

New Directions in Latino/a/x Histories of Education: Comparative Studies in Race, Language, Law, and Higher Education

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The twenty-first century has seen a surge in scholarship on Latino educational history and a new nonbinary umbrella term, *Latinx*, that a younger generation prefers.¹ Many of historian Victoria-María MacDonald's astute observations in 2001 presaged the growth of the field.² Focus has increased on Spanish-surnamed teachers and discussions have grown about the Latino experience in higher education, especially around student activism on campus. Great strides are being made in studying the history of Spanish-speaking regions with long ties to the United States, either as colonies or as sites of large-scale immigration, including Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines. Historical inquiry into the place of Latinos in the US educational system has also developed in ways that MacDonald did not anticipate. The growth of the comparative race and ethnicity field in and of itself has encouraged cross-ethnic and cross-racial studies, which often also tie together larger themes of colonialism, language instruction, legal cases, and civil rights or activism.

In some ways, historian K. Tsianina Lomawaima invited this research direction by calling historians to move out of their silos and incorporate the study of Indigenous histories into the larger history of

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¹While many college students prefer the term *Latinx*, *Latino* remains the term that most official studies of the community use, and is the term used in this article.

²Victoria-María MacDonald, "Hispanic, Latino, Chicano, or 'Other'?: Deconstructing the Relationship between Historians and Hispanic-American Educational History," *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (Fall 2001), 365–413.

education.³ Comparative studies and studies that take a bird's-eye view of issues across regions previously looked at in isolation are becoming more possible due to the strong base that exists in each of the subfields. A. J. Angulo's *Empire and Education*, which focuses on education outside of US boundaries but within its military and institutional influence, includes studies of Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, and many others.⁴ Clif Stratton's *Education for Empire* centers on marginalized and segregated schools in the United States, including a comparative chapter on Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, but also examines African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans.⁵ These are just two examples of this new comparative trend that considers how the education of Latinos connects with other US-led education projects.

Comparative research projects provide richer interpretations of different minority groups in relation to each other. They also explain more about the larger purpose and values of US educators by exposing the ways in which the United States educates and responds to nonwhite students. This approach makes the structure and institutional objectives of the national educational system more visible.

These cross-cultural and cross-racial studies are bolstered by the demographic reality that Latinos in schools are the future of education in the United States. Since 1996, the number of Latino students in university settings has doubled to 22.7 percent of the total population, and in the K-12 grades they make up around one quarter of the national student body.⁶ Large public institutions like the University of California at Santa Cruz are now designated as Hispanic-serving institutions (HSIs), which means that at least 25 percent of its student population identifies as Latino.⁷ With this growing demographic of Latino students, it will soon be difficult to consider national histories of education that do not include a serious examination of the Latino population.

³K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "History without Silos, Ignorance versus Knowledge, Education beyond Schools," *History of Education Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (Aug. 2014), 349–55.

⁴A. J. Angulo, *Empire and Education: A History of Greed and Goodwill from the War of 1898 to the War on Terror* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

⁵Clif Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

⁶Kurt Bauman, "School Enrollment of the Hispanic Population: Two Decades of Growth," United States Census Bureau, Aug. 28, 2017, https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2017/08/school_enrollmentof.html.

⁷UC Santa Cruz received the designation in 2015. UC Santa Cruz, "Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI) Initiatives," <https://hsi.ucsc.edu/about/faq.html>.

The demographic shift in the United States concerning Latino students begins in earnest after the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act.⁸ Congress recognized Spanish-speaking students and other non-English-speaking students through the Bilingual Education Act of 1967.⁹ Just one year later, the US Commission on Civil Rights, for the first time, focused a federal study on Mexican American students.¹⁰

The Mexican American Education Study consists of a six-volume report on the education of the Southwest's largest non-Anglo population. It concluded that Mexican American students were shortchanged, felt like their culture was inadequate, and treated as though they could never master academic subjects due to the structure and policies of the public schools they attended.¹¹ The third report recognized that the "dominance of Anglo culture is most strongly apparent in the schools. Controlled by Anglos, the curricula reflects Anglo culture and the language of instruction is English."¹² Through interviews, researchers found that students were aware of these differences. Maggie Alvarado, a graduate of San Antonio schools, spoke about the policy of attempting to strip Mexican Americans of their culture and personal confidence: "Schools try to brainwash Chicanos. They try to make us forget our history, to be ashamed of being Mexicans, of speaking Spanish. They succeed in making us feel empty, and angry, inside."¹³ Student voices have been a key source for studies of schools in the Southwest.

This study had real applications in federal policy. The long history of discrimination and inadequate language education in the Southwest that the US Commission on Civil Rights and organizations

⁸By 2015, 58.5 million immigrants had entered the United States since passage of the 1965 act, with over half of those immigrants from Latin America. Pew Research Center, "Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065," Sept. 28, 2015, <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2015/09/28/modern-immigration-wave-brings-59-million-to-u-s-driving-population-growth-and-change-through-2065/>.

⁹While other non-English students were included, the main discussion by Congress was about Spanish-speaking students. Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., *Contested Policy: The Rise and Fall of Federal Bilingual Education in the United States, 1960–2001* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2004), 9–10, 12–14.

¹⁰United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Mexican American Education Study*, 6 vols. (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1971–1974).

¹¹US Commission on Civil Rights, *Mexican American Education Study*, 6 vols. (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1971–1972).

¹²US Commission on Civil Rights, *The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican Americans in the Southwest*, Mexican American Education Study, Report III (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1972), 11.

¹³As quoted in US Commission on Civil Rights, *The Excluded Student*, 11.

like the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) documented helped convince Congress to extend language rights to language minorities. In the 1975 amendment to the Voting Rights Act, Congress defined this as including Spanish speakers, Asian Americans, American Indians, and Alaska Natives.¹⁴ As historians move their research beyond the 1970s, careful examinations of where Latinos and other nonwhite populations appear in the US Department of Education (founded in 1979) will offer important clues about their place in the educational system. These larger federal efforts to begin to categorize and study Latinos offer ample and easier access to government documents that promise exciting new directions for studies of Latinos in US education at a more national level.

Historical studies of the discrimination Latinos face and their inadequate schooling situation at a more regional level, especially in the Southwest, have a longer history. The 1930s California case *Roberto Alvarez v. Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove School District* has often been cited as the earliest desegregation case involving Mexican Americans, but more recent studies take the legal fight back to the early implementation of Mexican segregated schools in the 1910s.¹⁵ In addition to these important newfound legal desegregation cases, community studies have encouraged turning to education to understand how the place of Latinos in the United States has been defined. It turns out local cases played a central role in developing national definitions.

Newer legal historical studies demonstrate the centrality of these local cases, which Latino parents initiated to improve educational access for their children. The final rulings at times led to broader court interpretations and established precedents for future cases.¹⁶ For example, in the 1970 landmark case *Jose Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District*, Judge Woodrow Seals defined Mexican

¹⁴ An Act to Amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Pub. L. No. 94–73, 89 Stat. 400 at 20 (1975).

¹⁵ Rubén Donato and Jarrod Hanson have completed many of these early studies before *Roberto Alvarez v. Board of Trustees of Lemon Grove School District* (1931). For example see: Rubén Donato and Jarrod Hanson, “Mexican-American Resistance to School Segregation,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 100, no. 5 (Feb. 2019), 39–42; and Rubén Donato and Jarrod Hanson, “Porque tenían sangre de ‘NEGROS’: The Exclusion of Mexican Children from a Louisiana School, 1915–1916,” *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal* 11, no. 1 (May 2017), 125–45. See also California Assembly Concurrent Resolution (ACR)-146 Civil rights: Roberto Alvarez v. Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove School District.(2015–2016), https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill_id=201520160ACR146.

¹⁶ The most prominent study of Mexican American court cases is by Richard R. Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

Americans as a separate ethnic minority from the white population for the first time and ruled that *Brown v. Board of Education* could be expanded beyond African Americans.¹⁷ In 1982, in *Plyler v. Doe*, the Supreme Court ruled that undocumented students had the right to attend public schools without having to pay tuition in Texas.¹⁸ A case grounded on the education of children in the Tyler Independent School District, it “expand(ed) the rights of noncitizens in the United States.”¹⁹ Court cases remain an exciting avenue of research within the field of race and education in the United States, the possibilities of which were most robustly laid out in Richard Valencia’s 2008 book, *Chicano Students and the Courts*.

These court cases do not interpret Latino students in a vacuum but discuss them in relation to other racial and ethnic groups that attend school together. The 1970s is proving to be full of research possibilities for comparing the Latino situation with the experiences of other races and ethnicities. For example, in *The Color of America Has Changed*, Mark Brilliant examines the 1974 US Supreme Court case *Lau v. Nichols*.²⁰ While the case was brought by ethnic Chinese parents on behalf of their students, MALDEF and other organizations that supported Spanish-speaking students championed their efforts. Sonia Song-Ha Lee wrote of the alliance between African American and Puerto Rican parents in their efforts to secure bilingual education and better conditions for their students.²¹

The intersection of different ethnic and racial groups in schools, particularly African American and Latino students, is a topic ripe for more analysis.²² Whereas Latino students who were designated legally as white were used to help desegregate schools in the 1960s and 1970s,

¹⁷See John Albert Treviño, “Cisneros v. CCISD”: The Desegregation of the Corpus Christi Independent School District” (PhD diss., Texas A&M University, 2010); *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 74 S.Ct. 686, 98 L.Ed. 873 (1954); and *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District*, 324 F. Supp. 599 (S.D.Texas, 1970).

¹⁸*Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 (1982).

¹⁹Sarah Coleman, “Redefining American: The Shifting Politics of Immigration Policy at the End of the Twentieth Century” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2016), 18, 18–88.

²⁰*Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974); and Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941–1978* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 246–51.

²¹Sonia Song-Ha Lee, *Building a Latino Civil Rights Movement: Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and the Pursuit of Racial Justice in New York City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 191–94.

²²Some projects in urban spaces demonstrate the real promise of this research direction. See Rita Hernández, “The Silent Minority: Mexican Americans in CPS, 1970–2001” (PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 2002).

by the end of the twentieth century educators viewed them as separate from whites. Gary Orfield and his co-authors spoke of the continued struggle for desegregation in 2014 during the sixtieth anniversary of *Brown v. Board*. They explained that Latinos now make up a larger proportion of the student population in the South than black students and described the South as a “tri-racial region.”²³

Historians have begun to examine the relationships between different racial groups in schools in what has been part of a larger call to recognize that “race is not legible or significant outside a relational context.”²⁴ Catherine Ramírez turned to the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, best known as an educational site for Indigenous students, but which also held African American and Puerto Rican students. By considering the treatment of these different racial groups together, Ramírez argues that approaching “assimilation *as* racialization [emphasis in original]” leads the students to “being situated in a regime of difference” that worked to create boundaries between students.²⁵

Scholars of twentieth-century schools have encountered these boundaries as well. David García’s study of the Oxnard, California, schools begins with the 1974 case *Soria v. Oxnard School Board of Trustees*, one of the first to join African American and Mexican American plaintiffs together.²⁶ The US District Court of California ruled that the defendants displayed intent when they segregated students. García centers most of his research on Mexican Americans, who are the largest minority group in the Oxnard community, but includes how school officials incorporated Asians and African Americans into the school system. He finds a system of “mundane racism”—a racism of everyday practices—which led to educational inequities. Educators in Oxnard often denied playing a role in creating this system of mundane racism for all of their nonwhite students.²⁷ In contrast, Emily Straus’s studies of Compton, California, highlight the challenges as

²³Gary Orfield, Erica Frankenberg, Jongyeon Ee, and John Kuscera, *Brown at 60: Great Progress, a Long Retreat and an Uncertain Future* (Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project, 2014), 2.

²⁴Daniel Martinez Hosang and Natalia Molina, “Introduction: Toward a Relational Consciousness of Race,” in Natalia Molina, Daniel Martinez Hosang, and Ramón A. Gutiérrez, eds., *Relational Formations of Race: Theory, Method, and Practice* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 6.

²⁵Catherine Ramírez, “Indians and Negroes in Spite of Themselves: Puerto Rican Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School,” in Molina, Hosang, and Gutiérrez, *Relational Formations of Race*, 167–68.

²⁶*Soria v. Oxnard School District Board of Trustees*, 386 F. Supp. 539 (C.D. Cal. 1974).

²⁷David García, *Strategies of Segregation: Race, Residence, and the Struggle for Educational Equality* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 1–3, 39–54.

the student population transitioned from African American to Latino students. After a long struggle with white community members, African Americans had succeeded in obtaining positions on the school board, but as their schools became increasingly Latino, they did not always know how to best serve the new student population, leading to a state takeover of the schools in the early 1990s.²⁸ Other scholars have also turned to interactions between students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds during times of segregation.²⁹

California has served as a site of increasing interest in the politics of language instruction and its effects on interethnic relations. In addition to Brilliant's analysis of cases like *Lau v. Nichols*, Natalia Petrzela's *Classroom Wars* argues for the central place of bilingual education in the larger culture wars by connecting white parents who advocated for their right to determine school curriculum, especially as it pertained to sex education, with Latino parents hoping to secure bilingual education. This initial partnership falls apart, but once again demonstrates the important role of parent choice and advocacy in the politics surrounding curriculum and instruction.³⁰ More recently, Zevi Gutfreund extended the story of bilingual education efforts in Los Angeles back to the early twentieth century by looking at Spanish- and Japanese-language programs parents and educators supported in Los Angeles. From Americanization of schools in the 1910s to the first immersion school in Culver City, California, in 1971, Gutfreund establishes Los Angeles as a central site of educational language policy and a fertile place for comparative studies.³¹

The study of language politics has grown over the past two decades, and its expansion stems largely from those who study the history of education and educational policy. Carlos Kevin Blanton's *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas* led the way with a focused study of the language of instruction practices in Texas schools. Blanton

²⁸Emily E. Straus, *Death of a Suburban Dream: Race and Schools in Compton, California* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 1–14, 73–105, 151–52, 194.

²⁹David Wallace Adams, *Three Roads to Magdalena: Coming of Age in a Southwest Borderland, 1890–1990* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2016); Khalil Anthony Johnson Jr., “The Education of Black and Indigenous People in the United States and Abroad, 1730–1980” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2016); Eileen H. Tamura, “Education in a Multi-Ethnoracial Setting: Seattle’s Neighborhood House and the Cultivation of Urban Community Builders, 1960s–1970s,” *History of Education Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (Feb. 2017), 39–67; and Mark Wild, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

³⁰Natalia Mehlman Petrzela, *Classroom Wars: Language, Sex, and the Making of Modern Political Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

³¹Zevi Gutfreund, *Speaking American: Language Education and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019).

moves from the nineteenth century, when Spanish, German, and even Czech classes were not uncommon, to the struggle of parents and educators to allow bilingual instruction in the twentieth century. Using legal and school sources, Blanton demonstrates how children in bilingual classes transitioned to their school environment and the English language more easily before nativist policies at the turn of the twentieth century moved toward English-only.³² Blanton's work offers a framework for future studies of language politics.³³

Paul Ramsey's *Bilingual Public Schooling in the United States* is a pivotal text for scholars interested in studying bilingual education. Ramsey offers a sweeping national approach to bilingual education through state education laws, reconstructing the ebbs and flows of bilingual education across the nation.³⁴ Like Blanton discovered in Texas, Ramsey finds that twenty-six states passed laws limiting "foreign-language instruction" in their schools.³⁵ While not focused solely on Spanish, Ramsey explains how larger national, state, and local language-instruction policies influenced education by centering education in the larger history of language politics. This differs from Dennis Baron's approach in examining larger state and federal laws that led to the prevalence of English-only policies or in the more federally focused Bilingual Education Act that Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr. explores in *Contested Policy*.³⁶

The long history of bilingual schooling has advanced significantly, as have studies that recover the important role of Mexican Americans in creating educational systems in the Southwest. Laura Muñoz's dissertation, "Desert Dreams," shattered the long-standing view of apathetic or disinterested Spanish-surnamed parents by

³² Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836–1981* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2007).

³³ This book inspired *An American Language: The History of Spanish in the United States*, which examines Spanish language use and instruction as a way to understand how language politics operated in the transition of Mexican citizens into US citizens and how it changed through the generations that followed. It explores the place of Spanish as a language of politics in the Southwest, where it was used to build territorial and state governments. It also addresses how Spanish became a political language where its speakers and those who opposed its use clashed over what its presence meant in the United States and whether to allow its continuation. Rosina Lozano, *An American Language: The History of Spanish in the United States* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018).

³⁴ Paul J. Ramsey, *Bilingual Public Schooling in the United States: A History of America's "Polyglot Boardinghouse"* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010).

³⁵ Ramsey, *Bilingual Public Schooling*, 156.

³⁶ Ramsey, *Bilingual Public Schooling*; Dennis E. Baron, *The English-Only Question: An Official Language for Americans?* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); and San Miguel Jr., *Contested Policy*.

providing a detailed account of Mexican American parents in Arizona who served on school boards, created the school system, and generally advocated for their children by becoming invested in their education.³⁷ Other dissertations have added to those stories by interviewing bilingual teachers.³⁸

Another major site of inquiry into language debates reflects a much more robust interest by historians of education in the US overseas colonial educational system over the last decade.³⁹ These have included comparative studies, like Sarah Manekin's dissertation, alongside those that look more specifically at the schooling realities of Puerto Rico or the Philippines.⁴⁰ Joanna Marie Camacho Escobar places the language debates in Puerto Rico in the second half of the twentieth century into the realm of cultural identity. By doing so, she combines an analysis of language instruction in the schools with a broader awareness of the political meaning of language use.⁴¹ Was language of instruction a pedagogical or political decision?⁴²

There is much to look forward to in the future for the field of education and how it relates to racial and ethnic groups. Topics related to activism in higher education may continue to grow as scholars

³⁷Laura Muñoz, "Desert Dreams: Mexican American Education in Arizona, 1870–1930" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2006). See also Jesse J. Esparza, "Schools of Their Own: The San Felipe Independent School District and Mexican American Educational Autonomy, Del Rio, Texas, 1928–1972" (PhD diss., University of Houston, 2008).

³⁸Rachel Heller Monarrez, "Tales of 'La Lucha': Reflections of Latina Bilingual Educators" (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 2011); and Angelica Rivera, "Re-inserting Mexican-American Women's Voices into 1950s Chicago Educational History" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008).

³⁹For a great overview, see Nancy Beadie, "War, Education and State Formation: Problems of Territorial and Political Integration in the United States, 1848–1912," *Paedagogica Historica* 52 no. 1–2 (2016), 58–75.

⁴⁰Sarah Manekin, "Spreading the Empire of Free Education, 1865–1905" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009); Funie Hsu, "Colonial Articulations: English Instruction and the 'Benevolence' of U.S. Overseas Expansion in the Philippines, 1898–1916" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2013); David Rodriguez Sanfiorenzo, "Problems in the Recruitment of English Teachers from the United States by the Department of Education of Puerto Rico, 1900–1910" (PhD diss., University of Puerto Rico, 2009); Vivienne Patricia Williams, "Bilingualism on the Island of Puerto Rico: Memories of an English-Only Education as Told by Members of the Oldest Living Generation of Island Puerto Ricans" (PhD diss., New Mexico State University, 2004); and Mario Minichino, "In Our Image: The Attempted Reshaping of the Cuban Education System by the United States Government, 1898–1912" (PhD diss., University of South Florida, 2014).

⁴¹Joanna Marie Camacho Escobar, "Aquí se habla español: Cultural Identity and Language in Post-World War II Puerto Rico" (PhD diss., University of Texas at El Paso, 2017).

⁴²Camacho Escobar, "Aquí se habla español," 62.

examine how professors and administrators implemented student demands in their classrooms and responded to questions of shifting identities and political activism. These studies will complement the growing number of studies on student activism on college campuses.⁴³ One exciting resource along these lines is the Chicana/o Oral History Project developed at the University of California, Berkeley's Bancroft Library. The project includes interviews with twenty-five "First Generation Scholars" from Chicana/o Studies who share the struggles of conducting early research in the field. These scholars also discuss the institutional culture they faced as they forged their way into academia and opened the door for others. A major component of their accounts throughout these interviews is the absence of the histories of Chicanas/os from their own K-12 experience while growing up.⁴⁴

While student activism has received more attention from historians of education, I anticipate more work will move toward capturing the history of ethnic studies from the perspective of teachers and administrators through oral histories and examining personal papers and work.⁴⁵ Historical analysis of syllabi, curriculum guidelines, textbooks, and state laws could be one way to demonstrate the changes that

⁴³This file is burgeoning already. Darius V. Echeverría, *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968–1978* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014); Juan Martín Gallegos, "Reconstructing Identity/Revising Resistance: A History of Nuevomexicano/a Students at New Mexico Highlands University, 1910–1973" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2014); Carla Joann Gonzalez, "'Viva la Raza': Chicano Student Identity and Activism at Predominantly White Midwestern Universities, 1970–1979" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2019); Gustavo Licón, "¡La unión hace la fuerza!" (Unity creates strength!), M.E.Ch.A. and Chicana/o Student Activism in California, 1967–1999" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2009); Joseph Gomez Moreno, "The Chicana/o Studies Movement on Campus: Popular Protest, Radicalism, and Activism, 1968–1980" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2015); Marisol Moreno, "'Of the Community, for the Community': The Chicana/o Student Movement in California's Public Higher Education, 1967–1973" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2009).

⁴⁴*Chicana/o Studies: The Legacy of a Movement*, Bancroft Library Oral History Center, University of California at Berkeley, <https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/libraries/bancroft-library/oral-history-center/projects/cs>.

⁴⁵For great foundational works in this direction, see Carlos Kevin Blanton, *George I. Sánchez: The Long Fight for Mexican American Integration* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); Ruben Flores, *Backroads Pragmatists: Mexico's Melting Pot and Civil Rights in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Victoria-María MacDonald, John M. Botti, and Lisa H. Clark, "From Visibility to Autonomy: Latinos and Higher Education in the U.S., 1965–2005," *Harvard Educational Review* 77, no. 4 (Winter 2007), 474–504; Victoria-María MacDonald, "Compromising *La Causa*?": The Ford Foundation and Chicano Intellectual Nationalism in the Creation of Chicano History, 1963–1977," *History of Education Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (May 2012), 251–81; and Christopher Tudico, "Before

the advent of ethnic studies in academia has meant for children entering the university system.⁴⁶ In 2015, a California state law implemented teaching the repatriation of an estimated million ethnic Mexicans to Mexico during the Great Depression, which is just one example that highlights the great change that has occurred in the K-12 learning experience. This bill was first proposed by a fourth grade class in Bell Gardens, a city that is 95 percent Latino, after they heard the firsthand experience of US-born repatriate Emilia Castañeda.⁴⁷ Another direction for future research would be interviewing scholars of color who were ultimately unsuccessful in becoming scholars in academic or university settings. Interviewing them or studying their work in relation to how tenure has changed would provide an opportunity to catalogue the challenges and roadblocks of higher education.

Even as we discuss the exciting new directions for the field, in a few decades academics will be writing about topics and using methodologies that are impossible to consider today. It is the promise and potential of today's graduate students and their future projects that will turn to new theories, evidence, and avenues of research that continue to make this field exciting and our reading lists long—a future to look forward to.

We Were Chicanas/os: The Mexican American Experience in California Higher Education, 1848–1945” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2010).

⁴⁶There is one master's thesis on textbooks in Texas. See Monique Hyman, “Textbook Representations: Representations of African American and Mexican American History in Adopted 8th Grade American History Textbooks, 1965–1980” (master's thesis, University of West Georgia, 2018).

⁴⁷Leslie Hiatt, “How My 4th-Grade Class Passed a Law on Teaching Mexican ‘Repatriation,’” *Rethinking Schools* 32, no. 4 (Summer 2018), <https://www.rethinking-schools.org/articles/how-my-4th-grade-class-passed-a-law-on-teaching-mexican-repatriation>; and An Act to Amend Section 51226.3 of the Education Code, California Assembly Bill No. 146, https://leginfo.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill_id=201520160AB146.