

BEYOND THE ADELITA IMAGE: WOMEN SCHOLARS IN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR CHICANO STUDIES, 1972-1992

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Introduction

The best-known works by Chicano Studies intellectuals have ignored the role of women as writers and scholars. In the early 1970s, women scholars in the National Association for Chicano Studies (NACS) initiated the most significant chapter in the intellectual history of Mexican women in the United States. From images such as *La Malinche*, *La Llorona*, and the *Virgin of Guadalupe* to the images of *La Adelita* and *Las Soldaderas*, contemporary Chicana scholars challenge the stereotypical images and the patriarchal interpretations of the roles of women. Recently, works written by women have challenged the male orientation of previous Chicano Studies research.¹ The following investigation is an examination of the research trends regarding women in NACS.² This study utilizes the annual conference programs of NACS to show the vital contribution that Chicanas have made to Chicano Studies scholarship from 1972 to 1992. The study also includes a bibliographical database, created by extracting the names of a core of women scholars in NACS.

The study traces the directions of Chicana scholarship and identifies the major areas of research. The analysis is completed with a discussion of selected Chicana scholarship produced by women in NACS from 1972 to 1992. The essay begins with an assessment of the literature on the origins of Chicano Studies scholarship, the National Association for Chicano Studies, and the role of women in the association. The second part of the essay includes a discussion of the research methodology and the limitations of the data. The third section examines the data extracted from the annual conference programs of the association and discusses the results of the study. Finally, the study presents the

findings of the bibliographical database to illustrate the published record of women in NACS.

Origins of Chicano Studies Scholarship and the Exclusion of Women Scholars

Examinations of Chicano scholarship and the National Association for Chicano Studies tend to focus on the contributions of intellectual precursors and debates between Chicano scholars. For example, Carlos Muñoz discusses the emergence of Chicano Studies, Chicano intellectuals, and the search for a paradigm. Placing the discussion of Chicano Studies research in historical context, Muñoz recognizes the seminal work of George I. Sánchez, Julian Samora, Ernesto Galarza, and Américo Paredes. According to him, they established the basis for Chicano Studies, as well as a Chicano intellectual tradition in the United States. Chicano Studies programs in the late 1960s provided the first organizational base for Mexican American intellectuals in the United States. Muñoz identified three stages of intellectual development in the search for a Chicano Studies paradigm. In the first stage, the philosophical and political foundations of *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (1969) was a strong influence on Chicano intellectuals.³ In the second stage, a new generation of scholars brought alternative methodologies and perspectives to the field, and published in Chicano journals such as *Aztlán* and *El Grito*.⁴ Reacting to the dominant paradigm of traditional social science, Chicano scholars developed variants of the internal colonial models.⁵ The third stage of development coincided with the foundation of the forerunner of NACS. According to Muñoz, the ideas of *Chicanismo* or cultural nationalism, and internal colonialism were in decline among the founding scholars of NACS. In the meantime, new perspectives influenced by Marxist political economy grew in popularity. Scholars in NACS utilized competing paradigms: there were those who viewed the experience of the Chicanos from a cultural/racial perspective, and others who incorporated a class analysis into the internal colony framework. Still others proposed a framework based on Marxist political economy. Muñoz concluded that Chicano scholars continued to build on the foundational work of a Chicano intellectual tradition of critical inquiry and advocacy.⁶

Hisauro Garza examined the beginnings of NACS and its purpose, goals and objectives. His analysis of the early years provides interesting insights and

carries the discussion of issues raised in the work of Muñoz. Garza traces the stages of Chicano scholarship from the publication of *El Grito* to *Aztlán*, and concludes with the foundation of NACS. While Garza provides some insights into the research trends of the association, his analysis remains incomplete. Garza concludes, on the basis of a content analysis of two NACS conference programs, that changes in the focus and direction of scholarship have taken place. Citing the NACS conferences of 1974 and 1986, he examines such data as the number of people attending the conference, the number of panels, the number of papers presented, and the length of conference programs.⁷ The use of the above indicators does not provide evidence of the research trends in the association. In fact, the empirical evidence fails to substantiate the research directions of Chicano Studies scholarship.

The primary weakness of Muñoz's and Garza's work is the total exclusion of women scholars in the evolution of Chicano Studies.⁸ To hear the voices of women, one must review Cynthia Orozco's reports of previous annual conferences on the participation of women in NACS. The basic theme of those reports illustrate the politics of gender in the association and the growing role of women scholars in the activities of NACS.⁹ There is discussion on the research presented by women in NACS in these reports, however, there is no empirical evidence of the research trends of women within the broader context of the production of scholarship in the association. In a paper titled "A Brief History of Chicanas in the National Association for Chicano Studies, 1972-1988," Orozco mentions names of women involved in NACS, as well as some of the issues women raised in the history of the association. Nevertheless, the history of women in the association remains incomplete.¹⁰

Research Methodology

The above studies provide the basis for understanding Chicano/a scholarship and the work of the association, however, there is still much to learn. The following investigation offers information on the role of women scholars in the association and their impact in the development of Chicano Studies. The analysis of women's scholarship in the National Association for Chicano Studies is based on information drawn from two sources. First, the investigator created a database from the programs of the annual conferences of the National Association for Chicano Studies from 1974 to 1992.¹¹

The database contains the complete titles of presentations made and is organized around several criteria: name, year, sex, type of presentation, and topic. The criterion of gender posed problems since the basis of verification rested on the name of the conference participant. There is, therefore, a possibility of error in the compilation of data, but it is most likely insignificant for the purposes of this study. Type of presentation reflects participation in different aspects of research: presenting papers, inclusion in panels, workshops, plenary sessions, special sessions, and serving as coordinators, chairpersons, moderators, discussants, and commentators. Based on personal observation, coordinators, moderators, and commentators essentially played the same role as chairpersons and discussants in the conference proceedings.

“Topic” was the most problematic criterion in creating the database for this study. The titles of the presentations were placed under this heading. Titles were read carefully and placed under the following major bibliographical headings: Identity and Culture, Chicana Studies, Chicano Studies, Demographics, Economy and Labor, Education, Family, Fine Arts, Folklore, Health, History, Language, Law, Library Science, Literature, Media, Philosophy, Politics, Psychology, Research, Religion, Review of Books, Societal Issues, Theory, and U.S.-Mexico Studies.¹² After organizing the data around major headings, the analysis focused on major sub-topics. For example, under the topic of politics, the author found major subdivisions such as political struggles and movements, public policy, international issues, ideology and political consciousness, political participation and representation, political organizing and organizations, local politics, etc. Assessing the trends of the research in the association required separating two sets of data. Each set indicates different aspects of research production. The set of data which includes chairpersons and discussants reflects the power relations within the association. This is especially true in reference to gender, though it may apply to rank (assistant professor, associate professor, professor, and graduate student). Paper and panel presentations constitute the second set of data, and represent the most important indicator of the directions of research in the association. Due to the exploratory character of the study, the conclusions drawn from the conference programs can offer only a tentative outline of the research trends.

To gain additional insights into the character of NACS scholarship, a second set of data was extracted from the conference programs. A core of present-

ers was identified by using the names of those who participated three years or more in the association. From 1635 names, the study narrowed the core to a total of 276: 191 Chicanos and 85 Chicanas. A bibliography was compiled, which helped in assessing the directions of research in the association. The bibliography included dissertations, journal articles, chapters in books, monographs, and books. This second source of information helped to assess the impact of NACS women scholars in the development of Chicano Studies.

Women Scholars in NACS, 1972-1992

Chicanas have been involved in the work of the association since its establishment. Women's participation has increased and now covers every aspect of the production of research in NACS. Some women participated in the planning meetings held in San Antonio, Texas (1972) and Las Vegas, New Mexico (1973). According to Muñoz, twenty eight men and eight women participated in the meeting held in New Mexico. Despite the gradual increase of women scholars, male scholars predominated in the association. In fact, from 1974 to 1992, 685 women participated in NACS. In contrast to this, 950 men participated during the same period. Thus, 42 percent of the scholars in NACS from 1974 to 1992 were female. The data in Table 1 shows the small number of Chicana scholars in the formative years of the association.¹³

The highest record of participation for women researchers in the 1970s occurred in 1979 (31 percent), but the overall participation of Chicanas was minimal. Conversely, Chicano researchers accounted for as much as 94.9 percent in 1975, and 82.8 percent in 1977. The predominance of male representatives was duplicated in other categories, including coordinators, chairpersons, and discussants. The lack of female representation in the conference proceedings became an important issue in 1975. In the business meeting, Chicanas raised the issue of fair and equal participation of women on panels as chairpersons, commentators, and presenters.¹⁴

Several factors explain the small number of women scholars in the early years of the association. First, access to higher education has affected the educational progress of the total Chicano community. The high-drop out rates affecting Chicana and Chicano youth in the United States and the inadequate preparation of those who graduate impact the production of Ph.Ds. An examination of the core of women scholars in NACS revealed that only 11 Chicanas com-

pleted their dissertations between 1970-1979. Thus, the small number of women scholars in the early years of the association is explained partially by the above factors. Another factor, though more difficult to verify, but articulated by women in NACS, takes into account the sexist tendencies of male scholars in the association.¹⁵

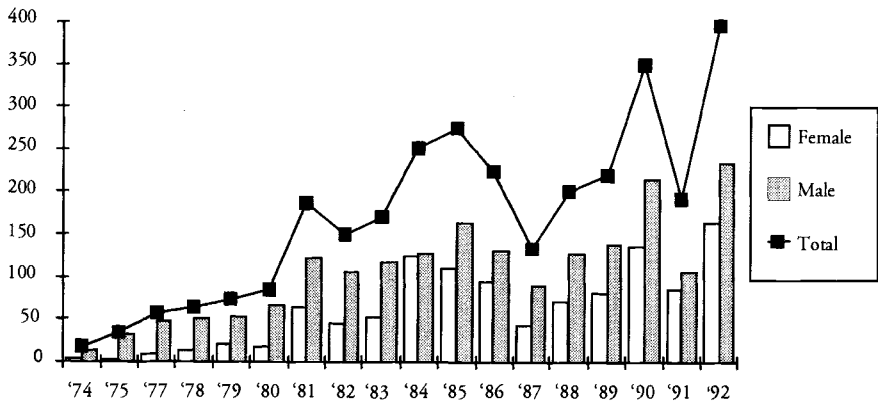
Table 1
Chicana and Chicano Presenters NACS Conferences

Place	Year	Female	Male	Total
Irvine	1974	5	14	19
Austin	1975	2	32	34
Berkeley	1977	10	48	58
Claremont	1978	14	51	65
Colorado Springs	1979	21	52	73
Houston	1980	18	67	85
Riverside	1981	65	123	188
Tempe	1982	46	105	151
Ipsilanti	1983	53	117	170
Austin	1984	124	127	251
Sacramento	1985	110	164	274
El Paso	1986	94	131	225
Salt Lake City	1987	44	91	135
Boulder	1988	72	128	200
Los Angeles	1989	81	138	219
Albuquerque	1990	136	214	350
Hermosillo, Mex.	1991	85	106	191
San Antonio	1992	163	233	396

The 1976 program was not available

Chart 1

Participants Male and Female Presenters in NACS, 1974-1992



The chart includes the total number of participants, which includes paper and panel presenters, chairpersons, discussants, etc., for each conference. For each year, duplications were excluded from the data. The conference program for 1976 was not available.

The conference programs in the decade of the 1980s recorded an increase of both Chicana and Chicano scholars (see Chart 1 for a graphic illustration of the growth of NACS). In 1981, women accounted for 34.6 percent of the total participants, signaling a new direction in the participation of women in NACS. In six conferences, women made up from 39 percent to 49 percent of the participants. While no other conference has rivaled the level of women's participation in 1984 (49 percent), the gap between male and female narrowed in the 1980s. The issue of fair and equal visibility for women participants as chairpersons and discussants came closer to resolution beginning with the convention held in Austin, Texas (1984). Subsequent conferences included higher visibility of women panelists as chairpersons or discussants. Except for the conventions held in Tempe, Arizona (1982), Ypsilanti, Michigan (1983), and Salt Lake City, Utah (1987), the gender percentage distributions for the 1980s were approximately 60 per cent male and 40 percent female. (For a graphic illustration of the convergence of male and female participation see Chart 2.) Internal and external factors explain the evolution and increase of women's participation in NACS. The multifaceted political struggle carried out by

Chicanas partially explains the success of women scholars in the association. Characteristic of this struggle is the political mobilization of women scholars inside and outside of NACS. Within NACS, women organized panels which helped politicize women, and initiated dialogue on the roles and relationships of men and women in contemporary society. Women organized the Chicana

Chart 2
Male and Female Presenter by Percentage, 1974-1992

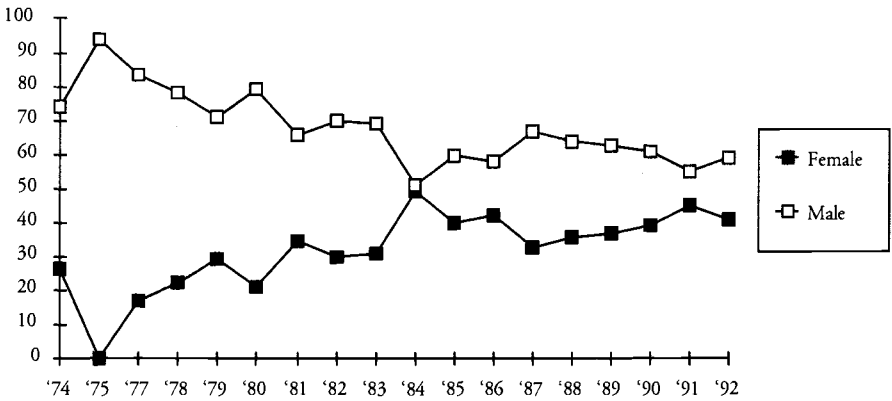


Chart 2. In 1984, the theme of the conference specifically dealt with the issue of women. The annual conference program for 1976 was not available.

Caucus in 1983, and this has become an important vehicle for the concerns of women. Outside NACS, women scholars have promoted the scholarship of other women through the independent association of *Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (MALCS)*.¹⁶ The work of this association affected directly the character of NACS. First, it increased the participation and growth of women scholars in NACS. Additionally, it convinced established scholars and junior faculty to encourage the participation of women by mentoring undergraduate and graduate students.¹⁷ Mentoring of students is taking place through the recent work of the Summer Institute for Chicanas and elsewhere. Other factors which explain the increased visibility of women in NACS include the Chicana Dissertation Fellowships offered by some Chicano Studies Programs.¹⁸ An examination of the core of women scholars in NACS revealed that 42 Chicanas completed dissertations between 1980 and 1992. Despite the institutional bar-

riers women confront, the commitment of Chicanas has contributed in advancing Chicano/a Studies Scholarship.

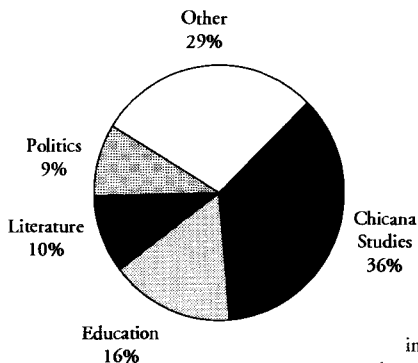
Women as Scholars and Writers, 1974-1992

The gradual growth of women's participation in NACS is reflected in the research trends from 1974 to 1992. The pioneering work of early women scholars in NACS established the basic trends of research in Chicana scholarship. Chicana research in the 1970s clustered into four major areas of interest: Chicana Studies, Education, Literature, and Politics.¹⁹

Not surprisingly, in the 1970s NACS saw the emergence of gender-specific research conducted largely by Chicanas. Chicana Studies research attracted 36 percent of the women writers from 1974 to 1980. Most of the presentations focused on issues related to feminist perspectives and the plight of working-class Chicanas. Educational research examined bilingual education and language, higher education, and schooling. It accounted for 16 percent of the total women researchers in the same period.

By 1977, the association broadened its research agenda to include the work of scholars in the humanities. This coincided with the association's name change from the National Association of Chicano Social Scientists to the National Association for Chicano Studies. Literature became a central research focus for women scholars, and accounted for 10 percent of the women presenters in the same period. Chicana literary critics examined the poetry and literature of writ-

Chart 3
Chicana Scholarship in NACS, 1974-1980

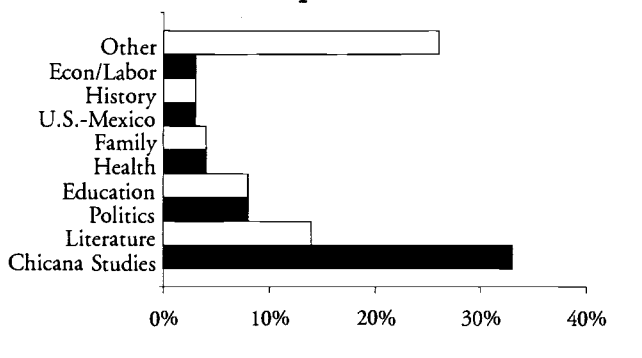


Note. The "other" category includes a diverse cluster of research themes with no specific major tendency.

ers like Genaro González and Genaro Padilla, as well as works such as *Peregrinos de Aztlán* (Méndez) and *Generaciones y Semblanzas* (Hinojosa). Politics, though not clearly defined, was the focus of nine percent of women presenters. Women focused on topics dealing with the impact of organizations in public policy, local politics, and Chicano Movement struggles. The classification “other” accounted for 29 per cent of the total research, and did not indicate a specific research tendency.²⁰ (Percentages were rounded off, See Chart 3)

The four areas of research which attracted women scholars in the 1970s continued to command the attention of Chicanas in the 1980s. Accordingly, 33 percent contributed to the broad field of Chicana Studies; 14 percent concentrated in the field of literature; eight percent focused on the topic of politics, and eight percent worked in the area of education.

Chart 4
Chicana Scholarship in NACS, 1981-1992



Other areas of interest included Health (four percent); Family (four percent); U.S.-Mexico (three percent); History (three percent); and Economy and Labor (three percent). The cluster of undefined research themes in the 1980s dropped to 26 percent. (Percentages were rounded off, see Chart 4).²¹

A closer examination revealed that Chicana Studies attracted women to the topic of feminism and its relationship to the study of the Chicano/a experience. Women scholars reassessed interpretations of contemporary society and redefined the direction of Chicano Studies research. The titles of the presentations

reflected women's interest in examining the interconnections of race, class, and gender.

Women also applied gender-specific analyses to other fields of research. The growing interest in literature attracted Chicanas to topics such as female characters, images and stereotypes, oppression and resistance, and the definition of Chicana Literature. Women scholars also studied gender issues relating to U.S.-Mexico border studies, women and immigration, and the struggles of undocumented women workers. Family issues attracted more women in the 1980s compared to the 1970s, as Chicanas investigated the changing family structure, which included the division of household labor, sex roles, and socio-cultural aspects of the family. Chicana historians wrote about the lives of 19th century women in New Mexico, California, and Texas from a socio-historical perspective. Others recorded the activist role of women in Chicano organizations from the early 1900s to the 1940s. The topics of Economy and Labor drew the attention of women interested in themes such as Chicana labor experiences, labor militancy, domestic labor, unemployment, and the economic impact of poverty. Women explored several other research themes, but the percentages were not significant.²²

Chicanas explored many other fields with no apparent focus on gender as part of the research agenda. The directions of Chicana research indicated the expansion of scholarship into various fields of interest, including, literature, politics, and education. Participation in the field of literature increased during the 1980s. Chicano literary criticism attracted large numbers of women scholars who accounted for most of the presenters in Chicano Literature. The original works of women writers such as Estela Portillo Trambley's *Day of the Swallows* and *Sor Juana* attracted literary critics in NACS. Also, women studied the writings of Sandra Cisneros, Cherrie Moraga, and Gina Valdez. Others examined the work of Angela de Hoyos, Evangelina Vigil, Denise Chávez, Bernice Zamora, Ana Castillo, Alma Villanueva, and Gloria Anzaldúa. Similarly, literary critics engaged their craft in the examination of male writers such as Tomás Rivera, Miguel Méndez, Rolando Hinojosa-Smith, Rudolfo Anaya, Ron Arías, Carlos Morton, and others. Several women's presentations reflected themes rather than specific mention of a particular work or writer. Those papers examined issues and directions in Chicano literary criticism, as well as the exploration of social and cultural themes in Chicano Literature. Themes included ur-

banization, social change, language, folklore, and the psyche. Chicanas also examined the literature of regions such as Texas and the Midwest.

As Chicano Literature found a niche in a predominantly social science association, Chicana writers introduced the creative aspect of literature. Twenty-eight percent of women presenters in Chicano Literature read their prose and poetry at the annual conferences between 1981 to 1992. Thus, some of the Chicana writers who established trends presented their works in NACS: Gloria Anzaldúa, Lorna Dee Cervántez, Ana Castillo, Helen Viramontes, Sandra Cisneros, Evangelina Vigil, Bernice Zamora, Marihelen Ponce, and many more.²³

Women researchers investigated the political experience of the Chicano community and examined the sub-topics of local politics, political organizations, public policy, international issues, political participation and representation, political struggles and movements, ideology and political consciousness. The sub-topic of political struggles and movements attracted significant numbers of Chicana scholars to such themes as the examination of student activism, the politics of English-Only initiatives, the politics of the 1990s, and regional struggles of communities in New Mexico. As to other sub-topics, women were evenly distributed in the number of presentations.

Chicanas examined the politics of bilingual education and local governance, the politics of specific communities in the Midwest (Chicago), Texas (El Paso), California (Huntington Park), and Southern Colorado. Women researchers explored political organizations from mutual-aid societies, to Alinsky-style organizations, professional associations, and contemporary community organizations such as the United Neighborhood Organization, and the National Council of La Raza. In the area of political participation and representation, Chicanas contributed to the discussion of the struggle of the Chicano communities and re-apportionment issues in Michigan, Illinois, and California. Public policy in the areas of immigration, education, and the legislative process also caught the attention of Chicana scholars. The international context became an area of interest for women concerned with developments in Latin America: for instance, the role of Chicano scholars in Central American conflicts, political asylum, and the role of Chicanos in United States policies in Latin America. Finally, women investigated the topic of ideology and political consciousness by focusing on the following themes: empowerment and critical consciousness, social identity and political consciousness, race and class consciousness as well

as Liberation Theology.²⁴

Chicana scholars researched the field of education during the 1980s, giving specific attention to the problem of Chicano access to higher education. Presentations explored issues of recruitment, admissions, retention, and underrepresentation in the sciences and graduate school. Presentations focused on the problem of drop-outs, achievement testing, academic preparation, and motivation. Accordingly, Chicana scholars presented case studies of alternative programs in response to the issue of school failure, and women continued to study the issue of bilingual education and the Chicano community.²⁵

Women contributed to the discussion and analysis of health issues, U.S.-Mexico studies, family studies, history, labor, and economy. Presentations in the field of health focused on the AIDS epidemic and its impact in the Chicano community. Other presentations examined a variety of issues related to health-care problems affecting Chicano/as community: mental health, infant health care, diabetes, cardiovascular diseases, dental care, and alcohol and substance abuse.

In U.S.-Mexico studies, women scholars researched policy issues defined by the growing importance of the border in the economic relations between the United States and Mexico, the issue of immigration policy, the cultural and political implications of undocumented workers both for Mexico and the United States.

During the 1980s, Chicanas drew attention to the importance of the family. A significant amount of work focused on the nature and dynamics of the family, including discussion on egalitarianism, extended families, familism, heads of households in relation to higher education, poverty, aging, child-rearing attitudes, and violence. Chicana historians explored different aspects of the Chicano experience, with special interest in the subfield of oral history. Covering various periods, women scholars investigated the history of Chicano communities and the historical experience of Chicanos in labor unions and organizations. Finally, in the area of labor and economy, women scholars continued to conduct research on issues of unionism and labor strikes, mostly in California. This was complemented by some researchers exploring economic issues such as the impact of mechanization, mill closings, and labor market changes on the Chicano community.²⁶

By the end of the 1980s, Chicana scholarship had matured, extending into

fields previously unexplored in Chicano Studies. Chicana intellectual curiosity was not limited to the topics discussed above. In fact, women investigated themes related to other social and cultural issues, library science, Chicano Studies, fine arts, psychology, the media, and research problems, to name a few.²⁷

Women in NACS: The Published Record, 1972-1992

The research trends presented in the previous pages are illustrated with an analysis of dissertations completed by Chicana and Chicano scholars. With the aid of the *Dissertation Abstracts* database, the author found that 198 of the 276 NACS core scholars completed dissertations between 1972 and 1992. The social sciences dominated, but the field of literature has significantly impacted the character of the scholarship in the association. This change occurred beginning in the late 1970s, but was most notable in the decade of the 1980s. The small core of women scholars between 1974-1979 reflected a social science orientation. However, some women in literature participated in the association in those years. The high percentage of women scholars focusing on issues of gender (Chicana Studies) is not explained by their dissertation topics. While some of the NACS women scholars' dissertations focused on issues of gender, most examined general topics. Thus, it appears Chicanas began examining gender issues in their post-doctoral research. In the second period, from 1980-1992, the core of women scholars continued to increase in the social sciences. However, reflecting the general trends of the association, Chicanas in literature challenged the dominance of sociology and other disciplines in the social sciences.

In order to assess the impact of women's scholarship in the association, and, by extension, the development of Chicano Studies itself, the author compiled a bibliography drawing information—albeit indirectly—on the directions of research in the association. The bibliography includes journal articles, books, and chapters in books.²⁸

To gauge the impact of Chicana/o scholarship, the bibliographical search uncovered 1,076 chapters in books, journal, and proceedings articles. Of the 1,076 citations, 770 were published by Chicanos, while 306 were published by Chicanas. Of the total number of Chicana/o core scholars, 66 percent of the scholars published in some format or a combination of formats, while 34 percent of the core group of NACS scholars had not published. Examining the published record on the basis of gender, there is a higher percentage of pub-

lished male scholars (72 percent) compared to published female scholars (28 percent). NACS scholars published 87 percent of their work in journals, special anthologies, and mainstream journals. The remainder of the citations were located in the proceedings of the association, ethnic studies journals, feminist journals, and Latin American/U.S.-Mexico journals. Chicano scholars fared better than Chicanas in the publication of their research in recognized mainstream journals, though the journals accepted for publication a high percentage of book reviews (68 percent). Still, Chicano and Chicana scholars published the bulk of their work in Chicano Studies journals and special anthologies.

Table 2
NACS Scholars Publications by Type and Gender

	Male	Female	Total
Anthologies	227	100	327
Chicano Studies	311	93	404
Ethnic Studies	22	6	28
Feminist	4	33	37
Latin American	26	6	32
Mainstream	132	45	177
NACS Proceedings	48	23	71
Reviews	148	21	169

Chicanos outnumbered Chicanas in the publication of their research in the proceedings of the association. Chicano scholars fared better than women in publishing their work in Ethnic Studies journals and in Latin American Studies/U.S.-Mexico Studies journals; women scholars were more successful in feminist journals (See Table 2). Thus, while the number of Chicana scholars in the association has increased, Chicanos continue to fare better in the publication of their research. This does not mean women scholars have not produced important works—they have—in fact these works have shifted the discussion from race, class and culture paradigms to the discussion of gender-specific paradigms in Chicano Studies.

The pioneering work of women in NACS, and the recent publications by the core of women in NACS challenge the previous male-dominated research in Chicano Studies. A small group of Chicana scholars participated in the early years of the association. Irene Blea has referred to them as “the first generation” of Chicana scholars in NACS.²⁹ While some had brief encounters in the association, others continued to present their research at the annual conferences. Several contributed to the development of Chicano Studies scholarship.

In the last twenty years, women scholars in NACS produced major studies that contributed to the development of a multidisciplinary Chicana Studies scholarship. The body of literature has been enriched through the publication of monographs in sociology, language, history, anthropology, and literature. Contributions from other fields have been made, but, they are limited to journal articles.

The first generation of NACS women scholars included Irene Blea, Rosaura Sánchez, and Margarita Melville.³⁰ Irene Blea contributed to the discussion and debate surrounding the creation of a Chicano Social Science. Her publications include *Bessemer: A Sociological Perspective of a Chicano Barrio, Toward a Chicano Social Science*, and *La Chicana and the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender*.³¹ Any discussion on the development of Chicana Studies scholarship must consider Rosaura Sánchez’s anthology titled *Essays on La Mujer*. The anthology stands out as the first reader utilizing a materialist perspective on the experience of Chicanas in the United States.³² However, Sánchez’s strength and contribution was in the field of language where she explored the diverse linguistic experience of Chicanos in the Southwest.³³ In her more recent work, Sánchez has explored themes such as post modernism, subjectivity, and ideological discourses in Chicano Literature.³⁴ Other women scholars from the first generation such as Margarita Melville examined the Chicano experience from a different angle. Melville’s *Twice a Minority: Mexican American Women* conceptualized the experience of Chicanas in a more traditional perspective grounded in anthropology. The work is divided into three sections: matresence (motherhood), gender roles, and cultural conflict.³⁵ Sánchez’s and Melville’s anthologies offered Chicanas and Chicanos the base for scholarly debate that would mature in the decade of the 1980s. In fact, Melville produced a second anthology, shifting her analysis to recent economic developments affecting women in the labor force. In this anthology, titled, *Mexicanas at Work in the United States*, Chicanas involved in

NACS contributed studies focusing on various aspects of the Chicana experience.³⁶ There are many more first-generation Chicana NACS scholars who have yet to make a book-length contribution to the field of Chicana Studies. They are Adaljiza Sosa Riddell (Political Science),³⁷ Christine Sierra (Political Science),³⁸ Linda Apodaca (Comparative Culture),³⁹ and Lea Ybarra (Sociology).⁴⁰

Chicana Studies scholarship matured and expanded in the 1980s. Scholars in folklore, literature, and history published significant works examining the cultural, literary, and economic experience of Chicanas. The core of women scholars increased, and included newcomers such as María Herrera-Sobek, Yolanda Broyles, Cordelia Candelaria, Tey Diana Rebolledo, Norma Cantú, Erlinda González-Berry, Linda Fregoso, Vicky Ruiz, and Patricia Zavella. Documenting the experience of Chicana and Chicano folklore, Herrera-Sobek's *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis*, and *Northward Bound: The Mexican Immigrant Experience in Ballad and Song* represent important works in the study of Chicano culture.⁴¹ However, Herrera-Sobek's work titled *Beyond Stereotypes: The Critical Analysis of Chicano Literature*, and *Chicana Creativity and Criticism: Charting New Frontiers in American Literature* expanded into the field of Chicana literature.⁴² Chicana scholars in the 1980s revitalized Chicano Studies scholarship, and Chicana and Chicano literature played a significant role in the new directions of scholarship. Chicanas in literature produced significant monographs, anthologies, and many journal articles covering different aspects of the literary experience. However, one must mention the early work of Angie Chabram and Clara Lomas in the 1970s. While they have not contributed with a book yet, their work in literary criticism matured in the 1980s.⁴³

Developing and expanding feminist interpretations in Chicana literature, Tey Diana Rebolledo has contributed to the body of work in the field. For example, in *Las Mujeres Hablan: An Anthology of Nuevo Mejicana Writers*, and *Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature*, Rebolledo, in collaboration with other Chicana scholars, documented the complex and diverse experiences of women through their writings.⁴⁴ In addition, she has published many journal articles on the literary experience of Chicanas.⁴⁵ Other contributions to the field include the work of Erlinda González Berry, Cordelia Candelaria, Norma Cantú, and Yolanda Broyles-González.⁴⁶ Recently, Norma Cantú contributed with *Canicula: Snapshots of a Girlhood en la Frontera*.⁴⁷ Yolanda Broyles-González documented and explored the role of women in Chicano theatre in her work

titled *El Teatro Campesino: Theatre in the Chicano Movement*.⁴⁸ In the 1980s Cordelia Candelaria joined the growing number of Chicanas in NACS through her work in literature. Candelaria was the editor of the 1980 *Frontiers* special issue titled "Chicanas in the National Landscape" as well as the co-editor of the 1990 *Frontiers* special issue, "Las Chicanas." She was on the editorial committee responsible for the 1988 and 1989 NACS proceedings.⁴⁹

Vicky L. Ruiz's *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* signaled a new direction in Chicana Studies scholarship by focusing specifically on the interconnections of work, culture, gender, and the organizational history of Chicana militancy in labor unions.⁵⁰ Another significant aspect of Ruiz's research is the building of a bridge between Chicanas and other feminists. This is illustrated in the various anthologies produced in collaboration with other women, for example, *Women on the U.S.-Mexico Border: Responses to Change*, *Western Women: Their Lands, Their Lives*, and *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*.⁵¹ More recently, Rosa Linda Fregoso's work titled *The Bronze Screen: Chicano and Chicana Film Culture* contributed to the discussion of Chicanos and Chicanas in films.⁵² In the field of anthropology, Patricia Zavella contributed with *Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley*.⁵³

There are many more Chicana scholars who emerged in the 1980s who have yet to make a book-length contribution to Chicana Scholarship. These women represent various disciplines such as sociology, social work, history, economics, psychology, and literature. Many have published articles and among those Chicana scholars the list includes Denise Segura (Sociology),⁵⁴ Mary Romero (Sociology),⁵⁵ Alma García Marsh (Sociology),⁵⁶ Teresa Córdova (Social Work),⁵⁷ Linda Facio (Social Work),⁵⁸ Antonia I. Castañeda (History),⁵⁹ Cynthia Orozco (History),⁶⁰ Deena J. González (History),⁶¹ Adela de la Torre (Economics),⁶² Aida Hurtado (Psychology),⁶³ Sylvia S. Lisarraga (Literature),⁶⁴ Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano (Literature),⁶⁵ and Norma Alarcón (Literature).⁶⁶

Conclusion

Despite the progressive stance of the association, NACS scholars have traditionally ignored the important contributions of women. The review of the literature on the origins of Chicano Studies illustrates the total exclusion of

women's contributions in the production of research. While there has been a gradual increase in the number of women scholars, male scholars predominate in the association. During the first decade, the poor visibility of women scholars in every field was a common feature of NACS conferences. The 1980s witnessed an increase of both Chicana and Chicano scholars. The large participation of women scholars in 1984 in Austin, Texas, highlighted the changes in the association, and by the 1990s the gap had narrowed between male and female participants. The multifaceted political struggle carried out by Chicanas partially explains the success of women scholars in the association.

In the 1970s, Chicana research clustered into four major areas of interest: Chicana Studies, Education, Literature, and Politics. Chicana scholars continued to develop the above research areas in the 1980s, though gender-specific themes predominated among women's research in NACS. Even though Chicana scholars do not fare as well as Chicano scholars in the publication of their research, in the last decade, Chicanas have contributed a body of literature that challenges the male-dominated research and patriarchal tendencies of Chicano Studies. Chicana scholarship has been a dynamic force in the evolution of Chicano Studies, and will continue to exert influence in the future direction of the discipline.

NOTES

- ¹ For an example of recent scholarship challenging male perspectives in Chicano Studies, see Teresa Córdova et al, eds, *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender* edited by Teresa Córdova, Norma Cantú, Gilberto Cárdenas, Juan García, and Christine M. Sierra. (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas, 1986); Adelaida R. del Castillo, ed, *Between Borders: Essays on Mexican/Chicana History* (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1990); Elizabeth Salas, *Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990). Chicana scholars critiqued the perceptions of male scholars who could not see women as writers or thinkers. See Norma Cantú, "Women, Then and Now: An Analysis of the Adelita Image versus the Chicana as Political Writer and Philosopher." In *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender*, eds., Teresa Córdova et. al. (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas, 1986), 8-10.
- ² Preliminary findings of this study were presented at various conferences of the National Association for Chicano Studies, see Gilbert García, "Research Trends and Future Direc-

- tions in NACS, 1974-1987," presented at the XVI National Association for Chicano Studies Conference, April 1988, at Boulder, Colorado; Gilbert García, "Chicana Scholars and the National Association for Chicano Studies: Research Trends and Future Directions, 1974-1988," presented at the XVII National Association for Chicano Studies Conference, March 1989, at Los Angeles, California; Gilbert García, "Twenty Years of Chicano Studies Scholarship: The National Association for Chicano Studies, 1972-1992," presented at the XX National Association for Chicano Studies Conference, March 1992 at San Antonio, Texas.
- ³ For a recent discussion of 'El Plan de Santa Barbara' and Chicano Studies programs in the 1980s, see Alfredo González and David Sandoval, comps., *A Symposium on Chicano Studies*. Proceedings of the National Association for Chicano Studies, Southern California FOCO, Regional Conference, February 1986 and March 1987 (Loyola-Marymount University, Los Angeles, California, 1987); Rene Nuñez and Raoul Contreras. "Principles and Foundations of Chicano Studies: Chicano Organization on University Campuses in California," in *Chicano Discourse: Selected Conference Proceedings of the National Association for Chicano Studies*, edited by Tatcho Mindiola, Jr., and Emilio Zamora (Houston, TX: Mexican American Studies Program, University of Houston, 1990), 32-39.
 - ⁴ For a discussion on the intellectual and philosophical foundations of *El Grito*, see Richard A. García, "Creating a Consciousness, Memories, and Expectations: The Burden of Ocatavio Romano," in *Chicano Discourse: Selected Conference Proceedings of the National Association for Chicano Studies*, 6-31.
 - ⁵ Tomas Almaguer, "Toward the Study of Chicano Colonialism." *Aztlán* 2 (Spring 1971): 7-20; Mario Barrera, Carlos Muñoz, and Charles Ornelas, "The Barrio as an Internal Colony," in *People and Politics in Urban Society*, edited by Harlan Hahn (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 1972), 465-498; Guillermo V. Flores, "Race and Culture in the Internal Colony: Keeping the Chicano in his Place," in *Structures of Dependency*, edited by Frank Bonilla and Robert Girling (Stanford: Institute of Political Studies 1973), 189-223.
 - ⁶ Carlos Muñoz. *Youth Identity and Power: The Chicano Movement* (New York: Verso, 1989).
 - ⁷ Hisauro Garza, "Origins and Evolution of an Alternative Scholarship and Scholarly Organizations," in *Chicano Discourse: Selected Conference Proceedings of the National Association for Chicano Studies*, 40-50 In his dissertation, Garza interviewed several Chicano scholars, no female scholar was included in the study. See Hisauro Garza. "Nationalism, Consciousness and Social Change: Chicano Intellectuals in the United States," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1984.
 - ⁸ Women are mentioned in the work of Muñoz, but, it is limited to the Anna Nieto Gómez story at Northridge, California.
 - ⁹ Cynthia Orozco, "The Struggle for Chicana Studies," *La Gente* May 1983; Cynthia Orozco, "Digo Yo Como Mujer: Recollection of Past NACS Conferences," *La Gente*, March-April,

- 1984; Cynthia Orozco et al, "Voces de la Mujer: A Report of the 1984 NACS Conference," *La Gente*, April-May 1984.
- ¹⁰ Cynthia Orozco, "A Brief History of Chicanas in the National Association for Chicano Studies, 1972-1988," presented at the XVII National Association for Chicano Studies Conference, March 1989, at Los Angeles, California.
- ¹¹ The conference program for 1976 was not available.
- ¹² The bibliographical headings selected for this database were adapted from Juan Gómez-Quíñones and Alberto Camarillo, *Selected Bibliography for Chicano Studies* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Center Publications, UCLA, 1975); Albert Camarillo. *Mexican Americans in Urban Society: A Selected Bibliography* (Berkeley, California: Floricanto Press, 1988).
- ¹³ This total was obtained by adding all the recorded participants in the conference programs from 1974 to 1992. While the 1976 conference participants are not included, the total number is not significantly affected. Conferences in the 1970s tended to be smaller than in the 1980s.
- ¹⁴ Reynaldo Macias, *Perspectivas en Chicano Studies* (Los Angeles, CA: Chicano Studies Center Publications, UCLA, 1977), 253.
- ¹⁵ See *A History of Chicanas in NACS*. (San Antonio, Texas: Free Enterprise Video Productions, 1990). Video Recording. Several NACS women scholars articulated the sexist tendencies in the association.
- ¹⁶ Cynthia Orozco, "A Brief History of Chicanas in the National Association for Chicano Studies, 1972-1988."
- ¹⁷ At one session during the Los Angeles NACS conference all the presenters in the panels were undergraduate students. In the 1995 Annual NACS conference held in Spokane, Washington, students were on many panels.
- ¹⁸ The Chicano Studies Program of the University of California at Santa Barbara is an example of the kind of programs committed to Chicanas in higher education. Many Chicanas have benefited from the Chicana Dissertation Fellowships.
- ¹⁹ The clusters of research areas were obtained by placing the papers into themes such as Chicana Studies, Education, etc.
- ²⁰ The percentages were obtained from a total of 58 entries. During the same decade, the research trends for male scholars were dominated by the topics of politics, history, economy and labor, and education. From 202 presentations, only three male presentations had a gender-specific focus.
- ²¹ The percentages were obtained from a total of 800 entries.
- ²² There were 287 entries in the Chicana Studies cluster, by far the most significant area of research.

- ²³ Literature was the second largest cluster with 123 entries.
- ²⁴ The research cluster of politics included 70 entries.
- ²⁵ Educational research was fourth in magnitude with 56 entries
- ²⁶ The number of entries for the themes discussed in this section are as follows: Health: 28; Family: 26; U.S.-Mexico: 22; History: 21; Economy and Labor: 20.
- ²⁷ This particular cluster included 151 entries.
- ²⁸ The bibliography was created with the use of various indexes. However, the study used the *Chicano Database on CD-ROM*. Other useful resources include the following references; Catherine Loeb, "La Chicana: A Bibliographic Survey," *Frontiers* 5,2 (Summer 1980): 59-74; Lillian Castillo-Speed, "Chicana Studies: A Selected List of Materials since 1980," *Frontiers* 11,1 (1990): 66-84.
- ²⁹ See Irene Blea, *La Chicana and the Intersection of Race and Class and Gender* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1992). Within NACS, some Chicanas have participated as presenters since the 1970s, while others joined the association in the 1980s. I refer to the first group as part of the "first generation" rather than the whole group of Chicana scholars in NACS.
- ³⁰ These scholars are part of the core of women in NACS with a relative high number of years presenting in the association as well as part of the first group of scholars in the 1970s.
- ³¹ Irene Blea. *Besemer: A Sociological Perspective of a Chicano Barrio*. New York: AMS, 1988; Irene I. Blea. *Toward a Chicano Social Science*. Westport, CN: Praeger, 1988; Irene I. Blea. *La Chicana and the Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1992.
- ³² Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martínez Cruz. *Essays on la Mujer*. Chicano Studies Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977.
- ³³ For examples of her work in language see *Chicano Discourse: Socio-Historic Perspectives* (Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1983), and many articles focusing on language, for example see *Aztlán*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Spring 1976.
- ³⁴ For examples of her more recent work see, Rosaura Sánchez. "Discourses of Gender, Ethnicity and Class in Chicano Literature," *Americas Review* 20:2 (Summer 1992):72-86; Rosaura Sánchez. "Ideological Discourses in Arturo Isla's The Rain God," in *Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture and Ideology*. Edited by Hector Calderon, Jose David Saldivar, and Rolando Hinojosa (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 114-126; Rosaura Sánchez. "Postmodernism and Chicano Literature" *Aztlán* 18:2 (Fall 1987), 1-14.
- ³⁵ Margarita B. Melville, ed., *Twice a Minority: Mexican American Women* (The C. V. Mosby Company, 1980).

- ³⁶ See Margarita Melville, ed, *Mexicanas at Work in the United States* (Houston, Texas: Mexican American Studies Program, University of Houston, 1986).
- ³⁷ See Adaljiza Sosa Riddell. "Chicanas and El Movimiento" *Aztlán* 5:1-2 (Spring-Fall 1974): 155-165; Adaljiza Sosa-Riddell and Robert Aguillo, Jr., "A Case of Chicano Politics: Parlier, California," *Aztlán* 9 (Spring & Fall 1978): 1-22.
- ³⁸ Christine M. Sierra., "The University Setting Reinforces Inequality," In *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race and Gender*, 5-7; Christine M . Sierra, "Chicano Politics After 1984," In *Times of Challenge: Chicanos and Chicanas in American Society*, edited by Juan R. García, Julia Curry Rodríguez, Clara Lomas (Mexican American Studies Program, Houston, Texas, 1986), 7-24.
- ³⁹ Maria Linda Apodaca, "The Chicana Women: An Historical Materialist Perspective," *Latin American Perspectives* 4 (1977):70-89; Maria Linda Apodaca, "A Double Edge Sword: Hispanas and Liberal Feminism," *Critica* 1 (Fall 1986): 96-114.
- ⁴⁰ Lea Ybarra, "Empirical and Theoretical Developments in Studies of the Chicano Family," in *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies*, edited by Armando Valdez, Albert Camarillo, and Tomás Almaguer (Stanford, CA: Stanford Center for Chicano Reserch,1983), 91-110; Lea Ybarra, "Separating Myth from Reality: Socio-Economic and Cultural Influences on Chicanas and the World of Work," in *Mexicanas at Work in the United States*, edited by Margarita B. Melville (Houston, TX: Mexican American Studies Program, University of Houston, 1988), 12-23; Lea Ybarra, "When Wives Work: The Impact on the Chicano Family," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 44 (February 1982):169-78.
- ⁴¹ See María Herrera-Sobek, *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993, c1990); María Herrera-Sobek, *Northward Bound: The Mexican Immigrant Experience in Ballad and Song* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).
- ⁴² See Maria Herrera-Sobek, *Beyond Stereotype: The Critical Analysis of Chicana Literature* (Binghamton, NY: Bilingual Press/Editorial Bilingüe,1985); María Herrera-Sobek and Helena María Viramontes, *Chicana Creativity and Criticism: Charting New Frontiers in American Literature* (Houston, Texas: Arte Publico Press, 1988).
- ⁴³ See Angie Chabram, "Chicana/o Cultural Representations: Reframing Alternative Critical Discourses," *Cultural Studies* 4:3 (1990): 203-212; Angie Chabram, "Chicana/o Studies as Oppositional Ethnography," *Cultural Studies* 4:3 (1990):238-47; Angie Chabram, "Chicano Critical Discourse: An Emerging Cultural Practice," *Aztlán* 18,2 (1987): 45-90; Angie Chabram, "Conceptualizing Chicano Critical Discourse," in *Criticism in the Borderlands* (Duke University Press,1991),125-148. See Clara Lomas, "Resistencia cultural o apropiación ideologica: en los cuadros costumbristas de Jorge Ulica," *Revista Chicano-Riqueña* 6: 4 (1978): 44-49; Clara Lomas and Angie Chabram. La consciencia culturalista chicana: el caso del escritor Generao González," *La Palabra* 1: 2 (1979): 3-15; Clara Lomas. "Mexican Precursors of Chicana Feminist Writing," in *Multietnic Litera-*

- ture of the United States: *Critical Introduction and Classroom Resources*, ed., Cordelia Candelaria (Boulder: University of Colorado, 1989), 21-33.
- ⁴⁴ See Tey Diana Rebolledo, Erlinda González Berry, and Teresa Marquez, eds, *Las Mujeres Hablan: An Anthology of Nuevo Mejiana Writers* (Albuquerque: El Norte Publications, 1988); Tey Diana Rebolledo and Eliana S. Rivero, *Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1993).
- ⁴⁵ Of Rebolledo's many articles, see, "The Bittersweet Nostalgia of Childhood in the Poetry of Margarita Cota Cardenas," *Frontiers* 5:2 (1980): 31-35; "Witches, Bitches and Midwives: The Shaping of Poetic Consciousness in Chicana Literature," in *The Chicano Struggle: Analyses of Past and Present Efforts*, eds, John A. García, Theresa Córdova, Juan R. García (New York: Bilingual Press, 1984), 166-177; and "Narrative Strategies of Resistance in Hispana Writing," *Journal of Narrative Technique* 20:2 (1990): 134-146.
- ⁴⁶ See, Tey Diana Rebolledo, Erlinda González Berry, and Teresa Márquez, eds., *Las Mujeres Hablan*, Erlinda González-Berry. ed., *Paso por Aquí: Critical Essays on the New Mexican Literary Tradition, 1542-1988* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); Cordelia Candelaria, *Chicano Poetry: A Critical Introduction* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1986); Cordelia Candelaria and Ronald Sukenick, eds., "Focus Chicana/o Literature," Section of *American Book Review* 11, 6 (January-February 1990).
- ⁴⁷ See Norma Cantú. *Canicula: Snapshots of a Girlhood en la Frontera* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Norma Cantú. "Costume as Cultural Resistance and Affirmation: The Case of a South Texas Community," in *Hecho en Tejas: Texas-Mexican Folk Arts and Crafts*, ed, Joe S. Graham (Denton: University of Texas Press, 1991), 117-130; Norma Cantú. "The Mexican-American Quilting Traditions of Laredo, San Ignacio and Zapata." In *Hecho en Tejas*, 77-92.
- ⁴⁸ See, Yolanda Broyles-González. *El Teatro Campesino: Theatre in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); Yolanda J. Broyles. "Women in El Teatro Campesino: 'Apoco Estaba Molacha La Virgen de Guadalupe.'" In *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender*, eds, Teresa Córdova et. al. (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas, 1986), 162-187; Yolanda Broyles, "What Price 'Mainstream'? Luis Valdez's *Corridos* on Stage and Film," *Cultural Studies* 4:3 (1990): 281-293; Yolanda Broyles and Diana Rodriguez, "The Living Legacy of Chicana Performers: Preserving History Through Oral Testimony," *Frontiers* 11,1 (1990): 46-52.
- ⁴⁹ See Candelaria, *Chicano Poetry: A Critical Introduction*; Candelaria and Sukenick, eds., "Focus Chicana/o Literature." In collaboration with Mary Romero, Candelaria was the co-editor of *Estudios Chicanos and the Politics of Community* (Houston, Texas: Mexican American Studies Center Program, 1989); and *Community Empowerment and Chicano Scholarship* (National Association for Chicano Studies, 1992); Cordelia Candelaria. "La Malinche, Feminist Prototype," *Frontiers* 5:2 (1980): 1-6; Cordelia Candelaria, "Rudy Anaya." in *Chicano Writers, First Series* (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1989), 24-35.

- ⁵⁰ See Vicky L. Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).
- ⁵¹ See Vicky L. Ruiz and Susan Tiana, *Women on the U.S.-Mexico Border: Responses To Change* (Boston: Allen and Unwing, 1987); Lillian Schlissel, Vicky L. Ruiz and Janice Monk, *Western Women: Their Lands, Their Lives* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988); Ellen Carol Dubois and Vicky L. Ruiz, *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
- ⁵² See Rosa Linda Fregoso, *The Bronze Screen: Chicano and Chicana Film Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Rosa Linda Fregoso, "La Quinceañera of Chicana Counter Aesthetics," *Centro Bulletin* 3:1(1990-91): 87-91; Rosa Linda Fregoso, "The Discourse of Difference: Footnoting Inequality," *Critica* 2:2 (1990): 182-87; Rosa Linda Fregoso and Angie Chabram, "Introduction: Re-framing Alternative Critical Discourse." *Cultural Studies* 4,3 (1990): 203-212; Rosa Linda Fregoso, "Zoot Suit and the Ballad of Gregorio Cortez." *Critica* 1(1985):126-131; Rosa Linda Fregoso, "Seguin: The Same Side of the Alamo," *Bilingual Review* 10, 2-3 (1983): 146-152.
- ⁵³ See, Patricia Zavella. *Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987).
- ⁵⁴ Denise Segura and Beatriz M. Pesquera, "Beyond Indifference and Antipathy: The Chicana Movement and Chicana Feminist Discourse." *Aztlán* 19:2 (1990); Denise Segura, "Chicana and Mexican Immigrant Women at Work: The Impact of Class, Race and Gender on Occupational Mobility." *Gender and Society* 3:1 (1989):37-52; Denise Segura, "The Interplay of Familism and Patriarchy on the Employment of Chicana and Mexican Immigrant Women," in *The Renato Rosaldo Lecture Series Monograph 5* (Tucson: Mexican American Studies & Research Center, University of Arizona, 1989, 35-53).
- ⁵⁵ Mary Romero, "Domestic Service in the Transition from Rural to Urban Life: The Case of La Chicana," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 13:3 (1987): 199-222; Mary Romero, "Day Work in the Suburbs: The Work Experience of Chicana Private Household Workers" In *The Worth of Women's Work: A Qualitative Synthesis*, edited by Anne Statham, Eleanor M. Miller and Hans O. Mauksh (Albany,: State University of New York Press, 1988); Mary Romero. "Chicanas Modernize Domestic Service," *Qualitative Sociology* 11,4 (1988): 319-334.
- ⁵⁶ Alma García Marsh. "Studying Chicanas: Bringing Women Into the Frame of Chicano Studies," In *Chicana Voices*, eds, Teresa Córdova et. al., 19-29; Alma García Marsh. "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980," in *Unequal Sisters*, edited by Ellen Carol Dubois and Vicky L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990), 418-431.
- ⁵⁷ Teresa Córdova has been involved in the editorial committee of the 1983 NACS proceedings as well as the chair of the 1984 NACS proceedings.

- ⁵⁸ See, Linda Facio. "Gender and Aging: A Case of Mexicana/Chicana Elderly," *Trabajos Monograficos* 1:1 (1985): 5-21; Elisa "Linda" Facio. "The Interaction of Age and Gender in Chicana Older Lives: A Case Study of Chicano Elderly in a Senior Citizen Center," in *The Renato Rosaldo Lecture Series Monograph 4* (Tucson: Mexican American Studies & Research Center, University of Arizona, 1988), 21-38.
- ⁵⁹ See Antonia I. Castañeda, "The Political Economy of Nineteenth Century Stereotypes of Californianas," In *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History* (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1990), 213-236; Antonia I. Castañeda, "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History," *Pacific Historical Review* 61:4 (1992):30-86.
- ⁶⁰ See, Cynthia Orozco. "Sexism in Chicano Studies and the Community." In *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race, and Gender*, eds., Teresa Córdova et. al., 11-18; Cynthia Orozco. "Women in the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement," *NWSA Journal* 1:1 (1988): 163-164; Cynthia Orozco. "Getting Started in Chicana Studies," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 18, 1-2 (1990): 46-69; Cynthia Orozco. "Beyond Machismo, La Familia, and Ladies Auxiliaries: A Historiography of Mexican-Origin Women's Participation in Voluntary Associations and Politics in the United States, 1870-1990," In *The Renato Rosaldo Lecture Series Monograph 10* (Tucson: Mexican American Studies & Research Center, University of Arizona, 1994).
- ⁶¹ See, Deena J. González. "The Widowed Women of Santa Fe: Assessments on the Lives of an Unmarried Population." In *On Their Own: Widows and Widowhood in the American Southwest, 1848-1939*, ed, Arlene Scadron (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 65-90; Deena J. González. "Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941," (book review) In *Chicano Discourse*, eds., Tatcho Mindiola Jr. and Emilio Zamora (Houston, Texas: Mexican American Studies Program, 1992), 175-187.
- ⁶² See Adela de la Torre and Beatriz Pesquera, *Building With Our Hands: Directions in Chicana Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Adela de la Torre and Refugio Rochín, "Hispanic Poor and the Effects of Immigration Reform." *Chicano Law Review* 10 (1990):1-13; Adela de la Torre and Lynda Rush, "The Determinants of Breast Feeding for Mexican Migrant Women," *International Migration Review* 21:3 (1987): 728-42.
- ⁶³ See Aida Hurtado & Carlos Arce, "Mexicanos, Chicanos, Mexican Americans or Pochos . . . ¿Que Somos? The Impact of Nativity and Language in Labeling," *Aztlán* 17, (1986): 103-130; Aida Hurtado and Patricia Guerin, "Ethnic Identity and Bilingualism Attitudes," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 9:1 (1987): 1-18; Aida Hurtado, "A View from Within: Midwife Practices in South Texas," *International Quarterly of Community Health and Education* 8:4 (1987-88): 317-39; Aida Hurtado, "Relating to Privilege: Seduction and Rejection in the Subordination of White Women and Women of Color." *Signs* 14 (1989): 833-55.
- ⁶⁴ See Sylvia S. Lisarraga, "Images of Women in Chicano Literature by Men," *Feminist*

Issues 5:2 (1985): 69-88; Sylvia S. Lisarraga, "La mujer doblemente explotada: 'On the Road to Texas: Pete Fonseca'" *Aztlán* 16:1-2 (1985): 197-215; Sylvia S. Lisarraga, "The Patriarchal Ideology in 'La noche que se apagaron las luces.'" *Revista Chicano-Riqueña* 13,3-4 (1985): 90-95; Sylvia S. Lisarraga, "Hacia una teoría para la liberación de la mujer." In *Times of Challenge: Chicanos and Chicanas in American Society*, edited by Juan R. García, Julia Curry Rodríguez and Clara Lomas (Houston, Texas: Mexican American Studies Program, University of Houston, 1985), 25-31.

- ⁶⁵ Yvonne, Yarbrow-Bejarano. "Cherrie Moraga," in *Chicano Writers First Series: Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit: Bruccoli Clark Layman, 1989), 365-77; Yvonne, Yarbrow-Bejarano. "Chicana Literature from a Chicana Feminist Perspective," *The Americas Review* 15:3-4 (1987): 139-45; Yvonne Yarbrow-Bejarano, "Chicanas' Experience in Collective Theatre: Ideology and Form," *Women & Performance* 2:2 (1985): 45-58; Yvonne Yarbrow-Bejarano, "The Female Subject in Chicano Theatre: Sexuality, Race, and Class," *Theatre Journal* 38:4 (1986): 389-407.
- ⁶⁶ See, Norma Alarcón, "Tradutora, traditora: A Paradigmatic Figure of Chicana Feminism," *Cultural Critique* 13 (1989): 57-87; Norma Alarcón, "Chicana Feminism: In the Tracks of the Native Women," *Cultural Studies* 4:3 (1990): 248-56; Norma Alarcón, "The Sardonic Powers of the Erotic in the Work of Ana Castillo," in *Breaking Boundaries: Latina Writing and Critical Readings*, edited by Asunción Horno-Delgado *et. al.* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 94-107; Norma Alarcón, "Making Familia from Scratch: Split Subjectivity in the Work of Helena Maria Viramontes and Cherrie Moraga," *The Americas Review* 15:3-4 (1987): 147-59; Norma Alarcón, "Chicana Feminist Literature: A Re-vision Through Malintzín: Putting Flash Back on the Subject," in *This Bridge Called My Back*, eds., Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (Watertown, Mass: Persephone Press, 1981), 182-90.

