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THE STRUGGLE FOR CHICANO/LATINO STUDIES. EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN CALIFORNIA

LA LUCHA ALREDEDOR DE LOS ESTUDIOS CHICANO/LATINOS. EVOLUCIÓN Y DESARROLLO EN CALIFORNIA

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Abstract

Between the 1960s and 1970s Latino/Chicano studies were encouraged at the highest academic level. Italian sociologist Gino Germani had argued that Latinos in the United States were conditioned by the socio-cultural situation and the basic social personality of American culture. This article studies the basic Latin American social identity in California which influenced the creation of Departments and programs of Latino/Chicano Studies. It is in the interest of the article analyze the three types of Departments described by Professor Pedro Cabán in respond to a development of the basic Latino identity in California. The article is divided in three different sections: the evolution of Latino/Chicano studies; the immigration and educational issues of the Latino community in the United States and finally a division of the Departments and Programs in the Universities and Colleges of California where they study subjects related to the Latin/Chicano community in the United States.

Keywords: Regionalism. Latin America. Regional governance. Post-hegemonic. Regional integration.

Resumen

Entre los años 60 y 70, los estudios latinos y chicanos fueron promovidos al más alto nivel académico. El sociólogo italiano Gino Germani había argumentado que los latinos en los Estados Unidos estaban condicionados por la situación sociocultural y la personalidad social básica de la cultura estadounidense. Este artículo estudia la identidad social latinoamericana básica en California que influyó en la creación de los Departamentos y programas de estudios latinos y chicanos. Es en el interés del artículo analizar los tres tipos de Departamentos descritos por el Profesor Pedro Cabán en respuesta a un desarrollo de identidad cultural latina básica en California. El artículo se divide en tres secciones diferentes: la evolución de los Estudios latinos/chicanos, los problemas migratorios y educativos de la comunidad latina en los Estados Unidos, y finalmente una división de los Departamentos y Programas en las Universidades y Colegios de California donde se estudian temas relacionados con la comunidad latina y chicana en los Estados Unidos.

Palabras clave: Regionalismo. América Latina. Gobernanza regional. Post-hegemonía. Integración regional.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR CHICANO/LATINO STUDIES. EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN CALIFORNIA

Introduction

During the 1950s and 1960s there was a huge influx of Latino immigrants to the United States, and between the 1960s and 1970s, after a period of strong social protest, Latino/Chicano studies were encouraged at the highest academic level. Both these studies and the Latino community were considered homogeneously, regardless of race or national origin (Soldatenko 2012; Domínguez 2016). As early as the 1950s, Italian sociologist Gino Germani had argued that Latinos in the United States were conditioned by the socio-cultural situation and the *basic social personality* of American culture. On this, the Latino movement tried to influence with its own *personality* to achieve spaces of development and to reaffirm its culture (Germani 1952, 358-60). Towards the end of the 1990s, professor Frances Aparicio affirmed that the Latino Studies were an academic imagination in the literal sense, or a state of potential desire despite the three decades of academic production (today almost five decades), because they possessed, together with the Chicano and Puerto Rican Studies, multidisciplinary rather than interdisciplinary programs (Aparicio 1999, 4).

This article intends to study the basic Latin American social identity in California, which is reflected and applied in the academic dynamics that influenced – and is still influencing - the creation of Departments and programs of Latino/Chicano Studies as a respectable field of academic investigation. If it is considered that Latino Studies were defined as an academic discipline that studies the experience of people of Hispanic descent in the United States and examines critically the history, culture, politics, problems and experiences of the Hispanics¹, then the opposite might happen, and investigating the society also helped shape the studies in question. Finally, it is in the interest of the article to verify whether the three types of Departments described by Professor Pedro Cabán (*Moving from the Margins to Where? Three decades of Latin Studies*, Latino Studies, 2003, 1, 5-35) respond to a development of the basic Latino identity or rather molding an endogenous product of the university. Secondly, if the Latino/Chicano Programs and Studies remain, as the description of Professor Frances Aparicio, an academic imagination.

Because of the large number of programs and/or Departments of Latino/Chicano Studies in the United States, those in California have been chosen, as a center that possesses an important history of Latino/Chicano academic development and has always been at the forefront of the social issues of this community. The article is related to three different sections: the first refers to the evolution of Latino/ Chicano studies; the second, to the immigration and educational issues of the Latino community in the United States - with greater emphasis on California; finally a division of the

¹ Ver: http://www.nacccs.org/nacccs/About_NACCCS_EN.asp?SnID=1529216044 [Consulted on March 1, 2017]

Departments and Programs in the Universities and Colleges of California where they study subjects related to the Latin/Chicano community in the United States.

Historical development

The Latino Studies in the Universities were a part of the demands that in the decade of 1960 were articulated thanks to the united student activism, sometimes, with the working class and other groups. This served to support and include new research programs of Ethnic Studies and above all, to build a base for Latino/Chicano Studies in Universities. The idea of consolidating Latino identity – which is called *basic social personality* by Germani - developed in the midst of great social tensions along with other groups - especially African Americans - who fought for the same recognition and social affirmation facing a culture that was built, fundamentally, on the Anglo-Saxon values.

The mobilizations at university level with the aim of achieving presence and recognition in the Universities were reinforced by different factors and situations. First, in 1967 the anthropologist Octavio Romano, along with graduate students from the University of California (UC), Berkeley, started the publication of a magazine "*El Grito: A Magazine of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought*." Second, the existence of student organizations of Mexican origin, such as the Mexican American Students Conference (MASC), United Mexican American Students (UMAS) and Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), and Aztlán. Third, the systematization of the demands in the Plan of Santa Barbara in 1969 required the development of Departments of Chicano Studies and the inclusion of students of Latino origin (Acuña 2011b; González 2012)². Once the students were organized, "experimental colleges" began to develop, where subjects related to the Chicano Movement (Acuña 2011a, 2011c; Aparicio 1999; Foster 2005; Cabán 2003, 8) were taught. Fourth, in that same year, the Chicano Youth Conference was held in Denver, which brought about another plan for ethnic cleavage and self-determination: Aztlán's Spiritual Plan. In 1970, the magazine *Aztlán: A Journal of Studies Chicanos*, published in UC, Los Angeles, joined in this plan. Fifth, the birth of the National Association of Chicano Social Scientists (NACSS) in November 1973 at UC Irvine. From then on, the promotion of research was intensified from an integrated perspective and at the same time the structures of inequality in American society based on class, race and gender were denounced (Soldatenko 2012; Pulido 2002)³.

Programs and centers of Latino, Chicano, or Mexican Studies were established in 1968 in the framework of the student complaint for the effective inclusion of student minorities and teachers. The pioneering program of Chicano Studies for graduates was delivered for the first time at the

² At this meeting it was agreed that all student organizations that participated in the Santa Barbara Conference would join in a single organization: Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán (MEChA).

³ The first annual meeting of NACSS took place in 1974. In 1976, during the third meeting, it was renamed National Association of Chicano Studies and in 1995 by the National Association of Chicano and Chicano Studies. See: www.nacss.org/nacss/History.asp

Department of Mexican American Studies at California State University (UEC), San Jose. A similar situation occurred in the UEC, Los Angeles, when Professor Ralph Guzman promoted the program of Mexican American Studies. The program's focus combined courses in history, culture, political science, psychology and the emerging Chicano literature so as to challenge the negative portrait towards Americans of Mexican descent in American literature and media. In 1971 the program developed into the Department of Chicano Studies⁴. Also in 1968 it helped to found the Department of Chicano Studies in the UEC, Northridge, which, to a large degree, was due to Professor Rodolfo Acuña. In addition, a variety of supporting programs were launched for students who belonged to racial minorities. It's necessary to take into consideration of the work of Acuña *Occupied America* (1972), the most controversial academic work of this period, in which a number of cases of exploitation and dispossession that the Chicanos suffered were documented (Tinker Salas y Valle 2002).

The programs continued growing and expanding in different Universities and College in California. By the 1960s, the first Department of Latino/Chicano Studies was established in the universities, with 50 programs created only in California between 1968 and 1973. Professor Irene Vasquez from the Department of Chicano Studies at the University of New Mexico pointed out that not only did they study the dynamics of power and oppression, but also the cultural production of Mexicans and Latinos in the American society (Adam 2015). In the UC, Los Angeles and Santa Cruz, there was a great development in these years. In the UC a research center was established in 1969 and an interdepartmental undergraduate program in 1973. At the same time, in Los Angeles a Department of Latin American and Latino Studies was created in 1971. Also in those years a Department of Chicano and Latin American Studies was launched in the UEC, Fresno, and the Inter-Colleges Programs offered by Claremont College that, since 1969, inaugurated a program of Chicano/Latino studies. In this program, the courses offered by the Department of Latin American and Latino Studies of the City College of San Francisco joined together.

As Pedro Cabán pointed out, facing the irreversible advance of student activism at the national level, many university administrators decided to create academic units called Departments of Ethnic Studies. These were mostly established in California. The Department of Ethnic Studies in San Francisco State University was the product of the 1968-1969 demonstrations of a group of African American students, the Third World Liberation Front, plus teachers and community members. The objective was to protest against the systematic discrimination within the University. Their specific demands included the creation of four departments - Native/Afro/Asian American Studies and Race Studies - within a larger unit called Ethnic Studies. The other pioneering Department in Ethnic Studies is located at UC, Berkeley. Both were founded in 1969. Generally,

⁴ In 2016, the Department changed its name to Estudios Chicana/o and Latina/o (CLS). See: <http://www.calstatela.edu/academic/cls>; <http://www.calstatela.edu/academic/cls/history-1968-present>

these types of Departments incorporated nominally autonomous programs on the main minorities, considering that they were oppressed and excluded and, in the case of Native Americans, exterminated⁵. They flourished during the 1970s and 1980s and towards the end of this period several Departments of Ethnic Studies began to emphasize comparative analysis and the impact of the forces of globalization (Cabán 2003, 19-21). In these years some intellectuals debated different ways of interpreting the Chicano reality with greater emphasis on the role of class, Marxism, concepts of ethnicity, race, the idea of internal colony, political power and the existence of a nation⁶. An influential work during this period was the work of Mario Barrera (1979), *Race and Class in the Southwest of 1979*, in which it verified the existence of a work force segregated by reasons of race and in which the Chicanos represented a kind of internal colony within The United States (Tinker Salas y Valle 2002).

As Latino communities grew and diversified, the urgency for studies that represented and analyzed them was palpable as well as the schooling of younger generations (Cabán 2003, 8). During these years the Latino Studies covered, in their interior, different realities like Chicano, Puerto Rican and others Studies. This created internal confrontations between those who preferred to maintain their individuality, and external ones, among those who considered that the Departments of Latino Studies formed a self-imposed ghetto. However, internal and external problems did not prevent Latin American Studies, such as Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, from having an undeniable academic development during this period (Cabán 2003, 19). In the late 1980s at UC Los Angeles, the faculty committee considered that the undergraduate program in Chicano Studies had some shortcomings and suggested suspending the admission until being improved. Some students understood that a suspension could have led to the dismantling of the Studies. Since that fight, the students of the university began to request the creation of a Department. This caused the recognition from the media and a symbolic significance for the whole community. In 1993, this struggle became radicalized and students, along with professors, carried out a civil disobedience, finally achieving a commitment with the University for the development of a new academic unit and new professorships (Paredes 1991; Cabán 2003, 9,16-17,22; Flores 1997; I. García 1996).

In this decade the conditions faced by Chicano intellectuals changed significantly. A great number of state universities and private universities created some kind of Latino/Chicano or Ethnic

5 This type of Center differs from others, called Race and Ethnicity or American Studies, which privilege comparative analysis considering racism as a structural issue of society. Instead they offer a discourse of assimilation. Within these types of Departments, Latino Studies were not usually incorporated.

6 The 1970s and 1990s also saw the emergence of a series of research initiatives and professional societies dedicated to advancing a research agenda for Latin Studies (grants from the Ford, Rockefeller, Compton, Mellon foundations) and the establishment of research institutes Research (Tomás Rivera, Julián Samora, Smithsonian). In particular, the Council of Latin American Studies of New England (Neclas) was born in 1970 and currently has more than 500 scholars from 49 institutions. An annual meeting is sponsored and awards and prizes for academic excellence are awarded. Its mission is to foster and develop interests in Latin American studies of academics, researchers, professors, students and general public located mainly in the New England region. See <http://www.neclas.org/>

Studies department that focused on the current problems of these groups (Tinker Salas y Valle 2002). In 1994 at the UEC, San Diego, the Student Association named the first Hispanic president and since then, dominated the executive level of student government. Professor Chicano Studies from that university, Isidro Ortíz, affirmed that it was fundamental for the Chicanos that students should occupy positions of power (Álvarez 1999), since many experts feared that these studies would someday be subsumed by other studies such as Latinos or Latin Americans (Rodríguez 1998).

Hispanics /Latinos in Immigration and Education Figures

Of the nearly 40 million immigrants who arrived in the United States since 1965, about 50% came from Latin America. By 1970 the Hispanic minority was 9.6 million (4.7% of the total); 14.6 million (6.4%) in 1980; 22.4 million (9%) in 1990. In 2000, the Census indicated that the population of Latinos had grown by more than 57 per cent since 1990, up 13 per cent of the total population (Chapa y De la Rosa 2004, 131) and 10.2 million people between 2000 and 2007. Estimates indicate that in 2006, 44.3 million Latinos lived here, almost 15% of the total population of the United States (Torres 2010, 408), being the minorities who took up 33% The total population. In summary, Hispanics became the largest minority during the 2000s in 26 of the 50s (González Sullivan 2007, 399; Fry 2008, 1; Pew Research Center 2009). And within it, Central American immigrants were the fastest growing population of Latin American immigrants, rising from 1% in 1960 to 8% in 2011. By 2014, the total number of Latin American immigrants had reached 55.3 million (17.3%) (Torres 2013, 11; Motel 2012; Stepler y Brown 2016).

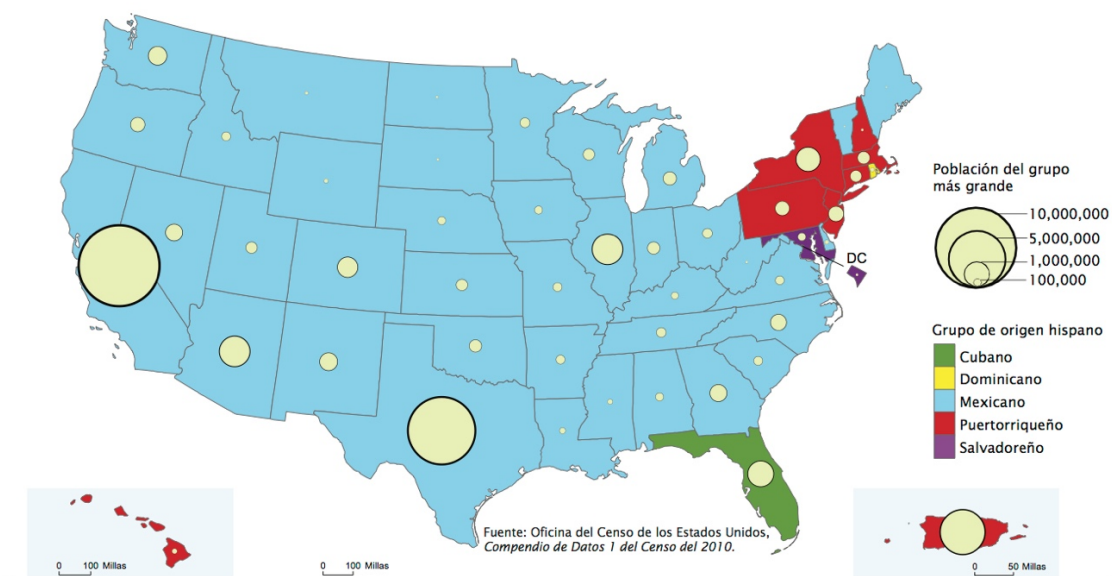
In 1976 the United States Congress passed the Public Law 94-311 which required federal agencies to categorize and compile data on Hispanics. This caused opposition in many people of that origin, although others preferred to be considered in this category rather than being ignored (Jenkins 2009). According to the latter, the president of the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, Antonio Flores, pointed out that this helped to create a basis for identifying common needs and aspirations in the political arena (Jenkins 2009). Subsequent Guidelines of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 1977 outlined the details of the data compilation for the federal government. A second OMB directive in 1997 added the term "Latino" to "Hispanic" (Passel y Taylor 2009). Government agencies also collect data on Anglo-Saxons, African-Americans and Asian-Americans, but unlike Hispanics, they were all categorized by the US Census Bureau as racial groups. Hispanics were classified as an ethnic group, which meant that they shared a common language, culture and heritage, but not a common race (Taylor et al. 2012).

In the 1980s, in the midst of the development of American multiculturalism, thousands of Latin American refugees and immigrants settled in the United States. These events led to the constant strengthening of Latin American identity, such as the recognition of racial and sexual minorities (Yúdice 1998, 411; Arce 1988; Mermann-Jozwiak 2014). In the meantime, they became the first minority in many cities, sometimes leading to increased racial and identity tensions. Some authors

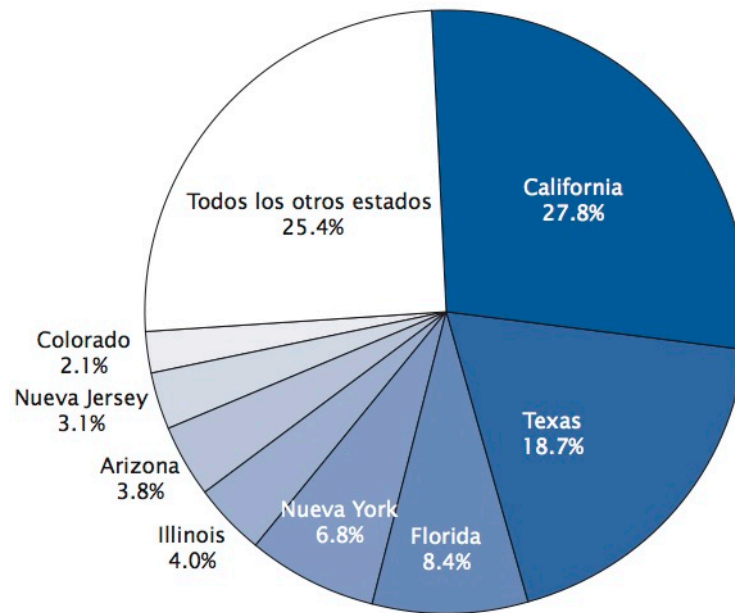
began to see it as a threat to traditional American values. It was proposed that where many Latin Americans reside, this place should be considered apart from the United States and included in Latin America. Political scientist Samuel Huntington wrote *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, pointing out that immigrants of Latin American origin, and especially Mexican immigrants, were the most urgent and serious challenge to the American identity that threatened to divide the country (Huntington 2004, 254-55; Osei-Kofi y Rendón 2005). Concepts such as "transnational" community and "bi-national civil society" were also used to characterize the place - mainly cities - as centers of cultural exchange. From there it was affirmed - although in a positive sense - the birth of "third spaces". Similar reasoning was used by Saskia Sassen in her study of global cities which share similar traits such as de-nationalized platforms for global capital, the confluence of growing and diverse mixtures of people who cross borders partially avoiding national states (Sassen 2001, 649; Lynn 2007, 47-50). On this basis of "denationalization" minority identities were affirmed gradually after long contests for civil, social, educational and identity rights.

A report based on a national bilingual survey of 1,220 Hispanic adults that was realized by Pew Hispanic Center in 2009 provides a clearer understanding of the identities, behaviors, and views of Hispanics in the United States. One of the reports highlights that the majority (51%) of respondents generally identified with the country of origin of their family and only 24% affirmed that they felt comfortable considering themselves Hispanic or Latino. Almost 70% stated that there were many Latin American cultures, but they shared a strong connection through the Spanish language. Fewer than half (47%) consider themselves to be very different from typical Americans, and only one (21%) said they used the term "American" more often to describe their identity.

Figure 1. Hispanic populations by states (2010).



Source: Ennis, Ríos-Vargas y Albert (2012, 9).

Figure 2. Hispanic population distribution by states, 2010 (percentages).

Fuente: Oficina del Censo de los Estados Unidos, *Compendio de Datos 1 del Censo del 2010*.

Source: Ennis, Ríos-Vargas y Albert (2012, 7).

Table 1 shows the Hispanic population in the United States in 2014. The preeminence continues to be the West region with 29.5% of the Hispanic population followed by the South region with 16.9%. Between both regions 46.4% of the total is reached. In terms of participation by nationality, the majority of Mexican immigrants represent 64%, followed by Puerto Ricans with 9% and Cubans with 3.5% (Passel y Taylor 2009).

Table 1. Statistical Portrait of the Hispanic Population in the United States, 2014.

Hispanic Population, by Region: 2014

Universe: 2014 resident population

	Hispanic population	Total population	Percent Hispanic
Northeast	7,717,362	56,152,333	13.7
Midwest	5,063,373	67,745,108	7.5
South	20,270,948	119,771,934	16.9
West	22,198,834	75,187,681	29.5
Total	55,250,517	318,857,056	17.3

Note: For details on the states included in each region, see https://usa.ipums.org/usa-action/variables/REGION#description_section.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of 2014 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

Source: Pew Reseach Center⁷.

⁷ http://www.pewhispanic.org/2016/04/19/statistical-portrait-of-hispanics-in-the-united-states/ph_2016_stat-portrait-hispanic-current-43/ [consulted on March 1,2017]

All these social changes did not go unnoticed in the education of the students of Latino origin and to the same Latino/Chicano Studies. The reaffirmation of the Latino origin of these groups took place in various social and educational spheres. In the social field, it was reaffirmed through the struggle for the equality of civil rights of the migrant populations - and even of the first and second generations born in the United States. While in the educational field, it was linked to the social one. The access to education was sought - especially higher education - maintaining and rescuing the particularities of "Latino" origins.

According to José Aranda Jr., between 1977 and 1987 there were enormous changes in the bases of Chicano studies, which began to include arguments such as feminism, homosexuality and other underrepresented groups (Aranda Jr. 2002). Even the defense of the Spanish language, along with its variants, was considered perhaps the strongest link of union between the same Latin Americans. One of the earliest works on this was *The Language of Chicanos* (Hernández-Chávez, Cohen, y Beltramo 1975), followed by *Spanish in the United States: Sociolinguistic Aspects* (Amastae y Olivares 1982); *US Spanish: The language of Latinos* (Wherritt y García 1989) and *Spanish in the United States: Sociolinguistic issues* (Bergen 1990). In the decade of 1990 works that had great influence between the Latino intellectual community appear: *Spanish in the United States: Linguistic contact and diversity* (Roca y Lipski 1993); and *Spanish of the United States. The language of Hispanics* (Ramírez 1992).

There is no doubt that the abolition of racial and ethnic preferences led to a decline in the proportion of African-Americans and Latinos admitted to UC, Berkeley. Here, for example, the former went from 28% to 11.8% between 1983 and 1998; while the latter, in the same period, fell from 26.7% to 15.3% (Carroll, Tyson, y Lumas 2000, 142; Trow 1999, 69). UC, Los Angeles, also saw a drop in minority student population while in Irvine, Santa Cruz and Riverside the population grew. By 1991 about 3000 Chicanos studied in a faculty (Paredes 1991).

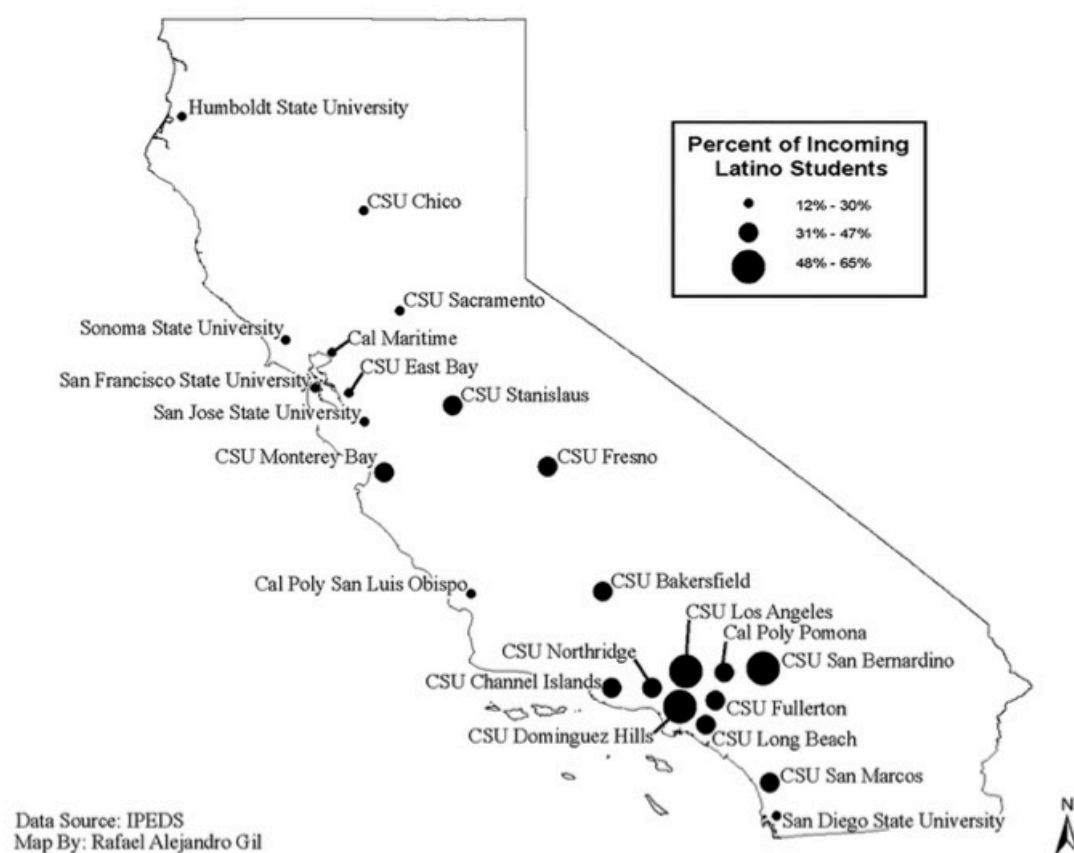
The success and persistence of Latino/Chicano Studies in UC is demonstrated in the number of Departments created: five campuses have a Department of Chicano/Latino Studies (Los Angeles, Santa Cruz, Santa Barbara, Irvine and Davis) and three campuses have a Department of Ethnic Studies (Berkeley, Riverside and San Diego). In 2005 a Department of Chicano / Chicano Studies was established and in 2007 the Department was renamed César E. Chávez of Chicano/Chicano Studies. In UC Santa Cruz, the Latin American Studies program evolved into one of the first to study the fields of Latin American and Latin American Studies in 1994. In 2001 the initial program acquired the status of Department of Latin American and Latino Studies, being the first to combine both studies.

Although California Universities have the overwhelming majority in the number of campuses and Departments, we find other Universities that have educational units with great development in Ethnic Studies and in Chicanos/Latinos. San Francisco State University created a Department of Ethnic Studies and a Department of Chicano Studies. Its name was changed to Studies *The Race* in

1999 to establish an inclusive identity of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Central and South Americans, and in 2011/2012 to Studies Latinas/Latinos. Another university with similar studies is the Stanford that provides since 1997 the Program of Studies Chicana/ or-Latina/ or part of the Center of Comparative Studies of Race and Ethnicity.

In general, for Latino students, the trend of university insertion was incremental: between 1976 and 1996 it increased by 202% and between 1993 and 2003, 70%, with careers in Education, Business and Social Sciences being preferred by Latino students. In California, Latino participation continued to grow steadily between 2001 and 2010 (37%), as shown in the following map:

Figure 3. Percentage of incoming Latino students to the California State University, Fall 2009



Source: Santos y Acevedo-Gil (2013, 180).

Other figures are the number of registered Latinos (Ph.D.): between 1976 and 1994, enrollment number ranged from 2% to 3.4% (García y Figueroa 2003, 48; Rochin y Mello 2007, 320-21). As for teachers, in 1994 in California universities only 17% came from minorities and of them 4% were Latinos. Compared to the following decade at the national level, Latino teachers in the country represent 4% of the population, compared to an overwhelming majority of whites (78%), African and Asians Americans (7% of each) (Rohr 1995; Nuñez y Murakami-Ramallo 2012).

According to information from the Pew Research Center, in 2009 the dropout rate among young Latinos (17%) was almost three times higher than among white youths and almost double that among African Americans. The research finds that Latinos that attend college are 50% less likely to finish their studies compared to Anglo-Saxon students. According to statistics provided by American Fact Finder, between 2011 and 2015, of the nearly 30 million Latino students that finish high school, a little less than 4.3 million complete a college degree (Pew Research Center 2009; San Miguel Jr. y Donato 2009; American Fact Finder 2016) That is, of the Latinos who finish high school only 13% will complete a university degree (18% African-Americans, 31% white and 50% Asian-Americans) (Nuñez y Murakami-Ramalho 2012). Among Latinos, those of Mexican origin have the lowest education rate compared to all groups (Chapa y De la Rosa 2004, 137; Chao 2012). Latinos in California between the ages of 25 and 64 had an average of 16 university graduates per 100 in 2010, compared to 27 of the natives, 32 of the African-Americans, 51 of the Anglo-Saxons and 59 of the Asians (Chao 2012; Madrid 2011).

In addition, university costs were another barrier to Latino access to higher education: in 2004, nearly 2 million enrolled in programs with scholarships, in particular those of Mexican origin (79.9%) (González Sullivan 2007, 404; Wyer 2009). As if that were not enough, those who enter must struggle with many difficulties to achieve acceptance and a place to be accepted. Many Latino students experience in campus stressful experiences of acculturation or conflict with their cultural orientation as a result of many cultural incongruities (Salas Rojas 2010; Alberta y Rodriguez 2000, 149)(Salas Rojas, 2010, Alberta and Rodríguez, 2000: 149).

The Enclave, Transgressive and Absorption departments. Cabán and something more...

According to Professor Carlos Muñoz Jr. almost all Chicanos programs were established in different campuses of the UC, California State College and the University System⁸. This was due to two reasons: 1) the State of California had the largest population of Mexican origin in the United States; and 2) the Chicano students' movement in California made Chicano Studies their top priority. They embarked on a constant struggle to create and maintain such programs (Muñoz Jr. 1984). Following again to Cabán, three types of Departments were differed in which the Chicano / Latino Studies are developed: Enclave, Transgressive and Absorption.

The so-called Enclaves are marginalized academic units, politically tolerated and undervalued within their respective institutions. Virtually all units established in the late 1960s and 1970s form this classification and tended to call Chicanos, Mexican-American Studies or Puerto Rican Studies. According to Cabán, they generally focused their intellectual efforts on exploring the history and

⁸ Except for UC Santa Cruz the rest carry Chicano/ a in the name of the Department.

development of specific Latino populations. Even so, in recent decades, the Latino / Chicano Departments have been developed so much that have exceeded the scope of initial research. It highlights the most important arguments many of the institutions that have this type of Departments (Cabán 2003, 7,25-28).

To begin with, the study programs of the five UC campuses that have the Chicano / Latino Department status are made evident. In UC Los Angeles, Santa Cruz and Santa Barbara, the only UC institutions that offer a doctorate in Chicanos / Latinos Studies, we find "new" arguments such as: Border and transnational studies (L.A.) and its correlative Transnationalisms, migrations, and displacement (S.C.). The latter presents other arguments of great interest such as: Intersectionality, identities, and inequalities. UC Santa Barbara emphasizes that the doctoral program gives students the tools to challenge the paradigms of traditional research that ignores questions of race, gender, class, etc. They also encourage research relations in factors such as historical forces and their developments, social structures and cultural production. On the other hand, UC Irvine and Davis (both possess B.A. degrees) present mostly "traditional" arguments: History, Culture, Health, Law, Politics, Economy (which they also share with L.A., S.C. and S.B.). However, some interesting courses in Irvine and Davis could be highlighted. In the first one: Ethnic and Immigrant America; Latinos in a Global Society and Chicano/Latino Psychology among other courses. In the second, the courses of Cultural Studies (Language, Media, and Literature) and Fine Arts (Studio Arts and Chicana/or Art History) stand out.

Studies programs in California State University include many more subjects in general in relation to the aforementioned California Universities. The UEC, Northridge, which owns the largest Department of its kind in the United States. Here courses on History, Sociology, Psychology, Arts, and Economics are offered among others related to the Chicanas communities of the United States. In the UEC, San Diego the Chicano/ Latino dynamics in the border region between the United States and Mexico are emphasized. It is demonstrated in the proposed courses: Chicano Heritage/o; Studies of the Chicano Community; Chicano/a Thought; Chicano/a Prose. The UEC, San José addresses contemporary issues as a result of the race, class and intellectual traditions of the Chicano and Latino communities as well as the UEC, Sonoma, Bakersfield and Fullerton. In these institutions, preference is given to historical, political, social and cultural studies that affect the Chicano/Latino communities in the whole United States. Courses related to Chicano or Latino literature, family, identity and heritage, folklore and philosophy are proposed. Dominguez Hills from the California State University (CSU) provides an interdisciplinary understanding of the political, economic and historical perspectives and experiences of the Chicano and Latino populations. Communities and non-profit organizations work together to hold Latin American meetings, events and celebrations. The Department of Chicano and Latino Studies in the Long Beach School of the CSU, advocates the understanding of these communities in the United States through courses such as: Latino Identity, History, Literature, Experience in the United States. New courses on the Peasant Workers as well as

Wealth and Poverty in the Latino Communities are added. Fresno from the CSU presents courses about the Culture, Thought, Literature, Theater and History of Chicano communities, including some interesting facts about the Chicano families and women.

It is mentioned that the CSU, Los Angeles encourages greater understanding of these communities through an interdisciplinary study, made by the Department of Chicano and Latino Studies, related to concepts of culture, politics, economy and society and others, stimulating knowledge about Chicano and Latino populations and the border region. It proposes a great number of courses, many of which are innovative, for example: Indigenous Rights, Housing and Aging; Environmental and Restorative Justice; Public and Mental Health; Feminist Theory, Media and Digital Communities; The Constitution, Equity, Chicano and Latino, Chicano and Latino Parents, Communities and School Associations. The mentioned universities have undergraduate studies and those of San Diego, San Jose, Fresno, Los Angeles also include Master's degrees. At the State University of San Francisco, aspects such as gender, trans-nationalism, migration, language, culture and identity are studied. There are also topics about the theater, music, Latino media and the history of Latinos in California, to which issues such as "Cyber Race: Culture & Community Online" are added endowing the course with novel approaches to the Latino culture in the 21st century. The Loyola Marymount University with its important Department of Chicano Studies could be added to this group, focusing on the understanding of the main historical and contemporary problems of Mexico and other Latin American communities living in the United States; the formation of racial and cultural identities and the contemporary politics and problems of representation are some of the issues investigated. An interdisciplinary study concentrating on literature, cultural studies, history and political science is carried out. The main part of the analysis is about the intersections of race, gender, sexuality and class, and at the same time it puts the experiences of Latin Americans in the center of this analysis.

Not only educational centers like the mentioned Universities mentioned but also small units like the Colleges offer this type of studies on the Chicanos and the Latinos in departments of the Chicano and Latino studies. For example, the East Los Angeles College, the San Diego City College, the San Diego Mesa College and the Ventura College provide a variety of courses on specific population groups such as the Chicano, the Latino, the Mexican and the Central Americans in the United States. In most of the courses, the culture, the history, the gender and the politics of these communities are taught. Compared to the aforementioned colleges, the Ohlone College, the Contra Costa College, the Claremont McKenna College, the City College of San Francisco possess a more diversified and comprehensive program. In addition to the classical visions on the history, the politics, the sociology, the theater and literature of Chicano or Latino communities, courses on the Ethnomusicology, "El Barrio", the race and cross-border studies are offered, which helps to gain a better understanding of the relationship of these communities in the U.S. Other colleges like Los Angeles Mission, Laney and Rio Hondo also have courses that pay attention to the Mexican

experience in the United States. There are also discussions on the Mexican-Americans in the history of the United States, the Mexican-Americans in California, the Mexican-Americans in contemporary society, the Mexican-American woman in the society and the introduction to the psychology of Mexican-Americans.

The Transgressive, the second form, represented in Departments of Ethnic Studies acquired a certain degree of intellectual authority and political position within their respective institutions. The units inside were called Latin Studies, Latin American Studies or Chicano Studies with their variations. They have expanded their original research lines and tend to situate the analysis of a given national origin group in the Latin context. Some units advance in a comparative study of the divergent experiences of the Latino in the United States, while others examine the hemispheric functions and the Latin transnational ones (Cabán 2003, 7,23-25). Professor Deena González responded to Cabán by pointing out that although diversity is defended within Ethnic Studies in California, few changes have taken place (González 2003, 37). For the historian, Vijad Prashad, Ethnic Studies do not have a good theoretical or methodological articulation. Arising as a discipline in the heat of the struggle for civil rights during the 1980s, they balkanized as a bureaucratic response to the problem of diversity (Prashad 2006, 157-61). On the contrary, for Professor Flores, Ethnic Studies could provide a useful alliance to accentuate issues of race or of social oppression (Flores 1997, 219), and along the same lines the assistant dean of admissions at the Pomona College in Claremont, California, Vincent Garcia, argued that Ethnic Studies could originally be viewed as a way of supporting the self-esteem of student minorities (Rinn 1994).

One of the most representative programs of the Transgressive position is the Department of Ethnic Studies of the University of California, Berkeley, which has Chicano and Latino Studies based on the decolonization and "liberation" projects of the American Latino and those who fought for the civil, gender and sexual rights in the 1960s. The proposed courses cover a wide range of arguments such as the history, the literature, cultural studies, the art, the education, the health, the communication, the religion and the philosophy. At the same time in the UC, Riverside and San Diego, a systematic and comparative study is carried out with the content of the social construction of race, racism and ethnic subordination as the history, the culture and contemporary experiences of the four most important ethnic groups in the United States.

The Department of Ethnic Studies in the California State University, East Bay, also proposes an interdisciplinary approach to understand the multiracial, multicultural, and multigenerational characteristics of the immigrant population in the United States⁹. It presents courses on the Latinos

⁹ In the University of California, Berkeley, in 1986, the working committee was founded. It developed the concept for the Chicano/Latino Policy Project and was renamed the Latin Policy Research Center in the year 1989. With the sponsorship of the Mexican Studies Program of Berkeley, an interdisciplinary coordination was initiated to investigate relevant issues related to the Chicano/Latino population in the United States. In 1989

in the United States; Oral Traditions; Latino Sexualities, People from the Central America. In addition to declare an interdisciplinary view, according to the CSU, the Sacramento takes into account the religious diversity of various minorities in the United States. The Chicano Studies are established as a fundamental component of the Department of Ethnic Studies. The impact of the colonialism, the racism, cultural conflicts and other arguments are studied. Some courses, for example, the Chicano/Mexican-American experience, the Chicano Woman, the border relations between the United States and Mexico are offered. Meanwhile the Department of Ethnic Studies of the University of California, Stanislaus offers a critical, relational and trans-sectoral approach to studies of the Afro, the Asian, the Chicano/Latino and the Native-American, within a regional, national, and international context.

The Stanford University is an interdisciplinary unit that explores the Chicano and the Latin complexity that lives in the United States. It carries out comparative studies on the culture, the society, the economy and politics of the Latin American populations in the United States. In addition, the Center incorporated the native and the Asian American studies. The Santa Clara University is one of the universities that own the oldest Department of Ethnic Studies. In this department, people study the Afro, the Asian, the Pacific Islanders, the Chicano/Latino, the Native American and the Afro-American, from a comparative perspective on arguments such as: Demographic Changes; Educational Inequality; Gender and the Intersectionality; Communication, Music and Popular Culture; Sovereignty among others. In relation to the Chicano/Latino studies, there are courses with emphasis on the Chicano/Latino experience in the United States from arguments such as family and even the history and literature.

Departments of Ethnic Studies in the colleges provide interdisciplinary courses that include history, music, cultural identity, sociology among arguments of courses. Many highlight the pluralistic nature of the American society and in turn show differences with the Chicano/Latino community. For example, the Santa Ana College, the Merritt College and the Sacramento City College have more courses that point to the relationship between Mexico and the United States. The Santa Bárbara College and the San José College focus on the Chicano/Latino relationship in the American society, while the Mills College, the Fullerton College, the Camino Community District College and the Cypress College focus their courses on the Latino/Chicano issue in the United States from a historical, social, and cultural perspective.

the project was officially approved by the administration of the campus and affiliated with the Institute for the Study of Social Change. The Center's mission is to investigate policies that can take advantage of the complexity of the Latino experience in the United States and shed light on the multitude of factors that affect the distribution of material, social, and political opportunities. In 2010, the center became part of the Institute for the Study of Social Issues; <http://ethnicstudies.berkeleyedu/areas-of-study/area/chicano-latino-studies>; <http://guide.berkeley.edu/undergraduate/degree-programs/chicano-latino-studies/> [consulted on March 15, 2017]

The third form is the Absorption. Through the effort of the administration of the University, it sought to redefine the academic function of the Latino Studies. Programs of American Studies and Centers for the Study of Race and Ethnicity were commonly proposed. A variety of ethnic study programs (the Chicano, the Latino, the African American, the Asian American and the Native American) can also be absorbed into an administrative unit that does not privilege any particular programs. The Latino studies become a subprogram of a larger academic endeavor. Cabán points out that Latino studies have made academic progress even within some large academic units and there has always been cooperation between Latino studies and administrators of the university. Otherwise, the programs may have been degraded or merged with other units, and even been eliminated (Cabán 2003, 7,8, 25-28). Professor Flores agrees with the latter position that in a dispersive and hostile environment, Latino studies tend to reduce and dilute their experiences with other trajectories and baggage that sometimes respond to the Anglo-Saxon hegemony (Flores 1997, 218,219).

The California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, has a college of Education & Integrative Studies and a Women's Ethnic Studies program that offers courses on the Chicano experience in the United States, just like that in the CSU, Humboldt, which combines in one Department of Ethnic as well as Women and Queer Studies. These types of departmental combinations are produced in other Universities such as the CSU, Chico, Bakersfield and San Bernardino.

The first presents the Department of Multicultural and Gender Studies in which questions of race, gender, ethnicity and sexuality are investigated, especially in the United States. Among its academic offers, there are Chicano studies analyzed from a historical, cultural, economic and political perspective. The second proposes a series of interdisciplinary studies that allow the student to choose to deepen a specific ethnic or a cultural group. The latter presents a program of ethnic studies within the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, highlighting the Chicano studies.

Most of the analyzed colleges have an inclination for these types of departments that gather diverse arguments and subjects. The most representative concepts included in the name of the departments are the cultural (multicultural or intercultural) and the social. The first one started from the Pasadena City College "Gender, Ethnicity, and Multicultural Studies", the Palomar and Moonpark College, "Multicultural Studies", De Anza College, "Intercultural/International Studies", the Fresno City College, "Cultural & Women's Studies" and the Grossmon College, "Cross-Cultural Studies". In general, the arguments of these courses relate to the intersection of race, class, ethnicity, and gender of both the Chicano/Latino and other major ethnic groups in the United States. The second group is composed of the Southwestern College, "Social and Cultural", the Monterrey Peninsula College, the Santa Rosa College, the College of Marin, the Bakersfield College, the Compton Center of the Camino College and the Yuba College, "Social Sciences", the Cabrillo College, "Art and Social Sciences", the Solano Community College, the Orange Coast College and the Hartnell College,

"Social and Behavioral Sciences". Unlike the first group, the arguments generally offered in these courses are traditional questions about the history, the culture, the society, politics, the economy and the religion in relation to different ethnic groups in the United States and within them emphasis on Chicano/Latino studies. People could join the Department of History in the Santa Monica College and the Cerritos College. Both of them propose a vision of the Latin American communities in the United States and in the Latin America, from a historical, cultural and social perspective.

Conclusions

The Chicano and Latino programs and departments in California Universities were born out of the collective effort of the Latino/Chicano community as well as the decision of teachers and students to establish their basic social personality within the academy. Many social achievements had a spillover effect on universities and their programs. However, it was not a linear question or a sustained growth of the Latin basic social personality in society and the academy. For many times the struggle moved from the cloisters to the street in search of a space vital for growth, but at other times, the pulse of the streets dictated the way to continue within the universities. Particularly in the University of California, Los Angeles and Santa Cruz, or the UES Northridge, the situation was sometimes difficult. Perhaps the most flourishing developments and spaces were achieved for the concretion and expansion of the basic social personality of Latino/Chicano. Professor Muñoz Jr. in California noted that there were a number of people of the Mexican origin in the United States. The activism of many Latino/Chicano students who energized social protests inside and outside academia has aroused. That is why the basic social personality was played in different spheres even though it was the only one and its results (social, educational, political) were closely connected.

The objective that has been pursued and is still being fought today is to consolidate the Latino identity on an equal footing with other minorities and the Anglo-Saxons. It was not a matter of displacing, from any sphere, the "dominant culture" but a matter of being able to develop one's own in a peaceful and convivial way. According to the time and the University or the College, departments of Latino/Chicano studies or that contained within programs relative to these are developing. Pedro Cabán defined them as the Enclave, the Transgressive and the Absorption. Each of them responds in one way or another to the basic Latin personality.

The first kind, Enclave, was the initial and most widespread kind of Department in the early 1960s, that is when the struggle for the basic Latino personality in California was at its highest boiling point. In part to maintain their identity, studies on specific Latin American population (Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, etc.) were encouraged. This identity was maintained by force of making way in society and in the Academy. Over the years it was these Departments that had the most important and innovative internal development in terms of programs. In addition, the Latino/Chicano arguments were developed very deeply since the Departments and Programs themselves were concerned with the study and interpretation of these minorities and committed to their current situation. The basic

social personality was completely reflected in the departments of Enclave, born in the heat of social demands.

In the second kind, Transgressive, characterized by the Departments of Ethnic Studies, Latino/ Chicano Studies, lost exclusivity, became tertiarized and part of its initial impulse was dissolved along with that of other minorities. That is, the basic Latino personality lost centralism in this kind of Departments. Although it continued receiving the social impulses, these were more generic and less combative. The Latino issue was contextualized within the framework of minorities by encouraging studies on "liberation" or "decolonization" that might affect it to a greater or lesser extent in relation to other minorities (such arguments, for example, were of more relevance to African Americans). Latinos view the issue of access to education and representation as more urgent issues to reaffirm their identity.

Finally, the kind of Absorption. If in the previous Department the horizontality was privileged (different minorities are studied alike); here the verticality was emphasized, that is, minority studies were subsumed in other larger arguments such as American Studies or Studies of Race and Ethnicity. If more arguments were included in the Departments, more vague and general questions would be asked. Thus, the impulse of the Latino basic social personality tended to diminish its intensity in the academic atmosphere, since at times it had to face negotiations and the good will of the university leaders and bureaucrats. More than 25 years ago, Professor Frances Aparicio affirmed that Latino Studies was an academic imaginary in the literal meaning and a state of potential desire with multidisciplinary rather than interdisciplinary programs. Today, Latin American studies are striving, as in the 1960s and 1970s, to affirm their intention to establish their basic social personality from the Academy to the society itself.

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