[1] Within the Mexican population in Chicago, the preferred ethnic identifiers are Mexican, Mexicana, and Mexicano. (Page 57, paragraph one, second sentence: "..ethnographers and Mexicanas authenticate the quinceañera.")

[2] See also Horowitz pp. 52-54, 243 n.1. (Page 57, paragraph two, fourth sentence: "..one of two Chicago ethnographic accounts.")

[3] The time under review (1971-1991) does not imply rigid periodization. Before the 1970's the Archdiocese of Chicago showed sporadic interest in the Mexican population. Field research was conducted in Chicago between May 1990 and December 1991. (Page 58, top paragraph, fourth sentence: "..written by and for Church specialists.")

[4] Lumen Gentium is one document from Vatican II that is attributed with promoting an acceptance of cultural diversity in the Catholic Church. (Page 58, paragraph one, second sentence: "..specifically the importance of the quinceañera.")

[5] Following research protocol, the names of all Mexicana informants are fictitious in order to protect their identity. (Page 61, paragraph one, first sentence:"..opportunities to learn about Mexican culture.")

[6] Here Emilia uses "cotillion" as the English translation for the "quinceañera." Several cultural groups in Chicago would object to this translation, though it does occur in popular usage. (Page 65, after the word "cotillion" in the long quote, line 12).

"Beyond Tokenism": The Life and Thought of Grace Montañez Davis

Catherine Ceniza Choy

In the Spring of 1993, I was among thirteen graduate students enrolled in a research seminar in Chicano History at UCLA.[1] Five of us planned to conduct research on the historical experiences of Chicanas. Each of us already had a research topic in mind upon enrolling in the seminar. My colleagues embarked on projects ranging from Mexican women in nineteenth-century Los Angeles to Chicana zoot suiters in the 1940s. I planned to conduct research on Chicanas in higher education in the early twentieth century. While numerous academic resources for researching the Chicano experience were available to us[2], those of us engaging in historical research on Chicanas confronted the same problem — the lack of primary source materials.

This methodological problem of locating and then obtaining access to primary source materials from which to recover the experiences and voices of Chicanas was hardly new. Pioneering Chicana historians have grappled with the methodological problem of aiming to place Chicanas at the center of their research while acknowledging the limitations of available primary source materials.[3] Given the paucity of primary source materials for Chicana historical research, my colleagues employed multiple strategies to continue our research. Some of them interpreted primary sources, such as wills and newspaper advertisements, creatively in order to reconstruct Chicana experiences. However, I abandoned my original research topic when I learned of a collection of primary materials recently donated to the Chicano Studies Research Library.

While discussing with librarian Richard Chabran my research interests, he informed me that although there were very few Chicanas in higher education in the early twentieth century, he knew of one Chicana who had graduated from college in the 1940s and earned a Master's degree at UCLA in the 1950s. While this information already interested me, Chabran continued that

the Chicano Studies Research Library had recently acquired a collection of this woman's papers. This woman was Grace Montañez Davis. She was the first Mexican-American woman in Los Angeles history to become deputy mayor.

The Grace Montañez Davis Collection contains material which relates to her activities as Los Angeles deputy mayor and spans the years from 1973 to 1978. The collection is voluminous, consisting of over 90 boxes of materials relating to a range of issues including, but not limited to, Latino issues, civil rights, affirmative action, AIDS, gays, lesbians, women's issues, American Indian arts, immigrant youth, gangs, homelessness, employment, the Bradley administration, and police. The collection includes a diverse range of primary source materials, such as newspaper clippings, memorandums, speeches, appointment books, and photographs. Housed at the Southern Regional Library Facility, the materials are non-circulating, but they may be requested through UCLA's Chicano Studies Research Library. An unpublished finding aid for the collection is available at the library. A general description of the collection can also be found through UCLA's University Research Library's Orion database.

Although Grace Montañez Davis's pioneering work in higher education had initially captured my interest, the depth, breadth, and accessibility of this collection of primary source materials compelled me to reconceptualize my research project. My research agenda changed from one focusing on Chicanas in higher education to a case study of a Chicana political elite. By providing an up-close and personal look at one Chicana political activist, this study supports the more general claims made by Chicano historians such as Juan Gomez-Quiñones who recognized in his *Chicano Politics* that "Mexican political activity . . . is variegated and has involved both men and women."[4] Employing a "her-story" approach, this study challenges the insignificance of Chicana political elites in multiple fields of history by documenting the political and personal life of one woman.[5] The life and thought of Grace Montañez Davis provide a unique lens with which to view Chicana political history and activism.

* * *

In August 1975, Grace Montañez Davis replaced Manuel Aragon Jr. as Los Angeles deputy mayor. A native Californian, 48-year-old, divorced mother of three, Grace Montañez Davis became only the second woman, and the first Mexican-American woman, in Los Angeles history to assume the office of deputy mayor. Also as a result of her appointment, Montañez Davis became the highest ranking "Hispanic" in the Bradley administration.[6] At the press conference regarding her appointment, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley remarked, "We want to take advantage of her ability."[7]

Although Montañez Davis was later known as a champion for women's and Latino rights, she initially earned a reputation in politics as an expert in employment. She entered public life in 1964 as an administrative assistant to Congressman George E. Brown, Jr. Montañez Davis then served government as a manpower development specialist for the U.S. Department of Labor from 1966 to 1973. In 1973 Bradley recruited her to work for the city of Los Angeles as Director of Human Resources. One of her achievements as Director of Human Resources was the administration of an ACTION grant which developed the City Volunteer Corps.

However, despite the pioneering work and political achievements of Montañez Davis, her life and career are invisible in histories of Chicano politics. This article attempts to address her invisibility in the historical literature in three ways: first, by exploring the possible reasons why Chicano histories exclude discussion of her life and career; then, by analyzing her contributions to Los Angeles, Chicano, and women's political history; and finally, by suggesting areas for further study and inquiry regarding Chicana leadership.

I argue that her invisibility in the historical literature can be attributed to multiple factors. First, her invisibility is symptomatic of the paucity of scholarly literature on Chicana political history and individual Chicana political activists in general. While new scholarly work on Chicana politics has emerged in the form

of pathbreaking dissertations, these works build upon and follow patterns of earlier scholarship on Chicana politics which focused on Chicana activism in the Chicano Movement, the collective achievements of Chicanas in organizations, and Chicana working class activism.[8] Dionne Espinoza analyzes the gendered participation of Chicana Berets and documents the political ideology and activism of grassroots Chicana activist Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez.[9] Cynthia Orozco analyzes gender in her study of Chicana and Chicano creation of and participation in the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).[10] Maria Linda Apodaca's study focuses on the Chicanas who were involved in the election of Edward Roybal to the Los Angeles City Council in the late 1940s and the creation of the Community Service Organization (CSO).[11]

Second, while new Chicana Studies scholarship has attempted to not only recover the experiences and contributions of Chicana political activists but also to theorize new categories with which to contextualize and understand Chicana activism, the life and career of Montañez Davis defy such categorization. For example, the ways in which she combined motherhood and office politics blurs the absolute line between what historian Margaret Rose has called "traditional and nontraditional patterns of female activism."[12] According to Rose, "traditional" activists like Helen Chávez worked at home, while "nontraditional" activists like Dolores Huerta appeared in the public political sphere. As a mother of three, who worked as a field worker for Rep. George Brown Jr. at home while raising her children and who later became Los Angeles deputy mayor, Montañez Davis combined both traditional and nontraditional aspects of female activism.

Third, her unique academic background, career paths in science and politics, and her multiple political identities and loyalties make contextualization of her achievements and activism difficult within women's history, urban history, American political history, and even Chicana political history. Montañez Davis identified with several communities based on race, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic class, and political ideology, and not solely, or even primarily, with a Chicano community. As an American

woman, she identified with the economic and political struggles of white women as well as women of color. As a former cancer researcher, she struggled with her expertise in a male-dominated profession within her own Mexican-American family and empathized with the loneliness of women scientists. As a former resident of Lincoln Heights, she identified with Americans of Italian as well as Mexican descent. And as a member of the Mexican-American generation of the 1940's and 1950's, she participated in both grass roots as well as middle class political organizing. These multiple political and multicultural identities would eventually alienate her from the cultural nationalism of the 1960's and 1970's Chicano Movement.

In order to appreciate the complexity and significance of Grace Montañez Davis's life, one must consider Montañez Davis's personal, subjective experiences and her family relationships as well as her public and political activities. Montañez Davis's personal struggle with her mother about pursuing higher education and the support she received from her father not only offer insight to the ways in which Montañez Davis actively supported women in higher education during her tenure as deputy mayor, but also reveal important conflicts and cultural changes in the history of Mexican-American families.

Various scholars have discussed such conflicts over restrictive gender roles in the Mexican-American family.[13] In her analysis of "la Chicana and the Chicano family," Betty Garcia-Bahne argues that "in the process of growth from adolescence to womanhood, the Chicana is faced with many situations that move her early and easily into the family role of wife and mother."[14] In her struggle to develop an independent lifestyle, Garcia-Bahne continues, "the Chicana is left with her family trying to resolve the conflict of meeting traditional expectations and developing her capabilities."[15]

According to historian Vicki Ruiz, struggling with developing an independent lifestyle amidst traditional expectations for Mexican-American women is historically grounded in the 1920's. Mexican-American women coming of age during the 1920's and 1930's may have experienced even deeper generational tensions

than Mexican-American men over their personal appearance—hairstyles, dress, cosmetics—and their behavior towards young men.[16] Some women did rebel by moving out of their family homes and into apartments. Montañez Davis's struggle to achieve her master's degree in microbiology at UCLA against her mother's resistance in the 1950's is another example of such conflict over gender roles as well as young Mexican-American women's rebellion in the history of the Mexican-American family.

Finally, Grace Montañez Davis's official position as deputy mayor limited her own political influence. The position of deputy mayor was created in 1965 under the Civil Service structure "for the sole purpose of performing ceremonial functions." Thus, in many ways, the office of deputy mayor was a more symbolic rather than a decision-making position. And one might easily construe Montañez Davis's appointment as deputy mayor as another gesture of political tokenism.

Despite her political limitations as deputy mayor, however, Grace Montañez Davis made significant contributions to Los Angeles, Chicano, and women's political life. As one of a handful of Latino graduate students at UCLA during the 1950's, she dedicated herself to increasing opportunities for Latinos to obtain higher education. As deputy mayor, she supported policies that reflected a diverse and multicultural Los Angeles such as affirmative action. As a Mexican-American woman, she was one of the few public role models for Chicanas, encouraging them to enter traditionally male-dominated fields such as science and politics.

"Her Own Constituency — Women"

As Los Angeles deputy mayor, Grace Montañez Davis's political constituency included not only Mexican Americans, but also other Latinos, ethnic minorities, and women. Montañez Davis identified herself strongly with all these communities; yet, at times she expressed seemingly more commitment to one community over another. For example, she often primarily identified herself as belonging to a community of women. At the press

conference regarding her appointment as deputy mayor, Montañez Davis said, "I'm certainly very, very proud to have been given this honor . . . particularly I guess because I'm a woman."[17]

Montañez Davis referred to women in Los Angeles as her "own constituency." When discussing the community aspect of her position as deputy mayor, she explained, "We have five coordinators throughout the city . . . Those people all report through another supervisor to me. Then, of course, I have my own constituency — women. Because I am a woman, women call on me very frequently."[18]

Montañez Davis appealed to women across racial and ethnic lines on the basis of gender and American politics. She constructed her identity as an American woman and made references in her speeches to historical events in American women's history, such as the Seneca Falls convention in 1848 and Elizabeth Cady Stanton's crusade for women's suffrage.[19]

Despite her emphasis on gender, and specifically women, it is difficult to analyze Grace Montañez Davis's role as a politician for women without a discussion of socio-economic class. Montañez Davis consciously served as a middle class role model at women's conferences. Professional women's organizations asked her to address middle class concerns such as networking, promotion, and career management. For example, at the Women in Business Sixth Annual Conference on October 20, 1984, she spoke on the topic of "political influence." Given that the theme of the conference was "Power, Wealth, Influence: Getting It, Keeping It, Using It," Montañez Davis urged women at this conference to go beyond networking and to build support groups and constituencies.[20]

While Montañez Davis also participated in women's conferences which targeted Chicanas and Latinas, the Latina organizations sponsoring such conferences were also professional, middle class organizations. For example, she lectured on networking for a series on "Chicanas in the Professions, " sponsored by University of California at Santa Barbara's Center for Chicano Studies, and delivered remarks for Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional at Santa Barbara.[21] Comisión Femenil

Mexicana Nacional was one of several middle class Latina groups which emerged in the 1970's.[22] Established in 1970 at a National Issues Conference in Sacramento, Comisión Femenil focused on middle class concerns such as leadership training.[23] The group also attempted to build coalitions with other middle class women's organizations, such as the predominantly white National Organization of Women (N.O.W.).

Despite her middle class constituency, Montañez Davis also sympathized with working class women who worked as a means of economic survival for themselves and their families. For example, in her remarks for Comisión Femenil, after having asked, "Why have women become so strident in their demands for social parity?", Montañez Davis claimed:

> When you consider also that more than half of the 3.7 million women who were heads of households were in the labor force and nearly two-thirds of these women workers were the only wage earners in their families, it is apparent that there are urgent, economic reasons for the presence of women in the labor market. From this perspective, it is not surprising that women have felt compelled to demand broader mobility in the job market and greater access to opportunities for success and advancement.[24]

As deputy mayor, Montañez Davis attacked stereotypes of women and informed women of legislation which furthered gender equality. Aside from economic considerations, she argued that women demanded social parity "certainly because women have long felt the need to free themselves of the stereotype of the non-thinking, non-creative, one-dimensional beings, and surely because women are no longer willing to suppress the free expression of their talents and skills."[25]

Montañez Davis reminded women in her audiences of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which she referred to as "a very broad piece of legislation which attempts to prohibit those systems, practices, and policies of employment which may appear to be sex neutral but which result in discrimination on the basis of sex."[26] She then informed them of the amendment of Title VII by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 which strengthened the provisions of Title VII by issuing a set of "Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex." Montañez Davis told women that employment advertisements under male and female headings, and certain physical prerequisites for employment such as height, infringed upon women's rights under these guidelines.

Although Montañez Davis offered women such information to empower themselves, she sympathized with working class and professional women about the discriminatory and sexist aspects of the workplace. Thus, even though she reminded and informed women of their own abilities to change their working lives through legal means, she also acknowledged the structure of sexism in society. After informing the women at Comisión Femenil of the guidelines of Title VII, she remarked,

> Despite the existence of a complex body of laws and regulations condemning discriminatory practices, women still find themselves in an environment which is sometimes unenthusiastic, if not hostile, to the notion of full civil equality without regard to sex. The legal mandate for the elimination of practices which serve to deny women access to all human and social freedoms has not been met with sufficient acceptance and support.[27]

Montañez Davis's recognition of present day sexism and the need for continued struggle for gender equality resonated in other speeches she delivered. For example, in her remarks for Women's Equality Day on August 22, 1975, she acknowledged that Congress had legislated new gains for women such as banning discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status in consumer-credit transactions, the distribution of federally related mortgage credit, and grants of federal funds to career counseling and sports education. Yet Montañez Davis admonished her audience:

But the struggle is not yet over. . . . we shouldn't be satisfied with only those gains. Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment will create equal educational opportunities and strengthen laws against sex discrimination in education and in employment, insure that men and women can get the same social security benefits and erase laws that prohibit women from controlling property, mortgages, or insurance. I can't stress enough how important it is for women's organizations, such as those represented here today, to continue the struggle for the equal rights we deserve.[28]

"Scarce as Hen's Teeth in a Man's World"

Continued struggle for women's rights and gender equality characterized not only Montañez Davis's tenure as deputy mayor but also her personal life and specifically her desire for higher education. As a Mexican-American pioneer in the area of higher education as well as politics, Grace Montañez Davis was one of only a few Mexican Americans in the 1940's and 1950's to earn a college degree and then a master's degree. And she distinguished herself in the male-dominated field of science. After graduating from Sacred Heart High School, Montañez Davis earned her bachelor of arts in chemistry from Immaculate Heart College. She then attended the University of California at Los Angeles where she earned her master of arts in microbiology.[29]

Montañez Davis identified herself as a scientist, as well as an American woman, a Mexican American, and a Hispanic. As deputy mayor, she continued to empathize with other women scientists about the difficulty of their male-dominated profession. Her address at the Women in Engineering Career Facilitation Project reflected her own loneliness in the scientific field. Montañez Davis observed:

"Scarce as hen's teeth" is an old phrase that aptly describes the situation of women in science and engineering. Early

socialization, pre-college counseling and gender role expectations of our culture and families have strongly influenced our self concepts and behavior, shaping our ideas about appropriate behavior, roles, and careers. Choosing a field considered to be "male" becomes a difficult choice.[30]

According to Montañez Davis, one the greatest barriers to the emergence of Hispanic women leadership previously was not the political hegemony of the dominant Anglo culture per se, but rather the opposition from their own mothers to furthering their education; according to her, it was a "cultural thing." This did not mean that Montañez Davis did not acknowledge American racism, but she stated,

Just five years ago, we were having a great deal of difficulty recruiting the young women to go back East to the Ivy League colleges. There were a lot of scholarships available. . . . Their mothers didn't think they should leave home. I know I had that problem. I was going to UCLA and my mother had a fit.[31]

Although Montañez Davis later acknowledged the support of both of her parents for supporting her education, she claimed that more personal support came from her father, Alfredo Montañez. Her close and nurturing relationship with her father challenges stereotypical conceptions of Mexican-American family members' roles in which the mother represents the nurturing aspects of the family's life and maintains a close relationship with her children, while the father remains aloof and independent from the rest of the family.[32] Montañez Davis recalled:

I probably had a better relationship with my dad as I grew older. My mom basically held with the traditions that a girl didn't do this and didn't do that. My dad was more my friend. It was like 'Jump in the car, Dad, we're going.' He was always very supportive. I always gave my

parents credit for supporting the education I was pursuing. They had no way of knowing that studying chemistry or bacteriology was going to result in a job. And going on to graduate school was unheard of.[33]

Only four decades ago, a Chicano Studies Center and La Raza Graduate Students Association were non-existent and almost unimaginable at UCLA. In the 1950's, one could count the number of Hispanic graduate students at UCLA on one hand. Montañez Davis recalled:

> When I was at UCLA (in the 1950's) I once went through all the students' cards to see if there were other people with Spanish surnames. There were five in the graduate school—and four of them were from Mexico or Central or South America. I was the only one (Mexican-American) in graduate school at that time.[34]

Being the "only one"—Mexican-American graduate student, scientist, deputy mayor—Montañez Davis empathized with the young women engineers at the Women in Engineering Career Facilitation Project not only as a former scientist herself, but also as a woman in the "male" field of mayoral politics. In her address, she continued, "A woman's constant battle to prove her equality in a male-dominated world seems to be greatly magnified in the engineering arena; it can still be a shock to find that the only female present at a meeting is not the secretary but in fact the engineer."[35] As deputy mayor, Montañez Davis "shudder(ed) at the people who assumed she was the mayor's social secretary."[36]

"From Science to Motherhood and Politics"

Montañez Davis left scientific research for politics because her own work in cancer research became complicated after her marriage to Raymond Davis. After receiving her master's degree from UCLA, Montañez Davis recalled, "I spent about six

years in cancer research and then I quit to have a family because somewhere in between there, when I was a graduate student, I got married."[37] After her marriage, she stayed home and "had one child after another"—Deirdra, Alison, and Alfred. Balancing a family life and a scientific career proved to be a formidable task for Montañez Davis: "I think what happened is that science is an exact field and it constantly changes. I kept up for many years with journals when I was having my family, but the language started to change so drastically that I didn't know what I was reading."[38]

Montañez Davis managed to balance motherhood and political activism however, despite her divorce from Raymond Davis in 1968. According to her, her children have always been a part of everything she has done and her initial involvement in politics did not reduce her contact with her three children. "Wherever I went, I took the kids," she said. "My children have walked precincts from the time I pushed them on a stroller."[39]

Montañez Davis claimed that taking her children to political and community meetings never caused much of a backlash. "It was better that they see me with my children than they see me by myself," she said.[40] However, during her tenure as deputy mayor, when her children reached their early 20's, one co-worker—a young woman— criticized Montañez Davis for paying too much attention to them. Montañez Davis responded in an interview, "I don't mind telling you this . . . I really enjoy being a mother and there's very little that my children depend on me for now, other than money. But I make breakfast every morning for my son. . . . And I do cook dinner and leave the food in the refrigerator."[41]

Of course, deputy mayoral duties have affected her family and personal life in negative ways. The public nature of her position hindered most possibilities of a private life for her and her children. She acknowledged that her children reluctantly adjusted to the public spotlight: "They used to resent my position when I first got it because I was always telling them that they couldn't misbehave because they couldn't embarrass the mayor."[42]

Furthermore, her busy schedule as deputy mayor inevitably reduced her contact with her children. During one week, her political engagements included: meeting with Councilman Lindsay to talk about Skid Row projects, dinner with Kraft Corporation's affirmative action officer, KCET advisory committee meeting, all-day women's conference at the Biltmore, summer youth program presentation at Hazard Park, and Project of the Barrio dinner at Sportsmen's Lodge.[43] As a result of such hectic schedules, Montañez Davis rarely had time for herself, let alone her children. In order to handle her numerous responsibilities, she had to schedule time for herself and to make appointments with them. When asked what she liked least about her job, she related:

> Probably the fact that I don't have a private life. It really doesn't bother me except that every once in a while it'll hit me that I really don't have time for myself. Usually by the time I make time for myself I'm too tired. . . . It's hard to have a private life because you can't really relate to anybody. I think I'm fortunate not to have anybody other than my children, who are self-sufficient, but even with them, we make appointments.[44]

Her responsibilities as deputy mayor at times resulted in frustration and guilt. For example, Montañez Davis lamented, "Usually by the time I make time for myself I'm too tired. I've been trying to get down to the museum to see the sculpture exhibit, but I wonder if it's going to be over. Sunday I was so tired I just stayed home and collapsed."[45] Yet she made breakfast every morning for her son knowing that he could make his breakfast himself. She explained, ". . . but I feel that there's very little that I can give him. . . . But my hours—we can get something suddenly that we feel is very important and the mayor can't take it, and so you just go. With that schedule, there's no way in the world you can relate to anybody."[46]

Nevertheless, Montañez Davis handled these negative aspects of her office with a sense of humor and pragmatism. When

reflecting upon the interaction among her children and her political colleagues, she recalled, "Once when Jimmy Roosevelt ran for mayor, he was sitting on the floor at our home, Alison on his lap. And she made some remark about his lack of hair." Montañez Davis continued, "My children have never been awed."[47] And despite her complaints about fatigue from the job, she quickly pointed out, "but, in exchange, I meet a lot of people."[48]

Montañez Davis also knew when she had to make time for herself a priority. She would schedule, for example, evening hours to watch Oscar-contending films on the Z Channel.[49] And, in order to keep in touch with people, there was always the phone. In fact, communication by phone allowed Montañez Davis to become seriously involved in politics while raising her family. She was able to work as a field worker for Rep. George Brown, Jr. as he installed a phone in her home. Montañez Davis recalled, "I once ran a whole voter registration drive just by being on the phone."[50]

It was at home during the 1950's where Montañez Davis became involved in community activity, such as the PTA, as well as political activity: " . . . the '50's were really years when the Mexican representation was a real issue, so there were lots of candidates around."[51] During this time period, she was an active member of the Mexican-American generation. According to historian Mario García, the Mexican-American generation consisted of middle class and working class leaders, liberal and radical intellectuals. This "political generation" emerged not only to react to specific historical changes, but also to make history:

> The convulsions of the Great Depression combined with new economic and political opportunities during World War II and with the historic discrimination in the Southwest against Mexicans and rising expectations among Mexican Americans to give birth to a new leadership, cognizant of its rights as U. S. citizens and determined to achieve them.[52]

Grace Montañez Davis's politics are very much rooted in

this Mexican-American generation. She referred to World War II, for example, as a pivotal period in the formation of Mexican-American politics:

> "We have always had politics, of course, but this was different. It was when the men went to World War II that they learned they were also Americans, not just Mexicans. . . . When the men came back they decided, 'We don't want to give up being Mexican, but at the same time we are Americans." [53]

Like many other middle class Mexican Americans of this political generation, Montañez Davis advocated an integrationist approach, believing that increased educational opportunities, fluency in English, U. S. citizenship status, and political representation in American government for Mexican-Americans would curtail discrimination in general and allow for more social mobility. In the 1950's and 1960's, Montañez Davis taught citizenship classes (she remarked that her father was her best student) and became involved in the Mexican-American organization, MAPA (Mexican American Political Association).

Mexican-American leaders organized MAPA on a statewide basis throughout California in 1959 when they realized that they could no longer depend upon the Democratic Party alone to fairly represent Mexican Americans in the state. The defeat of Edward Roybal for Lieutenant Governor in 1954 and of Henry López for Secretary of State in 1958 during the years of a Democratic landslide served as a wake-up call to the necessity of an organization solely dedicated to advancing political representation of Mexican-Americans.[54] Association with MAPA appealed to Montañez Davis after having been involved in voter registration drives for Rep. George Brown, Jr. and having worked on political campaigns for Edward R. Roybal.

However, while individual MAPA chapters have promoted the interests of the Mexican-American community, the predominantly middle class membership of the organization hindered its efforts to promote political organization and social action among

working class Mexican Americans. According to Miguel David Tirado, "one reason for this has been up until recently the Mexico-oriented perspective of the poorer Mexican American compared with the assimilative orientation of the middle class Mexican American."[55]

This "assimilative orientation of the middle class Mexican American" shaped Montañez Davis's political philosophy as deputy mayor. For example, as deputy mayor, she viewed the future of Los Angeles optimistically. She predicted peaceful multicultural integration in the city, but placed the responsibility of multicultural integration on the acculturation of immigrants: "I think as people learn the language and work and have the ability, they're going to live around the city, to live where they can afford to live."[56]

And when asked about the major problems facing the Latino community in Los Angeles, Montañez Davis cited a combination of educational and job opportunities. Yet she contextualized these problems not as a reflection of a discriminatory society, but rather as the greatest barriers to Latino integration and social mobility: "If you have those [education and employment], you become mobile and you can integrate into the rest of society. I know that because I have an education, it became a natural thing for me to move out of the neighborhood."[57]

As deputy mayor, Montañez Davis publicly supported greater educational opportunities for Latinos. For example, she worked on a project of school integration with students from Cal State Los Angeles and UCLA. And she spoke at numerous Latino events organized by groups committed to educational opportunity. Montañez Davis served as Master of Ceremonies for the awards presentation at MALDEF's (Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund) 10th annual Los Angeles dinner. As a university trustee, she presided over the third anniversary celebration of the National Hispanic University. And she served as keynote speaker at the seventh annual scholarship banquet of LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) National Education Service Centers, Inc.[58]

However, Montañez Davis's political philosophy con-

sisted of a unique blend of middle class assimilationist values and community-oriented grassroots organizing. For example, when Mayor Tom Bradley organized 175 city commissioners into ethnic minority and women's caucuses in 1984, Montañez Davis supported this effort, believing that such reorganization would improve commissioners' ability to represent women and racial minorities as well as Bradley's political status. She advised, "Get your base out. . . . When you have a minority candidate, there's still that old fashioned kind of campaign you have to do, you know, the door-to-door, the grass-roots."[59]

While middle class Mexican-American organizations of the 1950's and 1960's influenced Montañez Davis's politics, so did the grassroots organizing of Mexican-American Los Angeles behind the campaigns of Edward R. Roybal. When Montañez Davis referred to "that old fashioned kind of campaign . . . the door-to-door, the grass-roots," she most probably had the election of Roybal to Los Angeles City Council in mind. From 1949 to 1962, Roybal dominated Chicano politics in Los Angeles. Although he was unsuccessful in his first bid for a seat on the Los Angeles City Council in 1947, he won the seat in 1949 and became the first person of Mexican descent to serve on the council since 1881. Perhaps the most decisive factor in his victorious campaign in 1949 was the registration of 12,000 new voters by the Community Service Organization (CSO). The CSO began in small towns beyond East Los Angeles where Ignacio López organized Civic Unity Leagues to stimulate political action among grassroots Chicanos by intensive voter registration drives.[60]

After having worked on voter registration drives herself and the election of Roybal to the U.S. Congress in 1962, Montañez Davis understood and appreciated the political power of a grassroots, people-oriented approach. As one of two deputy mayors under Bradley, she referred to her position as "software" and her fellow deputy mayor's, Ray Remy's, side as the "hardware": "I refer to my side as the software and the other side . . . I refer to that as hardware because (Ray Remy) deals with what I call hardware issues—transportation, energy and conservation, government relations, things like that. I have all of the people

relations."[61]

Montañez Davis believed her closest and strongest relationships with people were among women and Latinos, and specifically Mexican Americans. According to her, she maintained close ties to the Mexican-American community by attending meetings and responding to their concerns:

> The Mexican-American Chamber of Commerce, I help them out every year when they have their fair. I'm also very close to the merchants on Olvera Street. They're having a big hassle over an increase in rents. Just being there shows that I have an interest. Sometimes you can't do what they want, but at least they feel they had a fair hearing. And I'm very close to the (Mexican) consul general here. And I have a long list of Hispanic organizations and I'll do mailings to them—on the census, generating voting, things that are not political.[62]

Montañez Davis also responded to concerns of the Mexican-American community such as police brutality, Spanish-language media, and natural disasters in Mexico. In June 1979 she joined a coalition of 18 community representatives to protest the investigation of police shootings against two men, Reyes Martinez and Abel Gill. Martinez died of head injuries in November 1978 two days after he was taken into custody on suspicion of burglarizing a van. A deputy sheriff fatally shot Gill after he reportedly tried to ram a patrol car in February 1979. The coalition complained that prosecution of the law enforcement officers involved by the district attorney's office had not yet begun. After meeting with prosecutors in the Los Angeles County district attorney's office, Montañez Davis commented, "I felt it was productive because it opened up a dialogue with the DA that had previously been nonexistent, but it also is frustrating, too, to those of us who are dismayed about these shootings in the minority communities."[63]

When News World Communications Inc. launched a Spanish-language newspaper in Los Angeles, Noticias del Mundo,

in 1984, Montañez Davis co-hosted the event. Although the publisher of the paper was somewhat controversial—News World is a conglomerate associated with right-wing cult figure Rev. Sun Myung Moon—Montañez Davis responded, "I don't think people are aware of the newspaper's ownership. . . . The (Latino) community was just happy that someone was able to put out a big league newspaper, something the community could be associated with . . . because we need more Spanish-language media."[64]

Finally, when an earthquake ravaged central Mexico in September 1985, Montañez Davis and Los Angeles City Councilman Art Snyder visited their oldest and largest "sister city," Mexico City, even after Secretary of State Elliott Abrams harshly criticized San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros for embarking on a similar "people-to-people" mission. Montañez Davis, whose side is "software," or people relations, rejected Abrams's plea to American government officials to remain outside of Mexico, and traveled to Mexico City in order to assess firsthand the area's needs.[65]

While Montañez Davis believed she maintained close ties to the Mexican-American community by responding to their needs, she admitted that she initiated much of her community work and that Latinos in general requested very little from her.[66] This distance between her and the Latino community can be attributed to two factors: the ceremonial and administrative nature of her position as deputy mayor and her alienation from Chicano nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s.

"A Ceremonial Title, Multicultural Ties"

Although Montañez Davis assumed the duties of Mayor Bradley briefly during his visit to the Soviet Union in October 1975, in general her position as deputy mayor was a ceremonial one involving many public appearances on behalf of the mayor.[67] For example, Montañez Davis had to appear as a guest speaker at ribbon cutting and dedication ceremonies such as that of the Military Entrance Processing Station on June 17, 1985.[68] Given these duties, it is no wonder that Montañez Davis's "ties" to the Latino

community consisted mainly of appearances at meetings, such as the Mexican-American Chamber of Commerce meeting, and special events, such as the LULAC scholarship banquet.

Furthermore, the cultural nationalism of Chicanos in the 1960's and 1970's alienated Montañez Davis, a middle class member of the Mexican-American generation greatly influenced by the integrationist strategies of the 1940's and 1950's. Nationalism reached a peak among Chicano youths in Los Angeles in 1968. In the spring of that year, approximately 10,000 Chicano students walked out of five predominantly Mexican high schools in East Los Angeles. These "blow-outs" or walkouts demonstrated the unity among Chicano youths in protesting educational and socio-economic discrimination. They also reflected the changing leadership styles of the Chicano community. In the late 1960's, Mexican-American student groups in Los Angeles formed coalitions and united activists with nationalist symbols. They adopted the name "Chicano", a formerly perjorative term for lower class Mexicans.[69]

However, for Montañez Davis, being Mexican was a cultural, not national, identity. As deputy mayor, she claimed, "I don't feel any allegiance toward Mexico. . . . I appreciate the history and culture that I inherited from (my) parents."[70] This lack of allegiance toward Mexico influenced her position on U.S. immigration policy. Montañez Davis viewed the U.S.-Mexican border positively: ". . . I don't oppose the so-called wall, which is not a wall but a fence. I really am not as liberal about immigration quotas. I think that Mexico needs to take a more responsive look at the flow of people here. . . . People who are here legally are just being lumped with people who are here without documents."[71]

Her upbringing reflected the multicultural reality of twentieth century Los Angeles. Although both her parents, Alfredo Montañez and Belen Mendoza Montañez, were from Mexico—Montañez Davis recalled that they came to the United States in the early 1920's, married in Fresno, and then settled in Los Angeles. Montañez Davis was born in the Lincoln Heights area which up until the 1930's was a predominantly middle class

Anglo-American community and in the 1940's, a working class Italian-American community. Lincoln Heights would not become a predominantly Chicano community until the 1960's.[72]

In the 1930's, those Mexican Americans living in Lincoln Heights resided in small barrios, collectively known as "Dogtown," which bordered the Los Angeles River. Although the Mexican-American community grew as the Italians moved out of Lincoln Heights, Montañez Davis grew up in the neighborhood in the 1930's and 1940's amidst a majority of Italian Americans. She remembered "her father participating in wine making (and her mother worrying about him coming home drunk), observing traditional Italian holidays such as St. Joseph's Feast Day and using her fluency in Spanish to communicate in Italian with neighborhood elders."[73] She reflected on her childhood with nostalgia, "I actually grew up in an Italian culture. I kind of miss that."[74]

Montañez Davis's middle class background and multicultural (as opposed to Chicano nationalist) perspective appealed to U.S. government leaders. In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson invited moderate and conservative Mexican-American politicians to cabinet committee hearings in El Paso, Texas at the exclusion of more leftist Chicano leaders such as Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, César Chávez, Reies López Tijerina, and Ernesto Galarza. In 1970, President Nixon courted the Chicano middle class by promoting programs benefiting the managerial, professional, and business sector.[75]

Montañez Davis's appointment as deputy mayor of Los Angeles would also not be the first time government leaders appointed a Mexican American to a symbolic position in order to pacify Chicano masses. Thus, despite the pioneering work and accomplishments of Grace Montañez Davis, speculations of tokenism shadow her political career. For example, in 1967, the federal government appointed Vicente Ximenes to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and shortly thereafter as head of the Interagency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs. These appointments pacified those Chicanos who walked out of an EEOC meeting in Albuquerque, New Mexico because

the commission did not have a Mexican on its staff, as well as middle class Mexican Americans who advocated affirmative action.

In 1975, Montañez Davis replaced Manuel Aragon Jr., also a Mexican-American, as deputy mayor. Like Ximenes's rise to political office, her appointment took place during a period of Chicano political unrest, demonstrated by the Moratorium, in which Chicanos organized to protest the Vietnam War as well as social injustice at home, and the formation of La Raza Unida Party (RUP). The RUP, which publicized brown power and the return of Aztlán through the electoral process, registered 10,000 new voters in California in the 1970's. Unlike Montañez Davis, the majority of these activists were from working class backgrounds and espoused a comparatively more leftist political agenda. Montañez Davis reached the height of her political career as a new generation of Chicano activists emerged in the landscape of Chicano politics.

"A New Consciousness"

Although Montañez's strongest political influences derived from the Mexican-American political activism of the 1940's and 1950's, her political ideology was not completely divorced from more contemporary Chicano political activism. On June 7, 1993 over 100 Latino community and academic activists addressed a letter to Chancellor Charles Young of the University of California Board of Regents and Governor Pete Wilson "concerning the issue of Chicano studies" at UCLA. The letter occupied a full page of UCLA's student newspaper, *The Daily Bruin*.[76] These activists opened the letter with the following statement:

> We believe that all persons and groups are entitled to fairness and equality and that it is our responsibility to focus attention on important issues whomever they may affect, but especially when they pertain to the Latino community. The failure to establish a department of Chicano Studies at UCLA is just such an issue.[77]

On the day of the funeral of UFW activist César Chávez, Chancellor Young publicly rejected the proposal for a Chicano Studies Department. As a result of this announcement, students led numerous protests and demonstrations on campus during the final weeks of the academic year. The Latino activists who signed the letter to the Chancellor and the Governor strongly supported the implementation of a Chicano Studies Department at UCLA:

> We believe the study of Chicano issues today is more relevant than . . . the study of archaic and overwhelmingly Euro-centric, Anglo-centric focused histories and literatures. . . . The first step in the colonization of a society is the systematic suppression of its history, its institutions, and its mores; let the full institutionalization of Chicano Studies at UCLA be an important step in the de-colonization of the American-Latino experience.[78]

Among the activists who signed the letter was Grace Montañez Davis.

Unlike some of the other activists, Montañez Davis signed her name without an official title attached to it. By this time, she was no longer deputy mayor of Los Angeles. A controversy over the Housing Authority Board, on which Montañez Davis served as liaison to the mayor, damaged her relationship with Mayor Bradley. Bradley removed Montañez Davis from her duties as liaison in December 1988 as he claimed she did not alert him about Chairman Alvin Greene's repeated absences at board meetings. Montañez Davis, however, insisted that she repeatedly told Bradley of Greene's attendance problems.[79]

Nevertheless, Montañez Davis's signature on the letter concerning Chicano Studies is significant with or without the title of deputy mayor attached. Montañez Davis's greatest contribution to Chicano/a history is not the fact that she was the first Mexican-American woman to become Los Angeles deputy mayor, but rather the ways in which her life and work directly and indirectly challenged stereotypical notions of Chicana identity, leadership, and political ideology, and bridged categories of science, activism, motherhood, and public office.

She challenged a singular Chicana identity by identifying with American women across racial and ethnic lines through ties of socio-economic class and feminist political agendas; by identifying herself as a Mexican-American, a Hispanic, a Latino (with an "Italian-American" upbringing) during the peak of Chicano nationalism; and by allowing the ways in which she politically and culturally identified herself to change over time. She bridged categories of science and activism as she encouraged women to pursue careers in male-dominated scientific fields during her tenure as deputy mayor although she had abandoned her own career in science a decade earlier. And she combined motherhood and public office in her daily life, for example by bringing her children to political and community meetings.

Montañez Davis's example urges scholars to consider moving towards what feminist theorist Gloria Anzaldúa has called "a new consciousness" and a "tolerance for ambiguity" which appreciate the dynamic and oftentimes contradictory lifestyle of women of color, "*la mestiza.*"

Una lucha de fronteras/ A Struggle of Borders

Because I, a *mestiza*,
continually walk out of one culture
and into another,
because I am in all cultures at the same time,
alma entre dos mundos, tres, cuatro,
me zumba la cabeza con la contradictorio.
Estoy norteada por todas las voces que me hablan
simultáneamente.[80]

While more research in all aspects of Chicana political history is needed, more case studies and comparative studies of contemporary Chicana political elites will provide an important lens with which to view the salient issues of Chicana political empowerment and leadership in the late twentieth century. Al-

though Latinas have made some gains in electoral politics, by 1985 only 12 percent of all elected positions held by Latinos in the United States were held by women.[81] While further study regarding the major obstacles to increasing Chicana representation in public office is necessary, future studies of Chicana political elites should also focus on investigating those resources—education, family, personal finances, previous political activism—which have led to the election and appointment of the few Chicanas in public office as well as the resources they utilize while in office. Future studies may also try to develop new methodologies with which to measure the impact of the presence and activism of Chicana public office holders on Chicano/a and women's legislative issues. Future comparative studies would reveal whether there are patterns in contemporary Chicana political resources, campaigns, and agendas. The availability of primary source materials, such as the Grace Montañez Davis Collection and transcriptions of oral interviews with other Chicana political elites such as Gloria Molina[82], make such future research feasible.

Finally, future case studies of Chicana political elites should try to include and to analyze the lives of these women beyond the spheres of public office. For example, much more research and scholarly work is needed regarding the education and scientific research of Grace Montañez Davis. During the research seminar, I concentrated on researching the materials in her archival collection and did not personally interview her. As her collection of papers focused on her tenure as deputy mayor, so many questions remain: Why did she decide to pursue a master's degree in microbiology? What resources enabled her to undertake and complete both a college and advanced degree? What was an institution of higher education like UCLA like in the 1950s with so few Chicanos in its student body?

Studies foregrounding strict categories of ethnic identity, political ideology, and political activism reduce Montañez Davis's visibility and ultimately render her politically insignificant. However, re-"vision"ist studies which appreciate the multiplicity and complexity of an individual's identity and activism will serve to

place Mexican-American women such as Grace Montañez Davis into the discourse of politics where they belong.

Endnotes

[1] The author would like to acknowledge Professor George J. Sánchez for his support and guidance during the research seminar, and UCLA's Institute of American Cultures for a research grant which supported this project.

[2] Librarians Norma Corral and Richard Chabran had compiled a fourteen-page outline of selected resources available in UCLA's University Research Library and the Chicano Studies Research Library specifically for the seminar.

[3] See for example, Vicki Ruíz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines?: Using Missionary Records in Mexican-American Women's History," *Frontiers* 12:1 (1991): 33-56.

[4] Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise, 1940-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 16.

[5] For an overview of the uses and strategies of "herstory," see Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 18-21.

[6] I use the term, Hispanic, in this paper as journalists of the 1970s and 1980s and Grace Montañez Davis herself used the term when discussing and describing her political career. The term, Hispanic, became popular in the mid-1970s and appealed to middle class Mexican Americans. See Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988), 379-380.

[7] "Bradley Aide Grace Davis Chosen as Deputy Mayor," *Los Angeles Times*, 25 July 1975, sec. II, p. 1.

[8] See, for example, Patrícia Hernandez, "The Lives of Chicana Activists": The Chicano Student Movement (A Case Study)," Laurie Coyle, Gail Hershatter, and Emily Honig, "Women at Farah: An Unfinished Story," Douglas Monroy, "La Costura En Los Angeles, 1933-1939: The ILGWU and the Politics of Domination," Maria Moreno, "I'm Talking For Justice," and *Nuestra Lucha*, "Lucy Duran—Wife, Mother, and Organizer," in Magdalena Mora and Adelaida R. Del Castillo, eds., *Mexican Women in the United States: struggles past and present* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, Occasional Paper No. 2, 1980), 17-25, 117-143, 171-178, 181-184.

[9] Dionne Elaine Espinoza, "Pedagogies of Nationalism and Gender: Cultural Resistance in Selected Representational Practices of Chicana/o Movement Activists, 1967-1972" (Ph.D. dissertation., Cornell University, 1996).

[10] Cynthia E. Orozco, "The Origins of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement with an Analysis of Women's Political Participation in a Gendered Context, 1910-1929" (Ph.D. dissertation., University of California, Los Angeles, 1992).

[11] Maria Linda Apodaca, "They Kept The Home Fires Burning: Mexican-American Women and Social Change " (Ph.D. dissertation., University of California, Irvine, 1994).

[12] Margaret Rose, "Traditional and Nontraditional Patterns of Female Activism in the United Farm Workers of America, 1962-1980," *Frontiers* 11:1 (1990): 26-32.

[13] Most of this scholarship is sociological and psychological. Few historical analyses of the Mexican-American family are available. See Richard Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present* (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1984) and George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 129-150. Certainly more historical analyses, particularly those concerning gender roles, are needed.

[14] Betty Garcia-Bahne, "La Chicana and the Chicano Family," in Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martines Cruz, eds., *Essays on La Mujer* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), 41.

[15] Ibid., 42.

[16] Vicki L. Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 9-10.

[17] See note 7 above.

[18] Beverly Beyette, "Deputy Mayor Grace Davis: 'My Side is Software . . . People Relations'," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 March 1980, sec. V, p. 10.

[19] See Grace Montañez Davis, "Women's Equality Day, August 22, 1975," Grace Montañez Davis Collection, 1973-1978 (hereafter GMDC), Collection Number 2136, Box Number 2/4, Speeches—Women, Chicano Studies Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

[20] GMDC, Collection Number 2149, Box Number 1/4, Women's Issues, File on Awards and Recognitions, Chicano Studies Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Others include the Chicana Forum begun in 1976, the Mexican American Women's National Association also begun in 1976, and the National Network of Hispanic Women started in 1977.

[23] See Donna Guerrero, "Feature Interview: Los Angeles City Councilwoman Gloria Molina," *Journal of Hispanic Policy* 3 (1988-89): 29, "Comision Femenil Focuses Effort on Chicana," *SOMOS* 1:3 (August 1978): 46, "Comision Femenil . . . It's For Chicanas," *SOMOS* 1:1 (April-May 1978): 9-10, Francisca Flores, "Comision Femenil Mexicana," *Regeneración* 2:1 (1971): 6-7.

[24] Grace Montañez Davis, "Remarks for Comision Femenil, Santa Barbara, Saturday, July 10, 1976," GMDC, Collection Number 2136, Box Number 2/4, Speeches—Women, Chicano Studies Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] See note 19 above.

[29] See Grace Montañez Davis, "The Effect of w-Methylpantothenic Acid and Arginine on Tumor Growth in Rats" (M. A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1955).

[30] Grace Montañez Davis, "Remarks—Women in Engineering Career Facilitation Project—California State University, Northridge," GMDC, Collection Number 2136, Box Number 2/4, Speeches—Women, Chicano Studies Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

[31] See note 18 above.

[32] See Nathan Murillo, "The Mexican American Family," in Nathaniel N. Wagner and Marsha J. Haug, eds., *Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1971), 103-104.

[33] Mike Eberts, "Key Bradley Aide Survives in Man's World," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 September 1985, sec. V, p. 22.

[34] Ibid.

[35] See note 30 above.

[36] Mike Eberts, "Key Bradley Aide Survives in Man's World," p. 22.

[37] See note 18 above.

[38] Ibid., 10.

[39] Mary Louise Oates, "Eight Women: Put Them All Together, They Spell M-O-T-H-E-R," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 May 1981, sec. VII, p. 15.

[40] Ibid.

[41] See note 18 above.

[42] Mike Eberts, "Key Bradley Aide Survives in Man's World," p. 22.

[43] See note 18 above.

[44] Ibid., 11.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] See note 39 above.

[48] See note 18 above.

[49] Ibid., 1.

[50] See note 39 above.

[51] See note 18 above.

[52] Mario T. García, *Mexican-Americans: Leadership, Ideology, & Identity, 1930-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 2.

[53] See note 42 above.

[54] Paul Sheldon, "Mexican American Formal Organizations," in John H. Burma, ed., *Mexican-Americans in the United States: a reader* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), 270.

[55] Miguel David Tirado, "Mexican-American Community Political Organization: The Key to Chicano Power," *Aztlán*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 67.

[56] See note 42 above.

[57] See note 18 above.

[58] GMDC, Collection Number 2149, Box Number 1/4, Women's Issues, File on Awards and Recognitions, Chicano Studies Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

[59] Bill Boyarsky, "Caucuses of New City Appointees Organized," *Los Angeles Times*, 22 September 1984, sec. II, p. 1.

[60] See Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America*, 285-287.

[61] See note 18 above, 10.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Bill Farr, "Coalition Protests Handling of Police Shooting Probes," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 June 1979, sec. I, p. 30.

[64] Laurie Becklund, "Rev. Moon Launches L. A. Latino Paper," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 November 1984, sec. II, p. 1.

[65] Nancy Skeleton, "Officials Insist on Firsthand

[66] See note 18 above, 10.

[67] Kenneth Reich, "Deputy to Direct Staff for 12-Day Bradley Absence," Los Angeles Times, 20 October 1975, sec.II

[68] See note 58 above.

[69] For histories of the Chicano movement, see Carlos Muñoz Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (New york: Verso Press, 1989) and Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican Students por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement in Southern California* (Santa Barbara: Editorial La Causa, 1978).

[70] See note 42 above.

[71] See note 18 above.

[72] See Gilbert Gonzalez, "Factors Relating to Property Ownership of Chicanos in Lincoln Heights Los Angeles, "*Aztlán* 2:2 (Fall 1971): 107-143 and Mario Barrera and Geralda Villalpando, Action research in Defense of the Barrio: Interviews with Ernest Galarza, Guillermo Flores, and Rosalio Muñoz (Los Angeles: Aztlan Publications Pamphlet, 1974), 29-34.

[73] Mike Eberts, "Key Bradley Aide Survives in Man's World,"

[74] Ibid.

[75] Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America*, 364.

[76] Letter to Chancellor Charles Young and Governor Pete Wilson, "Concerning the Issue of Chicano Studies," *The Daily Bruin*, 7 June 1993, p. 9.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

[79] See Glenn F. Bunting, "Bradley Hears of Absences by Housing Chief, Ousts Liaison," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 December 1988, sec. II, p. 1 and Glenn F. Bunting, "Mayor Was Told of Greene Absences, Officials Maintain," *Los Angeles Times*, 15 December 1988, sec. II, p. 1.

[80] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands, La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lule, 1987). 77.

[81] Christine M. Sierra, "Chicano Politics after 1984," in Juan R. Garcia, Julia Curry Rodríguez, and Clara Lomas, eds., *Times of Challenge: Chicanos and Chicanas in American Society* (Houston: University at Houston Press, Monograph Series No. 4),7-24, cited by Irene I. Blea, *La Chicana and the Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1992), 71.

[82] Gloria Molina, Interview by Cárlos Vasquez, 1990, transcript, Bancroft Library Regional Oral History Office, California State Government Oral History Program, Claremont Graduate School Oral History program.