FEATURE ARTICLE

Picturing Ethnic Studies: Photovoice and Youth Literacies of Social Action

Cati V. de los Ríos

Chicanx students use photovoice to articulate the importance of their high school ethnic studies course.

In 2010, Republican legislators from Arizona created House Bill 2281 specifically to outlaw Mexican American Studies in that state’s public schools (Cabrera, Milem, Jaquette, & Marx, 2014). Banning the Mexican American Studies Program in the Tucson Unified School District, which had a reputable academic curriculum that improved student learning outcomes (Cabrera et al., 2014), (re)invigorated the movement for Mexican American Studies and other ethnic studies courses throughout the United States, especially California (Buenavista, 2016). As this momentum builds, more U.S. public school districts are enthusiastically offering ethnic studies courses. In the last three years, nearly a dozen of the largest and most racially diverse California school districts have created historical resolutions to mandate ethnic studies as a high school graduation requirement.

As educators bear witness to growing social and racial inequalities and the significant increase of students of color in our classrooms, a critical pedagogy of ethnic studies is necessary to increase race-conscious inquiry in literacy classrooms (de los Ríos, López, & Morrell, 2015). Although the intellectual and pedagogical merits of ethnic studies are eminent, ongoing ideological battles over curriculum and the representation of Mexican Americans and other communities of color in textbooks remain a contentious issue nationwide, particularly in the Southwest (Weissert, 2016).

Based on a 10-month ethnographic study, this article demonstrates how photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997), a participatory photo-elicitation methodology, was used to understand youths’ nuanced perspectives about an ethnic studies curriculum. Inspired by Zenkov and Harmon (2009), photovoice here is used as a mutually informing research and pedagogical method. Photovoice seeks to embolden participants to take power and control over the research process through their documentation of the social and political dimensions of their lives via photographs and accompanying written narratives for the purpose of social transformation (Delgado, 2015). This study is situated in a secondary Chicanx/Latinx Studies (CLS) course; the x signifies a gender-inclusive alternative to the masculine-centric Chicano and Latino and the gender binary in Chicana/o and Latina/o. The overarching question that guides this inquiry is, How do students articulate the importance of ethnic studies courses in their lives?

In this article, I first situate the rationale for this study and then the purpose of ethnic and CLS. Second, I describe the secondary classroom and context. Third, I delineate the conceptual framework that I engaged and the methods through which I collected and analyzed data. Fourth, I examine excerpts of Chicanx (of Mexican descent) students’ photovoice compositions, which sought to document students’ voices through photographs and accompanying reflections. A discussion of the research follows, as well as implications for educators who turn to ethnic studies to encourage social transformation and change in their literacy classrooms, regardless of whether one has the opportunity to create and teach ethnic studies courses.

Rationale

On September 12, 2016, California Governor Jerry Brown signed into law Assemblyman Luis Alejo’s

CATI V. DE LOS RÍOS is an assistant professor in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Riverside, USA; e-mail catidlr@ucr.edu.
Ethnic Studies and CLS

Scholars of ethnic studies have long argued that race and racism are deeply woven into the tapestry of colonialism and expansionism in the United States (Hu-DeHart, 1993; Takaki, 1993). The “one-sided historicity” (Trouillot, 1995, p. 4) that dominates Western scholarship, curricula, and schooling too often privileges social, political, and economic systems of power (Apple, 1982).

Okihiro (2014) posited that ethnic studies is not simply about the inclusion or celebration that communities of color “too had heroes and ‘great’ civilizations” (p. 150), nor is it the mere addition of writers of color. Rather, according to Okihiro, ethnic studies foregrounds an alternative vision of U.S. history and culture that was broadly inclusive, humanizing, and replete with the fervor of social activism:

“[Ethnic studies] noted a global dimension to the American experience, both in the imperial expansion of European peoples and in the incorporation of America’s ethnic minorities. But beyond recapturing historical and contemporary realities and extending the community’s reach, ethnic studies fundamentally sought to move the pivot, by fracturing the universalism of white men and by repositioning gender, class, race, and sexuality from the periphery to the core, de-centering and recentering the colors and patterns of the old fabric.” (p. 151)

In the late 1960s, university and K–12 students, parents, educators, and community members in the San Francisco Bay Area embodied this vision of education as they advocated for the inclusion of histories, curricula, and pedagogies of the oppressed (Freire, 1970) in educational institutions beyond a multiculturalist approach (Umemoto, 1989). This social movement, the Third World Liberation Front, centered the decolonial texts of Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi and advanced an antiracist educational agenda to overturn previous centuries of colonial education for “third world” communities living in the United States (Okihiro, 2016).

Given the shifting demographics and the surge of Mexican- and Latinx-origin students in California, many school districts have implemented a range of ethnic studies courses, including Mexican American Studies. Mexican American Studies courses, often synonymous with Chicano Studies and Chicano/Latino Studies, restore and mobilize the decolonial histories, literatures, epistemologies, and resistance practices of Mexican-origin and other Latinx people (Muñoz, 1989) to the center of U.S. classrooms. Ethnic studies and its subdisciplines, such as CLS, examine socially constructed racialization processes in the United States and the ways that these processes are concretized by social, economic, and political powers (Omi & Winant, 1994) to elicit actions and literacies of social change.

Photographs and Literacies

New Literacy Studies (NLS) has stretched the concept of literacy beyond its traditional understanding of print literacy to forge more nuanced, multimodal, and multilingual comprehensions of reading and writing for an increasingly globalized world (New London Group, 1996; Street, 1995). In a theoretical shift in perspective around literacy, NLS moved from a cognitive model, which focuses on a person’s literacy acquisition, to emphasizing the social and cultural interactions around
literacy practices (Gee, 1996; Street, 1995). Grounded in an understanding that multiple literacies exist and are situated within social and cultural practices (New London Group, 1996), NLS focuses on the central role of power; simply put, certain forms of literacy in society are more sanctioned than others (Street, 1984). A persistent shortcoming of NLS, however, is the insufficient attention to the literate lives of racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse young people (Fisher, 2005; Skerrett, 2013). With this concern in mind, this study centralizes Chicanox students’ photographs and writing.

Photovoice as both literacy pedagogy and research method can generate pathways for educators who seek to bridge the social and political realities of students into their writing instruction (Zenkov & Harmon, 2009). Marquez-Zenkove and Harmon (2007) delineated the ways in which youths’ knowledge of visual texts, such as photographs, can provide both a window into adolescents’ dis/engagement with school and a multifaceted channel for teaching an appreciation for literacy. Van Horn (2008) argued that student-produced visual texts can motivate adolescents to engage more deeply in literacy assignments, and Johansen and Lee (2014) outlined the ways in which photographs can be used to explore cultural differences among diverse adolescents.

With deep roots in the dialogical ethics of Freire (1970), photovoice emerged as an approach to participatory research that cultivates humanization and an awareness of social conditions (Wang & Burris, 1997). Researchers in literacy have detailed the different forms of youth empowerment that can arise from photovoice projects, especially for students who have felt marginalized in school settings (Zenkov et al., 2012). When coupled with an ethnic studies course, photovoice can be a vibrant pedagogical practice and research methodology, as both seek to amplify critical dialogue and social change (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Moreover, a participatory arts-based method, such as photovoice, can be more representative of the affordances of ethnic studies courses than other modes of data collection because it centers the lens of the student—a lens that has a racialized gaze of the world, particularly for students of color. In (re)positioning marginalized students “from the periphery to the core” (Okihiro, 2014, p. 151), photovoice asks young people to respond to photographs that they have taken and elicits multiple openings for their description and explanation. In this context, students’ photovoice compositions about ethnic studies offer opportunities to expand our understandings of student literacy in more critical and diverse ways, as elucidated by NLS.

**Methods**

**Context**

This research is based on an ethnographic study of an 11th- and 12th-grade elective CLS course offered at a working-class high school in Southern California. The school reflected the surrounding neighborhood, a predominantly working-class Latinx immigrant community adjacent to a historical African American community on the north side. According to California Department of Education data, at the time of the study, the school demographics were 85% Latinx, 12% African American, and 3% undisclosed, and 72% of the student body received free or reduced-price lunch. Approximately 42% of the student body was classified as English learners, with Spanish as the primary language. Because the CLS course was an elective, many of the students enrolled in the class based on the reputation of both the class and the teacher, whereas others were enrolled by their counselors due to a lack of credits. The CLS course comprised first- and second-generation Chicanox students from immigrant households.

**Curriculum**

The yearlong CLS class examined notions of colonialism, hegemony, and racism in the United States and how they impact communities of color, particularly Chicanox and Latinxs. A veteran ethnic studies teacher, Mr. Miranda (all names are pseudonyms), devised and taught the course, which met daily for 55 minutes. Figure 1 is an outline of the curricular topics.

Upon learning about the dismantling of the Tucson Unified School District’s Mexican American Studies Program in 2010 and California’s statewide efforts advocating for ethnic studies, students sought to raise awareness and take action. Mr. Miranda facilitated a dialogue by asking students to articulate their understandings of the course and the perceived impacts that derived from their participation in it. Because of limited school resources, Mr. Miranda felt that a photovoice project was feasible, as it did not require specific software, and all of the participating students had personal smartphones available to them. Students were invited to take photographs that reflected their understandings of ethnic studies, themselves, and their communities in relation to colonialism, hegemony, and racism. Each student...
selected six pictures, below which they added their written narratives describing the photographs and their purpose. Students captured photographs of their communities, textbooks, cultural artifacts, clothing, families, friends, and selfies (e.g., youth-curated self-portraits made with a smartphone). Throughout the project, students answered the question, “What does ethnic studies mean to you?” with photographs and accompanying narratives. A single definition for ethnic studies was never demarcated for the students, as it is an academic field frequently in flux and responsive to colonized communities in the United States (Okihiro, 2016). The goal of the assignment was to raise awareness to stakeholders about the social exigencies of these literacy courses.

Upon submitting their photographs, students worked in small groups using school laptops to discuss their photographs. With their teacher, students revised their writing for clarity and syntax in one-on-one conferences during class.

**Data Collection and Analysis**

As a Chicana who was raised in the same community and formally taught at the school where this study took place, trustworthiness was established through prolonged knowledge and engagement with the school community. Data collection included semistructured interviews, participant observations, and students’ photovoice compositions. For this article, I selected three focal students at the end of the photovoice project to provide information-rich depth into students’ experiences with ethnic studies. The students were selected through criterion-based purposive sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) to include a range of linguistic proficiencies, immigration status, grade levels, and length of time in the United States. The perspectives of the three focal students reflect many of the sentiments of the participating students at large, including those who did not self-select themselves into the course.

**Findings**

The three findings outlined in this section dimensionalize what ethnic studies meant to the three focal youths and elucidate an overarching narrative of social action: the notion of self-determining one’s future, ethnic studies
as a practice of community change, and the development of racial literacies that contest structural racism.

**Self-Determining One’s Trajectory**

Schools rarely provide marginalized students with storytelling platforms to assert practices of autonomy and resistance, especially within standardized and Euro-American-centric teaching frameworks (Sleeter, 2005). For undocumented students, moreover, the invisibility and educational hardships that many of them face have been well examined (Gonzales, 2015). As an undocumented 12th-grade student, Beatriz had battled racist notions of worthiness and deservingness throughout her K–12 schooling. Part of her photovoice composition illuminated the ways in which the CLS course had helped her articulate her path in a dignified and humanizing way. As seen in Figure 2, Beatriz shows the statement on a T-shirt that she had attained while enrolled in the course.

In response to the photograph, Beatriz wrote,

Ethnic Studies is captured in the words of this picture. The message of my t-shirt is clear. We are students of color who will not bow down to the conventions that tie us down. We are people who have exceeded despite not having White or class privilege. We have been empowered by the knowledge gained in and from our communities and in our formal and informal education. Despite what we’ve been told, we deserve to be here. We have worked hard for our place at the universities we’ve been accepted to. I’ve learned that if we ever question ourselves, we know that it is our success that has brought us this far and our ancestors who had to endure overwhelming hardships for us to be here.

The carefully produced photograph, a close-up of her T-shirt, is a statement of Beatriz’s identity. Like her photograph, her words echo a sense of self-determination that counters dominant perspectives of what she, as a Chicana, has been told she would become. Her constant use of *we* is grounded in a sense of communal understanding of self: Her struggle for self-determination is intricately tied to those in her community. In Beatriz’s interview, she shared that she has long battled the “racist voices from media about who undocumented people are…what we can and can’t achieve” (personal communication, April 22, 2015). For Beatriz, the course fostered literacies that encouraged her to critically make choices based on her values and passions, one of which was flipping some of the dehumanizing narratives regarding college-bound undocumented students.

As seen in Figure 3, Beatriz’s classmate Miriam wrote in response to her own photograph, titled “Non-Selfie,”

![Figure 3: “Non-Selfie”](http://ila.onlinelibrary.wiley.com)

**Figure 2**

“Caution: Educated Student of Color”

Note. The color figure can be viewed in the online version of this article at http://ila.onlinelibrary.wiley.com.
One of the first things we learned in CLS was the concept of hegemony and how it hurts everyone. It creates unfair privileges and also degrades people through discrimination and false stereotypes. Not a lot of people understand its influence over them, but it is our job [as youths] to dispel these forces, and change people’s point of view through the knowledge and skillsets that we gain through Ethnic Studies courses. It is our job to act, educate and take charge of our future.

Miriam recognizes that the work of hegemony is precisely to define young people in a way that is harmful. Her photograph features a red balloon with drawn-in features that purposefully covers her face. Although the color red signifies a sense of vigilance, this image captures a dominant sentiment among youths of an overall lack of control. However, Miriam’s narrative speaks back to this representation of hegemony through the powerful act of agency and self-determination. Concurrently, NLS scholars have highlighted the power of studying literacy practices in the context of the social and material realities of which they are a part. Thus, Beatriz’s and Miriam’s descriptions underline the significance of taking control over their narratives and exhibit what Zenkov and Harmon (2009) argued, that engaging photovoice as literacy pedagogy often allows youths to write more readily and critically about the issues that matter to them.

**Community Change**

Students regularly defined ethnic studies as promoting a sense of accountability to their communities by responding to issues of social and racial injustice. Beatriz expressed that the CLS course led her and her classmates to “develop a sense of urgency to take action” (personal communication, April 12, 2015). Students’ accountability to their communities manifested through divergent approaches; whereas some were pressed to address issues of injustice in their own everyday actions, others addressed systemic injustices, such as raising awareness around state-sanctioned police violence.

Humberto discussed the intersectionality of race, class, and gender centralized in the CLS course and how it had changed his perception of the ways that women are treated in his home and community. His photograph, titled “Mujer” (woman), is a close-up picture of a young woman’s side profile. Humberto explained it in his accompanying paragraph:

This is a woman surrounded by “compliments.” I had never acknowledged how downgrading “catcalling” is for women. Through [CLS], I’ve come to see how real male privilege and sexism are. In many situations, women walk the streets feeling unsafe because of the acts and comments imposed by disrespectful men. As a heterosexual male, I’m privileged and I don’t have to regularly go through this but I am not proud of this privilege since “catcalling” is unacceptable and no one should have to experience that. This critical awareness is what these courses are all about.

In his interview, Humberto discussed that learning about the oppression of women, specifically Chicanas and Latinas, helped him see the ways in which women’s harassment is multilayered. He continued, “Chicanas have a double oppression or sometimes a triple one. Learning about intersectionality helped me see how I speak [to] and treat women, and how I don’t want to be part of systems that silence or harass them” (interview, April 22, 2015). Humberto articulated a meta-awareness of how he viewed himself as accountable to the wrong-ful subjugation of women. The notion of critical awareness and consciousness (Freire, 1970) is central to ethnic studies, as it is the first step toward humanizing literacies and social action.

Miriam regarded notions of accountability as responding to the numerous unjust killings of unarmed men of color. Upon analyzing the 2014 killing of black teenager Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, in class, students in the CLS class began to see their lives as inextricably tied with Brown’s and were inspired to raise awareness and take action. At her first Black Lives Matter march with other classmates, Miriam took a picture of the protest sign that she had made (see Figure 4).

Miriam elaborated:

Ethnic Studies raises our awareness about problems plaguing our community, like police brutality. We discussed and learned about the Michael Brown case and other local cases. There was a peace march for the victims of police brutality that I participated in. It was a memorable experience because it was the first time I ever did something like this and was empowering because it was among friends. We were there voicing our displeasures and peacefully demanding change in our society. At the end of the peace march we held a vigil for the families of those lost to police violence in our community. This was an emotional moment for everyone because we were united and bonding over a struggle that our community has been facing for some time. Seeing how my classmates were involved and actually interested in the things we learned in CLS and taking action (on our own) around those things outside of class, made me believe that even young people like us can be encouraged to do something that matters and that can care about injustice in the community.

Her photograph, an intentional close-up of her poster from the march, poignantly notes that she’ll “Probably Need This [again] Next Year!” In her
Miriam affirmed that she will likely continue to take action around police brutality in her community. She stated, “It’s sad that I’ll likely have to recycle this poster, but we can’t help but march” (interview, April 22, 2015). Furthermore, Miriam’s and Humberto’s emerging practices of accountability toward oppressed members of their community resonate with the awareness of power dynamics that NLS emphasizes.

Racial Literacies
Within the field of literacy, Sealey-Ruiz (2013) argued that racial literacy is a vital skill that centers conversations and writing around both the social construction of race and the perilous material realities of racism and moves individuals toward everyday acts of antiracism (Sealey-Ruiz & Greene, 2015). Through Mr. Miranda’s unit, he sought to support students’ racial literacy development by providing them with tools to not only articulate structural racial oppression but also ascertain what ethnic studies is and is not. Given the numerous attacks on ethnic studies and the ways that it has falsely been deemed as promoting racial separatism and hate, students aimed to demystify these assertions through their narratives.

Beatriz took a picture of a puzzle (see Figure 5). Her accompanying paragraph stated,

I had to wait a long time to feel this way—an impact that took nearly 12 years of school to feel this way. It should not be this way. Students of color should have racially empowering experiences and be “seen” well before our twelfth grade of school. This is what Ethnic Studies courses have to offer; it gives us the tools and terms to articulate where we stand. We learn to name and understand ourselves in the mix of it all. Life is a puzzle, and having an Ethnic Studies course helps us put the pieces together.

Beatriz’s photograph, the simple puzzle piece that reads “eye,” isolates the visual metaphor that emphasizes what ethnic studies means to her. Another metaphor that she uses through her language is the notion of life as a puzzle. To her, life feels as daunting as a puzzle; however, according to Beatriz, her ethnic studies course provided her with the critical eye and tools to assemble important pieces. Similarly, Miriam’s writing...
reverberated through Beatriz’s sentiments about the importance of being seen and heard in school. In response to a photograph of herself named “Selfie,” she clarified:

What we learn is not hatred toward others who have more privilege than us, but rather to have pride in our backgrounds, to respect it and to grow from it. With that, we are taught to appreciate other people’s heritages and struggles because just like theirs, we all deserve to be heard and seen. Through Ethnic Studies, we are able to discuss power, race and racism in a productive way for everyone.

In Beatriz’s interview, she expanded on her writing and shared, “It’s not about hatred. It’s also not just about learning our histories or reading authors that look like us. It’s about learning the terms to name and challenge systems of power that cause oppression” (interview, April 22, 2015). Comparably, Humberto’s narrative accompanying his close-up photograph of himself titled “Selfie” highlighted that

Ethnic Studies isn’t just learning about people of color’s cultures or histories. For a lot of us, we already know about our cultures. It’s about naming our communities’ lived experiences as forms of systemic racism and then working to end all forms of oppression.

Now more than ever, Beatriz’s, Miriam’s, and Humberto’s racial literacies are necessary as vile racism and hate crimes ascend after the 2016 U.S. presidential election (Okeowo, 2016). Moreover, the long-standing school practices of color blindness and race-neutral curricula continue to dehumanize all young people in our school systems.

Discussion
Inquiry that humanizes and engages marginalized students’ historical, cultural, and literacy resources (Morrell, 2008) is critical at a time when antiblack, anti-immigrant, and other xenophobic sentiments proliferate. New literacies work for Chicanx youths centralizes their literacies as social practice, particularly their literacies of racism, sexism, classism, and migratory status as central to a humanizing literacy education. Curricular and pedagogical projects aligned with this work accentuate the importance of the incorporation of young people’s lived experiences and decision making while simultaneously engaging in practices aimed toward academic empowerment.

As Delgado (2015) noted, “the subject of racial and ethnic relations is endemic to any serious discuss[ion] of urban youth photovoice” (p. 200). Literacy scholars Zenkov et al. (2012) argued that photovoice as a storytelling platform can foster critical thinking skills, empower literate identities, and diversify the process of creating and sharing narratives of (in)justice. Thus, this project invited students’ creativity to read and write their racialized social worlds, signifying the urgency for ethnic studies curricula and other forms of race-conscious inquiry in literacy classrooms.

Implications
Ethnic studies courses hold steadfast promise in building more decolonial, equitable, and humanizing visions of schooling, curricula, and literacy development in the 21st century (de los Ríos, 2016). A hallmark of ethnic studies is the notion that every individual is capable of self-determining and self-defining (Umemoto, 1989). Thus, although the creations of model ethnic studies curricula in California are noteworthy efforts, it is imperative to be cautious of models, as concepts such as self-determination cannot be standardized across communities and school contexts. Consequently, educators, regardless of whether one is able to create and implement an ethnic studies course, must continue to shape context-specific literacy curricula and pedagogy that are responsive to students’ histories, desires, and divergent relations with colonialism and racism.

TAKE ACTION!

1. Consider the multiple literacies (visual, digital, media, and more) that students already engage in and how they can be leveraged into classroom literacy activities.
2. To incorporate elements of photovoice, provide students with disposable cameras (or encourage the use of students’ smartphones, if available) and ask them to photograph things of significance from their course, school, and/or personal life.
3. Ask students to then select the four to six most significant photographs and write accompanying reflections prompted by their images, whether open-ended or explicitly engaging a prompt question. The goal is for students to engage their personal and academic identities or sociopolitical issues that are most important to them.
4. The aim is to better understand the social and political dimensions of students’ lives. (Delgado, 2015).
For teachers and researchers, photovoice as both a pedagogical and data collection method can serve as a complementary source for understanding the lives and concerns of students to the center of the classroom curriculum (Zenkov & Harmon, 2009) and honoring students’ reservoirs of knowledge to foster meaningful writing (Zenkov, Taylor, & Harmon, 2016). As a profession, we must continue to envisage curricular transformations for a racially diversifying world, especially as political discourses that sanction everyday forms of gender, ethnic, racial, and religious harassment and violence become increasingly commonplace. In both photovoice and ethnic studies, educators have analytical tools and dialogical frameworks to cultivate modalities of resistance to injustice and oppression.

REFERENCES


---

**MORE TO EXPLORE**


---

**ILA Gives You Choices!**


Consider Children’s Choices, Teachers’ Choices, and Young Adults’ Choices for curriculum planning and summer reading.

See all the lists at literacyworldwide.org/choices