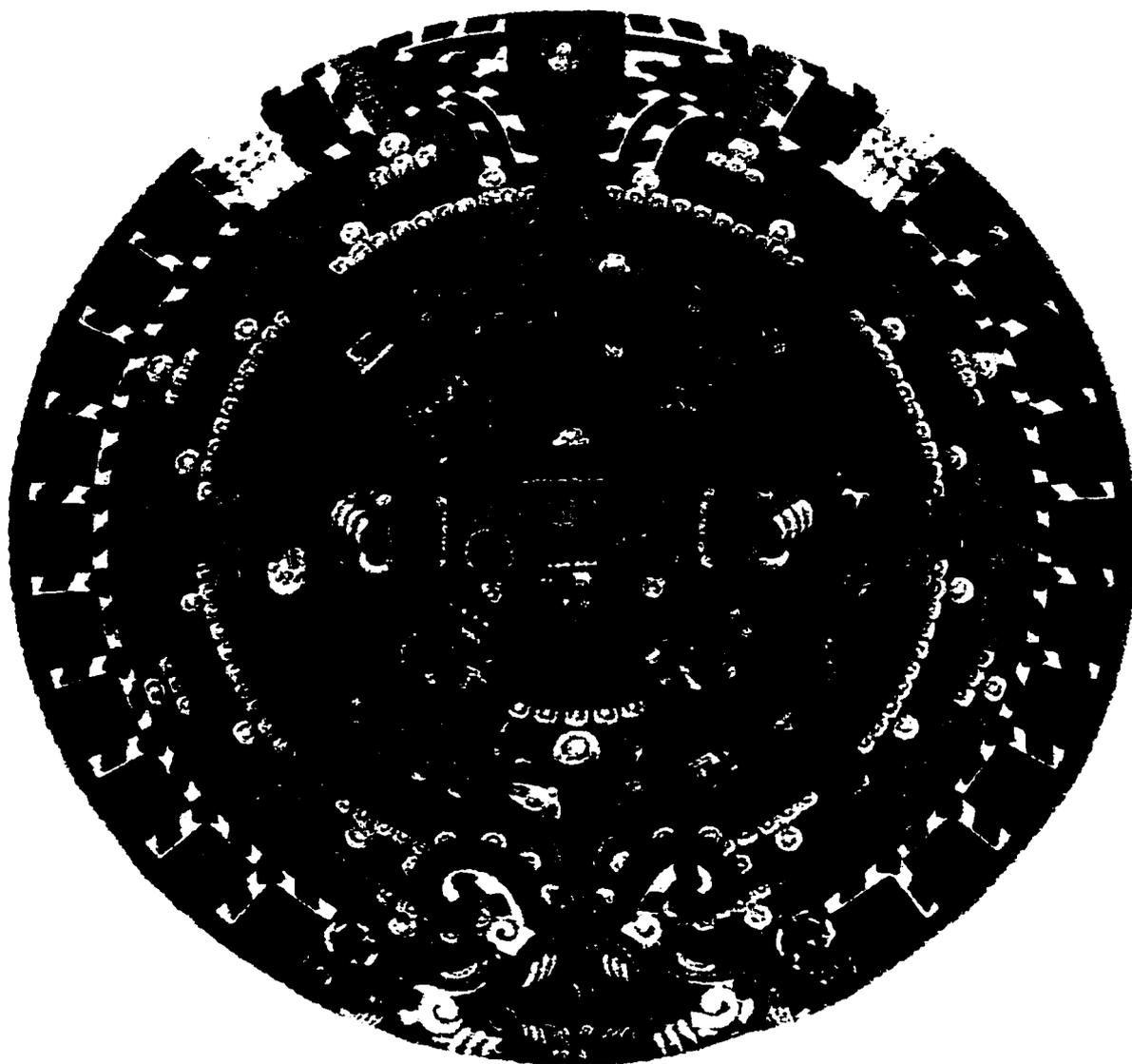


Figure 1.2

I gather dynamic interpretations of the *nahui ollin*, the four interwoven *Nahuatl* directions of east, north, west, and south in order to articulate the methodology and ontology of this comparative essay on the regenerations of Indigenous, Latina/o, and popular Euro-American sexualities. The four arrows that surround the sun face of *Tonatiuh* on the Aztec Sun Stone can represent the four directions of the cosmos that

surround any body and give *ollin* or movement to anything within the *Nahuatl* cosmos. While I stress *ollin* as a particular kind of circular movement through four directions, *ollin* itself is not limited by those directions in any kind of static or structural way. As cosmic movement, *ollin* is all movements at once that are both orderly and chaotic. Paradoxically, it defies human understanding even as it motivates all human movement.



I notice that the ideal relationship of the calendar is the circular movement which can express itself in ways that appear linear from certain or partial perspectives. The eastern and western arrows that appear to point to opposite directions only trace different movements within the same circle. The sun that appears to begin with masculine piercing movement in the east becomes feminine as it descends into the western horizon only to become masculine in the east again in a never ending cycle of night and day that is never purely one thing or the other. Movements only exist in relation to other movements and one kind appears to complement its relative opposite within the relative

movement of the circle. While I have simplified an explanation of the *Nahuatl* cosmos, I alert readers that motions are not always so simple. As a contemporary analogy, I remind people that motion is complexly relative. While two cars speeding on a highway appear to be stationary to each other, their movement is also relative to the rotating and revolving earth, sun, galaxy and so forth. In the same way, one can begin to face east, on a day that is west, in a week that is north in a year that is south in a group of years that is east. The sacred Aztec calendar count is based upon the prime number of 13 and a vigesimal numeral system which avoids the stagnation of binaries and static structures in its nine month course. The annual calendar consists of 18 months of 20 days, with five “uncounted” days, equaling 365. These two calendars work simultaneously, and only once every fifty-two years do their cycles begin together again; only after fifty to years is there a repetition of the same kind of day if one considers the combination of the yearly and nine month sacred calendar. And even then changes in the planets and stars make that day different from the one fifty-two years earlier clearly showing that the Aztec calendar, if understood beyond the four directions, was never meant to describe a static cosmos. Again, *Ollin*, movement, as the primary root of *Nahuatl* philosophy is the opposite of the more static notions of structuralism one might wrongly presume is the basis of all *Nahuatl* philosophy, culture and advanced mathematics. While *Nahuatl* worldview is cyclical, it does not describe a cosmos of mere repetitions of what has occurred before even if it does relate and resonate with all times to some extent (Nahuatl University). The purpose of this dissertation, then, is not to call Mexican Indians back to a static ideal of a glorious past, but rather to show that Indigenous movements continue to evolve in

ways that people, especially *Nahuatl* descendents, can begin to understand and even help facilitate. The directions I relate are not meant to be seen as guides to what may be with some effort, not prisons of static destiny from which there is no escape.

In an effort to intellectually organize the Mexica diaspora in the U.S., Olin Tezcatlipoca explains the basic cosmology that is oriented to the east in his "Introduction to the Mexica Flag" web site. With the help of elders of Mexico, he writes that "east" is the direction of "warriors" (male) while "north" is the home of "death." Their complements follow as "west" is the direction of "warrior women" and south is the home of "happiness" (3). El Vey Teopixque, a *Nahuatl* medicine man, explains that the southern direction ceremony involving Aztec Dance in Chalma, Mexico, is to welcome the "souls that take physical form" (qtd. in Vio 87), the complement to the northern direction in which life energies leave the aging body.

Representing masculinity, femininity, death, and new life, *nahui ollin* is a cosmology that dynamically impacts the political formation of Indigenous movements in its infinite permutations of movements. For example, in March 1997, Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos wrote a letter to the Indigenous Leadership of the United States "in the name of the children, elders, men, and women, all of them indigenous, of the Zapatista communities in the Mexican Southeast" as a recognition of Native American sovereignty and a request for northern Natives to pressure the U.S. government to cease its support of the anti-Indigenous war centered in Chiapas (177). While the light skinned Mestizo, Marcos, does not represent the complexity of Indigenous class and ethnic conflicts in the quote above, his message does resonate with the general belief that to be Indigenous is to

have relations with "children, elders, men, and women," relations strongly linked to ancestral practices, histories, and lands of both Maya and *Nahuatl* peoples who share a similar calendar and cosmology even though their languages and particular cultures are quite distinct.

Indigenous masculinity, femininity, death, and life interweave in the four directions of *Nahuatl* culture, *nahui ollin*. In relation with the essentialized visions of the European sacred or secular body, feminist and post-modern theories of the body's resistance to hegemony, and the intercultural discourse on hybridity, I propose an Indigenous methodology in which the *Nahuatl* body moves through four directions in order to find an internal and external balance of masculinity, femininity, death and life for the sake of Indigenous community agendas. As the *Nahuatl* female body can act as a masculinized warrior, so the *Nahuatl* male body can embody feminized ideals, such as those Hernández-Ávila expresses in her formulation of the "social Malinche" as an activist and intellectual. In addition to critically reviewing the colonial literature on Indigenous sexuality, I can approach a well rounded understanding of Indigenous cosmology and history with the oral traditions and writings of contemporary Indigenous voices. I steer Indigenous methodologies from the limited genocidal trajectories of Eurocentric histories and theories so that the next Indigenous generation might create anew various activisms. For example, some might use cinema, literature, or the web to deepen their embodiment as social Malinches by defying centuries of heterosexism and racism and ameliorating Indigenous relations that are inclusive of the love and affection of the heart. Cosmologically and methodologically, the north-south temporal axis and

east-west sexual axis can mutually support an affirmation of two-spirit peoples whose roots reach through Mexico and the Americas and whose branches stretch to embrace a sexually balanced future in this cosmos. Both heterosexual and homosexual *Nahuatl* bodies can balance the four directions. And within the circular *Nahuatl* cosmos, neither masculinity, femininity, youth, nor age have primacy over the other, as each is but one direction that dynamically complements and informs the others in relations that do not exclude the agency of the sky or the earth, the moon and the sun.

Vio relates that only recently, with the theories of relativity and energy, do Western sciences can begin to understand cosmic dualisms and relativities that Nahuatl peoples have understood for thousands and thousands of years (152). He says:

Our cosmic medicine...bases itself in the principle of the geometry of the universe, the structural elements and explanations of dynamics of which are composed of a dual opposition of opposites. We analyze the cosmos in its true order, its diversity and movement: anger and peace; cold and heat; sky and earth; above and below; man and woman; strength and weakness; light and darkness, rain and drought are, at the same time, attractive and repulsive couples, related by a dual opposition of opposites and ordered in an alternating sequence of power.

(Vey Teopixque qtd. in Vio 107)

Duality is the representation of two, one, and creative energy, *teotl*, together known as “*ometeotl*” a concept that Anzaldúa integrates throughout her writings about mediations of internal complements of male and female. El Vey Teopixque stresses that these dualities are dynamically found inside the body as a reflection of the larger cosmos. As a

Nahuatl elder, he emphasizes that sexuality is not essentialized in the gendered body as all aspects of the cosmos emanate both masculinity and femininity. He informs "medicinally, the human body, like the universe, is divided by a great horizontal plane that separates primarily by the duality of femininity-masculinity that all of us have in our being- as women and men we are masculine and feminine at the same time- and over this division exist extremely complex structures" (108). As a courtesy to human intellect, the elder begins with a simpler picture gender, but I stress that "complex structures" go beyond simple binaries in gender, time, and space as they are hegemonically known in Western culture, even when they seem to be expressed that way in translation to an audience who is unfamiliar with *Nahuatl* cosmology.

In *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, Anzaldúa is one of many Chicanas/os to voice a semi-nationalistic allegiance to the idea that Mexicans are in fact descended from tribes that had migrated from the Southwest throughout Mexico hundreds of years ago and whose ways represent the future of Mestiza/o consciousness (4). While Chichimec-Aztec Dance circles were first central in motivating the resurgence of Indigenismo in San Diego's Chicano and Latina/o populations in the 1970s, the more popularized versions of Indigenismo tended to be more Eurocentric and heterosexist in expression than what was taught in Chichimec-Aztec Dance or by Indigenous elders from Mexico. I contrast the inclusion of Indigenous ways and a balance of male and female in Toltecas en Aztlán's version of The Red Spirit of Aztlán: A Plan of National Liberation and the popularized version of El Plan de Aztlán below that has a more racist and sexist leaning. By racist, I mean that Indigenous ideas are not freely circulating from elders in

the north to the youth of the south who are more likely to incorporate white, classist, patriarchal ideals. In the same way, sexism means that the male-female relations seem to be atrophied or even oppositional in the popular version which differs with male-female relationships that seek to balance sexual power internally and externally and are embodied in Indigenous cosmology. The movements between elders and youth, masculinity and femininity clearly stagnate more in the popularized version that actually influenced the masses of Chicana/o activists. Having said that, the popular version of El Plan de Aztlán did lead to some sense of value for Indigenous heritage that was in danger of being more wholly assimilated into heterosexist, colonial, and masculinist norms. It was part of a complex of international decolonization movements that originated more in Third and Fourth World countries in Africa and Latin America than they did in U.S. barrios. While the Toltecas en Aztlán version dates slightly later than the popularized one that was put together by Chicanas/os in Denver, Colorado, I believe that its ideas reflect a more mature or traditional sense of Nahuatl and Indigenous culture. They state:

The Red Spirit of Aztlán: a Plan of National Liberation

in the spirit of a new people that is conscious, not only of its proud **historical** heritage, but also of the brutal **yankee** invasion of our territories, we, the chicano inhabitants and guardians of our **motherland** Aztlán, from whence come our fore-fathers, reclaiming the land of their birth, and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud heritage, but also of the brutal “Gringo” invasion of our territories: We, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán, from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.

we are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called forth by our house, our land, the sweat of our brows and by our hearts. Aztlán belongs to **the creator who brings nourishment to the seeds, and brings sun and rain to the fields to give people crops for food, and not to Yankee empire.** we do not recognize capricious borders on the red continent.

brotherhood and sisterhood unites us and love for our brothers and sisters makes us a rising people whose sun has come and who struggles against the alien yankee who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. with our hearts in our hands and our roots in the soil, we declare the independence of our red Mestizo Nation. we are a Red People with a Red Culture. before the world, before all of northamerikka, before our brothers and sisters of Amerindia, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are Aztlán.

**end the genocide and biocide
of the yankee empire
humanize
conscience
organize
for National Chicano Liberation
build
a
Red Nation**

We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our house, our land, the sweat of our brows and by our hearts. Aztlán belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops, and not to foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the Bronze Continent.

Brotherhood unites us and love for our brothers make us people whose time has come and who struggle against the foreigner "Gabacho," who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. With our heart 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 our brothers in the Bronze Continent, We are a Nation, We are a Union of free pueblos. We are Aztlán.

I highlight the difference in the first version because it allows partnership between males and females as central to the Movement, in contrast to the more patrilineal and patriarchal version that was popularized. *Toltecas en Aztlán*'s version includes a matrilineal descent from the "motherland" of Aztlán in addition to acknowledging a "sisterhood" that operates with "brotherhood." They also include the idea that *Nahuatl* people are one among many Indian nations that share the continent which differs from the popular version in which the entire continent is "bronze," a Mestizo caste of Indian, African, European, and Asian mix-blooded peoples. Cooper Alarcón criticizes the formulation of popular Indigenismo by noting that:

...the plan justifies its goals on the basis of European and Anglo American colonization and oppression, yet does not grapple with mestizo colonization and appropriation of Native American lands in the Southwest during the Spanish colonial period...the nationalism could not override internal differences [of] Marxist critics... and...internal issues of sexism...(24).

As Cooper Alarcón notes, internal issues of sexism went mostly unchallenged. This included straight and gay Chicanos within the movement across the U.S. The Chicano literary movement of the 1970's did not easily combine a strong Indian identity with an acceptance of homosexuality.

Reinhardt reviews the writing of John Rechy, Rudolfo Anaya, Oscar Zeta, and Veronica Cunningham among others to find three major marriages of homophobia with Chicano/a identities:

1. Incidental gay characters not pertinent to the plot are presented derogatorily in their behavior and label, but their “homosexuality” is social, not sexual...2. Gay characters somehow pertinent to the plot must fail, committing or reportedly committing an unacceptable act, with resultant humiliation, insanity, or some other bad end...3. In writings in which homosexuality is central, Chicano characters are excluded from the world described. (156)

Murray follows up by arguing that Henry Rios and Michael Nava mostly leave behind the three limitations above that gay Chicanos such as Arturo Islas and John Rechy do not (167-168). As a radical queer Xicano/Latino anthology, Jaime Cortez's *Virgins, Guerrillas, and Locas* furthers Nava's and Rios' departure from the previous homophobic literary restraints in a Chicano, Indigenous, and Latino context. For example, Ramón García manages to show a resilience and survival of a feminine Indigenous character in the short story “Amor Indio: Juan Diego of San Diego” who survives her male bisexual or gay macho counterpart. García also shows that Indian narratives are ongoing, flexible adaptations to contemporary situations. Juan Diego is Indio like the Nahuatl original, but he is also a cholo addicted to drugs who meets what appears to be an apparition of La Virgen de Guadalupe on a San Diego barrio corner. “The vision was, in fact, María Félix, in a Tehuana dress from the movie *Tizoc: Amor Indio*” (142). In a chola voice, the image orders Juan to bring her red roses from the nearby street vendor (143). Juan obeys, and as he leaves the roses for her that he has carried in a white bed sheet, an image of María Félix appears on the sheet. Juan departs, only to become sick and die a few months later. After his death, the priest takes the bed

sheet image and “donates it to a local gay bar, a place called *Pedro*’s where the mistress of ceremonies at the drag shows was a María Félix impersonator” (145). The last paragraph of the story begins “The image was hung by the bar, and underneath it a candle was lit every time someone died of el SIDA” (146).

Garcia modifies the Nahuatl apparition story of Guadalupe to fit contemporary realities. While “Juan Diego” is suffering from a deathly plague, it is not one recently brought by Spaniards. Instead, it is an AIDS epidemic that is spreading among gay Chicanos and “Indios,” a pattern that is a colonial legacy considering that Indigenous people are routinely exiled from their own lands and find relocations in the U.S. that are also sources of AIDS not so common in Indian communities. It may be for this reason that when La India gives Indio \$40 a white sheet, she says “take this and fill it with roses, the color of blood, the color of the blood of your people, the color of memory and genocide” (143). As she mentions genocide, she shows that her acts are not centered around fulfilling the cholo’s macho demands for sex. They have more to do with voicing resistance to a history of genocide in which Indian deaths have no value. She vanishes once she gets the roses and does not return until the final scene where it’s implied that she lights candles for Indio’s memory and those who have AIDS. In doing so, she avoids the politics of appropriation in which males can don on the outrageous female costumes for the male gaze in a similar way in which whites would use blackface as bell hooks notes in her *Black Looks* critique of Latino and African-American drag queens in the film *Paris is Burning*. In *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, hooks quotes Frye’s commentary that “...gay men’s effeminacy and donning of feminine apparel displays no

love of or identification with women or the womanly. For the most part, this femininity... is a casual and cynical mockery of women, for whom femininity is the trapping of oppression, but it is also a kind of play... taboo" (149). hooks further interrogates the celluloid drag queens whose ideal of femininity is to become the rich white woman whose implicit wish is to "act in partnership with the ruling white male" (148-149). However, La India in Garcia's story of a miraculous Maria Felix/ Guadalupe impersonator avoids both a fixation on whiteness and objectifying sexual fantasies that easily feed into power hierarchies of Eurocentric machismo.

García shows that it is people's ability to partially recreate themselves from a variety of sources that allows for Indigenous resistance to genocide. In this case, gay Indios can find expression through adapted Catholic and cinematic icons that were previously linked with homophobic Catholicism and heterosexism. The reality of the death, however, suggests that creativity only goes so far as homophobia, sexism, classism, and anti-Indian forces take their toll on the young "Juan Diego" who is survived by the more resistant feminine India drag queen, reversing the previous patterns in which males are not allowed to embody both Indigenous and feminine traits. However, what he fails to critique is the very nature of 1940's Mexican Indigenismo which could not account for Mestizo and specific tribal material and identity conflicts. The drag queen's appropriation of a Tehuana dress erases particular issues that Tehuanas have in terms of land struggles and cultural practices and claims to sovereignty which are different than those of Nahuatl women, contrary to Frida Kahlo's Tehuana image being nationalized as "Mexican". Even so, Schafer recounts that both Kahlo and Rivera painted Kahlo in her

Tehuana dress of her mother's side in an "act [that] was a declaration of solidarity with traditional Mexico, one that followed on the footsteps of nationalist actions such as the 1938 petroleum expropriation of Cardenas" (25). "Amor Indio" partially succeeds in expanding a critique of 1940's Mexican cinema that was founded on what Joanne Hershfield calls the "limits of patriarchy and indigenismo" (57) in *Mexican Cinema, Mexican Women: 1940-1950* (1996) by centering his story on the dynamic persistence of Indigenous femininity within gay Mexican Indian populations in the U.S.

Because I come from somewhat conflicting generations of Indigenous and Chicana/o movements, I found it helpful to use this space of *akatl* as a beginning that would bridge the two generations to some extent. As Chicanas/os often prefer to privilege Western methodologies to understand Indigenous peoples, I went to great lengths to provide access to contemporary Indigenous movements and oppressions through Western methodologies. In doing so, I've also been able to rework some of my own issues of internal racism. If it is true that the most poisonous snakes are often the most medicinal, we can expect that Natives will continue to use legal discourse to prove that to maintain their own traditions is a right. Thankfully, I was able to access enough information on Nahuatl cosmology to begin to balance the Western legal and Cultural Studies based expressions of Indigenous cultures. While I still have much to learn, I like the eastern direction in which I am going, an eastern direction that ideally balances masculinity and femininity internally and externally as components of the same *ollin*, or social and cosmic movement that is central to *Nahuatl* cosmology. While gender was once marginalized within some aspects of both Indigenous and Chicano Movements, I

am pleased to find that balanced sexuality is in fact the very foundation of all movement and knowledge within *Nahuatl* culture. How that balance will be worked out is up to us even as we recognize the general guides of our ancestors. I see this beginning chapter as an invitation to a *tlatokan*, a circle of communication in which future Indigenous peoples will voice their concerns, dreams, cosmologies, and sexualities.



2. NORTH:

IN HUEHUETLATOLLI, THE ELDER'S WORDS:

SPOKEN AND WRITTEN HISTORIES

Tekpatl and the Northern Direction

Ollin, movement, is a key concept in Nahuatl cosmology. Movement defines and embodies meaning. I move from east to north in a counterclockwise motion because that counter clockwise motion is also that of the earth's rotation, revolution, as well as the sun's rotation from a stationary Northern Hemisphere point of view. Of course, the sun appears to move fairly clockwise as the earth appears to make the complementary movement of east, north, west, and then south. Before starting Aztec Dance in San Francisco in the group *Teokalli*, we would all do walking stretches in a counterclockwise or earthwise motion. In the Aztec calendar, there is also a counterclockwise movement of years in which each solar represents a direction and is followed by a year corresponding to the next counterclockwise direction. To translate a *Nahuatl* sense of the eastern direction and the reed, to face east to the rising sun and be reborn. But to face north is to reflect upon experiences and elderly advice. While masculinity is a beginning analysis in the east, the northern part of the circle represents a stage of rest and reflection

about those first impulses and plans. The symbol for the north is the obsidian blade, *tekpatl*. *Tekpatl* represents that which is ancient, just as the obsidian blade of *tekpatl* is an ancient tool for Nahuatl and other cultures. Because the dark shiny obsidian, *itzli*, actually reflects images it is a good symbol for reflection that is internal, in a darkness in which constellations of meanings become clearer. That obsidian blades which are glassy and refractive also reference *Tezcatlipoca*, Smoking Mirror, the night sky, and the ancient memory that is the root of ethical behavior and learning. While *akatl* is an external penetration or birth into the world, *tekpatl* is an autopenetration and self-sacrifice of shallow limitations. The blade is a symbol of a fine light that cuts through layers of one's own mind and body to open up the memories by which we learn without having to make the same mistakes again. Ultimately, *tekpatl* can represent a death of one thing which must be replaced with another whether it is physical, emotional, mental, or spiritual. In effect, the new context that the east presents must find relationship with the internal cosmic or genetic wisdom before a creative action can occur (Nahuatl University).

Caxcán Oral Traditions, History, and Homosexuality

Oral traditions are a source of ancient wisdom that *tekpatl* represents. When I was young, my dad would tell me stories of *Huehucoyotzin*, or "Don Coyote" as he would say. "Don Coyote was very very old" he would begin in an old man's voice, "older than the rocks or the trees. His hair was grey and he walked slow with a limp." These were stories that his father, Chago, told him that were usually handed down from grandfather to grandchild. My great-grandfather, who was *Caxcán*, died in the Mexican Revolution

like a lot of Indians who defended their land. My Tata Chago left this world just before I entered it, so my father told me those stories. “You’re Chago come back again” dad would say noting how I was strangely quiet like his dad, or how I’d button my shirts all the way up even on hot day like my Tata Chago would do while working in the orange fields of Orange County long before I arrived. *Caxcán* are from *Xochipillán*. Both *cax* and *xochitl* mean “flower.” I was surprised to learn that a form of our *Cacaloxochitl* that we still use in ceremonies was transplanted to Hawaii and now are used for making fragrant leis. Growing up in the seventies when a lot a Westerners went to Mexico to learn about flowers and medicines they called hallucinogens, I can truthfully say that I am the original Flower Child of the Americas as *Xochipilli* literally means “Flower Child” in my ancient Nahuatl language. As a child walking to school through the wheat fields in Pullman, Washington, far below the Rocky Mountains, I remember stopping to look at red and orange flowers, hypnotic, and dripping the colors of the sun. I couldn’t move as my blue and white tennis shoes would form roots far below to the ground. My mom would start me off on time, but sometimes I’d arrive hours late to the red brick school with a bouquet of orange flowers in my hands. I know what I’ve always known. Behind the darkness of the body, sky, and death writhe living colors like rattlesnakes.

At this moment I feel that our ancient Nahuatl writing better serves my ideas because it allows for colors and shapes that complement visual memory. I include a picture of *Huehucoyotzin* from the Borbonicus Codex, with a special idea in mind. The fourth page of the codes represents the fourth grouping of a sacred “week” of thirteen day. The week begins on the day *xochitl* and its “protector” is *Huehucoyotzin* who is the

central figure in the codex image along with *Macuilxochitl*, Five Flower, who is playing a drum and fulfilling his obligation as the muse or energy of music and poetry. Those born into that trecena are said to gain the potential ability for music, dance, and poetry that *Huehucoyotzin* represents. Future codices tended to distort Mesoamerican cultures due to the influence of the Inquisition and its focus on obliterating Native practices and world views. One only needs to compare the drawings of mutilated heart sacrifices of the poorly drawn and colored colonial codices with the beautifully drawn, colored, and proportionate works of earlier codices to sense how writing change dramatically through colonization. Without the stories in my family, the image would not mean so much. For me, the image is a self portrait of my *Caxcán* ancestry and patrilineage that I've never lost as my family has moved. The *Huehucoyotzin* is my father, grandfather, and great-grandfather and the flower he holds, is me as a child, grandchild and great-grandchild. Relative to them, I am *Xochipilli*, the Flower Child in the Caxcán tradition. I am their new song. *Huehucoyotzin* is dancing and singing, because it is he who taught my Chichimecca ancestors to dance, sing, and tell stories long, long ago. In fact, upon return to *Juchipilla/Xochipillan*, an elder explained to me that coyote still have their dances in the hills above the river. Others claim that coyotes have long ago vanished. Still others say that they hear coyotes every night. Finally, still other carve staffs with coyote heads and carry them throughout their old age and into the dances. *Huehucoyotzin*'s left hand carries a rattle. The twisted red and white head band are missing in this retouched image and some of the whites should be yellow compared to an earlier version. Still, the sense of dance and song is clear in the image below:



Figure 2.1

As I look at the image, I ask myself: How can we have rights without dancing and singing? How could we know what morality is without our oral traditions? Why would anyone choose to write in the only in the deathly color of black when we are so drawn to

the colors of life? For me, the prospect of living without my Indigenous traditions is an impossibility.

Just the other day, I was driving to the university and slowed down to pass a high school. There was an older couple in a car in front of me. The old man driving had grey hair. I watched a couple of kids on the side of the road talking to each other. The old man really slowed down and stopped far before he would pass them. The kids somewhat obnoxiously just walked out on the road without even looking for traffic. They were so involved in talking with each other. I thought that a less cautious driver would have hit them. The kids looked Mexican or Yaqui and the old man looked White or he was light skinned, but that didn't matter. It reminded of the story when a little boy throws rocks at Don Coyote thinking how slow Don Coyote is and how frazzled he looks. Don Coyote limps way over a ridge and curls up, looking like a large greyish stone. The boy runs right past him and falls into a river. He doesn't know how to swim and starts screaming "Help! Help me! I'm Drowning!" Immediately, Don Coyote leaps up and runs to the river. Grabbing a huge log, he fishes the boy out. "Oh, thank you! Thank you, Don Coyote!" the little boy gasps. "Oh, it was nothing," replies Don Coyote. "No, really I really mean it," says the little boy. "No, really, it was nothing" says Don Coyote. "I'll give you whatever you want" promises the little boy. Don Coyote says, "No, you don't owe me anything" over his shoulder as he slowly walks away. In my case, there wasn't the river *Xochipilli* that I picture below



Figure 2.2

but a road in Tucson. The kids were in trouble of getting hit, not drowning. It wasn't my dad's voice, but my own memory that echoes the story as I sat in my car and evaluated the situation. I have insurance, and aced the written part of the driving test, but that isn't how I first learned why older people are obligated to look out for the younger ones who don't yet have the experiences to know any better. Because I am *Caxcán*, I learned a different way from the stories my dad told me, that his dad told him, that his grandfather told him, and his grandfather told him. To learn that in a law class would be totally different.

When I spoke to Professor Raúl López Robles in Juchipila, Zacatecas, the pueblo traditionally known as *Xuchipillan* or *Xochipilli*, he gave me a copy of his work on our Caxcán history that has survived severe colonization and mestizaje. People do and don't identify as Indian in Juchipila, depending upon who is talking and who is talking to them. Over the years, he has been gathering his findings online which is the source that I will cite as most people don't have time to go to a rural area like Juchipila to get their own

copy of his book *Monografía de Juchipila*. I'll focus on *La Danza del Xuchitl* as that is the central dance of our Caxcán people. I was happy to find a copy of one of the oral traditions about the origins of Caxcán people that is partially ceremonially reenacted in *La Danza del Xuchitl*. However, because this story was not passed down through my family, being located in a book by señora Juana B. Gutiérrez de Mendoza in *"Por la tierra y por la Raza,"* I cautiously relate it. The text is in Spanish which I translate into English below. The only stark change I make is in changing the poetic translation of *Xochipilli* from "God of Flowers" to a more literal translation of "Flower Child." Part of my reluctance to the idea of Indian "gods" is derives from a colonial Mexican Indian history of wishing to keep Indian beliefs out of competition with the Catholic Church's God that Indians have syncretically accepted at times. The other part is that I've never learned in my *Caxcán* or *Nahuatl* oral tradition that we don't have "gods" in the Judeo-Christian sense of the word, although we do recognize cosmic movement, especially in dancing. I've also taken out the word "gods" that was used to describe the famed *Quetzalcoatl* and *Xochiquetzal*, Feathered Serpent and Flowery Feather in translation. The story goes:

Since time immemorial, the *Caxcán* have live on the edge of a great laguna which is situated when the Canyon of Juchipila now is. They lived contented in the company of *Quetzalcoatl* and *Xochiquetzal* from whom they received much love and protection. But one day a tragedy and sadness arrived: a cruel animal entered a cave and devoured the children of *Quetzalcoatl* and *Xochiquetzal*. There was a lot of pain among the *Caxcanes*, and even more among the parents. A year

passed and another child was born, the animal could not harm the child because *Quetzalcoatl* covered the entrance of the cave with a great rock. A little before *Xochiquetzal* gave birth, the *Caxcanes* covered the floor of the cave with *cacaloxochitl* and the new child was born in these flowers and because of that was called *Xochipilli*, or Flower Child, which also means joy, youth, and happiness. *Xochipilli* was born in June, when the *Cacaloxochitl* tree blooms. The entire pueblo was happy with the birth of *Xochipilli* but even happier were the parents. (<http://www.juchipila.com>)

For me, *Xochipilli* is not an outside “god,” but an internal feeling of youth, exuberance, and joy that all people go through and celebrate throughout their lives and which are especially activated through ceremony and dance. If one considers that *Xochipilli* is an embodiment of youth, than its easier to see why for hundreds of years, the *Caxcán* have danced *La Danza del Xuchitl* to enjoy *Xochipilli* 's seasonal rebirth.

But to continue the dance in a context of Spanish Inquisition was not easy. After a few years of colonization, Caxcán and other Northern tribes rebelled against the Spanish and their central Nahuatl warriors in the Mixton War of 1541. “*Axcán quema tehuatl nehuatl!*” “Now, yes, you and me!” is the *Caxcán* 's Mixton war cry that still resounds in Raul Lopez’s rendition of Caxcán history. Mixton is what *Caxcanes* are most known for in Chichimec history. I include a picture of the mountain below from the website:



Figure 2.3

The differences in *Caxcán* and *Mexica* origins also resonate with differences in culture, politics, and geography. Raul Lopez calls for autonomy and a reorganization to once again assure that *Xochipilli* is a center of commerce and culture in the region as opposed to centralization of Mexico City and its brand of Aztec Empire based mestizaje. It was to preserve *La Danza del Xuchitl* that was being repressed under Spanish colonization that a convoy of *Caxcanes* went to the center of oppression, Mexico City, to plead for the continuance of that dance in 1592. That right was honored, but the time of the dance was moved to Easter to coincide with Christian celebrations. *Tenamaxtli*, the *tlatoani*, or speaker of the *Caxcán* had by that time already been exiled to Spain where he worked with Fray Bartolome de las Casas to argue for Indigenous rights, listing the plentiful abuses that Spanish colonialism brought. From the very beginning, Indians learned to argue their rights within European laws when physical resistance proved faulty. La

Danza del Xuchitl in its present state syncretically combines *Caxcán* and central *Nahuatl* beliefs with at a veneer Spanish Catholicism

While *Caxcán* history shows similarities in ceremony and the figures of *Xochipilli*, *Quetzalcoatl*, and *Xochiquetzal* that are common in central Mexico, the stories and dances vary. For example, *Xochiquetzal* and *Quetzalcoatl* are not usually the parents of a people or paired up together, as *Xochiquetzal* is often placed with *Tlaloc*, the Rain, and *Quetzalcoatl* is often the pair of *Mayahuel*, the maguey, as the animated codex of *A Sacred History of Mexico* by El Teatro Campesino recounts. However, Taylor notes that *Xochiquetzal* is also known as the flowery feather of the maguey plant, which would explain the change in stories. At least in name, *Xochipilli* takes more after the mother, *Xochiquetzal*. As an energy of new growth and ripening, *Xochipilli* also follows the mother's characteristics that include sexuality and beauty, even if the wind of *Quetzalcoatl* is also involved in the fertilization of plants and corn as well.

(<http://www.juchipila.com>).

New age gay activists and writers such as Theodore Joslin have also had an interest in *Xochipilli* writing "the aztec god xochipilli, the prince of flowers, has been shown by scholars, to be a patron god of aztec homosexuals. He is also lord of dance, art, music, perfumes, and, according to some, of shamanic trance" (<http://www.universal-love.org/soulweb/spirit.html>). Taylor also states that both *Xochipilli* and *Xochiquetzal* are linked with sexualities that include homosexualities writing "...*Xochiquetzal* was male and female at the same time, in her male aspect (called *Xochipilli*), s/he was worshipped as the deity of male homosexuality and male prostitution...In *Xochiquetzal*'s

positive aspect s/he was the deity of loving relationships and the god/dess of artistic creativity; it was said that non-reproductive love was like a piece of art- beautiful and unique” (82). Yet, at some point, an archetypal notion of Xochipilli as a “god of all pleasures” seems to lack a balance of other aspects of Chichimecca culture such as farming, work, community, and politics. An image from the Vault of Erowid problematically makes the shamanic trance connection between Xochipilli and hallucinogens:



Figure 2.4

The Vault of Erowid's interpretation is that the flowers on *Xochipilli*'s body represent hallucinogens while the face expresses ecstasy. The chemical structures of the purported drugs surround *Xochipilli*'s body. (http://www.erowid.org/entheogens/xochi/images/archive/xochi_poster1.jpg) The way that *Xochipilli* is displayed and described seems to invite experimentation of sexuality with drugs that are taboo in Western culture. Part of my concern with both Joslin's and the Vault's interpretation of *Xochipilli* negates complexity of cultural realities and practices that currently surround the image as well as the ceremonies that may include medicines throughout Mexico. I don't know of any Native communities that encourage the free experimentation with sex or drugs, especially given the often poisonous affects that many plants can have on the human body. Images and descriptions of *Xochipilli* that are divorced from the culture do little but obscure the politics surrounding Indigenous peoples. It is cultural appropriation. At worst it is as Margo Thunderbird writes of New Age Whites, "they came for our land... They stole these things from us... And now, after all that..they've come for... our pride, our history, our spiritual traditions. They want to rewrite and remake these things, claim them for themselves. The lies and thefts just never end" (qtd. in Meyer and Royer xi). In fact, the reason why I focus on Indigenous rights and current politics from the beginning of this dissertation is to avoid the sense that Indigenous peoples exist for New Age or any other White fantasies in which Indigenous people no longer have a voice.

More interesting to me is Craig Acosta Rowe's "*The Day I Kissed Mike Sanchez* which explores the growing borderlands of identity politics... leading to a spiritual journey for the Aztec figure *Xochipilli*." It currently plays in live gay theaters throughout

the U.S., once again linking *Xochipilli* with homosexuality and the politics of Indigenous peoples. Appropriately enough Acosta Rowe, features “poetry” and “adolescent love, fantasy, and contemporary relationships” in his solo performances that emphasizes his Indigenous artistic roots as well as his Anglo ancestry, a mix that is perhaps evident in his poster for the play.



Figure 2.5

I say appropriately because flowers also mean poetry and song and *Xochipilli* is linked with adolescence and the awakening of sexuality, of coming to flower sexually speaking. Given the policies of genocide, an increasing prison-industrial complex, and the heterosexism of colonized cultures influenced by Christian morals, an artistic representation of *Xochipilli* in the borderlands would complicate the archetypal reading of *Xochipilli* as an inspiration for any kind of homosexual and hallucinogenic experimentation.

My trips to Juchipila/*Xochipilli* did fall at Easter time, and so I have not seen *La Danza del Xuchitl*. Nevertheless, I can relate both what I have heard and read in terms of

links between *La Danza del Xuchitl* and homosexuality. I can say that I haven't heard from people from my ancestral pueblo that *La Danza del Xuchitl* is in fact a strictly homosexual dance. However, I have heard that it did include cross-dressing and homosexuality of sorts. Lopez Robles recounts that the dance involves a movement of a bandana that represents the *xochitl* being passed between men and women as a symbol of fertility, but not between men and men or women and women. *Cacaloxochitl* and incense are offered to *Xochipilli* who sits in the center of town by the Church as pictured below:



Figure 2.6

Some of the dancers dress up as *tlatoanis*, or traditional speakers who carry words in the shapes of flowers in their mouths:



Figure 2.7

Still others carry the “flower” and pass it alternating from female to male such as an older women and young man in the following pictures:



Figure 2.8



Figure 2.9

The variation that I heard was that in times past, there were both male and female *tlatonis*, instead of just the male ones that are shown in the web site. This is important because *tlatonis* have political power. Some males would dress as female *tlatoanis* and flirt with men by offering their flower to them, although they would not pass the flowers off. Even then, it seems as though flowers only go between males and females. A few female *tlatoanis* would dress as male *tlatonis* and flirt with other women by offering their flowers but not actually giving them away. The majority of *tlatoanis* would dress in their usual gender and pass their flowers off to the opposite sex, or so the story I heard goes. I'd be curious to ask remaining old people in the pueblo if they have heard of that too along with female leadership in politics that are barely mentioned on Juchipila.com's website. Given the homophobic jokes that are also linked to the website, I doubt that that

tradition has persisted as more hegemonic norms of heterosexuality seems to be more common these days.

Nahuatl Dance and Oral Traditions

My sense of who I am as *Caxcán* was further developed by my experiences with the oral and dance traditions of Aztec Dance teachers as a young adult in the lineage of Florencio Yescas, the Mexica Capitan from *Tlacopan* Mexico City. Because I grew up on the Washington Idaho border near the Coure D'elaine reservation, I experienced my Nahuatl culture in a way that would have differed from growing up in the old settlements in central Mexico. In the San Francisco group Teokalli, I was pleased to find that the Aztec dances of *Huehucoyotzin*, el Don Coyote, and *Iztacuahli*, La Aguila Blanca or the White Eagle, were reflected the stories I had heard as a child. The fact that my teachers Manolo Sanchez and Yvette Flores did not often stamp a verbal meaning to the dances meant that their teaching did not interfere with the knowledge that was internal to my own oral traditions. Mario Aguilar, an Aztec capitán or leader writes “during the 1970's, Chicano/Mexicano communities... began a spiritual, cultural, artistic and political reconquest of their ancient American heritage... Everywhere, the young began to inquire from the old as to what had been their traditional ways [and]... to realize the great value and antiquity of the culture they had inherited from their parents and their elders.” Everywhere includes “50,000-100,000” danzantes in the U.S. and Mexico, a reflection of the “1, 319,848” fluent speakers of Nahuatl and the large portion of tens of millions of Mexican Indians who maintain aspects of their Chichimec-Nahuatl roots (Tezozomoc

69). What Aguilar submits is that one is born into the culture and goes through guided stages of knowledge to learn more. Outside of the *Caxcán Danza del Xuchitl*, I found relatives who were able to continue part of the dancing tradition that relates to my own *Caxcán* background and oral tradition, even though it is not the same. Of course I've looked for and found models of decolonization through intertribal Danza Azteca in the U.S. and Mexico.

Through oral tradition, the words of the Nahuatl speaker and leader, *Cuauhtemoc*, predict a sunrise of regeneration for Nahuatl and Indigenous cultures after the long night of colonization. As the last leader of the early central *Nahuatl* confederacy resistance to Spanish colonization in 1521, *Cuauhtemoc* draws upon a cyclical notion of Nahuatl time and space to prophesize that Nahuatl peoples would eventually rebuild what they would lose in the short term. I provide an English translation of the Nahuatl/Spanish version of the beginning of *Cuauhtemoc*'s last message that has been retold throughout centuries by Nahuatl peoples.

Totonaltzin ya omotlatihtzinoh! Our sacred collective energy does well to hide itself.

Totonaltzin ya omixpolihuitih! Our sun now does well to disappear from the eye.

Ihuan zentlayohuayan otechmocahuilih! In this manner, in the a time of total darkness, it does well to hide itself.

Mach tictomachitiah oczeppa hualmohuicaz! with certainty it dignifies us to know that in another time it will find it well to come again

Ma oczeppa hualmoquixtiz! that another time it will come to us

Ihuan yancuican techmottlahuiliquih! and again come to enlighten us...

Axcan tehuantzitzin tiqintotequimaquillah in topiltzitzinhuan! today, it dignifies us to give the responsibility to our beloved children

Ca totlahcuiloliztzin ihuan tollamatiliztzin ma pixquilli! take care of our venerable writing and sow our illustrious cosmovision

Ipanpa nemilioliztli in tollazohltalnanzin Anahuac! for cause of the permanence of our collective of our beloved mother earth, Anahuac!

Yei Kalli Makuiltochtli! 12 of August, 1521

Mexico-Tenochtitlan
Kuauktemotzin/Cuauhtemoc

(Stivalet Corral 40-42, 2001)

Cuauhtemoc is known for being an eagle warrior in the style of a direct attack, but he is also less commonly known as a jaguar warrior who fights from the subconscious, nocturnal, and interior level that *tecpatl* represents. In his last message, he says that the overt battle is over and that the battle must now become more subtle and interior. He does not say to give up as he tells *Nahuatl* people to pass on traditions to the youth in secret until the dark period of colonization is over. In a sense, he proposes a training of warriors that is also part of the *Nahuatl* tradition, that of the jaguar and the night. Because he uses the sun and its disappearance and reappearance, he sets in motion the idea that periods of eagle and jaguar warriors will always follow one another. Spanish colonization is the night of training for jaguars. It is difficult, but cannot be avoided or rejected, just as one cannot avoid the night itself. Stivalet explains that days and nights do not just refer to single days and nights, but rather to bundles of years that alternate with solar and lunar qualities in a ratio of 13:9, the night being the shorter of the two. Each bundle consists of 52 years. $9 \times 52 = 468$ years which, when added to the date of 1521 equals 1989, a time in which decolonization for Indigenous people was beginning to ferment as the date for 500 years of Indigenous and Popular Resistance in 1992 came closer. According to Stivalet, people have the opportunity to transform back into solar beings within the 676 years of day that will transform and balance the old darkness of the jaguar. Stivalet offers *Cuauhtemoc*'s words in order to show that Native Americans will be able to use their experience and memory to recreate cultures and societies with greater

ease in the first part of this millennium than was possible in the last half of the last millennium. Again, the idea is cyclical like the relative movements of the earth and sun. Like the seasons, the growing and dying of people and corn and the rising of new generations, the darkness that colonization represents will never go away, although there are times when it will recede like a tide leaving its pockets of water behind so that people can have balance. While the general sense of night and day persist, the content of each period of day and night is only generally predicted. Therefore, one sun differs from another, just a night can have one kind of weather while the next night can completely differ.

The balance of cycles is key in *Nahuatl* cosmology. According to Lopez Austin's readings of the colonial literature, masculinity and femininity are complementary within ancient Nahuatl beliefs. The basic "horizontal divide" of Mother Earth and Father Son maintain that a balance of male and female that Lopez Austin further expresses in two columns (53):

MOTHER	female	male	FATHER
	cold	hot	
	below	above	
	ocelot	eagle	
	9	13	
	underworld	heaven	
	humidity	drought	
	darkness	light	
	weakness	strength	
	night	day	
	water	large fire	
	ascending influence	descending influence	
	death	life	
	flint stone	flower	
	wind	fire	
	sharp pain	irritation	

	minor	major
night	stream (death)	stream of blood (life)
	foul smell	perfume

This central column is the heart of the larger cosmology. 9 refers to nine underworlds while 13 refers to the thirteen skies. Yet the horizontal divide is not absolute as each level is presided over by a male and female representation of that level's characteristics. For example, the 9th underground level of "*itzmictlan*," obsidian place of the dead, is presided over by male and female skeletons, *mictlantecuhтли* and *mictlancihuatl*, a sort of "Lord and Lady Death." In the video *A Sacred History of Mexico* by El Teatro Campesino which animates the Codices to retell *Nahuatl* history, there is a story of the original creation of two suns after a period of darkness. Everything was burning up so, one sun became the moon to provide balance and a livable environment. The humidity and drought are important balances in farming. Too much water and the plants can wash away. Too little water and the plants will not grow well. I remember standing on a part of the mountains of Juchipila looking at a cornfield. The corn that collected more water grew taller than the shorter dryer corn. Both male and female are needed to have children. Both earth and sun are needed to grow corn. Traditionally, no one can grow corn in the air, away from *Tonantzin*, our mother earth. *Cuauhtemoc*'s cyclical sense of *ometeotl* is evident in the circular path in which knowledge, language, and stories are passed from one generation to the next, from old to young in a cosmic regeneration. The need for *Nahuatl* youth to learn about Indigenous culture and language is a kind of message that, until recently, many academics did not realize or report.

Chicana/o and Mexican Indian Sexual Histories

Given the fragmented and colonized nature of many *Chichimec* and *Nahuatl* traditions, as well as Indigenous decolonization movements, the question of what is tradition or what will be the current understanding of tradition is debated in academia and in Indigenous communities through Mexico and the U.S. How does one represent traditions of *Nahuatl* masculinity and femininity, two sides of the same *ometeotl*? Using her own lived cosmology, Gloria Anzaldúa unveils the loss of power of the feminine in Indigenous and Mestiza/o histories through the poetics of her own Mestiza body. Anzaldúa attempts to heal the conflicting bad/good ideals of women that Spanish colonization impinged upon ancient Indigenous models of femininity that were balanced and dynamic in nature. For example, Tonantzin/Guadalupe became fixed as “good” virgin-mothers while La Malinche/*Coatlicue* were slandered as being treacherous whores by male Spanish Conquistadores and some of their Mestiza/o offspring. Of the nurturing, earth mother Guadalupe, Anzaldúa writes, “They desexed her, taking Coatloapeuh, the serpent/sexuality, out of her” (27). Thus, erotic power is historically stripped away from the Mestiza/India which leads to her subsequent abuse at the hands of various male dominated societies in which, “for 300 years, she has been a slave, a force a cheap labor, colonized by the Spaniard, the Anglo, her own people” (22). Her resolution is to express both her male and female attributes in a tradition of *Quetzalcoatl* that represents both earth and sky. After speaking with *Nahuatl* elders, White male writer John Mini makes the interesting comment that the sexism that targets women also unbalances men internally and externally in *The Aztec Virgin: The Secret Mystical*

Tradition of Our Lady of Guadalupe which controls its tendency for New Age Rainbow speculation about *Nahuatl* beliefs more so than did his previous book, *Day of Destiny*.

He generally notes:

Just as the sexist thinking of the Judeo-Christian religions tend to exclude woman from heaven or at least make it extremely difficult for them to get there, it also creates another severe difficulty: It leaves no place for men on Earth. With the role model of a detached and punishing male God driving the psyche of the western mind, what can we expect male behavior to be like and what are the expectations placed on men from men and women alike? Men have been in exile from the planet for too long. As the feminine side of God begins to come out of the closet, we'll also witness the long awaited return of the Earth Father" (111).

Certainly, to bring femininity "out of the closet" refers to the bodies of both straight and queer males as it does to female bodies that are also sexually unbalanced in Chicana readings of their own colonial history.

Certainly, this kind of writing could never replace the knowledge that one must gain through a ceremony that honors the four directions and the aid of a living line of elders. In *The Eagle's Children*, a leader of Aztec Dance in Mexico encourages Nahuatl peoples in the United States to continue learning about danza and to return to Mexico in order to attend ceremonies and meet elders. As the director, Pacho Lane, is white, I recall Dyer's cinematic assertion as a white man that "we [whites] are seen... but because we are white, we characteristically see ourselves and believe ourselves seen as unmarked, unspecific, universal" (44-45), an assertion evidenced by a history of cinematic racism.

Yet even with the White filter of Lane's camera, General Aranda's words from the web site text of the film do provide a context for Aztec dancers.

...Nos da mucho gusto que el señor capitán real, don Andrés Segura, este dándoles la fuerza, a todos Uds, en aquellos pueblos que nosotros no conocemos... que nuestras ánimas conquistadoras de los cuatro vientos les den fuerza a Uds, para que algún día posean la palabra en este pueblo de Chalma. Que tengan suerte, que tengan ánimo, y tengan salud, para que este grupo de Uds, y de muchos grupos de aquel lado de nuestro México, sigan creciendo, y que algún día, alguien de todos nosotros podamos, con nuestros propios ojos, antes de cerrarlos, ver el trabajo de Uds en aquellos sagrados pueblos donde también están nuestros hermanos. El es dios.

... It gives us great pleasure that the true capitán, Don Andrés Segura, is giving you energy to all of you, in those pueblos that we don't know... May the conquering spirits of the four winds give strength to you, so that one day you can have palabra in this pueblo of Chalma. May you have luck, for the group of you here, and of the many other groups on the outside of our México, that you continue growing, and that some day someone from all of us may, with our own eyes, before closing them, see the work of those of you in those far sacred pueblos where also are our brothers. El es dios. (Lane 1997)

General Aranda is incredibly articulate. The complex structure of his sentences begin to convey some of the complexities of Nahuatl culture. Aranda embodies the *Nahuatl* ideal that a male warrior is educated and able to speak on the deepest metaphoric levels that of course include references to dance, poetry, and song, and ideal that *Cuauhtemoc* and *Tenamaxtli* also embodied as *Tlatoanis* for their Nahuatl and Caxcán peoples, respectively. His reference to “Chalma” is a ceremonial dance and precludes a knowledge of Nahuatl “*in cuicatl in xochitl*”, song and poetry. Most importantly, he openly invites all dancers to experience the tradition where it is most whole on traditional *Nahuatl* land with traditional *Nahuatl* elders.

Contrary to some opinion, Danza was not brought the U. S. as a means to hide from the current reality or to wish a return to a purity or paradise that never existed. Danza is hard work in a racist society. Within a context of danza, Aguilar reaffirms the contemporary political importance of *Nahuatl* ways when he writes,

the work of teaching and preserving the Azteca dance tradition has been carried out at churches, schools, universities, recreation centers, and local Indian reservations. This has been accomplished through dance presentations, slide lectures and cultural workshops. By supporting the efforts of San Diego's local Chicano and Native American organizations and communities, *Danza Mexi'cayotl* is helping to empower people to create true self-determination, with an emphasis on the preservation of Native American's rich and unique cultural legacy... *Mexi'cayotl* wishes to preserve these traditions, not as anachronistic mementos of

the past, but as vital and important points of reference for the future of all communities and of all ethnic groups that share with this land.

Within Aztec dances, a connection to land is an apt term to describe knowledge, especially in its representation of “Mother Earth” and her movement in relation to “Father Sun” that many Natives also share such as the Pueblo Indians (Tafoya 194). Ines Hernández-Ávila is a critical Nipmuc-Chicana author who also finds that her experience in Aztec Dance was one of the most important ways in which she could understand her relationship to earth and her own role as a Chicana activist within that world. Part of the context of her writing is the idea that Indian women such as La Malinche are to blame for their own colonization for having Mestizo children, “sleeping with the enemy.” The severity of that myth was reinvented with a passion by post-1970’s Chicano men who could not accept Chicana women as having decolonizing power and control over their own sexuality simultaneously (Martinez 79). In “An Open Letter to Chicanas: On the Power and Politics of Origin,” she proclaims:

Within the dance tradition of the Concheros of ‘la Gran Tenochtitlan,’ la Malinche is a path-opener, an abrecaminos, who cleanses and blesses the path with the smoke of the incense in her *sahumador*... my role as a Malinche within a ceremonial context has helped me to understand how I am a Malinche in a social and intellectual context. We should consider the possibility that each Mexicana/Chicana could become a Malinche in the sense of being a path-opener, a guide, a voice, a warrior woman, willing to go to the front to combat the

injustices that our people suffer. In this way our indigenous mother will be revindicated as well” (244-245).

Hernández-Ávila actually goes to Mexico to learn from Nahuatl women and men about traditions of La Malinche within a ceremonial context. Her central concern is to heal Chicanas’ Indian sense of themselves which is fractured through colonization. Aranda, Aguilar, and Hernández-Ávila show that Danza Azteca is open to help different gendered peoples in different contexts: in Mexico, in the U.S., in gender activism, in spirituality, and in formal academic pursuits.

Some Xicanas essentialize their Indigenous heritage as Aztec, an Aztec culture which offers little more than gender and class oppression that must be accounted for and held contested. In *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma*, Xicana historian Ana Castillo writes that both Aztec and Spanish patriarchy reinforced each other in colonization starting in the sixteenth century; although she postulates that a form of matriarchy was more prevalent in the Toltec era before Aztecs came to central Mexico in the fourteenth century. In *The Last Generation*, Cherrie Moraga also attacks the patriarchy that she sees as imbedded in ancient Aztec culture. Moraga retells the myth of the birth of the sun, *Huitzilopochtli*, with a twist: *Coyolxauqui*, the rebellious moon who tries to kill *Huitzilopochtli* at birth becomes her ally. She explains “I pray to her La Hija Rebelde. She who has been banished, the mutilated sister who transforms herself into the moon. She is la fuerza femenina...”(74). At an Aztec ceremony in Mexico for a solar eclipse, Moraga and “lesbianas from all over Latin America” come to pray for the moon in her momentary victory over the sun (75). As a white feminist, Palaversich

doesn't delve into which option reflects historicity, although she does intimate that Mirande erroneously "presumes" that an Aztec sexual division in labor somehow equated separate but equal rights (645). I agree with Palaversich in that sexual division is not necessarily about equality, but I would add that some sexual division of labor in traditional Indigenous societies neither means that there was egalitarianism nor that there was rampant sexism. In *Law and Transformation of Aztec Culture 1500-1700* (1995), Susan Kellog writes that early Mexica land was communally owned and traced back through several generations to a married couple, a practice that became more individualist and patriarchal as colonization progressed (71). Kellog finds that "in late pre-Hispanic Tenochtitlan, gender roles and gender relationships consisted of both complementary and hierarchical elements; in general, however, these separate but equivalent aspects of gender relations outweigh hierarchy" (92). According to her analysis, Mexica culture includes fairly equal but different roles for males and females in administration, religion, commerce, and family organizations, a situation that has never been widely seen in the U.S. popular culture and government. Wood and Schroeder report that Haskett, Anderson, Gillespie, and Sousa's provide separate concurring analyses that forms of gender balance predominated in pre-conquest Mesoamerica. Of course, debates continue as other authors find indications of sexism in these same cultures as Hunt and Restall document (317). However, Palaversich provides no historical documentation upon which she could base her own implicit presumption of Aztec patriarchy as Castillo does at length, instead moving on to state quite rightly that patriarchy engenders

destructive social patterns that need to be addressed in the social literature on contemporary Chicanas/os and Latinas/os (646).

To Xicana and white feminists hegemonic discussions of historic Aztec women, I would add that Indigenous women are still affected by sexism within their own communities and nations that are definitely influenced by Latina/o and white patriarchal culture and economic systems. Neither Castillo nor Palaversich research Native American women who live today in order to ascertain what their gender relationships are like and what their historical gender relationships were. The lack of interest is part of a racialized Mestiza and White women's privilege not to analyze how their own sexist cultures create static views of subservient Native women, an inquiry that Barbara Babcock begins to make in "Mudwomen and Whitemen: A Meditation on Pueblo Potteries and the Politics of Representation." At the National Indigenous Congress of 1996, Indigenous women from Mexico City, Puebla, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, Chiapas, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Veracruz, Mexico which certainly includes the *Nahuatl* descendents of Aztec peoples made an intellectual and social statement of their own specific rights in "Propuestas de las mujeres indigenas al Congreso Nacional Indigena" that I translate.

We, Indigenous women, have the right to live in a society that bases itself in relations of respect, cooperation, equality, and equilibrium in the diverse cultures that form the nation; that is to say, no discrimination for our condition as Indigenous women, and no exclusion for being Indigenous women, and no sexual

violations (physically, sexually, mentally, and economically) for being Indigenous women. (INI 224)

While Indigenous women of INI struggle for their rights, they do not consider leaving their culture. Instead they seek to modify practices within their own traditions, languages, and lands. “The customs we have shouldn’t harm anyone” added Indigenous women organizers, perhaps referring to “customs” such as drinking that can lead to domestic violence.

The question of *tecpatl*, an internal reflection of the past and memory upon current issues of Indigenous culture, sovereignty, sexuality becomes more complex for those whose connections to their own Indigenous culture are fading. Instead going to the source of cultures, many of the Chicana/o generation sought out the advice of current and colonial white men who included priests of the Mexican Inquisition era and Spanish conquistadors who had a vested interest in shaping Aztec history into their own patriarchal image. Male Mexican writings such as Octavio Paz’s *The Labyrinth of Solitude* and Jose Vasconcelos’ *La Raza Cosmica* were sources that also preferred the word of a Spaniard to that of their contemporary Indigenous communities. Vasconcelos’ religious objections to Native beliefs were founded in a politics of the Inquisition and colonization of Mexico that produced heterosexist, racist, and classist writings and ideologies. Despite these incredibly divisive biases, few Chicano/a historians challenge the heterosexist nature of colonial writing on Aztecs. The historical scholarship on Indigenous sexualities privileges Eurocentric heterosexisms at the methodological and ontological levels, creating genocidal representations that problematically target “queer”

Indigenous roles of two-spirit peoples. In a Latin American context, two reoccurring narratives are that homosexuality was either viciously attacked by Indigenous peoples, or that it was rampant. Both claims were used to justify colonization and the Spanish Inquisition. Williams notes, “With their belief that same-sex behavior was one of God’s major crimes, the Spanish could easily persuade themselves that their plunder, murder, and rape of the Americas was righteous” (137). Conversely, those Natives who were thought to lack or despise homosexuality were deemed to be moral enough to actually enjoy the lessons that colonization would bring.

Eden’s 1555 translation of Nuñez de Balboa’s primary text is unusual in that it shows both dynamics at once, an Indigenous society rampantly marked by homosexuality with a desire for homophobic liberation that Europeans could offer. Balboa is credited with being the first European to view the western coast of the Pacific Ocean and the first non-Nordic Westerner to settle in the Americas. His claims to land were founded on his Christian superiority that liberates the Native American souls from the “sodomitical” leadership of their king. Goldberg relates Balboa’s account that “In a Panamanian village, after killing the leader of the Indians of Qurequa and six hundred of his warriors, Balboa fed to his dogs forty more Indians accused of sodomitical practices” (4). Eden translates:

...[Balboa] founde the house of this Kynge infected with the most abhomidable and unnaturall lecher. For he founde the Kynges brother and many other younge men in womens apparell, smoth & effeminateiy decked, which by the report of such dwelte abowte him, he abused with preposterous Venus. Of these abowte

the number of fortie, he commaunded to bee gyven for a pray to his dogges...This stinkyng abomination hadde not yet entered among the people, but was exercised onlely by the noble men and gentelmen. But the people lyftinge up theyr handes and eyes toward heaven, gave token that god was grevously offended with such vyle deeds.” (Qutd. in Guerra 1971:48).

The remaining “noble savages” were therefore foreshadowing their own willing conversion and colonization under the liberation sanctioned by the Spanish crown and Catholic Church. The massacre of sodomites was part and parcel of colonial justification for Native American genocide under the banner of moral liberation.

Some colonial Nahuatl records show a rejection of homosexuality that priests used to argue that Nahuatl people did indeed have souls and were therefore fit to serve the Catholic colonial officials instead of being completely destroyed. A literal reading of the clergy’s records leads Guerra to conclude that the “Indian mind ran parallel to the European” on “moral matters” and “sexual offenses,” a reading that Gutierrez (1991) and Trexel (1995) take in their analyses of Mesoamerican and pan-Native homosexualities. In fact they take the homophobia a step further by arguing that homosexual acts were mainly based upon rape and other sexual dominations in the context of warfare. Gutierrez cited both Trexel and Guerra to define the “berdache status” as “that social arrangement whereby a man or group of men press another male into impersonating a female, forcing him to perform work generally associated with women, offering passive sexual service to men, and donning women’s clothes is widely reported historically throughout...the Americas” (63). Mendieta’s 1596 version of the Aztec pre-Columbian

laws seems to confirm Gutierrez's position that homophobia ruled Mesoamerica by showing that "...those who committed the nefarious sin [sodomy], agent and patient died for it. And once in a while the law searched for them and questioned about it to kill and finish them: because they know quite well that such a nefarious vice was against nature, as they did not see it among the animals...The man who went dressed as a woman, and the woman who went dressed like a man... both had the death penalty (qtd. in Guerra 24).

Recent scholarship shows that it is an uncritical reader who wholly adopts reports that the Aztec and Spanish equally condoned deathly condemnations of homosexuality. When one looks at the historical context and considers the weight that the priests had in editing translations and transcriptions of Nahuatl ways, it becomes evident that the deadly mandate against homosexuality was greatly exaggerated. Geoffrey Kimball critiques the eighty rules accredited to the pre-contact rule of Nezahualcoyotl summarized and translated by Fray Bernadino de Sahagún. One text reads "*Auh in te ixpan tziccuacuah in tqichtin cuilonyotl cahci/* And whosoever of our men chews gum in public, he arrives to the status of faggotry" and refers to the practice of chewing tobacco as a sign that one is homosexual. What Kimball notes is that if the punishment for homosexuality was really death, homosexuals would find a more covert method of attracting mates than chewing tobacco in public (18). In another example, the natural sequence of lines seem to have been abruptly interrupted by a foreign stanza of homophobic sentiment inserted by Sahagún. While the poem expresses a distaste for homosexuality, it takes a strangely forbidding tone in the end. Lines 6a-6d, "*Cihuacihqui/ mocihuanenquini./ Cihcihuatlatoa/ mocihuanenequi*" translated as "He used to make himself as a woman,/ he is one who acts the role of a woman. / He often speaks in the manner of a woman, /he

acts the part of the woman” is interrupted half way by Inquisitional sentiment of lines 7a-7e, *“Tlatiloni/ tlatlani/ chichinoloni/ tlata/ chichinolo”* which means “He is one who is burned,/ he is one who burns/ he is one who is burned up,/ he burns,/ he is burned up” (14-15). Bleys notes that Fray Bernardo de Sahagún, one of the most politically powerful men of colonial Mexico, is also wrote:

The passive sodomite is abominable, nefarious and despicable worthy to be ridiculed and laughed at by the people. The stench and ugliness of his nefarious sin are unacceptable and disgust mankind. He shows himself womanlike or effeminate, both in his way of walking and talking, all for which he deserves to be burnt at the stake. (27)

His Inquisition brand of homophobia perfectly matches the Nahuatl texts that he translated and presumably altered to fit his own desire to threaten homosexuals with “burning at the stake.” The results show a clumsy tampering meant to give the faulty impression that Aztecs exhibit extreme homophobia equal to Inquisition standards. In contrast, Sahagún’s revision did not target female homosexuals with burning. For example, the text reads *“Oquichnacayah/ oquichtlque/ ohoquichtlatoa/ ohoquichnenemi,”* or “She has a manly body, she is the possessor of a man,/ she often speaks in the fashion of a man, /she often plays the role of a man” (16) without being threatened by death in the remainder of the poem. Sahagún’s attempts to promote the notion that Indigenous peoples had moral souls that could serve the Spanish Empire were aimed at attacking the notion of femininity in the male body in order to “raise” it to a superior moral level in the sexist cosmology of those Catholic times.

To uncritically accept the homophobic Hispanic colonial accounts of two-spirit peoples is to deny the persistence of oral traditions and Indigenous sexualities that evolved and are evolving with varying degrees of independence from Old World colonial schemas. While Latina/o scholars attempt to decolonize their own sexualities, they might realize the multiplicity of representational problems in translating Indigenous sexualities into homophobic Eurocentric constructs through an uncritical acceptance of colonial records. This methodology becomes more and more problematic as Indigenous people across the continents increasingly represent themselves politically, intellectually, historically, and sexually in both tribal and international contexts (Stevenhagan 2000).

In an effort to resist sexualized genocide, pan-Indian voices demonstrate that colonial sexuality and homophobia is not the traditional system or cosmic vision to which any tribe traditionally prescribes. As 1992 Nobel peace laureate Rigoberta Menchu Tum differentiates the sexuality of her Quiche Maya culture from that of colonized Mestizas/os by affirming “our people don’t differentiate between people who are homosexual [huecos] and people who aren’t; that only happens when we go outside of our community. We don’t have the rejection of homosexuality that Ladinos [Mestizos] do; they really cannot stand it,” (60) she is ultimately testifying for both sexual and political sovereignty in order to heal her own Indigenous community and to decolonize international relations that continue to target Indigenous peoples with genocidal policies (137). Menchu is far from alone in demonstrating that sexuality is integral to maintaining Indigenous cultural sovereignty. In an act that eschewed the colonial taxonomy of “berdache” that lumped all Native transgendered sexualities into one derogatory label, the

term *two-spirit* (or *two-spirited*) was coined in 1990 by Native American individuals during the third Native American/First Nations gay and lesbian conference in Winnepeg to reflect intellectual sovereignty. One key temporal aspect of the term is that it proposes a “pan-Native category of gay and lesbian identities, gender categories, traditions...of multiple sexualities...institutionalized in...tribal culture” for both the “present” and the “past” (LaFortune [Anguksuar] qtd. in Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang 2), with a healthy deference for tribal categorical names in particular Indigenous languages. What Menchu and LaFortune testify for is their own cultural survival that is not statically subject to the colonial persecution of homosexualities.

I appreciate both Menchu and LaFortune for their ability to honor their own sense of *tekpatl* or ancestral memory. Personally, some of the hardest texts to read are those from the Inquisition as they purvey a sense of violence and colonization. Both *La Danza del Xuchitl* and *Danza Azteca* also contain elements and stories of colonization, but the way in which they are told actually strengthens Indigenous cultures in an energetic and communal way that colonial texts could never do. It’s in my blood and in my stories to dance. I was fortunate to be born in a time when these dances are more widely available in the north of the U.S. than they were a generation ago. Ideally, as dances get stronger, the perversely homophobic colonial narratives will lose their power over those who dance. With a stronger root in oral traditions and dance, future Xicano/a and Indigenous scholars will be less swayed by the Spanish male fantasies of absolute power in the past. As both males and females, heterosexuals and two-spirits openly interact, a new sense of open relationships will hopefully grow as I have seen them grow even within my own

lifetime as both two-spirits and women take more leadership positions in politics, academia, and Aztec-Chichimec dance.



3. WEST:

IN CIHUATLAMPA, THE WOMEN'S SIDE

Akatl is the earth's movement that allows the sun to sprout from the eastern horizon and begin its path across the visible sky. As the earth appears to tilt its northern axis away from the sun in the winter, many northern plants die and daylight falters, and so north represents old age, death, and time for internal reflection. Because the earth's rotation must relate to its older and slower movement of the yearly revolution, one day must relate to the older and slower cycle of yearly northern movement of the earth's axis; and one life must relate to generational cycles that express themselves in oral tradition and dance. *calli*, the house, is a symbol for femininity and the west and follows the direction of north in an earthwise movement. The earth's western horizon plunges the sun into darkness and represents death and a beginning regeneration of the sun for a new day. The west is also means darkness like *tepatl*, but unlike the internal incisions and reflections of wintery *tepatl*, *calli* represents a protection of inside darkness, a protection of the home, as a skull or pelvis protects its inside matter. *Teocalli* is a pyramid with a small "house" on top, a temple. The house "evokes a closed place to where one can dialog with one's own heart." However, unlike *tepatl*, *calli* represents a protective and encompassing

place like a womb in which a female gives form to new life, or the mother earth gives form to new plants. To recognize a new day and relate the new context to the old means that a new synthesis must take shape. *Tlazolteotl* is a feminine figure of a weaver or spider that takes the chaos of unspun cotton and creates the fabric of life. She is an eater of semen, a vulva, complemented by the phallic reed in the east. Like *Tlazolteotl*, *calli* is also a creative space as part of what it protects can grow its own protection and survive outside of the body (Nahuatl University).

Science, Ethnography, and other Indigenous Stories

I acknowledge that within hard and soft sciences lies the possibility to question racist and sexist assumptions through increasing scientific rigor or changing the paradigms with which studies are completed as Kuhn first suggested in the 1960's in *The Structure for Scientific Revolutions* (1996). To its credit, research based on scientific methodologies can explode hermetically sealed notions of essential differences that historically include pseudoscientific postulations that Natives are a separate and innately inferior species to the white "race. Hiernaux argues that there is no scientific proof of separate evolutionary races as the species did not split into groups which were "exposed to different evolutionary forces and events under complete or effective genetic isolation" (41). In *Ever Since Darwin*, Stephen Jay Gould clarifies that social Darwinists of the nineteenth century avoided aspects of Darwin's own writings that explicitly defy progressive linear assumptions about any evolution by opting to position white males at the top of the evolutionary hierarchy. Furthermore, Gould proves a similar point by

reexamining Morton's racist finding of *Crania Americana* (1839) in which Hindu Caucasian skulls that were small were discarded from measurement while larger Iroquoian skulls were also discarded, causing the white average of cranial capacity to rise in the biased study (106). To reaverage the skulls without Morton's biases shows no significant difference in Caucasian and Native American skulls capacity, which in itself should prove nothing about intelligence as the complexity of the brain is about internal relationships and not overall size which in itself may only be yet another phallic fantasy of power. Of course, many Native Americans have long objected to the very notion of such studies because it violates Native American remains which is why "Indian tribes throughout the United States demand that these skeletal remains and associated grave offerings be returned" as Susan Lobo notes in *Native American Voices: A Reader* (283).

Native demands that bones be returned is but one of many cases which underline differences in the ways that Natives and non-Natives might use technology for anti-racist purposes. As a Euro-American male, Jay rightly cautions against attacking all notions of differences as a response to hierarchical "essentialism" as it "seems to undercut the identity, and thus the power, of people who have long been discriminated against precisely because of the category with which they have been identified... such attitudes appear ethically dubious coming from people who have known very little of that discrimination firsthand" (12). Jay's warnings are useful for scientists as well as for poststructuralists and postmodernists who critique science. For example, non-Indigenous post-modernists such as Bhabha race to debunk the colonial categories at the very moment that Indigenous people are finally gaining access to institutions that allow them

to express colonial-based notions of “sovereignty” and “rights” that were nevertheless restricted in the colonial regime to the cultural detriment of many Natives. For example, the Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples rhetorically uses the supposedly “universal” Enlightenment ideas of Western rationale peoples having rights. The universal sense of humanity is one path that potentially leads away from classist, racist, and sexist assumptions as such a document could help curtail Eurocentric, sexist and capitalistic exploitation of Native lands and peoples.

Ethnography has long proposed to explain human relations across cultures, yet has foundered in the decolonizing demands that Indigenous and Third World peoples represent themselves legally and culturally. Native authors consistently show a range of solutions to the differences in Indigenous and anthropological interests that Behar problematizes and sexualizes in *Women Writing Culture* (1995). As a key writer in what some term the Native American Renaissance in writing, N. Scott Momaday shows that Native oral traditions, personal experience, and ethnographic accounts can mutually reinforce each other in the classic *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. For example, on one page, he relates a story of antelope in the words of a Kiowa elder saying “Well, one of the big chiefs came up and took the udders of that animal for himself, but another big chief wanted the udders also, and there was a great quarrel between them.” Immediately to the right, Momaday directly quotes ethnography that factually states that “According to ancient custom, antelope medicine was made, and the Kiowas set out on foot... after game” which provides more insight into the importance that antelope have among the Kiowa. He ends with his own relation of the beauty of seeing the antelope, giving a

sense of change and continuity in Kiowa life. In his remarkable prose he envisions “I remembered once having seen a buck on the run, how the white rosette of its rump seemed to hang for the smallest fraction of time at the top of each frantic bound- like a succession of sunbursts against the purple hills” (18-19).

Other Natives more strongly reject ethnography’s continuing legacy of colonialism. Cinematographer Victor Masayesva critically highlights cultural boundaries of Hopi beliefs by visually poking fun at ethnographers who, as Vine Deloria notes, seem to believe that they know more about Indian ways than the Indian peoples themselves, a belief that disregards Native sovereignty and intellectual rights. A new trend in tribal hiring of anthropologists honors the fact that tribes can find useful purposes for them. Even Deloria grants that “Dr. Barbara Lane, working with tribes of western Washington, demonstrated skills bordering on pure genius in providing the ethnological background for the *U.S. vs. Washington* fishing rights suit, which resulted in an important victory for the Indians of the Pacific Northwest” (210), a fact that does not erase the racist and sexist tendencies that still order the colonial based anthropology, as both Deloria and Ruth Behar note. To combine Native traditions with non-Native ways as Cajete suggests is one goal that can work with the expressed agendas that complex Native communities themselves put out which may or may not match those goals that satisfy academic or esoteric interests. So, Eurocentric methodologies might find good use in the right combination with Indigenous agendas as Deloria’s reading of *U.S. vs. Washington* exemplifies.

If Western science and law, with their astounding racist, misogynistic, and classist histories can serve Native interests, then so can poststructuralist writings in the right hands. In fact, to answer Bhabha's question "how do strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable?" (2) may be to postulate that some Indigenous peoples conform to classist, heterosexist hegemonies for the sake of survival, privilege, or maintenance of functional/ dysfunctional communication within neo-colonial institutions. However, in a New World context, Indigenous relations to ancestral languages, lands, nations, and genocidal conflicts often make resistance to hegemony easier, more difficult, or simply different for Natives than it is for Old World "exiles" who are rooting themselves in the Americas. As I quote Bhabha, I am mindful of the historical process of assimilation and homogenization that Muños notes in which Indigenous diasporas from Latin America come to identify as Hispanics or people of color (110), often to the exclusion of their own sovereign Indigenous agendas in the U.S. Old World peoples, including Hispanics, who suffer racial and ethnic prejudice in the Americas can do more than critique Whiteness as it relates to their own racialized group. They can also recognize that part of white supremacy in the Americas has been to replace Native peoples with mixed race "Hispanics", African slave labor, and other racialized peoples from the "Orient" or Europe itself; they can resist their own hegemonic roles as agents of genocide as well. More critical uses of scholarly methodologies facilitate that

process. For example, when Xicana feminist Ana Castillo writes that she feels closer to Arab women writers such as “Nawal El Saadawi” than she does to white feminists such as “Kate Millet,” she asserts, “due to my mestizaje I descend from a labor force long exploited by Anglo capitalism; therefore, it is true that I have certain social bonds with women of ‘third world’ countries” (69). I suggest that one of those “social bonds” is a hierarchical sense of political agency in which Third World women resist sexist capitalism, yet nevertheless place themselves above today’s “Fourth World” women’s issues. Castillo does not quote anyone in *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma* who can affirm the existence of an Indigenous politics of sovereignty in the contemporary world. Although she consistently embraces the psychic and “spiritual” influences of ancient Aztecs(154) and even modern Hopis (222), she maintains the masculinist and neocolonial need to silence contemporary political conflicts of Indigenous nations with States such as Mexico and the U.S. Although Castillo provides a pivotal text in articulating Xicana intersections of racism, classism and sexism, she remains one of many Mestizas/os who rely on Marxist methodology to the exclusion of both the separatist and materialist politics that Indigenous nations pursue in the contemporary world. Her anti-sexist Xicana arguments are convincing and needed given the sexism within contemporary Xicana/o and Indigenous communities. However, Nahuatl and Indigenous struggles for sovereignty did not end five hundred years ago as Castillo implies. In contrast, neo-Marxist anthropologists such as Taussig in *Mimesis And Alterity: A Particular History Of The Senses* (1993) show that class theory is useful in understanding the fetishization of contemporary Indigenous nations. It is a newer

generation of Chicanas/os such as Aldama who are better able to avoid that fetishization as he reports that at a 1992 Counter-Columbus protest in San Francisco “tribal representatives from Ecuador, and Oaxaca, Mexico, testified to their fights against the federal appropriation of their ancestral lands, the auctioning off of timber and mineral interests, and the systematic murders of their tribal leaders and activists”(6). It is these current Native voices that Castillo begins to fictionalize in *So Far From God* (242) yet politically muffles in her essay compilation of *Massacre of the Dreamers*.

Although most Chicanas/os historians and sociologists such as Castillo, Carlos Muños, Ramon Gutierrez, and Anzaldúa identify as being as mixed with Indian and European blood and write about related mixed-blooded peoples, they show a surprising lack of interest in current pan-Native pan-American politics. Chicana/o decolonization through borderlands models can gain strategies through a systematic assessment of the multiple positionings of Natives relative to contemporary U.S. and Latin American cultures as Native peoples themselves articulate them. For Chicanos/as or anyone else to ignore Indigenous methodologies and analyses of current affairs, while at the very same time writing about current Indigenous issues, is to risk affirming hegemonic myths of Native savagery. Aldama explains:

...let us remember that the materiality of writing with a phonetic alphabet is considered one of the prime indicators of Europe’s status as the holder of ‘culture’ and ‘civilization.’ The ethnocentric belief present in the initial colonial conquests of the sixteenth century reasserts itself in the continued use of literacy in Eurocentric models of knowledge as the universal measure of intelligence in the

neocolonial educational systems of the early twenty-first century. On the other side of the colonialist dialectic, the so-called savage cultures are considered to be at primitive stages whose simple expressions of the oral traditions affirm and reaffirm their bonds with nature. (73)

Aldama's dialectic of savagery can help explain why academic discourse is especially difficult for Indigenous academics who are pressured to prove that they are educated and not savage, instead of merely proving to be educated. Native uses of Eurocentric methodology can play into that dialectic as proofs of embracing White "civilization" and spurning a supposed history of "savagery." Methodological colonization builds upon a history of Native acceptance of the written Christian religion signifying an act of civilization for colonial priests since de Las Casas. For Natives to solely rely on Native methodologies is to risk charges that the savages are leading the savage.

Nahuatl, Maya, Mixteco, Zapoteco, Purepecha, Iroquoian, Cherokee, Pueblo, and Inca descendents are caught in a bind of being seen as more "civilized" or "noble" by Europeans due to a tradition of concentrated, sedentary agriculturalism with "semi-advanced technologies." These groups are opposed to the supposedly more savage Yanamami, Inuit, Navajos, Lakota, Miwok, Rarámuri, and a host of *Chichimecca* who historically tend towards hunting, gathering, and perhaps even raiding from missionaries, Mestizos, or white "pioneers" long after more "civilized" tribes were subdued or assimilated into more Eurocentric ways as Spicer recounts in *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indian Inhabitants of the*

Southwest, 1533-1960 (1997). Both religious and secular bound notions of cultural evolution placed Europeans between the heights of Science and God and the intellectually or hellishly low place of Indians (Trigger). For example, Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (1911-1915) rigidly forms a linear progression from the "magic" of tribal beliefs, to the "religion" of old civilizations, to science itself (Nader 5). In effect, in the colonial gaze, to be a "civilized" Native implicitly expresses more desire or aptitude to further "civilize" through religious and secular colonization. Moreover, the idea that "civilized" tribes are innately closer to colonial ways denies the sovereign abilities of any tribe to choose their own destinies in accordance with their own culture and the oral traditions that inform that culture. Fortunately, a host of multiethnic differently gendered scholars are able to analyze Native writings for patterns of sexuality and to critique the "scientific" methodologies of objectivism that support many sexist claims. Not the least of these writers are Native Americans themselves who offer their own agendas and cosmologies.

Intersecting race, class, and gender oppressions are more standard in recent Chicana/o Studies analysis, but to trace the genealogies of those borderlands theories of multiple oppression and resistance is to realize some of the masculinist limitations of those social theories relative to Indigenous political agendas. For example, while José Saldívar's *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies* offers to use "U.S.-Mexico border writing as much to construct a non-Eurocentric perspective about cultural studies as to unify a rhetoric or stylistics of the border" of "hybrid cultures and multiple-voiced aesthetics" (13-14), a masculinist, Eurocentric notion of the State borders defines

Saldívar's analysis. That is, Saldívar does allow for the permeability of national borders and cultures, but he only considers borders that are marked by the patriarchal contracts of white men, disregarding the sense of land relations that is neither white nor patriarchal in the views of many Indigenous peoples' traditions that are the basis for their continued claims to land. The borders of contemporary Indigenous nations impact Chicana/o cultures far beyond the myth of Aztlán as the ancient Indigenous homeland of Aztecs and Chicanos located in what is now the U.S. Southwest (195).⁴ The contemporary and sovereign Native American contestations of U.S. and Mexican State borders upon Indigenous lands are relevant factors that many Chicanas/os ignore within their notions of borderlands which create more Eurocentric decolonization strategies for resisting intersections of heterosexism, racism, and classism. While borderlands models critique the objectivity of mapping, they often leave the Mexican/U.S. obliteration of Native American nations untouched.

In their critique of the "science" of mapping, Blunt and Rose explain that, "Situated knowledges represent sites of potential resistance to totalizing metanarratives because "they are re-markings, reorientings, of the great maps that globalized the heterogeneous body of the world in the history of masculinist capitalism and colonialism" in which "maps were graphic tools of colonization, themselves colonizing spaces

⁴ In fact, the U. S.-Mexican border also warrants concern from Indigenous peoples whose lands are historically split by it, and struggle to partake in a conversation dominated by white masculinist ideals of land ownership. Gomez Peña is typical in his postmodern belief that "nomadism and migration have become central experiences of millennial post-modernity" (11) as his performance interrogate borders by showing their artificiality in a culturally mixed context of U.S. and Mexico borders. He does recognize California Indians in an installation in which he teams up with James Luna to perform working class and "illegal" behaviors (83). Even so, the sense of Indigenous sovereignty never comes into completely into play with a sense of how Native Americans view Mexicans or vice versa. Those are important border dynamics that he refuses to gauge that Luna does in his identity as Mexican and California Indian.

perceived as empty and uninscribed" (9). The feminine and colonized, if even pictured, are shown in representations of inferiority and passivity by white male capitalist standards. Anne McClintock notes that Jan van de Straet's 1575 painting of Vespucci's "discovery" of America is replete with phallogentric colonial desire. "A fully armored Vespucci stands erect and masterful before" an erotically open embodiment of America as a naked Native women half reclining on a hammock. "Vespucci, the godlike arrival, is destined to inseminate her with the male seeds of civilization, fructify the wilderness, and quell the riotous scenes of cannibalism in the background." In effect, she invites him to colonize her as a symbol of feminized land before the male "thrust" of technology that Vespucci embodies (25). McClintock asserts that to change masculinist colonial representations requires more than simply include female and colored accounts to the established framework. It requires an effort to critique "the very basis of historiography rather than reproduce it, albeit in a revised form" (9). Leslie Marmon Silko's *Storyteller* and *Yellow Woman: a Beauty of Spirit* and Donna Haraway's *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women* offer such critiques and revisions/reproductions. While Silko describes Native lands with critical consumption of masculinist colonial capitalist narratives, Haraway revisions different aspects of the same metanarratives through feminist situated knowledge. With different goals and different methods, both authors resituate hegemonic cartographies into landscapes in which those cartographies are no longer theoretically dominant.

Positioning herself in difference with humanistic and scientific mapping epistemologies, Silko says that it is from the earth herself that knowledge of comes.

Knowledge is not won solely by interactions between humans, "objective" or otherwise. She documents repeatedly that it is humans who must learn from animals and earth spirits to survive. She bases her writings on "stories". For Silko, stories can pass from relation to relation, whether the actors/relations be the sun, wind, a spider, a person, or between the variety of beings which are known in her Laguna Pueblo language(s). Human stories are not ignored, but consumed into the generations of older stories which often feature pre-human actors within Laguna Pueblo culture. She writes in *Yellow Woman* that her writing process "...is structured like a spider's web. It begins with the land; think of the land, the earth, as the center of a spider's web. Human identity, imagination and storytelling were inextricably linked to the land, to Mother Earth, just as the strands of the spider's web radiate from the center of the web" (21).

Donna Haraway converses with many different knowledges, borrowing here and there to describe her own situated knowledge. Her approach is a critique of white andropositivistic discourse as a cultural insider to popular American science and culture. While Silko's movement is of return to Laguna Pueblo land, Haraway is in constant motion between qualified conflicting theories. There is no land to which she might return, although she does allude to her partial position as a "special interest" in Republican-dominated politics of the US. All knowledges, "most certainly and especially scientific ones" are knowledge claims and not objective truths. With that understanding, she is willing to integrate scientific and cultural theories for feminist purposes. She states, "I and most other feminists in the objectivity debates have alternatively, or even simultaneously, held on to both ends of the dichotomy, radical constructivism versus

critical empiricism” (580). For Haraway, "situated knowledges" is a feminist project of strategically using both constructivism and "critical" empiricism to lay out positionings of knowledge claims.

Capitalist colonial sexism uses objective rhetoric bound in Christian metaphors of truth and morality. Underlying Christian assumptions are targets for both Silko and Haraway. While Silko demonizes objectivity and subsumes it in her own stories, Haraway simply discounts its authority as being a performance or trick among many possibilities. Silko's "Storyteller" recounts an evil, genderless, nationless witch who curses "white" people with a self-fulfilling story:

Then they grow away from the earth
 then they grow away from the sun
 then they grow away from the plants and animals.
 They see no life
 When they look
 they see only objects.
 The world is a dead thing for them. (73)

Here, progress, objectivity and colonization are an evil pre-contact curse. The myth that European peoples bring morally objective religion, science and culture as justification of colonization of the Americas is grotesquely discounted as mere witchery. Objective maps become the fetishes of "objective" witches.

The "evil" white, objective metanarratives are changed through their incorporation into Pueblo based land stories in *Storyteller*. For example, her references

to "New Mexico" and "Alaska" acknowledge the state boundaries of the US. However, colonial narratives are subsumed in storied land, especially her own ancestral Laguna Pueblo stories and land. It's a powerful returning point. An example of "colonial" cultural adaptations is her inclusion of photographs, not merely as a document of colonized culture, but as an art form appropriated by Pueblos. "The photographs are here because they are a part of many of the stories," she explains (1). The "evil" of objectivity is overwhelmed by old stories. "Yellow Woman" offers another example in which stories do not lose their value in the face of "modern" culture and "objective" technology. Noting the colonial realities of "highways" and "pickup trucks", the protagonist Yellow Woman denies the old stories their continuity by saying, "Those stories couldn't happen now." She is answered in what is a theme of continuity in storytelling, "But someday they will talk about us, and they will say, 'Those two lived a long time ago when things like that happened'" (77). Knowledge of modernity is situated in the larger context of Native cultures and lands.

The all seeing "Godly," or objective, vision is rejected by Haraway as a performative manipulation which can be theoretically juxtaposed with other positionings for more satisfying results. She writes about disembodied unaccountable science being, "the god trick of seeing everything from nowhere...this eye fucks the world to make techno-monsters" (581). Along with rejecting the "infinite vision" of scientists, she rejects the "godly" morality which is often posited by scientific conclusions labeled as truth. Political wars for greed, in fact, are what motivate much of scientific inquiry. That is, Aristotle's analytic traditions of logic are used for "White capitalist patriarchy" (592).

Haraway centers on vision. In developing a situated knowledge of strategic feminist theoretical groundings, vision is the organizing sense and metaphor. She writes, "Positioning is... the key practice in grounding knowledge organized around the imagery of vision" (587). One revisionary theoretical image is that of connecting "webs of differential positioning" which may be technological, primitive, of conflicting epistemologies and politics, or accountable to differences in power among different actors in the performance art of knowledge (590). Webbed visions are partial, a linkage to many parts of many visions, but only accountable for the specific parts in contact, not the total network of all possible webs. With technology making a large impact upon postmodern lives through computers and information economies, Haraway's visual theories find multiplying embodiment. Along with primate eyes, TV screens are integral in an evolving part of vision, therefore deserving of increasing scrutiny. She writes, "It is in the intricacies of these visualization technologies in which we will find metaphors and means for understanding and intervening in the patterns of objectification in the world" (588).

Sound, not sight, is the stronger sense in Silko's stories. Silko's speaking lands are the basis for storytelling which extends into ancestral times. An example of speaking Nature is the story of when "the Sun" is aided by his grandmother, "Spider Women" to win back his children, "the clouds", from a "Ck'o'yo magician" up at Zuni Mountains. Spider Woman and the Sun speak to each other, "'Grandson,' she said. 'I hear your voice,' he answered" (156). Speaking Native landscapes dislocate the cultural genealogy of mimetic mapping which is, theoretically, based on an elite of European intellectuals

who go back at least to the Classic Greeks.⁵ If plants, land, and animals actively speak for themselves, it follows that different groups of people should have this ability as well. What is not said by the "classic" colonizing metanarratives can be said by others who include plants. Silko relates stories which turn "empty" easily colonized space into Native spaces, layered with particular stories told by everyone from earth to particular peoples. As a Laguna writer, Silko makes a political statement of residence, not based on simple territoriality, but also on ancient interactions with land based upon stories. She writes "We were not relocated like so many Native American groups who were torn away from their ancestral land. And our stories are so much a part of these places that it is almost impossible for future generations to lose them-there is a story connected with every place, every object in the landscape" (58).

Haraway creates a more passive role for land, though it is one that is actively at odds with White male patriarchal metanarratives. For instance, as an ecofeminist, she can appreciate, "the world's independent sense of humor". She theorizes, "Situated knowledges require that the object of knowledge be pictured as an actor and agent, not...a

⁵ Edward Spicer differentiates between the colonization of European and Native tribes by positing that European tribes had long defeated their ancient Roman and Arab masters, a decolonizing feat never to be achieved by Natives. What Spicer does not indicate is that the "new fusion of Mediterranean and north European cultural traditions" was nothing more than an unfinished decolonization. The patriarchy, increasing commodification, and hegemonic cultural nationalization initiated by Mediterranean masters did not end. In fact, penal colonies erupted wherever ships could carry unwanted or "troublesome" Europeans. Native and African Americans tended to occupy the lowest levels in the American cycle of conquest, but those just above were always threatened by their own patriarchal and cultural masters. A true European decolonization would have ended the social ills encouraged by previous occupations by healing S/M sexual and cultural hegemonies in localized areas of Europe. It would not have exported its hierarchical cycle of conquest involving sexism, classism and ethnocentrism/racism, involving colonizing others as they themselves had been colonized. (568-569).

resource, never...as slave...to 'objective' knowledge.' " Yet, she vacillates on the land's communicative potential, writing, "The world neither speaks itself nor disappears in favor of a master decoder" (592). This is in contradiction with Silko's stories in which the world can speak among different aspects of itself and to people too. Land speaks. Even when Haraway appropriates the Coyote/Trickster from "Southwest native American accounts", we don't get to hear what Coyote says. Haraway quotes Aristotle but neither quotes Coyote, nor a specific person or tribe who tells Coyote stories. In the use of the Coyote metaphor for an ecofeminist understanding of earth, her subtle act may be to silence land and indigenous peoples, that which is opposite of her claim to want to hear and trust the voices of the "less powerful" (594). In centering upon the modern/postmodern technologies of vision, Haraway epistemologically downplays the possibilities for the oral traditions of the Indigenist past and present. Haraway does make some of the more important recent critiques of humanism and technology by looking at human hybridity in cyborg and simian representational contexts. She follows feminist critiques of capitalism in writing that, "humanistic Marxism was polluted at the source by its structuring theory about the domination of nature in the self-construction of man..." (598).

While masculinist geographies invariably draw upon a genealogy of male theorists, both Haraway and Silko offer differing gynocentric epistemological genealogies. For Haraway, this means taking explicit ethical and political positionings which inform gender and denaturalizing sex and sexism (592). Silko's reliance upon her grandmother and female relatives for stories is an alternative variety of critiquing white

male historiography. While Silko writes her own stories, she emphasizes that her storytelling skills are learned from her Laguna Pueblo land and elders such as Aunt Suzie who "told this one story/ about a little girl who ran away..." (156). Oral history provides female centered options to masculinist geographies of male dominion. In *Storyteller*, there are numerous stories which take place from a female protagonist's point of view, such as that of the Yupic woman who kills a white man; that of Yellow Woman; or of Silko's "I" of different ages who engenders Pueblo land with her female experiences. However, her woman centeredness in a patriarchal US/ Laguna context does not necessarily describe contemporary matriarchy. Pueblo relations with mother earth are constantly under attack by masculinist white capitalism, and Laguna stories are in danger of becoming more masculinist with its impact. For example, one shift she briefly notes is the masculinization of the sky due to Christianity, "The ancient Pueblos believed the Earth and the Sky were sisters (or sister and brother in the post-Christian version)" (29).

While Silko provides texts which resist the metanarratives of white patriarchal capitalist conceptions of space by using Mother Earth-centered stories to make her points, Haraway relies upon revisioning "the world" as situated knowledges relying, in part, upon feminist critiques. In comparing the two writers, I find that ethnic differences arise. Silko tell stories from her Native Laguna Pueblo background. Haraway uses white feminist theory as a guide that connects white male theories with those of women of color and Native peoples. In extremely different ways, both writers engender critiques of mimetic mapping of cultural spaces that are useful for my own work. From Donna Haraway, I am able to get a sense of how master narratives within their own materialist

logic as well as the limits with which even white radical peoples will set upon ideas of Native sovereignty and culture. It is heartening to know that White women can critique their own roles as the “natural” and “harmless” propagators of international racist, sexist capitalism. Haraway refuses to relinquish her own agency to critique and even change naturalized narratives of hegemonic exploitation. In doing so, she opens herself to potential alliances with Indigenous peoples who may have similar materialist interests. The hegemonic readings of the dominant society’s narratives can be useful tools, but they do not explain Native views on those same issues or Native answers to those same problems of exploitation. At the same time, sovereign Native American voices that seek to avoid cooptation, oral traditions as told in their full texts, and the voices of animals and lands are central aspects of Native cosmologies that Silko describes that find only marginal space in Haraway’s analysis. Haraway begins to bridge gaps between humanism and Native beliefs, but until she can account for sovereignty, oral traditions, and Indigenous voices, her writings will only partially deconstruct the myths of “savagery” that surround Native peoples. It is this lack of sound that Haraway maintains, even as she critiques the visual. In contrast, Bird and Harjo anthologize works that express Native worldviews and Indigenous forms of European languages. Gloria Bird writes “*Reinventing the Enemy’s Language* represents a tone in the universe that has been silenced for far too long. It is the harmony of diverse native women’s intellectual, creative, and emotional genius that has always been alive” (31), reversing a colonial trend in which Native women have not had opportunities to widely write and publish their own work.

Compared to Haraway's writings, Donovan's *Feminist Readings of Native American Literature* are far less able to account for an internal critique of white femininity, although she does supply ample Native voices to complete her feminist interpretation of Native literature. Both writers could deepen their relationships with Native writers by learning from each other; Haraway could acknowledge specific Native voices while Donovan could critique her white women's roles as hegemonically portrayed in popular culture. That is, Donovan makes some useful arguments about interpreting Native Literature, while at the same time erasing important ethnic differences in her White feminist analysis. A hopeful aspect of Donovan's work is her ability to avoid complete objectification of Native literatures by quoting Native Women's voices to explain their own literature and poetry. For example, she does reference Harjo's statement that her own poetry transmits to an audience "the myth inside themselves" (146), instead of finding a French feminist theory to explain Harjo's words for her. Her ability to show that Yavapai women's songs represent a culturally specific kind of strength for women is also an insightful departure from the expectations that Native women will want to emulate White feminist strategies. However, while Donovan shows that Leslie Silko and Joy Harjo use oral tradition as a necessary ongoing method to understand their own contemporary cultures and international political context, she never analyzes how oral tradition comparatively impacts White feminism, instead comparing African-American and even Jewish oral traditions with Native ones. The differences in Native oral traditions and White psychoanalytic feminism are issues she cannot resolve as she neatly equates both as being essentially the "same" despite the different "forms."

Brill de Ramirez takes up those differences when she writes that critical scholars often distort Native texts by using “New Critical clashes of opposites reconciled in an eventual forced ‘harmony’” and giving “precedence to the voice of the critics at the expense of the objectified Native voices present in the literature,” two distortions that are clearly evident in *Feminist Readings of Native American Literature* (70). For example, Donovan posits that “both Native American and feminist ontology” have the same exact goals, “harmony and balance” (9) and she does not hesitate to objectify Momaday’s work through white theory.

Using narratives of healing internal to Momaday’s *The House Made of Dawn*, she exhorts “In his representation of female characters, Momaday subverts sacred myths, stories, and songs to the profane purpose of devaluing women. As a result, the sense of harmony and balance and *hozhon’i* achieved by the male protagonists is hollow and meaningless unless the feminine is also valorized” (98). Here, she momentarily steps away from objectifying Momaday’s work through conversing with what is internal to his literary text. Yet, Native cosmologies only seem relevant to her when they can help prove Native patriarchy and affirm a feminist rebellion. Almost immediately, she labels Momaday as the patriarchal oppressor, quoting Adrienne Rich who states that “the oppressor’s language can sound beautiful” (71). This underlying objectification of all Native males in her book explains why there is no attempt in her book to valorize the masculine in its Indigenous forms as she uses male and female White theorists to critique Momaday, a move that also displaces Native women’s and men’s voices on the matter. As a professor in South Dakota, she could have referenced works by Beatrice Medicine

which openly criticize male Plains Indians alliances with white males that degrade Indian women. Medicine writes:

in anthropological literature, native women have been referred to as drudges, beasts of burden, and other demoralizing terms. Native men have not been reluctant to characterize women in this manner. They are fond of pointing out that Indian women walked ten paces behind them. To this statement, I have replied, "Of course, we walked ten paces behind you. That's documented. And the reason we did that is to tell you where to go." (255)

As a Lakota woman, Medicine asserts her traditional power as a guide and leader who may not necessarily want to show her power at all times, instead letting others form their own leadership power which she herself has already established. Of course, Medicine also says that most "Women students, in training as anthropologists, seemed tied to the same analytical tools and rubrics as their male counterparts" in their early salvage ethnographic agendas and in their general disrespect for Native women. Medicine's account would be less true of today's women anthropologists, but it does help give needed racial and sexual complexity to Donovan's essentialist feminism which silences and censors Native women's and women of color's abilities to critique White women's racist and classist privileges that require a partial reliance on patriarchal power.

Donovan's feminist critique of Momaday is part of her overall effort to show that ethnic differences are in fact but a "trickery of forms" that distance the "true" allies of White and Native women while masking the oppressive "lie" of the Native/White patriarchy (71). Yet, she cannot really explain why many Native women continue to feel

some alliance with Native men and ambivalence about white feminism (7). In an event which changed the “joyous” nature of a Native American Studies class at the University of Arizona, Donovan portrays a nameless male Native author who she feels insensitively ruins class discussions as his critiques of white feminists find resonance with Native American women in the class. Donovan’s own account is one of vehement empathy for: white feminists in the room [who] took exception to his rather sweeping condemnations of white women, pointing out that while white women had indeed been instruments of oppression of Native peoples, they had also been constructed as Other, had also been subjugated to the tyranny of patriarchal paradigms, and had learned to speak the master’s language and to employ the master’s oppressing and colonizing tools as a means of survival (4).

To excuse white women’s ongoing participation in genocidal policies and narrative as “a means of survival,” is at the heart of her desire to erase ethnic, class, and racial boundaries between women. Donovan makes a valid point that Native men’s oppression of Native women should not be excused as a reaction to colonial patriarchal hierarchy. In her analyses of White feminism, she is also persuasive in arguing why White women need to resist patriarchy as readers and writers. If she can make a correlating statement that white women’s participation in Native people’s genocide need not be excused as a mere “means of survival,” she may find that her offer of a dialogue “between feminists and Native Americans” ring truer in the ears of her female and male Native audiences whose current struggles for sovereignty are not based upon a mere “trickery” of universal patriarchy as Donovan implies. This is not to say that her book is a loss. In a context of

strained dialogue, her writings bravely allow for further discussion and formulations of alliances between non-Natives and Natives, between White feminists, and Native women in particular.

Donovan insightfully argues that to portray Native women's voices in complete agreement with male visions of sovereignty may be extremely problematic. Native women often reserve spaces for themselves in ceremony, politically, and socially that Native men need to respect. It behooves Native male writers like Momaday to be able to articulate and honor those differences politically and culturally instead of maintaining a fear or denial of women's sexual power, not to meet White expectations, but to respond to the writings of their own women. As part of a new generation of male Native writers, Choctaw/Irish critic Klopotek notes that the 1996 film *Grand Avenue* "overrides the standard Indian representation of hyper-masculinity by presenting realistic and dynamic images of Native American women" who "hold an extraordinary amount of power" in "female-centered, family based communities" (260) that are admittedly flawed by poverty, sexism, and a lack of respect for Pomo tribal sovereignty, all three of which are cultural legacies of interactions with New Spain, Mexico, and the United States. Klopotek lauds the portrayal of California Indian women as organizational leaders in their communities adding that "...the Native American men in this movie are not portrayed as weak or hapless because of the strength of the women. Rather, they also are defined in terms of their relationships to the whole, to the community" (261). Native male authors also make statements that support Donovan's general critique of Native hypermasculinity. However, when Donovan interprets Janice Gould's lines, "We only

know ourselves by embracing/ what is other, only know the other/ by refusing all refusals,” to necessarily support multicultural feminism, she leaves out an understanding that Native women face some barriers to those alliances that Whites themselves made. Within *Earthquake Weather*, Gould also traces some of the historic reasons why White males and females are different from California Indian women in the Poem “Blood Sisters.” “The Chumash were flogged and tortured/ the Maidu stolen for slaves,/ and later marched at gunpoint/ to a distant reservation./ We glance at one another,/ fall silent./ Americans do not know these things/ nor do they want to know.” To really know is to experience that same genocide, something that other races will hopefully never know on the scale that Native peoples have. That Gould calls the poem “Blood Sisters” can indicate that California Indian women share a particular colonial and gold rush history that sets them apart from other women, and as women, apart from Native men. Both Indigenous men and White women can further their respect for the particular differences of Native women’s experiences by not claiming to completely understand them or imagine that we always share goals of “harmony”, even as we might gain their provisional support in certain community and academic arenas.

Native Literatures, Methods, and Rarámuri Representations

Greg Sarris emphasizes that Native oral traditions and narratives can function as the central methodology in the study of literature. Sarris explains “I tell stories not only to show how they might be used in critical discussions but specifically to place them in

the contexts of those critical discussions in order to inform, often by means of their different narrative forms, the content and nature of those discussions” (7). For Aldama, Leslie Silko’s “stories” exemplify a contestation of sexist, Eurocentric narratives of Native savagery. “Silko along with other Native American writers, locates the struggle for identity in the collective enunciative power of her ancestors and in the changing nature of stories that generate meaning and create universes” (Aldama 72). A discussion of her stories in relation to scientific and religious myths of savagery exemplify Sarris’s and Aldama’s point that Native stories are crucial to decolonizing an understanding Native peoples.

Silko centers *Storyteller*, *Ceremony*, and *Almanac of the Dead* around the idea that white technological and religious colonization of the Americas is an evil that formed through aberrations of the oral tradition. In *Ceremony*, the Navajo medicine man Old Betonie explains to the young wartorn Tayo that the destructive white science and war are actually part of the older Native ways. Old Betonie says “...white people are only tools that the witchery manipulates; and I tell you, we can deal with white people, with their machines and their beliefs. We can because we invented white people; it was Indian witchery that made white people in the first place” (132). The prose narrative then transforms into a poem that recounts a gathering of witches from all nations and races from around the world. It’s a sort of competition to see who is the most evil. One nameless witch of an undefined race and gender wins the competition by using the power of “a story” to curse the world with the evil formation of Whites in the caves of Europe (134). Into a world without a White race, Whites are born to “fear the world” and to

"destroy what they fear" which includes the tribes of the Americas, as well as the plants, animals, and the water itself (136). The hallmark of whites is the ideology of objectivity.

Old Betonie continues:

*Then they grow away from the earth
then they grow away from the sun
then they grow away from the plants and animals,
They see no life
When they look
they see only objects.
The world is a dead thing for them
the mountains and stones are not alive.
The deer and bear are objects
They see no life. (135)*

In other words, Whites destructively rely upon a science, religion, and culture that does not celebrate the intrinsic life within all being as Native stories relate. For Old Betonie, to remember the sacred life of the earth, rocks, and stories is constant and necessary for survival as a Navajo and as an Indian. His story stresses the intensity of the evil, as even the other witches in the story feel uneasy about the complete destruction of the world that the narrative foretells that whites will bring. When they ask the nameless witch to "Call that story back," the witch refuses saying "It's already turned loose./ It's already coming./ It can't be called back" (137). The power of Silko's story within a story is such that it can prophesy the colonization and destruction of the Americas. The story foretells Native

American genocide and the ecological destruction which resonates with the witch's story as a force still at work in the contemporary world.

Silko's work implicitly critiques John Kennedy's ethnography which bases itself on an impending death of the Indians or "objects" of his study. While ethnographers such as Kennedy purport to "save" the "pure" traditions of Native Americans through objective methodologies, Silko implies that the theoretical source of the destruction comes from the very objectivist stance that is supposed to save Native culture. In an era in which most ethnographers readily admit the influence of Western written culture on Natives in the form of the Bible or economics, Kennedy desperately tries to find an "unsullied" group of Tarahumara traditionalists in order to continue the American tradition of documenting the "vanishing" Indian. "...can the survivors on the canyon's edge withstand another century of threats?" he finishes an "Introduction" that outlines "Spanish" and "Mestizo" colonization of Tarahumara lands (32). He answers his own question in the last line of his book as he recognizes the inroads that logging and tourism are making in Tarahumara country. He emphasizes, "It is futile to attempt to stem the tide of history, and nothing is gained by wishing for the preservation of imaginary aboriginal paradises, but the future looks bleak for these peaceful people. Must the Tarahumara travel the same tragic road already so well worn by other American Indian societies?" predicting that Tarahumaras will "bleakly" disappear into the Mexican population (254). Part of that disappearance

includes the “primitive” two-spirit traditions that find acceptance among non-Christian Tarahumaras.⁶

In effect, the major contribution that his work makes is to state that process of making corn beer, or *tesgüino*, is “a social form which can be seen as an institutionalized response to the constraints imposed upon social life by the mountain ecology...The extracultural feature of the *tesgüino* complex stems from the relatively uniform chemical reaction of the human body to alcohol” (258). In other words, he claims to value his masculinist, objective findings on social formation as opposed to valuing the human rights or environmental integrity of the people and region he studied. For him, Tarahumara culture and the land are virtually dead as he believes that international capitalism is destined to simply win out in the inevitable progress of Western history. He suggests that Native peoples and lands must sacrifice themselves to the will of superior international weapons and technology. After all, Mestizos who serve Eurocentric capitalist interests:

*...will carry objects
which will shoot death
faster than the eye can see.*

⁶ Kennedy quotes “The na’wi or hombre-mujer (man-woman) Mauricio... was about 40, and known for performing women’s work. He wore a costume intermediate between male and female and spoke with a forced high-pitched voice. Several strings of beads hung around his neck (most Tarahumara men no longer wear strings of beads, though it was typical as shown in an old photograph)...Mauricio once wandered into a burial cave in the barranca where he encountered some magical poles set in the form of a blanket weaving frame. Suddenly the poles came to life, seized him, and transformed him into a woman” (232).

They will kill the things they fear

all the animals

the people will starve...

Entire villages will be wiped out

They will slaughter whole tribes... (136)

And even when the less evil people say:

Call that story back.

They will find a negation of the hope that destruction can be avoided, perhaps because long ago, when the witches asked the nameless witch to stop the destruction of the world:

...the witch just shook its head...

It's already turned loose.

It's already coming.

It can't be called back. (138)

All that Kennedy needs to really fit the role of Silko's nameless witch is a consciousness of the "evil" within his own narrative. He might realize that his objective theory of inevitable Tarahumara destruction is little more than the Manifest Destiny that transformed the tribes in his own US ground that he divorces from any specific Native history. He might gain some sense of responsibility for his actions, that the inevitable "tide of history" is a white supremacist narrative that has materially benefited his own white people at the expense of so many others. With this admission, he could revel about creating:

Objects to work for us

objects to act for us
Performing the witchery
for suffering...(137)

In other words, he could gain a sense that the course of history is performative, based upon the actions that cultures and individuals choose to commit with greater and lesser degrees of restrictions. He could gain an understanding that no genocide is inevitable as an objective force of history. Genocide is a story of trauma that must circulate on a mass scale in order to have a social effect.

Again, what Silko's text explains is that Native peoples, or anyone else, can resonate with those deathly narratives of genocide or strive to live in harmony like the "sunrise" that prophesies a defeat of witchery in its each of its unending incarnations (262). To look for sunrise is to find a continuing history of dynamic traditions resisting colonialism from *Rarámuri* descendants such as myself to *Rarámuri* traditionalists today such as Francisco Ramos. "We don't want our forest felled" said Francisco Ramos, a *Rarámuri*-speaking Indian leader. "We didn't plant the trees; God did, to collect water from the rain and give homes to the animals. The trees are not our property. We're just taking care of them", he added (<http://www.wrm.org.uy/English/bulletin/bull%2023.htm>). Even if *Rarámuris* face increasing encroachment from Mestizo drug lords and multinational tourism as Jacobs documents in *Primal Awareness*, that does not mean that *Rarámuri* attempts to establish Indigenous rights will completely fail. Jacobs documents that a *Rarámuri*/Mexicano mixed blooded Bustillos and "*Rarámuri* representative Guadalupe Batista had... testified before the United Nations Committee on Human Rights

Working Group for Indigenous Peoples in Geneva.” Working with traditional *Rarámuris*, “Bustillos was gradually gaining financial support from several international environmental and human rights groups” (66). Jacobs reports that “a new women’s rights organization for *Rarámuris* is gaining support and recognition as well” (244). For *Rarámuri* culture to change due to international and Mexican influence does not mean that it will disappear. It may only mean that those who seek “pure” Natives will no longer bother *Rarámuris* in order to write books that predict *Rarámuri* genocide while those activists of whatever ethnicity will continue the struggles for *Rarámuri* survival.

While post-Revolutionary Mexican State rhetoric accepts the Aztecs as generators of a glorious empire of that Mexicans inherit, programs of assimilationist Indigenismo of the twentieth century mark an inability to honor the recognition of a multiethnic Mexico that includes a variety of Indigenous sovereignties such as that of the *Rarámuri*.

While it is fine that Xicano Poet Nataliotzin Hernandez Xocoyotzin uses his own Nahuatl language to redefine himself in relation to Mother Earth and his Xicano version of Indigenous movement when he writes “*Na ni indio/ Ihuan nama sampa nech nelhuayotia tlalticpatli: Tonmana tlaltipactl./ I am Indian: today I return to be rooted in the land: Our mother earth.*” (Tonatierra 4), the fact is that many Xicanos/as only claim Aztec heritage with its connotations of masculinist Imperial power that Mexicans have somewhat doubtfully attributed to it. Caudillo Felix documents the opportunity for Indigenous peoples to break out of the assimilationist Mexican nationalist narratives of Indigenismo that resurged during the Cardenas presidency of the 1940’s in *El Indio en el Ensayo Mexicano*. She notes a variety of non-Nahuatl Indigenous writers who are increasingly

representing themselves, often in their own languages, as opposed to always being represented by Mestizos in a neocolonial patronizing manner. I certainly want to add myself to that non-Nahuatl movement of writers.

Matrilineally, I'm *Rarámuri* on both sides of my family, but thanks to the Mexican Revolution and a long series of colonial struggles, my grandmothers, who were also mixed, came to live in the Arizona about 80 years ago. I can think of fewer things more difficult than returning to *Rarámuri* traditions as the corn beer parties of my family are gone and we have mixed with peoples from the south. Yet some sense of being *Rarámuri* remains, just as some sense of being *Caxcán* remains. As one *Rarámuri* Mexicano said in the documentary *The Unholy Tarahumaras* "I prefer to live within the indigenous community, follow the traditions...and use the *Rarámuri* language so it won't be lost. For me to return is difficult. It would be a sudden change in lifestyle I would have to adapt myself again to how it was before." Nevertheless, he managed to radio broadcast *Rarámuri* songs and language in the Sierra Tarahumara which did contribute something to those *Rarámuri* ranchos that had radios. In a related way, I also try to broadcast information about *Rarámuri* culture, yet the distance from *Rarámuri* land makes that effort weaker, and radically different politically.

I have been to Chihuahua, and I have learned a little of the language from old *Rarámuris*, but I don't have a lot to say about the culture. In fact, looking around my apartment by the dry river in Tucson, there is nothing noticeably *Rarámuri* about anything I have. My preference for wood and simplicity is the only connection I can make. I suppose there are things one would not just know. For example, the one aloe

plant I keep on kitchen counter has water. My mom and my grandma taught me to water plants. And what is more, I know that unhappy, depressed, and angry thoughts can damage plants, so I'm careful about how I feel in my house, just as one might around a child. My grandma and my great-grandma were the same way. Plants are important. For me, being *Rarámuri* isn't about what I lack: a local *Rarámuri* community, living in cave, eating peyote, running down a deer in a hunt, or going to corn-beer parties. For me, *Rarámuri* ancestry is about feeling empathy for the life around us, the warmth of the sun, the water in my plant. It isn't a lot, but I recognize that without *Rarámuri* heritage, I wouldn't have a body, a sense of rhythm that is passed from heart beat to heart beat, or an empathy for the practical needs of all living beings. Without my *Rarámuri* matrilineage, I could not follow the persistence of the sun or the moon.

When I was young, my Grandma's mom, Grande, would go for a walk in East L.A.; she would just go real slow due to her age. Sometimes, I walk before I write in the morning past the ancient waterways of the Tohono O'odham and the modern homes of the O'odham, Yaqui, Mexican, and white peoples here by the Santa Cruz River in Tucson. I know it might be hard for some scholars to believe, but walking someplace quiet is important. It's the methodology I prescribe to anyone writing about Native peoples and cultures. Go for a walk. And when you come back to write, include the blue sky if you want. If you know your Native language, then you can practice what you know on that walk, even if it's just one word. Today I saw a *chipawi*, a squirrel, out by the mesquite trees for the first time this year. "*Chipawi semati kame*" I thought to it as it ran away into the dry river bed scattered with green desert brush. Walking is my

Rarámuri methodology for analysis because without a basic empathy for life, political and artistic actions are empty. Without empathy, you've already lost that which you should be fighting to protect for yourself and for future generations.

Sometimes, instead of walking, I run. It's a practice that some keep up in my family. I know that traditional *Rarámuris* are among the best long distance runners in the world. I relate a story about running and *Rarámuri*. In doing so, I'm aware that there are more traditional ways of passing on stories that written mediums don't respect. If it came to reading about *Rarámuris* or taking a walk with my mom, or grandma, I'd rather take the walk to learn more about who I am. It's good practice because you can walk out of a Revolution, walk out of an abusive relationship, or walk out of a depression. A "Rarámuri History of Creation" follows:

A long time ago, the Creator made the worlds of plants and animals. It was some time later that he decided to add humans to this world. In man's original form, he fell to the earth as rain and hit the ground running. At first, humans lived for only one day and had only a short time to get things done. That is why, the *Rarámuri* say, the first man ran. The first people got so much exercise with all this running that they began to live longer. This meant that they had more time to do things. Unfortunately, as they settled, the people became corrupt and forgot their obligations to one another and to the Creator. The Creator was angered by their behavior so he caused a great flood to happen. The waters rose and all the people began to die. Two children, a boy and a girl, were the only survivors. They had escaped to the top of a high mountain. The Creator wanted to

help the children to start over again. The creator gave them corn and bean seeds and told them to plant them. The children threw down the seeds and watched the corn growing. They saw that as the corn reached a certain size, people began to emerge from the plants. These people repopulated the earth and were the ancestors of the Rarámuri. The Rarámuri believe that corn is sacred. Corn reminds them of where they came from and also of their obligations to the Creator. They also remember their origins when they run and participate in races, which have always been an important part of their life. (<http://www.heard.org/education/rain/cultura5/raincul4.html>)

I know that my great-grandmother grew corn, beans, and squash in Namiquipa before the Revolution. My grandma still makes beans with corn tortillas, chile, squash or spinach which is my favorite meal.

In looking for representations of *Rarámuri* women, I was surprised to find a persistent pattern of *Rarámuri* women who had killed their abusive husbands with rocks. *Rarámuri* already have a reputation in Mexican culture and Anglo ethnography as being primitive cave-dwelling people. The image of *Rarámuri* women killing her husband with a stone is virtually Neolithic. In the early 1800's, Ysidora, a *Rarámuri* woman, and her children suffered physical abuse from the husband who was also *Rarámuri*. One night, he went out to drink corn-beer and tied her up in the cold so that she would not escape. Susan Deeds recounts his return "As soon as he passed out on his bed, she took a huge rock and dropped it on his head, killing him instantly" (267). Given the patriarchal nature of the Chihuahuan mission and the decreasing power of *Rarámuri* women in

Spanish colonial culture, Deeds calls the killing a symptom of Indian and Spanish misogyny that ended in the woman being sentenced to ten years in prison.

A Mexican play by Chihuahuense lawyer and celebrated playwright, Victor Hugo Rascón Banda, also gives a limited agency to a *Rarámuri* woman in his play *The Woman that Fell From the Sky*, while exploring cultural differences. Rascón Banda does include *Rarámuri* songs, cosmology of the sun and moon, and speeches, as well as Spanish or English dialogue which demonstrate a strong continuity of *Rarámuri* anti-assimilationist culture. In the play, Rita is a *Rarámuri* protagonist who fled her village to the Midwest after killing her abusive husband with her grinding stone. Because she cannot speak English or Spanish, as she wanders homeless, she is deemed to be a babbling psychotic and interned for years in a mental institution without proper efforts to translate her pleas to leave and to abstain from taking debilitating lithium and anti-psychotic treatments. The resolution is that a Mexican man finds a *Rarámuri* doctor in Phoenix to interpret her words which sets in motion her release to Chihuahua. The Mexican man takes her to the border in a good Samaritan act. While the play critiques Anglo insensitivity to immigrants in general and *Rarámuri* peoples specifically, there is no internal critique of how Mexican patriarchy continues to encroach upon *Rarámuri* way of life. The paternalism of the Mexican male character takes on nationalistic Mexican proportions. An implicit message is that Mexican machos must “save” primitive *Rarámuri* people and culture. While the idea of *Rarámuri* and Mexican dialogue isn’t a bad one, the play undermines the sense of law and *Rarámuri* written works for sovereignty. One of the participants in the Draft U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is the

“Consejo Asesor Sierra Madre-Tarahumara” which includes *Rarámuri* voices as documented in the United Nations file E/CN.4/Sub.2/1994/30. As a lawyer, Rascón Banda needed to contextualize the play with instances in which *Rarámuris* have organized for their own communities instead of waiting for a relatively white savior to improve their primitive plight as rock banging modern day cave-people.

To his credit, Rascón Banda does show that *Rarámuri* culture is contemporary and unlikely to stop soon, unlike Victor Villasenor who keeps *Rarámuris* interests in the past. He includes Tarahumaras in the beginning of his family based fiction in the Chihuahua based *Rain of Gold*. Unfortunately, Villasenor still lingers on a romanticization of Tarahumara as pure innocents who are doomed to “disappear” in the face of modern technology and Mestizo advances into their homeland. In the opening of his book, he describes how “Espiritu,” a Tarahumara Indian man unwittingly trades “gold nuggets” for food. The gold draws hordes of prospectors who overrun Espiritu’s own Tarahumara people in the Copper Canyon of Chihuahua. The Espiritu of Villaseñor’s tale tragically and peacefully dies “of grief” in the tradition of the “vanishing Indian” and “noble savage” that characterize many ethnographic accounts of Natives in the Southwest (Dilworth 16).

More interesting to me is how *Rarámuri* culture is useful in today’s world. For example, in *Forged Under the Sun : The Life of Maria Elena Lucas/Forjada Bajo El Sol* Maria Elena Lucas escapes domestic violence as a farmworking woman and organizer in California due to the fighting nature she attributes to her Tarahumara grandmother who would sing to the moon and return any blows she received from her

husband. “I can remember my grandma fighting back with my grandpa once. My mother never did that” she recalls from her childhood memories. One day her grandfather, who was Anglo, came home drunk and smashed the door down. “She grabbed the bottle he was drinking and smashed him on the head. He fell down- and slept till the next day...She never let him hurt her or intimidate her when I was there.” Her grandmother’s respect for herself extended to the plants, animals, and the moon as Lucas recounts the fond memories of her grandma singing to the flowers that she would cut to make medicines. At three o’clock in the morning, especially on full moons, her grandma would wake her up and to offer mesquite pods to God in a big celebration. “Then she’d dance and sing in a language I didn’t understand, but she’d be singing and praying to the moon waving her arms. She would make signs like when you’re caressing a child” Lucas remembers (57). Her grounding experience with her grandmother taught her to respect and admire nature as a creation as well as to have the strength to stand up for her rights as a woman and a farm worker despite the effort of the farm owners to poison her and end her United Farm Workers struggles for equitable payment and humane treatment (Leeper Buss).

Although strained by colonization, a continuity of ideal behaviors that support greater sovereignty in *Rarámuri* communities also continues. Referring to a Father Sun and Mother Moon, one *Rarámuri* statement of law follows in a translated sermon form:

Follow the path of our Father and also of our Mother... Grasp the staff of our Father and also the staff of our Mother, the flower of our Father and also of our Mother. In this way each of you will have strength. Do not be unduly

discouraged. Do our Father and Mother become discouraged as they unfailing provide light so that we can go around constantly... Do not fight. Always greet another peacefully” (66).

Rarámuri law is based upon a respect for both Sun and Moon, male and female principles of creation and consciousness that should not lead to violence.

As *Rarámuri* or Indigenous peoples, the usefulness of our feminine and matrilineal sides of who we are continues to shape our lives. The words and actions of our female relations resound through our bodies, whether they are male or female. In spite of the sexist targeting of Native females in colonial histories, Native women still express a resiliency that is motivated by necessity. While White males and feminists can make important contributions to fighting patriarchal, classist, and colonial influences on Indigenous peoples, Native cosmologies and methodologies allow for different kinds of affirmations of Native culture and femininity that are not based upon colonial patriarchy. New written versions of ancient traditions should be used to combat current forms of sexism and colonization. To do so would be to overturn the hegemonic views of Indians as savages in an academic setting that privileges assimilationist pedagogies. The language of cultural sovereignty and gender respectful cosmology can impact Chicana/o or Mexicana/o writers who only partially grasp Indian politics, but may not admit that Indigenous peoples have sovereignty, contemporary lives, and the human right to define their own beliefs within their own language and customs. A respect and embodiment of Indigenous femininity is crucial in order to create a new Indigenous pedagogy that is able to support Indigenous cultures that seek to decolonize in local, global, and cosmological

contexts. The southern chapter will further discuss how Nahuatl descended two-spirits can begin such a project within a *Nahuatl* cosmology that embraces movements of change, *ollin*.



4. South:

Borderlands Media: The “Macho” Body as Social Malinche

After the external assessment in the East, the internal reflection in the North, and the protective embodiment in the West follows the reproduction in the south. It is the place of action that completes the circle that is already founded in masculinity, antiquity, and femininity. The rabbit is a lunar animal that is found on the moon’s face, and as such is a symbol of fertility that is not just about having children, but also about reproducing ideas and emotions. The south represents pleasure for all that is enjoyable. Southern youth is the complement to the northern direction of elders, and youth gives a sense of creativity and innovation. Just as a rabbit can unexpectedly turn directions in midair stride or suddenly turn in a chase, so can the direction of south implicate new and sudden changes. Without youth and the possibility for change people would stagnate in memory, and male and female would have no way to act upon the future. *Tochtli*, the rabbit, is the new and unexpected context that the east will eventually notice and use to begin yet another circle of movement in an earthwise manner. It is the future that will also leap beyond knowledges of the previous directions (Nahuatl University).

I take a moment to review the first three directions in relation to this last one. I begin with those legal discussions in the east. Because I have seen so much migration to the U.S. as a direct result of wars, it seemed important to initially establish that Indigenous legal voices resist State politics of assimilation, genocide, and exile in the Americas on what will always be traditional Indigenous lands despite State borders. Both *Nahuatl*, Rarámuri, and Xicana/o peoples sent groups to the United Nations to formulate that document along with mostly Indigenous groups from all continents (Commission on Human Rights). I also argue that a part of Indigenous sovereignty is the right to respect sexual differences of gender and sexual orientation that are not derived from the S/M and rape models that a military-prison complex and international colonial process feed into, taking time to outline the four directions and *Nahuatl* cosmology. By reflecting internally in the north, I find that legal discussions of sovereignty could not explain my own Indigenous traditions or make those relationships that legal discourse might have in different cultural arenas. An international recognition for Indigenous sovereignty only helps facilitate the ongoing survival of extremely different peoples and their languages, customs, and relations to their lands. Decolonization demands that dynamic traditions continue, traditions that must come from within each person and their relationship with their own ancestry, current community and cultural practices. In my case, I related a connection as *Caxcán* with Chichimec-Aztec Dance despite U.S.-Mexican State borders. I also found *Nahuatl* and *Caxcán* two-spirit traditions along with those of other tribes. I much prefer these living traditions to the colonial histories and their colonial agendas which are also heterosexist, classist. In the west, I found a way of constructing an

internal sense of my own Indigenous femininity that is specifically *Rarámuri* in a matrilineal sense which is connected with Chicana and White feminism, but different in its relation to Native beliefs on femininity which are more connected to the earth, the moon, and maintaining open relationships with elders, youth, women, and men in sovereign communities. I analyze some of the differences and potential alliances between Native sexuality and White feminism. In the south, I offer a more particular method by which *Chichimecca-Nahuatl* two-spirits can actively open a way for their own agendas in relation to the political movements of Chicanas/os and other Native Americans. Specifically, I suggest that “male” two-spirits can embody the social Malinche as an intellectual, political, and sexual source of activism that is culturally specific and relates to others’ sovereign struggles.

Sexualities, Indigenous Literatures and Postmodernism

In his introduction to *Fear of a Queer Planet*, editor Michael Warner reflects upon the importance of Foucault in the canon of queer theorists stating, “...Foucault brought such a reinvigorating transformation that his *History of Sexuality* has become an inescapable text for intellectuals otherwise oblivious to its subject” (viii). Part of the importance of Foucault for queer theorists is to show the dynamic power relations of homosexuality through historically particular discourses. For him, “imposed silence” or “censorship” of homosexuality mark the subjugation of a discourse and is one marker of shifting power relations (17). That is, there is neither an “original sin” nor scientific “nature” of homosexuality that people bear with them from time immemorial; sexuality is

fluid and transformable in the power of its discourse. This denaturalizes the condemnation of homosexuals by secular institutions and the Christian religions. Foucault also potentially helps queer theorists by theoretically allowing comparisons across disciplines and social groups in which differences are seen as nodes on a grid of power that circulate through everyday explanations of sexuality as well as the stated policies of the various institutions of society. This linkage of discourses allows the formulation of polymorphous resistance by queers to the various institutions and discourses that contribute to homophobia. Discourse is unstable. Neither dialectical nor essentialistic, it promotes, reinforces, and transmits power relations while simultaneously undermining and exposing the weaknesses of its own inarticulate objectives. To exemplify this dynamic, Foucault states that at the same time in which homosexuality was attacked by “psychology, jurisprudence and literature...homosexuality began to speak on its own behalf...” utilizing the weaknesses of the discourse against homosexuality to protect and continuously transform itself (101).

The previous analysis of “Homosexuality” in Western Europe in the early 19th century marks an example of the dynamics of power and sexual discourse for Foucault. What Foucault does not provide in his historical analysis of homosexuality is a self-reflective analysis of his own positionality and its effects on his discourse. In a long tradition of imperialistic negligence, Foucault treated colonialism as “a byproduct of Europe’s internal and permanent state of war with itself, not formative of those conflicts” as Stoler notes (30). Published in 1978, after the hiatus of the decolonization movements of the Third World including the various revolutions of African nations

against French rule, Foucault's *History* avoids postcolonial discourses in a "sanctioned ignorance of the colonial and postcolonial moment" according to Bhabha. Relating Foucault's Western European sense of history in a postcolonial context, Bhabha gives the example that the discourse of history "ended" for scientists in search of atemporal truths at the same time that historical memory was "objectively" stripped from slaves in the nineteenth century (64). History within France is part and parcel of the historical discourse applied to colonized peoples. To use Foucault's language, Foucault's *History of Sexuality* imposes silence on postcolonial discourse even as it seeks the development of discourse "within" a European context. Another critique that applies to Foucault centers upon gender. While Grosz posits that Foucault may become important to feminist for his problematization of objective truth, the linkage of power with all discourse, the focus upon the body, and the explanation for resistant practices, important areas of feminist inquiry are absent (91-92). Foucault's analysis best fits postmodern France, although even then it lack in terms of postcolonial and feminist interests.

Because my own interests center upon Indigenous sexualities, I have not looked to Foucault or to Foucaultian influenced models of sexual histories. I am more interested in how Indigenous women themselves write about culture and sexuality using their own metatheory and narratives that may hybridize Western concepts to fit into their own Indigenous world views and medicines to heal the wounds of colonization. For example, when Ines Hernández-Ávila writes about her experience in Danza Azteca, she burns her words into the paper. To approach her writing is to approach a volcano that has begun to erupt after a long sleep. The awakening is that her very body and ancestry allow her to

actively change politics and culture with a power inherited from her Mexican mother that has fought to survive colonization throughout the centuries. Like others, she has gone to traditional Nahuatl communities to learn more about her roles as a Nahuatl woman, in particular, a medicinal role called the *Malintzin*, one popularly corrupted by myths of betrayal surrounding the historical La Malinche who was a translator and lover of Hernan Cortés, a bringer of disease and colonization. She says:

Malinche is a path-opener, an abrecaminos, who cleanses and blesses the path with the smoke of the incense in her *sahumador* (a clay, chalice-like vessel that represents Mother Earth and which holds the embers that allow the incense to burn—the embers themselves representing the fire in the heart of the earth, and the life in a woman’s womb). (244)

She relates part of what she has learned through *Nahuatl* oral tradition. Throughout my studies, I have tried to find ways that would better help me to relate to my own Chichimec ways and the kinds of knowledge that Hernández-Ávila writes about. The excerpts put the source of knowledge in her own body, in her own womb, and in her own Indigenous lineage on her Mexican mother’s side that relate to others in a tradition of what might be called Chichimec-Aztec dance.

Genealogies are important, intellectually and culturally. Most Native peoples enter academia to find that their own ancestral knowledge is objectified and studied as though dead. This amounts to vivisection, a stagnation in the reflections of the past, the north, with no hope of movement through the circle and back to youth. Just as international law on its own does not welcome Indigenous voices, so too is hegemonic

postmodernism basically meant to further the genocide of Indigenous peoples. It is only through intercessions and adaptations by Native peoples that postmodernism might do more than silence and fragment Native voices that already theorize and practice Native realities as audible wholes. Tom Holm notes that the circular movements of many Indigenous ways are not meant to end upon one completion, just as a life is not meant to necessarily end after one circling motion of the earth and sun. This is especially important in healing. Holm quotes Native American psychologists Don Johnson and Robin LaDue who conclude "...healing ceremonies are not cures, but simply a part of the healing process provided through the entire community. The trauma is a point on the circle of life that must be passed over and over again... Here we depend upon the effect of past healing and repetition of appropriate ceremonial healing" (196). The point is not necessarily to avoid trauma, but to find ways to let that trauma point one to the next part of the circle that offers healing. The theoretical roots of hegemonic cultural studies that are white supremacist, patriarchal, and heterosexist can find balance in Native writings about sovereignty, cosmology, and medicine. To me, hegemonic cultural studies in itself is not a destination, goal, or liberatory body of knowledge; it is a new face to an old trauma that will only find healing through my understanding of my own culture's heart in relation to those forces which would once again theorize that heart out of existence.

Chela Sandoval's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* marks an example of why founding one's work in the hegemonic patrilineages of Cultural Studies and matrilineages of postmodernism cannot reconcile the continued existence of Native American traditions and sovereignty. Sandoval defines modernism as a project in which "the centered

citizen-subject, challenged by ethical considerations, could step out of its social positioning in order to find a critical moral and distant vantage point, and there take a resistant, oppositional stand". Frederic Jameson's postmodern argument is that that kind of opposition is no longer possible due to a lack of center in the postmodern world which is increasingly based upon texts of disorienting "simulacra" that in the "disposition of the subject" that effects "every citizen-subject regardless of social caste" (35.6). Given his arguments, Sandoval makes the valid point that this "new" condition of being decentered and fragmented is only new to elite members of what is/was the First World. She names "the colonized, the outsider, the queer, the subaltern, the marginalized" as those who have long suffered that decentered consciousness that presents developed models of postmodern differential opposition for even the former elites plunged into the schizophrenic postmodern world. Poststructuralist Jacques Derrida is another source for Sandoval in his formulation of *difference*, that third space in which the rationale binaries of "male/female, heterosexual/ homosexual, white/black, human/nonhuman, active/passive, white/black" of the hierarchical social order are imploded, a notion that French feminists were also quick to exploit. Sandoval argues that in contrast to Derrida, "third world liberation" movements of the latter twentieth century actually "politicized" and "concretely manifested" versions of *difference* (150.1). She further relates that this pattern was followed by Third World feminists in the U.S. who also formulated differential consciousness as evidenced by Gloria Anzaldúa's "la conciencia de la Mestiza," Patricia Hill Collin's "outsider/within," Trinh Minh-ha's "inappropriated otherness," Audre Lorde's "house of difference," and Gaytri Spivak's "strategic

essentialism” (152.1). The strongest Native American representation comes from Paula Gunn Allen who is also posited as a differential theorist and writes “The only home / is each other/ they’ve occupied all/ the rest/ colonized it : an/ idea about ourselves is all/ we own” (66.7). While Gunn Allen’s alienation might suit an urban Indian experience, the idea of being nationless and landless is not shared by fellow Pueblo writer Leslie Marmon Silko whose strong sense of connection with her ancestral lands foils the postmodern alienating technologies when she affirms “our stories are so much a part of these places that it is almost impossible for future generations to lose them—there is a story connected with every place, every object in the landscape” (58). In effect, Native women who have claims to sovereignty and ongoing traditions are screened out of her postmodern landscape for the sake of creating a more homogenous group of “women of color”.

As a postmodern amalgam of tactics, Sandoval’s Third World Feminist “differential oppositional consciousness” constantly shifts its methods of resistance in order to meet the postmodern mutations of social oppressions. She includes Roland Barthes’ theories of semiology, mythology, meta-theorizing, democratics, which constitute yet another form of “differential movement” which is pivotally allows for movement between all five theories (82.3). Barthes’ ideas rest upon the linguistic relations of the signifier, signified, and its arbitrary connections of sign. Mythologies occur when the sign is converted and naturalized by a new dominant signifier, a process that creates dominant ideologies (92.3). Of course, anyone who is grammatically capable is able to take that dominant ideology and a sign and subvert it to a new resistant

signifier, a process of “meta-theorizing.” Sandoval paraphrases Barthes’ suggestion that “... ‘the best weapon against ideology’ is to ideologize it in its turn, and to produce and ‘artifactual’ ideology” (108.9). For instance, if “Indian” signs “community” for some Indians, and racist ideology as a signifier can change that sign into an empty state of “signified” and create a new sign that means “vanished Indians”, then sovereign Indian ideology can take the sign of “vanished Indians” as the signified attached to a new sign of “ongoing attempts of U.S. genocide that deny basic human and Indigenous rights,” creating an “artifactual” ideology. The ideology that Sandoval suggests should be the final signifier within a pedagogy of the oppressed is one of a “moral and ethical commitment to enact any of its technologies with the aim of equalizing power between humans” (113.4). What Sandoval finds problematic is the elitism with which Barthes grants the ability to meta-theorize, as only those who fully study oppressive ideologies in its written forms can create artifactual ideologies as opposed to the masses that nevertheless must resist those ideologies through supposedly lesser means. For this reason, Barthes is an important but not dominant aspect of her “methodology of the oppressed” that she synthesizes.

Like Sandoval, Paula Moya emphasizes that postmodern and poststructural theories tend to grant too much agency to the individual. For example, Donna Haraway’s project of “artifactual” production of ecofeminist, neo-Marxist, anti-homophobic, anti-racist knowledge depend upon the ability of the individual to remake his or her own consciousness and identity in order to resist the dominant hegemonies. As partially expressed in “The Promises of Monsters: A Regenerative Politics for Inappropriate/d

Others,” that personal identity choice consists of narrating more egalitarian relationships with other peoples, primates, non-humans, and cyborgs, rejecting the racist, capitalist, identity as a white woman that is more hegemonically available through mass media (296). In her desire to relate disparate theories I the formulation of another temporary and strategic identity, Haraway states “I like my analytical technologies, which are unruly partners in discursive construction, delegates who have gotten into doing things on their own, to make a lot of noise, so that I don’t forget all the circuits of competences, inherited conversations, and coalitions of human and unhuman actors that go into any semiotic excursion” (304-305). For example, Haraway titles her work using Trinh Minh-Ha’s “Inappropriate/d Other” as a women of color’s model of cultural resistance and differential consciousness that can fit anyone. Moya posits that Donna Haraway’s theories idealize Third World Women/Mestizas as embodiments of postmodern cyborg politics, creating a version of cultural borderlands that is neither historically nor materially grounded in experiences that Chicanas themselves articulate and theorize. She writes as a Chicana, “Lacking an analysis of how the social facts which make up our social locations are causally relevant for the experiences we have, as well as of how those experiences inform our cultural identities, Haraway cannot conceive of a way to ground identities... Haraway’s refusal to grant women of color grounded identities has the effect of rendering all claims to a woman of color identity equally valid,” especially since cyborg relationships are not confined by “blood” but made “by choice” (131). Everyone becomes a cyborg in her postmodern project that idealizes Chicana hybridity as a model for others to follow, an openness that Haraway has since made more conditional, stating

in *Technoculture* that “I would be much more careful about describing who counts as ‘we’ in the statement ‘we are all cyborgs’” (171.2). Here, Haraway begins to trace a sense that resistant identities are not so easily formulated by individual choice or an academic facility to change one’s own consciousness. If individual choice was that powerful, many U.S. Third World women might choose to not live on the margins in terms of economics and popular ideology production. Moya says that “neither marginality nor survival are sufficient goals for a feminist project” exclusively (131).

Moya’s arguments help to elucidate the technologies of difference between some White and Chicana women through her analysis of Haraway’s cyborg vision of La Malinche. One must first understand the hegemonic view of La Malinche in order to understand why Haraway’s reclaiming of her historical figure is important. Tey Rebolledo recounts a history of La Malinche of the sixteenth century as related by the Spaniard Díaz del Castillo:

La Malinche is a Nahuatl woman of noble birth who was sold into slavery by her family... she was given to Cortés when he arrived in Mexico... Malinche had a central role as a translator... The historical figure of La Malinche had a child by Cortés... Malinche was married off to one of his soldiers... by the twentieth century, the word “Malinche” or “Malinchista” became synonymous with a person who betrays her country (62).

At worst, La Malinche is a betrayer of her own people and a whore who was used and betrayed in turn by Cortés in popular Mexican mythology. However, Haraway’s reading is in keeping with some “Chicana writers who do not view La Malinche as the passive

victim of rape and conquest but believe her to be a woman who had and made choices... La Malinche is a woman who deliberately chose to be a survivor... who cast her lot with the Spanish" (Rebolledo 64). For Haraway, it is Malinche who is the "originally literate mother who teaches survival" in the margins as a forerunner of postmodern Chicana agency (131). In contrast, Moya finds that since the 1970's, Chicana efforts to "absolve" "recuperate and revalue" La Malinche "as a powerful figure of empowering or empowered womanhood" are problematic and "reductive." She prefers Moraga's view of Malinche as a myth, a current signifier of oppressive sexual expectations for Chicana and Mexicana women. For Moraga, Chicanas and Mexicanas are the symbolic daughters of La Malinche as mother of the first Mestizo and the Mexican nation who must still prove that their sexuality will not make them "betrayers" of their people. For her, La Malinche merely operates as the "whore" in the virgin/whore dichotomy, the opposite of the "good" Virgin Mary/La Virgen de Guadalupe in a sexual dichotomy that is used to divide and police Mexicana/Chicana sexuality to this day (130). Moya underlines the oppressive nature of La Malinche as myth to contrast with Haraway's conflation of "cyborg" consciousness and Mestiza marginalization.

Hernández-Ávila's response to Malinche as myth meets some of the criteria of Foucault's principles that guide opposition to the "fascism in the heart," that are "less concerned with why this or that than how" to proceed with "politically revolutionary love, desire and resistance" as Sandoval relates him (164.5-165.6). These processes avoid "totalizing...uniformity" and embrace "juxtaposition," "difference," a connection of "desire to reality," and "deindividualization" (165.6) and generally describe

Hernández-Ávila's desire to heal the "wounded" Indigenous women in Chicana consciousness. Instead of "totalizing" the history of Indigenous peoples as a foregone conclusion of genocide, she empathizes with the sense of cultural loss and seeks ways to "juxtapose" Chicanas with their "different" reality as Indigenous women with medicinal, empathized, intellectual, and political capabilities. On the other hand, Hernández-Ávila's statements that all Chicanas can relate to Aztec culture and a centralized sense of loss of the feminine aspect of that culture is "totalizing" and rather "uniform," a pattern that she herself recognizes when she states that Mexicans descend from "many tribes, many peoples" (246). However, Hernández-Ávila's work does more than just present another case in which Indian/Third World women offer partial answers to the questions that elitist white male postmodernist theorists. With help from other Indians and her own ancestry and body, she formulates answers to questions about her own Indian community that is Chicana/o and historically fragmented by colonial concepts Eurocentric castes in which "mestizo, coyote, lobo , cholo... and many other categories were created to divide Indian peoples from themselves and from each other" (252) as Ramirez explains in *American Indians and the Urban Experience* (2001). For Hernández-Ávila to seek wholeness and healing goes against the expectations of many postmodern and poststructural theorists.

Xicana/o Queer Media: Resounding Nahuatl Femininity in the Macho Body

Because of the hegemonic tendencies for Chicano writers to negate femininity within the male body, homophobia is a concern to which this essay increasingly flows as

it comes to focus on the Indigenous, gay male-bodied characters of Ela Troyano's film, *Latin Boys Go To Hell*, who partially resist a cinematic history of both racism and homophobia in popular media. Russo's *The Celluloid Closet* is a classic critique of the heterosexism in film, noting the change from outright gay censorship in Hollywood of the 30's, 40's, 50's, to an allowance of marginal queer representation in the 60's. Russo posits that gay and lesbian characters were only allowed past Hollywood censors if they were villainous, homicidal, ridiculed, and/or suicidal. Noting that horror defines the 60's and 70's gay and lesbian characters, he states "in twenty two of twenty-eight films dealing with gay subject from 1962 to 1978, major gay characters onscreen ended in suicide or violent death" (52). Only one obviously gay Native American character made it onto the Hollywood screen in that time. *Little Big Man* provided a gay Native American who was accepted by his own Cheyenne people, an acceptance that is still unmatched by an openly gay Mexican Indigenous representation in a mainstream film. An independent Chicana film which does represent gay Mexican Indians, *La Ofrenda* (1989), centers around The Day of the Dead, a Mexican Indian ceremony that honors the deceased in a syncretic Catholic tradition. A Oaxacan cross-dressing man narrates the Day of the Dead procession in Oaxaca. S/he appears in the black garb of a widow, alternatively mourning "her" dead husband and then flirting with the grinning male spectators who line the streets. According to Fregoso, the cross dresser's representation is complex. In one sense, he is allowed to use the Day of the Dead "to perform his private fantasies" that "subvert official religious prescriptions about gender." Yet, his "sexual transgression can only be exhibited to elicit laughter and ridicule" in the sexually colonized context of

Oaxacan society (112). In that homophobic cinematic context, *Latin Boys Go to Hell* is one of the first movies to feature the social and Indigenous issues of gay Mexican diasporas, while gaining a healthy alternative audience.

Because the cross-dresser of *La Ofrenda* is Indian, we can also expect that he will not have any real agency. Indigenous uprisings in Chiapas are partially in response to oppressive policies and representations of Indian peoples. Subcomandante Marcos explains:

For the Mexican government and the great Power that sustains it, the indigenous peoples are nothing more than objects for tourism, producers of arts and crafts, an uncomfortable nuisance for neoliberal modernization. For Power in Mexico, the indigenous are not human beings with rights and legitimate aspirations; they are only museum pieces, legends, and past histories. But our indigenous communities want a life with dignity and justice, a life where they can continue to be indigenous without it signifying misery and regret, a life with respect.” (177)

His response to help lead an armed revolution in defense of Indigenous rights that the Mexican government and U.N. have yet to recognize is a classic and desperate method for improving representation and respect. Again, for gay Mexican Indians, the hegemony becomes more complicated as sexual orientation, racism, and classism combine to create homophobic anti-Indian representations.

While Moraga influences gay Chicano writers such as Tomas Almaguer in his essay "Chicano Men: A Cartography of Homosexual Desire," in terms of her sociological critique of Chicano homophobia and sexism, gay Chicanos have yet to actively claim a

complementary identity, that which internally produces Indigenous femininity. Nahuatl University in Cuernavaca is one of the few academies that offers relations with vibrant Nahuatl speaking communities and fosters greater understanding of Nahuatl women's roles both in Mexico and the U.S. As Directora Martha Ramirez explains, "Each class...is a door that leads to the sacred world of our ancestors, who dedicated all of their lives creating means of communication with us" (1). I emphasize that Ramirez is "Directora" as an indication that gender balance is not meant to be relegated to the "spiritual world" and mocked in the social one. Within a decolonized *Nahuatl* Indigenous activism, we should expect that males and females hold equally powerful positions. The western *teocalli*, or pyramid, at La Universidad Nahuatl is but one icon of the profound legacy of artistic, mathematical, and philosophical learning that generations of Indigenous women



have left throughout the Americas.

Figure 4.1. In fact,

women are the most likely users and creators of the mathematically complex sacred calendar of 260 days, the average time in which a woman will go through a pregnancy, although both *Tonacatecuhtli* and *Tonacacihuatl* are the male-female pairing who are credited with inventing the calendar (Nahuatl University).

With an understanding of internal sexual dualism within a *Nahuatl* cosmology, it becomes urgent that Indigenous and Mestizo "machos" further research and embody Indigenous femininities as an act of decolonization. The macho ideals of manhood as

separate and oppositional to femininity contradict a *Nahuatl* cosmology in which all things are both male and female, *ometeotl*. Hernández-Ávila provides some context in contemporary politics when she writes:

Within the dance tradition of the Concheros of 'la Gran Tenochtitlan,' la The sahumador holds the sacred fire, which is said to protect the entire circle of each dance group. La Malinche is the front(line)- the vanguard, so to speak. Hers is an arduous position, for on her depends the security of the path. That is, through the dance tradition ...the positive image of la Malinche has survived. In this tradition I am a Malinche; I have been for eleven years. (244)

Sor Juana de la Cruz, the various female warriors of the Mexican Revolution, and the campesina activist Dolores Huerta are social Malinches in Hernández-Ávila's interpretation along with other Latina and Native American women.

Just as Xicanas are apt to vocally embody a masculine warrior, so can gay Indigenous males embody the social Malinche as a feminine warrior whose weapons are the body and earth as sources of medicine in addition to the intellect and media as links to the political arenas of contemporary society. Certainly one important task for social Malinches will be to act politically in conjunction with the medicine from which their name arises, *malinalli*, the twisted herb day that is the twelfth day on the Aztec calendar

that Hernández-Ávila also defines in her essay (243).



One definition of the

day *malinalli* reads "it's considered a symbol of expiration and renewal, similar to the

sign *miquiztli*, death, change and renewal through rest. Evolution, renewal, and self-evaluation... with the healing force derived from our hands” with the influence of the maguey and plant medicines represented by *Pahtecatl* and *Mayahuel*. (Nahuatl University). If masculine warriors defend and even take lives, then it is the work of *malinalli* to defend lives by healing them and recreating them through medicines and connections to earth. As masculine warriors confront injustice by drawing attention to themselves and their individual prowess if necessary, the energy of *malinalli* is that of rest, repose, a personal lending of energy to others in order to renew the integrity of multiple relations at once, whether they be of personal, ecological, and/or community natures. In effect, male-bodied social Malinches need to reevaluate their own Indigenous femininities despite the low evaluation that those ways may have within popular cultures, especially those of Mestizo urban areas. This is not to suggest that heterosexually involved people need to identify essentially with what their genitalia dictate. It is twelve military women leaders in the Zapatista army who begin *Our Word is Our Weapon*, some of whom have husbands and children (Marcos 11). El Vey Teopixque relates that all people are male and female at once in a *Nahuatl* cosmology that would be deemed queer by western standards even if they are normative within Nahuatl communities where people tend to have heterosexual relations (Vio 1998).

Centered upon *Nahuatl* imagery of Day of the Dead ceremonies, *Latin Boys Go to Hell* was originally written by an eighteen year old Mexican-American gay male and then adapted to the screen by Cubano director Ela Troyano, the independent film circulated through gay and lesbian theaters across the U.S. in 1998 and combined genres of horror,

homoerotic pornography, and pulp romance *novelas*.⁷ In the movie, the two Mexican lovers, Bralio and Carlos, who are brave enough to don Aztec paraphernalia as symbols of their own Indigenous background die near the end of the film. The body of the muscular Mike Ruiz who plays the lover Carlos is adorned as an Aztec prince on the



video's side cover.

Figure 4.2. It is what most consumers or renters

would see and promises a largely white middle-class and middle-aged audience the fetish delivery of exotic Indian male sexuality complete with the Aztec feathered cape, headdress, and muscular body of the “Aztec God” himself. Given the more popular reading of the movie as a fetishization of Mexican Indian sexuality or a critique of that fetishization, one can further depart from the expectations that Eurocentric cultural theory is the center or postmodern technology of analysis by arguing that Troyano's *Latin Boys Go To Hell* provides problematic examples in which queer “machos” embody the social Malinche.

Part of the film's subversion is in the Mexican Indian concepts of cyclical duality that structure the film's plot. For example, the female characters within the soap opera, *Dos Vidas*, prophesy the actions of the male characters in the larger *Latin Boys Go to*

⁷ See Noriega's *Shot in the Dark* and Bernardi's *The Birth of Whiteness* for histories of Hollywood racism.

Hell story. The telenovela features “Sombra” who catches her boyfriend with her twin sister, “Luz,” and shoots him after a screaming frenzy. Immediately after Sombra’s rampage, the film’s antagonist Bralio also shoots his boyfriend Carlos for cheating with Justin, the film’s young protagonist. The film’s ending coincides with the telenovela’s ending in which a deep voice melodramatically announces “La pasión puede crear una luz de amor y puro...or llevarnos a la sombra de odio y rencor..este ha sido un capítulo más de..Dos Vidas/ The passion can create light of love and purity...or it can carry us to the shadows of hatred and rencor...this has been another chapter more of Two Lives.” The Luz/Sombra, Light/Dark characters are just one example in which the struggles of duality prominently inform the plot. Like *La Ofrenda* which also features a queer aspects of Day of the Dead, *Latin Boys*’ narrative duality offers what Fregoso terms a “non-Western sense of time and space, suggesting that something else is at stake in the film...oppositional identities of origin, authenticity, and collectivity” (114) as well as sexual identities. In fact, the non-Western time and space are grounded in *ometeotl*, a Nahuatl belief in the duality inherent within all motion and materiality.

Both Justin/Luz and Bralio/Sombra can represent aspects of the Social Malinche. As one who seeks the “light of love and purity”, Justin is “a path-opener, a guide, a voice” as Hernández-Ávila defines it. On the morning after having received anal penetration from Carlos, Justin shrinks away from Carlos in bed saying “...I didn’t want to do this.” Carlos places a hand on Justin’s bare shoulder and taunts “What’s the matter? Can’t you deal with the fact that you like dick?” to which Justin responds “I just thought that sex was supposed to be between people that cared about each other.”

Although the older hunky Carlos is unmoved, Justin's question begins to "open up" a discourse of feeling, caring, and commitment despite the antisympathetic male sexuality that Carlos represents. Justin's idea that sex should happen between "people that cared about each other" is exactly what any social Malinche might express as motivation for any action. And such actions ideally lead to "a universal struggle for justice and dignity, as they say in the Indian community 'all our relations'" (246). Justin rejects the unfeeling sexual training that the dominant Carlos attempts to impinge upon him through sex because Justin recognizes his own sense of dignity and desire for caring about another man. To have stayed in a sexual relationship that was emotionally dysfunctional would have hurt Justin, especially considering that Carlos is his first sexual encounter. Rather than let the relationship degenerate into "learned patterns of abuse, violence, and victimization," Justin "speaks out" and calls "a lie for what it is" as Hernández-Ávila would expect of a social Malinche (246). Towards the movie's climax, it becomes evident that Justin's rejection of the unfeeling Carlos probably saved him from contracting the HIV virus. Carlos and a sexually inexperienced, young Latino male speak in a post-sex conversation about their copulation. "Are you sure we don't have to use a condom?" asks a purple-haired youth as he puts on his clothes to leave. "Naw," answers Carlos "I told you I'm clean. Besides, I hate using that shit...It's hard to cum." Given the high rate of AIDS in the New York gay population, especially among the diasporas from Latin America, Carlos' rejection of condoms could easily lead to his own infection with HIV which he could then pass on to others. Justin's quest to "find his way back home" in a gay relationship to the common expressions of love he feels within his

family saves him emotionally and physically, a realization that can also pass onto gay Indigenous viewers who might also face issues of potentially falling into emotionally abusive relationships and contracting AIDS.

Bralio is extremely problematic as a social Malinche, yet even he shows promise as a gay Mexican before his murderous rampage and suicide at the end of the movie. Firstly, Bralio does not let Catholic homophobia keep him from having gay relations. Instead of passively deferring to heterosexist pressures of “patriarchy and Catholicism” (Hernández-Ávila 238), Bralio is unabashedly gay. When Bralio’s friend asks him how he and Carlos are doing as a couple, Bralio winks and smiles as he says “I’m *all* Carlos!” His voiced desire for Carlos, who is also Mexican, is supreme; no woman, white man, or wealthy person could take Carlos’ place. Bralio’s desire for a man of his own mixed race resists the prejudice that Indigenous men are racially unattractive because of their racial features. Hernández-Ávila warns “as long as the majority of mestizos/mestizas refuse to acknowledge the face and heart of the Indian man or woman inside themselves (again, *not to the exclusion* of the other aspects of their being and cultural heritage), they will not be able to realize them-selves as complete human beings...” (248). Tomas Almaguer, a dark-skinned Chicano historian, explains his internalized racism and early preference for the gay white men saying “We are socialized into European standards of beauty, but our sexual attractions are mediated by being at the bottom of the racial hierarchy...who wants another fieldhand like themselves! I want the master! The master’s piece to be more specific. It’s really a case of unadulterated colonial desire” (Busto 33). Ray Navarro further comments on racism in Latino

eroticism Latinos in writing “throughout gay white male porn...Latino men [are] represented as either campesino or criminals. That is, it focuses less on body type—masculine, slight, or whatever—than on signifiers of class. It appears to be a class fantasy collapsed with a race fantasy, and in a way it parallels the actual power relation between the Latino stars and the producers and distributors, most of whom are white” (21). The pattern of Mexican criminal representation in Hollywood easily extends to the mid-nineteenth century Mexican-American War, a time in which US whites began to encounter Mexican armed resistance to the colonization of Mexican and Native American lands in the Southwest, especially in Texas (Rios Bustamante 21). In effect, Bralio’s initial desire and devotion to Carlos is a partial recognition of his own “indigenous face and heart” that resists the classist, racist, and homophobic history that kept depictions of mutual open homoerotic desire between Mexican men off the screen.

By the movie’s end, Bralio does fall into the criminal stereotype, taking three other major characters with him into death. His urge for justice overwhelms him and he takes his own life in frustration. Having risked a commitment that Justin rejected, Bralio finds himself with few options. His death shows a need for social Malinches to work on lowering the high suicide rates that gay youth suffer and to combat the realities of social problems for gay and indigenous peoples that go unresolved. Hernández-Ávila’s poem, “Mother’s Song,” presents a voice could not reach Bralio, but could reach a living Indigenous person in crisis. “Don’t cry/ Don’t allow those rages to pass through you/ So far into your soul that you lose yourself/ you lose yourself...” (238). Although Bralio loses himself and takes others with him, he does show a potential strength and

uncompromising spirit as a social Malinche that Justin does not achieve. “We should consider the possibility that each Mexican/Chicana could become a [social] Malinche” (244) argues Hernández-Ávila. With his feminized body, Bralio would have been a social Malinche had he learned to channel his anger and passion in a gay and Indigenous activist direction, perhaps through confronting Carlos and living to battle the next case of racist heterosexism.

Just as Hernández-Ávila define *malinalli* as a source of knowledge, so can other social Malinches interweave a sense of other Aztec calendar days in order to find greater integrity of their cultural analysis. The skeletal images of the Day of the Dead that return with a vengeance as Bralio murders his cheating ex-boyfriend provide such an opportunity. In this case the day is *miquiztli*, death,  instead of *malinalli*, twisted herb, both of which incorporate at least part of a skull into their iconography. When Carlos pricks his own finger and tastes his own blood, he immediately is shot by the skull bearing Bralio who symbolically functions as a deadly agent for the AIDS virus with a twisted sense of justice. As Carlos steps out of the shower wrapped in a blood red towel, he notices a single red rose in front of the foyer mirror. He picks up the rose in curiosity as a cut to a close up of his hand shows that a thorn penetrates his finger. Carlos drops the rose and blood runs from the wound as the shot returns to frame Carlos facing the large mirror. He puts his bleeding finger in his mouth as the reflected door swings open in slow motion and “Psycho” violin arpeggios ring out along with moaning voices. As Carlos looks in the mirror, he sees a reflection of the Bralio stepping in with a gun pointing directly at Carlos’s line of vision. Continuing the montage sequence, the camera

shifts from the mirror to shoot the profile of Carlos who has turned to the door and is silent mouthing “What the fuck?” A cut back to the mirror shows Bralio momentarily standing still. He is dressed in shiny black pants, a black leather jacket, and a skull mask with grinning teeth that completely covers his head. The Day of the Dead mask is white and made from paper maché with tufts of yellow fiber sticking out of the head for hair. It is especially grotesque as a smaller skull emerges from the larger skull’s forehead, and an even littler skull emerges from that little skull’s forehead. Bralio slowly pulls the trigger with a slow bang and the final shot shows a bullet wound to Carlos’ heart which is streaming blood as his face goes expressionless and he slowly falls face first to the ground, still wrapped in his blood red towel. This especially intense montage gives the added effect of a non-realistic time schema as the masked Bralio assumes mythic proportions as a personification of death.

Bralio assumes the form of *Mictlantecutli*, the lord of the dead in the Aztec underworlds (Lopez Austin 334). However, an American audience with little knowledge of Indigenous beliefs about death could easily find that Cuban-American Ela Troyano reinforces demonic stereotypes of Indigenous beliefs. While the Mexican American nineteen year old co-writer, Andre Salas, could be equally responsible for this assessment of the figure of death, one senses that the horrific aspects of Indigenous death were over-emphasized by director Troyano in a Eurocentric manner that attempts to establish Indigenous beliefs as the Other that defines Hispanic culture by contrasting with its ideals. With her focus on Indigenous culture as the source of evil and destruction, Troyano reinforces anti-Native Christian prejudices that formed long ago in the medieval

Inquisition practices of the Spanish priests in the New World (Alarcon 1992) even if her intention is to lampoon Hispanic ideals of morality and heterosexual norms. In colonial Hispanic rhetoric that the “good” Catholic beliefs were meant to take the place of the “evil” Indian beliefs that included was never really successful. Fregoso explains “a festivity dating to pre-Columbian Mexico, the ‘Day of the Dead’ continues as a vital cultural ritual in Mexico, despite centuries of effort by Catholic/colonial authorities to eradicate its practice” (113). Contrary to the film’s images, skeletons do not descend on Day of the Dead to kill, but rather to heal their own loss in the family. Often times, a Catholic mass is held in an all night cemetery vigil since Day of the Dead is syncretic with Catholic practices. Moreover, use of skulls in Day of the Dead is based on an ancient Mexican Indian ceremony that balances the duality of life and death, the sun and moon. As a Nahuatl medicine woman, Ollin reveals a good reading for those born on the



day of death in the sacred calendar.

She relates “*miquiztli*-death: For the

Mexicas, *miquiztli*-death is the representation of good fortune, of opulence, when the spirit, *tonalli*, liberates itself from the body and transforms or becomes what it truly is, a free cosmic being. Those under this sign should not interpret it as something shady and bringing evil” (qtd. in Vio 48).

As a horror film, *Latin Boys Go to Hell* outlines the frightening nature of AIDS, jealousy, and alienation in the young gay Latino community. But it does not begin to contrast these fears with the reality of a lasting relationship or the mourning of gay deaths

from AIDS. In *Poesida*, Acosta Posada poetically captured the love that suffers even as the specter of death from AIDS/SIDA nears. He writes about his HIV+ lover's last day:

But today
 a man I love lies dying.
 How to reconcile such a loss?
 The labored breathing in the dark;
 the broken smile; his heart,
 the only thing this illness couldn't take,
 now a timid animal at dusk...(4)

My own trips to Mexico City and San Francisco have found that Mexican gay activists openly mourn those who pass away from AIDS during Day of the Dead. Contrary to the images of both *La Ofrenda* and *Latin Boys Go to Hell*, two-spirits and gays do remember the departed with affection and politicize those relationships within communities, as Acosta Posada begins to intimate in his poem. Francisco X. Alarcón's poems are specifically Nahuatl, but less eroticized. However, the facts that *Poesida* is subtitled *An Anthology of AIDS Poetry from the United States, Latin America, and Spain* and that Alarcón is gay, one can read his poem *Tlazolteotl* as a prayer for a lover with AIDS. "Mother of hummingbirds/ dry off his last tears/ kiss each aching bone/ dress him in morning flowers...Goddess of Death/ Goddess of Love/ Tlazolteotl!" (8). In the poem, he refers to the *Nahuatl* concept of the earth as a complex source of love in life, as well as love for those who die and return to earth. As the poet explains in "My Dead," "me and

- my dead/ are inseparable” (7), which is a statement that he makes both as a *Nahuatl* two-spirit and a gay AIDS activist in the Mission District of San Francisco.

As a Xicano living with HIV, José Jiménez “identifies” with “La Llorona,” a “bad” woman who is “like La Malinche” in her deathly reputation (10). Jiménez realizes that “to dominant society” he represents “an infected, diseased, dying irresponsible put body, a sexual deviant who got what he deserved.” His response is write and organize as an HIV+ Raza, and change the negativity that surround La Llorona as the woman who drowned her own children to spite the unfaithful father. He writes:

In my own arte, I feel I am writing/ fotografating/ imagining as el hijo de La Llorona. Not as her dead drowned child, but as her child come back to life, not resurrected in any Christian sense, but regenerated in the Mexica tradition, regenerated like a child of Aztlán, our Chicana/o homeland, a child of Coatlicue, Aztec goddess of life and death and all that is regeneration. (10)

He reconsiders the myth surround the “bad” mother who killed her children and decides that “sexism,” “misogyny,” “patriarchy,” and “homophobia” were in fact the social forces that forced those deaths and continue to replicate the stories of “bad” woman and “evil” homosexuals with AIDS.

While Mexican Indian two-spirits only ambiguously survive in *Latin Boys Go To Hell*, both poetry and the internet offers a cheap publication space that is more open to resist the marketing pressures that form homophobic racist representations. With its relative anonymity, the internet is a potential site for gay activist statements and services for many who might fear to actually approach a more physically threatening location in

“real” space (Koch 1998). As such, the internet is a more easily accessible place for social Malinches to perform their activisms. Orlando Cordero begins a brief genealogy in his “ego” section revealing,

i am a native of east los angeles, california, where my grandparents settled from parral, chihuahua, mexico, around 1920 via el paso. my maternal grandfather, marcos torribio de la loza, and his family, are indigenous to what is now the southwestern united states and northern mexico. his grandmother, guadalupe garcia pinon is buried in mission san gabriel. my great-great grandmother and her son were the caretakers of the cemetery in the early part of this century. she was a tarahumara indian. This is her headstone at mission san Gabriel....,

in a similar vein that Inez Hernández-Ávila starts her letter, with a naming of her maternal and paternal ancestors who are Mexican and Nimipu (Nez Perce) (235). She ends her letter with another statement that defers to the power of ancestry saying:

The day that each mestiza/mestizo truly searches for and finds her/his own roots, respectfully and humbly, and furthermore validates those peoples who still maintain their identity as original peoples of this continent of America, North, Central, and South- on that day we will be radical and much more capable of transforming our world, our universe, and our lives,” (246)

a sentiment echoed in Cordero’s recounting of his own mixed ancestry.

A fully clothed Tarahumara/Mexican/Boricua, Orlando Cordero defines himself in his web page that features his own brown body leaning against his great-great grandmother’s headstone. The image is respectful of Indigenous ways that the fetishized

images of *Latin Boys Go to Hell* were not. Freed of the connotations of savage Indians who feast on evil and murder, Cordero's Tarahumara descended family are "caretakers" of the cemetery, ones who respectfully and carefully are involved in Catholic and Indigenous ceremonies of the dead. Orlando is comfortably clothed in contrast to the men of "El Brujo" who strike sexually explicit poses in an act of fetishized commodification of the naked primitive. With proximity to the stone and his arm somewhat embracing it, he seems to have an honor for his Tarahumara ancestor along with an affection for what she left for him as an Indian gay man.

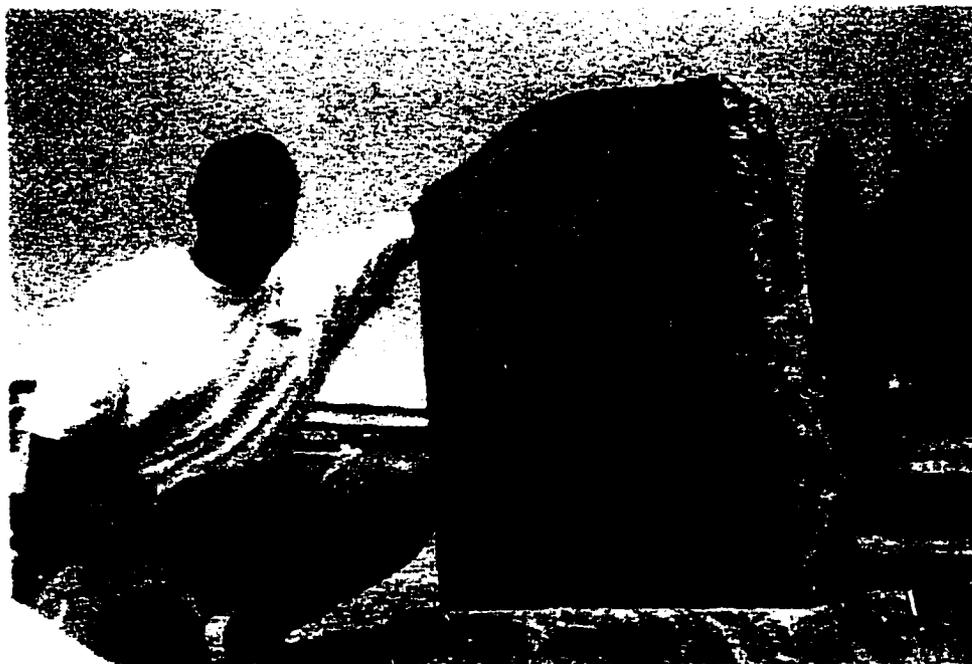


Figure 4.3

But Cordero does not let the Church define what is "respectful" for him as a two-spirited person. As his great-great grandmother transgressed Catholic naming protocol by giving her daughter the name of the Savior, "jesusita", so too does Cordero transgress sexual

boundaries. In another link, he flaunts a collection of S/M and erotic pictures of men of color, along with pictures of himself, fully clothed, with his long-term Mestizo boyfriend, and family. He also breaks the homophobic limitations of sexual and family isolation that was so evident in the *Latin Boys Go To Hell*. He can have a boyfriend, a family who knows that he is gay, and enjoy the eroticized bodies of other “men of color” and not fear that he will “Go to Hell,” a stark contrast to the protagonist of Troyano’s film, Justin, who constantly expresses Catholic guilt for being gay and ends up completely isolated and surrounded by the death of his only queer objects of in the film’s finale. Cordero’s numerous links to other queer pages, Indigenous culture sources, and various interests, open up opportunities for other two-spirit readers to form a politicized cybercommunity in defense against the fetishization of two-spirits and queer Latinos/as and in affection for the creative self expression of other two-spirit.

In the introduction to his “guys I’d like to shag” photo gallery, Cordero critiques the fetishization of men-of color stating:

i make no apologies for my tastes anymore. i am not very attracted to caucasian men in general, but that doesn't mean i can't see some as handsome. and you won't see their images here. i object to the white boy worship in many sources of gay images and it feels oppressive. i also object to images that show men of color (and women as well) deferring to white male privilege. i see enough of that daily, and you won't see them here either” (1).

His blunt preference for Native Americans and people of color is one that starkly contrasts to Troyano’s parodies of racial fetishization. What is problematic about

Cordero's statement is that it does not really account for the too often deadly internalized racism and homophobia that create important differences within gay, indigenous, and Latino/a communities, patriarchal differences that Troyano exposes throughout her film. To forget that Indigenous peoples can and do harm to each other is to invite that violence back and avoid the necessary work that would alleviate that violence. Even so, given the racism and homophobia of US culture and its effects on Native American and Latina/o cultures, Orlando's web page is hopeful as it further disrupts the exploitative images and narratives and opens a path for other two-spirited men to embody the social Malinche in the future.



5. The Heart:

A Movement in the Circle

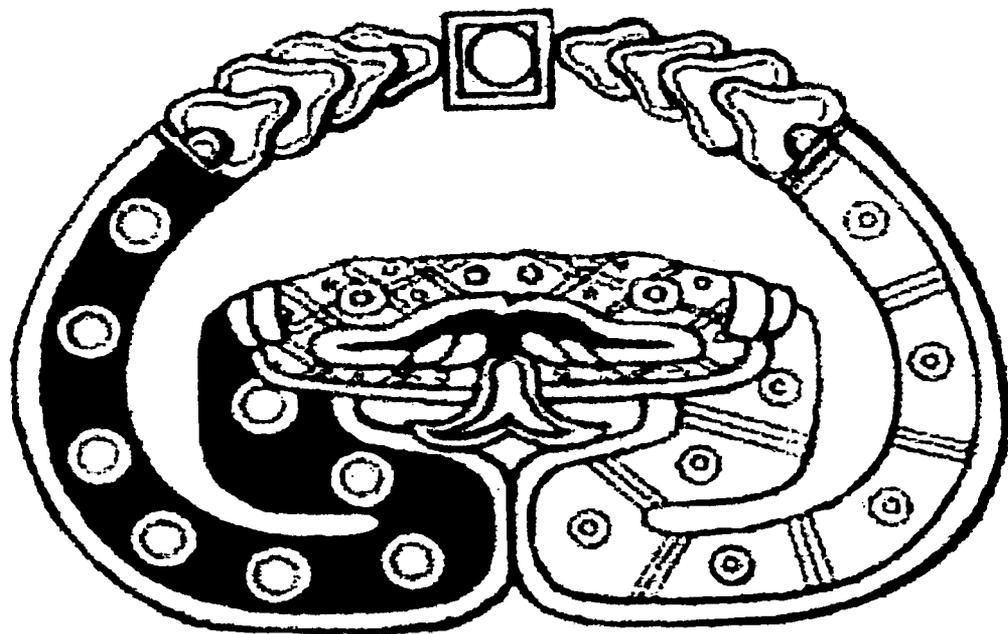


Figure 5.1

For Martha Ramirez of the University Nahuatl, to say “four” directions implies a specific corn-rooted corporeal reference and ancient history embedded in the Americas or *Anahuak*, the *Nahuatl* “land between waters.” This further grounds my original assertion that *nahui ollin* is the ontology by which one can better understand *Nahuatl* cultural dynamics. With an adolescent audience in mind, Ramirez explains that just as human bodies have four limbs and a heart, so the *Nahuatl* cosmos has four directions and a center. She shows that we can embody *Nahuatl* mathematics on our own hand and begins to count in *Nahuatl* as follows. *Ze* is one that we count on our pinky in *Nahuatl*. It emanates unity and origin from corn, *zenlti*.



Figure 5.2

Ome is two and duality in *Nahuatl* that we can count on our ring finger. *Ome* derives from the word *omitl*, bone. Three is *yei* which comes from the word for blood, *yeztli*. Three represents a synthesis from two option; we can count three on our middle finger. On our pointer finger, we count four, *nahui*, which comes from the word for surrounding

flesh, *nakatl*. *Nahui* completes the circle, while five represents the center that articulates the other four. On the thumb, we count *makuilli*, five. *Maitl*, hand, plus *kui*, grabs, come together to form the word *makuilli*, hand that grabs. The fifth direction is the heart that can bring all directions together. I relate numerals to show how Western categories are only useful to a point, as *Nahuatl* numbers also reflect a cosmos and body that create who *Nahuatl* are within cosmic movement, *ollin* (Ramirez 17-18).

As my *Nahuatl* improves, I hope to further my abilities to relate *Nahuatl* cosmological concepts and feelings. But within my own circular path, I know that I will have the opportunity to grow in my own time, and with help from the cosmos and those who dwell within it. I also may develop the wisdom to recognize what I have actually learned at this point. Because knowledge is shared, I anticipate that responses from multiple communities and individuals to my writings will further shape how I relate *Nahuatl* sexualities in the future. In an earthwise movement of east, north, west, and south, the heart centers the movement and articulates each direction with the others. This is my fifth direction. In my case, the circle started with Indigenous Rights and two-spirit masculinity which were reflected on in the north in conjunction with oral traditions and histories. I feel that both the feminism that I discuss in the west and postmodernism that I relate in the south are aspects that I interweave into the changing *ollin* of how to relate Indigenous literature and media. I was glad to be able to relate aspect of my Rarámuri matrilineage in this section and to honor the voice of other Mestiza and Native women who critique the notions of science, poststructuralism, and ethnography that erase Native women's voices and deny their agency. To complete the circle, or to relate the south and

eastern directions, it would seem that future social Malinches could work towards change international and tribal laws in their colonial forms to better reflect Native cosmologies and a balance of traditions, innovations, masculinities, and femininities in their various relations and permutations. Towards that particular goal in relation with the other directions, I am a weaver of methods from both Native and non-Native sources, and the relationships that I ultimately create are those of the two-spirit social Malinche in a cosmos we represent as *nauhi ollin*.

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