

Nationalizing Racism: Government Sponsored Modernization through Formal and Social Education on Oaxaca, Mexico in the 1920s

by

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Abstract

This paper will present preliminary findings from a larger research project, with the objective to uncover the historical socioeconomic significance of being a racial other in Oaxaca, Mexico and its relevance in shaping Mexican national identity. The paper will analyze activities and observations of cultural missionaries in Oaxaca during the 1920s and 1930s. Cultural missionaries were appointed by the Secretary of Public Education (SEP) to create schools throughout Mexico, focusing on the modernization of marginalized communities through formal and social education. This initiative was intended to resolve socioeconomic disparities and incorporate sectors of the population into the national framework that had been excluded prior to the Mexican Revolution in 1910. While these efforts were predominantly implemented in indigenous communities located in the northern part of Oaxaca, I argue that observations from cultural missionaries related to social and educational conditions are indicative of a particular construction of Mexican identity that promotes mestizaje. The exclusion of morenos, or Afro-descended Mexicans from this state sponsored initiative suggests that blackness along with indigeneity is otherized, with the primary difference being that morenos lack visibility

Historical Background

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 is widely regarded as the first social and political rebellion of the twentieth century. Revolutionary insurgents such as Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata, Francisco Madero, and others were intent on dismantling the Porfirian dictatorship (1876-1910) and implementing social, economic, and political practices that were equitable for all citizens regardless of racial, ethnic, or class differences. Along with revolutionary insurgents, the Revolution was carried out by the Mexican intelligentsia, who was tasked with constructing national identity, image, and memory on an educational and cultural level.

One of the most influential intellectuals of this period is José Vasconcelos, whose 1926 publication *La Raza Cósmica (The Cosmic Race)* discusses racial construction in Latin America and its relationship to prospects for socioeconomic and political progress.¹ Central to Vasconcelos's notion of a cosmic race is the perception of racial mixture as an ideal method for nation building and promotes hybridization as a "biological process of national formation, allowing the emergence of a national homogenous type through a process of racial fusion."² Vasconcelos's theory resonates because it endorses an ideology of *mestizaje*, which is viewed as a solution to solving socioeconomic and political challenges that existed in Latin America due to its racial and ethnic diversity. The objective of *mestizaje* is to "assimilate all the racial elements of the nation into a single cultural and biological norm": the *mestizo*.³ Vasconcelos's *La Raza Cósmica* is vital in validating this discourse and its benefit to Latin America.

José Vasconcelos is also a prominent figure in Mexican history due to his position as Secretary of Public Education from 1921-1924. Considering that he was the first person to hold this office, Vasconcelos is credited with constructing the framework for public education in Mexico and implementing programs that promoted literacy as a tool for modernization. Although *La Raza Cósmica* was published after Vasconcelos's tenure as Secretary of Public Education, there is a direct correlation between *mestizaje* ideology and educational programs Vasconcelos created. In particular, a group of teachers, called the *Misiones Culturales* (cultural missionaries) were organized by Vasconcelos and instructed to build schools in rural communities throughout Mexico in an effort to modernize sectors of the population that had been socially, economically, and politically marginalized by the government prior to the Revolution. These schools were heavily concentrated in indigenous communities that were isolated from the mainstream. *Mestizaje* is relevant to this endeavor in that the objective is not solely to provide people in indigenous communities with a formal education, but also to socialize and acculturate them to customs that are acceptable by those who represent the majority or mainstream population.

This paper will focus on the activities of cultural missionaries in Oaxaca during the 1920's. While modernization efforts through social and formal education were predominantly implemented in indigenous communities located in the northern part of Oaxaca, I argue that observations from cultural missionaries related to social and educational conditions are indicative of a particular construction of Mexican identity that promotes *mestizaje*. The exclusion of *morenos* from this state sponsored initiative suggests that blackness along with indigeneity is otherized, with the primary difference being that *morenos* lack visibility.⁴

Los Misiones Culturales: Who Were They and What Did They Do?

According to Mexican anthropologist Manuel Gamio, a nation has distinct characteristics that unify all its citizens across socioeconomic boundaries. These characteristics are racial and ethnic similarity among the majority of citizens, use of a common language, common cultural customs, and a shared historical memory.⁵ Because indigenous people live in enclave communities and practice traditional indigenous customs, they represent a challenge to national unity and intellectuals such as Gamio and Vasconcelos theorized on how to resolve “the Indian problem”. Vasconcelos’s solution is to create an educational program focused on the social and formal education of indigenous people living in rural areas of the country. Teachers who participate in this program are called *misiones culturales* and are “expected to transform the mainly Indian population and incorporate it into the national mainstream”.⁶ While building schools and providing instruction in reading, writing, and Spanish language is a significant aspect of the program, Vasconcelos includes components such as classes on nutrition, hygiene, and acceptable cultural practices that are reminiscent of Spanish missionary principles, which suggest that “heathen” people can achieve spiritual redemption through instruction in living a proper religious life.⁷ Vasconcelos intends to replicate this notion and apply it to *mestizaje* ideology by acculturating indigenous people to *mestizo* cultural norms through education.

From Vasconcelos’s perspective, creating missions would have social and economic benefits for indigenous communities, serving as “important economic spaces, fostering the development of local natural resources and combining academic education with technical and agricultural training”.⁸ In the state of Oaxaca, these efforts were concentrated in indigenous communities located in the northern part of the state. Local directors were responsible for bringing Vasconcelos’s vision to fruition and reiterated the role of the *misiones culturales*. A document written by the director of the *misiones culturales* in Yanhuitlan, Oaxaca on April 7, 1926 states that “to encourage the complete development of a school for children and the social improvement of the community, the commissioner of this organization proposes, and the secretary accepts, that a small cultural center for the home and school be installed in every zone.”⁹ This document represents a specific example of Vasconcelos’s idea that schools in rural indigenous communities should serve an educational as well as a social and cultural purpose. Vasconcelos believed it was critical to prepare children as well as adults in having an active role in the modern economic and political system. Another significant component of the cultural missionary program was that teachers’ responsibility extended “beyond the distribution and gathering of information” to include a social role in promoting “local, regional, and national cohesion”.¹⁰ Therefore, missionary schools were an essential tool in transmitting *mestizaje* ideology to citizens and crafting ideas concerning race, national identity, and patriotism.

Being that the image of the new nation was reliant on racial amalgamation and socioeconomic prosperity, Vasconcelos held high expectations for teachers participating in the cultural missionary program. Teachers were supposed to “be completely vigilant in their own attitude” because “every one of their acts will have a string of heroic or fatal consequences for the life of the nation”.¹¹ Thus Vasconcelos believed that the nation’s socioeconomic and political future hinged on the success of the program. The government’s commitment to modernizing indigenous communities through education is also evident in a report signed by the head of the cultural missionaries in Yanhuitlan, Oaxaca, which states, “this report sincerely believes that the introduction of modern systems of teaching needs to be addressed and for that reason insisted as it was possible to leave a base in which they may start to dominate in all the approaches to the project –geometry, arithmetic, and language”.¹² This indicates that it was intended for indigenous people to be visible in the making of modern Mexico and acquire technical and educational skill necessary to be competitive in the growing economy. However, in addition to receiving a formal education, Vasconcelos believed that indigenous people needed to be acclimated to mainstream cultural mores.

To further achieve Vasconcelos’s goal of cultural amalgamation, the *misiones culturales* recorded observations on dietary habits and production routines of local people as well as the economic infrastructure of towns in which they worked. A dietary questionnaire completed on June 2, 1926 by a missionary in Yanhuitlan indicates that because few families have cows, they are not accustomed to cow’s milk and thus get milk from goats, which does not have all the nutritious elements as milk that comes from cows.¹³ Similar observations are documented by other missionaries, which suggest that part of the cultural amalgamation process was to transition indigenous people from their traditional dietary habits to those associated with modernity and upward mobility. Advocating for indigenous peoples’ cultural conversion is a common objective throughout documents from the *misiones culturales*. Further evidence is in missionaries’ observations related to production routines and several characterizations of the environment in which they work as agricultural, specializing in the cultivation of crops such as, corn, sugar cane, coffee, and fruit.¹⁴ The purpose of recording what crops are produced and how they are cultivated is to identify more efficient methods that will increase production. As will be discussed in detail later in the paper, information that was collected by the *misiones culturales* further establishes the correlation between *mestizaje* and national projects promoting modernity.

Promoting Modernity, or Institutionalizing Discrimination?

On a basic level, Vasconcelos’s educational project for marginalized communities is innovative because it recognizes the government’s social responsibility to provide all its citizens with access to public education. However, considering that *mestizaje* ideology influenced Vasconcelos’s vision, the goals of the cultural missionary program are problematic because they promote racial and ethnic discrimination toward people who are considered to be outside of the *mestizo* cultural norm.

In addition to *mestizaje*, revolutionary *indigenismo* is also a prevalent philosophy that influences public perception concerning race, ethnicity, and social status. Revolutionary *indigenismo* endorses a paternalistic view toward indigenous people that embraces the symbolic significance of their culture, but does not acknowledge them as part of mainstream culture. According to historian Alan Knight, revolutionary *indigenismo* “involved the imposition of ideas, categories, and policies from the outside. Indians themselves were the objects, not the authors”.¹⁵ What this means is that it was common practice for those included in the *mestizo* majority to discuss the socioeconomic status of indigenous people. This philosophy is subscribed to by Manuel Gamio, who writes, “One is surprised by the Indians’ vitality as much as by their vigorous physical nature. Their physiology is intriguing, since we find very few countries in which the human body is so productive in spite of a lack of nutrition”.¹⁶ Gamio also argued that Indians are a “poor and pained race that will not awaken without friendly hearts to work for their redemption”.¹⁷ Although *mestizaje* is more relevant to Vasconcelos’s educational projects, his belief that indigenous people needed civilizing is similar to paternalism associated with revolutionary *indigenismo* and is another manifestation of nationalist attempts to solve the “Indian problem”.

Prevailing attitudes toward race and ethnicity also transferred to cultural missionaries’ observations of people in communities in which they worked. In a telegram that was received by the director of the *misiones culturales* on May 22, 1926, a missionary in Yanhuitlan writes, “The Mixtec race demonstrates a superior capacity for adaption to knowledge. Intellectual development is achieved through work, education, and general rules of character building”.¹⁸ This observation is indicative of paternalistic ideals related to *mestizaje* and revolutionary *indigenismo* in that it suggests that what Indians do not have biologically due to their race and social status can be achieved through the redemptive efforts of others working on their behalf. It also implies that Indians’ ability to achieve these characteristics is contingent on them subscribing to cultural practices that are socially acceptable by the dominant *mestizo* culture.

Vasconcelos’s cultural missionary program poses specific challenges to the inclusion of indigenous people and others labeled as outside of the cultural and social mainstream into the modern, industrial society that emerged after the revolution. Because racial and cultural amalgamation is a fundamental aspect of *mestizaje* ideology, Indians were admitted into the new nation “as long as they adapted to modernity and adapted to rationalism and materialism of the Mexican state; it denied them as long as they clung to their traditional customs”.¹⁹ What Vasconcelos visualized as reforming and developing the nation was actually creating an imposed notion of an ideal citizen and institutionalizing racism and discrimination toward non-*mestizo* people.

Creating an Ideal Citizen: The *Mestizo*

While racism and discrimination are not explicit in the objectives of the cultural missionary project, their alignment with *mestizaje* social and cultural ideals, as well as Vasconcelos's interest in eugenics, reveal an intention to promote the concept of an "ideal Mexican" that does not consider the significance of racial, ethnic, or class divisions. According to Marilyn Grace Miller, nationalist projects employing *mestizaje* rhetoric resulted in an "erosion of 'regions of refuge' such as autonomous indigenous communities, whether geographic or linguistic, and the romanticization or folklorization of the Indian and the black, thereby dismissing their active engagement with contemporary political practices".²⁰ Therefore Vasconcelos's concern for the education of indigenous communities was not genuine, but rather an attempt to create separation from the images they represented: backwardness, poverty, ignorance, and heathenism. None of these attributes fit within the conception of modern Mexico and are the antithesis of qualities the ideal, *mestizo* Mexican is supposed to possess: education, refinement, industriousness, and civility. Furthermore, indigenous communities were a reminder of the social and cultural evolutionary process from which the *mestizo* majority had elevated themselves beyond.

Miller also argues that *mestizaje* fails to acknowledge "the everyday experience of nonwhite or nonurban communities that did not share the values and goals of the mestizo majority".²¹ While the process of *mestizaje* did not erase indigenous people from national memory, it did relegate them to an association purely with the pre-Hispanic past and not as having contributed to the development of modern society. Consequently, the *mestizo* becomes synonymous with modernity and progress and indigenous people, although they have visibility, are disempowered. This relates to the cultural missionary project in that it represented the departure from traditional indigenous cultural practices as social and economic progression for the benefit of people in those communities as well as the entire nation. Additionally, missionary schools were the primary vehicle through which the message of racial and cultural amalgamation was promoted to indigenous people. Overall, the imposition of cultural norms associated with the *mestizo* class on indigenous communities indicates an effort on behalf of Vasconcelos to create opportunities for the legal exclusion of non-*mestizo* people in receiving the same benefits as the *mestizo* majority.

Vasconcelos's interest in eugenics is also relevant in his endeavor to implement policies that promote the notion of an ideal citizen. Eugenics explicitly connects national identity with race and reproduction by defining a nation as having "a common purpose, a shared language and culture, and a homogenous population" and emphasizing the sustainability of national purity through maintaining sexual boundaries between races.²² Eurocentric values are at the core of eugenics, with European ancestry being the ideal and other races possessing degenerate qualities, making racial mixing oppositional to national cohesion.

These perceptions were validated through science and impacted socioeconomic and political policies toward “racial others”. Vasconcelos, along with other Latin American eugenicists, endorsed the concept of racial purity, but instead of accepting Eurocentric values “praised racial hybridization as itself a form of eugenization that would help consolidate the nation around the *mestizo*”.²³ Therefore Mexico becomes defined by its *mestizo* identity and individuals who are outside of this construction due to racial or cultural variances are marginalized or have no invisibility. This is problematic because it raises questions related to the distribution of socioeconomic resources and services.

If indigenous people remain in enclave communities and continue their traditional cultural practices, based on *mestizaje* ideology they are not considered a part of the cultural norm and thus should not have access to rights and privileges associated with the *mestizo* class. In regard to *morenos*, racial and social consolidation around *mestizo* identity not only resulted in their marginalization, but also a complete denial of their existence. Although the revolution was intended to promote social, economic and political equality for all people regardless of racial or class background, Vasconcelos’s cultural missionary program and the ideology that influenced its creation reveal a continuation of oppressive policies that had previously been associated with the Porfirian dictatorship.

The concept of an ideal citizen is further problematized when analyzed in relation to the developing industrial economy. Because *mestizo* is a racial as well as social category, identification with the *mestizo* class implies a specific socioeconomic status. Although Vasconcelos’s mission was to transform the nation and engender unity and patriotism through the cultural missionary program, the project actually endorsed a capitalist system that created particular roles based on racial and social classification. As argued by Luis A. Marentes, missionary schools were designed to “prepare a disciplined labor force with a work ethic more conducive to their exploitation”.²⁴ Since the locations of missionary schools were concentrated in rural indigenous communities, race and social status become significant factors in the economic system. This relationship labels individuals outside of the *mestizo* mainstream as laborers or producers of materials rather than owners, which is reserved for those within the majority. The issue is that this relationship is presented as the natural social order because the progress of the nation is centered on racial amalgamation and identification with the *mestizo* category.

Documents from the *misiones culturales* in Yanhuitlan, Oaxaca contain an explicit example giving credence to Marentes’s argument that missionary schools served as mechanisms to train a labor force for the development of a capitalist economy. As expressed by the head of the cultural missions, “Every time [indigenous communities] were taught a better way of production, they were also told where to find good markets, insisting the necessity to seek foreign markets, especially informing them of the demand in the United States for our hats, our shoes, colored mats, baskets, etc”.²⁵

This indicates that indigenous people's role in the modern economy was as cheap labor for the foreign consumption of domestic products. The director's acknowledgement that indigenous people were to occupy a menial position in the economy also raises questions concerning the legitimacy of the cultural missionary project's objectives as outlined by Vasconcelos. Clearly, there was no authentic intention of incorporating indigenous people into the social and cultural mainstream. As demonstrated by observations and reports from the *misiones culturales*, Vasconcelos's missionary project was designed to perpetuate and legitimize the social, economic, and political marginalization of racial "others". While the project's impact on indigenous communities is well documented, what is omitted from the discussion is its impact on Mexicans of African descent. Throughout Vasconcelos's discourse of racial amalgamation to instill national unity and stimulate social and economic modernization, there is no mention how Afro-descended Mexicans, or *morenos*, factor into this equation. The exclusion of *morenos* from the cultural missionary program was intentional and further established the dominance of the *mestizo* majority and the inferiority of racial others. More importantly, their exclusion also highlights an additional layer of marginalization that does not exist for indigenous people, which is invisibility from the historical and contemporary national discourse.

Writing *Morenos* Out of the National Discourse

Although the motives for the creation of the cultural missionary program were not all positive, the exclusion of *morenos* means the government provided no resources for the development of education and training in technical skills for people in these communities. Because they were denied these advantages, it can be inferred that it was more difficult for *morenos* to compete in a new economic system without necessary education and training, therefore relegating them to a lower economic status. While indigenous communities that participated in the project were ultimately exploited, the lack of educational and industrial presence in *moreno* communities causes illiteracy, poverty, and backwardness to be associated with *moreno* identity. Vasconcelos's failure to include Afro-descended Mexicans in his vision of a modern, educated citizenry provides government endorsement of their marginalization while simultaneously denying their existence. Furthermore, their exclusion suggests that while indigenous people could be amalgamated into the *mestizo* category on the condition that they subscribed to *mestizo* social and cultural mores, amalgamation for Afro-descended Mexicans was not possible under any circumstances. This point raises larger questions concerning the relationship between national identity construction and citizenship.

The exclusion of *morenos* from national projects and incorporation into modern society creates an explicit distinction between the social and political implications of ascribed Mexican identity and perceived foreignness. Vasconcelos's idea of a cosmic race views races outside of the *mestizo* category as obstacles to ethnic unification, thereby otherizing *morenos* and labeling them as outsiders in their country of birth.

According to twentieth century racial construction, blackness was considered “prejudicial to Mexico because [it] complicates rather than improve the ethnic problem”.²⁶ Also, considering that fostering patriotism and nationalist sentiment was one of the goals of the missionary program, the absence of *morenos* and Vasconcelos’s attitude toward racial others implies that *morenos* disrupt these efforts. This view exemplifies sentiments towards Afro-descended people from Mexico. Based on the construction of national identity and citizenship as described by Vasconcelos, *morenos* are not legitimate citizens of Mexico because they are not a part of the racial amalgamation process, are not patriotic, and are not contributing to the nation’s progress. Because *morenos* are Afro-descendants, they are a reminder of Mexico’s pre-Independent past, which was defined by slavery and a racial caste system implemented by the Spanish. The colonial period (1521-1810) symbolizes social and economic inequality and a lack of national unity, which according to revolutionary ideology are barriers to social progression. As a result, the presence of Afro-descended people becomes associated with the legacy of the colonial era, a past that the nation has overcome.

Not only do *morenos* represent a challenge to national unification, their identity, culture, and existence has no value and can thus be erased from the national historical narrative. The government’s unwillingness to invest resources into improving *moreno* communities validates their marginalization and facilitates separation between them and the rest of the population. If the national government does not value or acknowledge the presence of *morenos*, why should anyone else? How would people outside of *moreno* communities be aware of their existence if they have no historical or contemporary significance in the national culture? As secretary of public education, José Vasconcelos was cognizant that the way in which he developed the public education system and implemented its policies would play a central role in determining the quality of life for individual citizens as well as the nation as a whole. Because the cultural missionary project linked *mestizaje* ideology with formal education, it impacted the way in which people viewed themselves, which is being a part of a nation of *mestizos*. In spite of its subversive elements, the *mestizo* category does allow for the existence of an indigenous presence through its acknowledgement that the *mestizo* is created from the fusion of Spanish and indigenous ancestry. Since the same privilege is not granted to *morenos* they have no lens through which to view themselves in relationship to the national culture. Consequently, the perpetuation of *mestizaje* through the missionary project institutionalizes discrimination toward *morenos* because it devalues Afro-descended people and writes them out of national discourse.

Conclusions

The success of the Mexican Revolution stimulated vast social, economic, and political change that had promising potential to unify and modernize the nation. With the creation of the office of secretary of public education, the government expressed a commitment to ensure that all its citizens received a primary and secondary education to increase the nation's social and economic progress. Considering that José Vasconcelos was instrumental in structuring public education in Mexico, it is fair to conclude that projects he created had significant influence in determining the quality of life for people during the 1920's and beyond. The cultural missionary program was a defining feature of Vasconcelos's tenure as secretary of public education and on one level represents an acknowledgement that the indigenous population had previously been alienated from the larger population due to their race and cultural practices. Despite the concern to correct historical inequities through formal education, the missionary program's social and cultural education element overshadows its positive characteristics. Due to the influence of *mestizaje*, Vasconcelos's motivations for including indigenous communities in the project are not altruistic and seek to further the process of racial and cultural amalgamation. The implementation of the missionary project signifies an attempt to culturally assimilate indigenous people to transform Mexico into a *mestizo* nation and in turn facilitate national unity around a single racial identity.

While Vasconcelos's intentions for promoting public education in indigenous communities are not pure, his recognition of their existence and need for education indicates that they had a place in the making of the new nation, whereas *morenos* did not. The absence of *moreno* representation in the cultural missionary documents speaks to the institutionalization of their invisibility, which results in their marginalization. Although indigenous identity and culture is still inferior to *mestizo* identity, the absence of *moreno* presence in the missionary program affirms that blackness is not valued and is viewed as oppositional to nation building. The historical inequities in regard to the position of *moreno* identity in national discourse produces larger questions concerning the impact a lack of government interest in developing their communities has had on the population in a contemporary context. Answering this question requires further investigation of education programs and the socioeconomic status of *morenos* living in enclave communities.

Notes

¹ José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cósmica: A bilingual edition* (Baltimore, MD.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

² Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 137.

³ *Ibid*, 147.

⁴ To understand arguments presented in this paper, it is important that the reader be familiar with the meaning of the following terms and how they are used by the author: indigenous or *indigena* refers to people whose ancestry in Mexico predates the Spanish Conquest and live in enclave communities with people of similar ancestry and do not practice Spanish social and cultural customs. The term *mestizo* refers to people of mixed indigenous and Spanish ancestry and are considered mainstream due to an acceptance of modern social and cultural practices. For further discussion on meanings of *indigena* and *mestizo*, see Alan Knight, “Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*: Mexico 1910-1940”. in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1990).

Moreno describes people of mixed black and indigenous ancestry who live in enclave communities with people of similar backgrounds. In the case of Oaxaca, some *morenos* are descendants of *cimmarones*, or enslaved people that escaped from *haciendas* during the seventeenth century and lived independently from Spanish rule. For further discussion on the meaning of *moreno* see Laura A. Lewis, *Chocolate and Corn Flour: History, Race, and Place in the Making of “Black” Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

⁵ Manuel Gamio, *Forjando Patria: Pro-Nacionalismo* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 2010), 26.

⁶ Luis A. Marentes, *José Vasconcelos and the Writing of the Mexican Revolution* (New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, 2000), 57.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Ibid*, 128.

⁹ Archivo de Concentración e Histórico de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, Dirección de Instituto Sociales, Primer Instituto Sociál en Yanhuitlan Oaxaca, folio 1 box 5/2, 1926.

¹⁰ Marentes, *José Vasconcelos*, 129.

¹¹ Primer Instituto Sociál en Yanhuitlan Oaxaca, folio 84 box 5/2, 1926.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid, folio 72.

¹⁴ Ibid, folio 34 and 79.

¹⁵ Knight, “Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo”, 77.

¹⁶ Gamio, *Forjando Patria*, 36.

¹⁷ Ibid, 37.

¹⁸ Ibid, folio 54

¹⁹ Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 150.

²⁰ Marilyn Grace Miller, *Rise and Fall of the Cosmic Race: The Cult of Mestizaje in Latin America* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004), 4.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 105.

²³ Ibid, 106.

²⁴ Marentes, *Jose Vasconcelos*, 57.

²⁵ See summary report of first institute-yanhuitlan 3 Section III paragraph 4

²⁶ Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 152.

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