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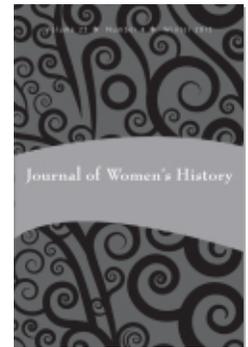
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ON BORDERLANDS/LA FRONTERA

*Gloria Anzaldúa and Twenty-Five Years of Research on Gender in the Borderlands*¹

Monica Perales

In 1987, Gloria Anzaldúa's Borderlands/La Frontera offered a radical reimagining of the borderlands as a physical and metaphorical space, forcing scholars inside and outside of the academy to consider how sex and gender structured power relations and historically shaped struggles for dignity and survival. Inspired by Anzaldúa's path breaking analysis, a generation of students in Chicana/o studies pushed borderlands research in new directions, putting women's bodies at the forefront. This brief article examines how scholars studying the Chicana/o experience have pioneered work that explores sexuality, colonization, marriage, labor, and transnational communities. This scholarship has invigorated borderlands studies to reveal the deep structures of conquest and social power in the region, and illuminates the wide range of experiences of borderlands residents in all of their humanity.

One of my first academic experiences with the borderlands was the Chicana writer, poet, and cultural theorist Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera*. Published in 1987, it has influenced a generation of scholars across many fields, but holds a special place in Chicana/o Studies as one of the foundational works of Chicana feminist writing. In *Borderlands/La Frontera*, Anzaldúa offers a personal and brutally honest account of her own life spent between and across borders: as a woman of color, as a lesbian, as a Tejana, and as someone confronting daily the legacy of conquest. For her, the borderlands are only in part geographic; instead, the borderlands must be understood metaphorically, as a state of being and consciousness, continually being redefined. While borders are finite, she writes that "a borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary."² Most striking to me as a student just embarking on my academic career was her use of language evoking physical pain—grating, bleeding, hemorrhaging—to convey the brutality and the humanity at the core of borderlands identities. For Anzaldúa, "The U.S.-Mexican border [is] *una herida abierta* [an open wound] where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before a scab forms it hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of the two worlds merging to form a third country—a border culture."³

I always imagined myself a product of this border culture, having spent my entire life in the Southwest, but her words powerfully articulated a deeper meaning to the space I thought I understood. Her critical exploration of how her own race, gender, and sexuality fundamentally shaped her identity pushed readers to seriously contend with the fact that borderlands residents are gendered and sexual beings. It also asserted that conquest and the formation of social identities were borne on the bodies of borderlands inhabitants, particularly women. Yet for as violent and oppressive as such forces are, the borderlands also provide a space of resistance and survival that is equally expressed and experienced in corporeal terms. "I see *oposición e insurrección* [opposition and insurrection]," Anzaldúa writes. "And someone in me takes into our own hands, and eventually, takes dominion over serpents—over my own body, my sexual activity, my soul, my mind, my weaknesses and strengths. Mine. Ours. Not the heterosexual white man's or the colored man's or the state's or the culture's or the religion's or the parents'—just ours, mine."⁴ Her words show that a history of violence presented new possibilities and modes of identification rooted in borderlands experiences. Hidden and misunderstood, these identities were real and people defined them on their own terms.

Like the *Journal of Women's History*, *Borderlands/La Frontera* recently marked its twenty-fifth anniversary, and both publications have played significant roles in presenting history from a gendered point of view. Anzaldúa's analysis placed women at the heart of historical processes that made the borderlands. Her profoundly personal insights into the centrality of gender and sexuality made her work enduring across disciplines, forcing us to consider how sex and gender structured power relations and historically shaped struggles for dignity and survival, and how socially constructed ideas about sex and gender clashed in physically and psychologically violent ways. More importantly, her work—coming as it did from beyond the boundaries of traditional academic borderlands scholarship—transformed the field by forcing a different perspective. Inspired by *Borderlands/La Frontera*, a generation of students in Chicana/o studies pushed borderlands research into new directions, putting women's bodies—as the victims of sexual violence and conquest, as living beings, and as laboring hands—at the forefront. Following Anzaldúa's path breaking re-imagining of the borderlands as geographic and metaphorical space, Chicana/o historians working from a distinct scholarly tradition have pioneered work that explores sexuality, colonization, marriage, labor, and transnational communities in innovative ways. This brief article examines how these works propel gender and borderlands studies into exciting intellectual terrain, as they reveal the deep structures of conquest and social power in the region

and explore the wide range of experiences of borderlands residents in all of their humanity.

Chicana/o scholarship has long argued for the centrality of gender, proposing a radical re-imagining of the historical enterprise that privileges women's voices and experiences. The result has been a more critical understanding of how gender, sex, and power operate in the borderlands. Chicana scholars confronted the androcentric and heteronormative focus of Chicano nationalism and historical narratives. They noted that early studies systematically silenced women or cast them as supporting characters to male protagonists, and few actively engaged how issues of social discrimination, political disenfranchisement, and economic inequity affected women *as* women.⁵ The historian Emma Pérez's concept of the "decolonial imaginary" offered a different way of thinking about women's history in light of traditional chronologies and archives that rendered *mexicana* and Chicana bodies invisible and their voices silent. By reading against the grain of standard narratives (largely a product of colonialism), she finds a method to show that "Chicana, Mexicana, India, mestiza actions, words spoken and unspoken, survive and persist whether acknowledged or not."⁶ Inclusion alone was not revolutionary. To revolutionize the scholarship, historians had to see differently, ask new questions, identify untapped sources, and refuse to adhere to old narratives that only replicated silences. The "decolonial imaginary" influenced many studies of gender, sexuality, and borderlands, which now take the disruption of these assumptions as their basic starting point.

Chicana scholars have utilized gendered analyses to show the ways in which imperialism, globalization, capitalism, and transnationalism structure power in the borderlands. Participants in the 2001 *Gender on the Borderlands* conference in San Antonio set out to humanize and re-inscribe women's voices, and provide a framework for considering how the "mind-numbing" forms of violence exacted against borderlands women in the present are legacies of a much longer process in which "the inseparability of gendered politics and other politics . . . produce/reproduce the U.S.-Mexico borderlands to create the issues we live with today: terrorism, war, and imperial hegemony."⁷ Essays in the collection *Women and Migration in the US-Mexico Borderlands* similarly explore contemporary women's migration within the borderlands and, ultimately, "how women's bodies served as sites for mapping transnational relations of social inequality."⁸ Both projects centered gender and sexuality in borderlands studies, focusing on how gender shapes, influences, and is affected by global processes. Their respective essays treat women as embodied subjects who navigate "structures that are often brutal" (physically and emotionally), yet still

“reveal the poetics of performance of Mexican women’s agency, crafting a tapestry of voice and resistance that speaks to their multiple realities.”⁹ Moreover, they exemplify how scholars from multiple disciplines trained in Chicana/o and Latin American studies have made critical interventions into borderlands scholarship, and how those academic perspectives offer distinctive insight into borderlands processes. These collections are important for what the individual essays tell us about sexual violence, family life, transnational labor in the U.S. and Mexico, activism, identity, and culture. They also challenge us to consider how gender fundamentally structures the borderlands experience.

This repositioning of gender in borderlands studies is evident in many ways. Early Chicana feminist scholars reinterpreted historical narratives to reveal the harm inflicted on women’s bodies and social relations. For instance, women’s bodies and sex were central to efforts to redeem the history of Malinalli Tenepal, the Mayan woman sold into slavery and later given to Hernán Cortés as translator and consort. Cast in history and literature as “La Malinche,” a traitor to Mexico’s indigenous people, she became the symbolic mother of the *mestizo* (mixed race) people and her body and reproductive capacities became sites of the conquest. Using a feminist perspective, newer studies highlighted how she used her skills and limited resources to survive in a world that gave her few options.¹⁰ The historian Antonia Castañeda’s important essay on sexual violence against indigenous women in Alta California argued that the violation of women’s bodies was central to Spanish conquest.¹¹ The rape and murder of indigenous women—which indigenous men and Catholic priests alike were unable to stop—was only one way in which women bore the impact of the conquest. Disease, isolation, enforced labor, and the birth of mixed-race children were also legacies of the violence enacted upon women. As Castañeda writes in her introduction to *Gender on the Borderlands*, acknowledging these stories of violence through gendered counter histories “re-members and recodes the borderlands, bearing witness to the living past, the present, and the future, belying officialdom’s technologies of power to silence, deny, and obliterate.”¹²

Recent studies further examine the role of racialized gendered violence to the structure and maintenance of colonial power in the borderlands. The historian Pablo Mitchell and the literary scholar Nicole M. Guidotti-Hernández each consider how physical and social violence in the multi-racial borderlands have been a means by which citizenship is conferred and denied. Mitchell contends that bodily compartment served as a tool to define social and racial order in New Mexico. Control over the male and female body—its functions, the spaces it inhabited, the manner in which it was dressed, and the other bodies with whom it was deemed appropriate to interact—determined one’s place in the emergent racial order, as

Anglos sought to impose political, economic, and social authority in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹³ Guidotti-Hernández's book paints a complicated picture of violence in the borderlands, which served the "ongoing social process of differentiation for racialized, sexualized gendered subjects."¹⁴ Her work shows how multiple groups—Native American, Mexican, Chicano, and Anglo—enacted violence as a means of defining their own belonging at the expense of those they deemed outsiders. Thus incidents like the 1851 lynching of the Mexican woman known as Josefa/Juanita in Downieville, California, or the 1871 Camp Grant Massacre defy simple explanations of white violence against *mexicano* or indigenous bodies. In teasing out the ways in which gender, race, and citizenship collided, we see how "unspeakable acts" have broader political and social implications. Such insights enrich the field, showing how men and women of different racial backgrounds contended with conquest in lived experience, and the extent to which they participated in the very creation and maintenance of oppressive power structures. Understanding how this violence operated in the past illuminates how systemic gendered violence persists today, and how women's bodies (through harassment, rape, and feminicide) continue to be utilized to enforce ideas about nation, citizenship, and power.

Power manifests itself in other forms of sexual unions and intimacy. Couplings produced through intermarriage, for instance, were wrapped up in "pronounced political and social turmoil, caused by outsiders or insiders" in the borderlands.¹⁵ Intimate relationships between Spanish Mexicans, whites, indigenous people, and others may have involved love, but they were also sites of racial, economic, and social conflict. Contributors to the edited collection, *On the Borders of Love and Power*, grapple with how race, gender, and sex combined in myriad forms in the borderlands, including everything from kinship and *compadrazgo* to indentured servitude.¹⁶ Collectively they show how the idealized family was anything but simple, and that familial relationships also involved larger struggles over power, conquest, and colonization. The historian Julia María Schiavone Camacho's new book on Chinese Mexicans expands the borderlands beyond the U.S.-Mexico border region, to tell a story of how Mexican women, Chinese men, and their mixed-race children crafted borderlands and national identities though their families.¹⁷ In the context of virulent anti-Chinese sentiment emergent in the post-revolutionary period, Mexican women married to Chinese men found themselves stripped of their Mexican citizenship and deported with their families to China. Thus Mexican women's bodies—depicted in anti-Chinese literature haggard and corpse-like after marrying and bearing the children of similarly dehumanized Chinese men—came to represent the absence of national citizenship in the 1930s. Mexican women and Chinese-Mexican children were embodiments of the borderlands experi-

ence about which Anzaldúa wrote—rejected and nationless. In other cases, family provided a means for asserting property and political rights, as was the case when Spanish Mexican women utilized wills and courts to protect their interests in the nineteenth century, or as Mexican men and women made increasing use of the American legal system to assert the integrity of their families in the twentieth.¹⁸ A gendered analysis uncovers how family relationships embodied power and provided spaces within which women and men demanded economic and social rights.

Gender also frames migration in more human terms, as the movement of bodies across geopolitical boundaries and within borderlands spaces. This intervention is crucial, since contemporary nativist rancor monopolizes political discourse over migration, stripping migrants of their basic humanity. Mining rich oral histories and archives, Chicana historians challenged the conventional wisdom of the male-centered Mexican migration narrative, unearthing the stories of women and families who struggled to migrate in the early twentieth century.¹⁹ Women moved north for their own reasons—to escape poverty, to leave unhappy marriages and circumstances, as well as for adventure and new opportunities. What is clear from these works is that gender mattered significantly. Young men, upon reaching the border, were valued primarily as potential laboring hands. Women and girls played important roles as a labor commodity too, yet they also received far greater state scrutiny. Historically, *mexicanas'* bodies represented multiple threats: women were individuals even likelier to become public charges and more susceptible to vice and corruption; they were potential prostitutes that destroyed the moral character of the nation, carriers of disease and contagion, and, particularly in later generations, they became “hyper-fertile baby machines” whose children would illegitimately draw from social services.²⁰ Gender shifts our understanding not only of the motivations of people moving across borders, but illuminates how men's and women's bodies represented very different things to state agencies, reformers, and communities. Furthermore, gender ideologies and racial fears fused in immigration and public policy in the borderlands, shaping everything from immigration inspection procedures to public health policy. More basically, gender and sexuality determined inclusion or exclusion in the national body.²¹ Sexual, racial, and gendered gatekeeping at the border reinforced notions of citizenship and national integrity, functioning as a policing mechanism as governments and their agents sought to control the movement of bodies across borders and through the borderlands.

Several historians have shown how gender also structured labor, economy, and the capitalist expansion of the borderlands. Sarah Deutsch's *No Separate Refuge*, which studied the changing regional economies in Colorado and New Mexico in the period following the U.S. conquest,

shows that the gendered divisions of labor that supported the survival of village communities took on different meanings as men entered into the industrial wage labor force in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, changing notions of men's and women's roles in the economic life of their communities.²² In short order, certain jobs—including domestic work and food processing—came to be defined as women's work, and in the borderlands, they became racialized as indigenous and Mexican women's work. Often extensions of the unpaid labor women performed in the home, employers relied on women's bodies as laborers and as the bearers of future workers too. Women's reproductive labor—at once vilified by immigration restrictionists and desired by employers—ensured a continued supply of racialized workers to fill the ranks of low-paid wage work in the U.S. Southwest.²³ Studies like Vicki Ruíz's classic *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives* interrogated how gender structured workers' lives on and off the clock, highlighting how women in California's fruit processing and packing industry developed a distinct "cannery culture" that provided women mechanisms to address issues specific to their concerns, including child care and sexual harassment.²⁴ More recently, Ana Rosas's work on women and the bracero program reinterprets the exclusively male contract labor program, illuminating how it transformed gender relations within the families and communities the braceros left behind. Mexican women's and children's unpaid labor became necessary in different ways as entire villages of men left for contracts in the United States.²⁵

Moreover, these studies examine how masculinity and femininity defined race and citizenship in borderlands settings, and allowed workers to create meaningful social and political identities. The historian Lori Flores's article on the Tex-Son garment workers' strike in San Antonio illuminates how the predominantly *mexicana* strikers utilized prevailing Cold War notions of femininity to recast their struggle in socially appealing ways and claim respectability as wives and mothers fighting to support their families.²⁶ Studies of mining and smelting operations in the Texas and Arizona borderlands show how Mexican men laid claim to a masculine identity and "American standard of living" systematically denied to them by a labor system that viewed Mexican men as temporary, childlike, and docile (or, in the case of the notorious Bisbee deportation, as "dangerous revolutionaries").²⁷ In the historian and Chicano Studies scholar José Alamillo's study of Southern California citrus communities, masculine prowess on the baseball field and in male-centered work and leisure spaces provides a lens into labor activism and familial relationships.²⁸ Using both a gendered and transnational approach, the historian Deborah Cohen and a scholar of American Studies, race, and migration Alicia Schmidt-Camacho, highlight the historical and contemporary ways that migrants created their own sense

of identity in view of a transnational labor system that relies on the presence of a gendered, mobile, and stateless migratory labor force.²⁹ Cohen's book on the bracero program challenges state-focused analyses of the binational labor agreements to show how braceros themselves defined the program from within while creating transnational identities based on their lived experiences. Schmidt-Camacho's reinterpretation of midcentury labor activism—specifically, the work of women like Luisa Moreno and women participants of the Empire Zinc Strikes immortalized in the 1954 film *Salt of the Earth*—illustrates how women played active roles in supporting a transnational vision of labor solidarity, even as the state and the men in their unions and families remained intent on silencing their work. These recent studies point us in new directions, asserting the ways in which men's and women's laboring bodies were sites for struggles over the meanings of social belonging in the borderlands, particularly as workers imagined that sense of belonging on their own terms.

Recently, history blogger Ann M. Little, known as "Historiann," aptly noted that even today far too many borderlands studies fail to take on gender in serious ways. Pointing to major works on seventeenth- through nineteenth-century borderlands, she argues that while historians have become more skillful and deliberate about telling stories that critically interrogate race, most still relegate gender to the study of "women and children" in a few passing pages.³⁰ While this may be true on some levels, I would encourage her to consider the important work done by Chicana/o scholars, who have produced, and continue to advance, the study of gender in the borderlands. Over the last twenty-five years, Chicana/o scholars have been a vital voice in remapping borderlands studies, forging new intellectual terrain. Borderlands studies has been enriched by a generation of students who, upon first picking up Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera*, took up the challenge to seriously question how gender, sex, violence, power, color, and race combine and collide in the region we call the borderlands. The result is a rich literature that confronts the fundamental complexity of the lives existing between and across the geographic and personal borders of which Anzaldúa so forcefully wrote. As the sampling of works presented here indicates, scholars approaching borderlands from a Chicana/o studies tradition have innovated ways of thinking about borderlands across space, time, and region. They have shown how borderlands studies as a field is as much about process as it is about place, and have made a compelling case for understanding the spaces "in-between" in other temporal and geographic locales. The idea of a multi-racial borderlands in which gendered bodies navigate and contest racial, political, and economic forces is the new starting point, as future works continue to push into different directions. Drawing on the personal and a deep historiography, these works lead the

way in connecting global and transnational processes to local communities in the geographic and metaphorical borderlands. I'd like to think that Gloria would be proud.

NOTES

¹The author thanks Elizabeth Escobedo and Raúl A. Ramos for their comments on this article.

²Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987), 22–23.

³Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 3.

⁴Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 51.

⁵Overviews of these critiques include Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); Vicki L. Ruíz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth Century America*, 10th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Chicano Movement Era criticism can be found in Alma M. García, ed., *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

⁶Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary*, 7.

⁷Antonia Castañeda, Susan H. Armitage, Patricia Hart, and Karen Weathermon, eds., *Gender on the Borderlands: The Frontiers Reader* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

⁸Denise A. Segura and Patricia Zavella, eds., *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands: A Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press: 2007).

⁹Segura and Zavella, *Women and Migration*, 19.

¹⁰See for example Adelaida R. Del Castillo's 1974 essay "Malintzín Tenepal: A Preliminary Look into a New Perspective" reproduced in *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*, ed. Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 122–126; Amanda Nolacea Harris, "Critical Introduction: La Malinche and Post-Movement Feminism in *Feminism, Nation, and Myth: La Malinche*, ed. Rolando Romero and Amanda Nolacea Harris (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2005), ix–xxv; Jean Franco, "La Malinche: From Gift to Sexual Contract," in Jean Franco, Mary Louise Pratt, Kathleen E. Newman, *Critical Passions: Selected Essays* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 67–82.

¹¹Antonia Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in *Building with our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*, ed. Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15–33.

¹²Castañeda, "Introduction: Gender on the Borderlands," x.

¹³Pablo Mitchell, *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880–1920*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

¹⁴Nicole Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 3.

¹⁵Deena González, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820–1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 115.

¹⁶David Wallace Adams and Crista DeLuzio, eds., *On the Borders of Love and Power: Families and Kinship in the Intercultural Southwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

¹⁷Julia María Shiovone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

¹⁸See González, *Refusing the Favor*; Adams and DeLuzio, eds., *On the Borders of Love and Power*; Miroslava Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004); María Raquel Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820–1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007); María E. Montoya, *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict Over Land in the American West, 1840–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and Pablo Mitchell, *West of Sex: Making Mexican America, 1900–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

¹⁹See Ruíz, *From out of the Shadows*; Yolanda Chávez Leyva, “Cruzando la Línea: Engendering the History of Border Mexican Children during the Early Twentieth Century,” in Vicki L. Ruíz and John R. Chávez, *Memories and Migrations: Mapping Boricua and Chicana Histories* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 71–92; Gabriela Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916–1939* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

²⁰See Elena Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican Origin Women's Reproduction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008); Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Grace Peña Delgado, “Border Control and Sexual Policing: White Slavery and Prostitution Along the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, 1903–1910,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 43 no. 2 (Summer 2012): 157–178.

²¹See Luibhéid, *Entry Denied*; Alexandra M. Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); John McKiernan-González, *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas Mexico Border, 1848–1942* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

²²Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

²³See Mario T. García, "The Chicana in American History: The Mexican Women of El Paso, 1880-1920 A Case Study," *Pacific Historical Review* 49, no. 2 (May 1980): 315-337; George J. Sánchez, "'Go After the Women': Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman, 1915-1929," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, 2nd ed., ed. Vicki L. Ruíz and Ellen Carol DuBois, (New York: Routledge, 1994), 284-297; Mary Romero, *Made in the USA*, 10th Anniversary Edition (New York: Routledge, 2002); Yolanda Cávez Leyva, "'Faithful, Hardworking Mexican Hands: Mexicana Workers During the Great Depression,'" *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies* 5 (1995): 63-77.

²⁴Vicki L. Ruíz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987). For other discussions of women, gender, and labor see Vicki Ruíz, *Las Obreras: Chicana Politics of Work and Family* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, 2000); Camille Guerin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

²⁵Ana Elizabeth Rosas, "Breaking the Silence: Mexican Children and Women's Confrontation of Bracero Family Separation, 1942-1964," *Gender & History* 23 no. 2 (August 2011): 382-400.

²⁶Lori A. Flores, "An Unladylike Strike Fashionably Clothed: Mexicana and Anglo Women Garment Workers Against Tex-Son, 1959-1963," *Pacific Historical Review* 78, no. 3 (August 2009): 367-402.

²⁷See Monica Perales, *Smelertown: Making and Remembering a Southwest Border Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Katherine Benton Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

²⁸José Alamillo, *Making Lemonade out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town, 1880-1960* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

²⁹Deborah Cohen, *Braceros: Migrant Citizens and Transnational Subjects in the Postwar United States and Mexico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Alicia R. Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

³⁰Ann M. Little, "Historiann," "Women's and gender history has menstrual blood smeared all over it. If you read this post, you too will be contaminated." Entry posted August 30, 2012. <http://www.historiann.com/2012/08/30/womens-and-gender-history-has-menstrual-blood-smeared-all-over-it-if-you-read-this-post-you-too-will-be-contaminated/#more-19411> (Accessed October 11, 2012).