Refiguring Digital Landscapes: Online Pedagogical Hubs of Indigenous Latinx Youth

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Educational literature has long rendered invisible Indigenous Latinx youth in favor of a monolithic discourse of Latinidad (Chón et al. 135). For example, being grouped by nationalities (i.e. Mexican or Guatemalan) or as pan-ethnic identities (i.e. Hispanic or Latinx) does not fully express Indigenous peoples' cultural breadth, experiences, and languages throughout Latin America (Blackwell et al. 1). As such, many Indigenous Latinx migrants bring with them traditions, epistemologies, and family histories that they embrace and sustain through multiple avenues, or what Boj Lopez considers mobile archives of Indigeneity (Boj Lopez 202). In this paper, we focus on educational spaces created on social media, particularly through Instagram pages, where Indigenous Latinx youth actively engage in discourses of Indigeneity, borderlands, and colonialism. Additionally, we situate Instagram as a site of pedagogical depth that Indigenous Latinx youth deploy as co-curricular building projects.

Through our own praxis as educators, we came to the realization that the "traditional curriculum" actively misrepresents, distorts, and erases narratives and discourses of marginalized Communities of Color (Au et al. *Reclaiming the multicultural roots* 13). Particularly, Indigenous Latinx youth[1] continue to be overlooked within whitestream curricula (Grande 211). Oftentimes, the experiences of Indigenous Latinx youth, their cultural and spiritual practices, relationships to Land, languages, and histories are misrepresented and conflated with the projects of mestizaje and Latinidad (Chon et al. 137). In other words, *mestizaje,* which translates to "racial mixture", and the pan-ethnic construction of Latinidad have served and continue to serve as a program of racial whitening through an attempt to eliminate both the Indigenous present and their proximity

to Blackness (Blackwell et al. 131; Urrieta and Calderón 146). We find it imperative that representations of Indigenous peoples and their knowledges are not only included in school curricula, but critically engaged with to challenge static notions of Indigeneity, the continued settler colonial project, and the relegation of Indigenous people to a colonial past. Too often, these discourses are deeply embedded within the settler colonial project of schooling and found even in multicultural, bilingual, or ethnic studies curricula that seek to be more inclusive of their multicultural students[2]. As Smith, Tuck, and Yang argue, this is not only about the creation of culturally responsive materials (Paris 94) but positioning "education as the vehicle for sustaining cultural knowledges that have otherwise been targeted for extinction" (*Indigenous and decolonizing* xvi). Thus, we examine Instagram posts and the related threads to analyze the ways Indigenous Latinx youth are creating learning landscapes outside of the traditional classroom through their own online pedagogical "hubs".

We deploy Critical Latinx Indigeneities (Blackwell et al. 128) to make sense of an Instagram post shared by @newaumata who identifies as Quechua-Aymara and whose post is titled "Detribalized, Reconnecting, Indigenous: Further Debunking Attacks to 'Latinx' Reindigenization" and the various user responses to the post who actively participated in *refiguring* the conversation by nuancing, situating, and contemplating the overall premise of the post, which was mestizo/Latinx "reindigenization" through reclamation of an Indigenous identity. Given that these IG users are from geographically different places, they interpret, understand, and further navigate Indigeneity, Latinidad, and migration in distinct ways. CLI encourages us to look at the ongoing and "multiple contexts of power and multiple colonialities" (Blackwell et al. 128) as they relate to Indigenous Latinx migrants to the U.S. and how these migrations, most often due to political and economic violence, are in turn fostering critical discourse on the nuances of hemispheric Indigeneity. Thus, given the geographical difference between the various Instagram account users, we extend the conversation of CLI to include nuances on how systems of

borderization can and do create contested "North and South" Indigenous narratives (Guidotti-Hernandez, *Unspeakable Violence* 19) via online interfaces. The account users draw on place-specific critiques of coloniality and Latinidad in relation to various borderlands and local scales, as they engage each other's epistemic positions.

In this paper, we do not align with a single narrative about who is, or is not Indigenous, but more so create an opportunity to witness how Instagram has and is a generative site of pedagogical co-creation, a move we call *refiguring digital landscapes*. We define *refiguring digital landscapes* as digital spaces of dialogue, where Indigeneity is in motion and actively being (re)articulated and contested. Meighan details that a digital landscape is a "rapidly evolving landscape and influential proliferation of digital and online technologies in the past three decades since the creation of the World Wide Web in 1989" (398). Importantly, we also align with Meighan and how Indigenous people have been decolonizing the digital landscape beyond the coloniality of borders and against linguistic barriers (402). We view these re/articulations and contestations of multiple Indigeneities for different people, by Indigenous people, as part of refiguring the digital landscape.

In thinking through this concept, we pay close attention to what Caranto Morford and Ansloos describe as Land-based cyber-pedagogy, or the pedagogy that occurs in cyberspace where Indigenous people create digital-land-based connections through twitter (and other platforms) that reinforce their relationships to place and Land (297). Of key importance is also the specificity of *transnationality* within cyber Land-based pedagogies as Caranto Morford and Ansloos ask in the context of language revitalization "what happens to local land-based obligations when language revitalization movements are located within transnational digital ecologies like Twitter?" (301). Additionally, Duarte also acknowledges the transnational capacities of social media by detailing how the Zapatistas led a transborder and transnational grassroots anti-neoliberal movement (C*onnected Activism* 3). Cyber Land-based pedagogies

encourage us, then, to consider how digitality is implicated by transnational political, cultural, and pedagogical circuits.

By focusing on Instagram and paying particular attention to borderizations through a CLI framework, this paper suggests three key components: 1) how users from differing Indigenous territories can provide nuances on Latinidad and Indigeneity based on their own experiences 2) complicate the way in which settler colonialism (as an ongoing process) is interpreted within multiple geographic contexts 3) map the way that CLI is enacted via online interfaces. Indigenous Latinx youth are re-territorializing (Wilson et al. 3) social media to center their lived experiences, migrations, and diasporic knowledges since traditional education and schooling often fail to provide these pedagogical opportunities. Through *refiguring digital landscapes*, Indigenous youth are actively establishing robust digital worlds that—although they can be in contestation—foster a depth of epistemological and ontological importance.

Latinidad & Indigeneity

Due to substantial scholarly work within Latinidades and Indigeneity, we will provide only a brief overview of the tensions that arise within the discourses of these terms, especially when Latinidad and Indigeneity are contextualized within emergent conversations. According to Urrieta and Calderón Indigeneity gets submerged, complicated, and engulfed by entanglements of Latinidad, as illuminated through their concept of Latinized entanglements (168). Put differently, Indigeneity becomes contentious because of the entanglements that Latinidad upholds as a pan-ethnic discursive construction that subsumes the possibilities of different worldings of Indigenous subjectivities. As a consequence, Latinidad upholds and contributes to settler colonial logics that are embedded within modalities of Latino/a, Hispano/a, and Chicano/a as pan-ethnic formations that can quickly be conflated with transnational formations and the tensions that often surround these.

Given the complex settler colonial and neoliberal histories that circulate hemispherically within Latin America and the U.S., an influx of migrations tends to follow suit due to state-sanctioned violence, illegal occupation of Indigenous territories, and racialized social hierarchies (Barajas 54; Urrieta, 2016, 162; Calderón 25). Education is neither benign nor innocent within these dynamics since many of the Latinx Indigenous youth and children that eventually migrate to the U.S. will attend school or receive some type of schooling services (Casanova 61; Calderón and Urrieta 232; Casanova et al. 200). As Alberto delineates, "seemingly beneficial projects such as education and health reform became sites of erasure of Indigenous knowledges and languages" (249) as schools reproduce settler futures (Tuck and Gatztimbide-Fernández 76) as they create multicultural narratives (i.e. melting pot) that construct the U.S. as a land of immigrants, free of Native sovereignty (Urrieta and Calderon 163). Although Indigeneity is constituted within various matrices of differentiability because of layered colonialities (Blackwell et al. 132), Latinx Indigenous migrants do not cease to be Indigenous upon their multiple migrations but do become situated within a transnational Indigenous diaspora in which they come to occupy other geographies of Indigeneity (Boj Lopez 215). In other words, "mobility is creating translocal Indigenous social worlds and transregional ways of being by exploring how socio-spatial relations are being reorganized in relation to Indigeneity, gender, and migration" (Boj Lopez 157).

As a response to these historical formations of Latinidad, Hispanidad, Chicanismo and Indigeneity, the terrain of Indigeneity itself has come to certain contestations on the politics of "authenticity" (Cotera and Saldaña-Portillo 553; Urrieta, 2017, 259). For example, Chicanismx and Chicanx studies has not necessarily taken into account the complexities and ongoing processes of settler colonialism because this would mean disrupting key dimensions of Chicanx political subjectivity such as the mythical land claim of Aztlan which occupies already existing Indigenous territories, in favor of a more palatable Indigenismo (Pulido 527; Wolfe 388). Furthermore,

Chicanx indigenismo differs in purpose since it relies on a romanticized Aztec past through the conception of Aztlan's mythical territory as the origin of Chicanx Indigeneity. Essentializations thus can emerge because of this latching onto in/authentic indigenous purity based on the preservation and reclamation of traditions and cosmologies. Even though these traditions are recreated and reimagined, they still rely on constructed dichotomies of what is in/authentic Indigeneity. These essentializations then construct an "authentic/inauthentic" dichotomy of Indigenous cultures and identities in which they are seen as cacophonous, or discordant and competing representations, that often rely on binaries within colonialist systems (Byrd, *The transit of empire* 44; Urrieta, 2017, 256). Latinized entanglements (Urrieta and Calderón 168) are therefore contingent upon the disappearance of the Indigenous through cultural purity and legal precarity. This section is not meant to be exhaustive, but it informs our entry into the complicated interactions between youth in terms of Indigeneity. Although we do not argue for a singular definition of Indigeneity, these scholars allow us to actively situate the discursive tensions that youth are complicating within their Instagram exchanges about Indigeneity, Latinidad, and Chicanismo.

Indigenous Digitality

In the rapid age of emerging digital landscapes, youth are and continue to be immersed in these rapidly altering technological interfaces. Specifically, there has been generative scholarship that highlights Indigenous-technological relations and the way in which many Indigenous people maintain cultural connection, are sociopolitically active, and subvert the ongoing processes of colonization (Duarte, *Network Sovereignty* 15). For example, Ansloos and Morford draw from #NativeTwitter to describe language efforts of Indigenous people on Twitter as they engage in storywork within a social ecology and, importantly, how these Indigenous twitteratures are in fact technologies themselves (54). Social media and technology are powerful tools that have shaped, and continue to shape, political and social movements as evident during the Standing Rock

Movement, or #NoDAPL, where the Sioux people actively documented their transgression against a pipeline on their traditional territories by sharing their experiences transnationally to garner solidarity and support (Wilson et al.1). However, this is not to say that digital platforms, cyber space, and other technologies are benign or not implicated within structures of settler colonialism, anti-Black racism, and surveillance. In her critical work, Safiya Noble describes how search engines like Google are algorithmic in their anti-Black racism, a term that she puts forth as technological redlining (Noble, *Algorithms of Oppression* 1). Additionally, Noble argues that digital technologies are interwoven with power relations that expand transnationally, globally, and hemispherically (Noble, *Algorithms of Oppression* 171) with the outcome being that digital technologies and social media literature can often create a discourse that digitality is incomprehensible with Indigeneity (Menjívar and Chacón 8).

Although these realities persist, social media and Indigenous-based technologies do have the potential for Indigenous resurgence agendas of language, culture, and knowledge (Wemigwans, *A digital bundle* 2). Indigenous people strategically deploy social media practices to re-territorialize social media for Indigenous survivance and futurities (Wilson et al. 3) even though social media is in fact implicated within circulatory transits of coloniality and neoliberalism. The usage of social media is not new within Indigenous communities, and it was in fact Indigenous people from the state of Chiapas, Mexico who ushered in the utility of global technological activism. Organized under the name Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), or commonly known as the Zapatista movement, Indigenous people in Southern Mexico mobilized and used the internet as a tool for hemispheric solidarity to make known their fights against the nation-state of Mexico (Garrido and Halavais 165). Although the Zapatistas have been cited as the first social movement to deploy digital tactics for global mobilizing, it took years for academic literature to describe the depth of this social organizing (Duarte, C*onnected Activism* 4). As Duarte in C*onnected Activism* explains "while Chicana/o studies scholars recognised a familiar

approach to Mexican-state Indigeneity, it took a while for some strictly US and Canada-based Native studies scholars to allow for this new brand of Indigenous discourse to shape what would eventually become a stronger Native and Indigenous critique of neoliberal and neo-colonial approaches to globalisation and settlement" (4). Thus, what is imperative to delineate is the digital contributions that emerged from Indigenous people from the "Global South" that has influenced contemporary technological and cyberspace activism. Indigenous people are avid users of social media, such as Facebook and Instagram, however, few studies have focused on the impact of social media within Indigenous communities because of the perception that Indigenous people are technology-less, are not interested in participating in online environments, or should not participate because of technologies' neoliberal underpinnings (Duarte 2).

Towards Refiguring *Digital Landscapes*

As this special issue calls for learning experiences of Indigenous people through/with technology and social media, we approach this topic as education scholars and how social media and digital landscapes shape, transform, and nuance learning and knowledge. In this essay, we "refigure digital landscapes" to quite literally mean the way in which Indigenous Latinx youth learn through and with a reterritorialization (Wilson et al. 3) of Land relations through the creation of online pedagogical "hubs". We draw inspiration from the concept of a "hub" to mean a geographical, visual, and, we add, a *pedagogical* concept that suggests "how landless Native Americans maintain a sense of connection to their tribal homelands and urban spaces through participation in cultural circuits and maintenance of social networks, as well as shared activity with other Native Americans in the city and on the reservation" (Ramirez, *Native hubs* 3). These online pedagogical "hubs" have also invited us to consider how we ourselves participate and are implicated in these ongoing learning landscapes of Indigenous subjectivity.

Furthermore, these digital landscapes are a culmination of pedagogical "hubs" that youth participate in to unsettle static notions of Indigeneity and fortify Land relations. Although fortifying Land relations may seem paradoxical to some, Indigenous people are indeed participating in Land-based education, pedagogy, and curriculum within digital environments (Caranto Morford and Ansloos 303). As Caranto Morford and Ansloos delineate, "online learning is not inevitably disconnected from analogue space and place. The ability to connect with one's homeland through digital means has particularly transformative potential for Indigenous language learners who do not have physical access to their homelands and, thus, must learn from afar" (302). Thus, we align with Caranto Morford and Ansloos's articulation of digital Land-based pedagogies.

We also deploy *refiguring* from Nxumalo's concept of refiguring presences which states "a methodology of refiguring presences, as a way to creatively grapple with, interruptively respond to, as well as work through the doubts, complicated frictions, discomforts, knots and silences that... throw up in research and practice" (641). Although Nxumalo articulates refiguring presences in terms of early childhood and environmental education and their everyday anti-colonial encounters, refiguring is attuned to the "complicated frictions" and "discomforts" that an emerging digital landscape situate. Refiguring is therefore a process of co-creation in which millennial knowledge is shared, but also challenged and nuanced into new figurations or co-labored and relational co-understandings; thus, although the examples we provide in this piece are not always in alignment with each other, it is precisely these conflicting viewpoints from Indigenous Latinx people that further extend our understanding of colonialism, Land, Indigenous subjectivities, and digitality.

Theoretical Frameworks

The two theoretical frameworks that we employ are the concept of the "hub" (Ramirez, *Native hubs* 11) and Critical Latinx Indigeneities (Blackwell et al.126). We envision critical community building through virtual cartographic and geopolitical "hubs" (Ramirez, *Native hubs* 11) that make visible the ways that Indigenous Latinx youth attend to issues of power, privilege, and oppression. Ramirez presents the "hub" as a "cultural, social, and political concept" (*Native hubs* 3) with transformative possibilities for Native and Indigenous identity as well as political power. Additionally, we draw from Critical Latinx Indigeneities (Blackwell et al. 126) as a conceptual framework to situate how Indigenous Latinx youth are using Instagram platforms to analyze multiple and contested registers of Indigeneity. To further complicate these socio-political territories, CLI provides a lens to engage with the often contested and conflicting terrain of Indigeneity and Latinidad that must be attuned to overlapping colonialities (Blackwell et al. 129).

Critical Latinx Indigeneities, or CLI, is dedicated to reflecting how Indigeneity constructions are constituted through and across multiple countries, spatial-temporal logics, overlapping colonialities, shared geographies, assertions of authenticity, and what is referred to as the cacophonous (Alberto 252; Blackwell et al. .129; Blackwell 157; Byrd, *The transit of empire* 44). Specifically, the cacophonous connotes the often discordant and contentious configurations of in/authentic representations of Indigeneity through the pervasive binarisms produced and reinforced through (settler)colonial systems (Byrd, *The transit of empire* as cited in Urrieta, 2017 256). This is especially so in the migratory processes of Indigenous peoples from Latin America, who have/are often plagued by this hegemonic imaginary; that once they migrate, they cease to exist as Indigenous. Critical Latinx Indigeneities makes a key intervention, as this theoretical maneuver suggests that although Indigenous migrants from Latin America are indeed settling (and are therefore settlers) on other Indigenous Land, there are co-constitutive relationships between

Indigenous migrants and the capacities of power of the colonial empire that must be accounted for (Blackwell et al. 127).

Ramirez provides a useful theoretical tool to engage with the complexities of Land, Native and Indigenous identity, and pedagogy. The "hub", as Ramirez argues, is a geographical and visual concept that suggests "how landless Native Americans maintain a sense of connection to their tribal homelands and urban spaces through participation in cultural circuits and maintenance of social networks, as well as shared activity with other Native Americans in the city and on the reservation" (*Native hubs* 3). In this sense, hub-making becomes a multidimensional process that involves re-membering, negotiating relations with diaspora and transnationalism, and situated within multiple configurations of citizenship. We argue that online spaces are constitutive spaces in which these hubs can and do manifest, especially conversations about Indigeneity within diaspora, cultural reclamation, and multiple meanings of citizenship. As stated previously, we are encouraged to think of these "hubs" as a pedagogical endeavor that relates to the reconfiguration of an Indigenous learning landscape.

Methods and Methodology

Between late 2019 and early 2023 we engaged with numerous Instagram accounts and materials that were curated towards Indigenous people of Latin America. We position our methodological approach through digital ethnography which consisted of engaging with fifteen Instagram accounts that we identified as examples of content relating to issues of Indigenous people from Latin America. Although there are many instances of pedagogical hub-making on Instagram, we were particularly interested in pedagogical hubs where Instagram users created an online space, or better yet refigured the digital landscape, to invite or engage a multitude of perspectives. Many of the accounts were curated for a specific purpose and oftentimes they were separate from their own personal Instagram accounts, which is indicative of the purposeful

creation of these pedagogical hubs. For example, some of the Instagram accounts would post and repost certain content while providing an in-depth opinion within the caption on whatever they were addressing. This could range from reposting content from a different page about Indigenous language revitalizations in Mexico, to specifically creating a post to address a contesting perspective on what it means to reclaim an Indigenous identity for those who are from Latin America.

As noted, we decided to highlight one post (from a series of two) from @newamauta a Quechua-Aymara Instagram user which underscores arguments about Indigenous authenticity, mestizaje, and migration in relation to Latin America. We purposefully disclose the username because the user detailed in their caption on the second post of the series (we engaged with the first post) that the posts were a gift. They state "This is the sequel to my guide on debunking [arguments] against detribalized/reconnecting Natives! Any and all arguments are yours to use, copy, cite, repeat, etc. It is a gift from a Quechua-Aymara to all the detribalized and reconnecting Indian siblings out there! 🌎 Wajmanta anchata agradekuykichej masisniy! 🏔" (@newamauta). Framing the post as of *gift*, in many ways, speaks to Wemigwans' provocation of digital bundles—sacred, community-based, and digital artifacts that must be cared for and respected (35). As recipients of this gift, we carefully enter the pedagogical hub and situate ourselves as both learners and witnesses of the knowledge that is unfolding within the interactions of the post.

The ethics of digital ethnography are critical to address, as Smith reminds us that research has/continues to have a tumultuous and imperial relationship with Indigenous communities (44). Digital ethnography must be attuned to the shapeshifting nature of digitality that prompts questions of ethics, power, and coloniality. For example, Carlson and Frazer demonstrate how Indigenous social media users affectively sense a "settler gaze" best described as a digital

panopticon where their interactions are continuously implicated within broader power relations (8). Through a Native feminist perspective and drawing from Indigenous onto-epistemologies of Land as kin, reinterpreting cyberspace through relationality reframes "cyberspace as a place where Indigenous people can assert digital stewardship… Indigenous peoples earmark domains for sustaining and creating cultural (technological) protocol while guarding against others" (Cordes 287). Making sense of cyberspace as affectual and effected by the settler gaze and weaving in digital Indigenous feminist critiques necessitates certain protocols we must be conscientious of which includes our own positions as authors engaging in digital ethnographic methods. We as authors come from a variety of intersections of identity which includes Indigenous, queer, Indigenous Latinx, diasporic, and migrant amongst many more. For the scope of this article, we purposefully do not engage with the posts via responding but instead enact ethnographic witnessing as our means of engagement with the Instagram posts. In other words, we look through the already forming pedagogical hubs given two of the authors, Pablo Montes and Judith Landeros, are avid users of Instagram and engage in pedagogical formations elsewhere. However, for this particular pedagogical hub, we do not post because we feel as if this article highlights how people form these online learning spaces where a larger audience is invited to think with the content.

The comment section of the post was a particularly interesting space as this is where we encountered generative (yet contentious) discourses on Indigenous issues. However, we recognize that there are ethical considerations to contend with as we consider engaging in digital ethnography analyzing Instagram posts and the comments section. Therefore, we have completely anonymized all commenters on the post by obscuring their profile picture and their username. We do so because we have not garnered consent from these users, and we feel that anonymizing, although imperfect, is the most appropriate step. We also acknowledge that regardless of if we

anonymize the users, there is still a sense of traceability through the original post and we hope that through this recognition, we can move towards respectful and careful analysis.

In similar respects to Bonilla and Rosa's argument of how hashtags on Twitter are a field site (sites of analysis), we also draw on this methodology to situate how Instagram accounts, the comment section, and re-posts can be interpreted in similar, yet distinct, ways. Specifically, Bonillas and Rosa argue that "recognizing hashtags can only ever offer a limited, partial, and filtered view of a social world does not require abandoning them as sites of analysis. Rather, we must approach them as what they are: entry points into larger and more complex worlds" (7). Aligning with this sentiment, we position the perspectives collected and presented in this article as not necessarily representative of Indigenous Latin America, but an entry point of interpretation of what Indigenous Latinx youth are contemplating both transnationally and locally. Attuning to these differing perspectives, and rejecting the urge for coherency and linear thinking, we can begin to create a relatively rigorous Indigenous perspective (Wemigwans, *A digital bundle* 46). In this respect, we situate ourselves as *guests* entering the pedagogical hub and hold the conversation in honorable and careful ways as "digital bundle" would encourage us we do (Wemigwans, *A digital bundle* 36).

We originally decided to focus on two Instagram pages for the purpose of this research. Since then, however, we became aware of sexual assault allegations of one of the Instagram users and in good conscience, we could not amplify this person's platform knowing that violence and harm have been inflicted. In alignment with ethnographic refusal (Tuck and Yang 225) we agreed to not include the original posts and shift our analysis to another pedagogical hub. As Tuck and Yang describe "refusal, and stances of refusal in research, are attempts to place limits on conquest and the colonization of knowledge by marking what is off limits, what is not up for grabs or discussion, what is sacred, and what can't be known" (225). Although our refusal of

"what is not up for grabs or discussion" required a reorientation of the paper, the theoretical architecture of this piece remained.

To continue with our analysis, we decided to both revisit the Instagram accounts and materials that we had originally gathered and search for more recent posts in late 2022 and early 2023. We specifically looked through Instagram accounts that posted relatable content on Indigeneity, Latinidad, Ch/Xicanismx[3], etc. Many of the pages were accounts that we ourselves engaged with, however, through the accounts that we follow we were able to sift through the "following" tab on their account in order to find other pages that posted similar content. We assembled posts such as images, memes, gifs, videos, quotes, reposts, and conversation threads. Subsequently, we archived, analyzed, and coded the posts and threads to further understand how Indigenous Latinx youth connect and participate with others. Our coding approach was based on how youth engaged discourses of Indigeneity, Land, settler colonialism, and borderizations. Our methods were guided by a digital ethnography approach (Kaur-Gill & Dutta 2) which consisted of analyzing, reflecting, and discussing the posts and emerging codes amongst the three authors. The posts and conversation threads that we examined were gathered during our search on Instagram and circling back to Bonilla and Rosa, we first and foremost position these conversations as both temporally situated yet generative as sites of analysis.

Discourses of Authenticity, Indigenous Identity, and Im/migration by Indigenous Latinx Youth on Instagram

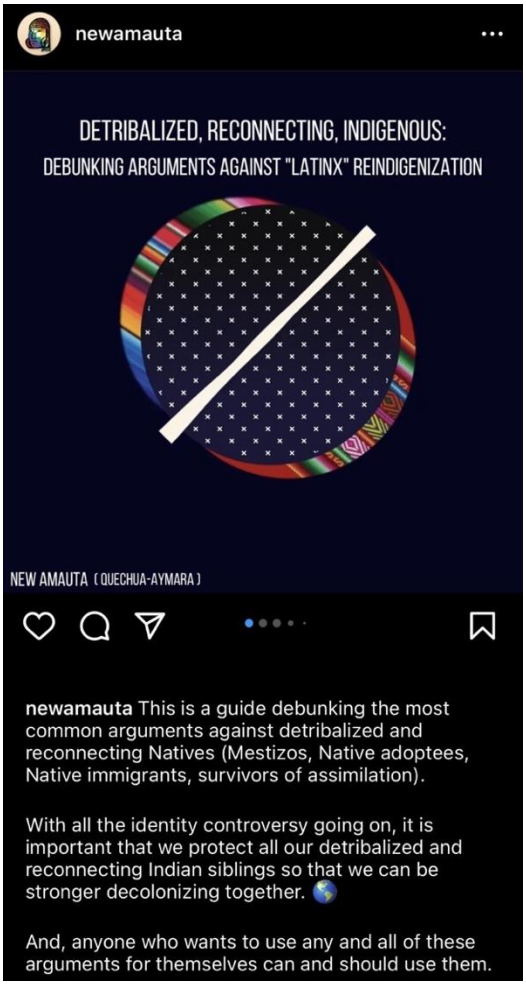
We encountered many compelling conversations on Instagram that addressed the question of "who is considered Indigenous?" and even more importantly "*how and when* is one considered Indigenous" within the context of Latin America and Indigenous people from Latin America who are born in or have immigrated to the United States (Chón et al.,136). The discourses that surfaced grappled with the multiple and competing iterations of Indigeneity, colonialism, and

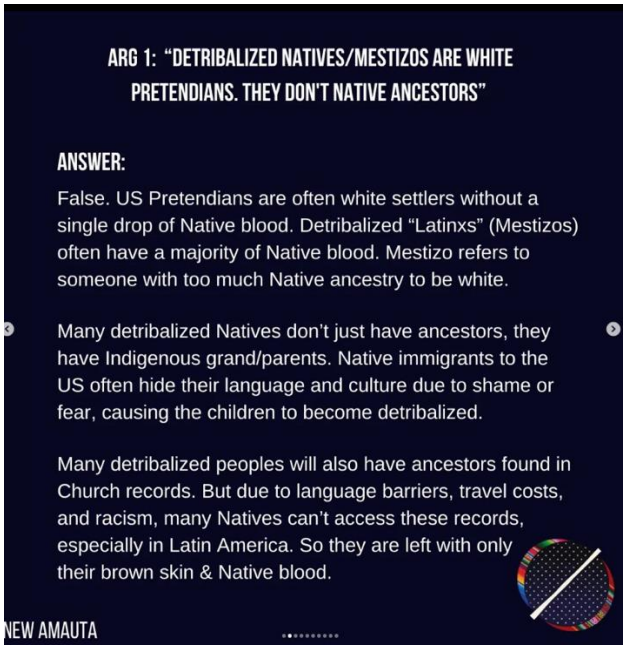
Latinidad, prompted by an original post and the commentary that followed by other users. Ultimately, we highlight how these interactions between users, the original post, and further commentary invite us to *refigure* these digital interactions as more than exchanges made in social media, toward a *digital landscape* that is embedded within pedagogical and curricular importance by opening possibilities for other Instagram users to create a tapestry of knowledge and story sharing. Importantly, *refiguring digital landscapes* opens the possibilities for these interactions to serve as online pedagogical hubs where questions of Indigeneity, Land, migration, and Latinidad are forefronted.

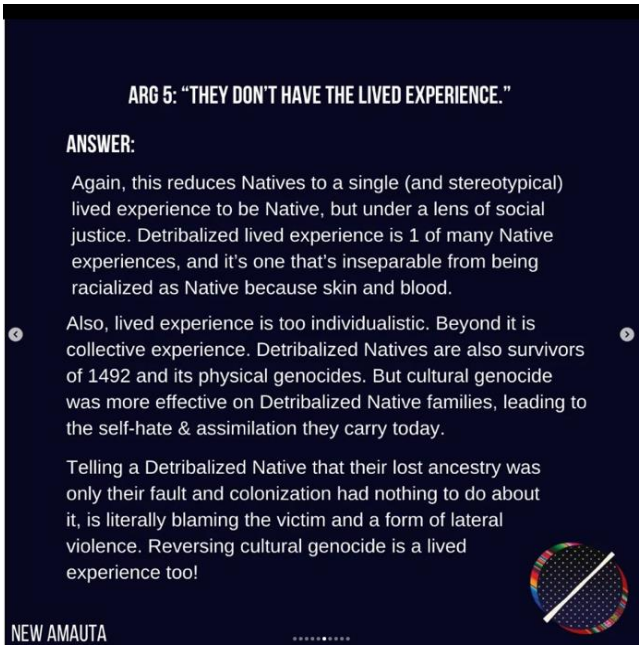
Although online pedagogical hubs can be generative, this should not imply that all pedagogical hubs are benign and amiable. That is to say, pedagogical hubs are also filled with tension, vehement disagreement, and sometimes blatant disrespect. We also fully acknowledge that although we identify the following interactions as pedagogical hubs, users may not necessarily see them as such, especially if they are commenting in stark disagreement. The question of "*Who* is it pedagogical for?" is imperative to consider, especially as we are engaging in the discourse in an adjacent manner since we do not comment or reply to any of the users or on the original post. Consequently, the online pedagogical hub should not be considered an always cordial formation, but through the tension we can also find the pedagogical depth of the discourse.

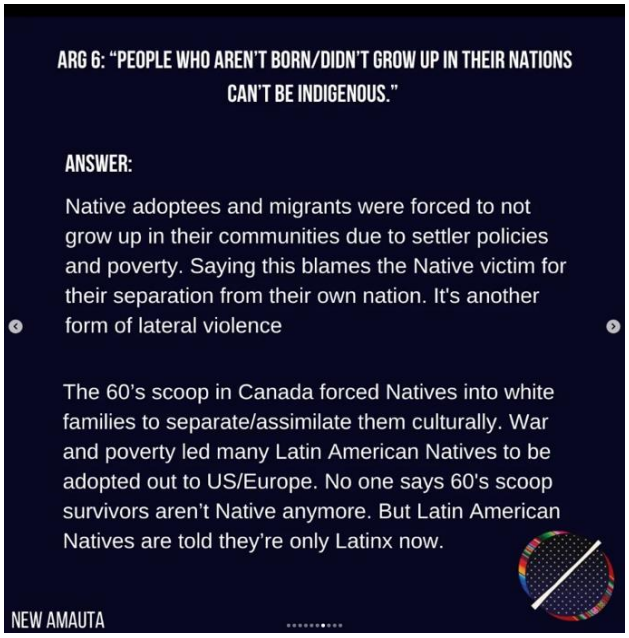
The post that is shared below is from a Quechua-Aymara account titled "Detribalized, Reconnecting, Indigenous: Further Debunking Attacks to 'Latinx' Reindigenization" which already suggests the post will discuss the contentious issue of Latinx and Mestizx claims to Indigenous identity. Instagram has the option to post multiple pictures in a series through the multi-post option, which the following user deployed. We highlight four out of the ten arguments they posted below.

Figure 1: Post by IG user on Detribalized Latinx People and "Reindigenization"




ARG 1: "DETRIBALIZED NATIVES/MESTIZOS ARE WHITE PRETENDIANS. THEY DON'T NATIVE ANCESTORS"
ANSWER:
False. US Pretendians are often white settlers without a single drop of Native blood. Detribalized "Latinxs" (Mestizos) often have a majority of Native blood. Mestizo refers to someone with too much Native ancestry to be white.
Many detribalized Natives don't just have ancestors, they have Indigenous grand/parents. Native immigrants to the US often hide their language and culture due to shame or fear, causing the children to become detribalized.
Many detribalized peoples will also have ancestors found in Church records. But due to language barriers, travel costs, and racism, many Natives can't access these records, especially in Latin America. So they are left with only their brown skin & Native blood.
NEW AMAUTA


ARG 5: "THEY DON'T HAVE THE LIVED EXPERIENCE."
ANSWER:
Again, this reduces Natives to a single (and stereotypical) lived experience to be Native, but under a lens of social justice. Detribalized lived experience is 1 of many Native experiences, and it's one that's inseparable from being racialized as Native because skin and blood.
Also, lived experience is too individualistic. Beyond it is collective experience. Detribalized Natives are also survivors of 1492 and its physical genocides. But cultural genocide was more effective on Detribalized Native families, leading to the self-hate & assimilation they carry today.
Telling a Detribalized Native that their lost ancestry was only their fault and colonization had nothing to do about it, is literally blaming the victim and a form of lateral violence. Reversing cultural genocide is a lived experience too!
NEW AMAUTA


ARG 6: "PEOPLE WHO AREN'T BORN/DIDN'T GROW UP IN THEIR NATIONS CAN'T BE INDIGENOUS."
ANSWER:
Native adoptees and migrants were forced to not grow up in their communities due to settler policies and poverty. Saying this blames the Native victim for their separation from their own nation. It's another form of lateral violence
The 60's scoop in Canada forced Natives into white families to separate/assimilate them culturally. War and poverty led many Latin American Natives to be adopted out to US/Europe. No one says 60's scoop survivors aren't Native anymore. But Latin American Natives are told they're only Latinx now.
NEW AMAUTA

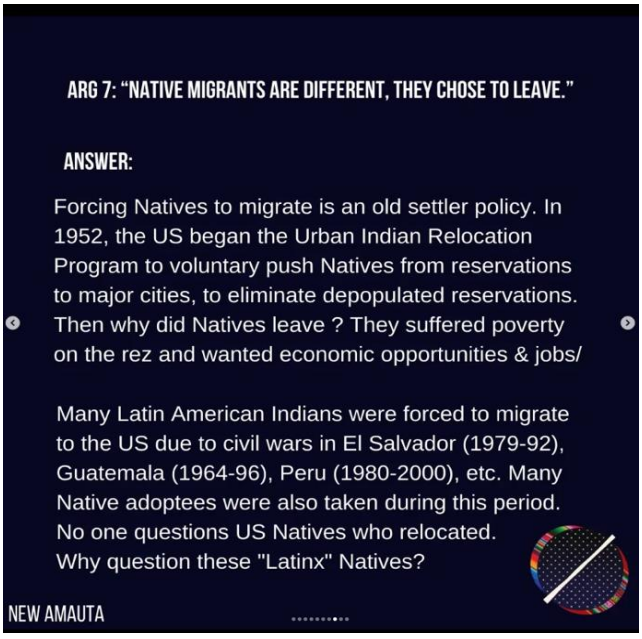

ARG 7: "NATIVE MIGRANTS ARE DIFFERENT, THEY CHOSE TO LEAVE."
ANSWER:
Forcing Natives to migrate is an old settler policy. In 1952, the US began the Urban Indian Relocation Program to voluntary push Natives from reservations to major cities, to eliminate depopulated reservations. Then why did Natives leave ? They suffered poverty on the rez and wanted economic opportunities & jobs/
Many Latin American Indians were forced to migrate to the US due to civil wars in El Salvador (1979-92), Guatemala (1964-96), Peru (1980-2000), etc. Many Native adoptees were also taken during this period. No one questions US Natives who relocated. Why question these "Latinx" Natives?
NEW AMAUTA

Figure 1 highlights many of the arguments that the user has encountered about "reconnecting Latinx Natives". Although the full post is not included, these different pictures within the original post provide a panoramic view of the contested issue within the discourse of in/authentic Indigeneity in Latin American communities, especially those who migrate to and are born in the United States. Of particular consideration is argument 1 "Detribalized Natives/Mestizos are White Pretendians: They Don't [Have] Native Ancestors" which suggests how the discourse of "pretendianism" within the U.S. is not translatable to those who are from the Latin American diaspora. Specifically, the user suggests that a considerable number of people from the Latin American diaspora have Indigenous ancestry, families, and communities but because of their migration and colonial state violence (both in the U.S. and within their respective countries), migrants and those in diaspora are forced to hide their languages, cultures, and identities. The user also mentions that detribalized Natives/Mestizos have "majority native blood" and are often referred to as "mestizo" because they have "too much native ancestry to be white".

While this post puts forward provocative discussion, we circle back to CLI to further complicate the discursive tension between mestizaje, Indigeneity, and Latinidad. The user is articulating a sentiment that migrants who are rendered as Latinx or mestizx, are actually Indigenous peoples because of Native ancestry, culture, and geography. In particular ways, @newamauta adjacently mentions how Latin American migrants are inculcated by U.S. racial ideologies upon their arrival, foreclosing Indigeneity as a possibility while actively disappearing the "Indian" through a colonial calculus (Saldaña-Portillo 143). While forced "Latinization" on Indigenous transnational migrants is indeed a reality, what is also true is the colonial projects of *mestizaje* and *indigenismo*. Although Latinidad draws from a collective presencing of pan-ethnic solidarity, the dual processes of mestizaje and indigenismo, which are often argued as imperially durable discourses, remain cemented within Latinidad and Hispanidad themselves and cater to a eugenicist program of *blanqueamiento* (whitening), anti-blackness (Daché et al. 134), and

Indigenous erasure (Urrieta and Calderón 168; Urrieta et al.3; Boj Lopez 203). Indigenismo refers to the "science of being Indian—a science practiced by nonindigenous people—positing the Indian as the origin of the nation and its problem" (Saldana-Portillo, *Indian given* 39) which romanticized an Indigenous past and encapsulated it into an authentic form and mestizaje, as explained earlier, relies on this notion of racial hybridity through the erasure of Indigeneity and blackness. What @newamuata shares is one truth, that many Indigenous migrants from Latin America are inscribed as Latinx or Hispanic. An additional, and often competing, truth remains present as well which explicates how not every person from Latin America navigates transnationality as an Indigenous person.

Furthermore, Urrieta and CalderólndN state that "Latinx, as a regulatory category and signifier, positions and labels a collective into the landscape of the whitestream settler imaginary. In this imaginary Latinxs are homogenized into categorical difference despite our diversity, and it becomes a norming difference, a racial project to fit into the white supremacist vertical, racial, settler colonial structure on which this country is founded." (165). While interpreting Indigenous migrant subjectivity through nation-state projects, such a mestizaje and Latinidad, imposes the narrative of the perpetual "foreigner" never truly or fully Indigenous in the U.S. (Saldaña-Portillo 140), CLI encourages us to also consider the multiple colonialities that speak to how anti-Indigenous and anti-Black violence is perpetuated by those who are mestizx or Latinx in Latin American territories. While @newamauta suggests the Latinx and mestizx subjects as detribalized Indigenous people, through a CLI analysis, we position and recognize the enduring anti-Indigenous and anti-Black violence as often reinscribed by those who are not culturally, politically, or communally Indigenous and/or Black. For example, in Mexico the creole elites strategically encapsulated notions of citizenship, modernity, and nationalistic imaginaries with the concept of mestizaje, and by association, to indigenismo (Alberto 249; Lopez and Irizarry 1542). This circumscribed Indigeneity into a peripheral but celebrated usable past (Alberto 249) that

allowed nationalistic and anti-Indigenous discourses to de-indigenize Indigenous migrants from Latin America because of their migrations through altering racializations and terrains of coloniality (Boj Lopez 204; Barillas Chón 7; Blackwell 163; Blackwell et al., 2017, 132). The homogenizing potency of Latinidad and Hispanidad provide a platform to the continued colonial project of whiteness and settler occupation by subsuming the Indigenous body into its discursivity, which renders them a deterritorialized, liminal, and "new" Latino immigrant (Author et al., 2019, 230; Calderón 28).

***Refiguring* "Reindigenization" and Contesting Latinidades**

Blackwell et al. (2017) make note of how a hemispheric Indigenous analytic is necessary when thinking with Indigenous people from Latin America (128). Specifically, they mention how intra-Latinx racism in the U.S. is catalyzed by eugenics, racial hostility, anti-Blackness, and anti-Indigeneity, and how the popular discourse of Latinidad further amplifies these violences upon those most susceptible to harm (Blackwell et al., 2017, 129). Therefore, it is imperative to consider how Latinidad and mestizaje cannot simply imply Indigenous identity because of the *real* anti-Indigenous and anti-Black violence interwoven with the historical, cultural, and assimilative mechanisms of mestizo formations. More specifically, scholars have pointed to the dual violence of mestizaje as a project of racial miscegenation whereby the nation-state promotes ideologies of a "new race" that can *only* emerge by discarding Indigeneity and Blackness and through *indigenismo* which only allows a folkloric and "retrievable" Indigenous past to exist in the newly formed mestizo state (Alberto 249). Thus, although the original post proposes an open invitation for a "reindiginization" by allowing detribalized/mestizo people's rightful claim to Indigeneity, we take pause to further situate how "Mestiz@s' very claims to a distant and lost Indigenous ancestor (only one) and their, often, performed Indigeneity in folkloric ways, contributes to the erasure and denial of Indigeneity for people who live Indigenous realities, good and/or difficult,

on an everyday basis" (Urrieta, 2016, 259). Knowing this, we also are aware that we cannot speak on the totality of a hemispheric Indigenous analytic. As scholars from the Mexican states of Michoacán and Guanajuato, with differing journeys through Indigenous identity, we enter these pedagogical hubs as both learners and people with lived experiences.

The comment section of the post in Figure 1 is where online pedagogical hubs emerged, as you will see in Figure 2. Namely, various users actively participated in *refiguring* the conversation by nuancing, situating, and contemplating the overall premise of the post, which was mestizo/Latinx "reindigenization" through reclamation of an Indigenous identity. Users crafted responses to specifically address components of the post creating a hub whereby others could engage in this type of public pedagogy.

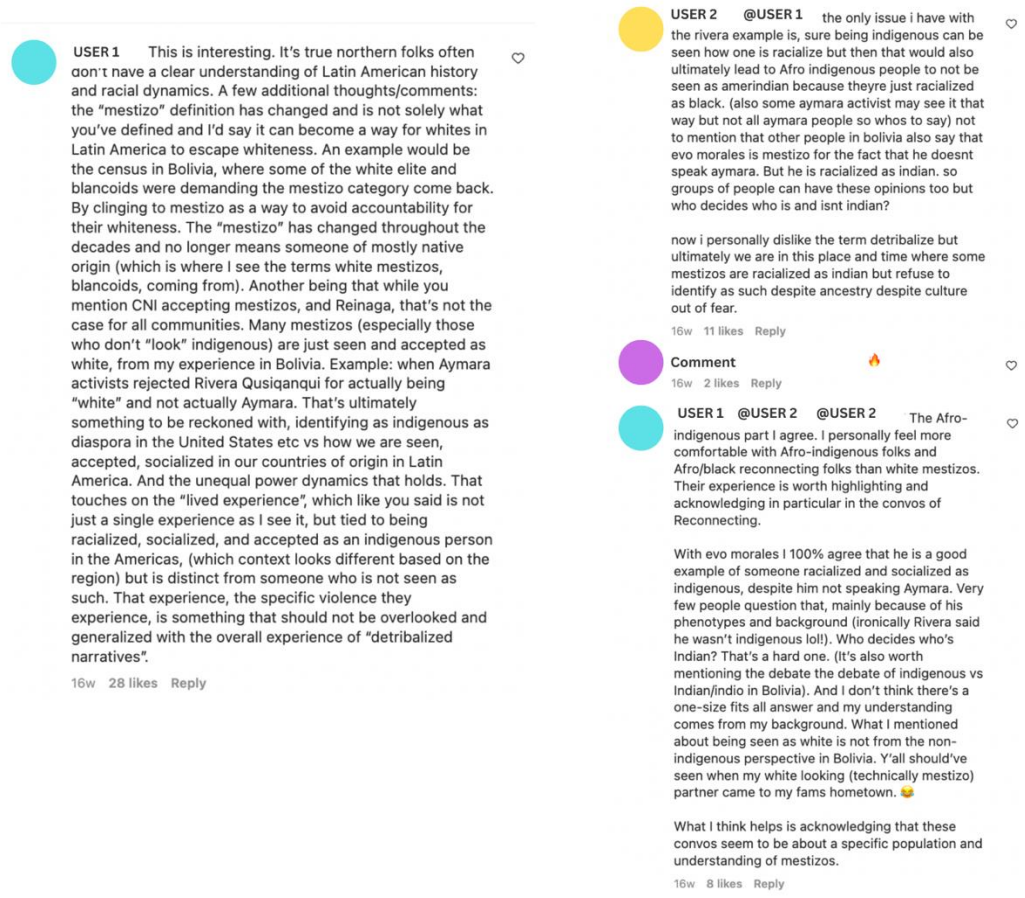


Figure 2, Responses to Original Post and Formation of Online Pedagogical Hub

Although we will not be able to address every comment, or the totality of each comment, we were especially interested in the comments that signaled a transnational perspective of mestizaje and how reclaiming Indigeneity is afforded to white and even brown mestizos as opposed to Afro-Indigenous and Black people in Latin America. Specifically, USER 1 argues that mestizo/mestizaje is both an enduring racial project, and also one that has shifted throughout different Latin American contexts. USER 1 provides the example of Bolivia where white elites attempted to salvage the term "mestizo" by attempting to reintroduce it within the Bolivian census. This type of political project is a tactic for white elites in Latin America to escape and avoid accountability of whiteness by clinging on to this racially hybrid "other" which ultimately disavows mestizo claims to Indigeneity because mestizo can no longer be situated as "of mainly native origin" as USER 1 points out.

> To further engage with this pedagogical hub, Cotera and Saldaña-Portillo provide us with insight into this conversation. Cotera and Saldaña-Portillo's early work traces the genealogies of mestizaje and the consequences of Mexican-American, Chicanx, and Latinx claims to Indigeneity (553). Moreso, the original post's annunciation of Mestizo and detribalized identity as Indigenous attempts to signal a "mestizo mourning", or a gesture of mourning for an Indigenous ancestry foreclosed to mestizx people (Cotera and Saldaña-Portillo 562). To quote at length, Cotera and Saldaña-Portillo state:This rupture of the previously intimately connected categories of *mestizo* and Indigenous identity produced a condition that we are here calling *mestizo mourning,* mourning for the loss of a historically *filial* relationship with Indigenous people forged over centuries of interaction, intermarriage, collaboration, and alliance. Mexican American *mestizos* in the U.S. melancholically mourn a loss of Indigenous ancestry that has been foreclosed to them - not by biological relationship for what are *mestizos* if not the descendants of Indigenous

> peoples?- but by the U.S. statecraft and racial nationalism, a statecraft and nationalism that directly contradicts and contravenes the statecraft of Mexican *mestizo* nationalism. (562)

This mourning, albeit understandable, should not be romanticized where "detribalized" is a standalone narrative for all Latin American detribalized experiences because those who are "detribalized" can also be racialized as Indigenous and Afro-Indigenous, as USER 1 points out and where USER 2 further interrogates. For USER 1, they further describe how discrimination and violence against those who are racialized as Indigenous should not be overlooked under the "detribalized" narrative because those who are racialized as white are not susceptible to anti-Indigenous violence. So, while "claiming Indigeneity" might be a mournful effort, there are also political consequences that can undermine efforts for Indigenous mobilization against the settler state (both in the U.S. and Latin America). However, USER 2 further *refigures* the pedagogical landscape by troubling the notion of "being racialized as Indigenous" as critique of a generalizable detribalized narrative, because Afro-Indigenous people in Latin America are most often racialized as Black and not Indigenous. Blackness and Afro-Indigenous descendants are then included within this pedagogical hub to further depict how racial formations and miscegenation of mestizaje are *also* an anti-Black colonial project as evident by the usage of terminology like *afromestizo* (Vaughn 229).

Vaughn is particularly critical on the usage of *afromestizo* as it calculates Blackness into a racial hybridity instead of linking Afro descendants to a larger Black diaspora (229). Furthermore, encapsulating Afro descendants within mestizaje, especially through a mestizx-Indigenous binary, forecloses the real and material experiences of Afro descendants in Mexico, and in Latin America more broadly. This is evident by the continued fact that there is anti-Blackness embedded within the fabric of nation-states such as the Costa Chica region in Oaxaca (Banks 225). Specifically, Banks traces the legal underpinnings of anti-Blackness within Mexico

and further suggests that racial experiences are distinct for Afro-Mexicans as they are often called *negros* by "Indigenous and *mestizo* people" and are often characterized with violent stereotypes (226). In the case of Mexico, Moreno Figueroa articulates how a crucial component of colonial maintenance of mestizaje is anti-Blackness and how this anti-Black colonial project operates through two distinctive ways 1) the intentional distancing of anything that represents Blackness and 2) that there are no Black-Mexican people (both ontologically and representatively) (33).

Juliet Hooker details at great length how this type of exclusion of Blackness within Latin America is often positioned in contrast to Indigenous collective rights because the new multicultural citizenship regimes of Latin America are more "amenable to demands made on the basis of cultural difference or ethnic identity than racial difference or racial discrimination, and this mode of justifying group rights determines the greater success of indians than blacks" (306). Hooker is not necessarily arguing that Indigenous people in Latin America are in better sociopolitical positions than Afro-Latinx people, but through discourses of mestizaje we can see how Blackness becomes subsumed within this racial project, hindering sociopolitical mobility. The generative discussion that emerged crafted an online pedagogical hub whereby the users actively were interacting as a means to both nuance their own perspectives, but more importantly, situate the original post in a more robust discussion between Indigenous authenticity, migration, and Afro-Indigeneity.

Both USER 1 and USER 2 engaged in a refigured learning landscape because this pedagogical "hub" was constructed via their interactions with each other and other commenters. As Caranto Morford and Ansloos (294) describe, Indigenous people continuously repurpose digital space to support cultural movements and this pedagogical hub is one example of how Indigenous people from Latin America are doing so. Although there is no consensus among the users, we believe these generative pedagogical encounters nonetheless force us to engage with

multiple realities of Indigenous youth from Latin America and how they are negotiating, unsettling, and reinterpreting multiple colonialities (Blackwell et al. 126). Many of the questions that we as authors consistently negotiate is when/how/where people are Indigenous when traversing multiple nation-states, and how our own lived realities are implicated within such formations. Secondly, questions of racialization, lived experience, and migration complicates our understanding of our own Critical Latinx Indigeneities' theoretical orientation, which prompts us to think of how, when, and *can* CLI be applied to various local contexts and at different scales? Can CLI's multiple overlapping colonial frameworks be useful not just in the context of Indigenous migrants in the US, but also in the ways Indigeneity is understood and constructed in Latin America? In the next section, we briefly discuss one additional comment from USER 3 who poses the question of territory and Land as imperative dimensions to consider.

Territory, Land, and the Question of Borderizations

The following comment made by USER 3 articulates a contribution to the discussion by asking "what kind of territorial claims to Land does a pan-indigenous movement have rights to?". Through this comment they make note that they are tribally affiliated, yet they are not comfortable claiming Indigenous identity since they did not culturally grow up with tribal and community experiences. Which brings them to the point of territory, Land, and rightful claims to place.

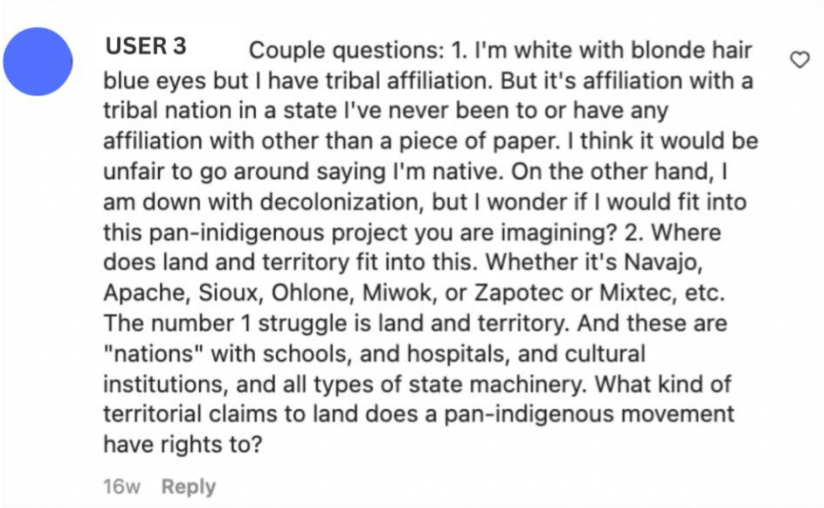


Figure 3, User 3 Responding to Original Post

Although we do not fully engage with the first point, the second point adds a discussion on Land claims and migration. Secondly, as authors who have not lived borderized experiences, especially within the context of the hypermilitarized U.S. border, we hope to introduce this topic with care and highlight this particular conversation because we feel it is often under analyzed especially in how the border is "taught" in education and elsewhere. As CLI articulates, migration often is a subtractive process for Indigenous migrants because their Indigeneity is interlocked with multiple ongoing colonialisms which regurgitates Indigenous identity into a Latinx or Hispanic subject. However, the fact remains that Indigenous migrants are indeed migrating to already Indigenous Lands articulating the reality that Indigenous people are enacting settlement but may not necessarily be considered a part of the larger settler colonial project since they do not have the political capacity to colonize other Indigenous nations (Blackwell et al. 127). One particular addition to this conversation is that of borderized Indigenous people across the U.S., further prompting a conversation on how CLI can expand to discuss the "border" as sociometrical violence that further contributes to the violence of mestizaje and further complicates discourses of

detribalized identity. USER 3 brings forth an often-overlooked discussion on pan-Indigenous movements and "rightful claims to Land" and we further refigure this discourse to also consider how places of borderization, military occupation, and forced displacement continue to be sites of Indigenous presence and contextually specific anti-Indigeneity.

The trans-borderized Indigenous people of the Tohono O'odham Nation of the U.S. state of Arizona and the Mexican State of Sonora, allow us to view CLI in expanding ways and approach the provocation that USER 3 provided. As Cadava explains, the Tohono O'odham were interlocked with competing national projects from both the United States and Mexico, which ultimately created distortions of tribal and nation-state citizenship, sovereignty, and federal protections for the Tohono O'odham people (382). Mestizaje and Indigenismo as tangential forces were "presented" as the renewed commitment to Indigenous autonomy and support in Mexico, yet they were codified through racial hierarchies that purposefully target the traditional Tohono O'odham landholdings (Cadva 373). Due to continued efforts by the Tohono O'odham people, those who are in Sonora can be granted tribal citizenship within the context of U.S. tribal federal recognition (Luna-Firebaugh 159). As a result, many Sonoran-based Tohono O'odham people would migrate to the U.S. to receive medical and tribal resources offered by the Tohono O'odham Nation and would "cross" the border regularly. However, due to the hyper-militarization of the border over the last two decades, harassment, discrimination, and restrictive border procedures has undermined Indigenous sovereignty and the migratory patterns of the Tohono O'odham people that have existed for millennia (Luna-Firebaugh 160). Although Tohono O'odham people have distinct political struggles, the case with the Tohono O'odham Nation provides insight as to how borderized Indigenous people must navigate the hybrid hegemonies (Blackwell, 175; Blackwell et al. 128) of two colonial forces. Figure 3, albeit brief, creates an addition to the discussion, both their own experience with Indigenous identity, but by bringing in an imperative question on Land and territory.

As part of the larger pedagogical hub, this specific comment from USER 3 provided an opportunity for us to enter with an analysis through CLI by both addressing an unattended question (i.e. borders) yet also mapping out more expansive theoretical grounds of CLI, which approaches the question USER 3 poses that pan-Indigenous movements are enacting settlement when they move (although not a part of settler colonialism) and a rightful claim to Land already Indigenous cannot be made. This type of *refiguring* provided avenues to witness the multiple discursive registers of mestizaje, Indigeneity, settler colonialism, Blackness, and migration as evident in the exchange between USER 1 and 2 and the comment by USER 3. The pedagogical hub that was formed speaks to the complexities of Indigenous homelands and through a cyber-Land based pedagogy (Caranto Morford and Ansloos 303) reterritorializes digital space to situate transnationality, im/migration, and Indigenous mobilities as part of these cyber-Land pedagogical understandings. Furthermore, although we as authors did not participate in the online discourse within the comment section, we argue that we were also implicated within this process of refiguring digital landscapes. As we engaged with the comment section and the posts on Instagram, we were actively co-configuring these digital landscapes due to our engagement with and our analysis of these pedagogical moments. Although we do not explicitly align with any of the arguments, we also acknowledge that refiguring digital landscapes is *not always a* benign process that leads to consensus, but we see and value that these conversations often involve highly debated exchanges that are nonetheless moments of learning.

Conclusion

Throughout this paper we focused on the educational spaces created on Instagram pages, where Indigenous Latinx youth actively engaged in discourses and cultural production of Indigeneity, borderlands, and colonialism that we called *refiguring digital landscapes*. We defined *refiguring digital landscapes* as spaces of dialogue, where Indigeneity is in motion and actively being

articulated and re-articulated and contested. Instagram thus became a site of pedagogical depth that Indigenous Latinx youth deployed as co-curricular building projects. We drew attention to the contested "digital territories" of Indigenous subjectivity, Land, colonialism, and borderizations, because of the distinctive experiences of Indigenous people from Latin America. Depending on country of origin, racial state formations, forced migration, and Indigenous mobilities, Indigenous people from Latin America provide a specific entry point into discourses of Indigeneity that can be in generative tension with U.S. based and other Latin American Indigenous perspectives. That is to say, through online Land-based pedagogical hubs, Indigenous Latinx people are reinterpreting, challenging, and proposing multiple and contesting iterations of Indigeneity and Land while understanding that Land-based digital learning is not always an effortless process or without nuance. By attuning to the discrepancies of these Land-based pedagogical hubs, we traced how Indigenous youth from Latin America are pushing towards an Indigenous digital landscape that is critical of multiple colonialities, systems of borderization, and the intellectual contributions of communities from the Global South—or what we call *refiguring digital landscapes*.

New social media literacies continue to emerge within digital landscapes and have garnered exponential traction in what is called information and communication technology (ICT), especially as tools of pedagogy, knowledge production, and youth media cultural practices (Jocson 49; Jocson, *Youth media 2*; Rogers 269; Kral 5). While formal schooling is beginning to include social media literacies (Jocson 43; Jocson *Youth media 2*) many youth construct these literacies themselves to circumvent static schooling practices. Practices such as standardized testing, hyper-surveillance, and bans on Ethnic Studies or Critical Race Theory continue to contribute to ideological hegemony where "schools do not only control people; they also control meaning" (Apple 61). In many ways, the creation of social media literacies by youth has been *in response* to eurowestern schooling's inability to capture their complexity, nuances, and lived realities. For example, Indigenous communities making gaming applications to remember

language through songs (LaPensée et al. 120), co-creating blogs about Aboriginal LGBTQI issues (Farrell 3), and a grocery-mapping program to elucidate the way in which a low-income community in East Oakland responded to food insecurity (Akom et al. 1302). We position the work of this article within this growing scholarly literature as we see how Indigenous and Indigenous Latinx youth are deploying similar digital landscapes when interrogating Indigeneity, diaspora, settler colonialism, and Latinidad on various social media platforms and, in particular, Instagram.

We have highlighted four out of the ten arguments shared by @newaumata who identifies as Quechua-Aymara and whose post is titled "Detribalized, Reconnecting, Indigenous: Further Debunking Attacks to 'Latinx' Reindigenization" and the various responses to the post by users who actively participated in *refiguring* the conversation by nuancing, situating, and contemplating the overall premise of the post, which was mestizo/Latinx "reindigenization" through reclamation of an Indigenous identity. This type of *refiguring* carved spaces for pedagogical hubs through Instagram exchanges to (1) nuance understandings of Latinidad and Indigeneity, (2) complicate interpretations of settler-colonialism within multiple geographic contexts, and (3) enact CLI via online interfaces. In many ways, the tapestry we have provided of multiple, ongoing, and *refiguring* pedagogical hubs alludes to the impact and importance of stories and storywork in fortifying Indigenous knowledge, education, and survivance (Archibald 2). A future direction of this work could make more central how stories from multiple Indigenous Latinx youth are being woven together through digital spaces.

The Indigenous Latinx youth in this article used Instagram as pedagogical hubs that generated spaces of re-imagining and contesting the rigidity of hegemonic school structures that allows them to engage with their Indigenous identity in or beyond a pan-ethnic discourse of Latinidad. Although we only engage in this paper with one post and analyzed another set of 15 Instagram accounts, we believe that youth demonstrate the potential to use Instagram, and

possibly other social media platforms, and how social media platforms like Instagram are ways that youth can engage in pedagogical hubs. Traditional schooling often fails to provide opportunities for youth to engage in dialogues where they get to center their lived experiences, diasporic knowledges, and migrations. Therefore, we call this pedagogical co-creation *refiguring digital landscapes* which are spaces of dialogue where Indigeneity is in motion and actively being articulated and re-articulated and contested. Indigenous Latinx youth are actively engaging in educational endeavors that should be taken seriously as contributions towards transformative and decolonial education in classrooms, teacher education programs, and culturally sustaining practices (Paris 95). As Indigenous Latinx youth refigure digital landscapes, such as Instagram platforms, they demonstrate forms of agency and actively disrupt notions of legitimate knowledge construction that are often sanctioned to formal schooling.

Notes

[1] In this paper, we define Indigenous Latinx youth as those who are Indigenous from what is commonly known as Latin Americas whether it be through multiple migrations (Blackwell et al. 132) or those who were born in the United States whose families migrated prior. Importantly, we are conscientious of how Indigenous Latinx as a term is limiting, or even, reductive of an Indigenous subjectivity in Latin America. We more so position the term as a way to enter the conversation between Indigenous people from Latin America, but do not argue that people themselves consider themselves as Indigenous, Latinx, and/or Indigenous Latinx. We also deploy the *x* at the end of Latinx to disrupt gender binaries explicit in Spanish lexicon and acknowledge the work of LGBTQ2+ scholars and intellectuals (Medina and Gonzales 3).

[2] Ethnic studies, multicultural education, and bilingual education, albeit steps that have been imperative for students of minoritized backgrounds, do not fully encompass the multiplicity of student voices. This is due to the fact that many have transpired due to interests that ultimately benefit whiteness (Bell 523) and a neoliberal multiculturalism which enacts "a structure of public recognition, acknowledgement and acceptance of multicultural subjects, based on an ethos of self-reliance, individualism, and competition, while simultaneously (and conveniently) undermining discourses and social practices that call for collective social action and fundamental structural change" (Darder 417).

[3] We write Ch/Xinaismx in this way to delineate the differences of usage such as Chicanismo/Xicanisma/Xicanismx and to further situate how the "x" has been contemporarily deployed within recent academic and public literature. As Susy Zepeda writes, Xicana is an ontological and political identity that intentionally re-remembers Indigenous epistemologies that have been lost and buried due to the ongoing violence of colonialism (121). Similarly, Nicole Guidotti-Hernandez provides an overview and historical account of the "x" both in its usage within

Xicana Feminisms but also the way that placing the X instead of the gendered o/a in Spanish is a move towards unsettling the rigid linguistic binary of the Spanish language (149).

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