

ALMA LÓPEZ'S CALIFORNIA FASHIONS SLAVES: Denaturalizing Domesticity, Labor, and Motherhood

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This essay closely reads Alma López's digital print, California Fashions Slaves (1997), which depicts Macrina López, the artist's mother and a seamstress, alongside mexicana garment workers within a Los Angeles cityscape. These images are situated within a recasting of La Virgen de Guadalupe imagery, a characteristic of López's work. The print was part of the Cyber Arte exhibit in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 2001, the same show that displayed López's controversial Our Lady. Even though California Fashions Slaves manipulates the imagery of Guadalupe, religious and community activists overlooked the piece. Unlike Our Lady, California Fashions Slaves does not explicitly represent female sexual empowerment, but concentrates on women's empowerment as a labor class. I argue that the critical oversight of California Fashions Slaves indicates the dominance of images that have sought to naturalize Chicanas and Latinas to domesticity, labor, and motherhood in cultural and visual representations. I closely read California Fashions Slaves as a challenge to such discourses because the print denaturalizes motherhood and domestic labor, emphasizing the domestic as a social and cultural construct, while also underscoring women's creative resistance and agency.

Los Angeles–based artist Alma López is best known for her digital print, *Our Lady* (1999), which ignited angry and impassioned protests in 2001 as part of the *Cyber Arte: Tradition Meets Technology* exhibit at the Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe, New Mexico.¹ *Our Lady* represents a computer-generated print of artist Raquel Salinas, adorned in roses, wearing a gown of pre-Columbian symbols while standing on a black crescent moon. She is accompanied by a bare-breasted female butterfly angel, depicted by performance artist Raquel Gutierrez, located in a supporting role underneath Salinas.² By “dismantling and rearranging La Virgen's dress, robe, and halo” (López 2011, 271), López's

print repositions La Virgen de Guadalupe as an active and desiring woman, contesting the essentialized and submissive place assigned to her within cultural and religious iconography. Members of the local Latina/o religious community, fundamentalist Catholics, local and national religious activists, and “protestor pilgrims” with a colonial and nationalist mindset about La Virgen de Guadalupe attacked *Our Lady* for its challenge to patriarchal and heteronormative frameworks of gender and sexuality (Gaspar de Alba 2011, 213).³ As Alicia Gaspar de Alba describes, López “transformed the meaning of the Virgin of Guadalupe to more accurately signify her own experience as a sexed, gendered, raced, and classed body in patriarchy” (2011, 240). The piece shifts Chicana representation from the idealized prescriptions of motherhood and domesticity, joining Chicana artistic reconfigurations of La Virgen de Guadalupe most notably by Ester Hernández and Yolanda López in the 1970s (Herrera-Sobek, Latorre, and López 2007; Davalos 2008; Gaspar de Alba and López 2011).⁴

Our Lady was one of many pieces by López and the artists of the Santa Fe exhibit which addressed the question set forth by the curator Tey Marianna Nunn: How do Chicanas/Hispanas/ Latinas “negotiate the borders of identity as they pertain to combining tradition and technology?” (2011, 23)⁵ Immediate controversy surrounded *Our Lady*, overshadowing other critical and provocative digital prints by Alma López and the exhibit artists, including López’s lesser known work and her first digital print, *California Fashions Slaves* (1997)—an iris print on canvas and part of her series, “1848: Chicanos in the U.S. Landscape After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo” (see fig. 1).⁶ López’s representational field consistently makes reference to Guadalupe imagery, and similar to *Our Lady* and other digital prints by López, *California Fashions Slaves* reconfigures La Virgen de Guadalupe as part of a critique of Chicanas’ racialized, gendered, and sexual oppression.

The work depicts Macrina López, Alma López's mother and a seamstress, alongside *mexicana* garment workers and union organizers from the 1930s in a contemporary Los Angeles cityscape.⁷ The print shows Guadalupe in three sites: She appears in her traditional and religious iconographic form in the central, lower field of the image; she is referenced in the cloak that Macrina López sews (which also doubles as the U.S. flag); and she is depicted as a halo in the syncretic form of the pre-Columbian Coyolxauhqui in the upper left-hand corner of the print rising above López's mother and the Los Angeles skyline. With this configuration, the work elevates Macrina López to the place occupied by Guadalupe, and in doing so, honors the labor of garment workers and seamstresses. The placement of the traditional iconography of Guadalupe in the lower field or the "crotch" zone of the print (if we read the digital print as a "body" of work) and the red "Manifest Destiny" arrow directed toward the icon, emphasizes the violence of Manifest Destiny and colonization, both as forces penetrating Guadalupe. Guadalupe's traditional form also sits beneath the tallest and most phallic image in the print—the white Wells Fargo building in the upper center field. With Guadalupe's constant presence despite various forms of conquest and gendered violence, the print underscores the figure's role as a symbol of strength and resistance.

Despite its critical and provocative reformulations, the religious and community activists who attacked *Our Lady* did not target *California Fashions Slaves*. Even though *California Fashions Slaves* manipulates La Virgen de Guadalupe imagery as does much of López's work, the piece does not explicitly represent female sexual empowerment, but instead concentrates on women's empowerment as a labor class. The most visible women we see in the print include López's mother, a seamstress, and the group of garment workers. López's mother, in contrast to the assertive stance of the workers, sews with her face down, a posture that represents the arduous labor associated with seamstress work, while also referencing traditional Guadalupe iconography.



Figure 1
California Fashions Slaves (1997) by Alma López. Digital iris print on canvas, created in Photoshop, 20 x 24. Thanks to Macrina López Ureña.

Her positioning also mirrors the diminishing stature of the buildings above her in the central upper left field of the print. This representation of Macrina López, along with the fact that the most noticeable image of Guadalupe is her iconic cultural representation in the lower field of the print, most likely reinforced the traditional gender roles and views of women's proper female sexuality held by conservative-minded audiences.

For Chicana feminist studies viewers, however, the challenge that *California Fashions Slaves* makes to women's oppression through labor and domesticity is strong and clear. The print joins other Chicana literary and visual texts that deconstruct the natural association of women to domesticity by recasting imagery of La Virgen de Guadalupe, including works by Yolanda López, specifically her *Guadalupe Triptych* (1978), the theoretical formulations of Guadalupe by Gloria E. Anzaldúa in *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1984), as well as Ana Castillo's edited anthology, *Goddess of the Americas: Writings on the Virgin of Guadalupe* (1997), among many other artistic and literary works.⁸ The piece is therefore part of a staged conversation by Chicana visual artists who reconfigure La Virgen de Guadalupe, described by Nunn as an "established tradition in the Chicano and Latino art historical canon" (2011, 29). Laura E. Pérez further adds, "The work of denaturalizing gendered and sexed expectations of negatively racialized women is at the heart of the enormous body of Virgin of Guadalupe art by Chicana feminist artists" (2007, 258). As one piece in this larger collective, *California Fashions Slaves* recasts Guadalupe to challenge nationalist and heteronormative views of motherhood, gender, and sexuality.

In this essay, I argue that *California Fashions Slaves* denaturalizes the gendered, social, and cultural binaries that have sought to associate Mexican American women with domestic labor, reproduction, and motherhood in visual and cultural representations. These dichotomies include public/private, domestic/foreign, and legal/illegal and have associated women of Mexican descent, regardless of class and immigrant status, to domestic ideologies. As exemplified by the conservative oversight of *California Fashions Slaves* in *Cyber Arte*, images of Chicana and Latina domesticity, labor, and motherhood have become naturalized in dominant culture. In contrast to cultural and nationalist views of the domestic, López's print emphasizes motherhood and labor as social and cultural constructs, and not as biologically determined

(Hondagnaeu-Sotelo and Avila 2007; Segura 2007). As Denise Segura elaborates,

Motherhood as a social construction rests on the ideological position that women's biological abilities to bear and suckle children are "natural" and therefore fundamental to women's "fulfillment." This position, however, fails to appreciate that motherhood is a culturally formed structure whose meanings can vary and are subject to change. (2007, 368)

López's print challenges essentialized views of motherhood by deconstructing and making visible the very ideologies and policies that have sought to conflate women of Mexican descent to domesticity, including Manifest Destiny, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Americanization, immigration policies, and globalization. Additionally, the print decolonizes motherhood by incorporating the Aztec moon warrior goddess Coyolxauhqui, a characteristic of many of López's images. The artist's incorporation of pre-Columbian womanhood can be understood as "decolonial motherhood," coined by Emma Pérez, which signals a "transformative move toward decolonization in which the virgin/whore binary is disrupted and women are honored for their multiple ways of being" (2011, 162). By visualizing the labor of Mexicana and Chicana garment workers and activists, *California Fashions Slaves* also honors women's creative resistance and agency. As a whole, the print provides a visual representation of Chicanas outside of the colonial binary of virgin/whore and xenophobic frameworks of domestic/foreign and legal/illegal.

Digital Technology, Globalization, and the Spectacle of Border Enforcement

López's use of digital technology in the print, the series, and in much of her popular work, functions as an artistic strategy of decolonization (Herrera-

Sobek, Latorre, and López 2007, 90). Digital technology allows for the rearrangement and manipulation of imagery, enabling the artist to connect her photography and artwork with already existing imagery in creative and provocative ways (Herrera-Sobek, Latorre, and López 2007, 68). Additionally, with the digital medium in *California Fashions Slaves*, López utilizes the very product that marginalizes women to consumerism and production to challenge the exploitation of Latina laborers within globalization.

Produced in 1997, the print focuses on the global policies that facilitated the exploitation of Latina garment and domestic workers in the years after the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994. NAFTA accelerated the integration of the U.S. and Mexican economies, leading to the creation and development of maquiladoras along the border in an unregulated and free trade system.⁹ The maquiladoras have been a key site in the exploitation of Mexican and Central American women's labor (Salzinger 2007; Wright 2007; Gaspar de Alba and Guzmán 2010). Many women who work in the maquiladoras produce the digital technology U.S. residents and citizens use on a daily basis, including computer and television parts for major electronic corporations (Funari and de la Torre 2006). These women work in exploitative working conditions, in which their bodies succumb to not only health problems but also to the real threat of physical danger through sexual assault, as well as rape and murder. This has been the particular case of the massive numbers of women who have disappeared along the Juarez–El Paso border (Portillo 2001; Gaspar de Alba 2010). As Mary Anglin suggests, these women are “socially and culturally marginalized in ways that deny them the opportunity for emotional and physical well-being, or expose them to assault or rape, or subject them to hazards that can cause sickness and death” (1998, 145). By using digital media to create *California Fashions Slaves*, López creates an empowering artistic statement that visually critiques the policies that have

facilitated such economic marginalization and violence against Latina laborers within globalization.

California Fashions Slaves represents Chicanas and Latinas who work in sweatshop conditions within the borders of the United States, particularly the California garment industry. In Los Angeles, the majority of garment workers today are Latina/o immigrants from Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala, and approximately 58 percent are women (Bonacich and Appelbaum 2000).¹⁰ The print depicts the valuable labor contributions of *mexicana* garment workers who constituted this workforce in the 1930s. The artist portrays the women's labor with the mounds of crumpled fabric on a factory desk in front of the women and the high-fashion clothing hanging on the buildings behind them. With this positioning, the print indicates the labor that is necessary to turn raw materials into products for consumption. The work then contextualizes the cheap labor of the garment workers amidst images of exclusion, particularly a map of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 in the lower portion of the print, which the artist turns into a raised-relief map with digital technology—indicated by the mounds of land below the factory desk. The treaty purported to give Mexican inhabitants rights as U.S. citizens, but denied them their legal and political entitlements as U.S. citizens. By placing the image of the treaty literally beneath the Los Angeles cityscape, the print connects the contemporary exploitative conditions created by globalization to historical ideologies of exclusion and marginalization.

The print emphasizes both the factory and land as sites of exploited work for Mexican immigrant and Mexican American communities. The mounds of clothing on the sewing table mirror the mounds of land on López's relief map of the treaty, both of which sit on horizontal planes. With the red arrow of "Manifest Destiny," the print references the U.S. political ideology of imperial

power that sought to justify the nation's colonization of land inhabited by Native American and Mexican peoples in the U.S. Southwest. The brown and sepia tones of both the map and garment workers are contrasted with images in white that reference labor, law, and capitalism, including the police car, the Wells Fargo building, the sewing machine, and the spool of white thread, all of which signify systems of racialization that privilege whiteness.

California Fashions Slaves incorporates a mass media aerial photograph of a border patrol car chasing an undocumented border crosser to emphasize the spectacle of illegality. With this scene López emphasizes what Nicholas De Genova has argued in another context, “the legal production of Mexican/migrant ‘illegality’ [that] requires the spectacle of enforcement at the U.S.-Mexico border” (2006, 81). Since the construction of illegality by various immigration policies and laws are relatively invisible to the common public, producing illegality requires a “spectacle of ‘enforcement’ at the border, precisely because it renders a racialized Mexican/migrant ‘illegality’ visible and lends to it the commonsensical air of a ‘natural’ fact” (De Genova 2006, 80). The aerial photograph of the border chase scene represents this “militarized spectacle of apprehensions, detentions, and deportations” (De Genova 2006, 80). It also indicates the often invasive and highly sophisticated technology that is used to survey and police the border, a surveillance system that dehumanizes Mexican migrants. Commenting on the border patrol scene in this print, Judith L. Huacuja states, “When translated out of an economic perspective of low-wage labor, the worker’s body is criminalized by governing agencies—witness the mass media-sponsored aerial photograph of the *migra* chase scene in the lower left field of the digital image” (2003, 108). Additionally, this notion of surveillance parallels another aspect of the print, which is the monitoring of Mexican immigrant women’s reproduction and the notion that Mexicanas are invading and threatening the United States as a nation state through biological and cultural reproduction. With the inclusion

of the mass media photograph of the border chase scene, López marks the criminalization of Mexican immigrants for scrutiny by her viewers.

The diagonal scene of a border patrol car and officer chasing a supposed illegal immigrant crossing into the United States also parallels the diagonal “Manifest Destiny” arrow, and both bring the viewer’s attention to the image of La Virgen de Guadalupe in the center-lower field; the direction of the arrow and the placement of Guadalupe emphasizes phallogentrism and the gendered violence of colonization. With the digital medium, López incorporates images that collectively reference policies that have excluded Mexican women’s laboring bodies from citizenship and belonging. The contemporary moment in which López produced the print underscores the work as a commentary on the persistence of such exclusionary practices toward Latina/o communities today.

“They Come Here, They Bring Their Babies:”

The Naturalization of Chicanas to Domestic Labor and Reproduction

López produced *California Fashions Slaves* just three years after the debate over Proposition 187 in California. On the ballot in 1994, the measure sought to deny undocumented immigrants healthcare and education.¹¹ López indicates that her print functions as a response to the racialized rhetoric that was at the heart of the debate. She states,

That one directly relates to the whole misconception that immigrants are a drain on the economy. For me growing up everybody including my mother were hard-working people. More than anything they’re working poor, working really hard at less-than-minimum-wage salaries. If anything, they’re contributing to the economy.¹²

López further suggests how these women are “part of a working poor community racially stereotyped and vilified for allegedly draining the United States economy” (2002, 90). Another print in the series “1848: Chicanos in the U.S. Landscape After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo” is titled *187* (1998) and features a young girl (Melissa López) who is blindfolded with fabric from the U.S. flag that contains the red number 187. In the print, the young girl sits execution style on a broken San Diego–Tijuana border wall (Ramírez 2002, 230). *187* highlights the young girl’s innocence in contrast to racialized rhetoric that vilifies the children of undocumented immigrants, as well as their mothers, for coming to the United States “illegally” and breaking the law. As Sarah Ramírez argues, the piece explores the legal effects of Proposition 187 on children, as the policy would literally mean the death to Mexican children (2002, 230).

During the debate over Proposition 187, several national television programs targeted Mexican women and children as responsible for threatening the cohesion of the nation through their biological reproduction. Proponents of Proposition 187 situated the bodies of Chicanas and Latinas, as well as the Latina/o domestic sphere, as perpetrators of a white California citizenry, configuring Mexicanas as invading the nation through their fertility (Chávez 2007, 2001; Gutiérrez 2008;). Mexican immigrant women represented long-term settlement and signified the “dramatic growth of a ‘minority group’” (De Genova 2006; Chávez 2007, 68; Gutiérrez 2008). For instance, in 1994, a *60 Minutes* segment titled “Born in the USA,” opened with a narrative suggesting how droves of pregnant Mexican women were crossing the border into the United States. This notion was followed by interview clips claiming that Mexican immigrants are coming to the United States to soak up social services for themselves and their children (Chang 2000, 6–7). Bette Hammond, an activist proponent of Proposition 187, echoed this notion of

invasion on another television program, suggesting: “They come here, they have their babies, and after that they become citizens and all those children use social services” (quoted in Chávez 2007, 68). Such rhetoric resurfaced during the 2010 midterm elections when right wing politicians referred to the children of undocumented Latina immigrants as “anchor babies.” Lisa Cacho suggests that Proposition 187 was a response to shifting racial demographics in California and a modern global economy that increasingly depends on the labor of immigrant women and children (2000, 392). By emphasizing the economic contributions that *mexicana* laborers make to the U.S. economy, López’s print challenges the dominant rhetoric espoused by proponents of Proposition 187 and contemporary racialized rhetoric directed toward undocumented Latina immigrants.

This view of Latina/o communities, particularly women, as draining the U.S. economy and victimizing white citizens, is not a new phenomenon. Throughout various moments in U.S. history, women of Mexican descent, for example, have either been configured as threatening the homogeneity of U.S. identity through their biological reproduction or as valuable assets in the assimilation process due to this same view of their bodies as sites of reproduction. Mexican American and Mexican immigrant women have been seen as the ideal conduits in the assimilation process due to their presumed role as caretakers of children and nurturers within the domestic. As a result of this view that defines Mexican-descent women’s identity in terms of procreation and their subsequent roles as mothers, Americanization programs of the 1920s and 1930s, to give one example, targeted Mexicanas within their homes because they were viewed as ideal sites in the adoption and teaching of American cultural values to their children. In her 1929 publication, *Americanization Through Homemaking*, Pearl Ellis of the Covina City schools exemplifies this view, claiming Mexican American women to be “potential

mothers and homemakers” who could control “the destinies of their future families” (Ruiz 1998, 33).

While such statements might emphasize women’s authority within the household, they are based on gendered and racialized views of Mexican women as natural nurturers of the family, creating and reinforcing the view that Mexican American women have an essentialized relationship to home and domesticity. The notion that women of Mexican descent were the ideal conduits in the assimilation process signals how mothering is both gendered and racialized (Nakano Glenn 1994). Such beliefs carried over into the public sphere as Americanization programs trained Mexican women to be housemaids, laundresses, seamstresses, and service workers in response to a shortage of such workers during the Great Depression (Sánchez 1995, 100). This naturalization of Mexican women to domestic labor and economic production can be traced back to the material consequences of Manifest Destiny, including the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

From Manifest Domesticity to Globalization:

The Production of Illegal/Legal and Domestic/Foreign Binaries

The red “Manifest Destiny” arrow in the lower field of the print in *California Fashions Slaves* references the nineteenth century ideology that sought to position Mexican homes and communities as foreign and outside the domestic. The ideology of Manifest Destiny expressed the United States’ imperial mission and natural right to expand “the boundaries of freedom” and democracy to other territories. The idealism supported American imperialism and the expansion of the nation both west and south into Mexico, leading to the conquest of northern Mexico (Rivera 2006, 59; Gómez 2008, 4). A component of Manifest Destiny was the belief that the nation had a mission and natural right to liberate—with Protestant values—a supposedly benighted Mexican-descent population under the control of Catholicism. It emphasized Anglo

Saxons as a superior people and all inferior races as destined to extinction and subordination (Gómez 2008, 3–4). As a result, the supposed democratic principles of Manifest Destiny were not always applied to the inhabitants of these territories, particularly as the ideology proposed that the Mexicans and indigenous peoples were not capable of conceiving of natural rights on their own (Rivera 2006, 60). Manifest Destiny relied on a view of Mexicans and native peoples as inferior and as the other to rationalize a war of aggression against Mexico, which culminated in the U.S.-Mexico War and led to the conquest of Mexican and indigenous peoples in the U.S. Southwest after the war (Menchaca 2001; Gómez 2006).

By including a map of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in the lower portion of the image, the print references one of the most profound material consequences of Manifest Destiny: the racial disenfranchisement of the mostly Mexican and Native American population in the U.S. Southwest (Menchaca 2001). While the treaty ended the U.S.-Mexico War and sought to provide American citizenship to Mexicans living in the border region, it can be better understood as the first major document that led to the construction of illegality in regard to Mexican communities (De Genova 2006; Gómez 2008). Additionally, the treaty stipulated that Mexico cede more than half its territory to the United States (Gómez 2008, 4). The treaty specified the land rights of Mexicans living inside the newly annexed territory of the Southwest border region and the citizenship privileges of Mexican inhabitants within the Union of the United States. Instead, as Martha Menchaca explains, “Tragically, within a year of the treaty’s ratification, the United States government violated these citizenship equality statements and began a process of racialization that categorized most Mexicans as inferiors in all domains of life” (2001, 215). Interpretation of the treaty by the U.S. courts established a racial order where Mexicans who were considered white were provided full

legal rights as U.S. citizens, while mestizas/os, Mexicans of African descent, and other indigenous groups were disenfranchised and afforded inferior legal rights (Menchaca 2001, 217). Native Americans were not protected by the treaty and therefore confronted extreme forms of racial discrimination (Menchaca 2001, 215, 274).

López's print includes the word MAPA, a phrase that refers to the Spanish-language map used by Mexico in negotiations with the United States, as well as alludes to the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), an organization established in the 1960s to advocate for Mexican American political participation. Referring to the Spanish-language MAPA, the print signals the treaty's role in not only enabling the conquest of a territory and land, but also the conquest of a culture through language. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo promised Mexicans full equality with other inhabitants of the United States if they adopted American cultural values. Given the social and cultural conquest of the U.S. Southwest, and the racialization implemented by the treaty, American identity in this context should be understood in conflict with the culture and language of Mexican and indigenous communities. Article IX of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo states that Mexicans are to become U.S. citizens and be treated equally to Americans as long as they renounce their Mexican citizenship and adopt American cultural values:

The Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, *shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic...*[and] shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States....¹³

Despite the document's emphasis on cultural assimilation, it became very clear after the treaty's signing that the U.S. courts would have to deal with the primary Spanish speaking populations. In New Mexico prior to statehood, for instance, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court argued for the hiring of Spanish-language translators and Spanish-speaking jurors, a view that was uncharacteristic for the racialized views of his time, yet was a response to the lack of potential English speaking jurors in the territory (Gómez 2008, 68). These examples indicate the fraught connections between language and power that *California Fashions Slaves* references with the Spanish-language map in the print.

The capitalized English word "GOLD" in the lower-left field of the print references another material consequence of Manifest Destiny: the appropriation of resources and land from Mexican and indigenous communities by Anglo American squatters. The print situates the word "GOLD" within a triangulation of other images that are linked with exploitation, profit, and labor, including the white sewing machine, the white border police car, and the white Wells Fargo tower, all rendered as white to reference the economic marginalization of Mexican and native communities as a result of Anglo American conquest. López's linking of the capitalized "GOLD" with other images of profit is significant. The word invokes the Gold Rush of 1849, which generated over a quarter of a billion dollars in the first four years and led to a new generation of bankers who quickly turned to investing in financial ventures in the West (González 2000, 46). With the capitalized letters "GOLD," López's also links the history of Mexican communities with those of Latinas/os; it references the appropriation of gold during the Spanish conquest of the Americas. As Juan González argues, "The California discoveries provided immediate dividends to the entire country, just as Aztec gold and silver had for sixteenth century Spain (2000, 45–46).

Additionally, the print's reference to the Gold Rush signals the racism and legal disenfranchisement of Mexican inhabitants in the region. When gold was discovered in California, it did not matter to newcomers that Mexican-descent and Native American communities had lived in this region for generations. In the eyes of the newcomers, the Californios (or Mexican-descent communities of California) and Native Americans were foreigners (Limerick 1987; Menchaca 2001). As Anglo and European miners competed with native-born Californio miners and recently-migrated Mexican immigrants, stabbings, lynchings, and extortions were commonplace (Griswold Del Castillo 1990, 67–68; Gonzales-Day 2006). Rather than protect the so-called foreign miners from frequent attacks, which included the Californios in the eyes of newcomers, the U.S. military and courts denied proposed legislation that would protect these miners (Griswold Del Castillo 1990, 68; González 2000, 45). The Gold Rush also dispossessed Native Americans from their lands, aided by the California legislature. After all, as Menchaca explains, “Christian Indians were in possession of some of the best coastal lands in California (2001, 261).

By contextualizing the laboring bodies of *mexicana* garment workers with references to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and other material consequences of Manifest Destiny, the print emphasizes the profound material consequences of colonization on women. Prior to the treaty, women of the upper classes (and on top of the racial hierarchy, mostly Spanish Mexican women, or women who claimed Spanish descent and land entitlements, although many of them were *mestiza*) had the legal rights to take cases to court, as well as rights to have their voices heard in the courts (González 1999, 6). With the treaty, women of Mexican descent were now part of a U.S. legal system that deprived them of legal rights they previously possessed. For example, before the treaty, married women of Mexican descent owned one-half interest in the property they shared with their husbands and had the right to keep their land after marriage, while Anglo

American women under English common law, became *feme covert*, or dead in the eyes of the law, when they got married and therefore could not own property separately from their husbands (Ruiz 1998, 5). Due to such shifts, Mexican women in the courts after 1848 had to find creative ways to navigate and remedy their new subordinate status in the U.S. legal systems (González 1999, 13–14).

Yet women in the Mexican Spanish borderlands, prior to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, experienced a racial-class hierarchy and lived in a strict patriarchal society. Prior to the treaty, Spanish Mexican women were perceived as commodities because biologically speaking they carried the purity of the Spanish bloodlines. Like gold, women were considered prized possessions of considerable cultural worth. A women's sexual chastity was deemed necessary to continue a patriarchal Mexican code of honor, and Spanish Mexican men's honor was upheld by enforcing female purity (Gutiérrez 1991, 213). Conversely, it was perceived that men could not be secluded, because conquest and domination were considered intrinsic qualities of masculinity necessary to protect family honor (1991, 214). Women's subordinate status was also the result of the Catholic Church. As Jean Franco states, "[T]he virtual confinement of married women to the home had not only been required by the Church but was also intended to insure the purity of blood that Spanish society imposed after the war against the Moors" (1988, 507). In order to maintain the supposed purity of Spanish bloodlines and to prevent contamination from Indian and later African blood, women were confined to the private sphere (Nieto-Phillips 2004, 23). Spanish colonization was based on patriarchal authority over Mexican servants and Indian peones, as well as women within a complex gendered and racial hierarchy (González 1999).

The treaty intensified and institutionalized Mexican women's existing marginalization to domestic ideologies. Anglo colonization of the U.S. Southwest served to solidify the literal and figurative confinement of women of Mexican

descent to the domestic due to the project of maintaining Mexican honor, manhood, social status, and wealth.¹⁴ Vicki Ruiz cites how nineteenth-century Spanish-language newspapers reveal the double standards applied to women. She explains, “Women were to be cloistered and protected to the extent that some residents of New Mexico and Arizona protested the establishment of coeducational public schools” (1998, 5). Women’s confinement was also a way for male members of the community to solidify their masculinity as they experienced emasculation by the Anglo colonizers. Anglo colonization of the region emasculated men of Mexican descent and positioned them in a disempowered space in contrast to the configured masculine space of the colonizer.¹⁵ There was also a real economic fear of land passing into the hands of Anglo American men through marriage. Indian and mestizas were doubly marginalized because they were confined to the domestic out of the paternalism of both the elite Spanish Mexicans and their low status in the racial-class hierarchy (Menchaca 2001).

López’s digital print visualizes this gendered and racialized marginalization by representing one of the most significant consequences of Anglo colonization of the U.S. Southwest—Mexican women’s economic disenfranchisement to low-wage and exploited labor—including garment work and domestic labor. As Deena J. González suggests, even though women of Mexican descent, particularly in New Mexico, had lived in an oppressive class hierarchy and experienced intense patriarchal conditions prior to the treaty, these women still survived disenfranchisement (1999, 6). While experiences of Mexican-descent women varied by region, Manifest Destiny and its material policies placed Mexican women, particularly those of mestiza or indigenous background, in the lower economic stratum of the U.S. racial-class hierarchy. The displacement of Mexican communities from their lands, along with weakening legal rights through a process of racialization, severely marginalized women. Mexican women were now dependent on wages in Anglo American–controlled

jobs within a racial-class hierarchy, and after 1848, many women went to work for traders and soldiers, particularly as seamstresses, laundresses, and cooks. Prior to the treaty, they often worked as entrepreneurs and owned their own businesses (González 1999, 13).

The line of female garment workers in *California Fashions Slaves* indicates the ways in which women's racial-economic marginalization carried over into the twentieth century. As Ruiz explains, "Inheriting a legacy of colonialism wrought on by Manifest Destiny, Mexicans, regardless of nativity, found themselves segmented into low-paying, low-status jobs with few opportunities" (1998, 7). Increased Mexican migration to the United States brought on by the Mexican Revolution and a systematic national movement to provide the U.S. Southwest with a substantial labor force from Mexico led many Mexicans to occupy jobs as agricultural workers, railroad workers, and miners (Sánchez 39). Women during this period faced the difficult task of being farm worker mothers, railroad wives, and miners' daughters and often struggled for financial stability, therefore working for wages outside of the home while also nurturing their families (Ruiz 1998, 7). Due to an increasingly racialized and gendered labor force brought on by U.S. immigration policy, nativist sentiment, and racial-class stratification, Mexican immigrant and Mexican American women found themselves in jobs in the lowest sectors of society, such as factory workers in the canning and pecan shelling industries, and as garment workers, seamstresses, and domestic laborers. As *California Fashions Slaves* visualizes, these women fought against marginalization and exploitation by claiming public space through labor activism.

Claiming Public Space:

Union Organizing and Creative Resistance to Globalization

With the inclusion of the *mexicana* garment workers and union activists, López's print emphasizes how women of Mexican descent have actively unionized and

organized against their marginalization. These women, as Segura and Zavella explain in another context, “contest or create representations of their identities in light of their marginality and give voice to their own agency” (2007, x). Through activism, they challenged the racialized and gendered ideologies that deemed their labor and bodies as cheap commodities vulnerable to exploitation. The representation of these women as a group emphasizes how “Mexican women in the U.S. (whether migrants or not) often rely on their own resources and nurture intense social networks that help them get through the vicissitudes of poverty and social isolation” (Ruiz 1998; Segura and Zavella 2007, 14). With union organizing, these women made visible the otherwise invisible exploitative conditions they encountered and endured. The print emphasizes the connection between activism and visibility by placing the line of garment workers outside of the factory in the public streets of downtown Los Angeles.

By depicting the bold gazes of the female garment workers who are mostly looking directly at the viewer and by including them as a group, López’s print underscores the determination and agency of *mexicana* garment workers who fought against labor exploitation and who countered dominant views about Mexican women’s passivity. Women who worked in garment factories in the early part of the twentieth century often confronted the demands of production speed-ups and faced substandard pay, sexual harassment, and other hazardous conditions (Ruiz 1998, 148). In Los Angeles in the 1930s, for example, 75 percent of the garment workers were Mexicanas, and 40 percent earned less than \$5 per week with long hours and home work (Sánchez 1995, 232). In response to the exploitative conditions that garment workers faced in the workplace in Los Angeles in the 1930s, 1500 female dressmakers, the majority of whom were Mexican (the rest were Anglo, Italian, and Jewish), unionized and formed Local 96 of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU). Led by Rose Pesotta, a Russian Jewish immigrant dressmaker and

ILGWU organizer from New York, the largely Mexican American female local union in Los Angeles began a Dressmakers' Strike in 1933 to protest their working conditions. The strike was the result of a strenuous organizing campaign that signed up workers using Spanish and English media, thereby counteracting a larger union discourse that believed that Latina workers were un-organizable. Many ILGWU organizers believed that, because of their social and racial position in society, Mexicanas would continue to work for low wages, and also perpetuated the gendered view that Mexican women were passive, thereby reinforcing prevalent domestic ideologies (Milkman 2006, 42). The *mexicana* garment workers challenged these beliefs because they were active leaders and participants in the Dressmaker's Strike, which lasted four weeks and affected 2000 female workers in eighty factories (Sánchez 1995, 234).

With the inclusion of her mother, seamstress Macrina López, and its focus on the space of Los Angeles, *California Fashions Slaves* references the many Mexican immigrant, Mexican American, and Latina garment workers who continue to perform sweatshop labor in the garment industry in Southern California. As Ruiz states, "Homegrown garment sweatshops...did not disappear with Progressive Reforms or New Deal legislation" (1998, 149). The digital print references the conditions of contemporary garment workers and seamstresses in the years after NAFTA. The implementation of NAFTA, combined with the lifting of tariffs and quotas in order to increase trade of goods and services, resulted in the loss of thousands of textile and garment jobs in Los Angeles.¹⁶ Despite these losses, however, the California apparel business continues to be a \$24 billion industry with approximately 100,000 garment workers and 5,000 factories, figures of which do not include the informal economy.¹⁷ The effects of NAFTA, along with an increasingly globalized apparel and textile market, have only served to increase worker's vulnerability and the exploitation of Mexican and Latina/o immigrant

women's labor. These women, the majority of whom are undocumented and non-English speaking, have extremely limited resources and job-training skills to recover from such job losses. Furthermore, since garment work is an entry point for many Mexican and Latina female immigrants in the United States, the globalization of the industry has drastically impacted these women's chances for socioeconomic mobility in the United States.

California Fashions Slaves' focus on Mexican and Latina immigrant female garment workers underscores how garment manufacturing reflects an increasingly racialized and gendered labor market with immigrant women concentrated in "women's jobs" and in the lowest rung of the secondary labor force. These are jobs that typically pay minimum wages, have few if any benefits, are non-union, are seasonal and subject to displacement, and often require relatively low educational levels or training despite the difficulty of the work itself (Segura and Zavella 2007, 13). In the year that NAFTA was passed, a 1994 survey of sixty-nine garment factories in California indicate that 93 percent violated health and safety standards, with over 50 percent violating minimum wage and overtime laws (Ruiz 1998, 149; Soldatenko 2000). According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Los Angeles garment workers make only \$14,000 a year, which is below the poverty line for a family.¹⁸ The nature of factory work within a globalized context, particularly production speed-ups and increased emphasis on productivity, has also made it extremely difficult for women to organize (Ruiz 1998, 148; Soldatenko 2000). The print, produced just a few years after NAFTA, signals these social structures which have made it increasingly difficult for women to unionize and therefore underscores how women's agency is often constrained by global-economic forces.

California Fashions Slaves also references the many Mexicanas and Latinas who perform industrial homework, or who sew for long hours for little pay

at home, a form of work which continues to exist in California even though the state formally banned such practices. As I stated at the beginning of this essay, Macrina López's lowered gaze may be interpreted as passive in contrast with the assertive and bold looks of the line of *mexicana* garment workers. Yet with a critical understanding of the toil and labor involved in garment labor, viewers can see how her posture in fact represents the arduous labor and concentration necessary to perform seamstress work and the health risks associated with sewing for long hours. Women who perform garment work are frequently diagnosed with back, neck, or shoulder sprains or strains. Regardless of whether they do this work in the factory or home, many seamstresses report problems with their workstations, which includes inadequate seating, awkward bending and twisting, breathing problems due to fabric dust, and less than adequate rest breaks (Lashuay, Burgel, and Harrison, et al. 2002).

Industrial homework brings the domestic and public spheres together, in ways that exploit Mexican-descent women in the United States.¹⁹ Similar to the construction of Mexican American home spaces as public sites in Americanization rhetoric of the 1930s, industrial homework configures the domestic spaces of many Mexican American and Mexican immigrant women as public sites in the service of profit. Industrial homework transfers production by garment workers in their homes and as a result, shifts the operating costs, including workspace, electricity, and water, to the workers themselves who already live in poor neighborhoods and homes (Miraftab 2007, 269). Soldatenko describes,

Walking through the Latino communities in and around downtown Los Angeles one hears the roar of industrial machines running at any time during the day or night, and sees garbage dumpsters close

to apartment houses filled with fabric remnants from the overlock sewing machines. (2000, 85)

Additionally, many Latina immigrants often perform industrial homework due to the difficulty of finding appropriate childcare; the job enables them to combine their duties as mothers working in the private sphere with their public role as laborers. Industrial homework therefore exploits the vulnerable conditions of mothers who cannot afford childcare, many of whom often work in the domestic industry taking care of the children of affluent communities.²⁰ Given the invisibility of industrial homework, as it functions outside of regulation by the state and is therefore illegal, pay rates for this labor are often comparable to Depression-era rates for such work (Soldatenko 2000; Miraftab 2007). Because of its relative invisibility and clandestine nature, industrial homework also makes it difficult for these workers to come into contact with union organizers.

By referencing garment work, *California Fashions Slaves* makes visible a system of labor that is often rendered invisible to the mainstream public, particularly in globalization narratives that frequently emphasize upper circuits of global capital or the information economy, instant communication, and electronic markets. Globalization studies often ignore women-of-color laborers—particularly domestic workers, nannies, and garment workers—who continue to sustain and produce a globalized economy (Sassen 1998; Segura and Zavella 2007). The undocumented status of the mostly female workers who perform domestic labor accentuates their invisibility, leading them to experience poor working conditions and vulnerability. These women's inability to access citizenship also restricts their job opportunities and places many of them at risk if they were to actively organize against their exploitation. *California Fashions Slaves'* emphasis on the visibility of Latina

garment workers therefore enacts a powerful challenge to the invisibility of their labor in dominant globalization discourses.

Denaturalizing Motherhood Through La Virgen de Guadalupe

As I suggested at the beginning of this essay, the fundamental religious and community activists who decried the inclusion of *Our Lady* in the Santa Fe exhibit glossed over *California Fashions Slaves*' provocative reformulations of Guadalupe imagery because they cast their heteronormative gaze on the icon's traditional and religious iconographic form. In Mexicana/Chicana culture, Guadalupe is the site by which Chicanas are constrained by motherhood and reproduction because she signifies maternal femininity and ideal motherhood. As both virgin and mother, Guadalupe embodies chasteness and ideal femininity; she is constructed as the unselfish and suffering mother. While Guadalupe prescribes idealized motherhood and maternal femininity, cultural figures such as La Llorona and La Malinche serve to define negative femininity, and all three figures serve to reinforce idealized womanhood (Anzaldúa 1987; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 2008, 391). As the national mother of Mexico, many have imbued Guadalupe with the power to deliver her people from oppression, a view pronounced in male-dominated movements, including the Mexican Revolution, as well as during Chicano nationalism, particularly in the United Farm Workers Movement (Alarcón 1989; Calvo 2011). Endowed with idealized traits of motherhood and femininity, Guadalupe marks a gendered history (Anzaldúa 1987; Alarcón 1989).

Alma López's rendering of her mother, Macrina López, as Guadalupe in *California Fashions Slaves* powerfully deconstructs romanticized images of women's labor and domesticity. With its references both to the mother's seamstress work and the pre-Columbian moon warrior Goddess Coyolxauhqui rising over Macrina López and the Los Angeles cityscape, the

print denaturalizes motherhood and reproduction. With its depiction of Macrina López, the piece references Yolanda López's *Our Lady of Guadalupe: Margaret F. Stewart* (1978), part of *Guadalupe Triptych* (see fig. 2).²¹ Both works counter sentimentalized or romanticized views of women's work, serving instead to elevate and honor the harsh labor and working conditions that seamstresses endure. Both artists represent their mothers sewing La Virgen de Guadalupe's cloak and imbue these cloaks as symbols of U.S. nationalism. By depicting their mothers sewing cloaks that have blue backgrounds with white stars, the artists use coloring that departs from the blue-green cloak in traditional Guadalupe iconography. The artists represent their mothers as literally sewing and supporting the nation, particularly as cheap laborers within globalization. Luz Calvo explains, "This image underscores the unseen and under-considered labor of women who sew not only the Virgin's cloak but our clothes as well" (2000). Both artists also manipulate the visual language of Catholicism in order to unbind Chicanas from ideologies of gender and sexuality (Davalos 2008). As Davalos explains, "The yards of fabric and the angel [are] symbolic of control and subservience since both prevented Guadalupe from moving" (2008, 88). Additionally, Alma López's recasting of Guadalupe's cloak in *California Fashions Slaves* shares similarities with her print *Our Lady*, in which artist Raquel Salinas is not defined by her clothes or constrained by fabric, but rather is unbound and becomes an active agent of desire.

Furthermore, Macrina López's halo is not the typical mandorla, or full body halo, of the traditional Catholic imagery of Guadalupe, but is instead an image of the pre-Columbian goddess Coyolxauhqui, who hovers over the Los Angeles cityscape. Coyolxauhqui, Coatlicue's oldest daughter, according to legend, directed her four hundred siblings to fight their brother Huitzilopchtli, the god of war, who ultimately defeated Coyolxauhqui and

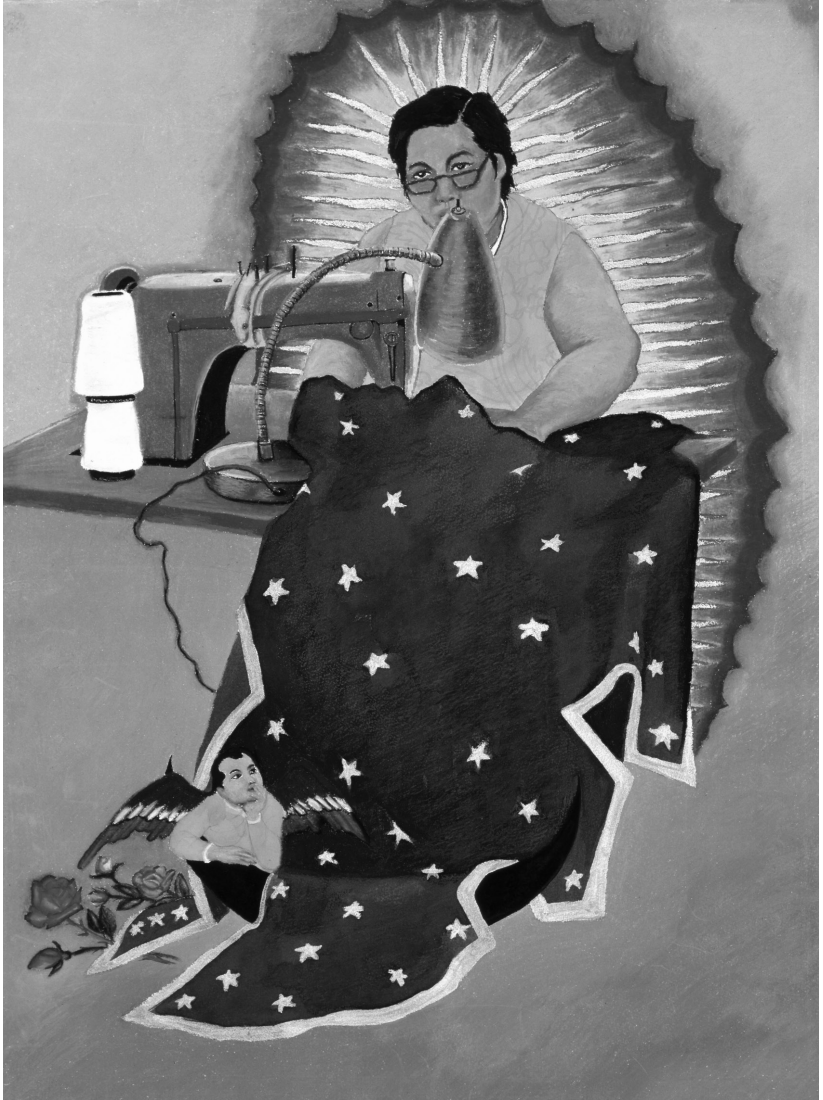


Figure 2
Margaret F. Stewart: Our Lady of Guadalupe (1978) by Yolanda López. Oil pastel on paper; 22 x 30 inches.

her siblings. Huitzilopchtli then mutilated Coyolxauhqui, throwing her head into the sky and casting her torso and limbs along the steps of the temple pyramid (López 2011, 272). For Alma López, Coyolxauhqui represents “not only an incredibly violent dismembering of a warrior woman but also the need to re-member and heal not only ourselves but also our histories and cultures from this violent and misogynistic past...we have a long history of goddess warriors to guide and protect us” (2011, 272). The ‘Coyolxauhqui imperative,’ a concept coined by Anzaldúa, describes a creative route of self-healing where an individual moves from fragmentation to complex wholeness (Keating 2009). According to Anzaldúa, “The path of the artist, the creative impulse, what I call the Coyolxauhqui imperative, is basically an attempt to heal the wounds. It’s a search for inner completeness” (2003–2004, 18). With the image of Coyolxauhqui, the print underscores the material and psychic consequences of colonization on women of Mexican descent, as well as their strength, creative adaptation, and agency in response to such forces.

Conclusion

Contemporary U.S. policy and racist discourses, as exhibited by the passing of SB 1070 or the “Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act” in Arizona and similar calls to enforce such legislation nationally, recycle and extend longstanding racialized binaries of domestic/foreign, legal/illegal, and white/nonwhite. As many commentators have noted, SB 1070 was introduced by Arizona state senator Russell Pearce who worked with Kris Kobach, a Kansas attorney who has connections with the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). This organization has a long history of restricting the reproductive rights of Mexican and Puerto Rican women, as represented by the founder and Board Member of FAIR, Dr. John Tanton, whose writings have linked population growth and immigration since the 1970s (Gutiérrez 2008). As C. Alejandra Elenes argues,

Laws such as SB 1070, not only create a hostile environment for Latinas/os in Arizona but are part of a national narrative of race and gender in the U.S. resulting from demographic changes and fears about the “browning” of America. In this climate, the female brown body is particularly targeted and objectified.²²

Given the persistence of rhetoric that continues to render women of Mexican descent as threatening the cohesion of the nation through their biological reproduction, *California Fashions Slaves* is a necessary artistic work. The print depicts a visual landscape of the gendered and racialized binaries that continue to naturalize women of Mexican descent to domestic labor and reproduction in cultural and visual representations. Yet the work also pays homage to the Mexicanas and Chicanas who through labor activism resisted their marginalization and exploitation. With this depiction of Mexican-descent women as active agents who intervene in colonial and xenophobic frameworks of virgin/whore, domestic/foreign, and legal/illegal, *California Fashions Slaves* makes a bold challenge, as does *Our Lady*, to conservative-minded rhetoric seeking to essentialize Chicanas and Latinas to domesticity, labor, and motherhood.

Notes

¹ The exhibit opened on February 25, 2001, and closed as originally scheduled that same year on October 28. The exhibition was installed in the “Contemporary Changing Gallery,” a space attached to the museum’s permanent “Hispanic Heritage Wing.” Curator Tey Marianna Nunn explains how the Changing Gallery “is the only space in the entire museum of New Mexico system that is dedicated to contemporary Hispanic art” (Nunn 2011, 19).

² The images of Raquel Salinas and Raquel Gutierrez come from separate photographs taken by López for the digital print.

³ See Gaspar de Alba and López (2011) for a complete discussion of the controversy. Soon after the exhibit opened on February 25, 2001, conservative activists Jose Villegas and Deacon Anthony Trujillo were joined by Archbishop Michael J. Sheehan in calling for the removal of the piece.

López and the Nunn received numerous death threats, and López received hate mail from young children through a campaign organized by adults. The texts and images of protest rhetoric and hate mail can be found in Gaspar de Alba and López (2011).

⁴ The three artists' creative and intellectual passions behind their recasting of Guadalupe can be found in the 46-minute documentary *I Love Lupe* (2011), which records their 2008 conversation about the topic. The documentary accompanies Gaspar de Alba and López (2011).

⁵ The *Cyber Arte* exhibit, the first exhibit nationwide to highlight digital art, also included digital works by New Mexican Hispana artists Teresa Archuleta-Sagel, Elena Baca, and Marion Martínez.

⁶ Other images by López in the *Cyber Arte* exhibit included *Santa Nina de Mochis*, *La Linea*, *Juan Soldado*, *Maria de los Angeles*, and *Selena in the Sky with Roses*. López created *California Fashions Slaves Two* for the edited collection *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*, edited by Denise Segura and Patricia Zavella (Durham: N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007). According to López, "I wanted to update it with a new photograph and a more dynamic composition. The version I did in 1997 was the first digital print I ever did and therefore when I had the opportunity to update it, I did" (quoted from e-mail message to author, January 14, 2011).

⁷ According to López, "I believe they are Mexican, probably 1930s. They were probably from one photo which I most likely cut out the areas I wanted to include. I don't believe I used the entire photo" (quoted from e-mail message to author, January 14, 2011).

⁸ Other Chicana feminist reconfigurations of Guadalupe include visual and literary texts by artists Ester Hernández, Santa Barraza, Delilah Montoya, and Raquel Salinas, as well as by authors Cherríe Moraga, Carla Trujillo, and Denise Chavez, to name a few.

⁹ This integration predates the passage of NAFTA, as the two countries became systematically linked in an economic and political restructuring that relied on the low-wage, flexible labor of immigrants outside the United States (Segura and Zavella 2007, 2, 5). The Border Industrialization Program (BIP), for example, drew women from Mexico and Latin America to the border region for work in the maquiladoras. NAFTA only served to formally increase the development of this industry (Segura and Zavella 2007, 12).

¹⁰ A 2000 census reported that 70 percent of garment workers were Latina/o, the majority of whom were Mexican immigrants, and 15–20 percent were Asian, particularly Chinese. Only 34 percent of garment workers in Los Angeles were documented and the majority was non-English speaking, further indicating their vulnerability within the garment industry (Lu and Mak 2004).

¹¹ The California courts quickly nullified Proposition 187 as unconstitutional. Congress later passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act in 1996, which like Proposition 187, restricted access to healthcare for undocumented immigrants, except for emergency care. The act also increased border patrol and technology, which further militarized the border zone (Segura and Zavella 2007, 10).

¹² Quoted in Heather Knight. "Joint Exhibit Illuminates Immigrants' Stories: Artists Hope Cupertino Show Alters Attitudes." *San Francisco Chronicle*. March 30, 2001. <http://articles.sfgate.com>.

com/2001-03-30/news/17590844_1_chinese-immigrants-angel-island-american-flags/4.

¹³ My italics, from “The Original Text of Articles IX and X of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Protocol of Queretaro,” Appendix I in Griswold Del Castillo (1990, 179).

¹⁴ Jovita González’s historical romance-novel *Caballero*, co-authored with Eve Raleigh and written in the late 1930s, represents the confinement of Spanish Mexican women to the domestic realm as a result of Anglo colonization. Although a fictionalized narrative, the novel is based on ethnographic research González conducted as a graduate student at the University of Texas at Austin and is informed by González’s experiences growing up as a Spanish Mexicana in South Texas.

¹⁵ Kate McCullough makes a similar argument about Mexican masculinity in her close reading of María Amparo Ruiz de Burton’s *Squatter and the Don* (1999, 171).

¹⁶ The Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts that 245,000 apparel manufacturing jobs will be lost in the United States between 2002 and 2012, with 81,000 jobs lost in California, as a result of increased imports and labor-saving technology (Lu and Mak 2004).

¹⁷ “Free Trade’s Threat to California Garment Workers.” 2004. Fact Sheet A. Sweatshop Watch Report.

¹⁸ “Free Trade’s Threat to California Garment Workers.” 2004. Fact Sheet A. Sweatshop Watch Report.

¹⁹ Within the context of the United States, Soldatenko finds industrial homework to be a route to women’s economic exploitation (2000). Faranak Miraftab, who analyzes the conditions of home workers in Guadalajara, Mexico, suggests that homework can lead to economic gain because it allows an entire family to generate an income. Yet she argues that women’s economic roles within the family can be rendered invisible, limiting the possibility of collective action (2007, 273).

²⁰ See Lisa Loomer’s play, *Living Out* (2003), which explores the relationships between two white mothers and their Latina domestics in Santa Monica, California.

²¹ The other two images of Yolanda López’s *Guadalupe Triptych* include *The Portrait of the Artist as the Virgin de Guadalupe*, which depicts López as a marathon runner, and *Victoria F. Franco: Our Lady of Guadalupe*, which portrays Lopez’s grandmother.

²² C. Alejandra Elenes. “Mujeres, Migration & Arizona’s SB1070: Codifying Patriarchy and White Privilege.” *MALCS Mujeres Talk* (blog). January 17, 2011. <http://www.malcs.org/mujeres-talk/mujeres-migration-arizonas-sb1070-codifying-patriarchy-and-white-privilege/>.

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