

ENCUENTROS: Decolonizing the Academy and Mobilizing for Justice

Jennifer Ayala*, Michelle Fine^, Maria del Cielo Mendez*, Andrea Nikté Juárez Mendoza^, Juan Carlos García Rivera^, Samuel Finesurrey#, Ariadna Villeda#, Hermanica Thelusca#, Viandry Mena#, Karim Azzam+, Anne Galletta+, Angelica Houston+, vanessa jones+, Dion Mongo+

Saint Peter's University*, The Graduate Center/CUNY^, Guttman Community College/CUNY# and Cleveland State University+

Abstract

In this article, we try capture a moment when we were relatively steady in our belief that as persons working in/through the academy, we are accountable to the temblores, to take up the project of decolonizing the curriculum, democratizing our pedagogy and sharing the very space we occupy with those most impacted by current assaults on immigrants and people of color in the United States. We still believe this, perhaps even more from our homes of quarantine. Our universities are obligated to build ligaments of solidarity – material, intellectual, political, ethical – and spaces of sanctuary.

Keywords: academic obligation, critical resistance, solidarity, trans-campus radical possibilities, insurgent knowledge, immigration justice

Temblores

La tierra tiembla, como el alma tiembla

Tectonic plates shifting

and the earth's skin cracks

as our soul's skin cracks

with seismic ideologies

shifting back,
shifting right,
shifting white
supremacy
with chants of build a wall
with gazes that say
we have our country back!
But when was it not?
It's not new- there's a history,
long, deep and fraught
where empires were built,
are building,
layered atop a gravel of BlackBrownQueer bodies
on a thick crust of coloniality
amidst a drifting topography of hegemony
with curves groves slopes
shaped from the sediments and erosions
of oppression and resistance
El alma tiembla, como la tierra tiembla
how to protect madre tierra
how to protect our madres propias
from the traumas of state terror and separation
forced detention, cages and ally capitulation.

We can't stand still,
We have to move!
Our movement starts with temblores
lands and bodies tremulously align
to warn us of our fractures
through parted lips
through parting grounds
our sands and souls shake.
(Jennifer Ayala, 2019)

ENCUENTROS in the Academy

It is hard to know where to begin, writing mid-COVID crisis, as universities also tremble, as racial and class inequities are in full relief, health disparities, who is deemed “essential,” who is unemployed, who will be without housing or health care, who may be deported as Trump and his colleagues take advantage of “crisis” to pursue corporate, and white supremacist, anti-immigrant national policy.

In this article, we try capture a moment when we were relatively steady in our belief that as persons working in/through the academy, we are accountable to the temblores, to take up the project of decolonizing the curriculum, democratizing our pedagogy and sharing the very space we occupy with those most impacted by current assaults on immigrants and people of color in the United States. We still believe this, perhaps even more from our homes of quarantine. Our universities are obligated to build ligaments of solidarity – material, intellectual, political, ethical – and spaces of sanctuary.

Our work stretches across four colleges and universities – Saint Peter’s, Cleveland State, The Graduate Center and Guttman Community College at CUNY. On each campus, our pedagogy/curriculum/community engagement/scholarship is a braid of commitments toward academic response-ability to the lives of our students, the journeys and struggles they carry, the families they live with, the wisdom buried in their cultural biographies and the communities they reside in/come from. We ask separately and together, how can the academy be accountable to communities under siege in the era of Trump – but of course also before him, after and always? How can we be critically response-able – as teachers, researchers, activists - to the trembles our students carry, to the journeys their ancestors forged, the struggles they represent and even to those far away who are assaulted “out of sight” by U.S. state violence?

We have collaborated, across state lines and national borders, to radically re-design pedagogy, curriculum and the politics of our campuses. Together as faculty, students and community members, we built insurgent knowledges, with/as activists in our communities, across campuses, to make clear the obligation of the academy in revolting times. In the fall of 2019, we came together in a performance of ENCUENTROS, gatherings of critical dialogues, at Saint Peter’s University (see Figure 1). In this writing, we capture some of what we performed

Figure 1: Image of Encuentros event flyer created by Elsy Cruz

that evening, and we suture our humble commitments to decolonizing academic work to chronicle the obligation of the academy in times of rising white nationalisms and xenophobia, fascism, terror and fear – at home and abroad, as we bear witness to and embody the consequences of state violence against people of color – yesterday and today, here and there.

We write to recognize that public or private, doctoral training or community college, Jesuit or secular, the academy is, of course, historically rooted in deeply elitist, white supremacist, anti-disability commitments; challenged forever and today by students, faculty, staff, unions and movements for radical inclusion and transformation; influenced in excess by corporate, privatizing and sometimes explicitly nationalist and carceral interests. Higher education is a space both fraught and contradictory by design and desire: a site of privilege, sanctuary, vulnerability and struggle. Worth fighting – and worth fighting for.

In times of crisis, Gramsci (1928) tells us, we drown in “morbid symptoms” but also – we add - in rich eruptions of desire and dissent; wild configurations of resistance; bold eruptions of aesthetic protest; demands to decolonize. We offer in this piece, provocative and humble bits of our work – to whet the appetite for where/how we might decolonize the academy and reclaim the land/space/ideas/resources, even when funds are tight, Boards of Trustees are conservative, colleagues are anxious, state funding is drying up and when the heartbeat of academic responsibility is loud. We begin with scenes of action, on campus, insisting on justice at home; we then turn to activist scholarship bearing witness to injustice tucked away in detention camps in Texas and with “retornados” returned by the U.S. government to El Salvador. We end with rich portraits of oral history projects by students – community college through doctoral – excavating buried and silenced stories of lives and social movements that have carried us over generations. We traverse these storied scenes through conceptual puentes, bridges that help us walk across the connections and deep knowings at each site. As we protest and struggle, tweet and boycott, we are obligated to till the soil of justice on our campuses, in our classrooms and through solidarity studies with those under siege.

Bones to flesh

(Maria del Cielo Mendez)

My mother crossed the border with a group of strangers - one of which was a pregnant woman. They ran in fear of border patrol and at one point could hear their dogs hunting them down. They attempted to hide behind a fence when they were discovered by a stranger who took them into his home and hid them in his laundry room. As a Jesuit institution, what kind of person do we want our students to be: the people with guns hunting pregnant women with dogs in the desert, or the people who give them safety?

In November of 2019, students at Saint Peter's University, a small Jesuit liberal arts college, led by the student organization Students for Peace and Justice (SPJ), began organizing to remove Customs and Border Protection (CBP) from the career fair. Through discussions between others on campus, we, as a collective, believed that the presence of CBP endangered undocumented students, was against our Jesuit values, and promoted an agency that had proved itself to be violent and oppressive while dehumanizing and persecuting immigrants. In the statement that explained our asks, it said:

Our demand to ban CBP from our Career Fair is rooted not only in our desire to protect Saint Peter's students, but also our willingness to rise and defend the sanctity of all human life. Since January 2010, at least 90 people have died as the result of an encounter with U.S. border agents. Many more have been brutalized, in many cases resulting in life-altering injuries and emotional trauma that they will carry with them for the rest of their lives. As the death toll increases, the unspeakable living conditions in the detention centers come to mirror the barbarity of concentration camps. For many students at Saint

Peter's, the agony and devastation at the border is not just a distant headline but the heartbreaking reality they live in every day.

I was a member of the Student Government Alliance and, as the only undocumented senator, introduced the petition to the student Senate, hoping a push from student leaders would motivate the university administration to act. The day the petition was introduced was also coincidentally the day the senate invited the Provost and President to the meeting. Protestors from the Students for Peace and Justice club, in a powerful act of resistance, stood up and unrolled large photographs of children who had died while in CBP custody. Feeling the need to emphasize that this was an issue that did not just affect people at the border, but our student body as well, I shared my story with everyone in the room—the opening scene in this section.

The petition was introduced to the Student Senate on a Monday with around 60 signatures. Asked to garner more support, the students hit cafeterias, libraries, classrooms, and social media. I, along with my Senate co-sponsor, submitted the final petition that Friday, this time with 538 signatures garnered in just four days. Despite mass support, the Student Government was simply not moving fast enough; as our winter break was about to begin, a decision needed to be made by late January, and the career fair was set to be in February. Additionally, we were met with resistance from a small group on campus representing some majors of Criminal Justice who felt that their job prospects would be hurt by the absence of the CBP. This led to a loss in support in the administration and the kind of strength that is needed to get goals like this accomplished.

Student leaders from both sides - those who want to remove CBP and those who want them to stay - began having meetings with each other in order to heal and relieve any tensions that may have been created over the issue. Ultimately, after many conversations with students,

professors, and administrators, CBP made the decision to not be present at the spring 2020 career fair. A small but vital victory in a struggle hundreds of years old.

Everyday we, undocumented people, get out of bed knowing what we may lose if we take a wrong turn, accidentally pass the wrong light, walk into the wrong room. As organizers we know the risks we take when we make our voices heard, tell you our names, share all our stories. We live with those anxieties, we resist for our families, we find strength and joy in each other. As our parents taught us, there are some things worth fighting and risking everything for. It's frustrating when we see those who are unaffected unable to carry even a little bit of that same courage.

First Puente: Walking South. ENCUENTROS takes seriously the contestation of injustices in our own back yards, and also our obligation to document and make visible the long bloody tentacles of imperialism and the US carceral state in detention centers, on the border and reaching back into Central American countries to which the “retornados” have been sent. This is the work of the academy in the Global North. To bear witness to the violence our country enacts locally and globally. We turn now to activist scholarship tracing tremors across the borders, and into sites designed to be out-of-sight.

Bearing witness in spaces deliberately out of sight

(Andrea Nikté Juárez Mendoza and Juan Carlos García Rivera)

Response-abilities

As scholars – organizers/activists and doctoral students at the Graduate Center – we seek to engage in insurgent scholarship/research (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018) that creates solidarity, redistributes resources/access, and disrupts institutional borders, in alliance with marginalized

communities under siege. And as part of our scholarship and teaching, make visible the global violence enacted presumably in the “interests” of the U.S. government. In doing so, we must be honest about how our privileges can be leveraged. When institutional boundaries prevent some from speaking their truths, or hide them from sight, it becomes the duty of others to bear witness as political and humanizing acts. In this case, researchers and scholars hold the privilege of access to an exclusive knowledge production apparatus that shapes our world and worldviews. For this reason, among other ethical considerations, it is imperative that we interrogate our response-abilities and examine the ways in which our scholarship and research can intervene in contentious times (Fine, 2018), especially in spaces deliberately out of sight. Through bearing witness, an act of accompaniment and holding space, we shift from passive witnessing to active solidarity.

Mignolo and Walsh (2018) posit that:

It is through discourses and narratives that the amorphous activities of a people are distinguished, narrated, theorized, critiqued, and transformed into economies, politics, history and so on.” They offer, “He who has the privilege of naming and implanting his naming is able to manage knowledge, understanding, and subjectivity. (p. 139)

Quijano (1991) names “de-linking” as the process by which we divorce from the notion of the supremacy and universality of Western epistemology, opening up possibilities toward justice. As scholar/activists engaging in insurgent research we bear a responsibility to “re-link,” to name injustices and create/resurface knowledge that intervenes in epistemic violence (Spivak, 1988) and structural violence. Thus, a decolonial turn (Maldonado-Torres, 2011) is necessary to surface othered knowledge and reshape discourse about othered peoples, connecting structural and intimate acts of violence and resistance.

In this article we draw from our experiences as scholar/activists bearing witness to testimonios and personal accounts of women and children in United States ICE detention centers and Retornados (men deported by DHS/ICE to El Salvador). In the case of bearing witness in detention centers, Andrea confronts institutional limitations that raise important conflicts, questions, and response-abilities related to scholar/activist research. Juan Carlos bears witness, from a facilitator standpoint, in psychosocial workshops with Retornados in El Salvador, which brought to the table considerations about who/what are testimonios for, and whose knowledge is centered and de-centered in mental health community work. We lead with the following questions: What does bearing witness entail from a privileged standpoint? What possibilities does bearing witness open? (How) Can knowledge produced by the academy truly honor lived experience while upholding the fight for justice? We situate bearing witness and testimonio as insurgent praxis.

Testimonio and Bearing Witness

As students with immigrant biographies we take seriously, feel intimately and act with a sense of urgency, our obligation to work across borders, to give testimony, whether oral, written, or otherwise in art, as acts of and knowledge production and historical memory (Moraga, Anzaldúa, & Bambara, 1981; Martín-Baró, 1986).

Insurgent research is dedicated to naming injustices and exposing their mechanisms, as key steps towards dismantling them. Murdered scholar/activist/liberation theorist Martín-Baró (1982), for instance, in the midst of the armed conflict in El Salvador, argued that scholars have an obligation to contest dominant lies. For Martín-Baró, the Social/Institutional Lie references the false narratives created, socialized and circulated by those in positions to: 1) avoid accountability for their (in)actions, 2) justify their (in)actions, 3) denigrate, blame and punish -

their victims and those demanding reparations, 4) assure the survival of their oppressive system, and lastly, 5) turn the wider-social lie into an intimate-personal lie. Embracing these lies at an intimate level nourishes them, by enacting them in the everyday, by crystallizing them in our relationships, and by assimilating them into our worldviews. These lies hide deliberate harm caused to certain lives, maintaining their experiences, and knowledge in *spaces deliberately out of sight*. The work of the activist scholar is to disrupt these widely circulating and deeply held lies.

Testimonio is a way to unravel the lie and retell collective social, historical, political, and cultural experiences through personal stories and witness accounts (Blackmer Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012; Delgado Bernal, 2012; Menchu & Burgos-Debray, 1984). This form of witnessing and retelling is borne from Indigenous oral history traditions in Latin America (Blackmer Reyes & Curry Rodríguez, 2012). Preserving testimonios and accounts of bearing witness provides a foundation for reconstructing/reclaiming historical knowledge. Arising out of traditions of collective knowledge creation/preservation, testimonio also offers what a top-down, “apolitical”, and detached science cannot - community building, relationality, solidarity and social action.

Historical Memory & The Social Lie

As both retelling and witnessing, testimonio resists epistemic violence by contributing to the Recovery of Historical Memory, one of the three urgent tasks towards a Liberation psychology according to Martín-Baró (1996). He described such a task as the retrieval of “those aspects of identity which served yesterday, and will serve today, for liberation” (p. 30). What is remembered and what is forgotten by a society is constantly at stake, and it is inextricably linked

to the power of labeling, naming, and silencing in order to govern whose and what knowledge is legitimate.

Historical memory is a main target when the physical and symbolic erasure of those who challenge systems of oppression is a primary goal of those in power. When “the aims of violence, oppression and abuse are often to fully colonise a person’s memory” (Afuape, 2011, p. 138), the act of remembering and the content of those memories are therefore essential to disrupt institutional barriers and to resist the imposition of supremacies. To that end, testimonio is a source and a method of historical memory that refuses the Social Lies and prepares the soil to sprout truths (e.g. lessons from collective resistance) waiting to be harvested for collective healing (e.g. remembrance as collective healing) and justice.

As we face a global crisis of human rights violations experienced by immigrants via immigration policies and practices, we must contend with our responsibilities as scholars to also respond in ways that resist the erasure and dehumanization of immigrants. In doing so, we have an obligation to act. My contribution has been to curate the narratives of “retornados” – those who have been returned to El Salvador – to re/member the full lives, relationships, commitments, passions, pains and desires of women and men who have banished from and demonized by the land they considered home.

Insurgent Praxis Toward Decolonial Horizons

In the Fall of 2018, I (Andrea) was invited to assist in translation between lawyers and detained mothers and their children at a Texas detention center. Translation is a critical part of ensuring people in detention receive legal support to advance their cases and it is also a vehicle for insurgent praxis. To translate from a decolonial commitment meant drawing from my lived experience as a community organizer, immigrant, educator, artist, counselor, and trained

researcher. Translation in the context of detention also meant accompaniment – to bear witness, to listen with heart, and to find individualized ways to offer support. Rather than simply looking at people’s experiences as statements for legal documents, I also saw them as testimonios representing socio-historical accounts of political oppression – knowledge otherwise hidden in court papers and legalese. Mobilizing resources within a detention center is incredibly difficult but not impossible. Despite limited time and interaction, together we found ways to ensure people had access to resources, support, and connections while waiting for their cases to advance as well as upon release. Translation became a channel by which historical knowledge was documented and organizer/activist practices enacted - insurgent praxis. We consider this an act of epistemic disobedience (Mignolo, 2009), clearing “the horizon to imagine and act toward global futures in which the notion of a political enemy is replaced by intercultural communication and towards an-other rationality that puts life first and that places institutions at its service, rather than the other way around” (Mignolo & Escobar, 2013, para 2.)

During July and August of 2018, another translation initiative took place in El Salvador. A local organization of returnees (*Alianza Salvadoreña de Retornados*) hired Juan Carlos as a consultant psychologist to design, facilitate and systematize mental health workshops with a group of six to ten men returnees. This project would provide a space where each individual could reflect about their own life journey, paying special attention to their deportation experiences; share with and listen to others, bear witness; and translate their individual and shared struggles, strengths, and aspirations into peer-based psychosocial services to accompany those deported to El Salvador. In this case, insurgent praxis required me to critically examine the effects of my expert position and privileged epistemology (as a paid, certified professional), in the knowledge production processes intended for those who are stigmatized inside and outside of

the United States and El Salvador. I asked myself, before, during and after the workshops, whose knowledge should be centered-decentered, when, how and why? What type of questions, activities and relationalities should be prompted to enhance the capacity to elicit, honor, articulate and put into actions the knowledge, hardships, and aspirations of retornados? A response comes from a returnee, who asserts: “our struggles are the treasure that we have”. Such treasures live in their testimonios, conveyed through visual art, written and spoken words that contain personal-collective wisdom to be translated into community-movement building and psychosocial accompaniment.

As we wander toward an insurgent decolonial praxis of scholar/activism, as graduate students, teachers and organizers, we examine the solidarity-building potential of testimonio by sharing our experiences of witnessing testimonios in our work, and raise questions about the tensions, contradictions, and concerns intrinsic to working within academic borders. We understand, as Santos has argued, “epistemological struggle as political struggle” “La lucha epistemológica como lucha política” (Santos, 2018, p. 12). Mignolo and Walsh (2018) are even more explicit: “insurgency here is simultaneously political, epistemic, and existence based; insurgency urges, puts forth, and advances from the ground up and from the margins, other imaginaries, visions, knowledges, modes of thought, other ways of being, becoming, and living in relation” (p. 34).

Together these examples are part of a pedagogical praxis of accompaniment and engagement that endeavors to move within and connect the cracks while looking toward and pushing to foster, build, and enable decolonial horizons. Yet what these examples do not clearly show are my own processes of unlearning. (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 86).

While we move forward toward decolonial horizons, we also grapple with the tensions that arise as scholar/activists engage in insurgent praxis within the academy. Is our enactment of traditional methods of reclaiming voice through testimonio, appropriate or appropriation? Who gets to cross the invisible borders of memory and history to witness what has been placed deliberately out of sight and what does that mean in terms of reproducing privilege and class boundaries? Who is worthy to hold these smuggled narratives? These questions remind us that the process of unlearning is complex, painful, reflexive, and necessary if the work we intend to do is toward liberation. They point us toward our own internal work so that we may engage in liberation work in solidarity with marginalized communities, as learners and not experts.

And yet, the urgency of the current moment requires that we act now to intervene and shed light in the shadows so that we disrupt what Hovannisian (1998) called the final stage of a genocidal process:

Following the physical destruction of a people and their material culture, memory is all that is left and is targeted as the last victim. Complete annihilation of a people requires the banishment of recollection and suffocation of remembrance. Falsification, deception and half-truths reduce what was to what might have been or perhaps what was not at all.
(p. 202)

Second puente: Turning east. Encuentros holds space for radical action on our and across campuses and for activist scholarship bearing witness in shadow sites removed from public view. But in our hearts, there is a third leg of Encuentros –inviting our students to interrogate histories intimate and radical, buried and silenced; encouraging our students to develop their own intellectual and critical signatures as they conduct oral histories – the shy ones and the bold

activists, ones in the closet and ones getting arrested, those with papers and not, first generation or those whose ancestors were brought here centuries ago against their will – to engage in the care-ful praxis of oral history, to recover the journeys and struggles that came before, to honor the ancestors who carved paths with courage and passion, so we might be here, now, to recognize their gifts and introduce these stories into the canon.

Oral History: Critical Pedagogy to Decolonize our Praxis

(Samuel Finesurrey, Ariadna Villeda, Hermanica Thelusca, Viandry Mena)

The work of decolonizing the academy must include political struggle in our own institutions and in solidarity with others'. Activist scholarship and pedagogy that is both hyper-local and transnational can cultivate in our students the capacity to interrogate the past, produce knowledge and honor the multi-generational wisdom, trauma and desires that anchor their journeys. We hear now from community college students at Guttman Community College in New York City and undergraduates/graduate students at Cleveland State. All are engaged in the critical praxis of re-membering the past, carrying the awesome responsibility for stories long ago buried now unearthed. We begin with the community college students at Guttman.

Presenting on her work at “Encuentros in the Borderlands: Activism, Critical Youth Research and Obligations of the University,” 19-year-old Guttman Community College student Ariadna Villeda opened the panel with a confession: “When I was introduced to Oral Histories I was like, ‘ugh, I have to like talk.’” But, Villeda continued, “I learned... talking is a form of togetherness....” Assigned an oral history project in her class City Seminar, Villeda decided to interview her grandfather, an immigrant originally from El Salvador: “I never really talked to my grandpa until this oral history came about.... I ask[ed] him questions about his immigration story.... This was a story he never shared with anyone else other than me....” For her grandfather

and even for herself, Villeda admitted, “There is some type of closure and some type of healing...from these oral histories....”

On the same panel, Guttman student Hermanica Thelusca decided to educate the audience about “why” oral histories matter. For Hermanica, an immigrant from Haiti, the answer lay in decolonizing history: “The importance of this oral history project is, one, to challenge the dominant voice of history, which often happens to be [the voice of] rich white men, [particularly] heterosexual men. Oral history gives marginalized groups a voice to be the owner of their own story.... [Second, oral history] will help future historians to avoid sweeping generalizations when it comes to stereotyped people.... [Finally, oral history] helps us heal from the traumas that we’ve all been through.” Hermanica understood oral histories as radically disruptive and critical knowledge capable of healing historic wounds.

Student-led oral history projects at institutions like Guttman Community College contest what Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie describes as the “single story” told about (but not by) people of color and/or those living in poverty, under surveillance, in precarity. By engaging with elders from their respective communities, Guttman’s students offer narratives that, in the words of Kristina Llewellyn and her colleagues “agitate the silence of the oppressive status quo and build a more just future.” (Llewellyn, 2016, p. 106) These young students author critical scholarship, as they simultaneously come to appreciate their personal and collective biographies of struggle and desire. I (Sam) teach as an adjunct at Guttman Community College, City University of New York newest college. Guttman is a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) where we work in teams, and the students have block schedules. We educate students who are largely immigrants themselves or children of immigrants, often the first in their families to go to college, many of whom are living with housing precarity and working forty-hours a week and caring for kin, while

going to school full time. At a time when working class, minoritized and immigrant youths live with economic and even geographic uncertainty, the [Guttman Community College Undergraduate Scholars Oral Histories Collection](#) was pursued because we felt an intellectual, political and ethical responsibility to raise and catalogue the voices of these students and their families.

In courses on the history of New York City, food policy, immigration, and U.S. politics, student-led interviews have explored immigrant journeys to the United States, primary accounts of historic events, the evolution of a community, and intimate experiences of marginalization by nationality, ethnicity, religion or gender. Through interviews with elders in their families or communities, students have documented experiences of being vilified by policies and authority figures, while also collecting vibrant stories of individual survival, relentless perseverance and collective resistance. These projects generate rich, complex and previously buried counter-narratives about the past, but as important, the praxis of oral histories—collecting, transcribing, archiving and presenting—often transforms how young people in college understand their intellectual capacities as they gather, honor and then become responsible for the testimonies of elders. They contest and complicate dominant historic narratives, while gaining confidence in their own academic abilities.

Since Fall 2018, we have collaborated with librarians to build the Guttman Community College Undergraduate Scholars Oral Histories Collection. More than 100 students have found “informants,” explored relevant histories, designed interview protocols, piloted their questions, conducted interviews, gained consent for distribution, transcribed, and are now archiving the oral histories. Each semester, classes collectively select key topics and formulate questions to ask during their interviews with elders. By producing and archiving testimonies these elders would

likely not share with strangers, these students offer qualitative material to researchers looking to challenge jingoistic depictions told about the communities where the students live, and from where their families originate.

This form of student-led, critically engaged inquiry, at the community college level generally, throughout CUNY and at Guttman specifically comes with numerous challenges. Guttman students often use English as their second or third language, making it difficult for them to communicate with family and other trusted elders in a language understood by the entire class. While limiting the ability of their classmates to understand untranslated transcripts, we encourage students to engage with their interviewees in their preferred language to allow for a full, complex and comfortable expression of self and thus a more descriptive testimony. Because many, if not most Guttman students are the children of immigrants or immigrants themselves, they often come from households understandably wary of the publication of their story. In times of ICE raids and detention threats, family members are often reluctant to share their testimonies, especially on tape. We spend time thinking through questions and ethics; confidentiality and vulnerability; which interviews should be preserved and which will be used exclusively in the classroom. Time is another issue as almost all of these students go to school full time, while simultaneously working and often caring for family members as translators or caregivers. This radical pedagogical work is conducted in a neoliberal context, and is, of course, affected. Guttman, like community colleges across the country, attracts students with a broad range of skills, anxieties and levels of academic preparation. The capacity to conduct an interview, for a small group of our students, can feel overwhelming. And many of the staff members involved are adjuncts or part-time workers, engaged in a labor struggle for parity while dedicating lots of extra hours to help students emerging as public intellectuals. Despite the hurdles this work

presents, this project has allowed Guttman students to see themselves as producers of knowledge, responsible for stories gathered and dedicated to challenging stereotypes about their communities.

These are not simply interesting projects; they reflect a political, ethical and pedagogical commitment of the public university. At Guttman we engage oral history as pedagogy, a compelling alternative to the rising privatization and vocationalizing of the community college curriculum. Oral history as pedagogy is designed to inspire historic curiosity, sharpen oral and written skills and encourage young people to see themselves as historic researchers. Recognizing themselves in a long lineage of struggle and movements for justice, the students both resist and transform the academic cultures in which they are situated. Despite the numerous challenges at CUNY, at a time when immigrants are villainized, and working-class students are questioning the utility of higher education, public institutions remain well positioned – perhaps obligated – to pursue this form of scholarship, pedagogy and engaged practice. Student-led oral history projects can democratize the production of knowledge and carve a space in which undergraduates see themselves as scholars and activists in the academy, in history and in the future of a fragile multicultural democracy.

Third puente: Moving west. Encuentros now turns west, where youth as young as 8th grade sit alongside teachers and graduate students, at Cleveland State, in the local library, documenting The Struggle for Freedom and Racial justice, long buried in the history of Cleveland, Ohio.

Tracing History for the Pulse of Liberation

(Karim Azzam, Anne Galletta, Angelica Houston, vanessa jones, Dion Mongo)

I was always a part of a loving family and community. I was well grounded with my faith and my Moroccan heritage. Wherever I go I would talk to people about my ethnic background. My family was a big part of that, they would always talk to me about Islam and tell me stories about the prophets and tell me how important they were. Then when I got a little older I started to pay attention to the news my dad was watching. I understood what was going on. One day I was talking to this kid and told him that he looks a lot like his sister. He said to me, “You know what you look like? A terrorist.” That really affected me.

Oral histories have the potential to uncover stories and to trace the lines of structural oppression and collective human agency of the past to our current conditions. In the story above, Karim Azzam maps his biography onto history and more current expressions of cultural antagonism within the U.S. toward Muslim Americans. Karim shared this story in several settings related to our oral history project. In doing so, he connects acts of injustice we are studying in the oral histories to this interruption he experienced, at which time he found his cohesive experience of spiritual and cultural identity and belonging recast into something altogether alien to his experience, leaving him vulnerable to misrepresentation and harm.

Because the stories of the past are inherently intergenerational through the processes of narration, inquiry, probing, and questioning, the preservation of history has the potential to draw community elders and youth into a unique relationship. Youth are also key to bridging the murky area that exists between the academy and our communities, which historically has been exploited by the practice of research. Youth are valued and coveted by both entities. However, research done with youth and community members risks loss of autonomy as it has often become the property of the university, serving as capital in bolstering research funding or marketing

programs to fill seats and sustain academic departments. It is in this murky space in which our work takes place as we cross geographic and social boundaries in multiple spaces at public libraries, k-12 settings, and the university. We work toward understanding what a more just image for this work might look like in terms of trust, creation of knowledge, and the idea of expert (Jones, Stewart, Galletta, & Ayala, 2015).

In our project, *Crafting Radical Histories*, we draw on history and philosophy, framing notions of community and freedom from sources engaged in human rights and in arts education. From abolitionist, author, and spokesman for human rights, Frederick Douglass we utilize the concept of freedom as embodied in struggle and framed in power relations (Douglass, 1857). From philosopher and critical educator Maxine Greene, we conceptualize freedom as wide awaken-ness (Greene, 1988). The focus of our current project, a 1964 school boycott against racial segregation and inequity in Cleveland connects with the press for freedom through agitation “to improve our condition as a people” (Douglass, 1857) and the power to imagine something else – “the capacity to surpass the given and look at things as if they could be otherwise” (Greene, 1988, p. 3).

The current focus of the oral histories is a Cleveland school boycott that occurred in April 20, 1964, when 92% of African American students in the district attended Freedom Schools in community organizations and houses of worship instead of attending school. In Cleveland, during the late 1950’s through early 1970’s the reach of *Brown* was stymied until the 1976 *Reed v. Rhodes* decision of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Ohio. Segregated black schools became overcrowded in the 1950’s while white schools were under enrolled. To address overcrowding, the district used relay classes, approved by the state of Ohio, which maintained half-day schooling in some east-side black neighborhoods between 1957 and 1962. Beginning in

1962, two additional strategies were employed: (1) intact busing of black students in white schools, which maintained racial segregation within the building, and (2) the acceleration of school construction not at the borders of white and black neighborhoods but largely within black neighborhoods (Moore, 2002; Whyte, 2003). This history is also punctuated with conflict as members of the United Freedom Movement, the Hazeldell Parents Association, the NAACP, and the Cleveland Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) protested the district policies through picketing, sit-ins, and the April 20, 1964, school boycott (Moore, 2002; Whyte, 2003). (See Figure 2).

Figure 2: Image from Cleveland Press Collection, Freedom School, April 20, 1964

Our methods of recruiting involved the posting of two fliers – a youth flier and an elder flier. We distributed the flyers on campus and community centers as well as social media. In some cases, our recruitment drew on existing social networks in the community and its schools. Dion Mungo, an undergraduate student at Cleveland State University, who is studying to be a history teacher, speaks of his understanding of these networks as tied to the influence of trusting relationships and a shared history.

During my teaching practicum I built relationships with my students while they were in middle school. I was able to come back to them in high school and through the trust I had built up with them to connect them with this project. This project helps me use the generational bridge I built with them several years earlier and now to connect them to a history that is possibly their own. We might extend a bridge to their grandparents.

Dion's reflections reveal the generative work of the collective as each of us sort through our relationships, commitments, and our roles with regard to the university and our communities.

Legacy is placed in direct relation with pedagogy and, for Dion “at the root of my ability to teach the next generation of young urban minds.” Relational knowledge is reflective of the meaning of legacy and the desire to find alternatives to dehumanizing constraints. As Dion notes later in the evening during Encuentros, “Relationship exemplifies what legacy is about and what is displayed in this project – that in Cleveland in 1964 there was a large diaspora of people that wanted better for the next generation.”

As noted by vanessa, our approach to storytelling comes from the tradition of the African griot, the keeper of histories. Like many cultures, African history is steeped in oral traditions and these were (and in some cases remain) upheld and passed on through the village griot, often through a combination of story with song, music, poetry, and dance to entertain and engage the audience. Our work is guided by this African proverb which really speaks to the importance of telling one’s own story. When we allow others to tell our stories, they may not get it right and sometimes we’re even written out of the story and history all together. Storytelling is a key method to collect and explore human experiences, a valid form of research. There is a healing capacity associated with telling one’s story. Yet, too, Angelica Houston offers insights into the limitations of the notion of healing through narrating oral histories, asking, “How can we heal wounds that are still open? How can I heal from racial segregation and racism when it’s still happening?” Noting violence of words and its proximity to physical violence from Emmett Till to Trayvon Martin, Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and many others, Angelica asks, “How can I be healed from calling the N-word if I can be called it again?” The brute acts of anti-Blackness whereby human life can be so casually extinguished through police violence speak directly to us at the moment of our writing. Our project connects with the current expression of outrage and protest through an intergenerational narrative of responses to oppression and creative resistance.

What methods do we employ working inside and outside the academy as we interpret, question, critique, draw on archives of the past and elements of the present? Our methods of generating oral histories involve the collective of youth, community members, university students and faculty in understanding the school boycott through archival materials and stories of lived experience. We practice interviewing each other, learning ways to use open-ended questions that invite stories. We share transcripts of the stories and seek to build an interpretive community of youth and elders and those in between, positioned differently across race, gender identity and expression, social class and sexuality, and relationship to the academy and the community in which the school boycott took place. This is what Patricia Hill Collins and others refer to as dialogical engagement – “the glue that catalyzes both new knowledge and a new political praxis” where dialogical work is not only theoretical but deeply methodological and ethical (Collins, 2019).

We argue that this work is central to higher education even as it stands in sharp contrast to the changing structures and culture in higher education, where high-stakes audits of faculty productivity in terms of courses taught and manuscripts accepted for publication (Erickson, Hanna, & Walker, 2020) fail to recognize the intellectual and civic gains associated with such projects. These are not directly associated with specific forms of economic development or career trajectories, areas of focus for state legislators and the political interests that influence them (See “Calling for Greater Productivity in American Higher Education” – ALEC Exposed, n.d.).

Within the oral history project, we approach some elements of what Henry Giroux calls “profane illumination,” drawing from the work of German philosopher Walter Benjamin:

...a process by which the dominant common sense assumptions of a capitalist hegemony are subject to the process of denaturalization, critical analysis, and the shock of new forms of recognition. This is a practice of making the familiar unfamiliar by creating it as a source of astonishment. (Giroux, 2014, p. 184)

We situate this work in the context of liberatory pedagogy within universities and communities (Freire, 1990; hooks, 1994; Love, 2019). There is evidence of authentic learning; the anchoring of activism in theoretical and historical sources; of deliberative practices; of attention to anti-Blackness, misogyny, White superiority, xenophobia; and of transgressive understandings of what constitutes knowledge and action in this and the projects we share kinship with in this article. In important ways these projects work together across institutions and offer insight into what Myles Horton refers to as nurturing “islands of decency” where “people can learn in such a way that they continue to grow” (Horton, 1990, p. 133).

Standing in spirals: Beginning and Ending with Action

Maria del Cielo Mendez & Jennifer Ayala

Three years ago, I (Maria del Cielo) sat on a bus while I listened to the US Attorney General attempt to rip my future right out of my hands. I sat in shock, in anger, and most of all, in hurt, that the country I have spent my entire life calling home had begun the process of terminating DACA, the only thing I had to keep me safe. My mom called me crying, “Cielo, now what?” I remembered the images from 2010, before DACA, of graduating undocumented students with signs around their necks asking the same thing - “Now What?” DACA was a temporary answer provided through executive order by President Obama in 2012, itself a result of ongoing community struggle. It offered work authorization for two years at a time and some protection

from deportation. With the threat of its removal, it hit me that, in two days I would begin my last year of high school. The security DACA provided me had begun to slip through my fingers and without it, now what? Would I graduate? Would I make it to college? I was terrified. We, 800,000 DACAmented people, were terrified. I was a youth leader at the time with Make the Road New Jersey. We marched, and we yelled, and we organized - some of us even allowed ourselves to be arrested. And we succeeded in halting DACA's termination, buying ourselves some time as three years later in 2020 we sit and wait for the Supreme Court to decide our fate. Back then, I could not imagine that three years later I'd still be here - that I would be sitting in an American university as a student, club president, class senator, and researcher while using my positions as an opportunity to create change on my campus. But this, the ability to call myself a college student, would not be possible without state-focused organizing. At a time when the President made it clear that he would be doing everything to take away our protections, when Congress was refusing to act, when it seemed like all we could do was sit and wait - we decided to focus on the movements that had already begun flourishing in New Jersey.

We, Make the Road youth, met and thought about what we wanted from the state. It became very clear to us that we needed undocumented students to have more access to higher education. In 2012, undocumented youth in our state won the right to in-state tuition rates. However, Governor Chris Christie vetoed the part of the bill that would allow undocumented students to benefit from state aid. More fired up and empowered than ever, we knew we wanted to take that 'failed part of the legislation' and make it a reality. Once again, we marched, and we yelled, and we organized our communities to demand what we felt we, as students that had been raised in the U.S. public schools system, deserved. And in May 2018, we won. Now, over 700

students in the state of New Jersey are able to sit in university classrooms with the financial assistance that the NJ Dream Act provides them (Heyboer, 2019).

In a time of political, spiritual and material crisis, it is often youth who lead movements for change, whether it be in high schools, on college campuses, or within intergenerational partnerships with communities. As described in Cielo's narrative above, this is the case with organizing around the struggle for immigrant rights and dignity in the U.S. However, policy changes are often attributed as victories made by prominent figures, like politicians or individual leaders, and less recognition is given to the efforts of *communities* in action who propel the changes made. Narratives of communities in action, the framing of discourses around, for instance, immigration and the contours of change work in this arena, are important for a critical re-memberance (Mayorga, 2018). A telling of history from the perspective of those who make it, and who are impacted directly. These stories matter. At the age of 14 when I (Cielo) was crying with my mom about my prospects as an undocumented student, something that empowered me was looking at the news and seeing that other undocumented students were out there making their voices heard, no matter the risk. That's what inspired me a couple of years later to stand up too.

Chronicling these stories is part of a project we are working on: to create an archive of narratives of strength and resistance surrounding what is called the New Jersey Dream Act of 2013 and 2018. The *we* in this case, our research team, involves a group of undergraduate students and faculty working with The Center for Undocumented Students (TCUS), a university-based center whose mission is to support undocumented/DACAmented, TPS and mixed status family students. The research group within TCUS includes those who are impacted, those who are more directly involved in the policy change and those who are allies in the work. Coming

from a participatory standpoint, we are enacting an approach where the people developing the questions, asking them and sharing the stories are also from communities who are impacted. In this way, we are creating knowledge together, and our different positionalities within the research group offer different modes and avenues of bringing/giving the stories back to communities. This is perhaps one way that higher education can leverage its privilege in support of immigrant communities.

We close with obligations for/within/despite the university

Cloaked in words/ in between the shadows/ we move with intention/ unearthing or perhaps re-covering/ when necessary/ Standing in stillness to hold space in places far re-moved and suspended/ in detention/ bear down and bear witness/ birthing testimonio to give light/ between held breaths and swift exhales/ we testify— Andrea Nicktee Juarez Mendoza

Across these encuentros we are reminded of the ways in which testimonio and bearing witness are acts of political solidarity, how sharing stories can be healing though wounds continue to bleed, and that justice is an intergenerational project, one that higher education has the obligation to enact. With our loose and bold ENCUEENTROS collective, we take seriously the obligation of the academy to accompany struggles for justice; challenge dominant narratives and excavate counter-stories of history and the present moment; expose state sponsored violence both “off site” and “out of sight” – in El Salvador and detention centers – in order to in-cite; our pedagogical duty to support students as they produce and excavate silenced knowledge and insist on its place in – not alongside – the academy; and our duty to carve sanctuary space, offer legal assistance, courtroom accompaniment for our students and their families, the communities they

hold dear. In ways small and large, we pry open what Lucius Outlaw has coined “maroon spaces,” Gloria Anzaldua “borderland spaces” (1987) or Harney and Moten’s (2013) “the undercommons” on the grounds of/beyond the academy.

We have no illusion that these enactments will be campus wide; in fact we reject the vision of a coherently just university. Institutionalization will kill the struggle; silence the outliers; quiet the tensions; censor the radical margins. We must fight the corporate takeover of the academy, the neoliberal erosion, the federal conservatizing, even as we dig small sinkholes where flows of justice can pool, even as we link these spaces through networks/exchanges/gatherings/meet ups. That is, we seek instead, and have tried to reveal, that even – or especially – in the neoliberal academy our work is to mobilize, in small pockets or what Chantal Mouffe (2016) would call puddles of possibilities, and as engaged scholar activists we string solidarities *across* what she calls “chains of equivalence.”

Universities have obligations to the communities they serve, and this includes immigrant communities under threat. These obligations are imperfectly applied, passively ignored or even actively denied. As immigrant students demand to make universities a safer space, physically, spiritually, intellectually, how should, how must higher education respond? In what ways can we fulfill these obligations in a climate that punishes immigrants of color and the sanctuary places and people they find -- or create/gather.

As we write this today, these questions become more urgent, the landscape shifting yet again amidst the trembles of a pandemic that further exposes the fractures and fault lines shaped by structural inequalities. As we don masks for community protection from COVID-19, we work to remove the less visible masking that covers eyes and hearts, the ones that obscure institutional responsibility and complicity to what has been there all along. Communities that have already

been under siege, quarantined from access to healthcare, safe spaces at work and in the community, from being with family, are modeling a bold survivance (Vizenor, 1999; Mayorga, 2018), and a pathway to possibility. We end with a simple question: What would universities look like if they had as much courage as their undocumented students, as the most vulnerable have to show daily? In these times where we can view the pandemic as a portal, as Roy (2020) invites, there is the opportunity to reshape the university into the worlds our students need and deserve.

References

- Afuape, T. (2011). *Power, Resistance and Liberation in Therapy with Survivors of Trauma*. New York: Routledge.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderland: La Frontera = the new Mestiza*. San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1981). *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color*. Watertown, NY: Persephone.
- Blackmer Reyes, K., & Curry Rodríguez, J.E. (2012) Testimonio: Origins, Terms, and Resources, *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 45:3, 525-538, DOI: 10.1080/10665684.2012.698571
- Bonilla, V., Castillo, G., Fals Borda, O. & Libreros, A. (1972). *Causa Popular, Ciencia Popular*. Bogotá: Publicaciones De La Rosca.
- Center for Media and Democracy. (n.d.) ALEC Exposed. Retrieved from <https://www.alecexposed.org/w/images/2/28/2B13->

[CALLING_FOR_GREATER_PRODUCTIVITY_IN_AMERICAN_HIGHER_EDUCATION_Exposed.pdf](#)

Collins, P. H. (2019). *Intersectionality as critical social theory*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Cottom, T. M. (2018) *Lower ED: The troubling of for-profit colleges in the new economy*. New York: The New Press.

Delgado Bernal, D., Burciaga, R., & Flores Carmona, J. (2012). Chicana/Latina testimonios: Mapping the methodological, pedagogical, and political. *Equity & excellence in education*, 45(3), 363-372.

Douglass, F. (1857). Two speeches, by Frederick Douglass: one on West India emancipation, delivered in Canandaigua, Aug. 45h, and the other on the Dred Scott decision, delivered in New York, on the occasion of the American Abolition Society, May 1857. Cornell, New York: Cornell University Library.

Eckel, P. D., & Morpew, C. C. (2009). Toward a clearer understanding of privatization. In C. Morpew, & P. D. Eckel, (Eds.), *Privatizing the public university: Perspectives from across the academy*, 181-191. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Erickson, M., Hanna, P., & Walker, C. (2020). The UK higher education senior management survey: A stactivist response to managerialist governance. *Studies in Higher Education*. DOI: 10.1080/03075079.2020.1712693

Fabricant, M., & Brier, S. (2016). *Austerity blues: Fighting for the soul of public higher education*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Fine, M. (2018). *Just research in contentious times: Widening the methodological imagination*. Teachers College Press.

Freire, P. (1970/2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Giroux, H. (2019). *Neoliberalism's war on higher education* (2nd ed.). Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Greene, M. (1988). *The dialectic of freedom*. NY: Teachers College Press.

Grosfoguel, R. (2013). The structure of knowledge in westernized universities: Epistemic racism/sexism and the four genocides/epistemicides of the long 16th century. *Human Architecture: Journal of the sociology of self-knowledge*, 11(1), 8.

hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. NY: Routledge.

Harney, S., & Moten, F. (2013). The undercommons: Fugitive planning and Black study. Minor Compositions. Retrieved from <https://www.minorcompositions.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/undercommons-web.pdf>

Heyboer, K. (August 21, 2019). N.J. gave 749 undocumented immigrants money for college. Here's where they enrolled. Retrieved from: <https://www.nj.com/news/2019/08/nj-gave-749-undocumented-immigrants-money-for-college-heres-where-they-enrolled.html>

Horton, M., Kohl, J., & Kohl, H. (1997). *The long haul: An autobiography*. NY: Teachers College Press.

Hovannisian, R. G. (1998). *Remembrance and denial: The case of the Armenian genocide*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. p. 202.

jones, v., Stewart, C., Ayala, J., & Galletta, A. (2015). Expressions of Agency: Contemplating Youth Voice and Adult Roles in Participatory Action Research. In J. Conner, R. Ebby-Rosin, & A. Slattery (Eds.), *National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook: Student Voice in American Educational Policy* (pp. 135-152). NY: Teachers College Press.

Letter from Freedom School supporters to parents – *The Cleveland Press*, 4/18/64

Llewellyn, Kristina, Nicholas Ng-A-Food and Hoa Truong-White, (2016, February). “Telling Tales in Schools, Oral History Education, Political Engagement and Youth,” in *Oral History Education*.

Love, B. L. (2019). *We want to more than survive: Abolitionist teaching and the pursuit of freedom*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2011). Thinking through the decolonial turn: Post-continental interventions in theory, philosophy, and critique—An introduction. *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, 1(2).

Martín-Baró, I. (1982). Un psicólogo social ante la guerra civil en El Salvador. *Revista de Asociación Latinoamericana de Psicología Social*, 2, 91-111.

Martín-Baró, I. (1986). Hacia una Psicología de la Liberación. *Boletín de Psicología*, 5(22), 219-231.

Martin-Baro, I. (1996) *Writings for a Liberation Psychology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mayorga, E. (2018). Education in our Barrios project #Barrioedproj. In Ayala, Jennifer, J. Cammarota, M.I. Berta-Avila, M. Rivera, L.F. Rodriguez, and M.E. Torre (editors). *PAR entremundos: A pedagogy of the Américas*. Peter Lang, p. 101-116.

Menchú, R., & Burgos-Debray, E. (1984). *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian woman in Guatemala*. London: Verso.

Mignolo, W. D. (2009). Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom. *Theory, culture & society*, 26(7-8), 159-181.

Mignolo, W. D., & Walsh, C. E. (2018). *On decoloniality: Concepts, analytics, praxis*. Duke University Press.

Moore, L. N. (2002). The school desegregation crisis of Cleveland, Ohio, 1963-1964: The catalyst for black political power in a Northern city. *Journal of Urban History*, 28(2), 135-157.

“Third of City’s Pupils Join School Boycott” – *The Cleveland Press*, 4/20/64

Moraga, C., & Anzaldúa, G. (1981). This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color. *Watertown, NY: Persephone*.

Moten, F.

Mouffe, c. “for a left populism: an interview with Chantal Mouffe. By Michael Calderbank

www.redpepper.org/uk/

Newfield, C. (2016) *The Great Mistake: How we wrecked public universities and how we can fix them*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press.

Opotow, S. (1990). Moral exclusion and injustice: An introduction. *Journal of social issues*, 46(1), 1-20.

Quijano, Anibal (1991). "Colonialidad y Modernidad/Racionalidad," *Peru Indigena*, XXIX, 11-21.

Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 215-232.

Roy, A. (2020) Pandemic as a portal. *Financial Times*, April 3, Retrieved from <https://www.ft.com/content/10d8f5e8-74eb-11ea-95fe-fcd274e920ca>

Santos, B. (2018). Prologue. *Prácticas otras de conocimiento(s): entre crisis, entre guerras* (pp. 12-22). Mexico: Cooperativa Editorial, Taller Editorial la Casa del Mago, Consejo

Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales.

Shahid, W. America in populism: an interview with Chantal Mouffe. *The Nation*, 12/15/2016

Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books Ltd.

Solorzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2001). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method: Counter-storytelling. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 14(4), 471-495.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak?. *Can the subaltern speak? Reflections on the history of an idea*, 21-78.

Vizenor, G. (1999). *Manifest manners: Narratives on postindian survivance*. University of Nebraska Press.

Whyte, D. M. (2003). *African American community politics and racial equality in Cleveland Public Schools: 1933-1973*. Unpublished dissertation. Cleveland State University.