

PATHWAYS

A JOURNAL OF HUMANISTIC AND SOCIAL INQUIRY



VOLUME 1, ISSUE 3

Published February 2021

RUTGERS
Graduate School of Education



THE
ANDREW W.
MELLON
FOUNDATION

Traditional and Nontraditional Activism: Literary and Political Pedagogies of La Chicana

By Anahí Ponce, The University of Texas at Austin
HSI Pathways to the Professoriate, Cohort 3

Abstract: Yxta Maya Murray's *Locas* and Felicia Luna Lemus's *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties* both grapple with themes relating to the impact of Malinchismo experienced by real-life Chicanas in both political and cultural discourses. Despite this parallel, these texts and their characters have not received critical attention in the field of Chicana Literature when compared with texts such as Sandra Cisneros's *The House on Mango Street*. The womxn in these texts have similarly been stripped from narratives of activism because of their evocation of nontraditional forms of activism, which are often overlooked in comparison to more traditional ones, as a result of the application of respectability politics. While the womxn in these novels challenge the status quo through nontraditional activism and resistance, it is significant to consider how the systems of oppression that they are forced to navigate are intrinsic with those experienced by their real-life counterparts, as well as throughout the history and establishment of Chicana feminism and activism at large. This article is not meant to dichotomize Chicanas who partake in traditional versus nontraditional activism, but rather to provide insight as to how Chicanas have continuously acted as agents of change, in the face of colonization's enduring legacies.

Yxta Maya Murray's *Locas* and Felicia Luna Lemus's *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties* both grapple with themes relating to the impact of Malinchismo experienced by real-life Chicanas in both political and cultural discourses. Despite this parallel, these texts and their characters have not received critical attention in the field of Chicana Literature when compared with texts such as Sandra Cisneros's *The House on Mango Street*. The women in these texts have similarly been stripped from narratives of activism because of their evocation of nontraditional forms of activism, which are often overlooked in comparison to more traditional ones, as a result of the application of respectability politics. While the women in these novels challenge the status quo through nontraditional activism and resistance, it is significant to consider how the systems of oppression that they are forced to navigate are intrinsic with those experienced by their real-life counterparts, as well as throughout the history and establishment of Chicana feminism and activism at large. This essay is not meant to dichotomize Chicanas

who partake in traditional versus nontraditional activism, but rather to provide insight as to how Chicanas have continuously acted as agents of change, in response to the long-lasting legacies of colonization.

To give context for readers unfamiliar with these texts, I first offer their synopses. *Locas* challenges notions of male Chicano superiority, in a fight for power in the hierarchy of the fictitious Lobos gang in East Los Angeles during the 1980s and 1990s. Murray's characters, Lucia and Cecilia, both directly and indirectly denounce the roles that Mexican American gang culture imposes upon them, and struggle to construct different avenues by which they can create community for themselves and the women in their lives. Similarly, the character of Leticia in Felicia Luna Lemus's *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, navigates life as a queer Chicana and strays away from the lifestyle imposed upon her by her traditional Mexican grandmother. By looking at the representation of women in both novels, I examine non-traditional forms of activism through small acts of resistance embodied by Lucia, Cecilia, and Leticia. These forms of non-traditional activism and resistance include accessing contraceptives in a rejection of motherhood and straying away from normative gender roles in Chicana communities in urban Los Angeles during the 1980s and 1990s. In looking to these nontraditional performances of activism, I draw attention to the significance of the every day in the broader contexts of theory-making and community organizing.

As a framing strategy, I also clarify the nomenclature I use throughout this manuscript. There is a long history of scholarly debate over the usage of terms like Chicano, Chicana, Chicana/o, Chicana, Chicana@, Xicana, Xicano, among others. When discussing the origins and beginnings of the movement, I specifically use 'Chicano' and 'Chicano Movement' to explain the implication of notions such as 'Chicano nationalism' that consequently arose in the movement's early stages. Moreover, 'Chicano' is used to describe the movement as it is commonly referred to in historical accounts. However, I use 'Chicana' and the 'Chicana Movement' in the context of the growth of the movement and push toward inclusivity of women and gender non-conforming persons within more recent discourses. When discussing persons who identify as women, I use the term Chicana explicitly and similarly use Chicana in the context of the origins of Chicana feminism and how the notions, themes, and pedagogies used in the early beginnings of Chicana feminism have manifested themselves within today's literary, cultural, and political discourses.

In mainstream media, Dolores Huerta is typically the face associated with Chicana activism and resistance. Until recently, Huerta had accrued less notoriety than her male counterpart, César Chávez. In *Sí, Ella Puede! The Rhetorical Legacy of Dolores Huerta and the United Farm Workers*, Stacey Sowards comments that, "Chávez was the visible leader and Huerta was the hidden one. He functioned as the catalyst; she was the engine" (2). Her historical contributions in advocating for the rights of farmworkers in the public sphere through grassroots organizing is evident of this association. Although the actions of Huerta are undoubtedly significant to the overarching Chicano Movement, it is important to note that her work and the methods by which she actively resisted oppressive forces (i.e. marching, boycotting, organizing), are not the only methods by which Chicanas can and have partaken in activism historically. In both Yxta Maya Murray's *Locas* as well as Felicia Luna Lemus's *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, the protagonists operate and continually work against cultural barriers (which in turn are intrinsically patriarchal), not through acts of marching or organizing, but by *personally* confronting injustices experienced within the scope of their everyday lives.

It is because of the fact that the protagonists resist and become agents of change in a non-traditional, (and on the surface) individualist sense, that their activism is overlooked. However, this disregard for individualism in the sphere of activism, speaks to the lack of privilege afforded to people of working-class backgrounds who often only have access to enacting change within the scope of their personal interactions, with limited recourse to resources such as scholarly language, networks, etc. This lack of access is directly related to an individual's ability to organize, in that they will not be able to rely on particular resources if they are 1) Unaware of their existence to begin with and 2) If there are institutional barriers present, making such resources virtually futile. In his text *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau comments on the impact and use of ordinary or secular language, and in how such language can be used as a tool of agency when other resources are scarce. He says of ordinary language in the context of the political, that "the task consists not in substituting a representation for the ordinary or covering it up with mere words, but in showing how it introduces itself into our techniques...and how it can reorganize the place from which discourse is produced" (Certeau 5). It is with this in mind, that the protagonists in both *Locas* and *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, use of seemingly "ordinary" language and actions, in turn, are able to reshape the discourse of the issues by which they are attempting to change and critique within Chicana culture.

In addition to ideas concerning individualism and its role in activism, politics of respectability is also an element that works in undermining Lucia and Cecilia in *Locas* as being valid examples of Chicana activists. This is due in part to the fact that both women function within gang culture, as well as adhere to Chola aesthetics. Leticia in *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties* is also not associated with activism because of her role as an unapologetically queer woman and her rejection of traditional roles that the dominant community imposes upon her. Ultimately, because these women do not adhere to what machista attitudes within Mexican American culture deem as being fit for a woman, and because of issues of class, their roles as activists within the community are overlooked completely. Additionally, unlike Dolores Huerta, the women in these novels are not fighting for the betterment of the overall community unequivocally, and because their resistance is conducted in the private sphere and for seemingly personal reasons, they and women like them are disregarded as Chicana/Chicana activists.

It is in this sense, that respectability politics are responsible for what kind of women and what kind of activism are highlighted within Chicana Literature and the dominant discourse. Although women like Lucia, Cecilia, and Leticia, are less recognized as activists when compared with figures like Huerta, this is not to say that Huerta was not similarly affected by the same system that devalues these women as activists. The historical expunction of Huerta as a major figure in the UFW, as well as the ways in which she was criticized as a mother for leaving her children with babysitters to work, also largely speaks to the issue of respectability and preconceived gender norms placed on women and mothers within the Mexican American community. Sowards discusses the criticism faced by Huerta for being too "aggressive" in her language and for failing to adhere to expectations of how a woman should act, "...as a Mexican American woman, she was expected to be reserved and apolitical" (78). Huerta, even as an influential figure and organizer, frequently faced backlash for appearing as too abrasive and received further scrutiny for her role as a working mother. These social constraints and patriarchal gender structures that have historically become enforced on women, come to fruition in the case of Huerta as well as with the women in both *Locas* and *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*. It

is with this in mind, that Lucia, Cecilia, and Leticia overtly denounce ideas of respectability within their communities and resist oppressive forces in their own self-interest.

The term respectability politics was first presented by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham in her text *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920*. The term itself was referred to in the context of the way in which Black women attempted to distance themselves from the stereotypes placed upon them by white middle-class society and instead sought to embrace virtues of appearing as seemingly more refined and pure in contrast to the negative connotations which depicted them as “hypersexualized” and “savage” like. In *Performing a Vanilla Self: Respectability Politics, Social Class, and the Digital World*, Mikaela Pitcan comments on the criticism that emerged from the application of respectability politics by other minority groups, and the dichotomy that emerges, “it reinforces within-group stratification to juxtapose a respectable us against a shameful other...” (165). It is in this sense, that adhering to what is “respectable” can be seen as conforming to an idealized white gaze and contributes to the othering of non-white groups.

This becomes the case with Lucia and Cecilia, as the culture and way of life in which they operate is neither heteronormative nor conventionally white in practice. It is for this reason that they become diminished as activists and why *Locas* does not appear as a canonical text within Chicana/Chicanx Literature, as well as within larger media narratives of activism as a whole. When I assert that these texts are not canonical within the overarching field, I mean to say that they have not received critical attention in the same way that works from authors like Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherríe Moraga, Sandra Cisneros, etc. have. This is not to discredit these writers or any of their works, which are ultimately canonical for a reason, but merely to bring into question the process of *how* particular works become canonical within any given field. In the introduction to *Living a Feminist Life*, Sara Ahmed discusses the impact that writers such as Toni Morrison have had on her personal journey as a feminist and an academic, but nonetheless brings this question to the forefront of her examination of feminist classic, “... some texts become canonical, and we need to question how these histories happen, how selections are made; we need to ask who or what does not survive these selections. But the texts that reach us...are not necessarily the ones that are taught in the academy” (17). It is with this framework in mind, that I enlist in close readings of these two understudied texts, as well as an in-depth review of literature and the historiography of Chicana feminism/activism, in an attempt to begin to understand why these texts have not been canonized.

In terms of looking to the historiography, we can do so in looking to Huerta's individual experience with sexism and respectability politics, but we must also look at how similar mechanisms have affected other Chicana organizers, with the overall goal of contextualizing how these *lived* experiences correlate to the fictionalized experiences of Murray and Lemus's characters. Many female activists within the early Chicano movement and organizing circles, specifically those in colleges and universities, have been vocal about their experiences with sexual politics and sexism perpetuated by their Chicano comrades within the movement. In *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement*, Maylei Blackwell conducts extensive interviews and research from Chicana activists from California State Long Beach during the 1960s into the 1970s, as they remark on the predatory politics that were being embodied by the men in the movement. After speaking with several of the women from these circles, Blackwell remarks that, “...older women...were politically undermined when, after falling out of sexual/political favor, their position and voice in the organization were less respected” (71). In addition to this, Blackwell similarly states the tendency for the men within these

organizing circles to prey on young incoming freshmen under the guise of mentorship, and not offering any actual intentions to give these women platforms and spaces to grow politically within organizing circles.

Like Huerta, these women were often degraded and were dissuaded by their male peers from taking on leadership roles, and instead were pushed toward doing secretarial work on the sole basis of their sex. In the context of the sexual politics that were at play, many of these same themes present themselves in both *Locas* as well as *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, but specifically more so in *Locas*, as the women in this text are constantly navigating the hierarchies present within gang culture. Ultimately, what all of these women have in common is the machismo culture that values them for their ability to serve men, whether that be sexually or as subservient figures within certain political and cultural groups. They are not valued for their work, but rather for their bodies and the status of how their bodies can boost up the morale/ego of their male peers, and once the men grow tired of preying on their bodies, they are outcasts within these groups. While this practice of misogyny is common, it is one that is not at all unfounded historically.

The condemnation of the woman who acts in her own interest within the Mexican/Mexican American culture is not an issue that is specific to recent years. Nor is the tendency for men to both value and condemn women's bodies to benefit their own political status. This aspect of respectability politics was initially ingrained into the Mexican national consciousness, with the nation's historical view of Malintzin, otherwise known as Doña Marina or La Malinche. In her essay "Traddutora, Traditora: A Paradigmatic Figure of Chicana Feminism," Norma Alarcón questions the generalization of the role of the historical figure Malintzin as being an enemy of the people, forever branded a traitor. While Malintzin has gained notoriety for her role as a translator as well as for her sexual relationship with Hernan Cortes, Alarcón (among many other Chicana scholars/verteranas) argues against the national consensus held amongst Mexicans that implicates her as a deceiver, and by contrast, advocates for Malintzin to be viewed not as a woman who betrays her community, but as a pioneer of the mestizo/a race.

To view Malintzin in a negative context that limits her role as a national figure to that of a scapegoat essentially upholds the notion of imposed male superiority that condemns the indigenous woman for acting in her own interest. Malintzin acts as a sexual being outside of the maternal sphere, and because her actions are done without concern for her community, she is eternally branded as a treacherous seductress. The attitudes that implicate Malintzin have consequently become intrinsically held within the Mexican national consciousness, and have similarly been perpetuated through Chicana culture, "Cortes's and Malintzin's permanence in the Mexican's imagination and sensibilities reveals that they are more than historical figures: they are symbols of a secret conflict that we have still not resolved" (Alarcón 65). The role of Malintzin within Mexican culture and the way in which she is regarded has consequently created a precedent for the double standards that are applied to women, and in particular, speak to how indigeneity is perceived and ultimately shunned. It is also important to consider the parallels between Cortés seemingly disposing of Malintzin once he has used her politically and sexually, to that of how the student leaders within the Chicano movement were similarly treating their female comrades nearly four centuries later.

Similarly, the condemnation of the Chicana who consciously and deliberately acts in her own interest, outside of the maternal sphere, is depicted in *Locas*. Lucia finds herself at odds with her boyfriend Manny, head of the Lobos gang, who continually attempts to reinforce her role as

a “sheep” which limits her role in the gang to acting solely in the maternal context, only being essential for motherhood. Not only does Manny emphasize the need for Lucia to aspire to motherhood, but it is clear that Lucia’s ability to serve in the maternal sphere is directly associated with Manny’s role as jefe and in how his masculinity is perceived, “I’m looking bad being the only one with a vieja who can’t squeeze out no little doggies” (Murray 40). Like Malintzin, the dominant culture maintains the notion that states that Lucia’s role is specifically constricted to her ability to serve as a maternal figure for the supposed good of the larger community, and for the validation of her male counterpart. Where Malintzin defies this ideal and addresses sexuality on her own terms, likewise, does Lucia in the form of seeking birth control, going directly against what the community tells her is both respectable and expected of her as a woman in a gang, and as a Chicana.

It is through seeking out access to contraceptives that Lucia is able to re-appropriate her role within the community. In doing this, she is not only laying claim to her reproductive rights, but she is taking power away from societally held notions that assert that motherhood is the only viable path for her within the gang community. This small act of resistance from the dominant machista culture is one of the contributing elements that leads Lucia to begin to start paving a way for herself not as a “sheep” but as a leader and dominant figure in the Lobos gang. Additionally, what makes this a significant form of activism, is the fact that Lucia does not merely employ this act within her own life, but she encourages the girls in her “clika” to reject motherhood in an attempt to further achieve both social mobility and power within the gang, “... that mouth told me she was too tough to be a sheep, too angry to be a mama... Girl was a fighter” (Murray 41). It is in this particular instance that Lucia recognizes that Star Girl (aka Maria) possesses potential beyond motherhood, and it is for this reason that she enlists her to join her clika, and encourages her to look beyond the role(s) that has been predetermined for her by the dominant community.

While Lucia’s nontraditional methods might appear as somewhat of a stretch for her to be considered and labeled as an activist per se, it is her agitations of what is considered to be the norm within her environment, that positions her with other Chicanas who have used their voices within their circles to transform their grievances into political and concrete action. In *Intersectional Chicana Feminisms: Sitios Y Lenguas*, Aída Hurtado comments on the practice of disruption as a tool used historically by Chicana feminists in their ability to advocate for both themselves and women like them. Hurtado also echoes off of the narrative concerning the idea that activism and Chicanas journey into becoming activists, is an ordeal that is evoked from the experiences that they encounter within the commonplace nature of their everyday way of life. Hurtado remarks that while Chicanas as a whole have embodied this practice, Chicana writers have done so similarly in that they have, “...focused on highlighting the political resistance and underground feminisms of everyday women fighting for their families and communities...” (14). Similar to Chicana writers and feminists, Lucia acts on an individual basis first in navigating her own agency in reproductive justice, and then uses this momentum to mobilize the women in her clika to lay claim to and fight to attain their own agency as well.

Malintzin’s notoriety and her depiction as traitor have solidified her long-lasting legacy as a historical figure to the extent of the creation of several vulgar epithets such as “La Chinagada” and “La Vendida” as well as “una Malinchista,” which ultimately work in a negative context, shame her, perpetuate her role as a betrayer of the community, and create a historical precedent for Mexicanas and Chicanas alike to be read under this lens. It is for this reason that Alarcón claims that Chicana scholars and writers have assumed the responsibility of redefining

Malintzin and indigenous women in terms outside of the national consciousness. In her essay, "Chicana Feminism: In the Tracks of 'The' Native Woman", she states that in such works Chicana writers aspire to, "explore their racial and sexual experience... through the evocation of indigenous figures" (67). In doing so, Chicana authors like Murray have found success in effectively portraying characters like Lucia and Cecilia, in a way in which both women become malinchistas, and like Malintzin, embrace the struggles that they encounter individually and use this as a basis to act politically for themselves and others.

The struggles faced by Malintzin have been appropriated and manifested themselves into popular discourse and culture. Chicanas within the early beginnings of the Chicano Movement have been tasked with navigating these colonial structures that have embedded notions of sexism and machismo attitudes deep into the very fabric of their everyday lives. In doing so, they have time and time again been met at the crossroads of the infamous virgin/whore dichotomy and have been forced to pick a side in which to operate. As previously mentioned, young college women within the movement have been burdened with the responsibility of having to cope with the sexual politics ingrained within organizing movements and circles, "The challenge for Chicana feminists has been... to critique the inherent sexism in dichotomizing their womanhood between Malinchismo and Marianismo..." (Hurtado 17). This binary is one that is constantly reproduced within Mexican American and Mexican culture at large and has similarly been prevalent within the Chicano movement. The calling out of these inherently sexist politics has been constantly met with accusations of placing sex over the movement, essentially stripping Chicanas of their cultural ties and sense of self through lesbian baiting.

This is why Murray's portrayal of Cecilia, a woman who begins a relationship with another woman, and later seeks acceptance into the Catholic church, is telling of culturally accepted norms in terms of the roles that women in Mexican and Chicana communities are expected to comply with. Due to Cecilia's view of the church, she constantly looks to La Virgen De Guadalupe for comfort and to follow as an example, "That's what La Virgen did, right? She lifted up those soft white hands of hers and just prayed and prayed" (Murray 195). Cecilia's admiration of La Virgen also directly comments on the historical juxtaposition of Malintzin and La Virgen throughout Mexico's national consciousness. In "Traddutora, Traditora: A Paradigmatic Figure of Chicana Feminism," Alarcón examines the sharp contrast of these historical figures and points out that where La Virgen has come to represent the divine, maternal self-sacrifice, and has been given seemingly positive attributes, Malintzin has essentially come to symbolize the opposite, "Malintzin represents feminine subversion and treacherous victimization of her people because she was a translator in Cortes's army" (61). It is this symbolization and portrayal of Malintzin that becomes complicit in how the dominant culture shapes the narrative for how women should engage with their community.

Ultimately, Cecilia's attitude towards La Virgen and her aspirations to achieve a similar pious status highlight this juxtaposition, and further the idea of Mexican culture favoring La Virgen, whilst shunning Malintzin. Although Cecilia favors the concept and role of La Virgen, the nature of her relationship with another woman (Chucha) and her want to redefine herself outside of her culture and community, more closely relates her to Malintzin. Although she looks to La Virgen for guidance, it is apparent that she even recognizes herself to be a Malinchista, "... I'm not La Virgen, but I can grit my teeth the same as anybody else" (Murray 195). It is because of her defiance of a heteronormative relationship, that Cecilia can be more closely associated with Malintzin, and falls under the category of una Malinchista.

In *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, Leticia similarly finds herself identifying with Malintzin. In the novel, Leticia remarks on the presence of a supernatural figure, “The Weeping Woman,” who she claims has been visiting her since childhood. Although she initially fears Weeping Woman, Weeping eventually becomes a reoccurring and almost reassuring presence in Leticia’s life. Weeping acts as a channel of resistance and comfort for Leticia as she embarks on same-sex relationships and finds herself. In discussing the origins of Weeping, Leticia remarks that the woman is weeping because she had given birth to a mixed baby (the father being Spanish), essentially making her “la Malinche reborn” (Lemus 19). This statement is reflective of the negative reputation and connotation perpetuated throughout Mexican culture regarding the condemnation of Malintzin. Leticia comments on the notoriety of Malintzin, and like Cecilia, compares her with that of La Virgen. However, unlike Cecilia, Leticia overtly identifies and resonates personally with Malintzin, “Weeping Woman and her cousin Malinche, they were bad...girls... their fierce lasting power made people remember them long after they had died... They were everything I wanted to be” (Lemus 19). It is in this regard that Leticia unequivocally asserts herself as a Malinchista; a woman who is born to go against the grain.

By creating a character that self identifies as a Malinchista, Lemus participates in the long-held practice of re-appropriation, in how she is able to construct a positive perspective of Malintzin, rather than denouncing her. As mentioned previously, the practice of embodying indigeneity is not something new to Chicana authors and scholars, who have consistently re-appropriated the role of Malintzin in literature and beyond. Carmen Tafolla’s poem “Yo Soy La Malinche” is evidence of this practice. In the poem, Tafolla speaks from the perspective of Malintzin herself, in which she asserts herself as having acted in her own political interest, rather than being a victim, and portrays herself as the creator of the Chicana race, or “la raza:”

“...For I was not traitor to myself—

I saw a dream

and I reached it.

Another world.....

la raza” (Tafolla 56-61).

This practice of re-appropriation can be directly correlated with the experience of Chicanas, as Tafolla is commenting on the practice of challenging the condemnation of brown female bodies by the nationalist, patriarchal, and often colonial state. Like Tafolla, Lemus’s embrace of a character who aspires to attain the same notoriety as Malintzin, is not only an act of queering and re-appropriation but of resistance.

In her groundbreaking text *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, Gloria Anzaldúa likewise comments on the infamy of Malintzin. In doing so, she also re-appropriates Malintzin’s traditional role as a betrayer. Anzaldúa claims that, in fact, Malintzin and other indigenous and mestiza women are the ones betrayed by their people. This position can also be applicable when we look to the women in Murray and Lemus’s novels. Although these women are critiquing their communities by resisting dominant beliefs about women, it is necessary to note that the protagonists are doing so in a way that illustrates that their actions are done as reactions to their mistreatment. It is their communities and culture that are restricting their identities to begin with; like Malintzin, they are betrayed.

Their resistance is in response to the way in which they are being treated and regarded by Mexican American culture and patriarchal structures of oppression. It is for this reason, in which their reactions defy heteronormativity, that their personal resistance makes them activists. Anzaldúa additionally comments on the resilience of Malintzin, and women like her, who bear the burden of experiencing such trauma, “Aquí en la soledad prospera su rebeldía, En la soledad ella prospera” (45). In spite of the subjugation she faces at the hands of her own community, la Malinchista, only continues to prosper. The idea that she is able to actively thrive and resist in solitude further illustrates the notion that activism is both personal and done within the context of an individual’s personal experiences.

In general, narratives of expressing individual experiences and the occupations of the self, have historically been used as a form of addressing the politics that make up and encompass everyday life. For example, witnessing and sustaining any kind of trauma within the scope of one life occurs on a personal and individual level. However, it is how one reacts to these experiences that can either intentionally or unintentionally, inspire, advocate, and push others to come to recognize certain societal discrepancies, and larger systemic issues. For Chicanas, storytelling has been one of the methods through which this is achieved, and in particular, Chicana testimonios have been used to address the sexual, hierarchal, racial, and other subjects of oppression that are implemented in their very essence of being.

It is with this in mind, that we can also make the argument that while the characters that Murray and Lemus create act as nontraditional activists, so do their authors in that they have constructed these women, speaking through *them* essentially. These authors are able to create figures who undergo many of the same societal and cultural struggles that many other Chicana/Latina peoples do, and although they are not necessarily physically organizing around the ideas that they present, they are able to bring them into popular discourse, nonetheless. For a young reader searching for literature that reflects them, their families, and their communities, these books provide a sense of representation and indirectly are able to communicate the feeling of, “Yes, *I see you, we see you.*” It is in this regard that these authors take part in the tradition of testimonios specifically, in the context that Hurtado defines them as being;

“A first-person narration of socially significant experiences in which the narrative voice is that of a typical or extraordinary witness or protagonist who metonymically represents others who have lived through similar situations and who have rarely given written expression to them” (85-86).

The fact that these authors bring these experiences to light through their works, is in itself an act of political solidarity in how they are able to communicate that the structures that they speak of are very much present and thriving in these communities specifically. Bringing such attention and representation to issues of machismo attitudes, in particular, is, in turn, able to bring readers’ attention to the fact that this is not only occurring through their own lives and personal experiences but through others as well. As a result, both authors ultimately (whether it be advertently or inadvertently) challenge their readers to question *why* these issues occur so prevalently, and when people begin to question and ask why is when channels of resistance and solidarity can be created. It is in this sense that nontraditional activism through testimonios can influence traditional and more physical methods of political organizing, for readers who are inspired by a call to action.

Among the many critiques that the female protagonists present, the role of women’s sexuality becomes a key component. How each of these women capitalizes on and explores their

sexuality, also speaks largely to how they challenge the negative connotations associated with both queerness and perceived hypersexuality among women within Mexican American communities. In her text, *Loving in the War Years: Lo Que Nunca Pasó por Sus Labios*, Cherríe Moraga comments on the depreciatory use of the term lesbian as an insult, and further elaborates on the effects of this on Chicana lesbians, “The Chicana lesbian bears the brunt of this betrayal, for it is she, the most visible manifestation of a woman taking control of her own sexual identity and destiny, who so severely challenges the anti-feminist Chicano/a (Moraga 103). It is in this regard that Lucia, Cecilia, and Leticia unapologetically lay claim to their sexuality, and use it as a mechanism to both break away from machista attitudes as well as to actively denounce these notions. It is with this in mind, that the female protagonists in both *Locas* and *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties* (particularly Leticia) re-appropriate the term lesbian and embrace it.

Their denunciation of heteronormative relationships is not unfounded, especially in the context of Indigenous cultures that have historically practiced queerness. Both before and after colonization, Indigenous communities have embraced non-heteronormative behaviors, and have even used such practices to reject heteropatriarchal structures enforced by colonizers. In *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*, Lauria Scott Morgensen comments on this historically held precedent by Indigenous communities, in which she states that queer people in these communities were, “...once picked...for the task of naming, healing, prediction, leadership, and teaching because they displayed characteristics that Native people in Western terms now call gay” (11). While the practice of challenging the dominant culture through the defiance of heteronormativity is one way in which the characters in both texts are able to claim agency for themselves and their physical bodies, it is a practice that is certainly not irregular in the context of both Chicana and Indigenous cultures. This embrace of queer and lesbian identities by Chicana scholars has not been met without resistance. Chicano nationalists have made the claim that lesbianism and homosexuality at large are nothing more than tools used by the colonial state meant to weaken or cripple the Chicana community. However, this embodiment of nonheteronormative identities by indigenous groups, that precedes colonization, is yet another example that disproves this theory.

Gender and sexual norms within both Mexican and Mexican American communities have long been questioned and challenged both as a result of the limited scope of the original Chicano movement, as well as in the context of Mexican cultural norms post-colonization. In *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement*, Blackwell comments on Alma García’s notion of the “*Ideal Chicana*” in the context of the Chicana or Mexicana being fetishized for her suffering and strength in the face of adversity, as well as her commitment to serving and maintaining Chicano/Mexican culture within prescribed gender norms, and in sustaining the idea of the nuclear family (47). The *Ideal Chicana* phenomenon places the responsibility of the woman to serve her family and her environment before all else, including herself. This notion is an example of yet another manifestation of how the self and advocating for personal sense of being, has been disparaged.

This same notion can be applied to the early beginnings of the Chicano movement, in how male organizers often reinforced patriarchal supremacy by saving the leadership roles for themselves, while working actively to marginalize the women’s roles within the movement. This was specifically the case for Anna NietoGomez during her tenure as a student and organizer with el Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) at California State Long Beach. Once NietoGomez was able to surpass these sexist barriers and become president of the group, she

was often undermined by her male peers, one of her former peers mentioned that "... guys challenged her leadership and they were trying to disrupt [meetings]" (Blackwell 79). The same peer went on to remark that those "who voiced their discontent with the organizations and with the male leadership were often labeled as women libbers and lesbians. This served to isolate and discredit them, a method practiced both covertly and overtly (Blackwell 74). It was this kind of harassment that led NietoGomez and other Chicanas within the organization to establish the infamous *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* newspaper in 1971, that addressed the discrepancies and marginalization that these women were facing within the larger male-dominated Chicano organizing sphere.

NietoGomez's experiences further exemplify the machismo culture perpetuated by Chicano activists and the lack of inclusivity of women's issues and experiences as a central organizing point. Furthermore, the use of lesbian baiting also speaks to the culture of homophobia embedded within the early days of the movement, and in how the men seemingly equated any opposition to their methods as the women placing sex over the movement, making them lesbians. This false equivalency is not only used as a tool to minimize women's leadership roles but also has something to say of how lesbianism and queerness at large were shunned and looked down upon by Chicano nationalists.

Similar sentiments are expressed in *Locas*, as Cecilia is faced with having to come to terms with her place in the community, and in navigating her own sexual identity. As aforementioned, this results in her beginning a relationship with Chucha. From this point forward, we see Cecilia undergo a change from an insecure, anxious girl, to a confident woman, "When I was with Chucha it was just different. I felt like I could do things, When the two of us were together, I was as brave and steely as a bullfighter" (Murray 189). By choosing to embark on this relationship Cecilia is consciously going against heteronormative and hegemonic structures in that she is adamantly defying the role her culture places on her and is taking control of her sexuality. Moreover, Cecilia's involvement in a female relationship is also telling of her refusal to comply with what her community deems as an appropriate relationship and is a form of activism in and of itself. Cecilia's relationship with Chucha might be further attributed to the novel's lack of significant scholarly attention. In her text, "Queering the Borderlands: The Challenges of Excavating the Invisible and Unheard", Emma Perez discusses the historical indifference by scholars to adequately address the experience and voices of queer Chicana:

A white heteronormative imaginary has defined how researchers and historians, as well as cultural critics, have chosen to ignore or negate the populations who are on the margins, outside of normative behavior, outside of twentieth-century nuclear white heterosexual family systems (129).

It is with this in mind that Murray's utilization of a Chicana, female protagonist, who embarks on a same-sex relationship, and who does not necessarily fall under the category of being the Ideal Chicana, can be associated with the novel's overall lack of acknowledgment within the larger literary canon.

While Cecilia is redefining her role in her community, likewise, is Lucia, however through a different approach. Lucia recognizes the success of her boyfriend Manny and the Lobos and decides to be more than just a "sheep" standing on the sidelines. She decides early on that she wants in on the Lobos lifestyle and more than that she wants to be in charge. Despite her contributions to the success of the gang, Lucia is still having to continually prove herself to Manny. She quickly becomes wary of this and begins to form her own gang, putting herself at

the top as the leader. Not only does she form her own all-female gang, but she does so unbeknownst to Manny, and manipulates him in a way that helps advance her own personal agenda. There are instances in which she leads Manny to believe that he really is in control of her and uses sex as a means to accomplish this when in reality this is just a guise for her to be able to advance the success of her and her clika, "I had to smooth him out and play that old girl game like he likes, make him think he got the wheel again" (Murray 118). It is in this sense that Lucia relies on her sexuality to get what she wants and manipulates Manny. Like Malintzin, Lucia has a vision for herself outside of the role she currently has with the Lobos, and it is this vision that pushes her to work for her spot in a male-dominated sphere.

Lucia's experience with both her imposed and desired role within the Lobos, similarly, parallels the experience of NietoGomez and the Hijas de Cuauhtémoc. Blackwell notes that in experiencing how Chicano organizers continually sabotaged and demeaned their work and roles within MEChA, the Chicanas in the group quickly found that, "The movement was not sufficiently addressing the very real, material needs of women or the way gender intersected with race and class" (77). Like Lucia, the women of MEChA felt a disconnect between themselves and the male leadership, and like Lucia, they bridge these gaps in ideology through creating organizations like Hijas de Cuauhtémoc as a means of creating channels of solidarity for and by women. Although the context of both Lucia and NietoGomez's situations are very different, both ultimately are facing the same battle. Murray's ability to address this challenge that is common amongst Chicanas/Chicanx is significant, especially considering the fact that she does so through the lens of gang culture, which is often not thought of as being legitimate due to respectability politics that deem it as being inherently criminal and immoral.

The fact that both Lucia and NietoGomez are faced with having to navigate their place as women in male-dominated spheres is telling of how deeply inserted notions of Machismo are, and in how men (in both literature and beyond) have perpetuated these hostile environments. Additionally, both have something to say about the need for Chicanos within certain groups to aspire to the stereotypical role of being macho, or alpha dog, as deemed appropriate by the larger culture. Anzaldúa similarly comments on the pressure faced by males within the Mexican/Mexican American community to adhere to such roles in her passage "*que no se nos olviden los hombres*" in *Borderlands*, "Men, even more than women, are fettered to gender roles. Women at least have had the guts to break out of bondage" (106). It is with this assertion, that Anzaldúa goes on to create a call for action in the reshaping of how the culture defines masculinity and claims that the liberation of mujeres will not be attainable until having accomplished the former. Anzaldúa's comments of this, as well as the way in which Murray establishes a male figure that so closely reflects this characterization is evidence of the prevalence of such attitudes within Chicane culture.

In *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, Leticia unashamedly lays claim to lesbian identity and culture. Unlike Cecilia in *Locas*, Leticia is more direct about her relationship with women, and it is in this regard that Lemus does not shy away from her character's sexuality in the way in which Murray does. However, being that Leticia is more open and expressive regarding her sexuality and identity, this enables tensions to rise in which her traditional Mexican grandmother takes issue with her laying claim to a "dyke" aesthetic. In the text, Leticia returns home from college with a shaved head, and her grandmother's initial reaction is to assume that Leticia had "piojos" from living in the dorms. Leticia does not correct her grandmother, but rather she comments on her grandmother's inability to believe that she would willingly shave her head, "... Nana knew only a single itchy reason that a woman would shave her head like I had done. I

didn't have the nerve to tell her different" (Lemus 42). Leticia's grandmother cannot process the idea that her granddaughter would willingly want to shave her head, because it is not the societal accepted norm for young women in Chicano communities, making it easier to attribute the decision to a contraction of piojos. Her inability to accept the truth of the situation is reflective of notions of heteronormativity that have essentially become embedded within Mexican and Mexican American culture.

It is in this regard, that the character of Leticia, not only goes against the grain of cultural norms but represents an aspect of the Chicano/a Movement that otherwise goes unnoticed. The Chicano Civil Rights movement of the 60s and 70's famously failed to address the concerns of women like Leticia, and the use of a gender non-conforming, queer character in this novel a little over four decades later addresses this lack of attention. Furthermore, the fact that a text such as *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties* and a character like Leticia are still largely left out of the Chicano literary canon, speaks to the continuation of this practice within the Chicano community and discourse. The same can be said of text like *Locas*, and it is for these reasons that the women in both of these novels become obscured as activists, despite the radical ways in which they push back against oppressive cultural practices.

Lucia in *Locas* undergoes a sort of reformation and rebirth, as she begins to question her place in her community and the extent to which she can have an impact with the Lobos outside of the maternal sphere. In the process of doing so, Lucia begins to distance herself from conventionally feminine clothing, and demeanors, and embraces preconceived notions of masculinity in both the way she dresses and the way in which she carries herself. At the onset of her transformation to a leadership position in the Lobos, she begins to challenge the way in which she is expected to dress by Manny and the overarching community, "The first move I make is to look like I want. No more girlie dresses just cause Manny wants a Venus" (Murray 94). It is in this instance that Lucia begins to push against the identity that she is expected to adhere to and recreates her image and identity by what she sees is fit for herself. Her transition from short dresses and skirts to pachuco pants and Pendletons is representative of her metamorphosis and rejection of both gender normativity, and machiste ideas regarding what women should look like.

In her embrace of a more masculine aesthetic, Lucia also proclaims ideas that suggest that to be female/feminine in practice, is to be weak. In doing so, Lucia begins to embrace the notion that to be male/masculine, is a direct correlation to obtaining power and respect, "I started asking for things, making trouble, getting my own big time started... I was made to be a man, strong and tall and looking out for number one" (Murray 109). On its surface, it might appear as problematic that Lucia (perhaps unconsciously) believes that the only way to achieve esteem within her community is to lay claim to a male/masculine identity, whilst condemning ideas regarding womanhood as weak. However, her recognition of and desire to achieve this status in order to attain some sense of social mobility, is reflective of the Mexican American community's tendency to impose this premise as a norm, to begin with. Lucia would not have this false equivalency of masculinity as it pertains to power, had it not been an issue that had been perpetuated and upheld within the dominant culture.

This false equivalency of manhood denoting notions of leadership capability is similarly prevalent in organizing circles within grassroots movements. This structure within these movements and, specifically within the Chicano Movement, has come to be known as the use of Chingón politics. bell hooks has commented on this phenomena within the larger context of the

structure, and has similarly deemed it to be, “the effects of equating freedom with manhood, of sexualizing liberation” (Blackwell 76). While this structure has been embodied in the context of activism and organizing, it is likewise paralleled in *Locas* in the context of Lucia’s journey in navigating the patriarchal structures present within the Lobos as well as her cultural environment as a whole. Like the Chicano movement male leaders, the leaders of the Lobos have similarly defined leadership in line with very matriarchal and traditionally masculine ideologies. Lucia’s endeavor to aspire to this sort of leadership style can be read as an attempt to comply with this existing (albeit slightly problematic) notion, as it is one that she has personally seen to be the most successful.

On the other side of things, Lucia’s actions in which she refuses to comply with culturally held gender norms (i.e. her stray from a conventionally feminine identity), can also be seen as an act of resistance in and of itself. Manny and the Lobos expect her to stay in her place, and essentially remain within the boundaries that they impose upon her. Lucia’s decision to reclaim her identity and embrace a mentality that is not conventionally “feminine” is an entirely radical act. Furthermore, the way in which she is able to lay claim to this mentality as a means to both challenge gender norms, as well as to climb the ranks as a female leader in a male dominated gang, ultimately works to her advantage, as she ultimately able to get the attention of the male leadership and assert herself as a serious figure within the gang as a whole.

While Lucia’s decision to stray away from these conventionally feminine practices might seem to be minuscule in comparison to the work that activists like NietoGomez have organized around, NietoGomez herself has remarked on the importance of how these small acts of resistance can start as a starting point for one’s experience with activism. In Blackwell’s interview with NietoGomez, she makes mention of how much of her political awareness was developed from an early age, specifically within the interactions with her family and in how notions of machismo are perpetuated within familial structures. In the interview, she mentions that when she was younger her grandmother was expected (by her grandfather) to serve everyone else’s meals first before being able to sit down and eat herself. As soon as she was old enough to notice this disparity, she addressed it and remembers a particular instance in which she was being called to the table to eat. She remarked that she, “...had decided ... that we weren’t going to go eat until my grandma ate at the table with us” (Blackwell 51). This small hunger strike was one that she points to as being one of the earliest instances in which she addressed the hypocrisy of gender roles within the larger culture, and although on the surface it seemed to be inconsequential at the time, it ultimately contributed to her socialization around these issues.

As aforementioned, while the context of the events that occur to the characters in *Locas* and *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, vary greatly from that of the stories of real-life Chicana activists, they are ultimately both connected in the structures of oppression that they are against. In portraying characters who operate in spaces that the larger society deems to be unrespectable, both Murray and Lemus challenge the idea of what it truly means to be an activist in the community. In doing so, and in telling the stories that typically go unheard or blatantly ignored, both authors are able to elaborate on the idea that the Chicana experience and Chicana feminisms as a whole are not at all a monolith. While the parallels between the struggles undergone by the characters as well as the real-life activists are certainly apparent, this does not mean that by any means Chicanas at large need to adhere to a definitive narrative or reality. On the contrary, the fact that these women each live very different lives and adhere to

many different notions of activism is telling of how both the Chicana experience as well as narratives of activism are not clear cut and range from a variety of different outlets.

Lucia, Cecilia, and Leticia do not necessarily work as activists in the conventional sense by advocating for a cause with the goal of ultimately bettering their communities. Their work as activists is primarily conducted within the realm of their day to day experiences within their communities and the people they interact with. While these women might be faced with backlash and disregard in relation to their activism, to denounce them as agents of change is not only thoughtless but is complicit in the historical erasure and ostracization of queer, gang-affiliated, Chicanas and other women of color from narratives of activism. Activism and methods by which individuals can resist systemic oppressive structures is not specific to work done primarily in the public sphere. Both *Locas* and *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, effectively convey this. In doing so, Murray and Lemus both respectively unveil to their readers the reality of activism: the personal is and can be political. Moreover, both texts are able to highlight the different methods by which queer individuals are combatting discrimination both from the dominant culture, and their own cultures. In *Fear of a Queer Planet*, Michael Warner comments on the issue of non-heteronormative narratives of activism still not being acknowledged to their full extent, "Even the literature on the so-called New Social Movements, where theorists might have been expected to take gay politics as a model, continues to treat it as an afterthought, and then often with significant homophobia" (4). *Locas* and *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, both directly and indirectly tackle this issue, through the evocation of nonheteronormative characters who become activists in a non-traditional sense.

The inability to deem women like Lucia, Cecilia, and Leticia as activists, and in the larger context, to overlook texts like *Locas* and *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties* is also reflective of what scholars and the general public view as the most effective method of activism. Returning to the example of Dolores Huerta and women like Anna NietoGomez, it becomes clear that the kind of organizing that they were able to accomplish while with the UFW and Hijas de Cuauhtémoc, is what typically tends to elicit both recognition from the larger Chicana community and is credited most for fighting against injustices. Again, although Huerta and NietoGomez's work were certainly significant, and their contributions to the Chicana movement are not to be diminished to any extent, their recognition for her work serves as a direct contrast to the lack of recognition of private and personal activism. While both were successful in their careers as activists, it is important to decipher that formal methods of resistance such as organizing, boycotting, etc., are not the only means by which Chicanas can address and combat inequality. Furthermore, when we think of such inequalities, there should not be an automatic association of injustice being perpetuated primarily by white society. In fact, these novels and the stories of the women within the larger Chicano Movement, convey the idea that the injustices and systems of oppression that Chicanas have historically faced have often been implemented and upheld within their own communities, as a result of the long-lasting effects of colonization. It is with this in mind, that it becomes imperative to distinguish these women's critiques and push back against conventional gender norms, not as a turn away from their communities, but as a method in which they hope to better them. Similarly, these actions are meant to serve as a representation of women who both look, live, and act like the protagonists in these novels, and to further demonstrate that activism is certainly for everyone, not just a set few. As a result, in instances in which the women in these novels challenge the extent to which they can operate within Mexican American culture, they are subjected to becoming othered and looked at as deviants for their inability to conform to standards set by white colonial society.

By examining Lucia and Cecilia in *Locas*, and Leticia in *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties*, it becomes apparent that their acts of defiance against machiste culture, is what brands them as traitors, similar to Malintzin, and their activist counterparts. As a result of this, these novels which highlight the experiences and resistance of queer, gender non-conforming, and gang-affiliated women within Mexican American communities, are often excluded from the Chicana literary canon. Reconsidering “appropriate” methods of resistance, the significance of the acts exhibited by Lucia, Cecilia, and Leticia respectively, can be better acknowledged, and it is with this in mind that their work can be viewed as non-traditional activism. Whether it be accessing contraceptives as a means of rejecting one of the limited roles women in Chicana culture can attain, or embracing queer identities, and refusing to comply with normative gender roles, each of these women illustrate the ways in which Chicanas can lay claim to their individual power. Through the creation of these characters, Murray and Lemus are able to effectively portray women who are largely disregarded as not appealing to what the dominant culture views as an appropriate representation of a Chicana. Despite the fact that these texts are not traditionally canonical, and have consequently not been given much scholarly attention, the conversation they create regarding the agency afforded to queer Chicanas, is deserving of further scholarly intervention within the Chicana discourse at large. Ultimately, both authors are able to convey the notion that activism has no definitive meaning, nor is being an activist specific to a fixed monolithic identity. More importantly, both Murray and Lemus convey the extent to which Malinchistas have historically, and continually assumed the role as agents of change.

About the Author

Anahí Ponce is a student and community organizer from El Paso, Texas. She is a current doctoral student at The University of Texas at Austin and is studying Mexican American and Latina/o Studies. She holds a Bachelor of Arts in English and American Literature from The University of Texas at El Paso, where she graduated in May of 2020 with honors. Her research interests lie in studying methods and implications of Chicana activism in literature, and in current political discourses. Anahí is additionally interested in how aspects of respectability politics, queer theory, and intersectional feminisms, present themselves in narratives of activism in the Latinx community as a whole. Outside of academics, she is a dedicated community organizer and founder of an El Paso organization called Chicas De Chuco. An organization that strives to promote social justice resources and initiatives in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and beyond. In her spare time, Anahí enjoys listening to oldies and collecting records.

References

- Ahmed, Sara. *Living a Feminist Life* / Sara Ahmed. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017. Print.
- Alarcón, Norma. "Chicana Feminism: In the Tracks of 'The'Native Woman." *Cultural Studies* 4.3 (1990): 248-256.
- Alarcón, Norma. "Traddutora, Traditora: A Paradigmatic Figure of Chicana Feminism." *Cultural Critique*, no. 13, 1989, pp. 57–87. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/1354269.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands: La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Aunt Lute, 1987.

- Blackwell, Maylei. *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement*. University of Texas Press, 2016.
- De Certeau, Michel. "The Practice of Everyday Life: Michel de Certeau." (1984).
- Higginbotham, E. B. (1993). *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920*. Cambridge, England: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Hurtado, Aída. *Intersectional Chicana Feminisms: Sitios y Lenguas*. University of Arizona Press, 2020.
- Lemus, Felicia Luna. *Trace Elements of Random Tea Parties: A Novel*. Macmillan, 2003.
- Moraga, Cherríe. *Loving in the War Years: Lo Que Nunca Pasó por Sus Labios*. South End Pr, 1983.
- Morgensen, Scott Lauria. *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*. University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Murray, Yxta Maya. *Locas: A Novel*. Grove Press, 1997.
- Pérez, Emma. "Queering the Borderlands: The Challenges of Excavating the Invisible and Unheard." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 24.2/3 (2003): 122-131.
- Pitcan, Mikaela, et al. "Performing a Vanilla Self: Respectability Politics, Social Class, and the Digital World." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, vol. 23, no. 3, May 2018, pp. 163–179. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1093/jcmc/zmy008
- Smith, Barbara. "Toward a Black Feminist Criticism." *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 2.2 (1979): 183-194.
- Sowards, Stacey K. *¡Sí, Ella Puede!: The Rhetorical Legacy of Dolores Huerta and the United Farm Workers*. The University of Texas Press, 2019.
- Tafolla, Carmen. "Yo Soy La Malinche." Center for History and New Media. 25.
- Warner, Michael, ed. *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory*. Vol. 6. University of Minnesota Press, 1993.