

Appendix I

Seventh Annual
ERNESTO GALARZA
Commemorative Lecture
1992

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Stanford Archival Release

Mestizaje:
The Formation of Chicanos

Presented by

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PROFESSOREMERITUS
UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Stanford Center for Chicano Research, Stanford University

PREFACE

Perhaps no scholar contributed more to the development of Chicano studies in the social sciences than Dr. Julian Samora. In February of this year he passed on in Albuquerque, New Mexico. We will all miss his insight, humor, and comraderie. Through his research, publication, teaching, mentoring, and advocacy we have been fortunate to benefit from the historiography, analysis, insight, and clarity that are the hallmarks of so much of his work. His books and essays in the areas of immigration, criminal justice, social mobility, and policy advocacy are required reading, and required thinking, for all those interested in comprehensively understanding the history and current status of people of Mexican origin in the United States.

Not only was Dr. Samora a professor of unparalleled accomplishments in an area of study that was for so long neglected by many social scientists, he was a personal friend of Dr. Ernesto Galarza, with whom he co-authored publications and co-founded important organizations. Along with Mr. Herman Gallegos, our National Advisory Board Chair, Dr. Samora and Dr. Galarza helped found two of the most significant and long-lasting advocacy groups for Chicana/os in the U.S. today: the National Council of La Raza and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. It was with pride, appreciation, and humility that Dr. Samora was invited to give the Seventh Annual Ernesto Galarza Commemorative Lecture sponsored by the Stanford Center for Chicano Research (SCCR). I should like to thank the members of the selection committee: Herman Gallegos, Chair, SCCR National Advisory Board; Delia Casillas Tamayo, member, SCCR National Advisory Board; Cecilia Burciaga, Associate Dean, Academic Affairs; and Fernando Mendoza, Director, SCCR. 1

INTRODUCTION OF GUEST LECTURER

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(Visiting Professor, Chicano Fellows Program
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1991-1992)

Buenas tardes — good afternoon. Introducing this year's distinguished Ernesto Galarza Lecturer is both one of the easiest things I've ever been asked to do, and also one of the hardest. It is easy because of my long-time admiration and respect for Professor Julian Samora, but it is also difficult because time constraints permit only ten minutes for this introduction. It is in itself difficult to summarize over forty years of Professor Samora's professional career, and is even more so with less than fifteen seconds allotted per year.

To do that, I will summarize Professor Samora's forty-plus years in public academic life by highlighting some of his accomplishments as a scholar and teacher, and as a change agent in the larger, non-university society.

As a scholar, Professor Samora may be best known for his books. *La Raza. Forgotten American* (1966) is an anthology of essays he edited and which brought to prominence the vanguard educational research of George I. Sanchez, another early pioneer in Mexican American studies — before it was a recognized field of study. Another book, *Mexican-Americans in the Southwest* (1969), co-edited with Ernesto Galarza and Herman Gallegos, two other leaders in the intellectual life of Mexican Americans, was among the earliest works to offer both an analysis of the sociology of

Hesburg, at Professor Samora's retirement symposium. Father Hesburg said that in all his years at Notre Dame, before and during his presidency, he had never known of one faculty member whose students held him in such regard that they themselves initiated, planned, raised funds for, and paid their way from around the country (and, I believe, England and Mexico) to attend the festivities in his honor. He said that he hoped it would become a model of the faculty-student apprenticeship elsewhere in academe.

In honoring him with the retirement symposium, the hundreds of students he helped recruit and worked so diligently to retain, were not only showing our respect for his seminal role as a scholar and teacher, but were also seeking to recognize his importance as a key agent for social change in our lifetimes. His activist recruitment of students of color and of topics for published work encouraged students to pursue new careers in a fledgling field. In addition, through his initiation of the first Chicano Studies series of scholarly publications by a university press, he helped present to the world various books published under the aegis of the University of Notre Dame Press' Mexican American Authors Series.

His institution-building work as a policy specialist on and advocate for Mexican Americans has also been of the highest caliber. For example, the influential Washington-based National Council of La Raza grew out of the Southwest Council of La Raza which he, Ernesto Galarza, and Herman Gallegos founded. Professor Samora's early work was instrumental in shaping ideas and intellectual thought regarding American apartheid, ethnicity and race, economic class issues, and civil rights. For instance, his advocacy thirty years ago with the United States Bureau of the Census on behalf of appropriate, group-defined ethnic labels were instrumental in establishing a threshold for civil rights discourse and policy. I even believe that, by 1980, such civil rights advocacy and policy change had improved the lives of Chicanas/os and other minorities, to the extent that American right-wing groups made abolishment of civil rights FOR ALL a top priority from 1980 to the present.²

As writer Mark Twain observed about

our country: "It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice either one of them" (The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson, 1894, vol. 1, chap. 20). As an American and a Chicano, Professor Samora not only cherishes the first two freedoms, but determinedly practiced them throughout his career.

For these reasons, then, and countless others relating to Professor Samora's personal strength and compassion, I am honored to reaffirm the decision of the selection committee who named him the 1992 Ernesto Galarza Lecturer. In my judgment, he and his lifetime of outstanding achievement confer great honor on the award itself. With admiration, I present a fellow Coloradoan, born in my mother's hometown of Pagosa Springs, Professor Julian Samora.

Thank you.

²Again, these comments were prepared and delivered prior to the Suni Valley verdict on the Rodney King case, but they gain perhaps greater force if read in that heightened context. (Editor's note)

with this phenomenon in the United States. Only three come to mind. Dr. Forbes - a professor at the University of California, Davis is one of them. He wrote a book in 1973 called *Aztecas Del Norte: The Chicanos of Aztlan*. In this book Forbes discusses *mestizaje* and describes this phenomenon, claiming that in order to be *mestizo* the group must be an outcast.

According to Forbes, "*Mestizo* and such comparable terms imply outcast (i.e. belonging to no ethnic group or *casta*).

People who possess a national or ethnic identity, no matter how much they have mixed historically with other peoples, can never be mestizo" (Forbes, 1973:185). Thus the Spanish and the Irish, although thoroughly mixed are not *mestizos*. In his more recent writings. **Dr.**

Forbes hasn't really changed his definition of *mestizo* too much. On pages eight and nine of his new work he says "*Individuos que poseen una identidad nacional o etnica, no importa tan mezclados esten historicamente con otras gentes, nuncapodrdn ser mestizos.*" (Forbes' italics) Another person who has written about *mestizaje* is James Diego Vigil in his book *From Indians to Chicanos: They Dynamics of Mexican American Culture* (1984).

For many years I have been interested in the formation of the Chicano people. It has been noted that the Chicano, while closely resembling the Native American, is Spanish or Mexican in culture, speaks Spanish generally, is nominally Catholic in religion, and does not wish to be identified as Indian, nor does he wish to discuss his obvious "Indianness." The Native American of New Mexico on the other hand, who may have been baptized in the Catholic religion and may bear a Spanish surname, does not emphasize his "Spanishness" or "Mexicanness." Although related genetically it appears that both prefer not to acknowledge the relationship.

This is an issue of identity. In truth, the Chicano people should identify with the Mexican culture rather than the Spanish culture. Yet this has

not always proven the case since in our society the dominant group has usually abhorred Mexican things (Robinson, 1969: *passim*; North, 1948: Foreword and Chapter I; Rios-Bustamante and P. Castillo, 1985:51). For example, when I was a child, growing up in Colorado, in Spanish we called ourselves "*nosotros los Mejicanos.*" In English we were "Spanish Americans" because if we labeled ourselves "Mexican" it would be like Negroes calling themselves niggers.

"Our being was actually our 'non-being.' This consciousness of 'non-being' would deepen and broaden as I gradually moved from a very 'secure experience of being to one of 'non-being', to one of new being" (Elizondo, 1988:18) ^{1111;}

Fray Virgilio Elizondo, a Catholic priest who has written extensively on the Chicano community, recounts personal experiences while growing up in a segregated Texas: "I remember very well one of the old grandmothers whose

ancestors had always lived in the San Antonio, Texas area telling us: "When the Spaniards arrived hundreds of years ago, we welcomed them and taught them how to survive in these hostile lands, and pretty soon they dispossessed us. Then came the Anglo immigrants from the United States, and the same thing happened. We don't know what country will be coming through here next, but we will still be here!" (Elizondo, 1988:4)

In another instance illustrating the prejudice against those of Mexican heritage he says: "When the Mexican soccer team came to San Antonio and beat the American team, there was great joy, pride and jubilation, as if Mexico had conquered the United States. But walking around the downtown area of San Antonio every day brought some new experiences. I started to discover blacks. Before, I had never even known about their existence. Those were still the days of segregation when blacks had to sit in special 'colored' balconies in theatres, attend black churches, sit in the back of the public buses, and use separate toilets in public places.

"Indeed, many of my school friends had darker skin than myself and I remember well the problems we experienced just trying to go to the toilet. If we went into one marked 'colored' we

TABLE I
ETHNIC MIXTURE OF CASTAS

1. Espanol x India = Mestizo (NM)
2. Espanol x Mestiza = Castiza (NM)
3. Expand x Castiza = Torna a Espanol
4. Espanol x Negra = Mulato (NM)
5. Espanol x Mulata = Morisco
6. Morisco x Espanola = Albino
7. Albino x Espanola = Tornaatras
8. Mulato x India = Calpamulato
9. Calpamulato x India = Jivaro
10. Negro x India = Lobo (NM)
11. Lobo x India = Cambuja
12. Indio x Cambuja = Sambahija
13. Mulato x Mestiza = Cuateron
14. Cuateron x Mestiza = Coyote (According to Census report, in New Mexico the term coyote included the mixture of Mestizo & Indian and that of Spanish & Indian).
15. Coyote x Morisca = Albarazado
16. Albarazado x Saltaatras = Tente en el aire
17. Mestizo x India = Cholo
18. Mulato x India = Chino
19. Espanol x China = Cuateron de Chino
20. Negro x India = Sambo de Indio
21. Negro x Mulata = Zambo
22. Cambujo x China = Gemzaro (in New Mexico, the Gemzaro had a somewhat different meaning -/Swadish detribalized Indian/.)

Composite List from Nicolas de Leon, *Las Castas del Mexico Colonial o Nueva Espana*. Mexico: Talleres Graficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueologia, Historia, Y Etnograffa. 1924.

came from the Santa Fe barrio of Analco.

The landless Latinos began many towns along the Pecos river, from present Pecos itself downriver to Antonchico, with a southeast thrust to present day Las Vegas. Up in the Taos valley a new town of Don Fernando de Taos was born, followed by a number of villages in the area. The Mora valley east of the great Sierra was settled as was Socorro to the south of Tome-Belen and Cebolleta and San Rafael.

Thus when the United States conquered the territory in 1846, New Mexico did not have sharply mapped borders. Some New Mexico families, unwilling to live under United States jurisdiction, founded the town of Mesilla and the neighboring towns of Las Cruces and Dona Ana, all in the fertile area north of El Paso, Texas. Soon, however, the Gadsen Purchase put them all back in the United States! (Chavez, 1982: xxiii-xxv).

In order to explain the phenomenon of how the conquered people really absorbed the conquerors, one needs to understand a few historical occurrences. The papal bull of 1537, *Sublimis Deus*, declared that the Indians were human beings capable of salvation. This meant that the Spaniards had to, most importantly, save souls. As badly as the indigenous population was treated and exploited, their souls still had to be saved. This was in contrast to the Protestant colonizers, who exterminated the Indian or pushed him off onto a reservation. The Spanish baptized the native, permitted him to enter his households as servant or slave and allowed intermarriage. One must remember that in the Europe of that time slavery was common, and we cannot judge them by today's standards.

The Spanish society in the New World was not as rigid and absolute as it was in the Old World. It was more open. A number of factors contributed to this: 1) few Spanish females came in the early period of conquest; 2) Indian women were given to the conquerors by the Indian *caciques* in Mexico; 3) land was available; 4) slaves and servants were available; 5) the openness of the class structure

permitted Indians and persons of mixed parentage to "pass" for Spanish; and 6) the institution of marriage enabled Indians and persons of mixed parentage to marry into the dominant class.

Although the institution of slavery was prohibited by the New Laws of 1542, the Crown expected tribute from the indigenous population as well as from whatever wealth the conquerors came upon. Thus, in collecting tributes, the Crown tacitly encouraged slavery since about the only

way to pay tribute was by having slaves and working them hard. A market for selling Indian captives to the Spanish was thus created. An owner of a ransomed Indian had the obligation of Hispanicizing and Christianizing him. If the

Spanish refused to buy him from other Indians offering tribute, the captive might possibly be beheaded or threatened with death, and some Spaniard usually bought him. The concept of a "just war" against non-Christian Indians or against Indians who had taken up arms against Spain produced many captives (Tyier, 1988:214-217).

Weber says: "Scholars in United States history have been writing on immigrant groups for more than a century... Ironically, the oldest immigrant people, the descendants of Spaniards and Indians, received almost no scholarly attention until the 1960's. Up to that time, no historian had written a book about the Mexicans and their descendants, and just a handful of sociologists had taken note of them. Yet the six million Mexican Americans comprise the second largest ethnic minority in the United States today; in the Southwest, no minority group surpasses them in numbers" (Weber, 1987: vii).

He reiterates: "If there was little love lost between Indians and Mexicans in the Southwest in general, there was, nevertheless, a good deal of intermixture between individuals of both groups. This continuing process of racial mixture produced a racial and cultural blending in Mexico and the southwest... Racial mixture is also one of the salient features of Chicano ethnicity, for most

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riages" (Weber, 1979:153).

Again: "Many of the so-called Spaniards who arrived in Alta, California, beginning in 1769, were of mixed ethnic and racial backgrounds. But as *gente de razon*, or people of reason, they considered themselves distinct from and superior to both the unconverted and Christian Indians" (Weber 1979:262).

Weber continues: "White people, that is European or American Spaniards, were the most numerous in Texas, followed in importance by the Indians, the castes known as *color quebrado* (brittle or frail color), which included the *mestizos*, *coyotes*, *mulattoes*, and *lobos*, and finally the Negroes... It is known, however, that many of these soldiers of the Spanish garrisons were *mestizos*, and some were even *mulattoes*, a fact rejected by the census report, which enrolled all military personnel as "Spaniards" (Weber, 1979:157).

As a result of the European conquest of the New World, one can say then that an interracial mixture has taken place to such an extent that the Spanish conquerors, in a real sense, became the conquered' and in many instances — particularly in the southwestern United States - the two populations share the same genetic pool.

Given my interest in our shared history, a few years ago I wrote an introduction to a work by E. Galarza, H. Gallegos and myself in which I say about the Spanish *conquistador*'es, "Racism was not one of their contributions to this land" (Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora: 1969, *VHf*). After further research, I wish to retract that statement, because racism did begin with the Europeans and it spread wherever they went.

When the Spaniards set out to conquer and colonize the "new World" in the early 1500s they

This does not mean that the Spanish were conquered politically, rather it means that the indigenous groups, through their women, absorbed the conquerors in many instances. Thus began the Chicano people or the Mexican American in the United States and the Mexicans in Mexico, who more often than not are a mixture of Indian or black and European people.

brought few women with them and time after time Indian chiefs in Mexico presented the Spanish *conquistadores* with Indian maidens in order to bring the two populations together legitimately through a process of intermating called *mestizaje*. This process produced *mestizos* or mixed-blood offspring throughout Mexico and Central and South America.

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Bernal Diaz del Castillo, one of the conquistadores who accompanied Hernando Cortes, who wrote *La Veradera Historia de la Conquista de Nueva Espana*, because he thought the official chroniclers and historians had not done justice to the conquest, documents a number of instances in which Indian females and Spanish males marry or where the Spaniards are given Indian females by the Indian chiefs, etc. This began the gradual process of *mestizaje* in the Western Hemisphere (Castillo, 59, 69, 73, 76, 77, 95, 96, 101, 145, 147, 232, 238). "*Mestizaje*" is a perfectly good word in Spanish, but in English it unfortunately comes out as "mixed blood" or "half-breed" with a moral and pejorative twist which gives it a bad connotation.

In what became New Spain, colonial New Mexico, or the present-day American Southwest, the situation was complicated somewhat because many of the colonizers were not Spanish, some were Indians and some were *mestizos* from Mexico. The first colonists into present-day New Mexico came with a very rich miner, Don Juan de Onate, in 1598, from Zacatecas, Mexico. Onate himself was married to a *mestizo*. Upon reaching the Espanola Valley (north of present-day Santa Fe) he occupied the Indian pueblo of Okeh which he renamed San Juan de los Caballeros to honor his troops. Soon the Spaniards settled in the pueblo of Yunqueunque and renamed the pueblo San Gabriel.

"Onate brought with him 130 soldiers, many of whom traveled from Mexico with their wives and Indian servants. It is likely that Mexican Indians, both servants and soldiers, outnumbered the Spaniards. In 1610, when the capital villa of Santa Fe was built as the main population nucleus

Catholic Church on February 8, 1890. They moved to Pagosa Springs later.

My great-grandfather, Edward Russell Harris, was born in Massachusetts about 1830. His wife was JuanaJaquez from New Mexico. He was a carpenter according to the 1880 U.S. census. His father and grandfather were also bom in Massachusetts. Thus on my father's side we are of Irish, French and Mexican heritage, but there must also be some kind of American Indian and some black heritage. Thus the Harris name seems to be legitimate. When my wife and I were in Sevilla, Spain, I looked in the *Passengers to the Indies in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries under Jerez* to see if Harris might be an Americanization of *Jerez* as so often happens in the U.S. but to no avail. Thus *mestizaje* has occurred to a great extent in my own background and I suspect in the backgrounds of all peoples throughout the world.

Elsie's son at SUNY in Buffalo has done some genealogical research on his own and has found that his father, Fred Woodson, was a Navajo Indian who was bought at age ten by James Woodson. His father was Navajo and Spanish on the maternal side. He traced his mother's (Elise's) genealogy to her great grandfather, Jose Ramon Sanchez in *El Rito* of Rio Arriba County in New Mexico. Some of the records were lost at about this time.

I have mentioned that persons of certain ethnic groups tended to marry each other. However, there was also a certain amount of exogamy as Fray Angelico Chavez indicates in his eleven volume work on the pre-nuptial investigations which the Catholic Church conducts for every couple wanting to marry.

Fray Angelico speaks of the nature of the population in New Mexico in the first, second and third centuries of colonization and ends his general introduction with the following paragraph:

"In substance, Hispanic New Mexico, along with *hergenizaros* now having some Spanish Blood together with their likewise acquired Spanish customs, preserved her own identity both in blood and culture for three full centuries. The story is different in her Fourth One (our own 20th century), what with the admixtures of race and culture which keep

increasing all along" (Chavez, 1982: vol. I, xxv).

I have attempted to show that the *mestizaje* that took place in colonial New Mexico was the beginning of the Chicano people or the Mexican Americans. In addition it is my belief that because of the early and continuing process of intermating the identity of the people should be more with Mexico than with Spain.

It is difficult to prove any of this given the definitions of what a Spaniard was, or an Indian, or a *mestizo*. But it is clear to me that the formation of the Mexican and Chicano people was a direct result of the admixture of the white (in this case the Spanish European), and the Indian peoples, in Mexico and what became the United States Southwest.

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STANFORD CENTER FOR CHICANO RESEARCH

The Stanford Center for Chicano Research (SCCR) was established in 1980 to promote cross-disciplinary research on Mexican American and Latino communities in the United States. Under its current director, Associate Professor of Political Science Luis R. Fraga, the Center continues to promote interdisciplinary study, and focuses on major issues of public policy through projects that examine implications of the expanding presence of Latinos in California and in the United States generally, as well as the implications of increased diversity among Latinos themselves.

One important goal of the SCCR is to enhance dialogue between the research community and the public. As concerned citizens as well as researchers in academia, faculty want to contribute to the local, state, and national discourse of public policy and promote effective long-term problem solving through their work at the Center.

In 1992-93, projects at the SCCR included: *Environmental Poverty: Assessing the Risk of Pesticides to Farm Labor Children; Latinos, Voting Rights and the Public Interest*, *The Public Outreach Project*, *Pediatric AIDS and Infectious Diseases*, *Cultural Citizenship; Civic Capacity & Urban Education*, *Bay Area Latino Community Studies Project*; *The Uses of Languages Other than English in the Courts*; and *International Childhood Immunization Strategies*.

The Center holds public forums, coordinates research seminars, and presents the Annual Ernesto Galarza Lecture each spring. Research activities are published through the Center's newsletter, *La Nueva Vision*, and the SCCR Working Paper Series. In tandem with the Chicana/o Fellows program and the Chicano Graduate Student Association, SCCR sponsors colloquia that highlight the research of faculty, visiting scholars, and graduate students.

SCCR sponsors programs which focus on students, a central part of our academic mission. Beginning in the Fall of 1993, the Center implemented the SCCR Student Research Fellows Program to link targeted minority undergraduate and graduate students with faculty conducting interdisciplinary research projects at the Center. Currently this program receives funds from the James Irvine Foundation.

Each spring, we call for summer research project proposals from the Stanford graduate and undergraduate student community. Funded by the Escobedo Commemorative Fund, students may create an original research project or may join an on-going project at the SCCR. The Center also hosts the Latino Leadership Opportunity Program (LLOP), a one year national program of study and practicum designed for undergraduate Latina/o students interested in public policy and governance.