

University of Wisconsin's extension program, formed under the presidency of Charles R. Van Hise, can be said to have its genesis in Chautauquan practices. In no small measure, Chautauqua prospered and waned because of its own success; the higher education ideas and practices of Chautauqua were carried on to other organizations and times and made huge reforms and initiatives in American higher education possible.

Chautauqua was as much an idea as it was a place. Its singular greatest achievement was its provision of learning for women who might never have participated in higher education. Chautauqua also provided a place for women to speak to mixed groups, a situation unheard of at that time. In giving women such as Susan B. Anthony a podium and a meeting place, it provided them with the impetus and the venue to organize for action around issues most directly affecting women's lives. It allowed them to stir up unrest and to advance causes such as temperance and an end to family violence.

—Leona M. English

See also Addams, Jane; Anthony, Susan B.; Social Gospel Movement; Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Women's Suffrage Movement

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CHÁVEZ, CÉSAR (1927–1993)

Cesário Estrada Chávez, cofounder of the United Farmworkers Union, is one of the most successful 20th-century labor organizers the Western hemisphere has known. Chávez was born March 31, 1927, on his family farm near Yuma, Arizona. For the first decade of his life, Chávez grew up in an adobe structure on the farm that his grandfather had homesteaded in the late 19th century. In 1937, as the result of depression-era economics, as well as drought and Anglo-American swindling, the Chávez family was forced from the farm and entered the "migrant stream." As a result of his new migratory lived experiences, Chávez quit school in 1942 following the eighth grade. He subsequently labored full-time in the field to supplement his family income. Although Chávez's narrative is not significantly unique, as many ethnic Mexicans endured similar racist and classist incidents, his resiliency and subsequent labor organizing mark him as one of the most significant figures of the organized labor movement.

Following their eviction from their familial lands, Chávez established permanent roots in the San José barrio Sal Si Puedes (translating as "Get Out If You Can") and traveled the San Joaquin migrant cycle. At age 17, looking for an alternative to his laborious circumstances, Chávez enlisted in the U.S. Navy. Although instilling a sense of "discipline" in Chávez, the events that transpired in the armed forces simply replicated those he experienced in civilian life. In fact, within both military and civil society, Chávez was expelled from restaurants and movie theaters for attempting to integrate into whites-only sections. In response to his horrific, albeit common, experiences as a racialized Mexican in the United States, Chávez undertook a life of radical civil service and union organizing.

Upon an honorable discharge from the navy, Chávez married Helen Fabela in 1948. Although only 21, the couple had already known each other for 5 years, meeting at a Mexicano/a maltshop, La Baratita, in Delano, California. Much like Chávez, Fabela also traveled the migrant circuit with her family and was required to renounce formal education to

economically assist her family. Together, Chávez and Fabela would have eight children.

One of the most significant events in Chávez's life occurred in 1952, when he met Fred Ross, an organizer with the Community Service Organization (CSO). The CSO was an association formed in Los Angeles to give Mexican Americans a political voice through voting. As a CSO organizer, Ross worked throughout southern California organizing Chicanos/as in their struggle for environmental and economic justice. Attempting to organize Chicanos/as in the San José area, Ross was directed to Chávez by a local priest. Following an apprehensive first meeting, Chávez volunteered for a CSO voter registration drive in East San José; Ross quickly became Chávez's friend and chief mentor. Working closely with Ross, Chávez organized more than 20 CSO chapters across California. Under the direction of Chávez, CSO enabled ethnic Mexicans access to their full rights as U.S. citizens, by way of voter registration drives, fighting police brutality, and improving public services in the barrio. Although initially Chávez worked as a volunteer for the CSO, he was hired full-time when Ross received money from Chicago-based radical organizer Saul Alinsky.

Not surprisingly, Chávez experienced an immense deal of red-baiting, even from within the Chicano/a community. On many occasions, particularly early on, Chávez was accused of being a Communist. Although Chávez embraced an unorthodox ideology, he always operated within a framework of reformation, whereas others within the Chicano/a movement espoused revolution. In the late 1960s, however, Chávez would be criticized by Chicano/a activists for not being radical enough. Either way, Chávez was a fervent believer in, and supporter of, the Roman Catholic Church, as well as popular Catholic praxis, which was often at odds with Marxist (particularly Leninist) doctrine. In fact, before entering into alliance with a Filipino/a farmworker strike, Chávez was so spiritually motivated that he put his faith in God to give him guidance.

In 1962, Chávez met resistance from CSO leadership about the prospects of working more closely with unions. In turn, Chávez resigned from his CSO appointment, closed the Los Angeles office where he had been working, and relocated to Delano, California. Along

with Gil Padilla and Dolores Huerta (collectively known as *los tres*), Chávez convened the first conference of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) in Fresno, California. The first project of the NFWA was to organize the *campos* between Arvin and Stockton—86 farmworker communities in all. Initially structured similar to other *mutualistas* (mutual-aid societies), with dues helping fund life insurance for members, the NFWA chose to avoid using the term *union* in its official moniker. While this aversion to identifying the NFWA as a union could be connected with his previous experiences of being red-baited, it was more likely a response to the social vision of Chávez. Unlike many mainstream unions, Chávez did not envision the NFWA simply as a working-class bureaucracy; rather, he believed that this organization formed the moral fiber for what he called *la causa* (cause) or *el movimiento* (movement): a self-determining movement where farmworkers would take control of their own lives. In this regard, Chávez was insistent on building a union from the bottom up. In other words, Chávez was committed to organizing at the site of struggle: in the fields, at workers' homes, and during "leisure" activities. These NFWA organizing strategies contrasted with the AFL-CIO affiliate Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), a top-heavy union, where white union-bureaucrats used ethnic Mexicans and Filipinos/as as "middle-men."

The first NFWA-supported *huelga* (strike) occurred in 1965 when workers on a McFarland, California, rose farm aligned with the union to ensure higher wages and rectify on-the-job problems. Through union pressure, the workers received their demands, and the NFWA was catapulted into larger and more difficult struggles. On September 16, 1965, the predominately Chicano/a NFWA joined the picket line with Filipino organizer Larry Itlong and AWOC grape workers in the Delano Grape Strike. This strike, lasting 5 years, put tremendous economic pressure on the union but projected "the fight in the field" into the national consciousness. Through direct action, the support of activist solidarity, the production of community-based art-making, and international media coverage, the farmworker struggle was on the lips of workers and politicians alike. Among the most significant supporters of Chávez and the *huelga* was

ex-Attorney General and U.S. Senator Robert Kennedy. On the night of his assassination, Kennedy had been with NFWA cofounder Dolores Huerta.

In 1966, following a 300-mile march from Delano to the state capitol in Sacramento, the NFWA negotiated a union contract with Schenley Vineyards. This contract was the historic first in the United States between a grower and agricultural workers. As this long-term strike persisted, AWOC and NFWA merged to form the AFL-CIO affiliated United Farm Workers (UFW). Shortly thereafter, DiGiorgio, another large grape grower, conceded to UFW stipulations and signed a union contract. However, even with individual union victories, Chávez remained firm, and beginning in 1967, the UFW called for a boycott of all California-grown table grapes. Supporters across North America rose in solidarity, boycotting non-union grapes. Artists, musicians, poets, and actors came to the aid of the union. El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworker Theater), organized in 1965 by Luis Valdéz, used Brechtian guerrilla theater as the medium to highlight the plight of the farmworker. Chávez knew the power of the arts in organizing workers and constructing support. As such, Chávez and the NFWA began publishing *El Malcriado*, the union newspaper, in 1965. The newspaper, initially published solely in Spanish, included English and Spanish editions and incorporated artworks by many of the most active Chicano/a artists and muralists of the period. Muralist Antonio Bernal painted a mural on the exterior of a union hall in 1968, and Carlos Almaraz painted a 16- by 24-foot mural for the 1972 UFW convention.

Following in the vein of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., Chávez advocated nonviolence and engaged in fasting as a way to cleanse his soul. As a very spiritual individual, Chávez combined Catholicism with direct action to produce a more just society. Still actively involved in UFW struggles, Chávez died in his sleep on April 29, 1993, at the home of an Arizona farmworker. Posthumously, Chávez was awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Clinton. Much like the spirit of union organizer Joe Hill, César Chávez can be found wherever there are farmworkers struggling to create a more just world.

—Dylan A. T. Miner

See also American Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO); Chicano Movement; Community Organizing; Farmworkers' Movement; Grape Boycotts; Guerrilla Theater; Pacifism

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CHÁVEZ, HUGO (1954–)

Since having been elected president of Venezuela in 1998, Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías has become an extremely contentious and polarizing figure both domestically and internationally. He was a charismatic and personalistic leader who appealed to those who felt as if they never before had had anyone in power who understood them, but he alienated the white power elite of which he was an outsider. To his opponents, his nationalistic and populist rhetoric was seen as authoritarian demagoguery that harmed Venezuela's economic growth and threatened political stability. For the poor, indigenous, and Afro-Venezuelan underclass who formed his base of support, Chávez represented their best hope for re-making a world that responded to their needs.

Chávez was born on July 28, 1954, the child of provincial school teachers. He became a career military officer, one of the few avenues for social advancement available to common people in Latin America, eventually rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In the military barracks, Chávez gained a political consciousness as he observed economic exploitation and racial discrimination. In 1983, with both military and civilian co-conspirators, Chávez formed the MBR-200 (Movimiento Bolivariano Revolucionario 200

GRAPE BOYCOTTS

During the early 1960s, there were two main farmworker organizations in California, the AFL-CIO affiliated Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) and National Farmworkers Association (NFWA). AWOC began organizing workers in 1959 under the leadership of Norman Smith and within 6 months, the union was chartered with the AFL-CIO. The NFWA, on the other hand, was founded by César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and Gil Padilla. *Los tres* (The Three), as they were called, envisioned the organization as a grassroots union that operated from the bottom up.

Nonetheless, when AWOC leader Larry Itliong and the predominantly Filipino AWOC membership called for a strike against local grape growers in Delano, California, the NFWA joined in solidarity. Within 2 weeks of the initial September 1965 walkout by the AWOC, the NFWA stood in *solidaridad* with cries of *huelga* (in solidarity with cries of the strike).

However, many viewed the AWOC and NFWA strike as an illegal action, as the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) disavowed farmworkers from the right to organize. According to this federal act, agricultural laborers were not allowed the same entitlements as industrial laborers. As such, local authorities were quick to respond to the strike through intimidation, violence, injunctions, and jail time.

Initially, NFWA organizers were against the grape strike as they were attempting a joint organizing campaign of citrus workers with Teamsters. In the end, the Grape Boycott lasted for 5 years, when the newly merged United Farmworkers Union (UFW, consisting of both the AWOC and the NFWA) signed a union contract with the grower Giumarra.

During the 5 years of the strike, supporters came from multiple perspectives to show their support for the striking workers. Among the most significant supporters of the Grape Boycott was ex-attorney general and U.S. Senator Robert Kennedy. Additionally, the United Auto Workers donated \$5,000 per month to aid the workers. Without such assistance, as well as that of other civic leaders, labor unions, church groups, and the student and Chicano movements, the Grape

Boycott may not have been nearly as successful as it was. In the same year that the strike began, Chicano dramaturge Luis Valdéz founded the Teatro Campesino (Farmworker Theater). The theater troupe produced dialogical Brechtian (Bertolt Brecht) theater in conjunction with the activities of the NFWA (and later UFW).

In the end, through the extensive public support of the strike and the widespread boycotting of nonunion table grapes, union farmworkers achieved their goals of higher wages and the right to collective bargaining. As the picket-line chant goes: *¡Sí, se puede!* (Yes, we can!).

—Dylan A. T. Miner

See also American Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO); Boycotts and Divestment; Brecht, Bertolt; Chávez, César; Chicano Movement; Farmworkers' Movement, Filipino American Activism; Kennedy, Robert F.

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GRAY PANTHERS

The Gray Panthers, founded by Maggie Kuhn in 1970, began as an action-oriented group of women who, outraged at being forced to retire at age 65, began to tackle big issues facing older Americans. Joining forces with Ralph Nader in 1973, the group zeroed in on fraudulent practices in the hearing aid industry. Unafraid to take on the White House, big business, and the media, the Gray Panthers called attention to black elderly needs and ageist stereotyping and

MURAL ART

Traditionally *art* has been viewed as an exalted form, accessible only to those with high social or economic status. This unambiguous, albeit false, assumption has resonance in the present function of contemporary art. By and large, museums remain reified sites to view privileged objects mostly produced in Europe (or Euro-America). Social historians of art have frequently noted the ethnocentric, gender, and class bias found in most museum collections. In contrast, mural art operates in opposition by allowing community control over public space. Moreover, murals frequently permit the (re)telling of marginalized or oppressed narratives. Unlike easel painting and other fine art techniques, which are entirely about the rarefaction of a single object, the largeness and site-specificity of murals separate them from elite traditions in Western art.

Early in the 20th century, murals, as *in situ* paintings, began to use their particularity of location as direct political messages to those citizens that frequently encountered them. The most recognized revolutionary use of murals—that is, their inclusion of overt political content—materialized in Mexico in the early 1920s when postrevolutionary Secretary of Education José Vasconcelos hired radical artists, such as Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco (known as “los tres grandes”), to paint the interior walls of public buildings. These murals, inside state-owned architectural space, allowed the competing views of the working and peasant classes (mostly indigenous and *mestiza/o*) to intermingle with those of the state. In fact, these revolutionary murals commenced the dialogical process between the regulations of the state apparatus and the desires of the popular classes.

It is this inter-class dialogue, evoked through visual means, that makes mural art so socially engaging and politically important. Following in the footsteps of los tres grandes, murals have played an extraordinary role within global anti-colonial and civil rights movements. In the United States, community murals played an integral part in the black, American Indian, and

Chicana/o movements toward self-determination. Artists such as William Walker, Ray Patlán, and Mario Castillo were active in the Midwest, while collectives such as Mujeres Muralistas and Artes Guadalupanes de Aztlán were producing murals in the Southwest. Likewise, muralism and community art-making performed a fundamental function in the 1979 Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. Many artists demonstrated solidarity for this movement by forming “mural brigades” and traveling to Central America to create public art.

—Dylan A. T. Miner

See also Chicano Movement; Farmworkers' Movement; Graffiti Art; Mexican Muralists; Poster Art; Rivera, Diego

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MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna, the Muslim Brotherhood, also known as Muslim Brothers, or Muslim Brethren, is one of the most influential modern Islamic movements. Its name is derived from the verse of Qur'an stating that Muslims are nothing but brothers, and as this name suggests, the movement's major objective is to maintain unity and create a sense of brotherhood among Muslim fellows.

Although it has a well-operating organizational structure and detailed membership procedures, because of its broad social base, activist character, and openness to virtually every Muslim, it should be regarded as a movement, or a society, rather than a