The Cultural Hybridity of Mexican Americans

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Introduction

International migration is one of the key characteristics of contemporary times. The total number of international migrants worldwide was estimated at 214 million in 2010, up from 178 million in 2000. More people live outside their homeland today than at any time in history. As many countries are experiencing low or negative rates of natural population change, international migration is becoming an important component of population change. However, international migration is not only relevant for the country's demographics, but also for its social, political, economic, and cultural structure (Henning et al. 2011, 980). The history of the United States is shaped by its migration; and the recent newcomers most often come from Latin American or the Caribbean regions. Hispanics are the largest and fastest-growing minority group in the United States today. The rapid growth of the Latino population across the USA has captured significant attention from scholars, the media, and politicians. Among the U.S. Hispanics, particularly, the continuous increase in the size of the Mexican origin population has prompted a lot of research and debate in the academic world. According to the analysis conducted by the Pew Research Center, the U.S. Latino population numbered 53 million in 2013, which accounted for 17.1 percent of the U.S. population.[1] The number of Hispanics of Mexican origin that resided in the USA in 2013 was estimated at 34.6 million.[2]

From the 17th century to the middle of the twentieth, the United States had a bi-racial order, based on the black-white experience. However, in regions such as the Southwest and sub-areas in some states with large Hispanic populations, there were much more complex racial dynamics. The groups on the non-white side of the divide, such as Native Americans, Asians, Africans, and Latinos, shared similar experiences of colonialism, oppression, exploitation, and racialization. In the post-civil rights era, some

[1] <www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/the-impact-of-slowing-immigration-foreign-born-share-falls-among-14-largest-us-hispanic-origin-groups/#diverse-origins>

[2] <www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/hispanics-of-mexican-origin-in-the-united-states-2013/>

members of ethnic minorities have almost matched or sometimes surpassed the socio-economic position of whites (e.g., educational attainment). Another example of changes is the high rate of interracial marriages and the collapse of formal segregation. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, in his article, titled "From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA" (2004),[3] claims that the bi-racial order of the USA is evolving into a complex and loosely organized tri-racial stratification system similar to that of many Latin American and Caribbean nations. The author specifically argues the emerging tri-racial system will be comprised of 'whites' at the top, an intermediary group of 'honorary whites',[4] and a non-white group of the 'collective black' at the bottom. Bonilla-Silva hypothesizes that the 'white' group may include the assimilated white Latinos and other light skinned multi-racials. The 'honorary whites' group may comprise most light-skinned Latinos and Eastern Asians. The 'collective black' group may comprise Africans, other Asians and dark-skinned Latinos. The rapid 'darkening' or 'browning' of the USA is creating a situation similar to that of many Latin American and Caribbean nations where the whites have realized their countries are becoming 'black' or 'Indian' and devised a number of strategies to whiten their population to make sure that the whites remain a majority. One strategy for whitening the population is classifying many newcomers as white.

Herbert J. Gans explores the topic of ethnic minorities, defined by the American whites as 'non-white'. In his article, titled " 'Whitening' and the Changing American Racial Hierarchy" (2012),[5] Gans claims that the continuing rise in racial intermarriages has created a generation in which large numbers of people are now labelled as bi-racials or multi-racials. He predicts that in the near future it will be irrelevant to categorize people in terms of their racial belonging. However, like Bonilla-Silva, Gans also believes that many of those racial hybrids will be whitened, like East Asians and light-skinned Latinos, particularly middle-class ones, who are already heading in the direction of whitening. In the case of Hispanics, the whitening process is most important for the white majority because Latinos are by far the largest ethnic group in the USA.

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[3] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2004. "From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27(6): 931-950.

[4] 'Honorary whites' – similar to the coloureds in South Africa during formal apartheid.

[5] Herbert J. Gans. 2012. " 'Whitening' and the Changing American Racial Hierarchy." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 9(2): 267-279.

The subject of Hispanics as a growing diaspora has gained considerable attention among scholars. Antonia Darder and Rodolfo D. Torres in their article titled, "Latina/o formations in the United States: Laboring classes, migration, and identities" (2015)[6] explore the notion of the latinization of the USA. The authors emphasize the impact of U.S.-born Latinos and Latino immigrant populations on socio-economic transformations in the American society in which "the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant population no longer enjoys the political security associated with their past majority status" (Darder et al. 2015, 158). The article analyses factors deterring social mobility among Hispanics and stresses the inequality in the distribution of wealth generated by the U.S. economy.

> By the sheer force of numbers, the kinds of adults that Latino students become will dramatically shape the future history of this country, as the former white majority becomes a minority population, at least in terms of numbers. For, as would be expected, this "new minority" population will still control the lion's share of the nation's wealth, power, and privilege, which is likely to result in new waves of political mobilization in the coming years. (Darder et al. 2015, 158)

The growing population of Hispanics are often perceived as enriching the American mainstream with vibrant Latin elements, such as ethnic cuisine, music, and festivals. However, Samuel P. Huntington. describes latinization as a negative trend that threatens the essence of American national identity. In his article titled "The Hispanic Challenge" (2004)[7] Huntington shows how the values and institutions of white, British Protestants provided the foundation for, and shaped the development of, the United States. Huntington continues by describing how the ethnic component had been broadened to include the 19th century migrants and how religious identity was being redefined more broadly from Protestant to Christian. Later change concerned the achievements of the civil rights movement and the resulting disappearance of race as a defining component of national identity. Thus, the USA is seen as multi-ethnic and multiracial and American identity is mainly defined in terms of culture and creed. Migrant cultures modified and enriched the American Anglo-Protestant mainstream, but the essentials of that founding culture remained the bedrock of U.S. identity. According

[6] Antonia Darder and Rodolfo D. Torres. 2015. "Latina/o formations in the United States: Laboring classes, migration, and identities." *Ethnicities* 15(2): 157-164.

[7] Samuel P. Huntington. 2004. "The Hispanic Challenge." *Foreign Policy* 141 (Mar.-Apr.): 30-45.

to Huntington the growth of transnational cultural diasporas with dual loyalties from the final decades of the 20th century to the present threatens the U.S. national identity. Huntington claims that the problem is posed by the unique characteristics of the contemporary Hispanic immigration, Mexicans in particular, who do not acculturate and assimilate into the mainstream.

> The persistent inflow of Hispanic immigrants threatens to divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages. Unlike past immigrant groups, Mexicans and other Latinos have not assimilated into mainstream U.S. culture, forming instead their own political and linguistic enclaves – from Los Angeles to Miami – and rejecting the Anglo-Protestant values that built the American dream. (Huntington 2004, 30)

Huntington worries about the 'browning of America' and about Latinos' presumed threat to the American way of life and calls for measures to ensure the preservation of America's national identity. Rogelio Sáenz, Janie Filoteo and Aurelia Lorena Murga in their article titled "Are Mexicans in the United States a Threat to the American Way of Life?" (2007)[8] provide a response to Huntington's view. Using data from the 2000 5% Public Use Microdata Sample, the authors assess the validity of Huntington's claims by examining the extent to which Mexicans, the largest Latino subgroup, have integrated into the United States, basing their assessment on a variety of selected demographic, social, and economic indicators. The results suggest that the level of Mexicans' integration into American society increases with the length of residence in the USA. Another critical response to Huntington's view was presented by Luis R. Fraga and Gary M. Segura in their article, "Culture Clash? Contesting Notions of American Identity and the Effects of Latin American Immigration" (2006).[9] The article elaborates on the nature of the American creed and questions the notion that a national culture in the ethno-linguistic and religious sense is necessary for the formation of a successful democratic polity. The authors confront Huntington's nationalistic approach and conclude: "It is much more likely to help the nation meet the challenges of demographic change in an increasingly interdependent world than are calls for a nation to return to a more simple,

[8] Rogelio Sáenz, Janie Filoteo and Aurelia Lorena Murga. 2007. "Are Mexicans in the United States a Threat to the American Way of Life?" *Du Bois Review* 4(2): 375-393.

[9] Luis R. Fraga and Gary M. Segura. 2006. "Culture Clash? Contesting Notions of American Identity and the Effects of Latin American Immigration." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(2): 279-287.

and more imagined, past" (Fraga et al. 2006, 286). Another response to Huntington's hypothesis was presented by Jack Citrin, Amy Lerman, Michael Murakami and Kathryn Pearson in their article titled "Testing Huntington: Is Hispanic Immigration a Threat to American Identity?" (2007)[10] which is based on the data from the U.S. Census and national and Los Angeles opinion surveys. The analysis proves that Hispanics acquire English and lose Spanish beginning with the second generation and appear to be no more or less committed to work ethics than native-born whites (Citrin et al. 2007, 31-48).

Whereas Huntington aims to prove that Mexicans fail to assimilate and therefore cause a serious threat to American national identity, the purpose of this book is not to analyse the case of Mexicans' assimilation but to show that Hispanic culture through a transcultural process becomes incorporated into the American mainstream and produces cultural hybridity. In the words of Rinderle and Montoya "Hispanics and Latinos, particularly of Mexican descent, tend to have deeply rooted traditions, customs, and history, all of which take part in identity formation" (Rinderle et al. 2008, 148). Mexican traditions are cultivated in the USA, at the same time, they become Americanized, thus, the created fusion has elements of both Mexican and American culture. Although Mexicanness changes Americanness, it is not threatening but rather an enriching trend.

Angharad Valdivia (2004) provides a helpful explanation of the term 'hybrid' in theorizing cultural identity "The concept is foremost a rejection of essentialist notions, either of gender or of ethnicity and race, as well as an acknowledgment that there is no purity to be found either at the level of culture, the body, blood, or DNA".[11] Homi Bhabha in his book titled "The Location of Culture" (1994) claims that the concept of hybridity involves the creation of a so-called 'Third Space' in which minorities construct new liberating identities.[12] The aim of this book is to present the cultural hybridity of the Mexican origin population in the USA who create a sort of 'Third Space' in the context of the American environment. They are neither Mexicans nor Americans, but Mexican Americans and their hybridity is not

[10] Jack Citrin, Amy Lerman, Michael Murakami and Kathryn Pearson. 2007. "Testing Huntington: Is Hispanic Immigration a Threat to American Identity?" *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 31-48.

[11] Angharad N. Valdivia. 2004. "Latinas as a Radical Hybrid: transnationally Gendered Traces in Mainstream Media." *Global Media Journal* 2(4): <http://lass.calumet.purdue.edu/cca/gmj/refereed.htm>

[12] Homi K. Bhabha. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge: London and New York.

the effect of cultural domination, but instead results from the postcolonial contact between the colonizer and the colonized. This book proves that the hybridity of Mexican Americans results from the cultural fusion that combines relatively distinct forms into a complex formation having elements of both cultures and constantly undergoing transcultural transformations.

Shane Moreman, in an article titled "Memoir as Performance: Strategies of Hybrid Ethnic Identity" (2009), proposes strategies for analysing hybrid performativity of the Latina/o-white hybrid. One of these strategies is that of the bridge, as Moreman states "The bridge is a popular metaphor used to describe the in-between status of disenfranchised individuals" who question whether they are in "a third space between two cultures". The bridge strategy lies in how it holds the two cultures separate from one another, and then privileges the Latina/o-white hybrid as being able to understand both. According to Moreman "One detriment of the bridge-hybridity is that the Latina/o-white hybrid is never completely a member of either culture, but is relegated to being a perpetual liminality". Another strategy is that of the twin-hybridity in which "the Latina/o-white hybrid individual acknowledges the two-ness of his/her identity and lives in that two-ness".[13] This book explores the cultural 'two-ness' of Mexican Americans.

Chapter one introduces the key theoretical concepts for understanding the process of transculturation that leads to the formation of cultural hybridity in the USA. The terminology used to define different ethnic groups, U.S. Hispanics in particular, includes mestizaje, creolization, and panethnicity. The Latino population in the USA is characterised by heterogeneity and multiple identities. This chapter also presents various terminology used to define the U.S. Latinidad, especially the Mexican origin population, and a multi-tiered racial system in which the Hispanic label has been constructed as a complex category that operates as both the 'ethnic' and 'racial' marker.

Chapter two describes the Mexican population, articulating the fact that Mexicans had been part of the present U.S. territory before the USA was founded. It examines the incentives and deterrents influencing the migration flow from Mexico to the USA; increased border surveillance; and the illegal crossings accompanied by the smugglers known as coyotes. This section also analyses the racial composition of the U.S. Hispanics and presents a demographic profile of Mexican Americans. Chapter three deals

[13] Shane T. Moreman. 2009. "Memoir as Performance: Strategies of Hybrid Ethnic Identity." *Text and Performance Quarterly* 29(4): 361-362.

with the geographical distribution patterns of Mexican Americans and analyses direct connections between distinctive homeland sending zones and settlement areas in the USA. It also identifies the areas with the heaviest concentration of Latinos where Mexicans constitute the largest Hispanic origin group, e.g. Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim in California; San Antonio-New Braunfels in Texas; and Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale in Arizona. Chapters two and three are mainly based on the reports of the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau on the Hispanic population and the Pew Research Center's analysis of the American Community Survey conducted in 2013. Generally, the purpose of both chapters is not to present aspects of cultural hybridity in the case of Mexican Americans, but rather to present who they are, how many of them there are, and where they reside.

Chapters IV-VIII analyse the cultural hybridity of the Mexican origin population in the USA. Chapter four deals with hybridity in the linguistic sphere – the formation of the dialect known as Spanglish. This emerged in the border regions such as the U.S.-Mexico frontier, but also in many metropolitan areas with large concentrations of Latinos, thus, Spanglish has many regional varieties e.g. Tex-Mex (in Texas), Nuyorican (in New York) and Cubonics (in Miami). This chapter presents the criticism of Spanglish by scholars who believe that the dialect delays the assimilation process of Hispanics. On the other hand, many academics and Hispanics themselves see positive ways of using Spanglish to produce emotional, descriptive and creative discourses in both everyday speech and the language of artists and poets. The aim of this chapter is to prove that Spanglish is a way to construct the so-called 'Third Space' of Chicana/o identity.

Chapter five examines the Mexican influence on American regional cuisine. Ethnic cuisine is one of the major components of the transnationalization of Latin culture in the USA. Mexican food constitutes the largest segment of the ethnic foods market in the USA. However, the transnational processes of migration and globalization have transformed Mexican cuisine into a variety of Mexican-influenced regional cuisines such as Tex-Mex, which is an example of cultural hybridity formed in the Texas-Mexican borderland. The analysis presents how hybrid cuisine selectively combines elements of Mexican and American culture and undergoes further transformations creating the 'Third Space' in the culinary world of the USA. The chapter shows that nothing has helped bridge the Hispanic and Anglo cultures as much as Mexican food has.

Chapter six is devoted to Tejano music created in the borderland of Texas and Mexico. Mexican musical traditions are an example of a hybrid genre as they resulted from musical fusions rooted in European genres and brought to Mexico by German, Italian and Czech migrants, and then reinforced by French colonists. The chapter analyses the roots of Mexican music and its transcultural transformations which resulted in a creative combination of hybridity. It examines the ballad-style genre known as corrido and its modern version – narcocorrido – which is dedicated to the exploits of drug traffickers. It also explores the phenomenon of mariachi music which already has its symbolic place in the USA – 'Mariachi Plaza' in Los Angeles. This section describes the growing popularity and prestige of mariachi, which has resulted in the inclusion of mariachi instruction in the teaching curricula of American public schools and universities.

Chapter seven explores Mexican celebrations which have the status of secular fiestas; however, they often include certain religious aspects. Although the ritual of quinceañera has become increasingly popular among Mexican Americans, the way it is celebrated in the USA differs from practices in the Mexican homeland. Nowadays, the ritual has been transformed in a transcultural way and highly commercialized, so it presents a fusion of ethnic and American elements. Other holidays discussed in this chapter are Cinco de Mayo and Mexican Independence Day which are examples of pan-national Latino celebrations in the USA. They unite diverse communities and participants in the festivals carry both Mexican and American flags.

Chapter eight examines syncretic fusions of Mexican religiosity. The festival of Guadalupe Lady is widely celebrated in the USA by both Hispanics and non-Hispanics. The social character of the events is accompanied by musical and dance performances and feasts of Mexican food. The Virgin of Guadalupe is presented as a unifying force that brings different ethnic groups together and in a transcultural process bridges Mexico and the USA. The celebration of Las Posadas, which commemorates the journey of Mary and Joseph to find shelter in Bethlehem, serves as a metaphor of the journey that the immigrants choose to find hospitality in the USA. In this way, the ritual gained a new meaning in the USA – the purpose of the event is to counter anti-immigrant sentiment. The last festival – Day of the Dead – evokes pre-Columbian indigenous rituals. In the USA, the secular celebrations were initiated to communicate messages of Chicano identity. As other Hispanic groups started to participate, the festivals gained pan-Latino character.

The book does not include a chapter devoted to the way Mexican Americans are presented on television or on the radio as such research would focus on media studies and the purpose of this book is to analyse the field of culture studies.[14]

The main research materials for this study were newspaper articles which are primary sources reporting the growing role of the U.S. Latinidad. Among different press titles, the most often used newspapers in this book were the following: *The Orange County Register*, *The New York Times*, *McClatchy-Tribune Business News*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Knight Ridder Tribune Business News*, *Austin American-Statesman*, *USA Today*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Star-Tribune*, *D-Dallas/Fort Worth*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Times*, *Nation's Restaurant News*, *The Salt Lake Tribune*, *Palm Beach Post*, *Albuquerque Journal*, *The Albuquerque Tribune*.

Other primary sources used for this study are the reports of the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau on Hispanic population and the Pew Research Center's analysis of the American Community Survey conducted in 2013. The U.S. Census Bureau is the primary source for census and survey data on foreign-born residents. Traditionally, the decennial censuses have provided data on the size, distribution, and characteristics of the foreign-born population. After Census 2000, the Census Bureau launched the American Community Survey (ACS) which is a large, nationally representative survey that provides population and housing data each year, rather than every 10 years, at the national and subnational levels of geography. The ACS is designed to address the nation's need for more current information on the characteristics of its population and housing. In 2005 the ACS was fully implemented in all counties in the 50 states and the District of Columbia and all municipios in Puerto Rico. The ACS collects data from the resident population living in both households and group quarters (such as prisons, dormitories, hospitals, and nursing homes). The ACS provides data users with a wealth

[14] Readers interested in this subject can find the following articles by Martynuska M.: "Destabilizing Ethnic Stereotypes in American Mainstream TV: Latino/a Representations in Ugly Betty" (2015) [in:] *From Theory to Practice 2013: Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Anglophone Studies*. Book Series: *Zlin Proceedings in Humanities* Vol. 5. (eds.) Roman Trušnik, Gregory Jason Bell and Katarina Nemcokova, Zlin, Czech Republic: Thomas Bata University in Zlin. pp. 265-272.

"Consuming Latinidad: Mexican Foodways in Maria Ripoll's *Tortilla Soup* (2001)" (2014) [in:] *Eating America: Crisis, Sustenance, Sustainability* (eds.) Justyna Kociatkiewicz, Laura Suchostawska, and Dominika Ferens, Germany: Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. pp. 229-236.

of information on the characteristics of the foreign-born population in the United States. In addition to the other social, demographic, economic, household, and geographic data available, migration-related items include place of birth, U.S. citizenship status, year of naturalization, year of entry, residence 1 year ago, and language spoken at home. Approximately 3 million housing unit addresses are selected for inclusion in the sample each year. Data for the ACS are collected continuously throughout the year using three modes: mail, computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI), and computer-assisted personal interviews (CAPI) (Grieco et al. 2011, 1002-1005).[15] The main reports analysed in this study are on 'The Hispanic Population', 'Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin', 'Hispanics of Mexican Origin in the United States, 2013. Statistical Profile', 'Demographic Profile of Hispanics in California / Texas / Arizona 'New Mexico / Florida / New York. 2014', 'Hispanic population and Origin in Select U.S. Metropolitan Areas. 2014'. The appendix to this study includes 11 tables that depict data from these reports for the analysis presented in chapters two and three.

The book also includes research from secondary sources. The particularly valuable publications were the following: Wojciech J. Burszta (1998) "Antropologia kultury. Tematy, teorie, interpretacje",[16] Roberto González Echevarría (2008) "Is 'Spanglish' a Language?",[17] Ana Sánchez-Muñoz (2013) "Who Soy Yo?: The Creative Use of 'Spanglish' to Express a Hybrid Identity in Chicana/o Heritage Language Learners of Spanish",[18] Ilan Stavans (2014) "Language and Hybridization",[19] Amy Bentley (2011) "From Culinary Other to Mainstream America: Meanings and Uses of Southwestern Cuisine",[20] Zilkia Janer (2008) *Latino Food Culture*,[21] Jeffrey M. Pilcher (2014) " 'Old Stock' Tamales and Migrant Tacos: Taste, Authenticity, and the Naturalization of

[15] The ACS is a powerful tool for studying foreign-born residents in the USA, but it is important to understand that the estimates produced are subject to sampling error and that sampling error is a source of the variability that exists in the estimates (Grieco et al. 2011:1006-1007).

[16] Published in Poznań by Zysk i S-ka.

[17] In *Spanglish*, edited by Ilan Stavans, 116-117. Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press.

[18] In *Hispania* 96(3): 440-441.

[19] In *The Future of Spanish in the United States: The Language of Hispanic Migrant Communities*, edited by José Antonio Alonso, Jorge Durand and Rodolfo Gutiérrez, 293-324. Madrid: Telefónica Fundación.

[20] In *Culinary Tourism*, edited by Lucy M. Long, 209-252. Knoxville: The University Press of Kentucky.

[21] Published in Westport, CT by Greenwood Press.

Mexican Food",[22] Elizabeth Morán (2008) "Constructing Identity: The Role of Food in Mexica Migration and Creation Accounts,"[23] Sylvia Clark (2005) "Mariachi music as a symbol of Mexican culture in the United States",[24] Russell C. Rodríguez (2010) "Politics of Aesthetics: Mariachi Music in the United States",[25] Victor Cruz-Lugo (2006) "The San Jose International Mariachi Festival",[26] Regina M. Marchi (2013) "Hybridity and Authenticity in US Day of the Dead Celebrations",[27] Timothy Matovina (2014) "The Origins of the Guadalupe Tradition in Mexico",[28] Lara Medina and Gilbert R. Cadena (2002) "Días de los Muertos: Public Ritual, Community Renewal, and Popular Religion in Los Angeles",[29] Norma E. Cantú (2010) "Traditional Cultural Expressions: An Analysis of the Secular and Religious folkways of Latin@s in the United States",[30] Maudi Gomez Schneider (1996) "Reflections on Cinco de Mayo: bridging two cultures".[31]

[22] In *Social Research* 81(2): 441-463.

[23] In *SECOLAS Annals* 52: 15-27.

[24] In *International Journal of Music Education* 23(3): 227-237.

[25] In *Inside the Latin@ Experience. A Latin@ Studies Reader*, edited by Norma E. Cantú and María E. Fránquiz, 193-209. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

[26] In *Hispanic* 19(9): 78.

[27] In *Journal of American Folklore* 126(501): 272-301.

[28] In *The Catholic Historical Review* 100(2): 243-270.

[29] In *Horizons of the Sacred: Mexican Traditions in U.S. Catholicism*, edited by Timothy Matovina and Gary Riebe-Estrella, 69-94. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

[30] In *Inside the Latin@ Experience. A Latin@ Studies Reader*, edited by Norma E. Cantú and María E. Fránquiz, 111-127. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

[31] In *Hispanic* 9(5): 66.

CHAPTER ONE

The theory of hybridity in the context of U.S. Hispanics

Demographers observe a rapid growth in the number of mixed-race people in American society. The USA has shifted from the myth of racial purity to the multicultural reality.

> The contemporary cultural landscape is an amalgam of cross-cultural influences, blended, patch-worked, and layered upon one another. Unbound and fluid, culture is hybrid and interstitial, moving between spaces of meaning. ... This hybridity woven into every corner of society, from trendy fusion cuisine to Caribbean rhythms in pop music to the hyphenated identities that signify ethnic Americans, illuminating the lived experience of ties to a dominant culture blending with the cultural codes of a Third World culture. (Yazdiha 2010, 31)

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the key theoretical concepts for discussing the processes of transculturation and hybridization in the American context. In cultural, literary and postcolonial studies, hybridity, mestizaje, creolization, and panethnicity, have become common tropes. However, those terms define different ethnic groups in various national and regional contexts. Race has long been perceived in the United States as a binary concept: whites and non-whites; however, American society has become increasingly diverse ethnically and race has acquired a more complex meaning. The United States is a country shaped by diasporic communities and in recent years the Latino influence has been extremely strong. Although the term 'Latino' refers to people of Latin American descent living primarily within the United States, the word does not denote a homogenous racial or ethnic group. Actually, the Latino population in the USA is characterised by heterogeneity and multiple identities, including Mexican Americans. The very complexities of Latinidad are the crucial distinguishing mark of Latino culture and identity (Arrizón 1999, 288).

In the words of Angharad Valdivia,

> Just as salsa music is composed of already hybrid traditions, Latinas embody the many complex traces of cultures and populations that come together at this moment in the United States. So, for example, the dominant tendency to reduce Latina/o heterogeneity to a brown race erases the diversity within Latina/os. Latina/os come from South America yet South America is not a racially homogenous region – native American, European, African, Arab, and Asian traces permeate the region in addition to the more often mentioned particular Spanish and Portuguese traces. In addition, every one of those categories, or regions, of people is composed of hybrid populations.[32]

1.1 Terminology

Kłoskowska claims that integration of culture should be analysed as a process, rather than a state, adapted to the particular group that functions within clearly defined limits. The anthropological perspective assumes that cultures are fluid and not restricted by borders. Although there are some mutual patterns, cultures go beyond similarities in other aspects of their development. Kłoskowska uses the metaphor of diffusion to analyse cultural processes. The elements of culture leave their background and travel through geographical and social spaces until they are incorporated into new systems, but even there they still preserve their identity. The process of diffusion is determined by the characteristics of the social systems that send and receive the cultural elements. The greater the differences between the systems sharing the process of diffusion, the greater the transformations needed for the adaptation of cultural elements; otherwise the process involves violent changes as occurred in the case of colonization (Kłoskowska 2007[1981], 60).

According to Burszta, Americanness is not ethnically defined and that is why the process of acculturation occurs relatively easily in the USA. It is also the reason for the failure of the concept of the melting pot that assumed the need for assimilation (Burszta 1998, 144). Eriksen elaborates on the American idea of the melting pot by saying:

> In a sense, the melting pot *did* occur in that diverse immigrant groups acquired the same basic values and the same language, and intermarried to a high degree. At another level,

[32] Angharad N. Valdivia. 2004. "Latinas as a Radical Hybrid: transnationally Gendered Traces in Mainstream Media." *Global Media Journal* 2(4): <http://lass.calumet.purdue.edu/cca/gmj/refereed.htm>

> it may *not* have occurred in so far as people still draw resources – symbolic, material or political – from ethnic identifications. (Eriksen 1993, 144)

Burszta defines 'ethnic group' as a social unit that keeps distinctive features that differentiate it from other groups, while the notion of ethnicity concerns a situation in which different groups have developed in mutual contact. That contact, however, can have different characteristics, starting from friendly relations, or simple tolerance that the groups show to each other; finally, the contact may involve conflicts. Consequently, each cultural identity is defined by the characteristics that distinguish it from other identities. Lifestyle, religion, language, rituals and culinary practices make up the components defining cultural uniqueness (Burszta 1998, 135; Burszta 2001, 83). Hall claims that identities are "multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions" and are subject to constant transformations. He situates the debates about identities within the context of globalization and "the processes of forced and 'free' migration which have become a global phenomenon of the so-called 'post-colonial' world" (Hall 1996, 4). The new global world is described by Appandurai's notion of 'scapes'. By 'ethnoscapes' he means "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live" (Appandurai 1996, 33). Appandurai does not contradict the existence of stable communities; however, he emphasizes that the contemporary world is characterised by human motion. Ethnoscapes concern the demographics of the world, consisting of both the movement of people and stable communities.

Historically, Mexicans experienced physical displacement; they were first invaded and colonized by the Spanish, then the French, and later the United States. As a result of the U.S. invasion, Mexico lost a half of its territory to the United States and the inhabitants of the present-day American Southwest found themselves in a new nation. The Mexican diaspora in the United States grew when Mexican migrants started to cross the northern border for economic reasons. Displacement resulted in the formation of a diaspora, blurring of borders and transformations, all of which have led to cultural hybridity (Rinderle 2005, 297). Hybridity is often positioned in a network of other concepts involving ethnic fusion, such as mestizaje, syncretism, transculturation, and creolization. Diaspora creates new forms of cultural hybridity between the Mexican homeland and the American hostland. Examples of this hybridity include the linguistic combination of

English and Spanish into 'Spanglish', the fusion of 'Nuevo Latino' cuisine, Tex-Mex and Tejano music.

Leela Gandhi suggests that the notion of 'diaspora' is losing its historical meaning within postcolonial theory. Although 'diaspora' evokes traumas of human displacement, such as the scattering of the Jews, in postcolonial studies 'diaspora' is generally concerned with cultural dislocation. The term is also used interchangeably with 'migration' (Gandhi 1998, 131). The term 'diaspora' refers to migrants and their scattering away from their home country. Although diasporic communities undergo processes of acculturation, defined as the acquisition of culture, and deculturation, described as the loss or uprooting of culture, the experience of cross-cultural exchange is often much more complex. Rinderle (2005, 296) defines diaspora as

> An identifiable group residing in a geography other than its place of origin that experiences not only physical displacement but cultural hybridity; a yearning for the homeland; alienation from the so-called hostland; a complex structural relationship among homeland, hostland, and diaspora; and a collective identity largely defined by the relationship between homeland and hostland.

Mexicans living in the diaspora experience physical and cultural displacement which often leads to yearning for the homeland. This yearning includes a desire to return to the homeland when their family's necessity subsides. Some Mexicans even try to rediscover their indigenous ancestry – Aztlán – which is the image of the mythic origin of the Aztecs used in Mexican diasporic rhetoric among Chicanos (Rinderle 2005, 299).

When people cross national borders they are considered the subjects of a transnation. Ashcroft (2010, 73) defines 'transnation' as "a relation between states, a crossing of borders or a cultural or political interplay between national cultures". The idea of transnation is not synonymous with 'transnational' as subjects in the transnation are not necessarily transnational subjects. The concept of transnation proposed by Ashcroft (2010, 79) is "composed not only of diasporas, but of the rhizomic interplay of travelling subjects *within* as well as between nations". Thus, a transnation is a product not only of the nation, but also of movement, displacement, relocation. The transnation emphasizes the movement of peoples in globalization and circulation of the local in the global. According to Majbroda, globalization can be studied in the context of the cultural, social and political transformations of the contemporary world in which global

trends are always accompanied by regional transformations (Majbroda 2011, 63-64).

The cultural anthropologist, Ronald Robertson, in his article titled "The conceptual promise of globalization: commonality and diversity"[33] coins the term 'glocalization' to describe the process of social and cultural transformations caused by globalization, as well as the contribution of local societies to the process of globalization. In the words of Robertson: "the local has been globalized; just as the global has been localized". Miszczak writes that cultural anthropologists do not identify globalization with the homogenization of culture but with the process of glocalization which can be understood as adaptation of global products to the demands of local markets. Thus, glocalization results from the inseparability of two spheres: global and local. Local culture is incorporated into the global system and globalization functions at a local level (Miszczak 2013, 19-20, 30). Kuciński believes that globalization is not synonymous with the destruction of local culture and the studies of glocalization should have a cross-, trans- and interdisciplinary character as glocalization can be studied from various perspectives, including sociology, culture, anthropology, economics, ecology, and politics. Kuciński does not refute the homogenizing trend of globalization but suggests that the heterogeneity of regional culture generates universal cultural canons. He also claims that glocalization reflects the growth in the position of local societies within the framework of global processes (Kuciński 2011, 15-17). Eriksen claims that movement of people into new states is followed by the act of culture sharing.

> Following the integration of so-called traditional peoples into modern nation-states, symbolic universes merge in many respects. People become more similar in terms of practices and representations; an increasing part of their learnt capabilities for communication, their taken-for-granted structure of relevance – simply put, their *culture* – becomes shared. (Eriksen 1993, 85)

Dziamski states that diasporic communities create their own culture regardless of whether they are made welcome in their new homeland (Dziamski 2010, 10). Cultural forms move across borders and in their new communities they undergo transformations and contribute to fusions. As a result, a variety of new discourses are produced which make individuals claim the 'authenticity' of their original traditions to ensure their survival (Crosby 2013, 24). The concept of 'authenticity' has become problematic

[33] <artefact.mi2.hr/_a04/lang_en/theory_robertson_en.htm>

to define in the era of globalization. The term has usually been used in the meaning of 'genuine,' 'original,' 'pure,' 'real' and often coupled with the word 'traditional'. Crosby argues that the authentic culture does not exist because it is not located at a fixed point in time and "tradition is fluid and shifting in time, space, and context and is in a constant state of change, revitalization, and reinvention" (Crosby 2013, 25). According to Burszta, in a world dominated by corporations and new technological networks, we can observe an ethnic revival as people seek for their roots (Burszta 1998, 135). The democratization of culture, enabled by digitalization and globalization has led to a greater desire for authentic cultural products. People search for something pure and completely authentic, even when the authentic thing is little more than a response to market demands (Cobb 2014, 3).

Immigrants are often perceived as a homogenous group by the ethnic majority. In response to the policies of the host culture, ethnic groups consolidate, extend their ethnic boundaries, incorporate other groups that previously considered themselves distinct and form panethnic identities (Roth 2009, 928-929). The term 'panethnicity' is used when different ethnic groups cooperate to build identities across ethnic boundaries. This boundary shifting originated in colonial settings when native populations were grouped together into panethnic categories. In recent times, a similar situation has become common when immigrant groups with different regional, ethnic and national belonging start to develop panethnic identities. Panethnicity is not only an American phenomenon and occurs in many places around the world (Okamoto et al. 2014, 220). "Panethnicity refers to the construction of a new categorical boundary through the consolidation of ethnic, tribal, religious, or national groups" (Okamoto et al. 2014, 221).

Within a panethnic group the boundaries expand beyond the national origins to include people sharing some structural or cultural traits. However, ethnonational boundaries play an important role for groups sharing a panethnic marker (Kim et al. 2010, 1559). Panethnicity "is a meaningful identity stemming from shared backgrounds, structural commonalities, incorporation into U.S. society, and the need to unite politically" (Diaz McConnell et al. 2004, 309). Latinismo can be analysed as one of the panethnic movements, with either cross-regional or cross-continental scope, such as Pan-Indianism or Pan-Africanism. The symbols of panethnic culture can be folk, traditions, music, dance or vernacular languages. However, old traditions are often transformed, and new ones are invented (Sommers 1991, 33-34). One of the most powerful symbols of Latinismo is the Spanish

language which seems to unite all U.S. Hispanics. According to Espiritu, contemporary research on panethnicity indicates that panethnic identities are "self-conscious products of political choice and actions, not of inherited phenotypes, bloodlines, or cultural traditions". Panethnic movements and organizations bring groups with seemingly distinct histories and separate identities together in cooperation around shared political and economic goals to protect their collective interests (Espiritu 2012, 239).

The three largest Hispanic groups in the United States are Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans. According to Jones-Correa, although they are often combined into one Latino category, U.S. Hispanics prefer to identify themselves panethnically in national-origin terms such as Mexican Americans (Jones-Correa 1996, 219). Some terms are interpreted as referring solely to one origin, e.g. Tex-Mex and Chicano – applies to Mexicans whereas Nuyorican – to Puerto Ricans. However, terms such as Latinos or Hispanics are considered as being panethnic. Thus, a panethnic label refers to "ethnic origins belonging to no one country specifically" (Jones-Correa 1996, 219). In the case of Latino/Hispanic identity, groups classified within this category may or may not see themselves as belonging to a shared panethnic community. However, the imposed classification creates a basis for solidarity if groups see their fates as tied with those of others grouped under the same label. Latino panethnicity may emerge as a goal-specific organizing tool, such as the case of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago who linked together in their shared struggle against racial discrimination in housing. Their shared panethnic identity evolved from the discrimination faced by Latinos. However, this identity did not replace national-origin labels of Mexican or Puerto Rican (Dowling et al. 2010, 177-179).

Panethnicity develops through three processes: 'ascription', 'accommodation' and 'identification'. 'Ascription' occurs when outsiders do not distinguish ethnic differences among groups and treat them as homogenous. 'Accommodation' is the process in which a member of the group assumes the panethnic label to meet outsiders' expectations. The next stage is when distinct ethnic groups enhance their cultural solidarity which leads to 'identification'. This pattern of panethnic group formation is characteristic of U.S. Hispanics (Roth 2009, 930).

Another term used to describe cultural transformations is 'creolization', defined as "a process of intermixing or cultural transformation that entails deculturation, acculturation and transculturation" (Knepper 2011, 257). The concept of creolization shares the historical trajectory of mestizaje and

transculturation. It came to life in the wake of European colonialism in the New World and then it diffused into other distinct usages linked by a shared history of political and cultural struggles with European empires. Baron and Cara claim that creolization is a "process of continuous creative exchange" (2011, 13).

> Creolization is cultural creativity in process. When cultures come into contact, expressive forms and performances emerge from their encounter, embodying the sources that shape them yet constituting new and different entities. Fluid in their adaptation to changing circumstances and open to multiple meanings, Creole forms are expressions of culture in transition and transformation. (Baron and Cara 2011, 3)

The word 'creole' derives from the Spanish *criollo*, or the Portuguese *crioulo*, meaning 'native'. Originally, this term was used to describe a person of European descent born in the colony, but later it acquired a broader meaning, referring to all those born in the Caribbean culture, regardless of racial or ethnic background (Knepper 2011, 258; Chaudenson 2001, 3). Knepper quotes Brathwaite[34] describing creolization as "a cultural action – material, psychological and spiritual – which takes place in a new landscape, as individuals from different racial and cultural backgrounds come into contact and begin to form a completely new construct (Brathwaite qtd. in Knepper 2011, 158). In the United States context, creolism is often associated with the state of Louisiana, a place with British, French, and African influences. In the process of creolization, the concepts of race and culture have opposite meanings for whites and blacks. For the whites, Creole means racial purity and elite status, whereas for the blacks it denotes racial mixture and a subordinate social position (Kraidy 2005, 56-57). A Creole is usually described as a person born in colonial territories from parents born outside. Criollos had a very ambiguous situation. They were colony-born descendants of the Spanish who were distinguished from the European Spaniards by geographic racism. Thus, they were subject to European and U.S. racism, on one hand, and were racist towards those of African and indigenous descent, on the other hand (Alonso 2004, 460).

Ideas of mestizaje or race mixture stand in contrast to ideas of white racial purity. In Latin America, the term 'mestizaje' was applied to describe the new nations as hybrids of the indigenous populations and the descendants of Spanish colonists (Kraidy 2005, 51). At the beginning of the

[34] Kamau Brathwaite describes creolisation in *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2005.

16th century, the Spaniards conquered Mexico. The first mestizos - people of mixed Indian and Spanish blood – founded a new hybrid race and inherited Central and South America. The Spanish, Indigenous Indian, and mestizo ancestors settled parts of what is now the U.S. Southwest. They made Chicanos indigenous to the American Southwest. Indians and mestizos from central Mexico intermarried with North American Indians. This continual intermarriage between Mexican and American Indians and Spaniards formed a mestizaje that was more complex in terms of ethnicity (Anzaldúa 1987, 5). The concept of mestizaje developed in the early 20th century when the ruling elites tried to create homogenous national populations by stressing the supposed superiority of the white race and claiming that non-white minorities were inferior. The elites were so concerned about whether indigenous and mixed-race populations would impede the sense of national identity that they encouraged European migration with the aim of whitening the population. When the idea of white biological superiority was discredited, other elites made the ideas of racial mixture or mestizaje the essence of Latin American nationhood (Telles et al. 2013, 130-132).

Pérez-Torres marks three historical moments as critical points in the formation of Chicano mestizo identity. The first is the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire in 1521 and the subsequent oppression of indigenous populations. The second event is the appropriation of Mexican lands by the United States when by means of violence, fraud and manipulation Mexicans in the U.S. territories lost much of their land and began to be called 'Chicanos'. The third critical point concerns current controversies over immigration, border control and employment (Pérez-Torres 1998, 154).

Amado highlights the polysemic nature of 'mestizaje', which includes various meanings in various socio-political contexts. Very often the term implied the sexual violation of Indian women by European colonists, thus, it symbolized colonial domination. The mestizo/a represented the other – "a borderland between colonizers and colonized, one that signified more a boundary than a bridge" (Amado 2012, 448). Later, the term took on new meanings and started to represent "a clash of cultures, languages, consciousness, and subjectivities" (Amado 2012, 449). Eventually mestizaje included blackness. Wade states that mestizo-ness actively reconstructs both indigenousness and blackness. "Instead of disappearing in a homogenous fusion, losing their identity, the original elements of the mixture retain their presence in the imagination of the cultural and racial panorama" (Wade 2005, 245). In other words, the mestizaje fusion is a kind of process that

depends upon inclusion; however, it does not rely on the disappearance of difference. There is a constant tension between the qualities that are the same and the ones that are different. People who are identified as mestizos present a mosaic of elements and express themselves through distinct music, dance, food or religious practices (Wade 2005, 250). Nowadays, the term 'mestizaje' refers to a complex composition represented by the Africans, the Europeans, and the Indigenous peoples. In other words, 'mestizaje' is not a homogenous identity resulting from a cultural blend, but rather a mosaic construction which can embody a complex of cultural practices within a single person. It also differs from the concept of multiculturalism, which is associated with certain boundaries between different cultures within one country. Mestizaje is a more fluid form, crossing boundaries and allowing re-combination of elements (Wade 2005, 252). According to Pérez-Torres (2012, 25): "It suggests the productive mixing that characterizes the formation of US Latino/a culture. Mestizaje is an affirmative recognition of the mixed racial, social, linguistic, national, cultural, and ethnic legacies inherent to Latino/a cultures and identities".

The concepts of 'mestizaje' and 'race' are interrelated. The notions of 'race' are bound together with social constructs, cultural affinities, and class more than skin colour, e.g. a person who speaks only Spanish, is Catholic, and wears European-style clothes, is very likely to conceive himself/herself as 'white' despite the fact that outsiders may label him/her as mestizo. Another person with similar appearance but speaking an indigenous language at home, wearing indigenous clothing and maintaining indigenous beliefs, may identify him/herself as *indio*. Additionally, social constructions of identity, race, and skin colour evolved differently in each American region. The concepts of black, mulatto, or mestizo have become blurred (Bergad et al. 2010, 365-366).

"Religions like other cultural systems undergo dynamic processes"[35] (Gajda 2015, 176). Cultural mixtures are also visible in religious fusions. Since the 17th century, syncretism has served as a term describing interreligious borrowing and intrareligious fusion. Migration and the transcontinental diffusion of beliefs prompted hybridization of religious practices. It is common in multi-ethnic countries, such as the USA, that people who are Christian participate in New Age ceremonies. Syncretism may be considered in a broader sense of beliefs, namely, people turn to indigenous or Eastern medicine to treat certain illnesses. Moreover, the

[35] Translation is mine.

syncretic use of the resources for health care tends to go together with musical fusions. Therefore, it is relevant to speak of syncretism in reference to the combinations of traditional religious practices (García-Canclini 1995, xxxiii). "It is in Christianity, especially Catholicism, that the concept of syncretism began to carry negative connotations, because it generally referred to the degree to which Church doctrine was contaminated by nonchurch beliefs as Christianity entered new territories opened up by colonialism" (Kraidy 2005, 49-50).

According to Starkloff (2002, 89) "the value of syncretic process among marginalized peoples lies in the dynamism of cultural rediscovery and revitalization". Starkloff examines the process of syncretism on two levels: first, the manifestations of cultural adaptation displayed by combining the symbols of aboriginal cultures with Christian elements brought from Europe; second, practices of Christians who live a syncretic life by maintaining a balance of practices from both traditional culture and Christianity (Starkloff 2002, 90). An example of a syncretic icon which connects indigenous America to Christian Europe can be seen in the Lady of Guadalupe, now the patron saint of Mexico.

The concept of syncretism is discussed in the domain of religious and ritual phenomena, where elements of two different historical traditions interact or combine. Hardly anyone would deny that different religious traditions have amalgamated in the past, and continue to interact and borrow from each other. Syncretism does not mean the reproduction of already existing religious beliefs; instead it leads to the parentage of new, hybrid forms. The process involves negotiation, interaction, and adaptation of new elements brought into a particular group which results in changes and innovations. Shaw says that "Simply identifying a ritual or tradition as 'syncretic' tells us very little and gets us practically nowhere, since all religions have composite origins and are continually reconstructed through ongoing processes of synthesis and erasure" (Shaw et al. 2005, 6). Thus, syncretism is analysed as the process of religious synthesis. The antagonism to religious synthesis and the defence of religious boundaries leads to anti-syncretism, which in turn is often bound up with the construction of 'authenticity', and linked to notions of 'purity'. The erasure of syncretism is entailed by certain forms of multiculturalism in the USA, e.g. in Cuban Santeria.[36] It has now acquired a significant number of adherents who are part of the movement which aims to delete traces of Spanish and Catholic

[36] Santeria – an Afro-Cuban religion brought to the USA.

contributions in order to recreate a re-Africanized religious practice (Shaw et al. 2005, 8).

The term 'syncretism' implies a blending of two or more separate religious forms; however, it ignores the power relations involving the physical and spiritual violence of religious fusions. To make sense out of Christianity, the Indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica had to appropriate Christian rites and symbols in a way that would enable them to maintain balance and harmony with their drastically changing world. Indigenous Mesoamericans had to decide how the religious systems could work together and what aspects of each enabled communication with transcendent powers (Medina et al. 2002, 75).

Another term used to describe racial and cultural mixture is 'hybridity'. In English-speaking theory cycles, Indian American postcolonial critic Homi Bhabha is often credited with dislocating the concept of hybridity from the biological domain to cultural studies. In the interdisciplinary social sciences, Argentinian-Mexican cultural critic Néstor García-Canclini articulates hybridity in Latin American politics and culture. For decades, however, scientists have used the concepts of syncretism, mestizaje, and creolization to capture cultural mixture.

The term 'hybridity' was first applied to agriculture, genetics and combinations of different animals. Later, it entered social science, anthropology and linguistics. Kraidy (2005, 1) uses the term 'hybridity' while referring to three interconnected realms of race, language and ethnicity. The process involves mixing, blending and merging. Presently, it mainly focuses on cultural hybridity in, for example, art, identities, lifestyle and music blends (Nederveen Pieterse 2001, 223). Knepper provides a postcolonial definition of 'hybridity' as a term referring to "the heterogeneous aspects of cultural formation, the intermixtures of language, culture, politics and race, which emerge through contact and uneven exchange" (2011: 266-267). According to Nederveen Pieterse (2001, 221) "New hybrid forms are significant indicators of profound changes that are taking place as a consequence of mobility, migration and multiculturalism". In cultural studies hybridity involves boundary-crossing experiences of diasporic communities and intercultural communication. The process has been more intense and broadened in its scope as people have become more mobile. The term 'hybridity' has been adopted in postcolonial studies, though this has not erased the traces of its earlier history. "*Mestizo* and *hybrid* have overlapping semantic ranges, despite

their different etymologies. Both terms originally denoted the stigmatized offspring of parents classified as 'different' along ethnic, racial, and status lines; hence, both terms are marked by 'accents' of conquest and inequality" (Alonso 2004, 460).

The postcolonial theory uses related terms such as 'mestizaje' and 'creolization' for racial, linguistic, and cultural mixing; however, those terms tend to emphasize the assimilation of indigenous cultures into the colonized culture which is treated as superior. In postcolonial studies 'hybridity' is used in the context of empowerment and is characterized by the subversion of political and cultural domination. According to Gandhi, "Despite postcolonial attempts to foreground the mutual transculturation of coloniser and colonised, celebrations of hybridity generally refer to the destabilising of colonised culture". The Western civilisation remains privileged for cross-cultural exchange and celebrations of cultural diversity "conveniently disguise rather more serious economic and political disparities" (Gandhi 1998, 136).

In contrast, Bhabha (1994), argues that the colonizers and the colonized are mutually dependent in constructing a shared culture. In his text 'The Locations of Culture' (1994), Bhabha claims that the concept of hybridity involves the creation of so-called 'Third Space':

> It is only when we understand that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation, that we begin to understand why hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or 'purity' of cultures are untenable, even before we resort to empirical historical instances that demonstrate their hybridity. ... It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew. (Bhabha 1994, 37)

Bhabha says that the 'Third Space' offers the conceptualizing of culture "based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity". By exploring the 'Third Space', "we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves" (1994, 38-39). Bhabha's notion of "a Third Space of enunciation" where marginalized minorities articulate their cultural differences, transform the meanings of their colonial legacies, and construct new liberating identities rooted in cultural straddling and hybridity, are central to the work of many Latina/o writers and artists.

García-Canclini defines hybridity as "sociocultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices" (1995, xxv). In a world of fluidly interconnected ethnicities, nations and classes, people restructure themselves into interethnic, transnational and transclass groups.

According to Young,

> Hybridization as creolization involves fusion, the creation of a new form, which can then be set against the old form, of which it is partly made up. Hybridization as 'raceless chaos' by contrast, produces no stable new form but rather something closer to Bhabha's restless, uneasy, interstitial hybridity: a radical heterogeneity, discontinuity, the permanent revolution of forms. (2005, 23-24)

Hybridity may force a single object into two parts, thus, turn "sameness into difference". However, hybridity is such a fluent form that the process can be reversed, which means that it can make "difference into sameness" as well, but in a way that makes "the same no longer the same, the different no longer simply different". In other words, hybridization involves a complex operation in which a breaking and a joining are taking place at the same time and in the same place: "difference and sameness in an apparently impossible simultaneity" (Young 2005, 24-25).

Marchi (2013) supports the idea of the 'Third Space' as the result of a hybridization process. She defines hybridity as cultural contact between the colonizer and the colonized that negates the dominance of the colonizer. Instead, it creates the 'Third Space' – the hybrid subject – which is neither the colonizer nor the colonized. It is a new, complex formation having elements of both cultures and constantly undergoing transcultural transformations – "the process of selectively combining elements of cultural practices and beliefs to make meaning" (Marchi, 2013: 274-275). According to Kraidy (2005, 5) "Since hybridity involves the fusion of two hitherto relatively distinct forms, styles, or identities, cross-cultural contact, which often occurs across national borders as well as across cultural boundaries, is a requisite for hybridity".

The histories of 'mestizaje' and 'hybridity' intersected during the 19th century. Mestizaje in Latin America became a key example in European debates about hybridity. The thesis that hybrid societies were unstable and disorganized greatly influenced Latin American elites who started to view mestizaje as an example of the problematic process of hybridity. Latin American elites attributed U.S. cultural, political, and economic development

to Anglo-Saxon 'racial purity' and to U.S. policies that marginalized Native Americans and Africans (Alonso 2004, 461). According to García-Canclini (1995, 11), the word 'hybridity' includes diverse intercultural mixtures – not only the racial ones to which mestizaje tends to be limited – and permits the inclusion of the modern forms of hybridization better than does 'syncretism', a term that almost always refers to religious fusions or traditional symbolic environments. According to Kraidy (2005, 2), "A historical and comparative approach indicates that present-day controversy over hybridity is a recent manifestation of an old preoccupation with the sociocultural change". Kraidy claims that hybridity is compatible with globalization as "hybridity entails that traces of other cultures exist in every culture, …" (2005, 148). Fusions deriving from migrations and globalizing processes accentuate cross-cultural contact and diminish the autonomy of local traditions, thus, foster a greater variety of hybridization in production, communication, and styles of consumption (García-Canclini 1995, xxxv).

When new immigrants arrive in the USA, the processes of acculturation, hybridization and transculturation begin. Transnational mobility has a large impact not only on the lives of migrants who travel to another culture but also on the host culture itself. Because of the increasingly globalized nature of the world, cultural differences are no longer as clearly defined as they were in the past. The theory of transculturation challenges the traditional idea that cultures are internally cohesive and homogenous; instead it builds on approaches which maintain that cultures are interconnected and deeply intertwined. Thus, transculturation rests upon a continuous change and transformation of cultures (Flüchter et al. 2015, 2). Transculturation is associated with hybrid encounters and with a system that resists and contests the powers of domination. The notion of transculturation came forth in Cuba and Brazil at the turn of the 1930s and 1940s as a variant of mestizaje. The term 'transculturation' was coined by the anthropologist Fernando Ortiz[37] in order to counteract the term 'acculturation', which was formulated by Anglo anthropologists in the late 1930s and to understand Cuba's experience with racial and cultural encounters (Arrizón 1999, 288; Kraidy 2005, 53). "While transculturation may include processes of deculturation and acculturation, it goes beyond loss and acquisition: transculturation involves the dynamic fusion and merging of cultures to produce new identities, cultures and societies" (Knepper 2011, 256).

[37] Fernando Ortiz was a Cuban sociologist who introduced the term 'transculturation' in his book *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (1940).

Transcultural processes are especially visible in borderlands such as the U.S. Southwest/Mexican border where American and Mexican cultures create cultural hybridity.

Multiculturalism involves the need to consider the recent problem of what Burszta describes as the "cultural and ethnic heterogeneity of the contemporary metropolitan societies and the problem of multiple identities"[38] (Burszta 1998, 154). Multicultural societies acquire a transcultural character and become fusions of different cultural values. The process of transculturation synthesizes new forms and creates cultural hybridization. It does not involve the assimilation of ethnic uniqueness into the mainstream of dominant culture. On the contrary, hybridization assumes the creation of the 'Third Space' in which multiethnic identities develop their distinctive cultural practices. Hybridization constitutes a kind of compromise between the ethnic uniqueness of regional culture and global trends (Ratajczak 2014, 216).

1.2 Defining U.S. Latinidad

The issue of race in the United States has been focused on the black and white; however, race perceptions in the U.S. Hispanic context is much more complex because of the extensiveness of the race mixture (Bergad et al. 2010). The term 'Latino' refers to people of Latin American descent living primarily within the USA; however, the word should not be interpreted as denoting a homogenous racial or ethnic group. Latino people are as diverse as any other cross-section of the population in the USA. Although this is a highly heterogeneous group, the U.S. Latina/os are often represented as sharing a common identity, giving rise to the concept of 'Latinidad', defined by Valdivia as "the process of being, becoming, and/or performing belonging within a Latina/o diaspora" (2011, 53). In the words of Arrizón "In its embrace of heterogeneity, *Latinidad* mirrors the multiple identities that form the Latin American territory" (1999, 288).

The lives of U.S. Latina/os are structured by different experiences among economic immigrants, political refugees, exiles, and native-born historical and racial minorities. Elements of socioeconomic status and class are also significant in accounting for the Latino experience. While most U.S. Latina/os are working class, there is an emerging middle class and professional

[38] Translation is mine.

sector that has become an intermediary between institutions, and those with less power and capital. The term 'Latino' carries with its meaning internal semantic tensions that reflect the complexity from which it has emerged (Aparicio 2007, 41-42).

> As an umbrella term, it can be used strategically to indicate the oppositional location of Latina/os versus, or outside of, dominant society. Likewise, it can be used to erase the specificities of the various national groups and historical experiences outlined above. Many second-generation Latina/os use the term to identify themselves vis-à-vis Anglos, yet they also use their national identity to identify themselves in relation to other Latino groups. It is also increasingly common for hybrid Latina/os, that is, those who are descendants of two national groups, to use the label Latino in order to erase either of their identities. Thus, the use of labels is contingent, fluid, and relational, used strategically and structurally depending on the context. (Aparicio 2007, 42-43)

According to Rinderle "Signifiers in the form of ethnic identity labels can be an important aspect of diasporic identity and self-identification, and lack of awareness of these labels and their meanings may lead to cultural homogenization and damage communication research validity" (Rinderle 2005, 295). Theorists of multiculturalism have struggled with the problem of how to classify Latinos, as they do not fit into standard classifications applied to different minority groups. The literature of multiculturalism sets distinct, not overlapping categories for racial groups, ethnic groups, national minorities, and indigenous groups. This typology is not clear in the case of Hispanics residing in the USA because they often see themselves in a different way than Americans view them. Chicanos in the Southwest constitute a national minority because their ancestors were incorporated into the USA against their will, as a result of the Mexican-American war. A similar case can be found in Puerto Ricans whose ancestors became Americans against their will after the Spanish-American war. Cubans, on the other hand, see themselves, primarily as refugees. Other Hispanics usually prefer to be ascribed the category of ethnic minority (Hooker 2014, 189).

Hispanics are now the largest minority group in the USA and their population is likely to continue to expand because their immigration and fertility rates are higher than those of other minority groups.

> As defined in official U.S. statistical reports, Hispanics constitute an ethnic group that is based on a cultural heritage or a social identity associated with Latin American countries. Hispanics may identify themselves as being of any racial group at least as

> the latter is classified by the U.S. census Bureau. African and Asian Americans may therefore be officially counted as Hispanics when they report that they have cultural origins with Latin America. (Choi et al. 2008, 335)

Both individual and group characteristics lead some Latinos to be accepted as white, while others remain racialized as non-white. This results in a multi-tiered racial system in which some Hispanics are classified as white, others as black, and still others as a mixed racial combination (Dowling 2014, 4). In practice, however, the vast majority of Hispanics identify themselves as white or 'Some Other Race'. African Americans are usually assumed to be non-Hispanic because Hispanic African Americans have little representation in American society. Moreover, non-Hispanic African Americans have their own history embedded in the history of the USA, e.g. slavery, affirmative action, whereas the issues of Hispanic African Americans are relatively unknown. It can be presumed that for Hispanic African Americans their racial identity overshadows their Hispanic identity in social interactions. In the case of Hispanic Asian Americans, their numbers are even smaller than Hispanic African Americans. Generally, most Americans do not perceive Asians as Hispanics (Choi et al. 2008, 337).

The white racial classification has always been situated at the top of the U.S. racial order. Latina/os are particularly important for understanding potential transformations to the racial order, because they are the largest non-White ethno-racial group in the USA. The traditional measures of assimilation relying on interracial marriage[39] and residential segregation[40] indicate less social separation between Latina/os and Whites than between Blacks and Whites. Vargas in his article "Latina/o Whitening? Which Latina/os Self-Classify as White and Report Being Perceived as White by Other Americans?" (2015, 120-122) claims that Latina/os are more likely to demarcate their race as 'White' when not presented with a Hispanic/Latino option. The study also suggests that

[39] Whereas 93 percent of whites and blacks marry within-group, 70 percent of Latinos and Asians do so. Among Latinos: Cubans, Mexicans, Central Americans, and South Americans have higher rates of exogamy, compared to Puerto Ricans and Dominicans who are generally more dark-skinned so they have restricted chances for outmarriage to whites in a highly racialized marriage market (Bonilla-Silva 2004, 940).

[40] Dark-skinned Latinos (Dominicans and Puerto Ricans) experience rates of residential segregation which are similar to blacks (Bonilla-Silva 2004, 940).

> Latina/os generally report being perceived as White only if they match common indicators of Whiteness: very light phenotypic characteristics, well-established ancestral ties to the United States, and high levels of socioeconomic status. In this way, it does not appear as though the boundaries of Whiteness have expanded to include many new immigrants. Rather, it is likely that Latina/os are so diverse phenotypically, culturally, and socioeconomically that a small subset may have always exhibited traditional characteristics comparable to the dominant white group. (Vargas 2015, 131)

The Latino/Hispanic label, as it has been constructed in the USA, is a complex category that operates as both an 'ethnic' and a 'racial' marker. At the federal level, the terms 'Latino' and 'Hispanic' are put into one category defined by the government as an 'ethnic' group composed of persons who are of Spanish-speaking origin. Thus, according to the U.S. Census, persons of 'Latino/Hispanic' ethnicity may be of any 'race'. However, the common usage of Latino/Hispanic is that of a physical descriptor or racial label for someone who is neither white or black, but brown. The historical and contemporary construction of Latino/Hispanic as a 'brown' race places Latinos alongside other racialized groups who have been subject to institutional racism (Dowling et al. 2010, 178). According to a 2013 Pew Research Center survey a majority of Mexican adults (57 percent) most often use the term 'Mexican' to describe themselves. About 21 percent say they describe themselves most often as 'American'. The same proportion most often use the panethnic terms of 'Hispanic' or 'Latino' to describe their identity. By comparison, 54 percent of all U.S. Hispanics prefer their ancestor's Hispanic origin to describe their identity, 23 percent describe themselves as 'American' and 20 percent use the panethnic terms of 'Hispanic' or 'Latino'.[41]

There are also other indicators of Hispanic identification. Some individuals represent 'mixed' Hispanic heritage if only one of their parents is Hispanic. In these cases, individuals are more likely to identify as Hispanic when their father (rather than mother) is of Latin American nativity because the last name of children typically derives from their father's last name. Generally, last names are usually perceived as indicators of ethnic background. Another factor influencing ethnic identification is generational status. Individuals born in Latin America are more likely to use Spanish instead of English and identify with their Hispanic heritage. The second-generation immigrants, generally, have a weaker familiarity with their ethnic background which has diminished the formation of Hispanic

[41] <www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/hispanics-of-mexican-origin-in-the-united-states-2013/>

identity. Another factor shaping identity is the level of consciousness about Hispanics in the area of residence. The larger the representation of the ethnic community in the area, the higher the recognition of that group. The probability of identifying as Hispanic is higher in the states that have a large Hispanic population (Choi et al. 2008, 337-338, 367-368).

Gans claims that numerous Latino groups are heading towards whitening. This process depends on many factors, including among others the size of the non-white population that is being considered for whitening. When such populations are large and mainly of low status – such as Mexicans in today's California and the Southwest – whitening is likely to proceed slowly. The speed of whitening is also determined by how much the candidates for whitening resemble middle-class whites socially and culturally. Light-skinned Latinos are already being whitened; however, dark-skinned Latinos and Caribbean people often suffer racial discrimination, in many cases similar to that inflicted on African Americans. Moreover, Hispanics who remain in an ethnic enclave and are endogamous are not likely to undergo the process of whitening (Gans 2012, 269-270).

Rinderle provides definitions for the main signifiers referring to the Hispanic diaspora in the USA. 'Mexican' refers to Mexican nationals, and those born in Mexico despite their current country of residence. A 'Mexican American' is a U.S. American of Mexican descent, born and living in the USA. A 'Chicano/a' is a person of Mexican descent, born and residing in the United States, who possesses a political consciousness of himself and herself as a member of an oppressed group.[42] 'Hispanic' denotes a person with origins and ancestry from Spanish-speaking countries, residing in the USA. 'Latino' refers to a person residing in the USA of Latin American national origin or descent regardless of race, language, or culture (Ridderle 2005, 296).

According to Sánchez-Muñoz (2013, 440):

> The term Chicana/o was originally a derogatory term applied to the descendants of Mexican people in the United States. This term was later adopted as a term of ethnic pride and political consciousness during the civil rights movements of the 1960s. To identify oneself as Chicana/o as opposed to Mexican-American or Latino or Hispanic means reasserting a unique ethnic and sociopolitical bond. It means claiming a unique

[42] The Chicano activists adopted the symbolism of Aztlán – the legendary ancestral home of the Aztec peoples. Aztlán had a double meaning: it applied to the American Southwest – regions that Mexico lost and the USA gained in 1848; it also denoted the spiritual unity of Chicanos (Kaganiec-Kamieńska 2008, 196).

culture not just a "mixture" of two colonial pasts but rather something unique with its own history, aesthetics, music, and also with its unique linguistic expression.

The Chicana writer Gloria Anzaldúa writes about this in her book, titled *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*: "We don't identify with the Anglo-American cultural values and we don't identify with the Mexican cultural values. We are a synergy of two cultures with various degrees of Mexicanness or Angloness" (Anzaldúa 1987, 85).

San Miguel defines the inhabitants of Texas: Tejanos, Mexican Americans, and Anglos. Tejanos are individuals of Mexican descent who were born and raised in Texas. Tejanos are all Mexican Americans because they are born and raised in the United States. However, not all Mexican Americans are Tejanos. Anglos generally are individuals of northern European descent, but the term refers to the entire white population residing in Texas. However, the definition of 'Anglos' varies in other parts of the USA, e.g. in New Mexico, Anglo was used to refer to anyone who was not Indian, Spanish Indian, or of Mexican descent. In some places, even blacks were considered Anglos (San Miguel 2002, 4-5). The terms: Tejanos, Californios, and Nuevomexicanos have regional meaning and apply to the descendants of people of Spanish ancestry who were born in the territories of the present American Southwest until the regions' cession to the USA in 1848. Residents of California are called Californios whereas people descended from the native populations of New Mexico are described as Nuevomexicanos, Spaniards or Hispanos. (Kaganiec-Kamieńska 2008, 36).

The division between American and Mexican culture has translated into the stereotypes and terminology used to separate the two sides of the border. U.S. Latinos use several pejoratives to describe Mexicans. In El Paso, *fronchi* (a shortened term of *Frontera Chihuahua*) is used to describe any person from the border region of Mexico. *Fresa* is another pejorative used to describe Mexican women. The classic *fresa* stereotype is one of wealth and provocative dress. The word *pocho* is used as a pejorative to describe Mexicans born and/or raised in the USA who are, therefore, Anglicized and more like *gringos* than Mexicanos (Rinderle 2005, 305). Another term, *mojado*, translates to wetback. Since a large majority of Mexican immigrants come from very low economic backgrounds, Mexicans use this term to make fun of the image of the new immigrant taking pride in gaining employment in American custodial jobs. *Malinchismo* is another term used by Mexicans to describe U.S. Latinos that do not show pride for Mexico. The word has

Aztec origin and describes someone who betrays his/her own race and roots to become someone else (Santana-Melgoza 2010, 15).

While speaking of 'Latino stereotypes' developed by Hollywood, there is little differentiation between U.S. Latinos and Latin Americans. Both groups are lumped together as people with identical characteristics, depicted stereotypically. The history of Latino images in U.S. cinema is in large measure based on six basic stereotypes: *el bandido*, the harlot, the male buffoon, the female clown, the Latin lover, and the dark lady (Berg 2002, 5-6, 66).

CHAPTER TWO

Mexican migrants in the USA

Hispanic incorporation into the USA reflects the country's political involvements abroad and its domestic political economy, set within an evolving global system and various levels of transnational life. According to Robert Courtney Smith, the Latino incorporation into the United States is set within a system which he calls the Inter-American Migration System. This theory sees migration as resulting from economic and other pressures, such as globalization, politics, U.S. immigration policies, foreign policies, and sending state policies (Smith 2008, 36).

2.1 Mexican migration to the USA

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed by the United States and Mexico to end the war in 1848. According to this treaty Mexicans living in the conquered territory were not considered immigrants but were granted American citizenship. The former Mexican citizens were guaranteed the right to maintain their ethnic culture and their language; however, Spanish persisted only in family relations and not as the formal language used in the American environment (Martínez-Brawley et al. 2001, 57, 59). When the treaty was signed, the USA was a country with a dominant Anglo-Saxon culture and where assimilationist tendencies prevailed. Nowadays, the reality is different and new perspectives favour the idea of cultural diversity and transculturality.

Mexicans had close family ties with relatives living in the border states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Therefore, there was a steady flow of migration and re-migration across the open border between Mexico and the USA in the period from 1848 until the mid-20th century. Prior to the 1920s relatively few Mexicans decided to stay in the USA permanently;

however, the quota laws of the early 1920s restricted European immigration to the United States and as a result made the Mexican workforce more in demand, and Mexicans started to arrive in significant numbers. Then, during the Great Depression the migration flow declined and the U.S. government repatriated 345,000 Mexicans to Mexico. The flow of Mexican migrants intensified again from the late 1940s and their numbers were so high that they visibly reduced population growth within Mexico itself (Bergad et al. 2010, 32-33).

After the 1940s Mexico experienced population growth, urbanization, improved communication and high levels of unemployment. At the same time, the end of Great Depression in the USA and the beginning of the Second World War created a demand for a workforce in the American economy. Driven by labour shortages, the United States concluded an agreement with the Mexican government, known as the Bracero Program, for temporary Mexican migrant workers. The contract lasted from 1942 to 1964 and during its duration about 4.7 million Mexican workers arrived in the USA. The Bracero Program laid out immigration pathways that continued after the programme ended. At the same time, large numbers of undocumented Mexican immigrants were crossing the American border. It was estimated that by the 1980s there were about 2 million illegal Mexican immigrants residing in the USA (Bergad et al. 2010, 33; Smith 2008, 38).

Initially, Mexicans had been the least urban of all the Hispanic groups residing in the USA; however, in the 20th century they began to move away from rural areas in response to the changing structure of the U.S. economy. In 1900 only about 10% of Mexican Americans lived in major metropolitan areas; however, by the 1940s, this number had increased to 43% of Mexicans living in metropolitan areas with a further 28% residing in central cities. This trend continued and by the 1980s over a third of urban Mexicans lived in central cities (Bergad et al. 2010, 47). Public security concerns about the illegality and criminalization of Mexican workers systematically depressed their wages and facilitated exploitation of these immigrants. Mexican Americans argued that their racialization was similar to that of African Americans. Yet, while the African American disadvantage was visually marked by colour, Mexican American racialization was based on immigrant status and the lack of English-language fluency (Gutiérrez 2012, 317-318).

In 1986 the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was passed to regularize undocumented workers who had been living in the USA for a considerable period and were supposedly stimulating the growth

of unauthorized migration between Mexico and the USA. The end result proved to be just the opposite as large numbers of Mexicans (between 2 and 3 million) who achieved permanent residency in the USA began requesting permission for their families to join them. Many of them who were discouraged by long waiting periods started to search for other means to reunite their families and crossed the U.S.-Mexico border illegally, thus providing a new wave of undocumented migrants in the post-IRCA period (Levine 2008, 86).

New Hispanic clusters are being created continuously by two forces: the gradual expansion of Mexican labour migration eastwards and the settlement of immigrants from Central and South America in new areas of the country. Driven, in part, by tighter border enforcement that has made the traditional cyclical migrant flow more difficult, Mexican labourers have become more settled in the east which offers new employment opportunities. New York, Florida and the Carolinas have been principal targets of this eastwards flow (Portes 2007, 16).

Increased border surveillance, designed to keep illegal migrants out, has in effect worked towards the opposite end, motivating those who have already entered the USA to stay for a longer period of time or permanently, and to increase their efforts to bring their families to the USA (Levine 2008, 86). The main reason that border control policies have failed, turning illegal immigration into a national rather than a regional phenomenon, is that they clash with the structural demands of the economy. The same unauthorized worker caught and turned back at the border is the one needed by many American employers, such as farmers, landscapers, construction crew bosses and restaurant owners. The second reason why the illegal flow is so difficult to stop is the consolidation of social networks between places of origin and destination. These networks include not only migrants themselves, but also their U.S. employers, and a number of subcontractors that are trying to sidestep the restrictive provisions of immigration law (Portes 2007, 17).

Buehn and Eichler (2013) examined illegal immigration across the U.S.-Mexico border into Arizona, California and Texas and tested the incentives and deterrents influencing migration flow. Their research indicates that labour market conditions and the intensity of border enforcement in the USA determine illegal immigration from Mexico to the USA. For Arizona, a low rate of unemployment acts as a pull factor for illegal Mexican immigrants. For California and Texas, higher real wages are the most significant labour market determinants of illegal Mexican immigration. Labour market

conditions in Mexico also determine illegal immigration into the USA: immigrants are pushed to Arizona and California by low real wages in Mexico and to Texas by a high Mexican unemployment rate. Moreover, more intense border enforcement in the USA significantly increases the costs associated with crossing (Buehn et al. 2013, 465).

The Mexico-U.S. migration flow is characterized by three facts: short durations, cyclicality and increasing costs. Among immigrants from Latin America, Mexicans were found to have the lowest probability of becoming permanent residents in the United States. The Mexico-U.S. migration is also much more male dominated than other flows from Latin America. Moreover, this migration flow is typically motivated by economic opportunity and family networks, not a desire to escape a repressive regime. The economic opportunity provided by migration to the USA follows two cycles: the business cycle and the seasonal cycle. Agricultural workers often work illegally and their work is linked to the growing season. When work becomes scarce, they typically return home. The business cycle is usually not connected with temporary employment; however, businesses take on workers during a boom and lay them off during a recession. As the United States tightens controls of illegal migration, this increases the costs of illegal crossings, often because migrants need to pay smugglers (so-called coyotes) (Ortmeyer at al. 2012, 185-186).

2.2 Coyotes

Using data from the Mexican Migration Project, Ortmeyer and Quinn (2012) estimated that the average cost of hiring a coyote rose from $325 (pre-1986) to $1,121 (1990s), and to $1,674 after 2000. This is a heavy burden for Mexican immigrants and their families to pay and it dramatically affects the economics of cyclical migration, raising the need to pay off debt (Ortmeyer at al. 2012, 185-186).

Illegal crossings and coyote activities are often described by the American press. *Dayton Daily News* (2 May, 1994) described the activity of one coyote, known as Carlos. He escorted groups of up to 15 illegal immigrants from Mexico to the USA. Carlos called his clients 'pollos' or 'chickens', and earned up to $300 a head to take them as far as Los Angeles. He used to lead the immigrants through high water, so they had to wrap their legs in plastic bags for protection from the floating sewage. Many of

them died in the deserts of dehydration and heat exhaustion or drowned in rivers. Carlos was making as much as $1,000 per week, but was risking detention and deportation. According to *TCA Regional News* (2014) coyotes often work with drug cartels as they smuggle illegal immigrants into the USA (Smith 2014).

The Sunday Times (2006) published an article describing the activities of Mexican gangsters who prepared a smuggling tunnel in the border town of Nogales in Arizona. They parked a van which had a hole in its floor. The gangsters had acetylene blowtorches and tools to dig a hole in the street. The van was legally parked on a metered space directly beneath a pylon of American surveillance cameras. Using passing traffic to conceal the noise of their digging, the Mexicans broke the surface of the road beneath them and connected with the tunnel that their co-conspirators had dug under the border wall from a house close by on the Mexican side. Each time the van filled up, the entrance to the tunnel was covered with a metal plate and resealed with a thin layer of tar, easily removed the next time the van returned. The gangsters used the tunnel to pass drugs and illegal immigrants. The U.S. authorities were alerted about the smuggling by a paid informant. According to U.S. border agents there are numerous tunnels through which immigrants pass and escape undetected (Allen-Mills, 2006). Another amusing story concerning illegal crossings was published by *Western Farm Press* (2007). The newspaper wrote about a Texas ranch owner who managed to keep coyotes and illegal immigrants out of his ranch area by breeding herds of emus. The rancher had nuisance problems with illegal immigrants leaving rubbish and occasionally the water hydrant was left on. He was also afraid of meeting dangerous criminals and traffickers on his ranch. Apparently, the emus were capable of frightening and injuring the strangers (Cline 2007, 4). Those stories demonstrate that the smugglers are determined to cross the border and also that Americans may be creative in finding the means to protect their land.

The coyote industry has changed significantly over the years. Some of the changes have involved using new technology such as cell phones to remotely guide migrants across the border. However, illegal migrants have to face other problems concerning Mexican cartels that have large-scale operations along the U.S. border. Coyotes now have to pay 'tolls' to these criminal organizations in order to smuggle people through their territory. These gangs also kidnap illegal immigrants who are attempting to cross the border, even with a coyote. The increase in profits from operating illegally

on the Mexico-U.S. border has led to widespread violence between the gangs. These operations have also increased corruption among Mexican law enforcement as they are bribed by the gangs. Thus, there are strong policy reasons to reduce the activity of coyotes who are believed to be a source of fuel for criminal activity, corruption, and violence (Quinn 2014, 844-845).

2.3 Hispanics and the 2010 Census

Every ten years, the U.S. federal government, through the Census Bureau, counts the American population. The framers of the U.S. Constitution implemented the census mechanism into the political system in 1787 and the first census was conducted in 1790. (Anderson et al. 2000, 87). The 2010 Census was billed as the largest mobilization in American history with 1.4 million census takers and a budget of $15 billion. The federal government spent $340 million on a national advertising campaign in 28 languages with the goal to get as many people as possible to fill out the 120 million questionnaires sent directly to American mailboxes. The census generates a lot of controversy, particularly on the issue of who gets to be counted, where people are counted, and who the census misses. For the first time, 13 million bilingual questionnaires (in English and Spanish) were distributed in areas with a large number of Spanish speakers. Hispanic communities have traditionally had many people who fear participating in the census – both illegal immigrants who fear deportation and legal immigrants who come from countries where governments frequently use information against citizens. In response, many Hispanic leaders are working to encourage their participation in the census (Smith 2010, 14).

The U.S. Census Bureau provided the 2010 redistricting data for the nation. These data provide local-level information on population, race/ethnicity, age and housing unit counts. Aside from helping define congressional district boundaries, the data reveal interesting trends over the past decade across various demographic groups. Between 2000 and 2010, the nation's population grew by 9.7 percent to 308,745,538. (Hernández-Murillo et al. 2011).

The Hispanic[43] origin question on the census form was based upon self-identification of individual respondents. The U.S. Census Bureau follows the guidance of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) 1997

[43] The terms 'Hispanic' or 'Latino' are used interchangeably in the U.S. Census reports.

Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity[44] which mandate that two different questions must be asked about race and ethnicity which are treated as separate concepts. Hispanic origin can be viewed as the heritage, nationality group, or country of birth of the person or person's ancestors before their arrival in the USA. The Hispanic or Latino origin question used in the 2010 Census refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race.

According to the 2010 Census, on 1st April 2010, 50.5 million people (16 percent of the American population) residing in the USA, were of Hispanic origin. This group increased considerably from 35.3 million in 2000 when it made up 13 percent of the American population.[45] More than half of the growth in the total population of the United States between 2000 and 2010 was due to the increase in the Hispanic population, which grew by 15.2 million. The population growth varied by Hispanic group; the largest numeric change applied to Mexicans whose number increased from 20.6 million in 2000 to 31.8 million in 2010, an increase of 54 percent accounting for about three-quarters of the 15.2-million increase in the Hispanic population over the decade. The 2010 Census proved that the Mexican population is numerically the largest Hispanic group, representing 63 percent of the total Hispanic population in the USA (up from 58 percent in 2000) (See Table 1). The report on *The Hispanic Population: 2010. 2010 Census Briefs*[46] uses the terms 'Mexican origin' and 'Mexicans' to refer to the ethnic origin of the person, not exclusively their place of birth or nationality. According to the analysis conducted by the Pew Research Center, the U.S. Latino population numbered 53 million in 2013 which accounted for 17.1 percent of the U.S. population.[47] The number of Hispanics of Mexican origin that resided in the USA in 2013 was estimated at 34.6 million.[48]

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[44] The 1997 Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity is available at <www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg/1997standards.html>

[45] The changes in Hispanic counts between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census result from a number of factors, such as demographic changes: births, deaths, migration in and out of a geographical area.

[46] The Hispanic Population: 2010. 2010 Census Briefs. Issued May 2011. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf>

[47] <www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/the-impact-of-slowing-immigration-foreign-born-share-falls-among-14-largest-us-hispanic-origin-groups/#diverse-origins>

[48] <www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/hispanics-of-mexican-origin-in-the-united-states-2013/>

Hispanics may be of any race. Federal agencies use a minimum of five race categories: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. The Census 2000 and 2010 Census questionnaires included a sixth category – Some Other Race.[49] For the 2010 Census, an instruction was added which stated that "For this census, Hispanic origins are not races". However, many individuals self-identified their race as 'Latino', 'Mexican', or a different national origin. Therefore, responses were classified with Hispanic origin in the Some Other Race category. Table 2 presents the racial distribution of Hispanics and Mexican origin population. In 2010, 94 percent of Hispanic respondents (47.4 million) reported one race. 53 percent of Hispanics identified as White, while 37 percent self-identified themselves as Some Other Race. The racial distribution of the Mexican origin population was similar to the distribution of the total Hispanic population. Mexicans self-identified themselves predominantly as White (53 percent) and Some Other Race (39 percent). 6 percent of Hispanics reported belonging to the category – Two or More Races – while for Mexicans this number was 5 percent. Mexicans were less likely to report as African Americans (1 percent) than the total Hispanic population (2.5 percent).[50]

Table 3 presents the multiple-race population for the Black or African American population in combination with Hispanic or Latino origin group for the USA in 2010. The African American alone-or-in-combination population included 1.9 million people of Hispanic origin, 35 percent of whom reported multiple races. Most Hispanics who identified as Black in combination with one or more additional races reported one of two combinations: Black and White (38 percent) and Black and Some Other Race (35 percent). 8 percent of Hispanics reported a racial combination of Black, White, American Indian and Alaska Native. The combination including Black, American Indian and Alaska native accounted for

[49] 'Some Other Race' category includes all other responses not included in the White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander race categories. The respondents' answers to the race question included such entries as multiracial, mixed, interracial, Hispanic, or Latino. *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010*. Available at:

<www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf>

[50] The Hispanic Population: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf>

5 percent of responses. Only 2 percent of Hispanics identified as Black and Asian.[51]

Table 4 presents the multiple-race population for the American Indian and Alaska Native population in combination with the Hispanic or Latino origin group for the USA in 2010. About 1.2 million people of Hispanic origin identified as American Indian and Alaska Native, 43 percent of whom reported multiple races. The majority of Hispanics who reported more than one race within the American Indian and Alaska Native population identified as one of two combinations: American Indian and Alaska Native and White (45 percent) and American Indian and Alaska Native and Some Other Race (21 percent). 10 percent of Hispanics reported American Indian and Alaska Native and White and Black racial combination.[52]

Table 5 presents the multiple-race population for the Asian group in combination with the Hispanic or Latino origin group for the USA in 2010. The majority of the 0.6 million people of Hispanic origin who identified as Asian alone or in combination reported more than one race (65 percent). The most frequently reported combinations among Hispanics who identified as Asian along with one or more additional races were Asian and White (35 percent) and Asian and Some Other Race (27 percent). 6 percent of Hispanics reported Asian, White, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander racial combination.[53]

The findings of the Census Bureau are always of great interest not only to scholars but to the American public as well, and numerous interpretations and comments are provided by the American media after each population count. Newspapers publish the analysis provided by the Census Bureau because Americans want to know which ethnic minority outnumbers the others. One of the newspapers that is particularly interested in the Hispanic content is *Business Wire*,[54] which in a joint venture with *ImpreMedia*[55]

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[51] Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf >

[52] Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010.

[53] Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010.

[54] *Business Wire* is a multi-channel delivery network with access to 60 international and national news agencies. <www.editorandpublisher.com/news/business-wire-launches-latinowire-in-venture-with-impremedia/>

[55] *ImpreMedia* is the largest American publisher of Spanish-language newspapers, e.g. *La Opinion* in L.A. and *El Diario La Prensa* in New York City.

<www.editorandpublisher.com/news/business-wire-launches-latinowire-in-venture-with-impremedia/>

launched *Latino Wire* to distribute content to Hispanic print and multimedia outlets nationwide. According to *Business Wire* (2011, March 25) the new 2010 Census figures reaffirm the power of the U.S. Hispanics. Having grown 43 percent since the 2000 Census, the Hispanic population accounted for 56 percent of all growth in the USA. Additionally, Hispanic population growth surpassed the 2008 Census prediction for Hispanics in 2010 by 1.5 percent. The comparison of 2000 Census and 2010 Census showed that:

> - Hispanics contributed 55.5 percent of the total US population growth from 2000-2010, solidifying their position as the second largest demographic in the US.
> - In the last decade Hispanics accounted for 1 out of every 2 individuals added to the US.
> - From Census 2000-2010 the Hispanic population grew by 43 percent.
> - Hispanics are growing four times faster than the total US population.
> - The Hispanic population is less concentrated than 10 years ago. In 2000, 61 percent of the Hispanic population residing in the 50 states and District of Columbia were found to be in just four states: California, Texas, Arizona and Florida. By 2010, that proportion had declined to 58 percent while nine states (Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, South Dakota and Tennessee) saw their populations more than double.[56]

According to the Pew Research Center the number of Hispanics counted in the 2010 Census was one million more than expected, based on the most recent Census Bureau estimates. In 32 states, the 2010 Census count of Hispanics was at least 2 percent higher than the estimates. The Census Bureau's population estimates are annual updates of counts from the previous census based largely on birth certificates, death certificates, immigration data and other government records. The Pew Research Center analysis indicates that states with large percentage differences between their Hispanic census counts and census estimates were also likely to have large percentage differences between census counts and census estimates of their total populations. This reflects the large role that Hispanics play in overall population growth. Hispanics have accounted for most of the discrepancy between 2010 Census counts and census estimates of states' total populations.[57]

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[56] "Univision Insights: 2010 Census Shows Hispanic Population at 50 Million Strong and Accounting for 56 Percent of U. S. Population Growth." *Business Wire*, 25 March 2011.

[57] "How Many Hispanics? Pew Hispanic Center Releases Updated Comparison of 2010 Census Counts and Census Estimates." *The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education* 21(16), May 16: 34.

2.4 'Hispanic identity' question on the census form

In 1970, the federal government added a distinct 'Hispanic identity' question to the U.S. Census questionnaire. Options of race and national origin were included within the categories of the survey because Hispanic origin can be viewed as the heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the USA, so people who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be of any race. Because race and Hispanic origin (ethnicity) are considered separate and distinct concepts, OMB[58] federal standards mandate that when collecting these data via self-identification, two different questions must be used: one question inquiring as to their Hispanic origin (ethnicity) and the other specifically addressing their race (Jones et al. 2013, 6).

Many Latinos see themselves in ethnic not racial terms and the choices of race available on the 2010 Census did not reflect their ethnic mixture. Some Hispanics found two survey questions confusing; one concerned their origin, the other was about race. Though the census form stressed that the term 'Hispanic' referred to ethnicity, and not race, some Hispanics viewed the term as a race and did not understand why a separate question asked them to pick a race that did not include Hispanics as one of the choices. Others were confused by the choices of race, none of which accurately described their racial identity. The 'Hispanic identity' question appeared to be problematic as Hispanic was designated as an ethnic, not a racial, identity. More specifically, OMB defined Hispanic origin and race as two separate and distinct concepts. Even though the OMB added a Hispanic identity question to the census form, many Hispanics still had to choose a racial category that did not represent their racial identity. The U.S. Census Bureau provides the 'Some Other Race' option as the category for people who cannot identify with the race options provided. A large number of Hispanics do not identify with any of the five racial categories provided and instead they chose the 'Some Other Race' option. In the 2010 Census, 37 percent of Hispanic respondents identified themselves as 'Some Other Race'. That option has become a 'Latino phenomenon' accounting for 6 percent of the U.S. population in 2000 and 2010 (Llorente 2010; Pimentel et al. 2012, 319-320).

[58] OMB – Office of Management and Budget.

According to Dowling there appears to be a relationship between skin colour, experiences with discrimination, and formal racial labelling in the respondents' reports on the race question. Identifying one's race on a census form that is mandated by the U.S. government may be perceived very differently by respondents than answering any other survey: the question becomes how they would like the government to see them rather than which label they personally prefer. There is also a great deal of regional variation in factors influencing racial labelling. Texas, for example, has the largest percentage of Mexican Americans who identify as racially 'white' on the census. In fact, Mexican Americans in San Antonio are over five times more likely to identify as white than their counterparts in Los Angeles (Dowling 2014, 14-15).

The census also showed another demographic trend among Hispanics, namely, to use the 'American Indian' category to identify their race. The number of Amerindians – a blanket term for the Indigenous people of the Americas, North and South – who also identify themselves as Hispanic has tripled since 2000, to 1.2 million from 400,000. Seventy percent of the 57,000 American Indians living in New York City are of Hispanic origin, according to census figures. That is 40,000 American Indians from Latin America – up 70 percent from 2000. There has been a shift in the pattern of immigration to the United States from regions with larger indigenous populations, like southern Mexico and Central America, rather than northern Mexico. Half of all Hispanics who moved to New York in the period 2000-2010 were Mexican, according to the Census Bureau's American Community Survey. Most of them came from southern Mexico. The census data represents raised awareness among native Latinos who believe their heritage stretches farther back than the nationalities available on the census form. One of the New Yorkers – Mr. Quiroz – whose ancestors were the Quechua people, of the Central Andes, said: "Hispanic is not a culture. Hispanic is an invention by some people who wanted to erase the identity of indigenous communities in America" (Decker 2011, A16).

Although the USA started as a three-colour nation: White, Black and Native American, the census showed that the U.S. population continues to diversify. According to Williamson the state of California needs a new category for the 2020 Census, called MOCHA: Mixed Origin Californians of Hispanic Ancestry (Williamson 2011, 26-30).

2.5 Demographic profile of Mexican Americans

Hispanics are the youngest major ethnic group in the USA. About one-third of the nation's Hispanic population is younger than 18, and about a quarter of all Hispanics are Millennials,[59] according to a Pew Research Center analysis. The young profile of Latinos in the USA is driven by the youth of U.S.-born Hispanics. Nearly two-thirds of Hispanic Millennials are of Mexican origin. The share of Hispanic Millennials who are of Mexican origin is higher than the share that is Mexican among Boomers[60] (57 percent) and older Hispanic adults (52 percent). Among Gen Xers,[61] a similar share (63 percent) is Mexican. Among Hispanics younger than 18, almost 69 percent are Mexican.[62]

The 2010 Census provided data for the demographic profile of Mexican Americans. The median age of people in the United States of Mexican origin was 25.5, while the total Hispanic population had a median age of 27.2 and for the total population it was 37.2. 34 percent of households with a householder of Mexican origin, constituted married-couple families, with children younger than 18. The average size of families with a householder of Mexican origin in 2010 was 4.2 people. The average size of all families was 3.2 people. 67.8 percent of people of Mexican origin aged 16 or older were in the labour force. The percentage for the population as a whole was 64 percent. 16.2 percent of residents of Mexican origin aged 16 or older were employed in management, business, science and arts occupations. In addition, 27 percent worked in service occupations; 21 percent in sales and office occupations; 18 percent in production, transportation and material moving occupations. The median family income in 2010 for households with a householder of Mexican origin was $39,264. For the population as a whole, the corresponding amount was $60,609. The poverty rate in 2010 for all people of Mexican heritage was 26.6 percent. For the population as a whole, the corresponding rate was 15.3 percent. The poverty rate for all families of Mexican heritage was 24.2 percent. For all families, the corresponding family poverty rate was 11.3 percent. 49.2 percent of householders of Mexican origin in occupied housing units owned the home in which they

[59] The Millennial Generation – born 1981 to 1996; aged in 2014: 18 to 33.

[60] Boomers – 'The Baby Boom Generation' – born 1946 to 1964; aged in 2014: 50 to 68.

[61] Generation X – born 1965 to 1980; aged in 2014: 34 to 49.

[62] *The Nation's Latino Population Is Defined by Its Youth*. April 20, 2016. By Eileen Patten. <www.pewhispanic.org/2016/04/20/the-nations-latino-population-is-defined-by-its-youth/>

lived. This compared with 65.4 percent for the population as a whole. 11.7 million Mexican-born U.S. residents in 2010 represented 29 percent of the foreign-born population. 75.3 percent of Mexican-origin people spoke a language other than English at home; among these people, 36 percent spoke English less than 'very well'. Among the population as a whole, the corresponding figures were 21 percent and 9 percent.[63]

The statistical profile of the U.S. Mexican population was based on a Pew Research Center analysis of the Census Bureau's American Community Survey conducted in 2013 among Hispanic adults. Table 6 presents the U.S. population by ethnicity and Mexican origin in 2013. According to the report one-third of Mexicans in the USA are foreign born, compared with 35 percent of all Hispanics and 13 percent of the U.S. population overall. About one-quarter of Mexican immigrants (26 percent) are U.S. citizens. According to the American Community Survey, more than two-thirds (68 percent) of Mexicans speak English proficiently. Mexicans are younger than the U.S. population and Hispanics overall. Mexicans aged 18 and older are slightly more likely (48 percent) to be married than Hispanics overall (46 percent) but less likely than the U.S. population overall (50 percent). Among Hispanics aged 18 and older, the foreign born are more likely to be married than U.S.-born Mexicans – 60 percent vs. 37 percent. More than half of Mexicans live in the West (51 percent), mostly in California (35 percent), and 35 percent live in the South, mostly in Texas (26 percent). The majority of Hispanic adults (61 percent) identify themselves as Catholic; about 18 percent of Mexicans are Protestant; roughly 17 percent are religiously unaffiliated. In contrast, among all Hispanics, 55 percent identify as Catholic, 22 percent identify as Protestant, and about 18 percent are unaffiliated.[64]

2.6 Recent reports

The Orange County Register[65] (2007) reported that the number of people living in the USA who were born in Mexico continues to

[63] Profile America. Facts For Features. Based on 2010 American Community Survey. <www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/cb12-ff10.html>

[64] <www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/hispanics-of-mexican-origin-in-the-united-states-2013/>

[65] *The Orange County Register* is published in Anaheim, California. According to the 2010 Census, Orange County is the third-most populous county in California and the sixth-

increase; however, the growth rate has been slowing since the middle of 2006. The Washington-based group measured four indicators to reach this conclusion: the size of the Mexican-born population living in the USA; the number of Hispanic immigrants employed in the USA, particularly in construction; the amount of money sent from the USA to Mexico, as reported by the bank of Mexico; and the number of people apprehended trying to cross the border illegally. The research group used the Current Population Survey, which is conducted by the Census Bureau and the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor statistics.[66]

According to the report by the Pew Research Center (issued on 15th September 2015), the foreign-born share of Mexicans fell over 13 percent in the period between 2000 and 2013. Overall, the share of the Hispanic population that is foreign born has decreased from 40 percent in 2000 to 35 percent in 2013.[67] More Mexican immigrants have returned to Mexico than have migrated to the USA since the end of the Great Recession. From 2009 to 2014, 1 million Mexicans with their families (including U.S.-born children) left the USA for Mexico, according to data from the 2014 Mexican National Survey of Demographic Dynamics (ENADID). U.S. Census data for the same period show an estimated 870,000 Mexican nationals left Mexico to come to the USA, a smaller number than the flow of families from the USA to Mexico. The decline in the flow of Mexican immigrants to the USA is due to several reasons. The slow recovery of the U.S. economy after the Great Recession made the U.S. less attractive to potential Mexican migrants as the U.S. job market deteriorated. In addition, stricter enforcement of U.S. immigration laws, particularly at the U.S.-Mexico border may have contributed to the reduction of Mexican immigrants coming to the USA in recent years. At the same time, according to the U.S. Department of Homeland security (2014), increased enforcement in the USA has led to an increase in the number of Mexican immigrants who have been deported from the USA since 2005. A majority of the 1 million who left the USA

most populous in the USA. According to the U.S. Census Bureau population estimates for 1st July 2016, 3,172,532 people live in Orange County. The estimates show that Hispanics or Latinos account for 34.3 percent of the county's population. *The Orange County Register* is known for its Hispanic content as there are great numbers of Latinos among its readers. <www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/orangecountycalifornia/PST045216>

[66] "Mexican influx slowing." *The Orange County Register*, May 31, 2007.

[67] <www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/the-impact-of-slowing-immigration-foreign-born-share-falls-among-14-largest-us-hispanic-origin-groups/#diverse-origins>

for Mexico between 2009 and 2014 left of their own accord, according to the Mexican government's ENADID survey data. The Mexican survey also showed that six out of ten (61 percent) return migrants – those who reported they had been living in the USA five years earlier but as of 2014 were back in Mexico – cited family reunification as the main reason for their return. By comparison, 14 percent of Mexico's return migrants said the reason for their return was deportation from the USA.[68]

The Economist (2010) reported that more Mexicans exited the United States than entered it from 2005 to 2010. The newspaper concluded that this situation is the result of aggressive tactics, such as border walls, surveillance drones, deportation and harassment of Hispanics. Another reason for return migration is recession in the American economy (*The Economist* 2010, April 26). *The Sunday Times* (2016) reported that USA is facing an exodus of Mexicans who are returning home disillusioned by low living standards and growing hostility towards immigrants. Although many young Mexicans continue to pay traffickers to take them illegally across the Rio Grande river on the border, older immigrants are flooding back in the opposite direction in greater numbers. In spite of the return migration, the number of U.S. Hispanics continues to grow due to their high birth rate. According to projections by the U.S. Census Bureau, one third of the population will be of Hispanic origin by 2050 (Dey 2016). Latinos have a higher birth rate than other native-born Americans. Currently, natural increase is responsible for more of the growth in the Hispanic population than immigration is. This trend influences the ethnic composition of the USA; the largest metropolitan regions and cities have been losing non-Hispanic whites (Hochschild 2012, 648). According to *The Orange County Register* (2015), the recent migration patterns show that not only are Mexicans no longer coming to the United States in large numbers, legally or illegally; actually, more of them are going south.[69]

[68] More Mexicans Leaving Than Coming to the U.S. November 19, 2015. Net Loss of 140,000 from 2009 to 2014; Family Reunification Top Reason for Return. By Ana Gonzalez-Barrera.

<www.pewhispanic.org/2015/11/19/more-mexicans-leaving-than-coming-to-the-u-s/>

[69] "Mexican migration pattern reverses." *The Orange County Register*, November 29, 2015.

CHAPTER THREE

Geographical distribution

The places where Latinos live in the USA as well as the places they come from affect the cultural production of the group. While the whole country has clusters of Latinidad populations, such as Central Americans or Caribbean people, the majority of Mexican Americans reside in the Southwest and Puerto Ricans are concentrated in the Northeast. Some metropolitan areas have ethnic enclaves known as 'barrios' inhabited by Hispanics who express their identity by participating in religious and secular celebrations, thus influencing the local environment and creating cultural hybridity.

3.1 Major Latino subcultures

Robinson in a special report "Hispanics don't exist" published in *U.S. News & World Report* (1998) claims that the fastest-growing U.S. ethnic group – Hispanics – is a combination of many different groups and provides a guide to 17 major Latino subcultures listed by geographical region. Hispanics constitute an enormous diversity among people whose ancestry ranges from pure Spanish to mixtures of Spanish blood with Native American, African, German, Italian, and a number of other hybrids. While most are bound by a common language, Spanish, many Hispanic Americans speak only English. There is no common Latino subculture but rather pan-Hispanic melding in major cities, and occasionally alliances are made on specific social or political issues common to various Latino groups. Even Mexicans who constitute the largest Hispanic group, vary by region and experience. The first 4 groups, according to Robinson's classification comprise Californians. Group no. 1 is immigrant Mexicans who settle in the Los Angeles area, especially in the East L.A. enclaves. Group no. 2 is middle-class Mexicans from California who are socially mobile and moved

to prosperous suburbs like San Gabriel and Montebello. Group no. 3 is Mexican barrio dwellers who did not succeed in social advancement and became trapped in ethnic ghettos, such as the Boyle Heights' area. Group no. 4 comprises Central Americans of Pico Union, a gang-ridden section of L.A. that is home to a great number of Salvadorans and Guatemalans. The following Latino subcultures from Robinson's list concern Tejanos. Group no. 5 is the most Mexican part of the United States – the lower Rio Grande Valley in South Texas. Many Anglos living there speak Spanish and intermarriage is common. Group no. 6 is Mexicans from Houston who are mostly working-class residents of ethnic enclaves. Group no. 7 is Texas Guatemalans – the Mayan Indians who have joined Houston's Central American working class and reside mainly in the southwest Houston enclave. The next two subcultures concern Chicago Latinos. Group no. 8 is Mexicans residing in Chicago. They mirror the national profile in that 60 percent are native-born. The commercial heart of Mexican Chicago is 26th Street. Group no. 9 is Chicago's Puerto Ricans. One of the great paradoxes of puertorriquenos is that while they have the benefit of being born U.S. citizens, they have a worse economic position than any other Hispanic group. Group no. 10 is Cubans from Miami who make up the most talented and successful immigrants. U.S.-born Cubans have the highest incomes of any Hispanic subgroup. Group no. 11 is Nicaraguans from Miami who settled in Cuban areas like Hialeah and East Little Havana and found work in Cuban-owned businesses. Unlike Miami's Cubans, the Nicaraguans are mostly poor, rural immigrants. Latino group no. 12 is Miami's South Americans who combine: Columbians, Peruvians, and other groups. These wealthy immigrants began coming to Miami when their countries' economies went into recession in the 1980s. The following groups concern Latinos from New York, known as Neoyorquinos. Group no. 13 is Puerto Ricans from New York - Nuyoricans. During the 1950s New York became home to 80 percent of all Puerto Ricans in the USA. However, in general, they did not achieve success and did not form a solid middle-class. Group no. 14 is Dominicans from New York. Washington Heights is the diasporic capital of the Dominicans. Generally, New York's Dominicans have fared nearly as badly as Puerto Ricans. Group no. 15 is New York's Colombians who achieved economic success. However, they suffer from negative stereotypes that picture them as drug-traffickers. Group no. 16 is made up of New Mexico's Hispanos. They are the oldest European culture within U.S. borders – the descendants of the original Spanish conquistadors - and they speak the Spanish dialect

from the time of Coronado. The final group, no. 17, is migrant workers who find employment as temporary farmhands. They travel to harvest crops and live in camps (Robinson 1998, 26).

3.2 Distribution patterns

The studies of 20th century migrations from Mexico to the USA recognize distinctive homeland-sending zones. There are direct connections between particular sending areas and specific settled areas in the USA. In metropolitan New York, immigrant Mexicans came chiefly from the Mixteca regions of Puebla, Oaxaca, and Guerrero. Mexicans from Textitlán in Guanajuato are likely to migrate to Kennett Square in Pennsylvania; The ones from Villachuato in Michoacán – to Marshalltown in Iowa. Although Mexican immigrants are spread widely across the USA, certain migration patterns persist. There are regional linkages between specific Mexican homeland states and the choice of U.S. destinations (Oberle et al. 2008, 183).

Mexican-ancestry populations were part of the territory of the United States before the USA was founded. Until the early twentieth century those populations were largely confined to the regions of the Southwest border. As a consequence of settlement processes rooted in Mexico, those regional concentrations in the United States chiefly mirrored the homeland areas of Mexico from which Mexicans migrated north. Thus, South Texas Mexicans came principally from neighbouring Sonora, Chihuahua, and Sinaloa. Mass emigration from Mexico beginning in the early twentieth century brought increased diversity from south of the traditional northern states, and California, especially, became a major receiving area for Mexicans from the so-called western sending states of Jalisco, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and Michoacán. Successive migrations during the post-World War II era have drawn from even more diverse parts pf Mexico, so Mexicans now go to the USA from almost every Mexican state (Oberle et al. 2008, 190).

In the mid-20th century Mexicans started to dominate in numbers over other Hispanic groups in the USA. In the 1980s Mexicans comprised 61% of all Latino nationalities in the United States and this percentage increased to 65% by 2005. Although they began to settle in states not previously associated with Mexicans, their heaviest concentration remained in California and Texas (see Table 7). In those two key states, by 2005, the percentage of Mexicans grew to 80% of the total Hispanic population,

while in Arizona it was even higher – 90%. There was also a large Mexican Community in Illinois, mainly in Chicago, where in 2005, they accounted for 80% of all Hispanics. Other states that merit special attention are Florida and New York. By 2005, Mexicans represented about 16% of all Florida Latina/os and about 11% of all Hispanics in the state of New York (Bergad et al. 2010, 68, 71).

Traditionally, the migrant flow from Mexico to the U.S. has been concentrated in California, Texas, and Arizona. An important change from earlier migrations that largely attracted Mexicans to U.S. border states has been a diversity of destinations across the country. Since the late 1980s, migrant settlements have been diversifying and expanding into new regions. One third of Mexicans who immigrated to the United States in the period between 1995 and 2000 settled outside of traditional Gateway states in the American Southwest. Mexicans are now present in the Northeast and the South, regions that did not historically receive such migrants. Mexicans and other Hispanic groups are now more willing to choose big cities, like Washington D.C. and Atlanta, and other smaller metropolitan areas. Latina/os are more urbanized than African Americans or non-Hispanic whites. The Hispanic metropolitan scattering largely coincides with recent growth centres such as Reno, Charlotte, and Atlanta. Chicago is now home to nearly as many Mexicans as live in the entire state of Arizona, and Mexicans now populate small towns and provincial centres from the Great Plains, to the Intermountain West, to the Pacific Northwest. Today, there are over half a million Mexicans residing in New York City. Mexicans are, in fact, the most geographically distributed Latino population in the United States. The rapid growth of Hispanics has introduced changes in many of the destination communities. Mexican immigration revitalized many poor neighbourhoods, transforming them into working-class districts rather than underclass neighbourhoods (Oberle et al. 2008, 191; Lichter et al. 2010, 215; Santos-Briones 2013, 41; Tienda 2014, 509).

There has been a tremendous increase in Latino immigration in the South. The globalization of the economy and new U.S. trade policies, such as NAFTA in 1994, caused labour migration and restructuring of regional economies in the South. The shift in the southern economy required large numbers of unskilled and low-wage workers, which resulted in active recruitment of immigrants from Mexico. Economic changes in the American South coincided with an ongoing economic crisis in Mexico which provided another incentive for migration. Those who settle in urban areas tend to

do low-wage jobs in the service industry, construction, and landscaping. Those who choose settlement in rural areas tend to do low-skilled jobs in food processing industries and agriculture (McClain et al. 2007, 98-99).

Star-Tribune (1988) described how Hispanic immigrants, unable to find a job in the Southwest, moved to other American states like Minnesota to work on sugar beet and soybean fields. Hundreds of Hispanic families decided to settle in a prairie city – Willmar – in south-central Minnesota, dramatically altering the community's character. Willmar appealed to newcomers as this city is a distribution point for welfare. The fast-paced growth of the city's population strained the resources of the local government and introduced to Willmar such issues as segregation and poverty. The author of the article described Willmar's Hispanics with the words: "Much of the Hispanic community lives in a crowded mobile home park that radiates with sounds of salsa music and the smell of tortillas." The Willmar school district started busing Hispanic children to schools outside their neighbourhoods in an attempt to promote integration and start "a mini desegregation program". The police, concerned about racial tension, began Spanish language courses. The transition from migrant to resident has not been easy for Hispanics in the city as there was a strong belief in the host society that Hispanics only go there for welfare, which caused bias and prejudice (Doyle 1988, 1A).

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (2007) described the challenges of integrating a growing Hispanic community in the counties of St. Charles and St. Louis County in Missouri. Mirroring a national trend, the county is one of hundreds of suburban areas in the USA that is becoming home to Hispanic immigrants who have to learn English in a place with few bilingual services. The suburbs provide food service, cleaning, construction and landscaping jobs to immigrants, many of whom come from rural, central Mexico. Others move from cities as far away as New York and Los Angeles because they want a quiet, safe life in the Midwest. Some Hispanic immigrants are likely to settle in small areas of St. Louis county e.g. St. Ann and Hazelwood, but others decide to go farther out to such places as St. Charles, O'Fallon and Wentzville. There are also groups that decide to go even farther into Lincoln and Warren counties to work in farming and landscaping jobs which are familiar to them. Although the statistics for 2007 showed that Hispanics make up only 2 percent of Missouri's population, every county in the state – rural, urban or suburban – now has a Hispanic community. This new suburban population puts new demands on counties not fully equipped with bilingual services. Many churches in the region began offering religious

services in Spanish, and several are developing programmes to teach English as a second language. The programmes are run mainly by volunteers who not only teach, but drive students to and from classes. The grocery store *Tienda Mexicana El Caporal* in St. Charles offers popular Mexican products, from candles, piñatas, cowboy boots, CDs of Hispanic pop stars and ballooning bags of chile peppers (Cambria 2007). What is happening in the state of Missouri is the formation of a new hybrid population that lives in the USA, respects American institutions and speaks English, Spanish or a mixture of both. Educational institutions recognise the need for more flexible programmes offered for Hispanics and shops meet the demand for products that Latinos would like to purchase. This does not mean that non-Hispanics do not also take advantage of this broad offer. The state of Missouri is undergoing the process of transculturation and hybridization.

3.3 Geographical distribution according to the U.S. Census Bureau

According to the report of the 2010 Census Bureau on the Hispanic Population, 41 percent of Hispanics lived in the West;[70] 36 percent – in the South;[71] 14 percent – in the Northeast;[72] and 9 percent – in the Midwest.[73] Over half of the Hispanic population in the USA resided in just three states: California, Texas, and Florida. In 2010, 51.8 percent of the Mexican origin population resided in the West; 34.4 percent – in the South; 10.9 percent – in the Midwest; 2.9 percent in the Northeast (See Table 8).[74] The Mexican-origin population represented the largest Hispanic group in 40 states, according to the 2010 Census. More than half of these states were in the South and West regions of the country, two in the northeast region,

[70] The West census region includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

[71] The South census region includes Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

[72] The Northeast census region includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

[73] The Midwest census region includes Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

[74] The Hispanic Population: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf>

and in all 12 states in the Midwest region.[75] According to the report of the 2010 Census, the top five states for the Mexican origin population were: California, Texas, Arizona, Illinois and Colorado (See Table 9). More than half of the Mexican group in the USA resided in California (11.4 million) and Texas (8.0 million) alone. Arizona and Illinois had similar numbers of Mexicans – about 1.6 million. The fifth top state for the number of Mexicans was Colorado (757 thousand).[76]

A report based on Pew Research Center analysis of the Census Bureau's American Community survey conducted in 2013 among Hispanic adults presents the regional dispersion of the U.S. population by ethnicity and Mexican origin (See Table 10). In 2013 there were 965,000 Mexicans in the Northeast. Half of that number was U.S. born and half was foreign born. In the Midwest, there were 3,708,000 Hispanics of Mexican origin and the number of U.S. born was almost twice as large than the number of foreign born. The largest concentration of Mexicans in the Midwest in 2013 was in the state of Illinois (1,697,000). In the Southwest, the states with the largest populations of Mexican-origin Hispanics were: California (12,251,000), Arizona (1,804,000), Texas (8,890,000) and Colorado (822,000).

A Pew Research Center report analyses the demographic profile of Hispanics in different American states. All the analyses are from Pew Research Center tabulations of the 1 percent Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) sample of the 2014 American Community Survey. For the state of California, the total Hispanic population is estimated as 14,991,000, constituting 39 percent of the state population, and 84 percent of which are of Mexican origin.[77] For the state of Texas, the total Hispanic population is estimated as 10,405,000, constituting 39 percent of the state population, and 87 percent of which are of Mexican origin.[78] The total Hispanic population in New Mexico is 994,000, constituting 48 percent of

[75] Profile America. Facts For Features.
www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/cb12-ff10.html
"2010 Census Shows Nation's Hispanic Population Grew Four Times Faster than Total U.S. Population." *The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education* 21(20), August 1, 2011: 30.

[76] The Hispanic Population: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf>

[77] Demographic profile of Hispanics in California, 2014. <www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/ca/>

[78] Demographic profile of Hispanics in Texas, 2014. <www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/tx/>

the state population, and 67 percent of which are of Mexican origin.[79] The total Hispanic population in Arizona is estimated as 2,056,000, constituting 31 percent of the state population, and 90 percent of which are of Mexican origin.[80] The total Hispanic population in Florida is 4,790,000, constituting 24 percent of the state population, and 14 percent of which are of Mexican origin.[81] The total Hispanic population in the state of New York is 3,668,000, constituting 19 percent of the state population, and 14 percent of which are of Mexican origin.[82]

Texas is one of the states with a large Mexican population. According to *McClatchy-Tribune Business News* (2011), an overwhelming majority of Hispanic residents in Mower County (Texas) identify themselves as Mexican American. Of the 4,138 Hispanic residents living in Mower County in 2010, 3,545 were of Mexican descent (Mewes 2011). The 2010 Census showed that Texas gained more people over the previous decade than any other state. People who identify themselves as Hispanic accounted for two-thirds of the state's growth in the that decade. At the same time demographics show that the growth in the population of white people who are not Hispanic has slowed markedly, rising by only 4 percent. Non-Hispanic whites now make up just 45 percent of the Texas population, down from 52 percent in 2000. Blacks continue to be about 11 percent of the state's population. According to Steve H. Murdock, a former director of the United States Census Bureau who is now a sociology professor at Rice University in Houston, most of the growth among Hispanics stemmed from births to families already living there. Despite that, migration also played a big role, not just that from Latin America, but from other states as well. According to the state's demographer, Lloyd B. Potter, from 2000 to 2010, the population of Texas has surged 20.6 percent, or by 4.2 million people, and nearly 45 percent of that growth was from migration. The fastest-growing counties are in the suburban zones around Houston and in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, where rural towns have been turned into suburbs to create new metropolises. Harris county, which includes Houston and is the state's largest, grew by 20 percent and is home

[79] Demographic profile of Hispanics in New Mexico, 2014. <www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/nm/>

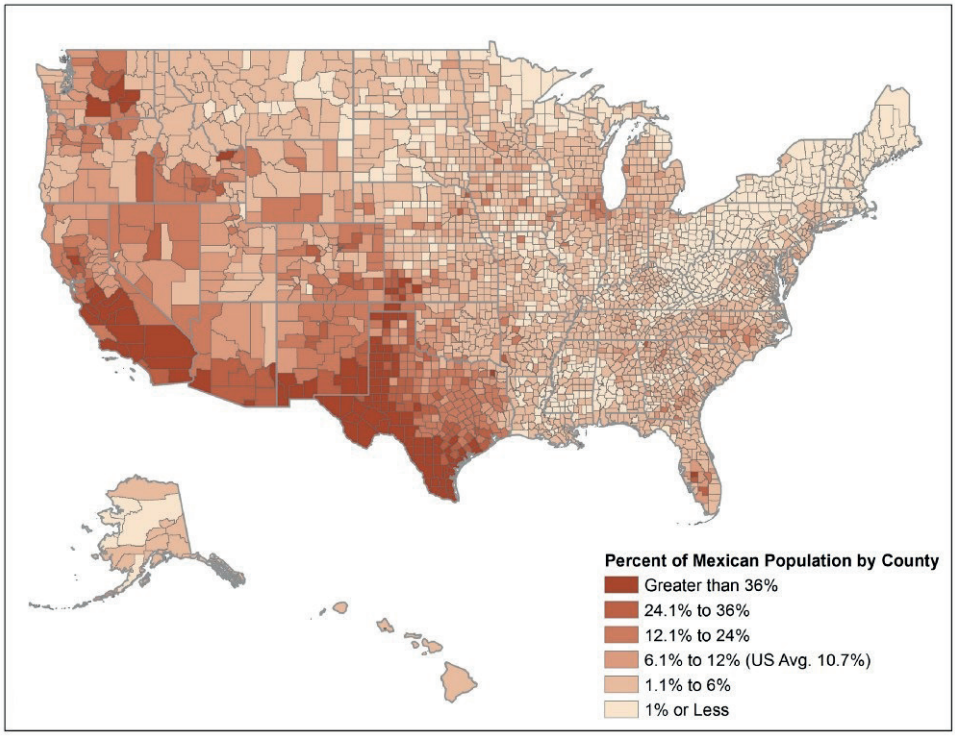
[80] Demographic profile of Hispanics in Arizona, 2014. www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/az/>

[81] Demographic profile of Hispanics in Florida, 2014. <www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/fl/>

[82] Demographic profile of Hispanics in New York, 2014. <www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/ny/>

to 1.7 million Hispanics – 41 percent of the county's population (McKinley 2011, A20).

Map 1. Mexican origin population in the USA, by county, 2009-2013.



Source: Brent Roderick. 2015 (May 20). Six Maps Show How America is Changing. By Esri's Market Potential. <https://medium.com/@Esri/six-maps-show-how-america-is-changing-49ffc8cced2>
Note: American Community Survey data (2009-2013 ACS) was used to create this map.

Population growth and economic opportunities in destinations that traditionally had few Hispanic inhabitants led to the dispersal of the Latino population across the USA. In the 1990s, North Carolina witnessed large Latino population growth as new immigrants pursued employment opportunities in agriculture and manufacturing. In the 2000s, counties in Georgia had the fastest growth nationally in their Hispanic populations. By 2014, a record 1,579 counties (about half of all U.S. counties) had at least 1,000 Latinos, up from just 833 in 1990. Counties in the South accounted for the largest share of the nation's Hispanic population growth (43 percent between 2007 and 2014). In the same period counties in the Northeast –

particularly those in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania – accounted for a large share of the national Hispanic population growth (14 percent). However, since the start of the Great Recession, counties in North Dakota have topped the list of the fastest growing ones. Williams county, Stark county and Ward County have all seen their Latino populations more than double from 2007 to 2014. Other counties outside the South that are among the 10 fastest-growing include Luzerne County in Pennsylvania, Beadle County in South Dakota, Duchesne County in Utah and Burleigh County in North Dakota. Generally, the median growth rate of Latino populations in counties across the nation from 2007 to 2014 was about 27 percent. Counties that exceeded this average were largely metropolitan, were located in the South and had relatively small Latino populations. Because of the small size of the Hispanic population in these counties they account for just 37 percent of the nation's Hispanic population growth.[83] Map 1 depicts the distribution of the Mexican origin population in the USA on the basis of data gathered by the American Community Survey (2009-2013).

3.4 Ethnic enclaves

Ethnic enclaves are not randomly distributed across metropolitan areas but concentrated in some areas and absent from others. Ethnic minority groups in American urban areas initially congregate in low-cost inner-city areas containing few members of other minorities or the white host population. This concentration into ethnic enclaves is seen as a result of their disadvantage and discrimination in the labour and housing markets and immigrants' desire for the economic security afforded by the group. The place of residence in the USA is closely tied to the range of resources available, such as affordable housing, access to jobs, schools and transportation. Therefore, residential segregation from non-Hispanic Whites can be an indicator of a group's socio-economic achievement. Over time, the ethnic enclave may expand as a result of in-migration and natural growth. Alternatively, it may contract as people leave the area while assimilating into the host society. The processes of enclave formation and dissolution have occurred many times in American metropolitan areas. Ethnic minority groups experience extremely high levels of segregation during the initial

[83] *U.S. Latino Population Growth and Dispersion Has Slowed Since Onset of the Great Recession*. September 8, 2016. By Renee Stepler and Mark Hugo Lopez.

period of their stay in the host society, and subsequently the levels of segregation begin to decline (Johnston et al. 2006, 389; Sacks 2011, 88).

The rapid growth of the Hispanic population has created uncertainty as to the future of Hispanic social and economic incorporation in the United States. In the residential sphere, Hispanic segregation from Anglos is moderately high and shows no sign of decreasing. Immigrants' country of origin has an influence on the shaping of their residential patterns. Many immigrants depend on pre-existing community-based networks rooted in their country of origin and transplant those networks into the new country. This is especially true among less educated migrants who rely on kin and friends for shelter and many kinds of help (Iceland et al. 2008, 741, 745).

Almost every American city is now a border town. All over the country there are numerous Mexican barrios where both legal and undocumented immigrants settle. Historically, two typologies of barrios evolved. The first types of barrios were located in close proximity to civic centres and experienced rapid improvements in basic infrastructure associated with the extension of urban centres. Examples of this type of barrio-city relationship can be seen in San Antonio, Denver, Phoenix, and El Paso. Conversely, the second type of barrios, located on the periphery of urban zones, lacked most basic urban amenities. Cities in the South Rio Grande Valley are examples of this second type of barrio. In the early 1900s, the two main Chicana/o urban centres were El Paso and San Antonio. Other cities also developed distinct barrios, including Santa Fe, and Albuquerque in New Mexico, and Durango, Pueblo, and Denver in Colorado. Along the South Rio Grande Valley, Laredo, Mercedes, Brownsville, and Corpus Christi hosted the main urban barrios. Barrio formation was tied to segregation patterns, and housing and infrastructure within the barrios were poor (Diaz 2005, 30-34).

Many Hispanic communities are concentrated in California, where one of the most significant barrios is East Los Angeles (East L.A.). The centre of this community used to be the area known as Boyle Heights, inhabited by immigrants from central and eastern Europe. The early Chicana/os that migrated east of the Los Angeles River settled in the area known as Belvedere. Another barrio, Joyo Maravilla, was established east of this zone. This community was located east of Boyle Heights, a neighbourhood that resisted Chicana/o entry during the early 1920s. Despite that, Hispanics started to move into the area and by the early 1930s the influx of Chicana/os had an impact on the cultural dynamics of Boyle Heights. Because of the rapid economic expansion of Los Angeles in the 1940s and 1950s,

white people started to move from the Eastside which opened up housing opportunities for Hispanics (Diaz 2005, 33).

Another Hispanic population concentration in California is the city of Santa Ana which is famous for its Latino character. *The Orange County Register* (2015) reported that the residents of Santa Ana were proposing that the city's downtown embrace Latino identity. The residents and the City Council were discussing the Wellness District project, which aimed to foster retail and activities that are healthy, vibrant and authentic to the Latino character. A coalition of working groups, including downtown merchants, believed that the concept would serve loyal Santa Ana residents – who are largely Latino – and attract a broader circle of visitors who want a taste of Latino culture. Thus, the concept was viewed as promoting multiculturalism. Unfortunately, not all residents agreed with the project and some even described it as 'racist' or 'un-American'. These were mostly non-Latino inhabitants of the city who welcomed gentrification of the area. They pointed to potential dangers of the plan which could "disrupt the area's renaissance" and "separate the diverse culture of the downtown" (Molina 2015). Another article, published later in *The Orange County Register* (2015) reported that the city of Santa Ana in a symbolic way fulfilled a promise to preserve Latino culture. Under the Wellness District strategy, the city agreed to designate 'Plaza Santa Ana' as 'Plaza Calle Cuatro'. In the city centre the new red lettered sign has been put on a planter at a gathering spot at the northwest corner of Fourth and French streets. Latino merchants supported this plan as a means to fight the gentrification that was diminishing the Latin character of the area. In 2011, the Fiesta Marketplace shopping district on East Fourth Street, designed to look like a traditional Mexican plaza, was rebranded as 'East End' by a downtown developer to broaden its appeal beyond the core Latino clientele. Despite gentrification of the area, the decision to rename 'Plaza Santa Ana' as 'Plaza Calle Cuatro' proves that the city is finally recognizing its Latino residents. Madeleine Spencer, a consultant for the Santa Ana Business Council, said: "Calle Cuatro is about giving people the right to remain and thrive within their own community and having a sense of pride in that, and that they are able to thrive and be part of any kind of changes that occur without feeling that they have to leave" (Kwong 2015).

Another article published by *The Orange County Register* (2007) described how a group of business leaders and political officials in Santa Ana planned to start a new bank to cater to Latino small-business owners

in and near the city's centre. The goal was to provide bilingual service in English and Spanish and develop a personal relationship with customers, for example, by using customer service agents instead of automated systems. The bank was to offer real estate, construction and business loans, hoping to attract the Spanish-speaking customers who were dissatisfied with the consolidation of larger banks. This article demonstrates that the city of Santa Ana recognizes its Latino residents and wants to support their entrepreneurial activities (Taxin 2007).

Hispanic communities are numerous in the state of Arizona. In 1990, suburban Phoenix was only 13 percent Hispanic, and the larger suburbs were between 5 and 17 percent Latino. By 2000, three of the largest five suburban cities were at least 20 percent Hispanic and in the metropolitan area, 30 percent of Latinos resided in a suburban city. Large Hispanic populations reside in Mesa, Glendale, Phoenix, Temple, Scottsdale and Chandler. Contemporary Hispanic Phoenix encompasses five categories of neighbourhoods that range from the long-standing barrios to emerging Latino neighbourhoods which are chiefly Mexican. Residents and community organizations defined neighbourhood names, e.g. 'Hispanic Core' – adjacent to the downtown central business district where Interstates 10 and 17 intersect – is the area where Mexican influence is decades old and neighbourhoods were already majority Hispanic by 1990. Next are the 'Latino Dynamo' areas that have experienced the greatest change from 1990 to 2000. These regions are located west of the central business district and both north and south of Interstate 10. The 'Hispanic Edge/Satellite Barrios' neighbourhoods represent areas that had some Latino populations in 1990, which had doubled by 2000. Some of these neighbourhoods are in central Phoenix, and others are more isolated in the northern part of the city. Finally, there are 'Latino Fringe' districts, primarily north of the city centre. One example of a satellite barrio, surrounded by subdivisions that are mostly non-Hispanic, is the Mexican *Palomino* neighbourhood which includes a large trailer park that houses chiefly Mexican immigrants from Sonora and Chihuahua (Oberle et al. 2008, 178-179).

The New York Times (2011) reported that from 2000 to 2010, the Hispanic population increased by 48 percent in Maricopa County, which includes much of the Phoenix-Mesa metropolitan area, to make up 30 percent of the entire population in the area. The white population in Maricopa County increased by 10 percent, growing at a much slower pace than the Hispanics. The overall share of whites in the area decreased to 59

percent in 2010 from two-thirds in 2000. According to Tom Rex, associate director of the Center for Competitiveness and Prosperity Research at the W.P. Carey School of Business at Arizona State University, "The Hispanic population has gone up, but it didn't go up as much as people thought. Or maybe it did go up and then dropped when those who got here couldn't find jobs". Overall, Arizona's population has boomed to 6.4 million from 5.1 million over the decade 2000-2010, at a rate second only to Nevada's, and much of the growth is a result of a 46 percent increase in the Hispanic population, said Bill Schooling, the state demographer. Significant increases in Hispanics were reported across the state: in the Phoenix metropolitan area, as well as in the border counties of Yuma, Pima and Santa Cruz and in the remote north-western Mohave county, bordering California and Nevada, where the Hispanic population grew 72 percent. (Lacey 2011, A19).

Another article published by *The New York Times* (2011) proves the voting potential of the growing Hispanic community of the state of Arizona. Hispanics constitute 19 percent of Arizona residents of voting age. Democratic Party activists are trying to use this voting potential and enhance the level of Hispanic participation in elections. Thousands of Hispanic residents who had never voted before flooded the polls to help Daniel Valenzuela, a Hispanic firefighter, beat Brenda Sperduti, a white businesswoman, to become the first Hispanic to represent an overwhelming Latino district on the Phoenix City Council (Cooper 2011, A25).

Known for its multicultural character, the city of New York has been experiencing a rapid Latinization in recent years. Hispanics in New York City tended to be Puerto Ricans or Dominicans; however, the turn of the millennium marked an explosive growth in the number of Mexicans, usually settling in the Bronx. The borough has become famous for its night life with Mexican music and cuisine. One popular place is *El Chicanito*, on 138th Street, a commercial thoroughfare with Mexican grocery stores and record shops mixed with the businesses of older Hispanic groups. There is live music at weekends; the repertoire includes regional Mexican music known as banda and New York-style salsa. Mexicans residing in New York also started to listen to music popular among Dominicans – bachata – which is often selected on jukeboxes in most Mexican restaurants. The largest cluster of Mexican night spots is in the west-central part of the Bronx, e.g. *El Tenampa* on Webster Avenue, and *the Diamente Poblano* on Jerome Avenue. People listen and dance to the mix of rancheras, corridos, norteñas, cumbias and bachatas. On West Kingsbridge Road stands *Montezuma* restaurant

with a neon sign 'Tu Mexico en New York' ('Your Mexico in New York') where the mariachi group Citlalli sing traditional ranchera in elegant black uniforms. The clients of the restaurant listen to the music, drink margaritas and eat Latin dishes. Although everything appears to be Mexican, in fact, it is a multi-ethnic mix as the management of the restaurant is Dominican, the music is Mexican, the customers speak mostly with a Caribbean accent, the food is Tex-Mex. There are other bars and dance clubs that attract Mexican clientele, such as *El Tampa* where a D.J. spins a danceable mix of cumbia, bachata, merengue, ranchera and reggatton. The absence of salsa proves that times are changing in the Bronx, which is often called the 'Borough of Salsa' (Kugel 2004, 30).

According to *The New York Times* (2003) East Harlem, which is often called El Barrio – the neighbourhood – witnessed a series of ethnic conflicts between Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrants. Recently, Mexican immigrants have been arriving in huge influx into the crowded streets of what has long been a Puerto Rican enclave. While the two groups share a language, a common tongue does not ensure a common bond. As far as ethnic rivalries go, the friction between the Mexicans and the Puerto Ricans of El Barrio is virtually open war. The Puerto Ricans accuse the Mexicans of stealing jobs, cheating on taxes and staying in the city as illegal immigrants. The Mexicans, in turn, accuse the Puerto Ricans of crowding them out of apartments, businesses and parks. The two groups are in a classic immigrant struggle over bragging rights, real estate and money. The presence of both groups can be felt on 116th Street, between Second and Third Avenues, where Mexican *tacquerias* now stand side by side with Puerto Rican *cuchifrito* shops. Walkers can hear salsa and merengue intermixed with mariachi. Puerto Rican *guayaberas* are sold next door to Mexican football shirts. On the corner, a travel agency advertises trips to San Juan in Puerto Rico. Down the block, another one promotes Mexican excursions to Cancún. However, many Mexicans are being priced out as gentrification occurs. El Barrio is gentrifying rapidly as wealthy whites and Asians are moving in, attracted by inexpensive rents. The Mexicans often have to move out, especially the illegal and poor ones who are unaware of tenant rights. Complicating matters even more is a schism that has developed between Mexicans who are established in the neighbourhood and those who have only recently arrived, e.g. several Mexican restaurateurs complained to the police about a group of Mexican women selling tacos and empanadas on the sidewalks in front of the restaurant doors. The women, they said, were stealing customers. The

women, in turn, said that selling street food was the only way they could survive. The restaurateurs emphasised that they were in the USA legally and were paying taxes, while the women were illegal immigrants who did not pay taxes (Feuer 2003, B1).

A report based on Pew Research Center's tabulations of the 2014 American Community Survey provides the top 60 metropolitan areas by Hispanic population (See Table 11). It also presents the percentage share of the top three Hispanic origin groups in each metropolitan area. The geographical settlement of Hispanics is closely linked with their origin. Hispanics of Mexican descent are the largest Hispanic group in many southern border metropolitan areas, but along the East Coast there is more diversity. Mexicans constitute the largest Hispanic origin group in the following metropolitan areas: Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA; Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX; Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA; Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI; Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX; Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ; San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX; San Diego-Carlsbad, CA; San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA; McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX; El Paso, TX; Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO; Austin-Round Rock, TX; Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV; Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA; Fresno, CA; San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA; Sacramento-Roseville-Arden-Arcade, CA; Bakersfield, CA; Albuquerque, NM; Brownsville-Harlingen, TX; Tucson, AZ; Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA; Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA; Stockton-Lodi, CA; Corpus Christi, TX; Visalia-Porterville, CA; Salinas, CA; Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA; Laredo, TX; Modesto, CA; Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC; Salt Lake City, UT; Santa Maria-Santa Barbara, CA; Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI; Kansas City, MO-KS; Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI; Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI; Merced, CA; El Centro, CA; Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD; Las Cruces, NM; Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL; Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN; Raleigh, NC; Santa Rosa, CA; Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN; Yuma, AZ.

CHAPTER FOUR

Spanglish

The use of Spanish language in the United States is a result of an increase in the Hispanic population since the annexation of Mexican territory (the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848) and the continuing immigration from Spanish-speaking countries. Spanish has been spoken in what is now the Southwest of the United States since the initial expeditions of Spanish colonists north from New Spain, which is now Mexico, dating back to the mid-sixteenth century. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Spanish missionaries helped to bring the increased use of the Spanish language to the Indigenous peoples of these areas. In the nineteenth century, during the Gold Rush (1848-55), Anglos began settling these areas in great numbers. Another stimulus for Anglo settlement was the availability of arable land. As a result of these settlements, the linguistic landscape of the Southwest has changed dramatically, and the inhabitants of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado have adapted their customs and language to novel conditions. Levin, in his article in *The Orange County Register* (2006), writes about Hispanics: "Not only are they Latinizing the American mainstream, they are Americanizing what it means to be Hispanic in the United States" (Levin 2006).

The original dialects of Spanish spoken in the United States were those of the Spanish colonizers; the longest-standing dialects were those of New Mexico and southern Colorado. Due to the history of the American Southwest and its close proximity to Mexico, the majority of Spanish speakers speak some form of Mexican Spanish. However, the varieties of Spanish spoken in the cities have diversified greatly due to expansion of Hispanic populations. The three bilingual dialects that have the longest-standing history in the United States, and therefore the longest period of contact with English, are northern New Mexican Spanish, New York City Puerto Rican Spanish, and Miami Cuban Spanish. There is also a vernacular

variety known as Californio Spanish which has evolved from the Spanish language that has been present in California since the 18th century. Despite the historical, geographical and cultural differences that exist between these three bilingual dialects, the linguistic outcomes of language contact between Spanish and English have been similar. The contact between English and Spanish in certain areas of the USA has created a series of phenomena known as Spanglish. The most recognizable influence has been in the lexicon, with English loan items being incorporated into the speech of English-Spanish bilinguals. Code-switching[84] is also very common in bilingual speech. There is a debate regarding whether Spanglish is either a popular/colloquial Spanish variety within the United States or part of a more anthropological linguistic entity (Waltermire 2014, 1-4; Rodríguez-González et al. 2012, 461; Prieto 2014, 360).

4.1 Defining Spanglish

The usage of English and Spanish by Mexican Americans is closely connected to their employment, immigration, and education. These factors determine their continuation of Spanish language varieties. Chicanos in the American Southwest are largely of working-class status, and this plays a significant role in their linguistic and cultural assimilation patterns. Low-income jobs lead to concentration of Hispanic minority groups in ethnic ghettos, known as barrios, where they continue to speak Spanish. Those who achieve a certain level of social mobility move out of the barrio into districts dominated by English-speaking communities. Another significant factor that influences the linguistic context is the flow of workers from Mexico, allowing a constant infusion of Mexican varieties of Spanish into the Southwest. Generally, the first- and second-generation Chicanos tend to use Spanish more than the later generations. However, the generational factor is not significant for people who have stayed in the barrios, in contact solely with Spanish-speaking persons for whom English language is not indispensable (Sánchez 2008, 3-5).

Barlow and Nadeau in their article published in *The Wall Street Journal* (2013) write about the transnational culture of U.S. Hispanics who have their own language. Thirty years ago, scholars spoke of Spanish in the USA

[84] Code-switching means going back and forth from one language belonging to one grammatical system to another.

as if it were a foreign language. Today, they speak of the Spanish of the U.S. and they do not mean Spanglish. They are referring to an entirely new brand of Spanish that is used in the official U.S. government services portal GobiernoUSA.gov. This form of Spanish even has its own language academy to oversee its evolution: the New York-based Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española. Julie Barlow and Jean-Benoit Nadeau are the authors of "The Story of Spanish" (2013), published by St. Martin's Press (Barlow et al. 2013).

It is also worth mentioning that more Hispanics in the USA speak English proficiently than ever before, and fewer speak Spanish at home, according to a Pew Research Center report.[85] The percentage of Hispanics who speak English 'very well' reached 68% in 2013, up from 59% in 2000. At the same time, 73% of Hispanics report that they speak Spanish at home, down from 78% in 2000. Part of the reason for the shift is the rise in U.S.-born Hispanics, who outnumber foreign-born Hispanics 35 million to 19 million and are more likely to be raised speaking English at school and at home. Ali Noorani, executive director of the National Immigration Forum, said the numbers in the report show that Hispanics are "becoming Americans" on their own. He concluded: "This data proves that Hispanics are integrating into the U.S. and are thriving" (Gomez 2015, A3).

The English of Mexican Americans plays a key role in the sociolinguistic study of language variation in the United States. The linguistic varieties spoken by Mexican Americans represent the complex identities of the speakers. In all sociolinguistic communities, there are linguistic codes available for expressing ethnic identity. Mexican Americans use a number of varieties of Spanish and English, as well as a code-switching variety, known as Spanglish, which is a complicated intermingling of English and Spanish and plays a crucial role in Mexican American identity. In the case of second generation Mexican Americans, not all of them speak Spanish, but all of them speak some variety of English. The list of English-based varieties found in Mexican American communities includes Chicano English – a non-standard variety of English spoken primarily by U.S. born speakers, which shows the influence of Spanish; however, it does not require fluency in Spanish. This code emerged from the context in which English and Spanish were in constant contact. Other varieties of English derive from regional and local differences of the place where the speakers reside, such as Southern California English. A typically hybrid form of linguistic code

[85] The report is based on Pew's analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data from 1980 to 2013.

used by Mexican Americans is Spanglish, which requires from its speakers a certain degree of fluency in both languages (Fought 2010, 44-45).

The language used in the U.S. Southwest reflected the fusion of the two cultures: American and Mexican. Linguistic 'code-switching' has become popular; speakers produce stretches of speech first in one language variety and then in the other. There are different versions of code-switching, e.g. one speaker speaks in one code and the reply comes in another, or conversation participants code-switch inter-sententially,[86] or even intra-sententially.[87] It can be a straightforward Spanish-English blend, where sentences can begin, in English and end in Spanish or vice versa. But it can also be more complex, including words created by the collision of the two original languages. Verbs are often derived from English but can be conjugated as if in Spanish. Sometimes code-switching involves regional variations within the same language. U.S. Hispanics use Spanish words in combination with English ones. The English-Spanish code-switchers of the border tend to focus on phrases in one language that would be difficult to substitute in another language. Code-switching is also used to soften formal language and evoke an emotionally positive response (Martínez-Brawley et al. 2001, 59-60; Usborne 1997, 19).

Spanglish makes use of so-called 'false cognates': words that appear and sound similar in the two languages and usually come from the same historical source, but which have different, or partially different, meanings. *Atender*, for instance, means 'to pay attention to' but it sounds like the English 'attend', and has thus taken on that meaning in Spanglish. Such adaptation extends to the more complex issue of idioms, in which a literal translation is meaningless; however, they take on the same meaning in Spanish that they have in English (Goldman 1986, 25).

An interlanguage emerges when two languages come into close contact, which usually occurs in border regions such as the U.S./Mexico frontier. However, this is not the case for Miami or New York where Spanglish is spoken. What is unique about Spanglish is that it is spoken not only in linguistic and geographic border areas. As a matter of fact, there are linguistic 'borders' everywhere in the United States and many American cities are border towns. Although diverse variations of Spanglish are spoken by millions of people in the USA, this linguistic phenomenon has been significantly understudied. The lack of academic interest in Spanglish can be

[86] Between sentences.

[87] An alternation happens below sentential boundaries.

explained by the fact that Spanglish has been associated primarily with low-educated people; however, the recent trend shows that Spanglish is gaining popularity among people with higher status as well (Ardila 2005, 64-65).

Code-switching is just one form of language mixing that bilinguals can employ; mixing also includes borrowings and other forms of cross-linguistic features (Sayer 2013, 69). Ardila differentiates between code-switching and code mixture. "Code-switching means that at a certain point, the speaker changes the language, and continues talking in another language. A switch is produced when beginning a new sentence, and usually a new topic. … Code mixture means that within a single sentence, two languages are mixed and may alternate" (Ardila 2005, 70). The use of code-switching enables speakers to broaden their ability to communicate and requires expressive skills in both languages. These skills are developed at an early age when acquiring language in a bilingual community (Osorio 2010, 26). Moreover, code-switching is the norm when speaking Spanish but not English, because it is presumed that Spanish speakers can understand some English, but English speakers do not necessarily understand Spanish. Two types of phenomena are observed in the development of Spanglish: superficial, including borrowing and code-switching; and deep, including lexical-semantics and grammar. The future of Spanglish is believed to depend on two factors: the number of Spanish-speaking immigrants, and U.S. polices concerning bilingualism. Spanish speakers tend to move to Spanglish after a few years of living in the USA, or as a result of being exposed to both languages from birth. This means that they need a lot of exposure to English and Spanish to assimilate Spanglish. To a certain extent, Spanglish is the result of the need for communication in the Spanish-speaking communities (Ardila 2005, 71, 78). According to Rodríguez-González, one of the most important factors keeping Spanglish alive in the United States is the increase in the number of Hispanics, without which a complete shift to English would probably take place. Additionally, the demographic density of Hispanics in certain areas significantly contributes to preservation of Spanish in the USA (Rodríguez-González et al. 2012, 462).

According to Max Castro, a sociologist at University of Miami, Spanglish speakers move between Spanish and English, but few are fully bilingual. While Spanglish may work as effective communication in a bilingual society, it often breaks grammar rules (Clary 1997, 15). Borrowing words from English and Spanishizing them has been a typical strategy of immigrants, who contort English words for everyday survival. This method makes new

words by pronouncing an English word 'Spanish style' (dropping final consonants, softening others, replacing M's with N's and V's with B's), and spelled by transliterating the result using Spanish spelling conventions. Thus, a person suffering from a chest cold will walk into a drugstore and ask for *Bibaporrú*, ordinarily called *Vick's VapoRub*. (Alvarez 1997, B4).

The rapidly growing vocabulary of Spanglish appears in neither of the standard Spanish or English lexicons. Linguists distinguish between a 'pidgin',[88] a simplified combination of languages used for communication between groups speaking different tongues, and a 'creolized'[89] language – which has a more fully developed syntax and vocabulary than a pidgin because it has become a community's native tongue. Haring states that the increasing prominence of Spanglish indicates that many Americans have now begun to experience creolization of their language (Haring 2011, 186). According to Stavans, Spanglish was essentially a pidgin, but there are signs that more formal rules are being developed. Great numbers of Hispanics are becoming trilingual as they speak Spanish, English and Spanglish. This phenomenon applies especially to members of the younger urban generation. Given the circumstances of rapid and ongoing migration, the acquisition of English in the Latino community is fast and comparable to the language learning of previous immigrant groups. Yet, Spanglish is not disappearing as English proficiency grows (Stavans 2003).

According to *The Official Spanglish Dictionary* (1998 New York: Fireside), by Cuban American journalists Bill Teck and Bill Cruz, "it's a tricky mixture in which Spanish words are inserted in English sentences for emphasis, or English terms are twisted into Spanish" (Barrientos 2003, C01). Code-switching, code-mixing, borrowings and other language contact phenomena are commonly employed by Chicana/o bilinguals.

[88] Holm (2000, 5) defines pidgin as "a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common". According to Glissant (2008, 82), a pidgin language plays with the elements of one language, and disturbs them, lexically and syntactically. The principal characteristic of a pidgin form of communication is its aggressive treatment of the language in which the pidgin forms appear, e.g. in the language of rap music in the USA.

[89] According to Winford (2001, 304), creole languages emerged in colonial settings in the New World, the Indian Ocean, and West Africa where European powers subjected African, Asian, and other populations to their rule in the course of the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries. Glissant (2008, 82-83) defines a creole as a language that does not work within one but always two languages or two fields of language, which are its components, e.g. the francophone Creole languages of the West Indies consist of fragments of syntax from sub-Saharan West Africa and a lexicon brought by the francophone Normans and British sailors.

Spanglish is a way for Hispanics to deal with complex linguistic and ethnic identity issues in a creative manner. In a way, the use of Spanglish creates another level of meaning where the hybridity of Chicana/o experiences is negotiated. In this sense, Spanglish is a way to construct the so-called 'Third Space' of Chicana/o identity (Sánchez-Muñoz 2013, 440). Spanglish features hybridized words that have been formed by blending its two parent languages. Examples of those words include: *chequear* (to check), *clikear* (to click), *lonche* (lunch), *parkear* (park), *troca* (truck), *yarda* (yard), *fizando* (freezing) (Cortés 2013, 1986).

Gloria Anzaldúa wrote that

> for a people who are neither Spanish nor live in a country in which Spanish is the first language; for a people who live in a country in which English is the reigning tongue but who are not Anglo; for a people who cannot entirely identify with either standard (formal, Castilian) Spanish nor standard English, what recourse is left to them but to create their own language? A language which they can connect their identity to, one capable of communicating the realities and values true to themselves – a language with terms that are neither español ni inglés, but both. (Anzaldúa 1987, 177)

According to Stavans, Spanglish is not only a hybrid language but also a border language. Border languages are active in areas that mark boundaries between nations; however, hybrid languages and border languages are not the same thing. They share the same ties, but differ in their origin. Hybrid languages are the result of two different traditions, whereas border languages are also hybrid but are geographically restricted. Hybrid languages can therefore emerge in territories other than borders. Spanglish is found on the border between Mexico and the USA, but it is also common in Hispanic ethnic ghettos such as Harlem (New York), Eastlos (Los Angeles) and La Villita (Chicago) (Stavans 2014, 303-304).

4.2 Regional varieties

The use of Spanglish is observed in most U.S. areas with large concentrations of Spanish speakers. Spanglish is not a unified dialect and is characterized by regional differences. The Spanglish used in Texas may differ from the dialect spoken in Miami or New York. Some Chicano expressions that are common in California or Texas may be not

comprehensible to Florida Hispanics. That is because some Spanglish words are tailored according to specific social needs and circumstances. A type of 'Dominicanish' is spoken by Dominican Americans in Washington Heights, and it is different from the 'Pachuco' spoken by Mexicans in El Paso and the 'Cubonics'[90] used by Cubans in Union City or Miami. Many urbanized Mexican Americans in the Southwest speak a highly stylized Spanish-English hybrid known as 'caló', a linguistic form that has gained notoriety through Chicano films such as *My Family/Mi Familia* (1995). Moreover, there is also the ubiquitous cyber-Spanish, used primarily on the Internet. Yet, according to Stavans, each of these Spanglishes shows its own inclination towards standardization. Thanks to radio, TV, newspapers, and particularly the Internet, Spanglish travels fast on the Web – certain words are understood from coast to coast and beyond American borders. This has prompted corporations and advertising firms to attempt to profit from the new linguistic hybrid (Stavans 2003; Ardila 2005, 60, 63; Cortés 2013, 1986).

4.2.1 Tex-Mex

The increasing use of Spanish in combination with English created the need for a regional dictionary called *Diccionario del Español Tejano* (Dictionary of Spanish from Texas) published in 1975 by Roberto Galaván and Richard Teschner. Later, a second edition was published to include terminology from California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Florida (Osorio 2010, 35).

People in South Texas call their Spanish-English hybrid variety – Tex-Mex. This dialect is widely accepted, especially in the regions close to the border. Tex-Mex can sometimes sound more like Spanish, or more like English, but it is always considered informal and is not written. Tex-Mex mixes the languages in a few ways: code-switching (inter-sentential, intra-sentential); borrowings; Calques/cross-linguistic influences from English and Spanish. Tex-Mex is also characterised by other linguistic markers, such as archaic forms from colonial-era Spanish and influences from rural Mexican features (Sayer 2013, 74).

Peter Sayer describes the study of TESOL educators on students' language practices in the Mexican American community in San Antonio, Texas. The

[90] 'Cubonics' is a portmanteau of 'Cuban' and 'Ebonics'.

study concerned Callaghan Elementary in the Westside neighbourhood. The teachers embody a flexible approach to bilingual instruction and encourage the students to use any of their linguistic resources, not only English but also terms from the local vernacular, Tex-Mex. Mixing English and Spanish is generally accepted in everyday interactions; however, one of the goals of formal education is to learn to use language 'correctly'. Hence, the relationship between the first language (Spanish) and the second language (English) in bilingual education is problematic. Pedagogies based on language separation often marginalise vernaculars and do not take advantage of the sociolinguistic competence of bilingual students. The purpose of the analysis conducted at Callaghan Elementary was to determine whether or not code-switching was a 'proper' way to learn standard language and academic content. The study suggests that students move fluidly between not just Spanish and English, but also the standard and vernacular varieties, a movement that is called 'translanguaging'[91] (Sayer 2013, 63-65).

The radio station KXTN-FM in San Antonio receives requests from advertisers that the commercials be broadcast in Spanglish, recognizing that this dialect corresponds to the listener's bicultural world. Ms. Haubegger, the publisher of *Latina* magazine, said: "If we are an English magazine, we would just be general market. … If we were a Spanish-language magazine, we would be Latin American. We are the intersection of the two, and we reflect a life between two languages and two cultures that our readers live in" (Alvarez 1997, B4).

4.2.2 Nuyorican

In the 1960s, a new kind of theatrical and artistic expression originated among the New York Puerto Ricans in Hispanic working-class communities. This movement was coined 'Nuyorican' (an elision meaning New York Puerto Rican) in the very literature in which it was conceived (Cortés et al. 2003, 343). The description 'Nuyorican' came to refer to

[91] Translanguaging is "an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages" (García et al. 2014, 8).

an identity, a language, a genre, and a style that expressed Puerto Rican experience and frustration with marginalization and decline of the barrios of New York (Mele 2000, 203).

According to the *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art* (1993): "The Nuyorican language, the only language capable of recreating in literary form the new reality of the Puerto Ricans in the United States, is a mixture of Spanish and English that has resulted in a greater verbal wealth than either of the other two languages provide by themselves." (1993, 124). The exemplary term in Nuyorican is the name of a cafe in Manhattan – *Loisaida*[92] (Lower East Side) – often visited by Latino writers and performers (Usborne 1997, 19).

4.2.3 Cubonics

It was a columnist on *The Miami Herald* who first picked up the Spanglish expression "snoring the mango". As explained by the researcher Liz Balmaseda: "Snore in this context does not suggest boredom. It suggests upheaval, something that would require you to smack the knuckles of one hand against the palm of the other". Balmaseda's research led her to Bill Cruz, a musician and amateur etymologist who began recording Cuban-American expressions in a column for *Generation N* magazine for Miami's bilingual Latinos. It was thanks to Cruz that Miami's population of English-speakers learnt that the Cuban word *Santiclos* was actually Cubonics for Santa Claus. A vacuum cleaner has become known as a *bacuncliner* and Woolworths has morphed into *Tensen*, for 10 cents. In 1996, *The Miami Herald* ran a competition inviting readers to submit their favourite Cubonics expressions. The newspaper was flooded with calls and the readers learned things like "he plays the dead fly" (he's stupid) or "she's a liver" (a pain). Another one was "C and G" – for "cartera and guantes" (purse and gloves) – which means picking up your things to leave or saying 'goodbye' (Allen-Mills, 1997).

Bill Cruz and Bill Teck became editors of *Generation N* magazine and continued researching Spanglish which resulted in publication of *The Official Spanglish Dictionary* (1998, New York: Fireside). The authors maintain that there are often no words in English (or Spanish) that accurately express the

[92] *Loisaida* is also the name of the Hispanic neighbourhood in the East Village.

speaker's intent. In such cases, the blending of the two languages allows the speaker to capture the essence of one culture in the language of the other (Neuliep 2015, 107).

4.3 Criticism of Spanglish

The topic of Spanglish has many critics. It is argued that it delays the assimilation of Hispanics into the American mainstream culture and reinforces ghettoization of ethnic minorities. Others, on the contrary, praise the usage of Spanglish for its hybrid form of communication which presents dynamic creativity (Stavans 2008, ix). Spanglish is criticized by linguistic purists, especially those from the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language in Madrid. They believe that people should use the recorded Spanish lexicon and that so-called 'jerga loca' is the result of laziness. According to Stavans, the purists forget that the majority of homes in the USA do not have a dictionary. "And in any case, it's not dictionaries that tell people how to speak. Rather, it's the other way round" (Stavans 2003).

Dominita Dumitrescu in her presentation, titled: '"Spanglish": What's in a Name?', at the Modern Language Association's convention in Los Angeles, in January 2011, said: "Indeed, Spanglish, a derogatory term coined by the Puerto Rican journalist Salvador Tió in the mid-fifties, and frivolously used nowadays by the media in confusing and inaccurate ways, has stirred a strong controversy among its partisans and its detractors at both the political and educational levels" (Dumitrescu 2012, 1).

Spanglish has caused concern on both sides of the border. On the American side, educators fear that children speaking English at school, Spanish at home and Spanglish on the streets, may fail to learn either Spanish or English properly and thus grow up sounding poorly educated in both. In Mexico, the national authorities fear that the Spanish is being permanently debased by Spanglish speakers who return from the USA. Officials in the administration of President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado began an advertising campaign to discourage such things as using English names for businesses and restaurants. When José López Portillo was President, he established a Committee for the Defence of Culture and Language to preserve both Spanish-Mexican cultural tradition and the mother tongue (King 1983, A1).

According to Roberto González Echevarría, a professor of Hispanic and comparative literature at Yale, the proliferation of Spanglish "poses

a grave danger to Hispanic culture and to the advancement of Hispanics in mainstream America" (Clary 1997, 15). González Echevarría believes that Hispanics should learn to speak both English and Spanish well. Otherwise, "we're going to end up speaking McSpanish, a sort of anglicized Spanish", he adds (Kong 2002, A10). It is often believed that Spanglish is primarily the language of poor Hispanics who incorporate English words and constructions into their daily speech because they lack the education even in Spanish to adapt easily to the new culture. On the other hand, educated Hispanics use Spanglish for different reasons. Some are embarrassed by their background and try to belong to the American mainstream by using English words. González Echevarría says that using Spanglish "indicates marginalization, not enfranchisement" (González Echevarría 2008, 116). Another academic, John Lipski, wrote that the use of the term Spanglish is "as out of place in promoting Latino language and culture as are the words *crazy*, *lunatic*, *crackpot*, or *nut case* in mental health, or *bum*, *slob*, *misfit*, and *loser* in social work" (Lipski 2008, 72).

The criticism towards Spanglish is also presented by the readers of *The New York Times*. One of them - Daniel R. Martin – presented his opinion in a letter to the editor. Although the author agreed that Spanglish could be an enriching form of communication, at the same time, he expressed his worries about "national cohesion" in case the dialect became an official language.

> ... This hybrid speech, which is also heard in places like Los Angeles and Miami, will no doubt serve to enrich both English and Spanish and provide a more fluid means of expression among those comfortable in both cultures. It should also be welcomed as a means of making Americans less linguistically challenged, by attuning the average ear to something other than the sounds of English. However, for the sake of continued national cohesion and a common standard, we should insist that all government documents like driver's licenses and voter registration cards be issued only in English. Let's not have people pushed into second-class citizenship by their lack of understanding of the country's lingua franca. (Martin 1997, A14)

Spanglish is often seen as a purely colloquial form of communication best suited to popular culture, and not acceptable for the workplace or school curriculum (Alvarez 1997, A1, B4). Miami high school students said the attempts of some English teachers to discourage Spanglish were undermined by other teachers who used Spanglish themselves (O'Connor 1992, A8). According to one critical opinion about Spanglish, presented in *The New*

York Times (1997), young Hispanics speak a mixture of English and Spanish because no-one has ever forced them to master either language. The author of the article said: "We adults should be careful about the signals we send to our youngsters. Being bilingual is wonderful, but one must be truly bilingual to enjoy the benefits. We must communicate this to our youth" (Rivera 1997, 18). According to another article published in *The New York Times* (1983): "The linguistic amalgam, also known as Southwest Spanish or Tex-Mex or Texan, is variously perceived as a developing language in its own right, as a regional dialect or as a verbal mishmash that is not Spanish, English or anything else worthy of the discriminating tongue" (King 1983, A1).

4.4 The trends toward using Spanglish

Mike Clary in an article published in *The Guardian* describes how the mix of English and Spanish violates the rules of grammar in two tongues and produces some unique expressions which, although ambiguous from a linguistic point of view, are at the same time colourful and expressive. Spanglish is being used with increasing frequency in many American communities with a substantial Latino population, from Los Angeles to New York, from Chicago to the Texas border. In those places if a person wants white coffee to take away, it is common to hear "Give me a cortadito para llevar". Among all the parts of America with Hispanic communities, only in Miami is the majority of the population Latino, and only there do 90 per cent of Latinos use Spanish as their first language. Consequently, Spanglish turns up frequently in newspaper advertising, on local talk shows and in pop music. According to the programme director at *Power 96/WPOW*, a top–rated Miami radio station, Miami is "the number one Spanglish-speaking market in the U.S." (Clary 1997, 15).

The Orange County Register (2002) described how code switching is used at the border region of Tijuana, and it enables speakers to move fluidly between both languages, e.g. "Que pretty baby" (What a pretty baby). Many elders in the Latino community look down on code switching, calling it pocho, Spanglish or Tex-Mex. The author quotes the words of Nora, a public-affairs and political-management consultant: "It's tough for people not to be able to express themselves in the language that they're comfortable with, and sometimes it's both (English and Spanish)" (Cabrera 2002). Another example of Spanglish slang is "If zapato fits" – (zapato; shoe) (Yaman 2003,

33). In Los Angeles, street vendors sell T-shirts emblazoned with the logos *Los Doyers* (The Dodgers) and *Los Leikers* (The Lakers) to express Latino pride in the city's professional sports teams (Cortés 2013, 1986).

Spanglish is an ethnic lingo that unites teens from diverse Hispanic, Anglo and Caribbean cultures. For years, Chicano kids have been *watchando* television, Puerto Ricans have been *friquiandose*, or freaking out. Mexicans call such terms *gringismos*. The word mix also reflects a high level of cultural tolerance as many racial and ethnic groups learn their languages and combine them into something new. (O'Connor 1992, A8). Jane Rifkin from *Hispanic Times Magazine* believes that the hybrid language is an expression of friendship, acceptance and approval. She refers to Spanglish as the new national slang and contends that Spanglish is "truly a form of communicating among people that has a warmth about it and an inviting expression meant to be non-threatening to people who come together in spite of language barriers" (Neuliep 2015, 107).

Alvarez wrote in *Austin American Statesman* (1997) that "the hybrid lingo known as Spanglish is the language of choice for a growing number of Hispanic Americans who view their heritage as two coexisting worlds". It is not always the case that only low-educated Hispanics speak Spanglish. Millions of Hispanic Americans, of first, second and third generations, take on prominent roles in business, media and the arts, and they continue using Spanglish. The author of the article quoted Ms. Galan, the president of *Galan Entertainment*, a Los Angeles television and film production company that focuses on the Latino market, saying: "It's a phenomenon of being from two cultures. It's perfectly wonderful. I speak English perfectly, and I choose to speak both simultaneously" (Alvarez 1997, A1, B4).

A new school of thought has emerged that says that Spanglish illustrates a high degree of fluency in both languages. According to Ana Celia Zentella, a linguist at Hunter College and at the CUNY Graduate Center, "It's like a complex juggling act or a train car able to run on two tracks at the same time, shifting from one to the other at the appropriate time. It's a skill that is often misunderstood". Luz de Armas, chief creative officer at *Conill Advertisers*, says that she switches into Spanglish to convey anger, joy, love or embarrassment, because this dialect is more descriptive and emotional than English, and not because she does not know the exact English words (Alvarez 1997, B4).

David Usborne wrote in *The Independent* (1997, 19):

> Welcome to Spanglish, secret third language of New York for which there are no handy Berlitz dictionaries nor any professional interpreters, not even at the United Nations. Think "Franglais" to understand the principle involved – an irreverent merging of two quite different tongues – but imagine a progeny that, far from being an ugly duckling, is efficient, alluring and often funny. It is Spanish without the tongue-twisting verbs and it is English con romance and rhythm. Quite brilliant! No? Si.

The trend to use code switching between English and Spanish is popular not only among individuals but also major American businesses – from Macy's to Mervyn's, from IBM to Ford – which make the switch in advertisements that combine both languages to target bilingual Latino consumers e.g. "la nueva American woman" (the new American woman). According to Juana Mora, Chicano studies professor of California State University, "It seems ironic that historically Chicano/Latino children have been punished for using their language that way in Texas and California, and now it's becoming acceptable because of corporate marketing." The trend for code switching has become popular among many Latino writers who adopt that form as a unique marker for a U.S. Chicano/Latino identity. Professor Mora wonders whether the mainstreaming of code switching will become a status marker for second generation Latinos (Cabrera 2002).

The author of an article in *Knight Ridder Tribune Business News* (2003) quotes the words of Professor Stavans: "It transcends all the language differences even among Latinos. Spanglish speaks not just to Latinos but everyone. Corporate America feels like they have discovered a treasure box." An event describing a Mexican celebration, known as 'Cinco De Mayo', has a Spanglish title 'Cinco de Mayo Festival'. It is a sign that marketers believe the bilingual, bicultural influences of young Latinos shape the tastes of mainstream America. The 'Yo Quiero Taco Bell' ad campaign in the late 1990s was not aimed solely at Latinos, nor was the romantic comedy titled 'Chasing Papi'. Many marketers believe that Spanglish speaks to the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. population. To reach them, Spanglish is crossing over in all media. *Hallmark*, for example, has created a line of 250 Spanglish greeting cards – they prefer to call it their bilingual series. Yolanda Foster, vice president of programming and promotions at cable station Mun2, said: "Spanglish – more and more reflects the young urban lifestyle experience" (Aguilar 2003, 1).

The impact of the Internet and telecommunications has popularized this linguistic code. Latinos around the world are creating their own high-tech terminology by combining English computer jargon with Spanish

conjugation. 'Surfing the Internet' becomes 'surfear la Net' and 'e-mail' turns into 'e-mailear'. Many technical words do not exist in Spanish, so people are inventing new terms as they need them. However, when there are appropriate Spanish words, Latinos often prefer English words if they are easier to say, e.g. when there is a choice between 'la Telarana' or 'el Web', they choose 'el Web' (Hawkins 1995, A1).

The phenomenon of Spanglish can be partly explained by the fact that this dialect is not only popular among Latinos. Among hip-hop and rap artists there are a number of non-Hispanic groups that use Spanglish, as well as Hispanic rappers that use the dialect in recordings. It is also used in American films and the world of fashion and sport (Stavans 2003). Many radio stations in south Florida adopt a 'Spanglish' format and their DJ's speak a mixture of Spanish and English. The new sounds, dubbed *Hurban* – a melding of Hispanic and urban – blend Reggaeton, Spanish hip-hop and dance music. The list of feature artists who utilize Spanglish lyrics includes: Tego Calderon, Don Omar, Pitbull, Fat Joe, Shakira, Enrique Iglesias and Marc Anthony (Jicha 2005, 1). Shakira's Spanglish, reggaeton-inflected song 'Hips Don't Lie' topped the charts for several weeks in the spring of 2006 (Levin 2006).

The New York Times (1983) reported that a theatrical company called the *Bilingual Foundation of the Arts* toured the Southwest, presenting plays in three languages: Spanish, English and Spanglish (King 1983, A1). Spanglish can also claim a literary legacy. Poets and novelists are adapting Spanglish to serious literary endeavours claiming that "the speaker's intuition grabs the best expressions from either language to sum up a thought". Hispanic writers Sandra Cisneros, Julia Alvarez and Roberto G. Fernandez routinely drop Spanglish words into their novels and poetry, believing it to be a creative form of communication (Alvarez 1997, A1, B4). Code-switching has certainly become a visible marker of the 'difference' from mainstream, Anglo-American identity in Latina/o literature, first gaining prominence in the Nuyorican Poetry Movement[93] and in Chicano/a writing of the 1980s. For decades, Dominican and Puerto Rican authors in particular have carried out a linguistic revolution. The poetry of Miguel Algarin and Tato Laviera and the prose of Junot Diaz, Piri Thoma, Luis Rafael Sanchez and Giannina Braschi – especially her novel "Yo-Yo Boing!" – include examples of Spanglish, as does the polemical short story "Pollito Chicken" by Ana

[93] The Nuyorican Poetry Movement is a movement of Puerto Rican writers living in New York that began with the Nuyorican Poets Café in the 1970s.

Lydia Vega, in which the author dissects the Nuyorican vernacular (Stavans 2003). Laviera's poem "my graduation speech" (1979) begins "I think in Spanish / I write in English"; another poem by Laviera, "AmRican" (1985), seeks to visually demonstrate the way that the 'accent' itself, a marker of linguistic difference and a trace of Spanish, inflicts the poetic speaker's 'Americanness' with 'Puerto Ricanness' (Caminero-Santangelo 2012, 14-15). The trend for Spanglish explains the popularity surrounding Alisa Valdes-Rodriguez's first novel, titled "The Dirty Girls Social Club: A Novel". This comic novel revolves around six Gen-X Latinas who met at college a half-decade ago and still meet twice a year. Speaking Spanglish to one another is a symbol of their tight-knit friendship (Aguilar 2003, 1).

The headlines of glossy magazines aimed at young Hispanic women use Spanglish. One headline reads: 'When He Says *Me Voy* … What Does He Really Mean?' ('*Me voy*' is 'I'm leaving'). Many speakers of Spanglish learn it among other bilingual Latinos and use this dialect with a sense of humour. In Miami, *Generation ñ*, a bilingual magazine, found an audience in part because of a regular humour column called 'Cubanamericanisms' which provides definitions of Spanglish words, now dubbed 'Cubonics'. (Alvarez 1997, A1, B4). Christy Haubegger started *Latina*, a women's magazine that pioneered speaking to this bicultural audience with a Spanglishized 'Hey, chica!' style (Levin 2006). Launched in New York, *Latina* is aimed at young Hispanics concerned with fashion, beauty and sex. On the cover it says 'Magazine Bilingue' and inside, stories are printed primarily in English with summaries in Spanish. However, Spanglish expressions are frequent, especially in the headlines, e.g. 'Finger paints for adultas', or 'Mas brown, mas bella' ('More brown, more beautiful'). One of the publishers said that they used Spanglish in the magazine's offices: "People use it when they want to express emotions or just because it's fun. And it also helps Latinos to preserve their identity. It is a coping mechanism that is emblematic of the fact that we have had to bridge two cultures, two languages and two sets of values" (Usborne 1997, 19).

Knight Ridder Tribune Business News (2003) published a story about an artist, Leticia Villarreal, who uses Spanglish as a way to connect to the growing Hispanic influence around her. She keeps an artist's studio in the Santa Fe Drive gallery. Her art often explores bicultural themes and most of her paintings have Spanglish titles. She said: "I like exploring the physical and psychological impact of being from two cultures, which makes you create a third culture. That's what Spanglish means to me" (Aguilar 2003, 1).

According to Susana Chavez-Silverman, a Pomona College associate professor and the author of a book of essays titled "Killer Cronicas: Bilingual Memories/ Memorias Bilinges", Spanglish is just an oral phenomenon but "code switching is more about identity. It's done wherever there are linguistic borders" (McManis 2007, 1). Variations of Spanglish occur wherever there is a concentration of newly arrived Hispanic people – Miami, New York, California and elsewhere – or a concentration of American influence, as in Puerto Rico. But it is most visible and audible along the Mexican border. In cities like Laredo, Brownsville and El Paso, window placards and neon signs show such texts as *el super taco* or a *hamburguesa doble con queso* 'double cheeseburger'. The streets are also full of expressions like *croseando la calle* for 'crossing the street' or *cuquiando almuerzo* for 'cooking lunch', a meal that sometimes becomes *lonche*. Dr. Jon Amastae, an assistant professor of linguistics at the University of Texas in El Paso, expressed his opinion about Spanglish: "The reason for the switching is not that the speaker didn't know the language; it's simply part and parcel of a dual heritage and bilingual speakers talking to each other". Dr. Guadalupe Valdes, a linguist at New Mexico State University in Las Cruces, suggested that the borrowing of words from English and transformation of some of them into Spanish verb forms were more a testament to the strength of the Spanish tongue than an indication of its debasement (King 1983, A10).

Morales writes:

> There is no better metaphor for what a mixed-race culture means than a hybrid language, an informal code; the same sort of linguistic construction that defines different classes in a society can also come to define something outside it, a social construction with different rules. Spanglish is what we speak, but it is also who we Latinos are, and how we act, and how we perceive the world. (Morales 2002, 3)

CHAPTER FIVE

Mexican influence on American regional cuisine

The food revolution prompted by the colonization of America had long-lasting consequences as it changed the variety of available foods and brought together peoples with different culinary values and techniques. Since Southwestern cuisine has been introduced into the lexicon of mainstream American foodways other Latin American cuisines have followed, entering as 'others', e.g. Cuban, Brazilian, Caribbean. This fusion of ethnic foods into the American mainstream reflects the importance of migrant tastes in shaping the national life of the USA as a nation of multi-ethnic people. Latin American culinary traditions take from different gastronomic heritages and are truly the products of hybridization processes throughout more than 500 years of cultural clashes. "Centuries of cultural hybridization among European, African, Native American, and even Asian heritages favoured the development of a new world of tastes that goes beyond the traditional stereotype of considering tortillas, chilies, and guacamole as Hispanic or Latino food" (Fonseca 2005, 101).

As migration of Mexicans, tourism and international trade have increased worldwide, the role of ethnicity, including ethnic foods, has become more important. While some individuals try to maintain their traditional foodways and eat foods similar to those in the old country, others change their food habits. The two processes co-exist; one provides a continuation of the old lifestyle, the other speeds acculturation. Although older generations usually continue with their ethnic foodways longer, generally, all immigrants find their traditional foodways altered to some degree (Kalcik 1984, 39-40).

> Food choices establish boundaries and borders. In the Modern era this process of culinary differentiation may entail major modification of traditional foods; few people

> today eat exactly what their grandparents ate fifty years ago, and many of us also like to cross group boundaries to 'eat the other'. (Belasco 2002, 2)

The history of ethnic cuisines in the USA is closely connected to the history of immigration. During the 19th century period of mass migration, Chinese, Japanese, Italians and Mexicans influenced eating patterns in the USA, creating the most popular ethnic cuisines in the United States (Lee et al. 2014, 4). The American cuisine preferred by the U.S. white middle classes in the 19th century was largely based on English-inspired cuisine which was perceived as civilized but bland. That type of cuisine, firstly, functioned as part of the project of consolidating colonizing power against the culinary passions of the barbarian or savage ethnic cuisine, but later it became distinguished for its Otherness and its scarcity. Nowadays, America's multiculturalism, with its ethnic cuisine, is valued for supplementing American cooking with its flavours and spicing (Chez 2011, 243).

According to Mintel Group research on ethnic foods, the largest segment of the ethnic foods market in the USA is Mexican.[94] The migration of Mexicans and corporate marketing of Tex-Mex promoted Mexican cuisine in regions outside Mexico and the American Southwest. However, the transnational processes of migration, marketing and globalization have transformed the ethnic foods. Mexican-American cuisine is an example of border foods resulting from the meeting of two different cultures in Mexico and the USA. Tex-Mex cuisine results from the cultural hybridity produced in the Mexican-Texas borderlands. Those ethnic foods are then marketed by American corporations and carried around the globe (Pilcher 2008c, 529).

Although the notion of a national cuisine is often dismissed as an artificial construct in the context of globalization, the different versions of Mexican foods are still considered as representative of national cuisine in Mexico. Many Mexican culinary exports are popular across the northern border, especially in Texas, which can be claimed to be a Mexican culinary region. The way foods are prepared and eaten in the South-western USA resembles culinary customs in Mexico (Pilcher 2008c, 530).

This chapter analyses Tex-Mex cuisine as a hybrid formation that selectively combines elements of Mexican and American culture and constantly undergoes transcultural transformations, creating a sort of 'Third Space' in the USA. Mexican food culture developed as a form of fusion

[94] The Mexican segment of ethnic foods in the USA comprises 62 per cent of the FDMx, excluding Wal-Mart sales (food, drug, mass index) (Mintel 2010, 4).

cuisine combining elements of indigenous and Spanish culinary traditions. Later, Mexican cuisine was incorporated into the array of ethnic cuisines in the USA where it influenced American regional cuisine, creating hybrid food cultures, exemplified by Tex-Mex. Moreover, the Spanish names of Mexican dishes are not translated into English, although they are cooked, served and consumed in the USA. When Spanish words enter the American lexicon, it is an example of transculturality in the linguistic sphere. Even non-Spanish-speaking consumers of the American Southwest understand the Mexican names of Tex-Mex dishes.

5.1 In Mexico

Food plays a vital role in Mexican history. Food preparation and consumption are metaphors for continuity of culture and religion. "As Mexicans go from one location to the next, they are able to acquire and prepare the necessary foods that allow them to survive and forge their cultural identity. Their Mexican identity included specific uses of food in ritual" (Morán 2008, 15). Food is a key area where one's ethnic identity may be constructed. Cross-cultural eating may be a way to cross interpersonal boundaries and find a common meeting place for the 'American' and the imagined 'ethnic' (Chez 2011, 234-235).

Traditional Mexican cuisine dates back 3,000 years to the Mayans, who based their diet on corn, beans and vegetables. The history of ethnic food in Mexico is predominantly a story of Native American cuisine and its mixing with Spanish foods. Mesoamerican cuisines adopted the use of lard, meat and other animal products from the Spanish. The maize-producing lands were restricted to provide space for the raising of cattle and a meat-based culinary culture replaced a vegetable-based one. Lard is used, for example, to soften the maize dough for tortillas and tamales (Janer, 2007: 390). During the colonial era, the basic staple foods in the Mexican region were Spanish wheat bread and Native American corn tortillas. The recipes for Indian corn tortillas and Spanish white bread were combined to produce wheat flour tortillas (Pilcher 2014, 444).

All ethnic cuisines have distinctive flavours and tastes which result from the use of various spices and herbs. The spices often used in Mexican cuisine are: coriander, oregano, thyme, parsley, mint, marjoram, cumin, and chilli powder (Jeanroy, 2012). Herbs used in Mexican foods include: acuyo or

tlanepa, amaranth, anise, annatto, avocado leaf, balm-gentle, banana leaf, bay leaf, bean powder, chamomile, chaya, chepiche, chepil, chia, cilantro, cuajes, flor de cimal, halachas, hierbasanta, Indian paintbrush, lemon grass, lemon verbena, lenguitas, marjoram, Mexican safflower, oregano, pápalo, pepicha, peppermint, purslane, quintoniles, sesame, spearmint, sweet basil, Tilia, vervain, watercress, and wormseed (Lee et al. 2014, 5).

Mexican foods are often grouped according to the region from which they originate. The cuisine from northern Mexico uses beef, cheese and wheat and among its popular dishes there are machaca, arrachera, and cabrito. The foods from the province of Oaxaca are based on corn, beans, and chile peppers and typical dishes include triques, chapulines, and 7 moles.[95] The cuisine from the province of Yucatán specialises in Mayan food e.g. cochinita pibil. The popular dishes from Mexican cities are barbacoa, birria, cabrito, carnitas, and various moles. The foods from the region to the west of Mexico City are largely based on fish. Veracruz cuisine incorporates a great number of tropical fruits (Lee et al. 2014, 3).

The Mexican desert flora includes succulents and cacti such as nopal which is an important food item in Mexican cuisine. According to mythology Mexicans find their home when they see the sign of an eagle perched on a cactus fruit (Morán 2008, 15). The basis of Mexican American cuisine was laid by people who domesticated maize in southern Mexico. Aztec and Mayan cuisines were based on maize, which was an important staple providing sustenance for the creation of their civilisations and religious significance. The plant is respected as Mayan creation stories indicated that the gods created mankind from maize (Janer 2008, 2). Maize symbolises stability in the everyday and religious life of people in Mexico. Migrating Mexicans bring this basic staple with them and use it in daily meals and also as a significant part of religious rituals. They believe that for cultural and religious continuity Mexicans need: "their women and children, their god, and their ability to sustain themselves, especially by maize" (Morán 2008, 16).

The editors of the first Mexican cookbooks, published in the 1930s, promoted the Aztec origin of national cuisine and even used Náhuatl (the native language of the Aztecs) to name some native ingredients. In the post-revolutionary period, Mexican cuisine gained a new image; it started to

[95] Mole - a dark brown sauce made from dried chile peppers, spices and chocolate; guacamole - a sauce made from avocado and spices; verde - a tomato-based green sauce (Walsh 2004).

represent a fusion of Aztec and Iberian culinary cultures, illustrating the process of mestizaje between Amerindians and Spaniards. (Bak-Geller Corona 2016, 226, 227). "Mexican public dining comprised a veritable microcosm of the Columbian exchange, blending ingredients and eating habits from the Mediterranean and the Americas" (Gabaccia et al. 2011, 116).

The emergence of national cuisine was disturbed by regional, ethnic, and class divisions in Mexican society. Since the Spanish conquest, Europeans have undervalued the Native American maize, imposing on it the status of an inferior staple in comparison with wheat. Around the 1940s the threat of revolution ended, and the middle classes started to accept the plebeian foods of the Mexican lower classes. Nowadays, Indians use coloured maize to distinguish their hand-made tortillas from the white, industrial ones consumed by the urban working classes. There are five different varieties of corn: blue, white, red, yellow, and speckled (Pilcher 2008c, 530).

5.2 In the USA

"The United States remains a nation of many regional environments, and its culinary and ethnic history has been shaped by regionalism, reinforced by territorial expansion from the Atlantic to the Pacific" (Gabaccia 1998, 7). Mainstream American consumers eat a lot of Mexican dishes, e.g. beef tacos, enchiladas,[96] burritos,[97] and tostadas.[98] US Latino food is connected with the highly heterogeneous people that live in the USA and whose origins can be traced to Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Latin American and Caribbean countries. South-western cuisine reflects a fusion of different cultural groups and their foodways, bringing together Native Americans, Spanish, Mexicans and Anglo ranchers. People of Mexican heritage are the

[96] Enchiladas - corn tortillas, softened in hot oil and then dipped or cooked in a chili sauce. Originally, they were served without a filling and topped with a little Mexican white cheese. Tex-Mex enchiladas are typically rolled with a filling of either meat or cheese, then garnished with a little more sauce and cheese (Walsh 2000).

[97] Burrito - originates in the Mexican state of Sonora; consists of a large tortilla wrapped around ingredients including either chopped meat with red chilli or mashed pinto beans with grated cheese (Albala 2011, 364).

[98] Chalupas/tostadas - are made by frying tortillas into a flat shape, then topping them like tacos. In Mexico tostadas are generally fried tortilla quarters, whereas in Tex-Mex cuisine, tostadas are more often fried tortilla chips, topped like tacos with beans and cheese (Wash 2000).

largest Latino group and the cultural continuity across what is now the Mexican-United States border predates the arrival of Europeans.

Chaudenson states "The main point in trying to reconstruct the genesis of creole cooking is the trivial, though necessary observation that cooking depends on dietary resources and, to an even greater extent, on the natural environment" (Chaudenson 2001, 227). The foodways based on maize, beans and squash, domesticated in Mesoamerica, gradually diffused through much of North America (Pilcher 2004, 200). The South-western cuisine is known for extensive use of beef, pork, chilli, pinto beans, rice and corn. The use of different varieties of chile peppers reflects regional diversity. In Texas, jalapeño chillies are often used and habanero is one of the hottest chile pepper varieties. Within this large area, the intraregional variation of cuisines is constructed by different combinations of similar ingredients. Important markers that differentiate intraregional cuisines consist of subtle differences in the types of beans or method of preparing the ingredients, e.g. Tex-Mex cuisine uses beef, pinto beans, cheese, red chilli and cumin in the red chili sauces. Chili gravy or enchilada sauce is used for seasoning (Albala 2011, 358-359).

The high priestess of Mexican cuisine is Diana Kennedy[99] whose scholarly books have long been the measure of authenticity, and Mexican chef Margarita Carrillo Arronte acknowledges her work and Thomasina Miers's in her new, massive and encyclopaedic "Mexico: The Cookbook" (Phaidon), one of the more successful of this publisher's series on national cuisines (Levy 2014). Only a selection of Mexican foods have been accepted by American mainstream consumers, although the dishes they have chosen generally come from the Mexican lower classes. The 1980s was a decade of commodification of peasant foods from provinces like Oaxaca or Yucatán, which started to appear in cookbooks, restaurant and tourist guides. This trend was accompanied by gentrification of working class dishes and Mexican food started to be upgraded both at home and in the USA. However, wealthy American families prefer more expensive dishes such as moles and pucheros.[100] Although ethnic restaurants in the USA have huge economic

[99] Diana Kennedy has committed her life to preservation of an authentic Mexican cuisine. In 1982, she was decorated with an Order of the Aztec Eagle from the Mexican government for propagating the cuisine of Mexico. In 2011, she won the James Beard Award (for excellence in culinary writing) for her book titled "Oaxaca al Gusto: An Infinite Gastronomy" (2010). <www.dianakennedycenter.org/about-diana/>

[100] Pucheros – stews with chilli.

potential, Mexican restaurants cannot charge the same prices as French ones (Pilcher 2008c, 538).

The evolution of Mexican food in the USA is exemplified by the transformation of the basic food item – tortilla. Corn tortillas form the basis of numerous dishes – enchiladas, tacos, chalupas, and others. Taco in Mexico is a meal item consisting of meat and a little salsa wrapped in a soft corn tortilla. In the USA, it is filled not only with meat, but also lettuce, cheddar cheese, sour cream, or even bacon. Tex-Mex tacos often take the form of tortillas fried into a U-shaped shell. South-western recipes have been Americanized to include more animal protein, more meat. There is even a fast-food taco that includes bacon (Bentley 2011, 210-211). The fast food taco was copied from Mexican American street vendors in southern California in the 1950s. The corporate founder Glenn Bell came up with the idea of the 'taco shell', a pre-fried tortilla that could be easily filled with stuffing and served fast, so the customers did not need to wait for long. This way of preparation distanced that particular type of Mexican food from its ethnic roots and facilitated the globalization of taco. Nowadays, people no longer need to cook fresh corn tortillas because they can easily obtain the mass-produced taco shells which are becoming extremely popular around the world (Pilcher 2008c, 540-541). Mexican taco has dual representation by the taco shell and the fresh corn tortilla. In contrast to other Mexican dishes whose names are mostly derived from indigenous words, 'taco' is a Spanish name. This word came into regular usage at the end of the 19th century in Mexico City, where restaurants serving tortillas were called *taquerias*. According to Pilcher the first fast food taco franchises succeeded by marketing a form of exoticism connected with Mexican cooking (Pilcher 2008a, 26).

5.3 Tex-Mex

Cuisine, like culture, is never static but in a constant state of change, adding and subtracting elements. The hyphenated Tex-Mex is a product of the place where Mexico and the USA intersect and influence each other (Bentley 2011, 211). According to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, the term 'Tex-Mex' was used for the first time in 1973 in the English-language newspaper *Mexico City News*. The OED defines Tex-Mex as 'designating the Texan variety of something Mexican'. Tex-Mex was also a nickname for

the Texas and Mexican Railway, which was chartered in 1875. Newspaper railway schedules used the abbreviation 'Tex. Mex.' for the rail line which ran from Laredo to Corpus Christi. Then the term came to be used in the USA to describe people of Mexican ancestry in Texas (Walsh, 2004). Nowadays, the term designates the Texan variety of something Mexican; it can apply to music, fashion, language or cuisine.

Mexican vendors began selling tamales,[101] enchiladas,[102] and pecan candies from carts and food-stalls in Texas before the turn of the century. The street vendor business was started by Hispanics but there were also African American and American Indian vendors who sold their own unique style of tamales. Ever since the term 'Tex-Mex' was first applied to Texas-Mexican food, Mexican restaurant owners considered it an insult, meaning that their food was not authentic. They tried to convince customers that their cooking was something else and used confusing terminology, e.g. Fresh-Mex, Mex-Mex, Mix-Mex and 'authentic Mexican'. Meanwhile, consumers who enjoy Tex-Mex foods have increased in numbers and Mexican restaurants have become more popular among mainstream American consumers. An interesting example of evolution in the case of Texan food is the 'combination plate' that originated in Texas in the early 20th century as an adaptation to Anglo customers. Mexicans like small meals such as tacos, enchiladas, tostadas, and burritos which had long provided quick meals to working-class Mexicans who ate them standing on a street corner. Anglos prefer plates full of food which encouraged cooks to combine a main Mexican dish with rice and beans (Pilcher 2001, 670).

The Latinization of America started in the Southwest, and nothing has helped bridge the Hispanic-Anglo cultures like Mexican food. Owning a Mexican restaurant was the symbol of the American Dream for many Mexican immigrants. The first Mexican restaurant – *El Fenix* - was opened in Dallas by Miguel "Mike" Martinez in 1918, at the corner of Griffin Street and McKinney Avenue, a neighbourhood then known as 'Little Mexico'. His ambition was to appeal not only to Mexicans but also to Anglo customers and that is why Martinez started to experiment, adding new ingredients

[101] Product shipment value of tamales and other Mexican food specialities (not frozen or canned) produced in the USA in 2002 was $100.4 million, according to 2002 Economic Census. <www.census.gov/econ/census02/guide/INDRPT31.HTM>

[102] Product shipment value of frozen enchiladas produced in the USA in 2002 was $48.9 million. Frozen tortilla shipments were valued even higher at $156 million, according to 2002 Economic Census. <www.census.gov/econ/census02/guide/INDRPT31.HTM>

to American-style dishes. After several months of serving Anglo food, he started making his versions of Mexican dishes – tacos, frijoles, enchiladas, and tamales. But the Anglo preference for high-protein food made Martinez invent a whole new cuisine, although no-one recognized it at that time. In *El Fenix* Mike created a culinary blend by topping the cheese enchiladas with Texas chilli. Without realising it, Martinez created a new cuisine which was eventually dubbed Tex-Mex. To meet the growing demand, *El Fenix* and other Tex-Mex cafes expanded out of 'Little Mexico'. There is now a third generation working at *El Fenix*, indicative of another precedent established by Mike Martinez in the Tex-Mex restaurant world – it is a family business (Gubbins et al. 2006, 58).

But it was the Cuellar family, founders of *El Chico*, that laid the foundation of the Tex-Mex culture in Dallas. The family matriarch was Adelaida "Mama" Cuellar who emigrated from Mexico and settled in Kaufman where she decided to sell enchiladas and chili at the Kaufman County Fair. In 1929 Adelaida opened *Cullar's Café* in Kaufman. All the Cuellar children, somehow, ended up following Mama's footsteps, making and selling Mexican food in Oklahoma, Louisiana and Texas. In 1940, they all returned to Texas and opened the first *El Chico* in Dallas at 3514 Oak Lawn Avenue. By 1949, they were the largest Mexican food organization in the country (Gubbins et al. 2006, 58). The Martinez and Cullar families laid the foundation for Dallas' favourite cooking profile. However, lard-laden combination plates changed forever once Mico Rodriguez and his partners opened the first *Mi Cocina* in the Preston Forest Shopping Center in 1991. Rodriguez refined the Tex-Mex experience by using quality ingredients such as expensive cheddar cheese and fresh jalapeños and cilantro (Crain et al. 2014, S7).

As Mexican restaurants became more popular with Anglos and the cuisine more familiar, North Dallas began 'discovering' Mexican restaurants in Mexican neighbourhoods. The tastes of Tex-Mex were also felt in high-end restaurants where local chefs were highly influenced by south-of-the-border ingredients, which laid the foundation for what became known as Southwest Cuisine. Diana Kennedy, in her 1972 book 'The Cuisines of Mexico', drew an emphatic line between interior Mexican food and the Anglicized Mexican food she called 'Tex-Mex'. The term was meant as an insult, implying the bastardization of authentic Mexican food. Despite that, the Cuellar family claim to have used the term 'Tex-Mex' to describe the food at *El Chico* much earlier – in 1954 (Gubbins et al. 2006, 58).

Jane Butel is widely credited with popularizing Tex-Mex cooking. She was a high-level executive during the 1970s at American Express and other large corporations, but she also had a side career as a food writer and cookbook author. Butel wrote "Chili Madness" and "Jane Butel's Tex-Mex Cookbook", both published in 1980 which helped set standards for Tex-Mex cuisine. In 1983 Butel started a cooking school in Albuquerque, N.M. and created numerous chili recipes which she tested first in her home kitchen, e.g. 'Moroccan Chili', 'White Lobster Chili', and 'Blue Heaven', a chili made with blue cheese (Bonwich 2009, L4).

The Tex-Mex boom was fuelled not only by the taste of the food but also by technological advances. Mexican food menu items such as tortillas, taco shells, and chips are all made from masa. In the early 1900s, making masa for a restaurant was a time-consuming process, and the product spoiled quickly. In 1909, Jose Martinez of San Antonio patented the Tamalina process that produced dehydrated corn masa. The end result, masa harina, was easily shipped and stored and facilitated the preparation of the basics of Mexican food (Gubbins et al. 2006, 58).

Louis Stenberg invented the idea of frozen Tex-Mex. In 1946 he was living in Texas and observed that members of the military in San Antonio were taken by local food. Stenberg reasoned that service men might want to continue eating it after they returned home, so his family founded the company called Patio Foods and began shipping frozen tamales and chilli across the state. Louis Stenberg became president of Patio Foods in the late 1950s and the company eventually distributed burritos, enchiladas, tacos, chili, refried beans and rice nationwide – mostly as TV dinners (Hevesi 2011, D8).

It was the grandson of a Cuellar who made arguably the biggest technological step in Tex-Mex history. In 1974, in a restaurant called *Mariano's* in Old Town, Mariano Martinez served the first frozen margarita, using a retrofitted soft-service ice cream machine. The invention of the frozen margarita became very popular. Another member of the Cuellar family – Mario Lean – took Tex-Mex in a different direction. He opened *Chiquita*, the first white-tablecloth restaurant in Dallas, where permanent Christmas lights and border kitsch décor were replaced by giant, coloured paper flowers. The service was gracious, not just efficient. Lean was famous for his tacos al carbon, steak wrapped in flour tortillas, the forerunner of the fajita (Gubbins et al. 2006, 58).

The history of Tex-Mex begins with the 'chili queens'[103] of San Antonio, who in the late 1800s transformed the plazas of the city into destinations for everyone from soldiers to tourists, seeking a meal of tortilla with chili and beans. The Mexican culture of street foods had been established in Texas for more than a century when Anglos first arrived. Subsequently, the continuous influx of Anglo tourists and settlers provided a regular source of income for street vendors who soon became a major tourist attraction, popularly known as 'chili queens', although men also ran the stands. However, progressive reformers restricted their commercial activity and forbade vending in the two most profitable venues in San Antonio – Military Plaza and Alamo Plaza. Instead, the council allowed the stands to operate only in Milam Plaza which was close to an area known for prostitution. Yet the vendors repeatedly defied these restrictions, and they were supported by tourists eager for picturesque attractions. At that time, Anglos preferred to sample Mexican food not in a restaurant, but in the street as a form of culinary tourism (Gabaccia et al. 2011, 116-118).

According to Rob Walsh, who wrote "The Tex-Mex Cookbook: a History in Photos and Recipes" (2004), Tex-Mex is not Mexican food but an American regional cuisine. The embodiment of Tex-Mex is a cheese enchilada with gravy. A typical Cal-Mex dish is burrito and sour-cream. The cuisine in New Mexico is focused on green chillies, and in Arizona they are proud to have invented chimichangas – deep fried burritos. Rob Walsh who is also a restaurant critic gives a few pieces of advice on how to choose a restaurant serving excellent Tex-Mex:

> 1. It has to be family-owned. 2. A ramshackle space with added-on rooms is a positive. The most successful Tex-Mex restaurants started small and expanded due to popular demand. 3. It's best if patrons in the dining room look like the face of democracy. You want a mix of gringos and Hispanic customers; professionals and laborers. (Drape 2007, F1)

One of the basic staples of Tex-Mex cuisine is frijoles, or beans. These were first domesticated in Mesoamerica and then spread throughout the Southwest by indigenous farmers. Mexican and Spanish settlers then brought the custom of eating beans to the USA. Beans are boiled in a clay

[103] 'Chili queens' - Mexicans trying to earn a living through selling chili; banned from street vending by health authorities concerned about hygiene. Finally, the dish was exiled to the town of Terlingua in West Texas where 'chili cook-off' competitions are organised for the best chili con carne (Pilcher 2008b, 173).

pot and eaten as frijoles enteros. When the beans are fried they are called frijoles fritos. Finally, they are mashed and refried in lard with green chillies and onions or garlic. Then they are used as a filling for burritos or served as side dishes called frijoles refritos. Combined with other foods, beans may be served as frijoles a la charra (beans cooked with tomatoes, onions, cilantro and chillies) or frijoles con queso (beans with grated cheese). Borracho is a soupy bean dish, cooked with beer, pork and peppers. Another vegetable popular in Tex-Mex cuisine is the squash, which comes in different varieties: pumpkins, acorn, cushaw gourd squashes. Squash may be boiled as calabaga cocida or sliced and dried as rueditas. Squash cooked with meat into a type of stew is called calabacita con carne. If it is cooked with chicken it becomes calabacita con pollo (Albala, 2011, 360-361).

Among the most popular Tex-Mex dishes there is beef stew, known as chuckwagon stew or chili con carne. It is made with ground beef, tomatoes, red chilli powder and beans. It is now recognised as the official dish of Texas (Albala 2011, 363). Chili con carne spread across the USA in the early decades of the 20th century. Chilli entered the recipes of regionally diverse American cuisines; in Memphis 'chili mac' was served with spaghetti; in Ohio and Michigan hot dogs with chilli were known as 'coveys' (Pilcher 2014, 449). Another popular Tex-Mex dish is tamales. "Tamales illustrate the successive cycles of conquest, travel, and transculturation that have shaped modern Mexican cuisine" (Pilcher 2014, 444). Native Americans learned from the Spanish how to beat pork fat into corn dough, so the formerly indigenous dish acquired a Spanish identity. Tamales are made from corn-meal dough, blended with pork lard to the consistency of whipped cream. They contain meat, usually pork and red chilli. This dish is labour-intensive, requiring hours of manual labour to construct and roll tamales (Albala 2011, 365).[104]

Another Tex-Mex dish including beef is fajitas which originally meant strips of marinated skirt steak sautéed with onions and served with flour tortillas (West 1988, 213). Fajita now includes any grilled meat served with flour tortillas and condiments. There are a number of reasons for fajitas' popularity. First, the trend towards eating low-fat dishes turned Americans' attention to grilled food, and fajitas were immediately included in the new diet. Second, the popularity of ethnic cuisines made Mexican

[104] There are bean and spinach, vegetarian tamales which are made without any lard. The beef, pork and chicken tamales have lots of meat and are often eaten with chili gravy topping (Albala 2011, 365).

dishes more familiar to American customers. And third, fajitas seemed more authentically Mexican than 'combination plates' or other Tex-Mex dishes. In fact, fajitas originate in West Texas and the Rio Grande Valley, so this food is not authentic Mexican but authentic Tejano.[105] Although meat is also grilled in Mexico there are differences between Mexican and Tejano cooking and the ingredients. American beef is tender than the tough range-fed Mexican beef which needs longer grilling. Mexican cowboys marinate meat to make it tender but Tejano meat from Midwestern packers is tender enough to prepare steaks easily (Walsh 2000).

5.4 New-Mex, Cal-Mex, and other regional cuisines

There are various regional cuisines influenced by the Mexican style of food preparation. However, it is not always Tex-Mex, even if the food is cooked in Texas. Chef Adan Medrano in his book "Truly Texas Mexican" presents dishes which he does not classify as 'Tex-Mex' but describes those as "a more commercialized version of cuisine from this area" Medrano said that 'Texas Mexican' was "his style of cooking, meaning foods can combine indigenous ingredients of what is now South Texas and the northwestern region of Mexico with ingredients brought by European settlers around the 1500s" (*University Wire* 2014, October 28).

Other examples of regional cuisines that are the result of hybridization, include New-Mex (the cuisine of New Mexico) and Cal-Mex (the cooking culture of California). Although these are examples of fusion cuisines encompassing elements of migrants' ethnic cultures, they are constantly transforming and adapting to migrants' new destinations and the customers' tastes in the particular region.

The cuisine that has emerged in New Mexico (New-Mex) tells a story of a convergence of cultures: old Spanish traditions blend with ancient pueblo practices as well as with more recent Mexican and Anglo-American ways of living and eating. Founded by Spanish colonists in 1610, Santa Fe is the centre of the USA's oldest and most developed regional cuisine. And like most complex food styles, it evolved as cultures overlapped across the centuries. The prehistoric Anasazi people settled this region 2,500 years ago and cultivated three major staples of New Mexican food that remain to this day: beans, corn and squash. When the Spanish arrived from Mexico,

[105] Tejano - a term used to identify a Texan Mexican American (Spanish for 'Texan').

they brought cilantro, cumin, onions, garlic and chillies. For more than 200 years, Pueblo Indian and Spanish culture and food influenced each other, eventually evolving into traditional New Mexican cuisine, known as New-Mex. Santa Fe became a major tourist destination in the early 1980s, and a demand for creative food initiated a sort of culinary revolution. In Santa Fe, chefs mingled New Mexico's native Indian, Spanish and American ingredients and techniques with those of Asia and Europe and contemporary Southwestern cuisine was born (Pfeiff 2001, G01).

Although the foundation of New Mexican cuisine is the trinity of corn, beans and squash, one of the most significantly distinctive ingredients is chilli – both red and green. The word 'chile' refers to the actual pepper pods, while 'chilli' is the dried spice made from them and 'chili' is an entire class of sauces made using chile peppers or chilli powder that are used to 'smother' burritos, enchiladas and other specialities. Smothering refers to a specific presentation style in which the food is covered with a rich sauce made from either roasted green or red chilies, onion, garlic and spices. Wheat is made into flour tortillas, which in New Mexico are more common than corn tortillas. A distinctive type of fried bread is called a sopapilla. One of the most popular meat dishes is tender and aromatic adovada – pork slowly cooked in red chilli (Rubin 2006, 8.10).

The cuisine of New Mexico uses chilli as an essential ingredient rather than a spice. Red chili sauce is made from dried peppers whereas the green one is made from fresh chillies. The waiter just asks: "red, green or Christmas?"; the last choice applies to undecided customers who can have both red and green, half and half. Other ingredients specific to New-Mex are pinon nuts, posole – hominy-like corn kernels – and blue corn tortillas made from a special corn with some blue kernels (Pfeiff 2001, G01).

The cuisine of California (Cal-Mex) is considered lighter and healthier than Tex-Mex. *Nation Restaurant News* (2016) asked a group of chefs to provide their definitions of modern Mexican cuisine. Although their answers differed, a few distinct themes seemed to prevail, namely Mexican offerings on menus, freshness, a fusion of flavours and cultures and, despite that fusion, a sense of authenticity. Another important remark was that Mexican food became a lot healthier as chefs became careful in the choice of ingredients to balance flavour and healthfulness. The article reviews the menu at *Tallboy Taco*, a Cal-Mex restaurant in Chicago that introduces Mexican food into American barbecue. The menu features eight tacos that

are built around proteins that have been infused with flavour through techniques such as marinating, smoking, roasting or braising, but that have minimal toppings to ensure they remain California light yet full-bodied Mexican (Glazer 2016).

The Mexican-influenced cuisine of California is being popularized in other states where typical Cal-Mex dishes are altered with the aim of satisfying the tastes of local customers. *The Star-Tribune* (2006) describes how the owners of *Pablo's Mexican Restaurant*[106] adjusted the type of food they serve for the tastes of customers in Minnesota. Pablo and his family moved to Minnesota from Southern California and the food they serve is neither traditional Mexican nor Tex-Mex. It is Cal-Mex, an Americanized version of Mexican food created by immigrants who settled in California. *Pablo's* menu consists of mostly Mexican standards – tacos, enchiladas, burritos and so on – in a variety of combinations; some of them come with beans and rice. Fillings include beef, chicken, pork and beans. However, what distinguishes *Pablo's* from other Mexican restaurants is the fact that the food they serve is not spicy but savoury. This is because many people in Minnesota do not like spicy food (Cooper at al. 2006).

The Boston Globe (2012) describes how New England cooks have popularised Mexican cuisine. The article describes a dish from Mexico, known as posole, a soup made with pork (or chicken) and cooked dried corn (hominy). The chef of a restaurant in Newton learned to make the soup from Mexican cooks he worked with in Santa Ana, California. They taught him about the regional cuisines of Mexico. The posole is made in green, white, and red versions, after the colours of the Mexican flag. Fresh green chillies and herbs like cilantro and oregano tint the soup green. The soup made with dried red chillies takes on a reddish hue and is known as pozole rojo. White posole (pozole blanco) is seasoned broth, pork, and hominy. At *Angela's Café*[107] in East Boston, posole is white as the chef uses a traditional recipe from her native Puebla, an inland state near Mexico

[106] According to TripAdvisor, *Pablo's Mexican Restaurant* in Shakoppe, Minnesota, ranks as excellent in 55% of reviews, and very good in 33% of cases.

<www.tripadvisor.in/Restaurant_Review-g43519-d3492468-Reviews-Pablo_s_Mexican_Restaurant-Shakopee_Minnesota.html>

[107] The opinions presented on the website TripAdvisor rank *Angela's Café* in Boston as excellent in 73% of reviews and very good in 16% of reviews.

<www.tripadvisor.com/Restaurant_Review-g60745-d939492-Reviews-Angela_s_Cafe-Boston_Massachusetts.html>

City. Another restaurant in East Boston – *Taqueria Jalisco*[108] – serves red posole. The chef cooks this following a recipe from his mother who was raised in Jalisco, a Pacific coast state. So, not only can Boston customers eat traditional Mexican soup, but they can also select the colour of the dish which corresponds with a particular region of Mexico (Zwirn 2012, G10).

5.5 Restaurants

Although the cuisines found closer to the U.S.-Mexico border vary greatly from the ones in the North, Mexican food and its variations occupy a special place in the culinary world of Americans. Mexican food ranks as the third most popular menu type in the USA. It is available both in small, local, family-owned restaurants as well as in Mexican food chains, such as Taco Bell and Chipotle Mexican Grill.[109] It is an estimated $38 billion industry with consumption growing at a faster rate than any other restaurant type (*University Wire* 2016, March 25). Chipotle Mexican Grill was founded in Denver and then started its expansion westwards. What makes Chipotle different from the others is the ingredients and the attention to cooking methods. They use naturally raised meat from animals that were fed pure vegetarian diets and never given hormones or antibiotics (Taylor 2007, 1).

There are also smaller chains of Mexican restaurants which do not operate on a national level but within one or a few states, e.g. Phoenix-based *De Fuego*[110] which expanded from Arizona to Utah (Jones 1998, 1).

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[108] 61% of reviews of *Taqueria Jalisco* in Boston rank the restaurant as excellent and 33% as very good, according to TripAdvisor.

<www.tripadvisor.com/Restaurant_Review-g60745-d4135076-Reviews-Taqueria_Jalisco-Boston_Massachusetts.html>

[109] According to the opinions presented on the website TripAdvisor, Chipotle Mexican Grill has very positive reviews; however, the customers' opinions vary in different cities, e.g. in New York City - 35% of reviewers ranked the restaurant as excellent and 49% as very good. In comparison: Denver has 27% of excellent reviews and 46% very good ones. The numbers for Los Angeles are: 30% and 47%, whereas the customers of San Antonio reviewed Chipotle Mexican Grill as excellent in 63% and very good in 37% of reviews.

<www.tripadvisor.com/Restaurant_Review-g60763-d4249148-Reviews-Chipotle_Mexican_Grill-New_York_City_New_York.html>

[110] *De Fuego* in Phoenix is highly recommended by TripAdvisor. 71% of reviewers rank is as excellent and 24% as very good.

<www.tripadvisor.com/Restaurant_Review-g31310-d777766-Reviews-Fuego_Bistro-Phoenix_Arizona.html>

Another Dallas-based chain, *ZuZu*,[111] has restaurants in Texas, Colorado, Florida, Kentucky and Oklahoma (Jones 1995, 13). *Senor Salsa's Gourmet Mexican Cuisine* is an Arizona-based holding that offers free delivery and has numerous franchises in many states: Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Utah, Oregon, Texas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Michigan, Arizona, and Hawaii (Bringard 1992, 1). In 2015, a competitor to Chipotle appeared, in the form of a locally-owned taco shop, named *Taco Shack*, in Tempe, Arizona. The goal of *Taco Shack* is to combine the quality and flavour of sit-down cuisine with the affordable prices of national Mexican food chains through an order-at-the-counter style, but made-to-order food. The manager says that Taco Shack is focused on keeping its food local and advertised their main dish as 'Arizona-style tacos'. The co-owner Jonathan Moffat said; "You can buy a taco at Rosita's (Fine Mexican Food) or Chipotle, and they're both wonderful, but we needed something in between the two. A hybrid, if you will" (*University Wire* 2015, November 1).

There is fierce competition among Mexican food chains, such as *Moe's Southwest Grill*, Chipotle, *Salsarita's Mexican Cantina* and *Qdoba Mexican Grill*. The last one was founded in 1998 in Denver. *Qdoba Mexican Grill*[112] is a San Francisco-style burrito restaurant that prepares the food while the customer follows the item along the production line and gives input towards customization. The menu is simple for the guests. First, they choose the 'container': burrito (large tortilla), taco (hard or soft shell), or salad. Next, they choose the meat selection: fire-grilled chicken, steak, pork, or vegetarian. Finally, they customize their selection with a wide variety of sauces, cheese, vegetables, and salsas. *Qdoba* believes that fresh ingredients are their competitive advantage, so their restaurants have no freezers (Brizek et al. 2008, 108-110).

Mexican American food did not attain national presence until it was taken over by non-Mexican corporations such as Taco Bell. This restaurant chain was founded in 1962 by Glen Bell in Downey, California who devised

[111] According to TripAdvisor, *ZuZu* is ranked as excellent by 30% of reviewers and as very good by 37%.

<www.tripadvisor.com/Restaurant_Review-g55711-d1054417-Reviews-ZuZu_Handmade_Mexican_Food-Dallas_Texas.html>

[112] The customers gave *Qdoba Mexican Grill* in San Francisco 34% excellent reviews and 33% very good ones, according to TripAdvisor.

<www.tripadvisor.com.ph/Restaurant_Review-g60859-d4279390-Reviews-Qdoba_Mexican_Grill-Madison_Wisconsin.html>

a way to speed up the production of tacos by pre-frying the corn tortillas, thus, creating the prototype for the hard taco shell (Pilcher 2001, 672). *Investor's Business Daily* (2016) describes the growth of *Chuy's* (CHUY)[113] from a single Tex-Mex restaurant to a popular 69-outlet chain in 15 states in little more than three decades. After opening their first restaurant in Austin, Texas, in 1982, *Chuy's* did not operate outside the Lone Star State until 2009, when it opened a diner in Nashville, Tenn. followed by new restaurants in other states (Chandler 2016, A06).

Some international food chains have diversified their product lines and included a Mexican range of dishes. *PR Newswire* in the article "New Passage to Mexico (TM) Cooking Sauces Bring authentic Mexican meals to the kitchen Table Quickly and Easily" (2013) describes the example of the company - *Passage Foods* - which specializes in international cooking sauce creations. *Passage Foods*' range of cooking sauces originated with an Asian flair initially, but as the brand expanded the customers requested more Hispanic, especially Mexican, products leading the company to introduce three traditional Mexican simmer sauces: Mexico Ranchero, Veracruz and Chipotle Lime. Each of the cooking sauces in the new addition is a restaurant quality recipe made using fresh, natural ingredients that offer the traditional flavours and aromas. Ranchero Simmer Sauce is a traditional sauce blend of tomato, chilli and onions that flavours chicken, beef or fish. Veracruz is a spicy sauce with olive oil, tomatoes, Spanish olives and capers. Chipotle[114] is a combination of the spicy flavour of chilli and lime. This pre-Aztec sauce originated in Northern Mexico (*PR Newswire* 2013, June 25).

Some of the Mexican American restaurants have become local legends: in Los Angeles, *El Cholo*, founded in 1923 as the *Sonora Café*; Tucson's *El Charro Café*; dating back to 1922; *La Posta*, founded in Mesilla, New Mexico in 1939; and *Mi Tierra*, located in San Antonio since 1951. These restaurants attained the status of enduring monuments thanks to their outstanding kitchens and also because of celebrity endorsements. Identification with celebrities helps to attract non-Mexican customers (Pilcher 2001, 671). *New*

[113] According to TripAdvisor, *Chuy's* is ranked as excellent by 54% of reviewers and as very good by 33%.

<www.tripadvisor.com/Restaurant_Review-g30196-d437689-Reviews-Chuy_s_Restaurant-Austin_Texas.html>

[114] 'Chipotle' is "smoked-dried jalapeñno chili" coming from Mexican Spanish, ultimately a Nahuatl (Aztecan) word, said to be a compound of *chilli* "chili pepper" + *poctli* "smoke". Online Etymology Dictionary.

<www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=chipotle>

Orleans City Business (2012) reports that in the decade before taquerias and taco trucks came to the New Orleans area, the South Shore had an excellent Mexican restaurant community. However, a number of family-run Mexican cafes applied the standard American Tex-Mex, menu which brought the approval of customers who praised the improvement in the quality of food. The restaurants also offered live music and other attractions, and set a standard that new Mexican places have followed (Fitzmorris 2012). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2008 there were 374 U.S. tortilla manufacturing establishments employing 16,311 people. One in three of these establishments was in Texas.[115]

In the 1990s there was a trend in the USA towards a casual family atmosphere which resulted in greater popularity of Mexican restaurants. Although consumer perceptions of the degree of authenticity of Mexican restaurants differ depending on geographical locations, generally, American images of Mexican restaurants are positive and include such descriptions as "casual cantina atmosphere", "plenty of vegetables", and "rich and diverse" (Lee et al. 2014, 5). *The New York Times* (2012) describes the lively cantina *Del Fuego*[116] which opened in Long Island and is run by three Italian brothers: Joseph, Jim and Leo DeNicola. Joseph explained why he departed from Italian cuisine, seeing Tex-Mex as "vibrant, healthful and the way of leisure". Besides that, a trip he took to Texas in 2010 helped reinforce his love for that style of cooking (Starkey 2012, LI10).

Mexican influence is visible not only in terms of food but also drinks. *McClatchy-Tribune Business News* (2012) reported that Miami-based SXLiquors had unveiled a new line of Mexican-flavoured vodkas at the Nightclub and Bar Convention in Las Vegas. The names for the new vodkas, SXazul, SXverde, SXrosa, SXnegro and SXblanco, come from the Spanish words for the colours of the spirits and their bottles. SXazul is electric blue cane vodka with blackberry, blueberry, vanilla and rosemary flavours. SXverde is a green spirit that blends tangy apples, lemon and hints of basil. SXrosa is vodka distilled from cane and infused with the tastes of coconuts and watermelon with a hint of cilantro. SXnegro is made by resting cane vodka in reposado tequila oak casks for several months. Finally, SXblanco

[115] County Business Patterns (CBO). <www.census.gov/programs-surveys/cbp.html>

[116] The customers of *Del Fuego* gave the restaurant 39% excellent reviews and 33% very good reviews, according to TripAdvisor.

<www.tripadvisor.com/Restaurant_Review-g47266-d4420811-Reviews-Del_Fuego-Babylon_Long_Island_New_York.html>

is another, less complex, cane vodka. All of SXLiquors' products are made and bottled in Mexico (Lapan 2012).

Business Wire (2014) published an article, titled "Mexican Flavors Come Alive in New "Mexico de Mis Sabores" Cookbook Celebrating Mexican Wine and Cuisine" which describes how renowned chefs Jose Andres, Rick Bayless, and others contribute contemporary Mexican recipes to pair with the country's native wines. The chefs have elevated Mexican food to new heights, and wines from Mexico have emerged as the perfect accompaniment for modern expressions of Latin cuisine. The cookbook "Mexico de Mis Sabores" is presented as a guide to Mexico's native wines and pairs traditional Mexican flavours with specific wine varieties produced south of the border (*Business Wire*, 2014, April 7).

Summing up, there are two main types of restaurants serving Mexican/Mexican-influenced food: small, family-owned diners and large, chain restaurants. Those restaurants are praised for the quality of food offered which can be either traditional, aimed at authentic Mexicanness or hybrid cuisine which mixes the techniques and ingredients from Mexico and the particular region in the USA. The most popular choice – Tex-Mex – is in many areas replacing other types of ethnic food available. Apart from serving food, the restaurateurs use other means of attracting customers to their diners, e.g. creating a family atmosphere, offering live music, celebrity endorsements.

5.6 Hybridization

A new trend in gourmet food, known as Nuevo Latino, has been transforming the U.S. restaurant industry with dishes inspired by traditional Latin American cuisine. For decades, Mexican food has influenced U.S. culinary trends and in the 1980s and 1990s a group of chefs known as the Mango Gang popularised Nuevo Latino cuisine by creating their Pan Latin menus. The term Nuevo Latino is attributed to Cuban American chef Douglas Rodríguez, who first reached recognition in places such as Sonesta Beach Hotel and Wet Paint Café in Miami. U.S. Hispanics reproduce their culinary traditions while blending Native American, Hispanic, and European food, so their dishes are products of hybridization from different gastronomic heritages. The U.S. restaurant industry has reinvented Latin American food and positioned it as nouvelle gourmet cuisine (Fonseca

2005, 95-98). Nuevo Latino chefs base their recipes on family memoirs and ingredients available at local ethnic markets. *The Boston Globe* (2015) presents the Tex-Mex food prepared by Amanda Escamilla – the chef of *Tex Mex Eats* diner in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Escamilla grew up in Texas and takes inspiration from her mother's recipes but experiments with her own style of cooking, creating what she calls 'Texachusetts flavors'. She buys most of her meat and vegetables from local farms and farmers' markets, but still relies on trusted sources from her youth for Mexican oregano, smoked paprika, and corn husks for tamales (Pyenson 2015, G9).

Chefs not only mix ethnic food with the culinary culture of the region, but they also create fusions of different ethnic cuisines e.g. Mexican, Italian, and Korean. Thus, the culinary trend, known as Nuevo Latino is aimed at creativity and hybridity of cooking culture. *The Boston Globe* (2011) describes the influence of Tex-Mex cooking on another type of ethnic cuisine – Italian. The popular casserole known as lasagne can be prepared with fresh flour tortillas creating a culinary fusion of Italian Tex-Mex. The newspaper website www.bostonglobe.com/food provides instructions on how to prepare a special version of this recipe for kids (Riven 2011, G10). *The New York Times* (1999) describes another restaurant which combines Tex-Mex and Mediterranean foods. *Yass Mediterranean Grill-Tortilla Grill* is located in Great Neck on Long Island and owned by Faz Esmizadeh of Acapulco, Mexico, and Barman Sharifi of Teheran, Iran. It is not only the menu that is half Tex-Mex and half Mediterranean but also the style of the restaurant and its staff present an ethnic combination. The wall hangings are from New Mexico; the music is Arabic-Greek style; the waiters and cooks are either Latinos or from the Middle East. However, neither the Tex-Mex nor the Mediterranean selections included any authentic Mexican or Middle eastern sweets, only standard Western desserts made elsewhere (Scholem 1999, LI19).

The Wall Street Journal (2014) depicts the blend of Latino and Asian culture in the most densely populated corner of Los Angeles – Koreatown. Hispanics actually make up the largest group living in Koreatown, which is reflected in the gastronomy services of the district. In the restaurant *POT*, located inside the Line Hotel, customers can order Mexican-Korean tacos. Many bars in Koreatown blend Asian and Mexican flavours in their drink and snack offerings (Kwak 2014). *Nation Restaurant News* (2016) describes the fusion cuisine of Richard DeShantz, chef of *takA*, an Asian-meets-Mexican concept in Pittsburgh, Pa. DeShatz showcases the coming

together of the two distinct cuisines in his Korean tacos and duck tacos. The Korean taco is made with peanuts, fermented cucumber, nappa cabbage and cilantro; while the duck taco is prepared with cucumbers, pickled peppers, mint and cilantro. DeShantz said: "Asian and Mexican flavours are a natural pairing – both cuisines are technical, sauce driven, spice heavy and showcase depth of flavour. … Looking at the menu and the dishes here at takA, I wanted to think about how I could incorporate Asian flavors into Mexican dishes, and vice versa" (Glazer 2016).

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (2004) published an article, titled "From New Mexico, a new look at Mexican food" which describes the mixing of Mexican foods with other recipes such as crème fraiche, a French ingredient. The cook, from Albuquerque, N. M., said: "Green chile peppers are a staple in everyday cooking, and we put them in everything from pizza to eggs and hamburgers" (Hughes 2004, 11).

While traditional Latin American restaurants try to associate Latin food with a specific nation or region, Nuevo Latino tends to privilege Pan Latin menus combining dishes, appetisers, desserts and drinks from different countries together and transform regional Latin American food into exotic gourmet cuisine. Even though the Nuevo Latino trend emerged in Florida, it has expanded to New York, the West coast and major U.S. cities in other parts of the country. On the one hand, the clash of different culinary traditions is often perceived as a lack of authenticity among consumers looking for delicacies of national cuisines. On the other hand, the hybridization featured in Nuevo Latino menus is the source of its uniqueness (Fonseca 2005, 101-102).

5.7 Traditional vs Tex-Mex

Tex-Mex is the food of the US Southwest – heavy on melted cheese, beef, beans and flour tortillas. Tex-Mex borrows heavily from the cuisine of northern Mexico, but it is certainly an American invention that spread from Texas and other border states. The United States has copied particular recipes and ingredients that reproduce Tex-Mex food from the cuisine of Mexico's north, where the food is simple and unsophisticated because of its desert regions and limited vegetable production. This is where the Spanish settlers introduced bovine meat and where the Spanish pioneers started cultivating wheat to substitute for corn. This created the flour tortilla,

which is how wheat quesadillas, chimichangas and huge sobaquera tortillas emerged. Part of all this was reinterpreted in Tex-Mex cuisine. It is not unusual to see somebody from Michoacan or from Central Mexico show surprise when they see Tex-Mex tacos folded like small wallets, fried and stuffed with meat, instead of a fresh tortilla lying flat on its plate with the accompanying food on the side. Mexicans from the central and southern regions are unaware of chimichangas being Mexican. They do not appreciate yellow cheese and cabbage salad or Tex-Mex. They are stunned by the lack of variety of hot peppers, when more than 50 kinds are cultivated in Mexico. They find this type of food very industrial, simple, repetitive in its ingredients and far removed from real Mexican gastronomy, which has been recognized by UNESCO as one of the most important cuisines in the world because of its vast variety of dishes and the array of regional influences and fruits, vegetables and sauces it encompasses (Semenak 2010, C3).

Many Americans confuse Tex-Mex specialties such as chili, chimichangas, nachos and hard-shell tacos, often laden with processed cheese and sour cream, with real Mexican food. The same thing applies to Cal-Mex fusions such as the fish burrito, which combines fresh vegetables, fish and even fruit-based salsas with rice and beans in a flour tortilla (Rodriguez 2007). Previously exotic items such as enchiladas have become naturalized to the degree that they are now standard dishes on the tables of 'nonethnic' mainstream American restaurants. On the other hand, it can be argued that these foreign contributions have suffered, losing authenticity and becoming Americanized as most ethnic cuisines have been adapted to prevailing tastes in the USA (Zelinsky 1985, 53).

Nation's Restaurant News (2007) reports that research chefs gathered at the Johnson & Wales University campus to explore the foods of Latin America at a conference titled *Global Culinary Expedition*, sponsored by *Smithfield Foods*. Jana Mann of the research company *Datassential*, started this educational programme with a look at Mexican cuisine in the USA. She observed that authentic Mexican food has not taken the country by storm. Rather, Americans seem to prefer dishes that have been inspired or influenced by Mexican cuisine or that use Mexican ingredients. Examples included chipotle burgers and jalapeño fries. As Mann reviewed other Latin cuisines, she said that the Mexican model of not striving for authenticity could serve them well (Thorn 2007, 130).

The evolution of Mexican-influenced American regional cuisine went through a stage of struggling over whether to preserve the authenticity of

traditional Mexican food culture or choose the option of hybrid cuisine adapted to prevailing American tastes. *The New York Times* (2012) describes the cuisine of Mexican American chef Jair Téllez who worked in New York, San Francisco and Mexico City. Téllez does not produce indigenous cuisine but rather American-influenced Mexican cuisine with local ingredients. The author of the article describes Téllez's cooking as Amerexican, because in his dishes "you can plainly see the tension between what's Mexican and what's not" (Bittman 2012, SM46). However, not all restaurateurs want to make a choice of one option to be available in their establishments. Instead, they give the customers a wider offer. *The Boston Globe* (2013) reports on the restaurant *Beantown Taqueria* run by managers and cousins Hugo Mendez and Lucky Nunez, who grew up in Mexico City. They had the idea of translating the authentic flavours of their childhood into a fast-casual concept. *The Beantown Taqueria* menu has two sections. One is 'authentic Mexican', with dishes like flautas (deep-fried Mexican roll-ups), and tortas (the popular Mexican sandwich of meat, vegetables, and refried beans). The other section is Tex-Mex, which includes favourites like chimichangas and deep-fried burritos. The managers do not want to show which cuisine – Mexican or Tex-Mex – is better. Instead, they want to give the customers an array of options to eat something they know or to try something new (Smart 2013, G6).

According to *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (2007) the Mexican government worries so much about the global proliferation of deep-fat-fried chimichangas and fajitas that it is recruiting American restaurateurs to set the world straight on real Mexican food. A forum for restaurateurs was organized by the government's Institute for Mexicans Living Abroad. The executive director of the Institute, Carlos Gonzalez, said: "Mexican food gives prestige to the country, promotes its image. … What we want is for these restaurants to promote Mexican culture through the food." Rosa Maria Barajas, the owner of *Rosa's Plane Food* in Calexico, California, was among the restaurant owners the government flew to Mexico City to hear culinary historians lecture on the importance of the nation's food and to sample traditional dishes from the state of Oaxaca in southern Mexico. After returning, Barajas has banned Cheddar cheese from her restaurant and started to use only authentic Mexican cheeses like Cotija or fresh white cheese. Besides that, she serves traditional Mexican food made with fresh ingredients, including homemade tortillas. However, there are restaurateurs who believe that it is important to promote the real Mexican food but there

is a need for flexibility, as lots of people in the USA have developed a taste for Americanized versions of Mexican food. Jeanette Avila, who owns the *El Rancho* restaurant in southwest Detroit, maintains two menus: one Tex-Mex, which includes the most popular fajitas and margaritas, and a traditional menu that offers a dish of breaded pork feet dressed in egg and topped with ranchera sauce. Both menus sell evenly in Avila's restaurant and non-Latinos seem to be open to trying traditional Mexican food (Rodriguez 2007).

CHAPTER SIX

Music

According to Burszta, the creativity of new genres in folk music involves the skill of combining the indigenous roots of music with contemporary influences. However, musical creativity does not aim at mixing the already existing elements of musical styles but at combining the local with the global (Burszta 2001, 77). Gałuszka analyses musical transformations to illustrate changes of local culture within the context of global trends and comes to the conclusion that in the contemporary world the changes in musical genres occur at a rapid pace because the processes are intensified by information technology and developments in telecommunications. Regional musical heritage relates to the tradition, territory, and identity of people living in a particular place. Global processes inspire musical creativity and revitalize local cultures with new meanings and values (Gałuszka 2011, 21-26).

Żerańska-Kominek elaborates on the field of ethnomusicology which examines music as a component of a cultural system. Musical developments provide a kind of feedback to social changes aimed at adaptation of musical genres to the demands of the global society. The dynamics of social changes is not exclusive to civilized societies, but concerns different regions of the world (Żerańska-Kominek 1995, 18, 135). The United States is associated with specific musical sounds, which have come to play a central role in defining Americanness. Many different ethnic, regional, or class based communities have used popular music to display symbolic features of their identities. Puerto Rico has contributed the rhythmic expressions of bomba and plena, Cuba the rumba and son, Argentina the tango, and Brazil the famous samba. Out of this mosaic, the music of Mexican Americans displays relatively few African elements. No other Mexican musical expression has enjoyed international recognition to the extent of the mariachi.

6.1 Tejano

Żerańska-Kominek indicates that the cultural system that undergoes transformations still preserves its significant characteristics. The evolution of a cultural system involves a sort of dualism as it continues changing but at the same time relates to the past and continuity (Żerańska-Kominek 1995, 293). Thus, musical developments combine elements of innovation and traditional heritage. This theory applies to Tejano, which is the music created at the borderlands of Texas and Mexico by Tejanos; the complementary style on the Mexican side of the border is música norteña. Norteño or Tejano is a general term to describe several forms of Mexican music or a mixture of different forms. The 'roots' of Tejano music were formed by conjunto bands. The word 'conjunto' in Spanish means 'together' or 'ensemble' (Iliff et al. 2006, 1).

Tejano, also known as Tex-Mex music, can have the beat of a polka, cumbia, bolero, or ranchera,[117] as well as influences from other musical styles, such as disco, pop, rap, country, and reggae. Mexican musical traditions are rooted in European music and dances, such as polkas, schotises, mazurkas, redovas, valses, one-steps, two-steps, huapangos, and others. They were brought to Mexico and to the American Southwest by German, Bohemian, Italian, and Czech immigrants in the first half of the 19th century. Then these musical and dance traditions were later reinforced by French colonists. After World War II, the musical repertoire of Tejano became limited mostly to polkas and rancheras (San Miguel 2002, 4-5, 10, 134). Tejano music has been undergoing constant changes such as incorporation of American, Caribbean, and Latin American rhythms which results in a creative combination of transculturality.

According to Żerańska-Kominek the process of diffusion in music focuses on the migration of musical elements, such as instruments, from one culture to another (Żerańska-Kominek 1995, 297). In the case of conjunto, the journey of musical instruments was transcontinental in its scope. Conjunto was always a hybrid style combining European-derived forms – polkas, waltzes, mazurkas, and schottisches. Conjunto music was born of the encounters between German settlers from the East and the Coahuiltecan and Spanish-speaking residents of what was then Northern Mexico. The first bands of conjunto musicians had formed by the 1860s,

[117] Ranchera are polkas with lyrics creating romantic ballads often sung to mariachi music, which includes guitars, violins and horns (Iliff et al. 2006, 1; San Miguel 2002, 11).

when German and Czech immigrants had introduced the accordion into Mexico and Texas. While the local musicians quickly warmed to the Germans' polkas and waltzes, they experimented with different combinations of instruments (McAuliffe 1994, D5). The basic instruments were the German accordion and the Mexican, Spanish-derived bajo sexto; later, a double bass and a drummer were sometimes added. The conjunto ensemble today generally features accordion, bajo sexto, electric bass (and sometimes electric guitar) and trap drum set. Conjunto music highlights the accordion and largely consists of happy dance music using polka and ranchera. By the 1990s, the cumbia,[118] a dance form with origins in Columbia, was standard in Tejano music. The pop and rhythm and blues elements in Tejano music largely appear in modern cumbias (Harnish 2009, 202; O'Hagin et al. 2006, 61).

Inter/trans cultural contact and creativity in music leads to musical transculturation which causes modifications, transformations and hybridization resulting in the formation of new cultural entities. According to Żerańska-Kominek, transculturation may lead to a gradual diminishing of the cultural system and its traditional heritage. However, it can also initiate an ethnic revival in musical styles (Żerańska-Kominek 1995, 313-315). In the words of Frith, music "defines a space without boundaries" as it is the cultural form "best able to cross borders" (Frith 1996, 125). According to San Miguel "Tejano is a particular form of border music. Its unique sounds were created or performed by Tejanos living along the Rio Grande border, and by those on the metaphorical border of two distinct cultural worlds" (San Miguel 2002, 5).

Tejano music, although originating along both sides of the border, evolved mostly in South Texas. This music reflected the historical experiences of the Texas community. Up to the middle of the 20th century these experiences concerned the rural economy, patriarchal social structure and subordinate status and conflicts with Anglos. In the second half of the 20th century the Tejanos became more urbanized, less patriarchal and more acculturated (San Miguel 2002, 7). Tejano has become the symbol of Mexican American border communities.

> ..., this music expresses the distinctive manner in which this particular ethnic group adjusted to living in a particular region of the United States and on the border of several

[118] Cumbias are marked by a trotting or shuffling rhythm, syncopations and often a rapid tempo.

> different cultural fronts – the Tejano and the Anglo, the American and the Mexican, and, more recently, the national and international. Although the geographic boundaries have changed in the last dozen years, música tejana continues to be border music for border people. (San Miguel 2002, 136)

Tejano music injects new meaning into local cultures as it relates to the main issues facing the Tejano community, such as gender relations, racial injustice, ethnic identity, and the impact of immigration and Americanization. *The Orange County Register* (1999) describes Mexican music played at El Grito celebrations in Santa Ana. The most popular music among Orange County Hispanics is norteño, which tells the stories of people through lyrics about illegal border crossings, clashes with the law, personal struggles and love. The musician Justo Gomez, of the band *Dinasta Norteña*, expressed his hybrid Mexican American identity with the words: "We were born here as a band but we're 100 percent Mexican. .... When we go to Mexico, people applaud us. They accept us. We've never felt like they've held it against us (for living in the U.S.)" (Chang 1999).

San Antonio, Texas, is a legendary music town, with the city's bars providing a training ground for many rising Tejano stars, but the city's greatest musical icon remains Lydia Mendoza (1916-2007). She grew up singing on the streets of San Antonio and rose to superstar status among Spanish speakers in the USA and Latin America with songs such as 'Amor Bonito'. Every May, San Antonio organizes an annual Tejano-Conjunto festival for people enthusiastic about Texan vernacular music (Cartwright 2010, 4). *Austin American-Statesman* (1992) describes the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center's *Tejano Conjunto Festival* that has grown from a street party into a convention for conjunto musicians and tens of thousands of fans. San Antonio has been the centre of the music form since its origins in the early 1920s. Originally it melted European rhythms with indigenous Mexican music forms into a distinctive genre; however, conjunto music has developed and diversified greatly through the decades (Guerra 1992, A15).

Transcultural music is distributed by international means of mass communication. As a consequence, whole generations of people can share similar musical experiences, regardless of their cultural background (Żerańska-Kominek 1995, 325). Tejano bands aim to appeal to a wider audience, not only Hispanics residing in the USA. Many groups sing both in Spanish and English. *McClatchy-Tribune Business News* (2011) describes a Tejano music concert by *Los Outlaws* in Austin. It

is a well-known band that formed in Texas and specializes in old-time country music, including the traditional Mexican and Texan classics and ranchera songs. To appeal both to the Hispanic and Anglo audiences, the band sings in English and Spanish (Mewes 2011). *Dayton Daily News* (2006) describes how Tex-Mex music concerts are used to bridge ethnic divisions in the culturally diverse towns. The series of concerts known as the *American Roots Series* are part of the Culture Builds Community Project – a project created to bring cultural programming to Dayton's Twin Towers. The project included performances by Tex-Mex music legend Santiago Jimenez Jr. and dance ensemble *Rhythm in Shoes* (Thrasher 2006, G05).

Tejano fuses different musical styles, such as conjunto and corrido, forming complex transcultural combinations. Joe Ely is an artist who travels through Texas and Mexico, absorbing the diverse cultures and turning experiences into songs. His album 'Twistin' in the Wind' melts Texas country and blues with Mexican conjunto and corridos (Tarradell 1998, C5). The folk music of the American Southwest, like mariachi and corridos, serves as a source of inspiration for numerous musicians. The band *Calexico* is named after a town near the California/Mexico border, which reflects the band's love for the exotic cultural and musical mixture heard in the area. Their lyrics draw on the myths and iconography of the American West and Mexico (Donovan 2010, 7).

A new generation of Tejano artists is gradually playing a more prominent role on the American musical stage, e.g. *Charanga Cakewalk*, founded in Austin, Texas by Michael Ramos. The success of Tejano bands shows a lowering of class distinctions within the Mexican American community. From the 1940s onward, mobile, urban, middle-class Mexican Americans preferred the jazzy sounds of the Anglo mainstream society. From time of the Chicano Movement in the 1970s, middle-class Mexican Americans started to identify with the rural sounds preferred by the working classes. *Charanga Cakewalk* use both traditional and computerized instrumentation; the band appeals to all Mexican Americans, urban and rural, middle and lower class. "The complex, culturally and socially mixed sounds of Charanga Cakewalk aim at being "American," at appealing to all communities, redefining in the process what is American popular music. They underscore complex intra- and inter-group exchanges and hybridization processes currently taking place in the United States" (Chastagner 2015, 87).

6.1.1 Selena Quintanilla-Perez

The undisputed queen of Tejano music was Selena Quintanilla-Perez. Her songs, such as 'Como la Flor' and 'Bade Esta Cumbia', soared to the top of the charts (Terry-Azios 2000, 28). Selena grew up speaking English; she learned to sing Spanish songs phonetically and became fluent over time. Her songs in a transcultural manner combined the indigenous with the contemporary, blending Mexican music with modern genres, from urban pop and R&B to disco and hip-hop. Her album 'Amor Prohibito' was a combination of ranchera, pop and hip-hop influences. According to *Napster*,[119] Selena "redefined Latin music, transcending borders and eventually seeping into the mainstream".[120] Originally intended as an all-English-language album 'Dreaming of You' acquired its bilingual split and a musical genre mixture of R&B, Tejano pop and dancehall tracks. The four English language songs were: 'I Could Fall in Love', 'Dreaming of You', 'Captive Heart', and 'I'm Getting Used to You'. *The Barrio Boyzz* joined her on the English/Spanish 'Wherever You Are' (Dale 1995, 18).

Selena was one of the first celebrities to appear on Spanish talk shows such as 'Sabado Gigante' and 'El Show de Cristina' and use Spanglish, which indicated her hybrid identity. She was the first cross-over Spanish music artist who went mainstream in the USA (Rivas 2011). According to Lannert from *Billboard*, Selena improved the perception of Latino music in the U.S. mainstream market (Lannert 1995, 41). Furthermore, Tejano music had previously been dominated by men and the popularity of Selena broke the gender barrier. What is unusual, Selena managed to win acceptance in Mexico, which rarely welcomes Mexican American performers (Puente 1997).

For many Latinas, Selena was a beauty icon. Marissa Rodriguez from *USA Today* describes Selena's image in the words: "Matte skin, winged eyeliner, big lashes, arched brows and red lips comprised her signature look". Selena was not only a singer but also an entrepreneur with her own clothing lines. She launched two boutiques called *Selena Etc.* in San Antonio and her hometown Corpus Christi. In her style she was often compared to Madonna, and even called 'Mexican Madonna' or the 'Queen of Tejano Music' (Rodriguez 1997, Muniz 2013, 4).

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[119] *Napster*, also known as *Rhapsody*, is the first streaming on demand music subscription service offering access to a large library of digital music.

[120] Napster (Rhapsody): Hispanic Icons: Selena <us.napster.com/blog/post/hispanic-icons-selena-2015>

On 31st March 1995, Selena was shot over a financial dispute with the founder of her fan club, Yolanda Saldivar. In the days following her death street murals of Selena that evoked the image of the Virgin de Guadalupe appeared around the state. The following month, on 16th April, she would have celebrated her 24th birthday. George W. Bush, then-governor of Texas declared 16th April "Selena Day" in the state and said that Selena represented "the essence of south Texas culture".[121] In 2002, a judge, Jose Longoria of the District Court in Corpus Christi, ordered the gun[122] used to kill the singer Selena to be smashed with a sledgehammer and thrown into Corpus Christi Bay to "finally bring closure to such tragedy".[123] The order was executed despite protests from historians who maintained that the revolver was a valuable piece of Mexican American history.[124]

The significance of Selena's afterlife and its influence on the Latino/a community across borders has been labelled as 'Selenidad' (Muniz 2013, 3) Her impact on music and pop culture has lived on. Fans of the late singer have remembered her by naming their baby daughters after her. According to the Census Bureau, the name Selena jumped from being the 307th most popular name for newborn girls in the USA in 1994 to 92nd most popular in 1995. Many female Tejano singers have used Selena's style as a guide to their on-stage presence. In recent years, drag queens have taken to impersonating the late singer on stage, copying her dance moves and outfits, especially a famous purple jumpsuit worn at the singer's final concert in Houston (Renter 2010). In December 2010, the U.S. Postal Service issued stamps to commemorate the achievements of Latino musicians across time and genres, and these included images of Selena (Mata 2011). In 2016, MAC honoured the late singer with a new line of cosmetics inspired by her image (Rodriguez 2016) and in the same year, in recognition of her accomplishments – including introducing the Tejano genre into mainstream music – Selena was inducted into the Texas Women's Hall of Fame.[125]

In 2015, in honour of the 20th anniversary of Selena's death, the city of Corpus Christi organized a two-day celebration called 'Fiesta de la Flor'

[121] "Texas Declares 'Selena Day'." *Houston Chronicle*, April 17, 1995.

[122] A 38-caliber Taurus revolver.

[123] "National Briefing. Southwest: Texas: Gun That Killed Singer Is To Be Destroyed." *The New York Times*, June 8, 2002.

[124] "Gun used in slaying of Selena destroyed." *Chicago Tribune*, June 11, 2002.

[125] "Selena Quintanilla Inducted Into the Texas Women's Hall of Fame." *Billboard*, October 24, 2016.

(Nunez 2015). According to the organizers, the economic impact of the event was $13 million. Visitors came from 35 states and five different countries, including Mexico, Brazil, and Ecuador (Munson 2015). The festival is now held on an annual basis and its purpose is to pay tribute to Selena as well as to celebrate Tejano music. Gregory Nava's film titled 'Selena' (1997) presents her biography as the archetypical American story. She is depicted as a person who reached her dreams without forgetting about her background. Muniz (2013, 7) states:

> Remembering Selena has not simply been about the music, rather it has been about the celebration of *Latinidad*, empowerment, and the message that Selena sent to her fans about unifying together, helping each other and building community.

Selena exemplifies a hybrid identity in her hyphenated life, trying to find her place between her Mexican heritage and the Anglo-American mainstream. She awakened a revitalization of Latin music and her legacy has been built on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. Teresa Puente of the *Chicago Tribune* (1997) states: "Selena not only captured the imaginations of legions of young Latinas, most of them Mexicans and Mexican Americans, but also those of Cubans, Chileans, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans and others". According to Muniz (2013, 1-2), Selena's music "not only transcends the physical borderlands of the U.S. and Mexico but speaks to the struggles embodied by her fans that belong to multiple communities and identities". Both during her lifetime and afterlife, Selena's music has combined the local with the global.

6.2 Corridos

Corrido is a centuries-old ballad style that generally begins with a short personal story followed by a moral. It is the bedrock of traditional Mexican music (Iliff et al. 2006, 1). Many corridos "begin with an announcement and some word of courtesy and end with a *despedida*, a leave-taking, framing gestures that are customary rather than required" (McDowell 2015, 1). Edberg (2004, 1) defines corridos as "a discursive form through which heroic values and the situations that frame them have been articulated". According to Herrera-Sobek (2012) corrido is "a musical composition that tells or narrates a story". The stories focus on the topics of love, politicians, horseraces, bullfighters, festivals, and tragic events, such as natural

disasters, accidents, and violent conflicts. The Mexican corrido has Iberian roots and keeps continuity with regard to its poetic form and handling of narrative subjects. As a minor song tradition, originating in the colonial period, corridos can be found in many parts of Latin America, but Mexico is the only place where this genre has evolved into a mestizo cultural form (McDowell 2015, 2).

Corridos played a key role in expressing and reflecting the historical conflict between Anglos and Mexicans in South Texas in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (San Miguel 2002, 7). Solis describes the evolution of corrido:

> The heroic corrido form emerged along the Lower Texas-Mexican Border in the mid-19th century as a Mexican cultural and ideological artistic expression of resistance against racism, violence, and death at the hands of Anglo-Texan authorities. The victim corrido form emerged after the Second World War. It is characterized by the shift of heroism from the individual, who is portrayed as a helpless victim of racial discrimination, to the Mexican and Chicano/a communities that mobilized in the individual's defense. (Solis 2011, 174)

Corridos remind Mexican Americans of the good times and hardships in the old country and depict immigrants risking their lives to cross the border with the USA. Corridos became a political symbol of protest by common people against oppressive government. The plight of Mexican immigrants is recounted in the ballads of injustice and discrimination at the hands of the U.S. government. Corridos show the hardship suffered by immigrants from the mid-1800s, when the United States began taking over Mexican ranches in the Southwest, to today's accusations that undocumented Mexicans are responsible for the social problems in Orange County and the rest of California. The songs show the controversial relationship of the United States with Mexican workers: deporting them during the Great Depression and welcoming braceros during the Second World War. Some corridos depict a double standard in immigration policy that favours Canadian and European immigrants over Mexicans (Saavedra 1993). The corrido has become a genre that documents from the popular perspective local electoral votes, political activism, and the rise of U.S. presidents. The corrido tells stories of significant events, like an informal newspaper for the people. It shares with other Latin American ballads its popular character, in that it tells stories from the perspective of the working-class sectors, rather than of the official institutions (Aparicio 2012, 230).

McDowell writes:

> It was the response to the intercultural strife of the Texas-Mexican border zone at the onset of the twentieth century, and the bloody struggles of the revolutionary period in Mexico (from 1910 to 1930), that this genre of narrative song achieved a nationwide and even regional prominence as a grass-roots chronicle of history-in-the-making. (McDowell 2012, 250)

Edberg (2004, 73) states that corridos are listened to for the music as much as the lyrical content. According to Connell and Gibson (2003, 71), the lyrics signify the relationship between music, place and identity. Diverse inscriptions of the Mexican corrido can be found in Chicano/a poetry and prose. Through a literature of resistance, U.S. Latino/a writers have reclaimed their past oral traditions, folklore, and popular musical repertoires that reaffirm their differential identity within the USA. By fusing orality into written literature, U.S. Latino/a writers highlight the meaning of music in the formation of cultural identity. Popular music has been used as a discourse that privileges the creativity of the communal group over the elite. In terms of gender analysis, the corrido has historically privileged the figure of the male bandit or outlaw as a hero (Aparicio 2012, 229, 231). Corridos describe the experiences of Mexican American communities with tales of migration, globalization, political events, and stories of love. In the words of McDowell, corridos can be analysed "as record of local events, as repository of regional history, as forum for political commentary, as archive of the people's poetic tradition" (McDowell 2015, 23).

6.2.1 Narcocorridos

A type of corrido featuring drug traffickers as protagonists has become highly popular in the U.S.-Mexico border region. These corridos are often called 'narcocorridos'. Narcocorrido is a modern version of the traditional ballad that is dedicated to the real or imaginary exploits of drug traffickers, mostly in northern Mexico. The songs are sometimes requested or paid for by the traffickers themselves or based on media reports (Iliff et al. 2006, 1). Narcocorridos originate in songs telling romanticized stories about the heroes of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. In time, the songs came to mirror the social, economic and political influence of drug bosses, often glorifying their lifestyle. More recently, the genre has also been associated with another

trend: narcotourismo. Drug-trafficking tourism is largely informal and consists of taxi tours of sites known for executions by gang members or for clashes they have had with law enforcement agents (Bucur 2010, F5). This phenomenon is especially popular in the border towns of El Paso in Texas and Juárez in Mexico, which form an urban area with a population of more than two million. It is a major urban centre, characterised by significant poverty and visible wealth, due to the dominant presence of the maquila industries and drug trade (Edberg 2004, 26).

Culiacan, the capital of Sinaloa, is the heart of the narcocorridos scene in Mexico. Situated about 700 miles south of Tucson, Arizona, Sinaloa has been called the 'Sicily of Mexico' as the state gave birth to most of Mexico's major drug lords, who later started to run the powerful cartels of Tijuana, Juarez and beyond. Narcocorridos tell many stories. Many of the songs present drug traffickers as strong men who rose from poverty to make something of themselves. They present the view that the problem lies with the drug users in the United States who fuel the business. This view is expressed in a song by the band *Tuscanes de Tijuana*: "The big labs don't stop working because the consumers don't stop buying" (Schwartz 2005, A23).

The genre is thriving among rural populations in northern Mexico and the immigrant communities in the United States. Edberg (2004) provides a broader definition of the border zone where narcocorridos are created:

> Generally, the notion of a border zone as a growing ground for narcocorridos may be best viewed under a broader definition, less tied to the actual geographic border – especially since narcocorridos are known and written well beyond the border (and in Mexico, certain states in the sierra or near the Pacific coast, such as Sinaloa, are well-known narcotrafficker territory and thus the origin of many a narcocorrido). Still, however it is imagined, it could be said that the border is a distiller of themes and a metaphoric region of ambiguity – a liminal space. It is a zone of conflict, a zone of movement and transition, a zone of both harsh poverty and fantastic wealth, … . (Edberg 2004, 8)

The cultural archetype of the narcotrafficker has been shaped by political, social and regional contexts with themes of violence, power, money and drugs. The songs feature archetypal heroes involved in the drug trade, smuggling, drug use and other illegal activities conducted on the border. Whereas traditional corridos had epic themes of heroes who resisted the Texas Rangers and U.S. authorities, narcocorridos situate their protagonists in the current context of cross-border tensions, exploring the topics of marginalization and exploitation. Narcocorridos are interpreted in a way

similar to corridos as the lyrical content is about border conflicts focusing on issues of migration, smuggling, and the drug trade. The lyrics also concern the themes of love but narcocorridos elaborate on the tragic consequences of mixing romance with the world of drug trafficking. The songs sometimes include a warning about the consequences of involvement in the drug trade (Edberg 2004, 25, 47-48, 73).

The authors of the lyrics refer to ways in which subaltern groups (working class people, marginalized groups, or immigrants) survive culturally and to strategies through which they refashion what evolves from the hegemonic culture and then fuse this with their ethnic heritage. The centre of its production is metropolitan Los Angeles where people can listen to narcocorridos in nightclubs (Simonett 2001, 315-316). The artists sing ballads which describe the lives and careers of smugglers, drug lords and farmers who raise the crops that give heroin, cocaine and marijuana, and bandits fighting American law enforcement near the northern Mexico border (Ward 2002, A20; Alcoba 2009, A17).

The recent trend in celebrating ethnic diversity, together with a great number of Mexican newcomers, made Mexican American musicians more visible on the American music scene. This ethnic revival also applies to corridos. Narcocorridos do not promote drug trafficking but are just a music genre to listen and dance to; however, the songs have become status symbols among drug traffickers that epitomize success, wealth and power (Simonett 2001, 321). Although the Mexican government has attempted to restrict and, in some cases, ban narcocorridos arguing that "the controversial musical genre instigates violence and poses security and health risks", the genre is gaining popularity, both in Mexico and across the border in the USA (Bucur 2010, F5).

One of the greatest narcocorrido bands is *Los Tigros del Norte*. Their famous song 'La Reina del Sur' (The Queen of the South) is based on a novel about a female drug trafficker in Spain. Although narcocorridos are blamed for social violence, not everybody believes that they may cause harmful effects. The songs are similar to gangster films like 'Scarface' and 'Godfather'; watching those kinds of films does not necessarily mean that people will commit violence (Águila 2012, 8). According to Stephen Marche from *National Post*:

> The narcocorrido, as a music form, seems like the most unlikely of genres to inspire either mass popularity or government intervention. The tunes themselves are oompahband polkas and waltzes, with a lot of accordion and trumpet. They sound, to my

> ear, like the songs played at a Polish-American wedding around 1965. The lyrics, too, are hardly high fashion. They're composed in one of the oldest poetic forms, a ballad style that has been used in Mexico for 400 years and in Spain for a thousand years before that. The songs themselves describe highly romanticized scenarios of love and drugs, money and guns, epic drinking sessions and riding around in fancy cars. The narcocorrido is one of the great musical styles to emerge from globalization, a truly cosmopolitan genre; it's specifically Mexican but has spread everywhere in North America, from Colombia to Canada. It's cosmopolitan in time as well as in place. It would have made perfect sense to a medieval audience while being utterly contemporary. (Marche 2010, WP3)

The narcotrafficker image as represented in narcocorridos has become commodified because narcocorridos have begun to generate lucrative business for some record companies. "Thus the image is now re-constructed by market forces, a significant contradiction to any interpretation that focuses on narcocorridos solely as populist or resistance narratives" (Edberg 2004, 2).

Mexicans and Mexican Americans who listen to narcocorridos on both sides of the border "exist in a transcultural world in which narcocorridos are consumed along with a melange of Anglo and world pop music" (Edberg 2004, 68). As a musical genre, narcocorrido is undergoing constant transformations, especially in the themes explored in the lyrics. The singer Gerardo Ortiz embraces a new attitude and describes his music as 'progressive' corridos – the songs are less about the exploits of Mexican drug lords than they are about chronicling the country's social, political and cultural climate. On his album 'Entre Dios y el Diablo', Ortiz moves further away from narcocorridos, retaining a traditional norteño folk sound and pairing it with such modern elements as flamenco (Águila 2011, 9). Social changes initiate transformations in the genre of corrido, but it still retains its vital characteristics as the lyrical content transforms past events into present consciousness. In the words of Chew Sánchez (2006, 31): "The corrido transcends space and time because although some aspects of the corridos may change through generations or vary according to geographic regions, the main content of corrido remains the same".

6.2.2 *Migra* corridos

Migra corridos constitute a unique subgenre of corridos as the initiative for their creation came from the American government. In 2008 the U.S. Customs Border Protection Agency started a campaign known as the

"Border Safety Initiative"[126] which was denominated as "No Más Cruces en la Frontera", a phrase that can be translated as "No more crossings at the border" or "No more crosses at the border". The U.S. Border Patrol employed so-called *migra* corridos[127] as a means of covert propaganda to discourage undocumented immigration. The term *'migra'* deriving from the Spanish word *inmigración* meaning 'immigration' is used to refer to immigration officers, whose work relates to keeping illegal immigrants out of the U.S. borders. The Homeland Security Agency paid for the CD featuring songs designed to deter potential migrants from crossing the U.S. border as the lyrics focus on how migration to the United States can end tragically.[128] The agency commissioned the advertising firm *Elevación* to produce and distribute the CD. The lyrics to the five songs were written by Rodolfo Hernández who took inspiration from newspaper headlines; he also sang some of the songs. The titles of the corrido texts were the following: "El Respecto" (Respect), "Veinte" (Twenty), "El Más Grande Enemigo" (The Biggest Enemy), "En la Raya" (On the Borderline), and "Esperanza Perdida" (Lost Hope). The lyrics focus on how the migrants encounter tragic events while crossing the border (Herrera-Sobek 2012).

Elevación distributed the CD to the Mexican states from which historically the highest numbers of immigrants have come to the USA. According to *Elevación*'s research the 'sending states' were the following: Zacatecas, Michoacán, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Jalisco, and Chiapas. Ashley Surdin of the *Washington Post* states:

> Illegal immigrants can encounter severe hazards on their journey: professional smugglers and bandits who beat, rob, rape and abandon them; bitingly cold or scorching temperatures; snakes, scorpions, drowning, and death by dehydration or exhaustion. (Surdin 2009)

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[126] The "Border Safety Initiative" created units of medically trained agents (212 agents in 2009) who were spread along the Mexican border, assigned to search-and-rescue missions of stranded immigrants, particularly in the deadly Arizona desert.

"'Migra corridos' aim to keep immigrants home." *New York Daily News*, January 22, 2009.

[127] The genre of *migra* corridos is also discussed by Anna Kaganiec-Kamieńska in the article titled "Parę uwag o „kulturze latynoskiej" w Stanach Zjednoczonych", published in 2010 in *Ameryka Łacińska* 68(2): 27-37.

[128] In addition to corridos there is a whole genre of films that depict the dangers of the journey to the United States, e.g. *El Norte* (1983, dir. Gregory Nava). I discussed this film in the article Martynuska, M. (2014) "Border Crossings in Gregory Nava's *El Norte* (1983) and *Mi Familia* (1995)", published in *Sociology Study* 4(2): 150-156.

The *migra* corridos produced by *Elevación* depict the tragic fate of prospective migrants: death from dehydration, rape, murder of a child, suffocation in an airtight tractor-trailer. However, *Elevación* did not reveal that the U.S. Border Patrol was behind the project because they feared this fact would not be well-received. Many professional writers and musicians for the '*migra* corridos' project were Mexican nationals living in the USA who were aware of Border Patrol's involvement and believed that the CD's release would benefit their country (Surdin 2009).

6.3 Mariachi

Mariachi has roots that date back to the mid-19th century. A mestizo musical expression integrating indigenous, European, and African influences, mariachi emerged during the colonial period in the central western region of Mexico, encompassing the present states of Jalisco, Nayarit, Colima, and Michoacan. Historically, the musicians were peasants or tradesmen from rural areas (Rodríguez 2010, 195). In the late 1800s, mariachi groups moved out of the Jalisco area and travelled to Mexico City, where they were exposed to different musical genres from various regions and began to incorporate other styles of music, such as the polka, into mariachi sound (Flores 2015, D1). During the Mexican Revolution of 1910, this music form was infused with social consciousness. In addition to its traditional themes of love and broken hearts, the music told tales of injustice and revolutionary heroics (Valdespino et al. 1993). After the Mexican Revolution, Mexico's intellectual and political elite embraced mariachi. The music became a national symbol of pride and patriotism (Jordan 2013, D6). According to UNESCO, mariachi music conveys Mexican values of respect for the natural heritage across regions of the country, as well as local history in the Spanish language and the different indigenous dialects of Western Mexico (Hernandez 2012).

Folklorists and musicologists continue to argue about the origin of the word 'mariachi'. One theory says that the term comes from the name of a particular indigenous tree. Another explanation suggests that it comes from the French 'mariage', which means marriage, because the conjuntos were the typical entertainment at weddings (Villicanta 2005, 23). However, this derivation has been disproved, and it has been established

that the term 'mariachi' actually pre-dates the French occupation (Clark 2005, 228). Another theory suggests the word's roots are more likely to be found in the native Nahuatl language, a derivative of the name 'Maria' in reference to village celebrations of the Virgin Mary (Valdespino et al. 1993). According to Lorenzo Candelaria, a professor at the University of Texas School of Music, there is another explanation in the search for the origin of 'mariachi' in the style of music that comes from a humble region where peasants dressed in simple and huaraches (sandals) in the 19th century (Villicanta 2005, 23). According to a different theory, Coca Indians, probably from Jalisco state in Mexico, had the word 'mariachi' to refer to the type of wood used in making the first mariachi instruments (Clark 2005, 228). The word is also believed to mean a wooden dance platform (Cruz 2002, 11).

The costume of mariachi changed in response to the change from a rural to an urban setting. In rural Mexico, mariachis wore peasants' attire; in Mexico City, their clothing changed to be more appropriate to the urban environment (Clark 2005, 229). The outfit of a classic charro includes an enormous round sombrero and a two-piece suit, usually black, decorated with silver buttons and embroidery (Villicanta 2005, 23). This standardization of uniform created a definite visual aspect which assured them an instantly recognizable identity and distinguished mariachis from other types of music groups.

The mariachi adopted the traje de charro as its typical dress and "took on the gentleman cowboy look" (Cruz 2002, 11). The image of the charro – Mexican cowboy - has become representative of Mexicanness on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. The charro is present in various discourses, such as music, film and folkloric dances. Post-revolutionary Mexico witnessed dramatic growth in its urban population as people turned away from agriculture and an increasing number of displaced cattle ranchers and ranch workers relocated to the cities. National charro associations were established in order to practice and institutionalize the art of charreria and to specify the ideals of the charro version of Mexicanness through a code of ethics formulated for all members. The charro code forbade the use of bright colours in costuming, specifically royal blue, yellow, purple, and pinks, as sombre colours appeared more elegant and manly. Moreover, folkloric dance and music performers dressed in charro suits contributed to the elaboration of the image of the charro in their presentations. By the 1930s, the charro costume became an institutionalized part of the mariachi tradition when

the government required mariachis performing for official functions to wear charro outfits. In this way, the mariachi became the official national musical ensemble of Mexico. During the rise of the Chicano Movement in the USA in the late 1960s and early 1970s the Chicanos sought to promote their Mexican heritage through traditional cultural activities such as mariachi performances (Nájera-Ramírez 1994, 1-10).

Modern mariachis include as their essential instruments guitars, trumpets, vihuelas (a smaller version of the guitar), violins and guitarróns (a larger version of the vihuela that has six strings)[129] (Villicanta 2005, 23). The vihuela and the guitarrón are native Mexican instruments, while the rest are European (Flores 2015, D1). The early mariachi groups used the harp, but it was replaced with the guitarrón because it provided a stronger bass and could be carried more easily when mariachis moved from place to place in an urban setting. The trumpet was added to the instrumentation in the 1930s (Clark 2005, 228).

6.3.1 From Mexico to the USA

Mariachi ensembles and their music evolved in response to the change of environment in which they performed, from rural to urban. When Mexicans migrated to the American Southwest they brought their music with them (Clark 2005, 227). Mariachi music has become an iconic representation of the Mexican people living both in Mexico and also the USA, where the music became an expression of identity that immigrants passed on to their American children (Jordan 2013, D6). The growth of the Hispanic population in the USA encouraged the development of this music genre that perpetuated Mexican culture. American media ensured the position of the mariachis as the pride of Mexicans. Because of their appearances in entertainment media, mariachis have been commercialized, which has helped to transmit this musical form to a greater number of people. Moreover, the transition of mariachi across the border was easily accepted due to the great number of Hispanics who understood the Spanish-language songs performed by mariachi artists. The music was well-suited to accompanying traditional ethnic celebrations, so Hispanic immigrants in the USA could feel as if they were at home. Although Chicanos were more and more Americanized, they

[129] Its great size gives it volume so it does not need electric amplification for performances in small venues.

found a way of retaining their ethnic unity through traditional celebrations with Mexican music (Clark 2005, 230-231).

Austin American-Statesman (2005) describes the meaning of mariachi songs for Mexican Americans:

> Profound melodies define patriotic Mexican festivities and mark each change in a family's progress through life. For grandparents, mariachis are reminders of youth and the Sunday ritual of courting the object of their affection in the plaza of their towns, serenading the loved one with a group of mariachis. Parents remember the music that filled the church on the day of their wedding or when they baptized their firstborn. (Villicanta 2005, 23)

Mariachi music is also popularised by bands from Mexico that go on tours in the USA. *Mariachi Vargas* is the embodiment of the genre and it has evolved from a folk to a popular art, while still very much rooted in the past. The group, born in Tecalitlan, a small village south of Guadalajara, evolved from a folk string quartet (guitar, harp and two violins) into a more orchestral ensemble, featuring additional strings and trumpets. The group has become a national treasure of Mexico and the icon of mariachi music. In 1980 *Mariachi Vargas* were invited to San Antonio for the International Mariachi Conference. This event started a kind of mariachi movement that attached mariachi music all through the southwest to the lives of Mexican Americans (Joyce 1993, 18).

The corner of Boyle Avenue and First Street in Los Angeles is known as 'Mariachi Plaza'. For decades mariachi artists have gathered there under the street lights on weekend evenings, hoping to be hired to play Mexico's traditional music at quinceañera and baptism parties. The corner is a combination of open-air music market, drive-through culture stand and social club, dedicated to keeping the traditions of Mexico alive. The customers drive to the corner and negotiate a price and a time with the established bands or with the freelancers who quickly form groups on the spot. Most of mariachis dress in black with silver-coloured buttons and chains running down their trouser legs and up their vests. Some mariachis, however, wear beige, white or red outfits. Still black is the standard colour on the corner because there are so many freelancers and they try to dress the same in case they get a job for a group performance. The life of a freelance mariachi is not easy as there is a lot of competition. Rodri Rodriguez, director of *Mariachi USA*, a mariachi music festival organized every June in L.A. called 'Mariachi Plaza' "a little cultural heaven" (Terry

1997, A14). 'Mariachi Plaza' was renovated in 2008, sparking a renaissance for Boyle Heights, a blue-collar Hispanic neighbourhood of East Los Angeles (*National Post*, March 13, 2008: FP14).

There are numerous examples of mariachi's presence in American popular culture. Many Americans first heard mariachi music incorporated into popular music in the classic 1963 Johnny Cash song 'Ring of Fire'. At that time, Cash said that he had a dream in which the song was accompanied by mariachi horns. American hardcore punk group, *The Bronx*, from Los Angeles, have recorded several albums that incorporate mariachi music under their alter ego, *Mariachi El Bronx*. *Mariachi Mystery Tour*, a New Mexico-based group, is a Beatles mariachi cover group who performed at Austin's Pachanga Latino Music Festival in 2013 (Flores 2015, D1).

The tradition of mariachi music has become an integral part of cultural celebrations of Mexican Americans. The preservation and further evolution of mariachi music in the USA parallels a revival of Latino cultural and political identity. Annual conferences of mariachi music are organized on an annual basis in many American cities, such as Tucson (Arizona), Albuquerque (New Mexico) and San Antonio (Texas) (Villicanta 2005, 23).

According to Gałuszka, traditional culture concerns the heritage passed from generation to generation by means of verbal discourse or by using artistic tools such as sheet music. Some of the functions of traditional culture include: assisting rituals, manifesting identification, or performing belonging (Gałuszka 2011, 23-27). Mariachi music also serves those purposes. Mariachi has been incorporated into religious celebrations conducted in American Catholic churches. It often happens that parishes with a wide number of Hispanics offer Spanish-language masses with mariachi music with the aim of appealing to other Hispanic groups, beyond Mexicans, and reflect the hybrid and panethnic composition of the community.

The Mariachi Mass is called Misa Panamericana and its origins can be traced in the 1960s Vatican II reforms. Misa Panamericana was authored by a Canadian priest and first performed in Mexico. According to Houston folklorist Pat Jasper, who studied mariachi traditions, Vatican II reforms also brought an acceptance and celebration of popular arts within the Church. The reforms resonated with a generation of culturally aware Mexican American priests, and it was one of them – the Rev. Patrick Flores at St. Joseph's Church in Houston – who is credited with bringing the Mass to the USA. The Mariachi Mass found popular acceptance in Latino communities throughout the USA. However, not everybody approves of the idea of Misa

Panamericana and the folk informality of the Mass. They complain that the whole congregation do not join in with the singing and people in the church "become mere spectators rather than active participants in the liturgy" (Turner 2014).

According to *TCA Regional News* (Chicago, 2014) *Mariachi Mi Terra* is one of the bands that celebrate Sunday morning Mass at Our Lady of Sorrows Church. The Rev. Philip Brune said that this particular type of music helps spread the word of God and "helps you express what you want to say to God through the gift of song" (Bonyanpour 2014). The *Orange County Register* (2014) reports that incorporating mariachi performance into Catholic Mass has gained popularity. Traditional Mexican tunes replace choir hymns at St. Joseph's Church in Santa Ana where mariachi Mass is offered in honour of the Cinco de Mayo celebration. The Rev. Christopher Smith said that holding a mariachi Mass was one way of bridging cultural gaps among parishioners and "a beautiful way of expressing diversity" (Castro 1993). The band *Mariachi Tapatio* performs at St. Augustine Cathedral in Tucson. The church includes mariachi in its Spanish-language Mass every Sunday (Gay 2008).

Tensions have appeared around issues of authenticity as 'traditional' musicians often challenge the authenticity of 'non-traditional' practitioners by questioning their knowledge and manner of performance. These critiques are based on a politics of aesthetics that illustrate the criticism of those that diverge culturally, racially, and through gender from the 'traditional' construction of the mariachi practitioner. "The politics of aesthetics is a strategy to maintain authority and to claim one's connection to the cultural expression of mariachi that can be utilized by musicians from diverse social locations" (Rodríguez 2010, 205).

6.3.2 Female mariachis

Women were excluded from mariachi groups in the rural Mexican setting; however, when the musicians moved to urban centres a few all-female groups were formed. Female mariachi groups have been more common in the USA as the Chicano Movement and the Women's Movement encouraged the participation of women in performances (Clark 2005, 230).

One of the first women to become successful in the genre was Amalia Mendoza. She was called 'a diva of mariachi music' and her dramatic

performances brought fans to tears on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. She was famous for songs like 'Echame la Culpa' ('Put the Blame on Me') and 'Amarga Navidad' ('Bitter Christmas') (Thompson 2001, A21). Formed in 1994 in Los Angeles, *Reyna de Los Angeles* is believed to be one of the first mariachi bands formed north of the Mexican border (Navarro 2008, E3).

Numerous excuses have been made to keep women from entering the machismo sphere of mariachi. One of the examples concerned the guitarrón instrument which was supposedly too heavy for women. However, this music genre is gaining popularity among both males and females. The creator of *Reyna* is José Hernández who also founded an all-male ensemble *Mariachi Sol de México*. Hernández, who composes for both of his mariachi bands, also owns *Cielito Lindo* restaurant in South El Monte, east of Los Angeles, where both ensembles play regularly. Hernandez started mariachi classes for children in Los Angeles public schools in the early 1990s, where half of the students who attended the classes were girls. He held auditions for a women's band and soon found that the most experienced one was not a Latina; she was Cindy Reifier, a classically trained violinist who became *Reyna*'s first leader (Navarro 2008, E3).

Mariachi bands comprise not only female members but also non-Mexican and even non-Latina ones, reflecting the trend toward creating cultural hybridity. American audiences have been receptive, not just to all-female bands but also to co-bands, multi-ethnic bands and those that sing Spanish-language versions of standards like 'New York, New York' (Navarro 2008, E3). Martin Stokes claims that hybridization of music by means of incorporating new elements into it may be a kind of strategy of the minority group that aims to broaden its identification in the new circumstances (Stokes 2004, 47-72).

Flor de Toloache is a New York all-female mariachi band that brings diverse influences to mariachi music. The group reflects a new, more multi-ethnic face of mariachi – while several of the members share the music's Mexican origins, others have wide-ranging roots, including Puerto Rico, Germany, Colombia, the Dominican Republic and the USA. *Flor de Toloache* brings a more multicultural perspective to the tradition and takes material from outside the usual mariachi playbook. Their songs reflect the influence of salsa, bachata, cumbia, gypsy music and Latin jazz as well as pop, hip hop and even soul music. Their music reflects a blending of the cultures (Hendrickson 2015).

Among the famous all-female groups there are California-based *Mariachi Divas* and *Mariachi Estrella*. *Mariachi Divas* demonstrate the music's diverse cultural reach, with members hailing from Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, Peru, Columbia, Samoa and Puerto Rico. The group's founder, Cindy Shea, said "Music is a way of uniting our cultural background" (Fenger 2009). Another all-female band, *Trio Ellas* (Three Shes), who have recorded with Lady Gaga, exemplify the U.S. mariachi scene's emerging avant-garde. By fusing the traditional genre with flamenco and pop, the group is reshaping a traditional genre and bringing it to mainstream audiences. Leonor Xochitl Perez, curator of an exhibit at the Women's Museum of California in San Diego, described this band with the words: "Their grounding is in mariachi, which they are fusing with strands of innovation that are helping mariachi evolve" (Jordan 2013, D6).

6.3.3 Mariachi instruction

Hernandez (2010, 12) claims that the musical practices of Latinos born and raised in the USA have been shaped less by connections to Latin America than by the multicultural environment in which they live. In the case of mariachi music, even American schools offer opportunities to learn. Many public schools and universities in the USA, especially in the Southwest, include mariachi instruction in their teaching curricula. Teaching mariachi in American schools has helped the incorporation of Hispanic and non-Hispanic women in mariachi groups (Clark 2005, 230). Jeff Nevin, director of mariachi activities at Southwestern College in Chula Vista, California, said "When mariachi is offered as a class in American schools, there is no sex barrier whatsoever. … Most school-based mariachis are approximately 50-50 guys-girls". According to Nevin, many high school graduates have considerable mariachi experience and want to continue playing mariachi professionally (Navarro 2008, E3).

According to Daniel Sheehy, a mariachi expert and director of Smithsonian Folkways Recordings in Washington, more than 500 public schools across the USA offered mariachi as part of the curriculum in 2005. The music is flourishing in San Antonio, Texas, and Chula Vista High School, California. But this music has also taken root in Milwaukee, Chicago, Tucson, Albuquerque, and in small towns with large migrant populations like Wenatchee, in eastern Washington (*Teaching Music* 13(1) 2005, 20).

The Clark County School District in Las Vegas recruited Javier Trujillo from Tucson to develop a mariachi curriculum at 10 schools. He went on to hire other teachers to form their own mariachi ensembles (Brown 2005, 1, 30).

The mariachi movement has also crossed cultures. At the Oak Grove Middle School in Concord, a San Francisco suburb, mariachi was taught by the African American teacher - Emile Patton. One of her lead singers was of Laotian-Vietnamese origin. According to John Mahlman, the executive director of MENC, formerly the Music Educators National Conference in Virginia "It's a musical bridge between family, school, community and culture". The members of *Mariachi Chula Vista* – the sons of construction workers, nurses, and truck drivers, and the daughters of welders, mechanics and supermarket clerks – are the most accomplished group in the Sweetwater Union High School District, one of the nation's fastest-growing school districts and a highly evolved mariachi outpost. The Mariachi Scholarship Foundation provides college stipends for graduating seniors and varsity letters are awarded for mariachi performance (Brown 2005, 30).

The members of *Mariachi Chula Vista* are in demand on weekends. They play at birthday parties, weddings, housewarming parties, the openings of department stores, retirement parties, and baptisms. The proceeds from a busy weekend help pay for a tailor, who crosses the border to measure the costumes, and trips to festivals like the Tucson International Mariachi Conference (Brown 2005, 30).

There are mariachi programmes in different states, with stronger programmes in Texas, California, New Mexico, Nevada, Chicago and New York (Hernandez 2012). In 2005 there were about 250 programmes teaching mariachi in Texas schools, from elementary through college level. Universities in the American Southwest aim to introduce some novelties into an essentially nostalgic heritage. St. Edward's University hosts a group of dedicated and talented students who perform for community celebrations and participate in national mariachi contests. Both the musicians and teachers are driving the evolution of the mariachi (Villicanta 2005, 23).

While Texas cities like San Antonio led the way in establishing student mariachi programmes in the 1970s, Austin was slower to embrace the art form in schools. In 1980, Ezekiel 'Zeke' Castro launched the Austin Independent School District's first mariachi programme. Eventually, the mariachi musicians graduated and many of them started their own professional mariachi groups in Austin. Then Castro began teaching college

students at the University of Texas. The mariachi summer programme at UT provides high school students with expert instruction from active professionals (Flores 2015, D1).

The National Association for Music Education's (MENC) Mariachi committee collects the names of individuals interested in advancing mariachi education in the USA. In 2004 MENC decided to create a membership group for mariachi music educators (*Teaching Music* 13(1) 2005, 20). In 2008 MENC Mariachi offered a workshop 'Starting a Mariachi Program in Your School: Everything You Need to Know', in Washington D.C. Participants were given sample materials to help them present the concept of a mariachi programme to district administrators, principals, parents, and educators. Workshop resources included curriculum documents, beginning level musical arrangements, recordings, historical information, a list of contacts for instruments and uniforms. The workshop emphasized ensemble performance in order to apply stylistic skills to be learned and taught. Participants acquired new skills and the methodology materials needed to successfully introduce a mariachi programme into a school's comprehensive music programme.[130]

Many predominantly Hispanic districts offer mariachi programmes in addition to band and choir programmes. According to Axtman:

> No longer is mariachi music simply for first-generation Hispanics longing for memories of their homeland. Mariachi is hip with the youngsters here – in contrast to Mexican adolescents' feelings about the music. As this music, born a century ago in the pueblos around Guanajuato, becomes old-fashioned and uncool among youngsters in its country of origin, Mexican-American teens are embracing it and moving it forward. Many Mexican-American teens are attempting careers in this challenging genre. US colleges are beginning to offer courses – and even considering degrees – in mariachi music. And competitions, such as the one in San Antonio, are spreading across the country as more and more young Hispanics reach for their roots. (Axtman 2002, 11)

American educators are making a lot of effort to encourage students to join music groups and participate in mariachi programmes. *TCA Regional News* reported that on 24th October 2014, professional mariachi ensemble *Mariachi Nuevo de Las Vegas* played with the Austin Symphony Orchestra in Austin High School's Knowlton Auditorium (Hackensmith 2014).

Mariachi instruction is also provided by numerous conferences held throughout the USA, such as the Tucson International Mariachi Conference,

[130] "MENC Mariachi Offers Summer Workshop." (2008) *Music Educators Journal* 94(5): 10.

During the intensive workshops, young musicians have the opportunity to learn from and perform for some of the masters of mariachi. Past conferences have attracted such stars as Vikki Carr, Lola Beltran, *Mariachi Cobre*, *Mariachi Vargas de Tecatlitlán*, Linda Ronstadt, *Lucero de Mexico*, and *Mariachi Los Camperos de Nati Cano*. To keep the tradition alive, professional dancers and musicians share their expertise with more than one thousand beginning, intermediate, and advanced students during the workshops. As part of their conference commitment, the professional mariachi groups give a concert for local school children; then later in the week students from the workshops have a chance to demonstrate what they have learned when they perform in the Mariachi Showcase, a two-hour concert of dance and song. The Tucson Mariachi Conference has grown to four days and includes a golf tournament, an art exhibition, a parade, a day-long fiesta, a mariachi mass, and two 'Mariachi Espectacular' concerts. Attracting the largest crowd is the Fiesta de Garibaldi, an all-day concert for which conference organizers convert downtown Tucson into a replica of Garibaldi Plaza in Mexico City, a landmark for mariachi entertainment. As the conference has grown, it has attracted national attention, spreading mariachi festival fever throughout the U.S. Southwest. Other cities, including Albuquerque, San Jose, Fresno and Gilroy, have used Tucson as a model for creating their own mariachi festivals (Mackey 1996, 2). The San Jose International Mariachi Festival is the second largest mariachi festival in the USA. Apart from guest stars, local celebrities such as *Mariachi Azteca* also take the stage. The programme includes educational dance and music workshops taught by master mariachi (Cruz-Lugo 2006, 78).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Celebrations

Gajda defines rituals as traditional practices accompanying family, social, and religious gatherings that are meaningful in the life of individuals and society. Rituals result from secular and religious traditions. The transformations of rituals are related to changes of the place and time where and when the rituals are celebrated (Gajda 2015, 25). Ethnic celebrations expose American mainstream audiences to alternative cultural aesthetics which can result in a subversion of dominant Anglo practices. At the same time, U.S. mainstream culture witnesses a greater interest and tolerance for alternative cultural practices and spiritual beliefs.

> If a language is ever changing and demands that new speakers inherit old forms and create new ones, traditional cultural expressions are also ever changing and demand that its practitioners inherit the old variants and create new ones to serve their purpose and ensure their survival. (Cantú 2010, 116)

Secular fiestas are those that are outside of any religious or liturgical calendar and can be classified as social events. However, even the secular celebrations often include certain religious aspects.

7.1 Quinceañera

The ritual of quinceañera is a social and religious celebration of a girl's transition to womanhood upon her 15th birthday. It is a significant event for girls in Latin American cultures. Nowadays, quinceañera has become increasingly popular among Hispanic communities in the USA. Like a wedding, the celebration includes a church service and an elaborate reception. The origins of this tradition can be traced in the ancient customs of the Aztecs and the Mayans in an area that is now part of Mexico. Those

societies organized an initiation ceremony for girls on their 15th birthday to celebrate their attainment of womanhood. Later the custom was transplanted to other parts of Latin America (Romo et al. 2014, 272). In the 15th century, with the rise of the Aztec Empire in Mexico, life expectancy was 30 years and the quinceañera ceremony marked the midway point of a girl's life. The purpose of the quinceañera ritual was to find a potential husband for the girl. A girl of 15 was considered ready to marry or to begin a life of religious service (Blum 2005, 19). The Spanish colonists who arrived in the 16th century enriched the ritual with Catholic traditions such as the church service in which the priest blesses the girl and her parents thank God for their daughter reaching this age. The Spaniards also changed the meaning of the ceremony by celebrating it in a way resembling a birthday debut of a young lady (Davalos 1996, 112). Today, the quinceañera is a fusion of the European aristocratic tradition of debutante balls, when the daughters of the elite would be presented to society, and the indigenous ceremonies from the pre-Hispanic era (England-Nelson 2013).

The Catholic Church does not recognize the quinceañera as a sacrament; yet, it has instituted a special liturgy for the celebration, thereby sanctioning the celebration (Cantú 2010, 123). Most quinceañeras are proceeded by months of religious instruction. Sister Angela Erevia, a widely considered expert on quinceañeras from the Dallas diocese, presented her professional advice in a publication titled *Quince Anos: Celebrando Un Tradicion, Celebrating a Tradition*, which is widely used in the USA and Mexico. She stresses the origin of the ritual by studying the religious tribal ceremonies of the Aztecs and Mayas. The book presents contemporary celebrations as extensions of the initiation rites of puberty in which "The youth had to prove their courage and strength, both spiritual and physical, through ordeals. If they endured those ordeals without showing any kind of weakness, they were considered adult men and women" (Ayala 1991, D1).

Many objects used in the ritual are either attributed with Mexican authenticity or resemble elements of Catholic weddings, e.g. the girl has an escort and female and male attendants, called *damas* and *caballeros* (Abraham, 2006). Davalos explains the three meanings of quinceañera in public discourse "as an extension of particular Catholic sacraments, as a rite of passage, and as a practice that has historical continuity or 'tradition'" (1996, 108). The ceremony begins with the procession to the church where the girl prays to God to renew her baptismal commitment, to strengthen her faith and to thank God for reaching this special age. The ceremony has

religious and social character; it focuses on the relationships between God and the family and between the parents and their daughter. It is celebrated in the spirit of prayer and festivity (Davalos 1996, 109-110).

It usually takes months to plan a quinceañera and a young girl often asks her godparents and family members to provide important things that she needs such as a dress, shoes, decorations for the hall, music, and a cake. She is also given gifts, such as a Bible and a rosary (Blum 2005, 19). The young girl wears a colourful dress (usually pink) and often a tiara. This accessory has been gaining more popularity in recent years (Walker 2006, E26). At the party, the girl's father removes her flat slippers and then replaces them with high-heeled shoes to let people know she is not a little girl any more. An article published by Medaglia in 2005 in *The Boston Globe* describes this moment of the celebration with the words: "Her father took a pair of white high-heeled shoes that a little girl had brought into the room on a tray with white rose petals. He placed the shoes on the feet of his daughter, and the crowd, clearly understanding the occasion, applauded" (Medaglia 2005). Afterwards, the girl dances with her father. It is a choreographed dance which requires practice sessions. Then, there is a feast of traditional foods. The party continues long into the night with both Spanish and English music. The party participants sign the guest book, take photographs and pose for pictures. At the end the girl hands souvenirs to the guests, thanking them for coming (Blum 2005, 19).

Knight Ridder Tribune Business News (2005) published an article written by Diana M. Alba that describes how New Mexico Hispanics emphasize quinceañera celebrations. Ronnie Wingeroth, a youth minister for Immaculate Heart of Mary Cathedral and Holy Cross Catholic Church said that young women who want to attend a quinceañera Mass at those churches have to take classes during the six months leading up to their celebration. The classes touch upon such topics as self-image and a person's responsibilities to society. It also worth mentioning that although the quinceañera ceremony is valuable, it is not a requirement of the Catholic Church, like baptism and first communion ceremonies. Wingeroth claims that people tend to focus more on the party held after the Mass, rather than on the young woman and her commitment to her faith. She said that elaborate parties are not necessarily bad, but the Catholic Church wants to emphasize the spiritual aspect of the celebration. New Mexico State University anthropology professor Christine Eber said that she had mixed feelings about the complex issue of the quinceañera ceremony. On the one

hand, she appreciates how Hispanics can strongly identify with the tradition as being unique to their culture; on the other hand, she expressed concern about how commercialized the ceremony is becoming (Alba 2005, 1).

The cultural indicators of this ritual's popularity can be seen in the film titled "Quinceañera" (dir. Wash Westmoreland and Richard Glatzer, 2006) which shows the gentrification of Echo Park in Los Angeles. Other examples include the magazine *Quince Girl* and the offer of retail chains such as David's Bridal which market directly to the quinceañera consumer. The companies realize the potential of Hispanic customers that are rapidly growing in numbers and hope to serve the quinceañera consumer later on in her adult life. The proliferation of businesses focused on quince-regalia appears to reflect not only the growing Hispanic population but also the revival of quinceañera tradition within this population (Walker 2006, E26). The coming-of-age tradition has evolved in the USA from a simple home-based celebration into a gala, generating business that rivals the wedding industry with specialized dress shops, photographers, food, decorations, and flowers. As Latino immigrants in the USA have prospered, their receptions have become more extravagant. However, in recession years parents have to tighten their budgets to allow the continuity of this expensive custom. Some are even forced to postpone the celebration until their daughter's 16th birthday. Others try to cut costs, e.g. ask restaurant managers if they could have someone else make the cake, which would be cheaper. Another alternative is to organize the event on a Friday, which is less expensive than a Saturday booking. Finding sponsors, known as *padrinos*, is the best way to ensure the festivity would happen, as family members and friends contribute to the costs. In spite of the difficult economic situation, advertisers keep promoting their services targeted at the quinceañera customer, e.g. the San Diego edition of *Quinceañera* magazine published an article in 2009 which was titled: "A Limo: 6 Reasons Why Every Princess Deserves It" (Berestein 2009).

It often happens that Hispanics are determined to organize an expensive event for their daughters because their parents could afford only a modest celebration at home in the old country. An elaborate quinceañera reception signals their success in a new place, even when the household budgets have become strained. Moreover, some girls feel pressure to compete with their friends' quinceañeras (Abraham, 2006). Hispanic Americans who organize big ceremonies for their daughters often share photos and videos with their friends and family in Mexico. The culture of consumption that surrounds

quinceañeras hurts poor families that spend money on an elaborate party instead of putting it away for their daughter's education (England-Nelson 2013).

An article published by Jordan England-Nelson in *The Orange County Register* in 2013 describes the quinceañera ritual in Santa Ana, California, where nearly 900 girls celebrate every year. It takes a year to plan, and parents spend between $5,000 and $15,000 to make the event memorable: "it is a cultural rite of passage, a spiritual milestone and, for some, a commercial boon." With a population that is nearly 80% Latino, Santa Fe has the largest concentration of quinceañera shops in Southern California. There are about 30 in the city centre that are dedicated to making the girls feel like princesses on that special day (England-Nelson 2013).

An article by Ayala published in 1991 in *Austin American-Statesman* presents criticism of the elaborate ceremonies of quinceañera in American cities such as Los Angeles, Phoenix, Dallas and Austin. The author mentions a resolution signed in 1987 by the priests of Austin's six predominantly Mexican American parishes. The resolution discouraged the opulence and financial burden surrounding quinceañera preparations in favour of a simpler and more spiritual way of celebration. A part of the criticism of the expensive ritual concerned the tendency for quinceañeras "to have become a parade for show-offs who forget the spirituality of the celebration" (Ayala 1991, D1). In 1991 one of the priests, named Cristo Rey, went a step further and attempted to ban individual quinceañera masses and ordered a group quinceañera mass for all parish girls who turned 15 that year. Some parents welcomed the change in the hope of cutting the costs of the celebration; however, others, preferring an individual mass, were upset. In the event, only five girls participated in the group mass; in other cases, parents insisted on an individual mass. Ayala gives an example of a girl, named Rosanna, who was extremely upset at being made to share the event with other girls. The festive part of her quinceañeras is described as follows:

> After the Mass, Rosanna and her family didn't participate in the simple, inexpensive celebration held in the church's hall at which finger sandwiches, cake and punch were served. Instead, her family had a brisket dinner for 280 at Metz Recreation Center followed by a dance at the Texas Exposition and Heritage Center. A five-piece band played for four hours and, during breaks, a DJ spun records. Upwards of $2,000 was spent on the event; 25 to 30 sponsors – family members and friends – pitched in to pay for Rosanna's bash as well as her ring, Bible, rosary, medallion of the Virgin Mary, earrings and bracelet, all traditional tokens given to the birthday girl. (Ayala 1991, D1)

According to the author of the article, Rosanna has not lost sight of the significance of the event as quinceañera is an expression of faith, and the gifts presented in the ceremony symbolize the girl's faith.

> Birth certificates represent gratitude to God and parents for the gift of life; baptismal shoes symbolize a desire to walk in the footsteps of Christ; flowers represent the newness of her commitment and responsibilities to community. During the Mass, each girl stands before the altar of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Mexico's patron saint, and offers a rose as a sign of fidelity. (Ayala 1991, D1)

Professional services offered for the quinceañera customer include bilingual web sites such as *QuinceClub.com* which is advertised with the words: "Be part of the coolest club where it's all about you and making your Quinceañera a dream come true!" It is easy to switch between English and Spanish versions of the site, which invites people to set up a personalized Web page devoted to their 15th birthday celebration. They can post a blog or messages to party guests to coordinate the pre-party shopping and activities. The expensive purchases usually require family collaboration to share the costs. There are also overtones of social networking sites in the way the site presents ideas about party themes, fashion advice and advertising for service providers such as bakeries, florists, tuxedo rental shops and photographers (Graves 2007, 1).

To help families save money and connect with local vendors, Luis Aguilar launched *XV Magazine*, a full-colour magazine aimed at those planning a traditional Latin American 15th birthday party. The periodical is published by Santa Ana-based KERMES Strategies, a marketing company. In 2010, about 10,000 copies of the free, bilingual magazine's inaugural March edition were distributed at places where people gather in Santa Ana, Anaheim, Costa Mesa and parts of Garden Grove. Families typically spend $10,000 to $15,000 on these coming-of-age parties. To help them stay on budget, the magazine contains a check list of essential items that readers can use to keep track of their spending. There is also an 'Ask A Quinceañera' advice column written by Joana Ayala, a member of the Santa Ana-based *Barrio Writers*, a non-profit reading and writing programme that aims to empower teenagers through creative writing, higher education and cultural arts. Each month, the magazine features a 'Quinceañera of the Month' with an article covering one quinceañera party (Cisneros 2010).

Some professional services focus on the traditional aspect of Hispanic celebrations in the USA. An article written by Mills and published in 2007 in *McClatchy-Tribune Business News* describes the company named *Festividades Isabela* whose main target is the Hispanic customer preparing for a wedding or a quinceañera celebration. The range of products offered includes: centrepieces and arrangements of artificial flowers bound with colourful ribbons and lace. More sophisticated customers choose an elaborate dress and a doll dressed in a matching gown, tiaras, lacy pillows and candles in the same colour. Some projects require a year of planning as many decorations are handmade e.g. hand painted drinking glasses, embellished salt and pepper shakes. Although *Festividades Isabela* is a small business, their meticulous attention to detail creates unforgettable memories of the quinceañera event (Mills 2007, 1).

American pop culture has had an impact on the commercialization of quinceañera events. One example of this influence is MTV's "Quiero Mis Quinces", a show presenting extravagant quinceañera parties thrown for wealthy Latinas (England-Nelson 2013). Sometimes the celebration evokes fairy-tale images, as in the case described by Fehringer in an article published in 2003, in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. A Hispanic girl, named Shannon, entered the church carrying a baby doll in her hand. She was attended by a court of 14 young men and women. The author continues the description with the words: "Shannon Hernandez wore slippers (not made of glass) and a puffy blue gown at the ceremony on May 3. Her hair ribbons and doll would eventually be replaced by a tiara and a wand, completing the fairy tale similitude." It is worth mentioning that more than 130 guests were invited to participate in the ceremony of Shannon's quinceañera (Fehringer 2003, 9).

Acevedo and Powers in their article published in 2007 in *McClatchy-Tribune Business News* describe how Walt Disney World adds fairy-tale touches to traditional coming-of-age celebrations by including such things as fireworks, horse-drawn carriage rides and visits from Cinderella and Prince Charming at Magic Kingdom in their packages offered for quinceañera parties, with prices ranging from $1,800 to $20,000. The broadcast manager for Walt Disney World promoted the events by saying "Incorporating the tradition of quinceañeras demonstrates our nation's multiculturalism and our company's commitment with diversity." The Disney packages include:

A Reflection of You: A quinceañera in the midst of the fireworks displays during "Illuminations: Reflections of Earth" at Epscot, starting at $1,800.
Dancing with a Star: A quinceañera celebration at a designated Disney hotel or theme park with a multilingual DJ and a variety of menu options, with a starting price of $6,900.
Belle of the Ball: A quinceañera ball for groups of 100 or more celebrants, starting at $20,000. (Acevedo et al. 2007, 1)

Many businesses are creative in inventing projects incorporating this Hispanic ritual with the aim of advertising their products. An article published in *PR Newswire* in 2011 describes *My Fabulous Quince Contest* organized by Verizon. Teenagers from 13 American cities (Los Angeles, San Diego, Fresno, El Paso, San Antonio, Houston, Dallas, Tampa, Miami, Albuquerque, Secaucus, Chicago and Washington D.C.) had a chance to enter the competition and win an exclusive quinceañera reception. The participants only had to submit an essay online at the website www.myfabulousquince.com and then 20 finalists were selected from each of the 13 cities. At the next stage of the contest people could vote online or text in their vote for their favourite finalist. The participant with the largest number of votes won the grand prize, consisting of a quinceañera party for 200 guests, a $5,000 college scholarship, three Verizon smartphones and a fabulous performance by the artist Prince Royce who sang his greatest hits, such as "Stand By Me". The top finalists from the 12 remaining cities received a prize package including a quinceañera reception for 100 guests with all expenses covered by Verizon, as well as a $2,500 college scholarship and a Verizon smartphone.[131]

Latino parents living in the USA value *familismo*, a set of beliefs that emphasise the importance of family ties. They worry that their children may be too Americanised and lose their cultural heritage (Romo at al. 2014, 274). According to Davalos, quinceañera is an event "that *makes* a girl into a woman, but more importantly *makes* her into a Mexican woman" (1996, 114). A few decades ago young Hispanic women considered quinceañera as a rather old-fashioned celebration and preferred a different kind of expenditure, such as a big trip. Today, the quinceañera tradition is experiencing a reawakening as it is becoming trendy to be associated with Hispanic culture and members of the Latino/a diaspora search

[131] "Verizon's My Fabulous Quince Contest Offers Teens the Opportunity to Win a Quinceañera of Their Dreams: Latin Music Hottest New Artist, Prince Royce, to Perform at Grand Prize Winner's Party." *PR Newswire*, June 30, 2011.

for symbols of their ethnic identity and celebrate connections to their Hispanic roots. However, the American version of the celebration is not purely ethnic in its character but has become commercialized. When Hispanics organize quinceañera in the USA, they do it in an American way (Walker 2006, E26).

Quinceañera is framed as a 'tradition' and Mexicans value the ritual because it connects a person to Mexican culture. They construct their version of the authentic quinceañera by the meaning behind the event which evokes specific memories and family experiences. However, Mexicans in the USA are neither only Mexicans nor only Americans, but a hybrid form known as Mexican Americans. The way they celebrate the Mexican custom of quinceañera is also hybrid in its character because the quinceañera borrows from practices found in the mainstream culture e.g. dressing up in a fancy gown and renting a limousine. It presents a fusion of ethnic and American elements. According to Davalos "The *quinceañera* is an anchor between two cultures. It is a space in which *Mexicanas* position themselves outside of and within dominant narratives about Mexican women and the United States" (Davalos 1996, 123).

7.2 Cinco de Mayo

The Cinco de Mayo holiday celebrates the anniversary of the victory of the Mexican army led by General Ignacio Zaragoza over the French at the battle of Puebla on 5th May, 1862. The defeat of the larger, better-equipped French army has come to symbolize national pride in the Mexican peoples who joined together to win the battle (Schneider 1996, 66). The bloody battle of Puebla is seen as a cultural link between Mexico and the United States, because during the U.S. Civil War the supply of French weapons to the Confederate Army was cut off (Salem 2007).

Cinco de Mayo is widely celebrated by Mexican communities in the USA, such as in Sana Ana where the event features Mexican food, mariachi bands, carnival rides, games, and entertainment (Marroquin 2013; Rogers 2013). *McClatchy-Tribune Business News* (2007) described Cinco de Mayo celebrations in the city of Clovis, organized by the Central California Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. The Business Organization of Old Town sees the festival as a great opportunity to introduce the Hispanic consumers to the shops in the area. The festival included live music, folklorico dancers,

vendors, and Mexican food. Among the performers there were Native American, Peruvian, mariachi and country and western bands (Alexander 2007, 1).

The Orange County Register (1993) published an article reporting a celebration at St. Joseph's Catholic Church where a Mariachi Mass was held in honour of Cinco de Mayo. *Mariachi Uclatlan* performed the music during the Mass, which was held in Spanish and English, and the Santa Ana-based ballet *Folklorico Group Relampaga del Cielo* held a procession down the church aisle. The Rev. Christopher Smith, church pastor, said that holding a Mariachi Mass was a way of bridging cultural gaps among his 1,200 parishioners and "a beautiful way of expressing diversity" (Castro 1993). Another article from *The Orange County Register* (2011) reported that participants of a Cinco de Mayo festival in Orange County presented a play they wrote, titled 'Que Viva Mexico' about Mexico's struggle for independence from French occupation in the 1860s. The play was presented in English and in Spanish to enable a larger audience to understand it. Other performances included: a mariachi band, Aztec dancers, and folklorico ballet.[132]

Cinco de Mayo unites diverse communities and participants in the festival bring two flags: American and Mexican. While the importance of Cinco de Mayo is rooted in Mexican history, the organizers of the event in Anaheim, California, made an effort to incorporate participants from other, non-Latino cultures as well. Ben Lai – a Chinese American – who became the fiesta's president said: "We want to bring the whole community together in harmony". Among the participants there were people from the Sarang Community Church in Anaheim – the country's largest church serving the Korean American community (Ablaza, 2013).

In Utah's Latino community the main organizer of Cinco de Mayo is Centro Civico Mexicano in Salt Lake City. *The Salt Lake Tribune* (2012) cited the words of Frank Cordova, the president of Centro Civico, who said "Both Cinco de Mayo and El Grito are symbolic of struggle for equality and justice in the face of oppression". Utah Hispanics see annual celebrations as a chance to assess how far Utah's Latino community has progressed (Fulton 2012a).

Hunner describes how people in New Mexico preserve Hispanic lifeways to honour their ancestral traditions. As the state's population is becoming

[132] "O.C. celebrates Cinco de Mayo." *The Orange County Register*, May 6, 2011.

a majority of either Hispanic or Native American, its Hispanic heritage continues to adapt and revitalize traditional practices.[133]

> From reviving lime plastering to creating and exhibiting Hispanic folk art, from rehabilitating adobe churches to recording life histories, organizations and people from around New Mexico preserve Hispanic lifeways. Today, Hispanic and non-Hispanic residents live in Spanish colonial style houses, eat *carne adovado* (New World red chile with Old World pork), speak Spanish and Spanglish, and observe *Cinco de Mayo* in May, the Day of the Dead at Halloween, and *Las Posadas* at Christmas. Throughout the four hundred years of Hispanic presence in New Mexico, a dynamic process of change and adaptation has occurred between the peoples of the Land of Enchantment. Nuevo Mexicano heritage in the twenty-first century will continue to nurture both Hispanics and non-Hispanics alike. (Hunner 2001, 40)

Albuquerque Journal (2012) published an article written by Mauricio Ibarra, Consul of Mexico in Albuquerque, who emphasises that nowadays Cinco de Mayo is an inseparable part of Latin culture and at the same time a fully American celebration. The author wrote:

> When news of the "Battle of Puebla" reached the United States, both the Mexican army's victory, and the contributions of those who had migrated to this country, were acknowledged. Years later, the coming of age of this celebration in the United States has brought Mexican immigrants and other ethnic and national groups together. That is why our Cinco de Mayo celebration has acquired a distinctive place in the United States' collective imagination and has been transformed into an event where the diverse national origins that make up the fabric of the Hispanic community in this country come together to celebrate shared values and traditions. Today, through their growing civic participation, 50 million Latinos have rewritten the meaning and importance of Cinco de Mayo as a tradition that has full membership in 21st-century American society. (Ibarra 2012)

Barlow and Nadeau in their article published in *The Wall Street Journal* (2013) say that people who associate Cinco De Mayo celebrations with the Mexican heritage of the United States are missing the point that Cinco de

[133] Wojciech J. Burszta in his article titled "Ideologia różnicy i tożsamość zbiorowa" (1999) writes about Polish immigrants in Chicago who organized celebrations for the 3rd of May. According to Burszta, participation of one ethnic or national group in the parade does not serve to manifest the 'authentic' national culture but to indicate the presence of a particular diaspora and its cultural, economic, and political potential (Burszta 1999, 59-60). The same situation applies to Mexicans. They organize their ethnic festivals with the aims of accentuating their presence and cultivating their traditions, which do not have to be 'authentically' Mexican but may be Hispanic American.

Mayo was created in the USA for the USA. It has always been a uniquely American way to express the identity of *Hispanounidenses* – the 'Hispanics of the United States'. The authors claim that the way in which Cinco the Mayo turned into the signature celebration of U.S. Hispanics is a bit of mystery – especially since it is hardly celebrated in Mexico outside of the State of Puebla. No-one knows exactly why Hispanics in California began celebrating Cinco de Mayo at the end of the 1860s. Nor does anyone understand why, a century later, the Chicano movement picked it up as an expression of their demands for civil rights – although that association did make the celebration even more truly American. The known fact is that in the 1970s cultural organizers in San Francisco selected Cinco de Mayo from among a slate of holidays as the best pan-national Latino celebration in the USA. Most Mexicans had never heard of the holiday, so it did not carry the risk of pitting different Hispanic nationalities against one another (Barlow et al. 2013).

The view of Barlow and Nadeau concerning the American character of the Mexican celebration is shared by Hinds in an article published by *Knight Ridder Tribune Business News* (2002) which describes Cinco de Mayo celebrations taking place in Utah. Hinds writes: "Entrepreneurs of Mexican heritage see the day as one to commemorate not only the benefits of capitalism but of all freedoms which make it possible to pursue a better life in Utah" (Hinds 2002, 1).

In the 1980s, the commercialization of Cinco de Mayo began. The celebration became the target of American corporations, especially those selling alcohol. It was caused not only by the fact that Hispanics represent a growing share of American society but also because Hispanics constitute a young population that is particularly receptive to advertisers (Lovgren 2006). Nate Madden in an article published in *The Washington Times* (2015) also emphasises that the character of the holiday has changed from a simple battle re-enactment into a commercial event. American companies actively join the celebration to boost their profits. There is even an online marketplace for products that could be associated with Cinco de Mayo – #CincoDeMayo. Companies such as *Old El Paso*, *Hormel*, *El Monterrey* and *Camarena Tequilaare* promote paid advertisement tweets under the hashtag – each of those shows how its product should be included in the planning and throwing of a celebration party at home. Even *Victoria's Secret Pink* line has its annual *Cinco de Mayo Collection* which is advertised with slogans like 'Pink loves Cinco de Mayo' (Madden 2015).

According to Nancy Salem from *The Albuquerque Tribune*, there are holidays that are more about the party than the history. Those, so-called 'drinking holidays' include: St. Patrick's Day, Oktoberfest and Cinco de Mayo, which are mainly celebrated at bars, restaurants and cultural centers. (Salem 2007). Cinco de Mayo has become synonymous with festive fiestas and salty margaritas. *The Washington Times* (2016) reported that the Oakland Police Department had plans for deploying extra DUI traffic patrols on the roads during the Cinco de Mayo holiday; however, they cancelled the whole campaign after press accusations of stereotyping Mexicans as drunk drivers. The news release critical of the police was titled "Fiesta Time or Jail Time" (Blake 2016). Marketers always implement commercialism into the holidays to increase their selling opportunities. According to Courtney Kane from *The New York Times*, the Cinco de Mayo holiday is considered by marketers as the spring version of St. Patrick's Day. For *Corona* beer, which is imported from Mexico, the date has become the cornerstone of the brand's marketing plan. One television advert, created by the *Richards Group* in Dallas, parodies St. Patrick's Day. The ad features a man wandering along the Irish countryside into a pub where the locals "are celebrating their favourite holiday" only to find a Cinco de Mayo party in full swing (Kane 2003).

American newspapers reporting events related to Cinco de Mayo also mention Donald Trump. In 2016, *The Washington Times* published news about the Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump celebrating Cinco de Mayo. He tweeted a photo of himself eating a taco bowl accompanied by the text "Happy #Cinco de Mayo! The best taco bowls are made in Trump Tower Grill. I love Hispanics!" (Chasmar 2016, McLaughlin 2016). However, when Donald Trump had won the presidential elections, the news coverage about Cinco de Mayo presented more pessimistic attitudes. Cheryl Chumley in an article published in *The Washington Times* (2017) reported that Cinco de Mayo celebrations held annually in Philadelphia were cancelled in 2017. It turned out that the usual Mexican holiday participants were worried that they might get deported due to Donald Trump's policies. The cancellation of the event was a response to the activities of border control officials who had arrested or detained hundreds of illegal immigrants. The group of people that used to organize the festival in Philadelphia decided to cancel it as they felt offended by Trump's actions (Chumley 2017). *The New York Times* (2017) describes an incident linking President Trump with Cinco de Mayo celebrations.

Roosevelt High School officials in the northern Colorado town of Johnston were investigating allegations that a high school Spanish teacher allowed students to hit a piñata with a picture of President Donald Trump on it during a Cinco de Mayo celebration. The incident, which was reported as being disrespectful, was recorded and available to watch on social media.[134]

7.3 Mexican Independence Day

16th September marks the day that Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a priest and one of Mexico's founders, launched the country's war for independence. On that day in 1810, Hidalgo y Costilla issued the revolutionary document, *Grito de Dolores* – a cry that called for racial equality, land reform and independence from French-controlled Spain. Today it is a civic ceremony that evokes emotional ties to Mexico, family values and pride. It marked the beginning of the war that freed the country from Spain (Foster 1998, D1).

The Orange County Register (2004) described the Fiestas Patrias festival honouring Mexican Independence Day in Santa Ana, California. The choice of food included tortas, tacos, shredded pork, carne asada and nachos. There was also a group playing ranchera and salsa music (Vu 2004). In Santa Ana, the Fiestas Patrias parade is part of the three-day Fiestas of the Americas, a celebration of Mexican Independence Day. The event usually attracts about 200,000 people who get to see live entertainment, sample traditional Mexican foods and ride carnival attractions. Many Mexicans celebrate this event because it helps them to identify with their culture which gives them a sense of place in the host society. One part of the celebrations is El Grito,[135] an event that includes performances by local musicians who sing American and Mexican anthems. It is followed by a prayer led by a Bishop and then an official from the Mexican consulate addresses the crowds. Finally, there is the waving of the Mexican flag as people chant "Viva Mexico" or "Long live Mexico" (Aguila 2003). Another article from *The Orange County Register* describes this holiday in Santa Ana in 1996. People celebrated with raffles, game booths, carnival rides, carne asada tacos and live music. The festival

[134] "Colorado Teacher Accused of Letting Kids Hit Trump Pinata." *The New York Times*, May 7, 2017.

[135] "El Grito" means "the Cry" and refers to the ritual in which the crowd shouts in unison "Viva Mexico, Viva la independance".

goers included the young and old, natives of Santa Ana and Orange County and those newly arrived in the country. Some of them came to "get a taste of the festivities in Mexico". One of the participants waved an oversized Mexican flag and a miniature American flag for each grito of "Viva Mexico!" (Moraga 1996). Another article published in *The Orange County Register* (1994) showed how festival-goers demonstrated their pride in Mexico. Some of them draped their car hoods with Mexican flags; others wore belts with the colours of the flag: green, white and red. The appearance of Santa Ana's Mexican Consul Felipe Soria was met with more applause than most of the bands on the stage. The consul, who carried a Mexican flag, shouted "Viva Mexico!" and the crowd started waving hundreds of small Mexican flags in the air and shouting "Que Viva!". Some men participating in the festival were wearing cowboy boots, thick leather belts, cowboy shirts and hats to look like a charro (Mexican cowboy) (Legon 1994).

Knight Ridder Tribune Business News (2003) reported on the reasons people attend the festival. The Mexican food and drinks served at the festival are delicious: enchiladas, hot dogs wrapped in bacon sizzled on grills, flavoured waters and Horchata – a Mexican rice drink. The majority of Latinos in Orange County come from Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala and the immigrants from all three nations are influencing the way the county's growing Latino community is taking shape. Many of those taking part in the celebration said that the fiesta gave them the opportunity to showcase what they liked best about their homelands. People bought items symbolizing their culture, e.g. sombreros (Salinas 2003, 1).

The Salt Lake Tribune (1998) described the El Grito festivities in Salt Lake City. One of the Mexican American fiesta-goers said "I am a dual citizen… I've lived in Utah since I was a little girl, but on 17th September I feel Mexican" (Foster 1998, D1). Another article from *The Salt Lake Tribune* (2012) reporting on El Grito festivities in Salt Lake City quotes the words of one of the celebration participants: "It's integral to our own (United States) culture, regardless of whatever walls or boundaries we put up." (Fulton 2012b). Another article from *The Salt Lake Tribune* (2012) reported that the celebrations of Mexican Independence Day in Salt Lake City were organized by the Utah State Fair Corporation and Fiesta Mexicana Inc. which teamed up to make the annual event more appealing to the state's fast-growing Latino population. A rodeo, musical performances, cooking demonstrations and activities for children were provided as a build-up to an El Grito

ceremony led by the Mexican consul. The event witnessed a display of photographs by Agustin Victor Casasola.[136] Featured performers included Tomás Garcilazo, a third-generation charro, and *Escaramuza Charra La Potosina*, a group of women who ride side-saddle in colourful, full-length dresses, doing choreographed manoeuvres to musical accompaniment. Their performances honour the women of the Mexican revolution, who created diversions on horseback so that revolutionaries could attack the Spanish federales from behind (Gorrell 2012).

According to *Albuquerque Journal* (2010) the festivities organised for the two hundredth anniversary of Mexican independence were far larger in El Paso's San Jacinto Plaza than in previous years. This was not only thanks to Mexico's bicentennial but also because many participants preferred to celebrate the traditional El Grito in El Paso rather than in the unsafe city of Juarez, just across the Rio Grande. The police estimated the crowd to be between 9,000 and 10,000 people.[137] *Albuquerque Journal* (2016) reports that the celebration of Mexican independence is gaining prestige in the USA. The Mexican Consulate in Santa Fe, New Mexico, requested the City Council to relocate the festivities to the downtown Plaza from less prominent locations: Ragle Park and Franklin Miles Park in mid-city Santa Fe. The City Council also agreed to city government sponsorship and assistance from police and fire departments. The author of the article wrote "the celebration would solidify the cultural ties between New Mexico and Mexico" (Last 2016).

El Grito celebrations tend to be more commercial to attract more participants, not only Mexicans, but other groups who find the event entertaining. While enjoying themselves they have a chance to learn about Mexican culture. *TCA Regional News* (2014) described Mexican Independence Day celebrations in Yuba City. The entertainment part of the programme included: a presentation by charros (traditional horsemen from Mexico), Aztec dancers, folklorico ballet, a mariachi band, pony rides, a mechanical bull, jump houses and face painting (Kaufman 2014). *PR Newswire* (2014) reported that a Los Angeles bartender and mixologist – John A. Maraffi – honoured the Mexican fight for Independence Day

[136] Agustin Victor Casasola was the first Mexican photographer who captured the political and social changes in Mexico in the late 1800s and early 1900s. He photographed the revolution, the poor, the rich, aristocrats, and workers.

[137] "7:05am – Thousands Celebrate Mexican Independence Day … in El Paso." *Albuquerque Journal*, September 16, 2010.

by creating a brand-new drink called "Mexico Libre".[138] Another article reported that *On The Border Mexican Grill & Cantina*, the world's largest Mexican casual dining chain, was offering a free cup of the restaurant's signature *Original Queso*, featuring fresh-chopped jalapeno, tomato, onion, poblano and cilantro. The owners wanted their guests to celebrate Mexico's Independence Day for free.[139]

Las Vegas gives its visitors the opportunity to celebrate Mexican Independence in a vibrant and exciting way. The city offers Latin concerts with well-known Latin performers and dance parties featuring top Latin DJs. *The Orange County Register* (2013) described how Latino artists helped lead El Grito celebrations in Las Vegas. They organized concerts by such top artists as Enrique Iglesias and Marc Anthony. Other Latin offerings included: Latin jazz trumpeter Arturo Sandoval, Mariachi Mexico and the Fiesta Las Vegas Latino Parade and Festival. The guests were offered special drinks: tequila, margarita and "Mexican Tequila Bandera", a shot made to resemble Mexico's flag (Sylvester 2013). *PR Newswire* (2015) reported El Grito celebrations in which world-class Hispanic performers taking over Las Vegas venues included Marco Antonio Solis, Chayanne, Ricardo Arjona, Ricky Martin, Luis Miguel, Placido Domingo, Marc Anthony and Enrique Iglesias.[140]

[138] "New "Mexico Libre" Cocktail Created for September 16th Mexico's Independence Day by LA Mixologist John A. Maraffi." *PR Newswire*, September 16, 2014.

[139] "On The Border Celebrates Mexico's Independence Day with Free Queso: World's Largest Casual Dining Mexican Concept offers Free Cup of Queso, Drink Specials, Great Times on September 16." *PR Newswire*, September 12, 2014.

[140] "Las Vegas Announces Lineup For Mexican Independence Day: Images available at press.lvcva.com." *PR Newswire*, August 17, 2015.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Religious Festivals

Throughout the Americas, cultural expressions include the syncretic practices of cultural mestizaje that bring together European, mainly Spanish, beliefs and the practices of Amerindian peoples. U.S. culture, particularly in the American Southwest reflects this blending of ethnic practices. Latino religious festivals, like celebrations of other ethnic groups residing in the USA, can be viewed as expressions of cultural hybridity.

8.1 The Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe

The Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico is the most visited pilgrimage site on the American continent. The origins of this religious phenomenon are based on reports of Juan Diego's encounters in Guadalupe. Diego, a newly Christianized native, had a vision of the Virgin on the hill of Tepeyac, outside the Spanish colonial centre, Mexico City, on 12 December 1531. Using the Aztec language, the Virgin asked that a church be constructed in her honour (Peterson 1992, 39). According to the story, the Lady grew roses on the barren hill so that Juan Diego would have proof that he had seen her. Diego carried the roses on his mantle and when he dropped the roses for all to see, the image of the Virgin was embedded on his mantle (Martinez 2006, 1). In Diego's vision Mary was dark-skinned and resembled the Aztecs. She brought a message of Christ and offered hope to the Aztecs, who had been conquered by the Spaniards. Her miraculous appearance is credited for leading to the conversion of millions of Indigenous people to Christianity (Valenzuela 2015, B2). As described by Diego, the Virgin had Indian features but was dressed as a European, blending the two cultures in her appearance (Townsend 2005, C1). The apparition initiated the strong form of the Marianismo cult which initially evolved among indigenous

groups and Spanish worshippers; however, today, the tradition is recognized by various ethnic, national, and religious groups e.g. there are a growing number of Protestant devotees. Despite the fact that Guadalupe's cult gained strength among different populations, she remains deeply embedded in the ethnic identity of peoples of Mexican descent and is well known as 'Mother of the Mexicans' (Matovina 2014, 243-244, 265).

The celebration of the Virgin of Guadalupe is an example of a cultural manifestation that in a transcultural process bridges Mexico and the USA to create the transnational experience of Mexican Americans. U.S. newspapers publish numerous articles reporting Guadalupe celebrations in American towns. The significance of the events for the local communities is emphasized by the fact that the celebrations are often led by Catholic Bishops. The Hispanic ethnicity is stressed when the masses are conducted in Spanish. The articles describe the social character of the events which are accompanied by musical and dance performances and feasts of Mexican foods.

An article published in *Palm Beach Post* in 2004 described a Guadalupe celebration in Indiantown where the ritual also serves to expand the growing Holy Cross Catholic Church. Hundreds of people took part in a mass with prayers and songs called *mananitas*. Then, there was a traditional procession led by Gerald Barbarito, Bishop of the Palm Beach Diocese. They also organized a bilingual mass outside the church and in the evening people could buy food from several stands and take part in a raffle to win a car. One of seven young women was selected as a queen to represent Our Lady of Guadalupe (Gupta 2004, 1B). *The Orange County Register* (2013) described a Guadalupe celebration in Heart of Mary Church in Santa Ana which was led by the Bishop Kevin W. Vann. There was also an additional Spanish-language service (Gonzales 2013b). *McClatchy-Tribune Business News* (2008) depicted preparations for a Guadalupe ritual in the diocese of Tuscon at St. Augustine Cathedral. Bishop Gerald F. Kicanas invited worshipers from all of the parishes to attend the celebration and *Guadalupanos* – devotees of the Virgin – were asked to carry their group's banners in the procession (Duarte, 2008).

The articles describe the Virgin Lady as a unifying force that brings different ethnic groups together: the Aztecs and the Spaniards in the past; the Mexicans and Americans in the present. The tradition is gaining popularity among other ethnicities and nationalities, and has begun to expand beyond Catholics. The Guadalupe custom is not only Mexican but

is gaining an American character in the way it is celebrated by Mexican Americans.

McClatchy-Tribune Business News (2013) described the Guadalupe tradition at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Worthington in southwest Minnesota where according to the Rev. Jim Callahan and the Rev. Luis Vargas, the feast was celebrated by both Anglo and Hispanic parishioners. Callahan explained that before the San Diego apparition there was a lot of division in Mexico between the Spanish and the Indians. The Virgin of Guadalupe brought unity to the communities. He added "Our Lady of Guadalupe is considered the Patroness of Social Justice and deemed a unifier between people". That is why people representing different countries and cultures were invited to celebrate the Guadalupe, the patroness of the Americas. The church service was accompanied by a mariachi band, creating an additional Mexican accent to the event (Buntjer, 2013). Another article describing a Guadalupe celebration in Worthington in 2015 also mentions a mariachi band but this time there was one more ethnic element of the event – a performance by the local Aztec Dancers group (Rickers 2015).

Another article published by *McClatchy-Tribune Business News* (2011) depicted a Guadalupe celebration at St. Patrick's Catholic Church in Mount Dora, Florida. The procession was accompanied by a mariachi band and small boys dressed in white outfits, similar to those worn by Juan Diego. Aztec and folkloric dancers performed after the service and traditional Mexican food such as tamales and tostada were available for purchase. One of the parishioners celebrating Guadalupe said "She's our mother. She appeared in Mexico, so she's very special to us" (Gonzales, Eloisa Ruano, December 14, 2011).

Austin American-Statesman (2015) described how a group of Aztec descendants in Austin has kept the tradition of its 500-year-old dances alive by practicing and participating in Mexico's patron saint celebrations in area churches on 12 December. They rehearse outside the Gus Garcia Recreation Center on East Rundberg Lane. Children and adults form lines and dance in circles changing choreography. On the day of the performance they wear elaborate feathered costumes. These dances are not only about Guadalupe devotion, but also about keeping young people engaged with their culture (Valenzuela 2015, B2). *Austin American-Statesman* (1989) described a Guadalupe ritual in the Austin diocese three decades ago. Many non-Catholics attended this ethnic celebration and apart from the church service the audience could watch the performance of the *Matachines Guadalupanos*

dance troupe.[141] The dancers wearing elaborately decorated costumes were second-generation Mexican Americans. Each costume had a characteristic unique to the Mexican village of their ancestors. The troupe used to dance only once a year on the anniversary of the reported appearance of the Virgin Mary. Bishop John McCarthy said: "It's an opportunity to mark the richness and beauty of Hispanic culture as it has developed in this part of the world over the last 400 years. It is a rich mixture of prayer, culture and Christian joy" (Martinez 1989, B1).

Austin American-Statesman (2001) published an article depicting the Mexican elements of the Guadalupe celebration in the diocese of Austin. In front of the church, people could watch the performance of the traditional dances of the Nahua and Aztec Indians. A mariachi band played a serenade to Mary in front of a large statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe draped with a red, white and green Mexican flag. The Rev. Larry Mattingly told his congregation that "The message of faith, dignity and value that Our Lady of Guadalupe brought to the Indigenous people of Mexico is just as relevant today as it was more than 400 years ago". He added that "People should carry that message in their hearts to rise up against injustices and discrimination targeted at Hispanics". Mattingly encouraged them to stand up and stick together for their rights, and to demand their rightful place in the United States. Bishop Gregory Aymond celebrated an evening mass and then dedicated the church's new educational building, a bilingual centre that would offer English and job skills classes (Perkes 2001, B1). Public processions that spilled out onto city streets and plazas reminded both participants and onlookers that "the sacred is present even in the midst of the racism, poverty, violence, and alienation of modern urban life" (Matovina et al, 2002, 15).

Guadalupe devotion is spreading far beyond those with ties to Mexico. The tradition has been popularized not only by the organizations of religious character. *PR Newswire* (2011) described how the Knights of Columbus spread the devotion to the Lady of Guadalupe. A celebration featuring prayer, music and speakers was organized by the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and the Knights of Columbus at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum. Both the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and the Knights of Columbus have a history tied to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Los Angeles' Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels

[141] The matachines dance tradition exists in the Americas as a hybrid performance of indigenous and Spanish folk dance. It is performed in the reservations and in Hispanic communities (Cantú 2010, 123).

is home to the only relic of St. Juan Diego's tilma in the United States. Since the 1905 chartering of the first Mexican council as the 'Guadalupe Council' in Mexico City, the Knights have been spreading our Lady's message, including co-sponsoring a U.S. tour of the Archdiocese's tilma relic in 2003. The Knights also held the first-ever International Marian Congress on the Feast Day of Our Lady of Guadalupe in 2009.[142]

McClatchy-Tribune Business News (2011) depicted how the Holy Family Catholic Church in Las Vegas arranged the Knights of Columbus to bring a religious icon blessed by Pope Benedict XVI – a picture of the Virgin of Guadalupe encased with earth from Tepeyac hill, where Juan Diego was visited by the Virgin Mary. Various churches and community groups held events leading up to the celebration honouring the patron saint of the Americas and devotees serenaded her with 'Las Mananitas', the traditional Mexican birthday song. The celebration also included the Dance of the Matachines, which dates to the Spanish Conquest. As the Spanish tried to convert indigenous Mexicans to Catholicism, they incorporated some of their traditions, including dance, into religious ceremonies. The group Matachines de Ciudad Juarez performed at several Las Vegas churches and community ceremonies. Irma Wynant from the Winchester Cultural Center described community events organized by Hispanics, e.g. one apartment block near Silver Dollar avenue and valley View Boulevard inhabited by immigrants from the Mexican state of Guerrero organized a festival involving a procession, music, food and dance. The Guerrero group opened their doors to everyone and gave food and drinks (Lapan 2011).

The Virgin's image and the immense devotion surrounding her continues to fascinate and expand into new areas. Artists depict different aspects of Guadalupe in exhibitions, music, theatre and film. She is a common sight in Mexican American neighbourhoods, a protector painted on street murals and tattooed on the arms of young Latino men. There is even a Spanish-language Catholic radio station called Guadalupe Radio. She emerged as a symbol of justice for immigrants as her image dominated nationwide protests over immigration. Academically, there has been an explosion of Guadalupe studies in art, literature, theology and history. Religious scholars say her following has spread partly as a result of her mysterious story, which can be related to at many different levels. For women, Guadalupe is seen as the female face of God and as a source of

[142] "Huge Celebration Honoring Our Lady of Guadalupe Set for L.A. Coliseum in August." *PR Newswire*, December 12, 2011.

empowerment. Men relate to Juan Diego, inspired by the Virgin choosing a poor man to hear her message. Generally, she is seen as a force that can unite different people and classes. However, not everyone is excited about the Guadalupe cult. As Guadalupe statues and shrines secure places in Catholic churches, other immigrant groups argue that their patron saints should receive similar treatment. Some churches have begun to mark other Latin American celebrations, including those for Puerto Rico's Virgin of Divine Providence, Cuba's Virgin de la Caridad del Cobre and Dominican Republic's Altagracia (Ramirez 2006).

The image of Guadalupe has become so popular that it is printed on everything from key chains, candles, T-shirts, potholders to calling cards, drawing objections that it is being commercialized. The patron saint of Mexico has become an American art commodity (Solis 2007). One example of the commercialization of this icon is the Mexican feature film titled "Guadalupe" which was released on DVD on 8 January 2006 to commemorate the 476th anniversary of the apparition.[143] Filmed in Spanish and the Aztec's Nahuatl with English subtitles, the movie narrates the story and mysteries behind Juan Diego's vision. His encounters with the Virgin are interwoven with present-day characters who are guided by the Lady towards happiness.[144]

One of the places in America where Mexicans and other Latina/o groups can celebrate this ritual in both religious and social ways is Plaza Mexico, an outdoor mall in Lynwood, California. This place has become an important cultural centre where Latina/os from Los Angeles and the surrounding area gather to participate in events related to Mexican culture. In spite of living on the northern side of the border, Mexicans can express their ethnicity, worship, dance, watch soccer, enjoy Mexican cuisine, watch mariachi performances, and take part in many cultural or religious practices (Górnez-Barris et al. 2009, 340, 342).

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[143] "Guadalupe" (dir. Santiago Parra, 2006) debuted in the USA on 250 screens and was distributed by Slowhand Cinema. According to Box Office Mojo, the film made $848,139 (56.9% of the gross earnings) in the USA and $642,502 (43.1% of the gross earnings) in the foreign market. Those financial data show that Americans constituted the majority of the film's viewers.

<www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=guadalupe.htm>

[144] "Xenon Pictures Announces the Release of the Feature Film Guadalupe on DVD, January 2008: 'A homage to Mexican culture, faith and people' Joey Guerra – Houston Chronicle; Five centuries of faith, love, hope and miracles!; 'A film for everyone' Catholic New York online." *PR Newswire*, December 12, 2007.

In fact, the managers of Plaza Mexico have created this place especially for Latina/o clientele and their strategy is to offer cultural programming during most Mexican national holidays. Cultural and religious rituals celebrated in the USA by diasporic communities serve as the basis for continuity of their ethnic and national identity.

> In the transnational setting, the annual celebrations of Mexican national holidays illustrate how immigrants bring their traditions with them from their homeland, and transform them into something new in the process of settling into and contending with their daily lives and their work, leisure time, politics and conditions in the USA. (Górnez-Barris et al. 2009, 343)

Although the main purpose of operating the mall is commercial, the example of Plaza Mexico shows how a commercial space can be made into a culturally and religiously meaningful site. The mall is simply an economic undertaking that explores the cultural religiosity of U.S. Latina/os and transforms a business district into an ethnic enclave.

The main religious festival that symbolizes Mexicanness – the Virgin of Guadalupe – is celebrated on 12 December. Górnez-Barris and Irazábal described various appearances of the holy image in different locations of Plaza Mexico in 2007. The first, electric form of the figure in full neon technicolour was placed high above the worshippers and next to the China Express fast food restaurant. The second figure was placed on a table on a stage which was the centre of collective festivities; there she was surrounded by great numbers of visitors to the mall. Another image of the Virgin of Guadalupe was in the form of a portrait that was framed in mahogany and hung in the middle of the crowd. The official figure of the Virgin was placed permanently at a dedicated chapel in the mall. That figure was approved by Mexican Church officials and blessed by the head of the Mexico City Basilica. For the two days of official festivities (11 and 12 December), the statue was removed from the chapel and placed on the stage surrounded by flowers, candles and praying devotees. Afterwards, the figure was held by two women at the front of a parade in a midnight mass (Górnez-Barris et al. 2009, 345-346).

During the religious festivities Plaza Mexico serves as a kind of sanctuary for U.S. Latina/os and the Virgin of Guadalupe is perceived as the central icon of Mexican heritage. However, participation in religious events at the Plaza differs from those taking place in a traditional church setting because people go to Plaza Mexico not only to attend religious

festivities but also for entertainment, food, shopping and socializing. Visitors to the plaza not only can look at the images of the Virgin but are also offered special purchases of T-shirts, sweatshirts and flags with the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe imprinted on them. Many of these products are sold alongside Santa Claus merchandise. It appears that the Mexican religious icon has been incorporated into the repertoire of other Christmas symbols popular in the USA (Górnez-Barris et al. 2009, 347-348).

In spite of the fact that its pan-Latino identity is constructed through the marketplace, Plaza Mexico is perceived as authentically Mexican to its clientele. The Latin American architecture influenced by Spanish colonial urban planning made plazas the centres of community life. The architectural design of Plaza Mexico also tries to evoke 'authenticity' with its bright colours and stylistic elements, such as a replica of the Angel of Independence in Mexico City and iron benches depicting pastoral scenes. However, there are five iconic elements indicating the Mexicanness of the place: the Aztec Calendar, the Mexican Flag, the Mexican Independence Bell, the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the market place. The Plaza managers believe that "Mexicans in the States will continue to identify with these historically-sanctioned indicators of collective Mexican identity" (Górnez-Barris et al. 2009, 349).

Sophia Tareen in her article published in *The Washington Times* (2016) presents different attitudes of U.S. Hispanics towards the Guadalupe tradition after Donald Trump's election. Mexican Americans who made their annual pilgrimage to the suburban Chicago shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe showed fear and anxiety about President-elect Donald Trump's approach to immigration. Tareen writes "The sentiment was echoed in small parishes and big city cathedrals across the country as Trump's win and aggressive pledges on immigration changed the dynamic of one of the biggest Catholic holidays". In response, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops urged churches to make the holiday Monday a "day of prayer" in solidarity with immigrants and their families, regardless of legal status. Chicago's Cardinal Blasé Cupich brought up the issue during a Mass at the shrine, as did Catholic leaders at Masses in New York. The University of Notre Dame's president cited the school's history of serving immigrants in seeking prayers. In downtown Los Angeles, there was a day of prayer for immigrant families with a midnight Mass and celebrations continued till Monday evening. The Rev. Esequiel Sanchez, the rector at the large shrine in the Chicago suburb

of Des Plaines said that it was natural to call for support and immigration reform on the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe as the Virgin Mary is seen as the protector (Tareen 2016).

8.2 Las Posadas

In the late 16th century, Augustinian missionaries in the Mexican village of Acolman introduced the customs of Las Posadas ("Inns"), a novena for the last nine days of Advent, commemorating the journey of Mary and Joseph from Nazareth to Bethlehem. In 1587 a papal decree was obtained for Mexico authorizing a series of nine votive masses from 10th December to 24th December, to be held in church vestibules. The practice later spread to Mexican homes (Essex 2005, 1). Las Posadas begins with a call and response song representing Joseph and Mary seeking lodging. In the first eight verses of the song people deny the couple a room, even threaten them with bodily harm. In the final four verses, the couple is finally welcome. In some places people celebrating Las Posadas walk from house to house singing the song until they reach a final house where they are greeted with a party. As immigrants in American society, many Latina/os identify with Mary and Joseph because they know what it is like to come and not to feel welcome (Pez 2001, B2).

Peasants in Mexico used to stage elaborate morality plays under the direction of the parish priest. Indian peasants thereafter took over the presentation of the plays and turned them into folk drama, adding warmth, humour and colourful costumed characters to portray the devil and human temptations. The Hispanic-accented story adds references to food and other aspects of domestic and rural life and centres around a peasant shepherd searching for the birthplace of Christ. After the Virgin of Guadalupe celebration, which honours the patron saint of Mexico, four days later Hispanics begin the posadas. A characteristic feature of Las Posadas is a pastorela, first used by Spanish priests during medieval times as a Christmas season morality play. It remains one of the oldest continuing Christian dramatic celebrations in the Western Hemisphere (Garcia 1990).

The ceremony of Las Posadas is gaining popularity in the USA, especially in the American Southwest. The ritual is widely reported by local press. *Knight Ridder Tribune Business News* (2002) described Las Posadas celebrations in major Texas cities – Dallas, San Antonio, and Houston. The event – a re-enactment of Joseph and Mary's search for shelter – takes the

form of a candle-lit procession with traditional Posada songs and choirs performing popular carols and contemporary songs. Trees in the downtown area are decorated with glittering white lights and there is a firework display (Wilson 2002, 1).

The Salt Lake Tribune (2011) describes how Las Posadas is gaining popularity among different Christian churches in Utah. It is an example of transculturality as Las Posadas were first implemented by Mexican American Catholics and then the custom of celebrating it spread to other ethnic groups and other Christian churches. The ritual celebrated in Salt Lake City in 2011 was sponsored jointly by Crossroad Urban Center, the Catholic Diocese of Utah, Zion Lutheran, Mount Tabor Lutheran Church, First United Methodist and the Episcopal Cathedral of St. Mark. The author of the article quotes the Rev. Steve Klemz of Zion Lutheran who wrote in his church bulletin:

> We participate in being rejected and being welcomed, in slamming the door on the needy and opening it wide. …Along the way, we will pray for those who are without home or country, in need of shelter and safekeeping. We will especially pray for all who are homeless, marginalized, and undocumented immigrants. (Fletcher Stack 2011)

The procession participants began their journey at Crossroads Urban Center and proceeded to First United Methodist where they asked for lodgings for the pilgrims. After being denied hospitality they continued their walk to St. Mark's where they experienced a similar situation. Finally, the pilgrims arrived at the Cathedral of the Madeleine, where they joined together for a traditional rosary service, a fiesta, and the breaking of the piñata (which represents evil in our midst) (Fletcher Stack 2011).

Another article from *Knight Ridder Tribune Business News* gave a detailed description of a procession that took place in Harlingen, Texas in 2005. There was a unique posada in the Queen of Peace Catholic Parish which re-enacted the traditional Christmas story outlined in the Book of Mathew in which Joseph and Mary stop at three homes, being turned away at the first two, then being given shelter at the third home. The first stop was at the home of Jesus Cano, the second one was at that of Alfonso Rodriguez, and the final stop, which represented the home where Jesus was born in a stable, was at the home of Pancho Cruz. There, those who participated in the posada are treated to a traditional Mexican meal. Which is a way of symbolizing welcome. The posada is based on the Mexican tradition of the family, Nacimiento, which needs to be ready by the night of 16th December,

as the centrepiece of the distinct Latin American advent tradition. There was also a performance by a matachines dancing group, using a blend of traditional dances from Aztec and other American Indian tribes of Mexico. Although the Indian dancing has no direct connection to the story of the birth of Christ, it is believed that was what was offered to the baby Jesus by the Indians because that was how they honoured the Christ child. People sang traditional Christmas songs in Spanish (Essex 2005, 1).

The Salt Lake Tribune (2000) depicted how children celebrate Las Posadas and how this ceremony mixes with festivities concerning Santa Claus. A girl dressed up as Maria wears an elaborate lace veil, a flowing blue dress and sneakers. A boy – Joseph – wears a black beard rendered in eyeliner pencil and carries a mop handle meant to represent a shepherd's staff. Maria cradles a small baby Jesus doll and together with Joseph they kiss the tiny child. As far as the Santa Claus tradition is concerned, Mexican Americans do not celebrate it as much as the Three Kings; however, Santa Claus mixes easily with the Mexican tradition. "The children switch from Las Posadas to Santa and from pizza to pasole as easily as they switch from Spanish to English". On the night before 6th January, Mexican children leave a shoe in an obvious place and the next morning, gifts and candy miraculously appear inside the shoes. This is done in place of Santa bringing gifts on Christmas Eve. After the children's Las Posadas, many of the Mexican American adults host smaller celebrations during the week, changing homes and towns on each of the nine days. Children often break piñatas and a drink called ponche, made from Mexican fruits, peanuts and sugar cane, is shared (Wharton 2000, C1).

The Salt Lake Tribune (2000) described why the meaning of Las Posadas fits well in the state of Utah, with the story of Mary and Joseph on the donkey searching for a place to stay paralleling that of the Mormon pioneers. In addition to its religious and cultural roots, the celebration has a universal message: "teaching the need to honor and care for disenfranchised and persecuted people. …It also teaches inclusiveness and acceptance". The author of the article quotes the words of University of Utah Professor Theresa Martinez: "What a message for Christmas, that we are welcoming people who are not like us" (Lopez 2000, B1). According to another article in *The Salt Lake Tribune* (2006) Las Posadas reflects the painful reality of immigrants fearing exclusion and "reminds participants of the agony of today's strangers looking for lodging only to be turned away repeatedly". The author of the article continues: "…Too often these strangers are not

greeted with hospitality or even acknowledged as human beings created in God's image. They are simply dismissed as 'illegal'" (Fletcher Stack 2006).

McClatchy-Tribune Business News (2011) gave a description of a Las Posadas ceremony in Colorado Springs. Celebrants, who constituted a largely non-Hispanic crowd, started the ritual at St. Mary's Cathedral and ended up at the Marian House Soup Kitchen for a feast of Mexican food and dancing. Catholic Charities of Central Colorado sponsored the event to benefit its Family Immigration Services programme and call attention to the parallels between the biblical tale and the story of present-day immigrants. Corey Almond, director of Catholic Charities' immigration services, said the event was a way to unite different cultures as Las Posadas was an opportunity for Anglos and Hispanics to celebrate together. Caleb Lazaro, co-pastor at El Centro, a church with a mostly immigrant congregation said: "It's important to see the connection between the Holy family and immigrants" (Cotter 2011).

The New York Times (2004) described Las Posadas as the story of hospitality:

> Las posadas is a story about hospitality, certainly a "moral value," but not one pollsters ask about. Based on the notion of pilgrimage, a spiritual journey undertaken through the flesh, it is present in practically all the world's religions. Without the hospitality of those who live along the roads of one's pilgrimage – be it the hajj of Islam or a Catholic penitent's journey to a shrine – one would never arrive at one's destination. Hospitality implies reciprocity; the pilgrim received with generosity will one day have an occasion to return the favor. (Martínez 2004, A19)

In New Mexico, one of the most lyrical metaphors in the posada tradition is that of the farolitos, votive candles that glow inside paper sacks weighed down by sand. These light the path towards that place where José and Maria will finally be recognized for who they are: pilgrims seeking shelter on the road (Martínez 2004, A19).

McClatchy-Tribune Business News (2007) described a Las Posadas ritual celebrated on the border separating Arizona from Mexico. With border agents, customs officers and police looking on, a group of Catholics "turned the international border into Bethlehem". The celebrants of "Posada on the Border" knocked on doors of three "inns" named Arizona, California, and New Mexico/Texas. Each time, they were rejected and the group prayed for migrants who have died in that state while trying to cross into the United States from Mexico on foot. Catholic officials stated that the dramatization

was intended as a message that people need to be more welcoming of migrants seeking jobs and homes in other countries. Officials of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Tucson said that the Posada event they sponsored was aimed at strengthening social, religious, economic and cultural bonds in both countries and to counter an anti-immigration sentiment. In the end, Mary and Joseph on the US side were welcomed after they walked through the rotating turnstile from the United States into Mexico. However, not everybody welcomed this political message and some people criticized the event as inappropriate interference of the Church in politics (Innes, 2007).

8.3 Day of the Dead / El Dia de los Muertos

The European colonization of the Americas produced movement of populations, an exchange of ideas, and transformation of ethnic celebrations, such as the Day of the Dead. According to Marchi (2013, 274) "United States Day of the Dead events are not simply Latin American celebrations transferred to a new location. They are hybrid formations that communicate vastly different meanings than do celebrations with the same name in Latin America".

More than 3,000 years ago, the Aztec Indians, who lived on the territory of present-day Mexico, spent four months each year engaged in rituals honouring their dead. The ritual centred on special food and flower offerings, grave visits with music and dance, elaborate ceremonies, and feasting. Extensive public rituals took place during at least six months of the eighteen-month calendar year. Two of the most important months for public ritual were the ninth, Tlaxcochimaco (August 5-24 of the Georgian calendar), when the 'Feast of Little Dead' (children), took place; and the tenth month, Xocohuetzi (August 25 – September 14), which included the 'Feast of the Adult Dead'. Death caused by old age or certain illnesses necessitated a four-year journey to Mictlan, or Place of the Dead, and offerings were meant to assist in their journey (Medina et al. 2002, 74-75). Spanish conquistadors who arrived in the 16th century tried to replace those traditions with the practices of the Roman Catholic Church. However, the Indigenous peoples did not abandon their ancient ceremonies; instead, they chose to blend the old customs with those of the Church. Presently, the Mexican celebrations of the Day of the Dead continue to evolve, although their main purpose has not changed – honouring and respecting those who

have passed away. Participation in the ceremony ensures that the souls of the deceased will never be forgotten and therefore, truly, they will never die (Arquette et al. 2008, 8-9).

The ritual importance of honouring the dead was far greater in indigenous than in Catholic practice. Spanish Catholic tradition includes nine-day novenas for the souls in purgatory immediately following a death, and annual commemoration of a death. In contrast, indigenous practice involved long periods of preparation for the numerous days honouring the dead. Nevertheless, belief in an afterlife and the ability and responsibility to commune with the dead offered points of intersection between the two belief systems (Medina et al. 2002, 75).

Observant families prepare ofrendas, or altars, stocked with food and drink, to honour the souls expecting a warm welcome on that day. Food is placed in two ritual contexts: on home altars, open to the view of the family and anyone who visits the house; at the gravesite ofrenda to which food and drink tend to be transported in covered containers. "In both cases, too, the symbolic significance of the food is transformed through its display in a ritual context" (Brandes 2006, 19). The souls are called back to earth by the ringing of church bells, prayer, or fireworks, and then they are surrounded by the lively chatter of family members. Some ofrendas are dismantled after the Day of the Dead, but many artists display their altars as moving pieces of art, showcasing calaveras, nichos, masks, skulls, and flowers (Arquette et al. 2008, 9-10).

Calaveras are skeletons that play an important role in Day of the Dead observances. In Mexican traditions skeletons are not considered scary as they are in other cultures. Many calaveras are depicted as dancing, mocking death and satirizing human existence. Because calaveras are satirical figures, they are the artist's humorous commentary about people, places, and situations he or she deals with on a daily basis, such as weddings, funerals or sporting events (Arquette et al. 2008, 29-30). Calaveras represent distinct social classes: performing the toil of a labourer, the chores of a mother, or the leisure activities of the wealthy. Their humour reflects a working-class ability to maintain a sense of dignity despite the burdens they endure (Medina et al. 2002, 90). A significant number of calaveras express commentary on socio-political issues, e.g. figures dressed as police officers extort bribes from skeletal motorists; other figures express commentary on political hypocrisy and class exploitation (Marchi 2009, 24). A nicho is a simple box constructed of either metal or wood which serves as a home for the calavera. A nicho can

be created in the form of a collage, decorated with glitter, stickers, magazine clippings and drawings (Arquette et al. 2008, 54, 56).

In the worldview of the aboriginal peoples of the Americas, maintaining harmony between the worlds of the living and the dead was a crucial spiritual belief before the arrival of the Europeans. It was believed that the spirits of the dead were always present among the living and had to be cared for, most specially during remembrance holidays, in order to ensure the family's well-being. The pre-Colombian elements were combined with Catholic iconography such as images of important saints, Jesus, the Virgin Mary, crucifixes, rosary beads and statuettes of angels. Celebrated annually on 1st and 2nd of November in Latin America, the two-day observance, known as 'The Day(s) of the Dead' is a syncretic fusion of Roman Catholic All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day practices together with pre-Columbian indigenous rituals honouring the ancestors. The key ritual practices include cleaning family graves, refurbishing crosses, decorating the graves with flowers and candles; praying on behalf of the deceased; attending Catholic Mass. There are also numerous regional and indigenous customs, such as placing food for the dead at family graves and preparing special ritual foods. Skull-shaped sweets made of moulded sugar have become an internationally recognized symbol of the Day of the Dead in Mexico (Marchi 2013, 276-277).

Until the 1970s, ritual practices tended to be private in nature, centred upon home altars and family visits to cemeteries (Medina et al. 2002, 72). In the 1970s, secular Day of the Dead celebrations were introduced in the United States as a way to express the messages of the Chicano Movement. In the 1980s and 1990s, the U.S. Latino community became more diversified ethnically which resulted in a larger number of Hispanic-origin participants who transformed Day of the Dead festivals into pan-Latino celebrations. At the same time, non-Latinos began to embrace the Day of the Dead as an alternative way to remember the departed. Before the 1970s, the celebration in the present form was not widely popular in the United States. Most Mexican Americans knew little about Mexico's indigenous Dia de los Muertos practices, observing, instead, popular Catholic All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day rituals. The secular Day of the Dead celebrations in the United States emerged as a key expression of Chicano identity. The Chicano Movement that evolved in the American Southwest in the 1970s comprised young Mexican artists and intellectuals who were inspired by black civil rights activism, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the women's liberation movement, and the American Indian movement. Chicanos identified

strongly with the anti-imperial and anti-colonial liberation struggles occurring in numerous places around the world and also confronted negative stereotypes of Mexicans in the mainstream U.S. media. People in Latin America widely believe that one's well-being depends, partly, on respectful remembering of the dead. The rituals of laying flowers on family graves and constructing elaborate altars for the dead are rooted in a common sense of moral obligation to the deceased. In contrast, in the United States, the Day of the Dead celebrations are observed in the secular context of commercial areas where the celebrations emerged in non-religious spheres constructing an example of popular culture expression (Marchi 2013, 272-273).

The 1970s was a period in which many racial minorities in the United States were attempting to reclaim their cultural roots, such as language, music and ancestral traditions. The indigenous rituals, religious symbols, and spiritual beliefs became a major influence on the development of Chicano iconography. One of the goals of the Chicano Movement was to foster a sense of unity among the Mexican American community that was diverse in terms of class, race and ethnicity. The aesthetics and metaphysics of the Dia de los Muertos ritual in Mexico inspired Chicano artists who adopted this celebration as a symbol of Chicano identity that "privileged Mexico's indigenous ancestry over its European" (Marchi 2013, 279). It is Mexico's Indian heritage that clearly separates the country from both Spain and the United States. One common way to further a distinct sense of national identity is through art and museum displays (Brandes 2006, 119).

Self Help Graphics, the first and primary Chicano/a community arts centre and gallery in Los Angeles, has played an important role in reintroducing the Day of the Dead to Chicanos in Los Angeles and to a larger audience. Self Help Graphics began celebrating Days of the Dead in 1972. The first celebration was on a small scale, involving primarily local artists and including a procession from the local cemetery, the building of an ofrenda, and the sharing of food among participants. Further rituals included a cemetery Mass, a street parade, altar and art exhibits. However, in 1979 the archdiocese announced that Catholic liturgies in the nearby Protestant Evergreen Cemetery could not be approved. This event and the artists' increasing integration of indigenous beliefs and practices into the ritual created a separation between the Church and Days of the Dead at Self Help Graphics which started sponsoring the celebration without Church involvement. A few predominantly Mexican and Latino parishes in Los Angeles are increasingly incorporating Day of the Dead traditions into

their liturgical calendar, e.g. La Placita, where following a Mass clergy lead a night procession and stop to bless the altars constructed on the way. Other parishes, such as Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, in East L.A., construct ofrendas in their place of worship. However, tensions exist between the archdiocese and individuals celebrating their dead at Catholic cemeteries (Medina et al. 2002, 77, 91).

The artists brought Day of the Dead traditions to the barrios in California. They selectively adopted only certain elements from a variety of traditions existing in Mexico; specifically, they omitted distinctively Catholic aspects, such as saying the rosary, in favour of exotic rituals from pre-Columbian times, such as creating harvest altars. Thus, Day of the Dead celebrations in the USA were aimed at resembling not a Catholic fiesta but a secular celebration. In this way, Chicanos wanted to distance themselves from a religion connected with colonialism and make the cultural aspect of the holiday available to diverse U.S. populations. Although Chicano observances were not exclusively religious, they reflected hybrid aspects of the ritual as they incorporated both Catholic and indigenous symbols. Crucifixes, Bibles, and pictures of saints were often arranged on altars, together with Aztec calendars, figures of Mayan deities, or other iconography (Marchi 2013, 279-280).

Day of the Dead celebrations began to expand in California in the 1980s and 1990s. However, the character of the holiday became more pan-Latino, rather than strictly Mexican, because California became home to immigrants from different parts of Latin America. This pattern has been repeated in other parts of the USA where diverse Latino populations live in the same neighbourhoods. Moreover, Day of the Dead rituals became popular among people from a non-Latino background, thus, the ceremony has been incorporated into American mainstream culture (Marchi 2009, 4).

An interesting component in the American celebration of the Day of the Dead was the inclusion of the 'danza' ceremony – a pre-Columbian form of dancing-in-prayer to communicate with the spirit world. Chicano artists gradually introduced certain aspects into the Day of the Dead ritual such as sugar skulls, procession with music, giant skeleton puppets, and banners. In later years, performances by El Teatro Campesino were presented as part of the celebrations. The Chicano art gallery La Galeria de la Raza, located in San Francisco, organized the city's first Day of the Dead exhibits. This small gallery had a great influence on the future shape of Day of the Dead celebrations in the USA. In 1981, La Galeria organized a small procession

with about 25 people who walked around holding candles and photos of deceased family members. Since then, the procession has become an annual event, featuring Aztec blessing rituals, danza groups, colourful banners, altars, giant skeleton puppets, Cuban Santeria practitioners and a Jamaican steel drum band, with about 20,000 participants of all ages, races and ethnicities. The procession is both pan-Latino and pan-American as it reflects many diverse cultures coexisting in San Francisco (Marchi 2013, 281-282). According to *The Orange County Register* (2011) celebrations of El Dia los Muertos are gaining popularity, not only in California, but across the country. Moreover, the tradition is celebrated among Latinos and has started to become popular among non-Latinos as well. Ofrendas are the perfect venue for creativity of artists. They might celebrate philosophical or political ofrenda against, for example, drug cartels or the killings in Juarez (Gonzales, Ron 2011).

Chicanos used the popular holiday to criticize dominant U.S. power structures by creating altars that raised public awareness about cases of social injustice towards Latinos and other ethnic minorities, e.g. Latino migrants who died while crossing the U.S.-Mexico border, victims of gang wars and workers killed in industrial accidents. The new Americanized version of the Day of the Dead ritual was not performed in churches and cemeteries but at community centres, art galleries and other public secular places. While Day of the Dead celebrations in Latin America are religious events organized by families and church parishes, Chicano festivals were of a secular and cultural character (Marchi 2013, 283).

Ofrendas were welcome at the Anaheim Cemetery in celebration of Dia de los Muertos. The participants could see performances by Ballet Folklorico Donaji and the Rhythmo Mariachi Kids; children could colour their own masks; people could also build ofrendas at the Community Mausoleum (McRea 2016a). The festivities have been revived with the focus shifted towards children, including crafts where children can paint skulls and create flowers out of tissue paper (Donnelly 2015). The organizers of the Day of the Dead festival in Placentia asked the participants to "Dress in your best la Calavera Catrina[145]-inspired costume on November 1" (McRea 2016b). Students in San Clemente High School ceramics classes constructed and decorated their own clay skulls to display during the festival. Ceramics teacher, Lynn Smith, said that she hoped "the project opens her students' eyes to different cultures and ways of thinking about death. In the Dia de

[145] La Catrina portrays a wealthy woman as a skeleton (Gonzales 2011).

los Muertos death is not to be feared but celebrated. Death reminds people of life" (Wright 2014). *The Orange County Register* (2014) reports that the Day of the Dead festival in Anaheim was celebrated with mariachi singers, dance performers, display of traditional altars and participants wearing masks painted as sugar skulls decorated with flowers.[146]

In 2009, in Anaheim, the first Dia de los Muertos Music and Cultural Festival "mixed Mexican tradition with rockability, custom car culture, tattoos and a decidedly more youth-oriented energy". One of the young participants, named Lisa Fuero, said: "I want to rattle the graves of my grandparents and have them join me in the fun". She wore a red sombrero, elaborate skeleton makeup and a black, vintage 1950s Mexican dress. She wanted to embody the look of La Calavera Catarina, an icon of Mexican imagery, often incorporated into Day of the Dead artwork (Chang 2009). The Muckenthaler Cultural Center celebrated Dia de los Muertos with a festival that features Latino arts and crafts, altars, art workshops, food vendors and live music by Trio Ellas. Kids were invited to dress up in their best Day of the Dead costumes. The fiesta was part of a partnership with the Consulate of Mexico in Sana Ana (Winslow 2016). The 14th annual Noche de Altares festival, a Day of the Dead festival, coordinated by Centro Cultural de Mexico, featured participants creating elaborate altars representing the food and traditions of Mexico. Families set up paper skeletons and sprinkled petals of bright orange flowers into their designs.[147] The Art Cube Gallery in Laguna beach hosted an exhibition of Day of the Dead-inspired artwork, titled "Enchanted Afterlife". The Santa Ana Public Library, as part of its Day of the Dead activities, presented the 1961 Mexican film 'Deal with Death'. It is a black-and-white classic, shown in Spanish with English subtitles. It tells the story of an impoverished woodcutter who makes a deal with Death (Gonzales 2013a).

Art as an offering to the dead enlarges the collective memory and identity of the group. Artists developed a new iconography using spiritual aesthetics to shape Chicana/o identity and ethnic pride. Rooted in ancient traditions of the Indigenous peoples, religious rituals performed in the United States allow for the transmission of cultural, political, and religious values and continuing adaptation to contemporary needs and concerns. Religious festivals provide the space where Catholics and non-Catholics, Mexicans

[146] "Anaheim marks Day of the Dead." *The Orange County Register*, November 3, 2014.

[147] "Santa Ana's Day of the Dead event honors family legacies." *The Orange County Register*, November 5, 2016.

and other Hispanics, can incorporate a spirituality linking indigenous and familial expressions with or without the support of the Church.

The Day of the Dead in the USA has assumed definite political meaning and ideological symbolism far beyond its original religious essence. This ceremony has acquired a variety of meanings for people of Mexican descent and others celebrating it as well. "There isn't and has never been an authentic Day of the Dead. Through vast expanses of space and time, there have emerged many different Days of the Dead, each corresponding to the needs and aspirations of local celebrants" (Brandes 2006, 14). The ritual has been often combined with music and even dance. *University Wire* (2014) describes the performance of *Mariachi de UCLAtlán* at the Fowler Museum's Art Council Amphitheater. The band played traditional mariachi songs and themed music for Día de los Muertos. The ensemble kept the sober tone of the festival by playing songs like 'La Llorona', based on the urban legend of a weeping woman who wanders around looking for her children, and 'La Bruja', a song about a witch who prowls for men. Christian Ortiz, a vihuela player, said: "Mariachi isn't only for Mexicans. It's a very versatile music and can be enjoyed by peoples of every corner of the world" (Vo 2014).

The nature of religious celebrations of the Day of the Dead signifies Latinidad; however, the ritual has been adapted to the new place. The U.S. Latino communities celebrate it in a secular fashion, especially when art museums hold special Day of the Dead altar exhibits or invite artists to construct special altars. These annual communal celebrations create continuity with ancestral spiritual practices and beliefs which challenge attempts to silence Indigenous and mestizo peoples. In contrast with Western cultural practices that silence the dead shortly after the funeral, Latinos honour the dead in a joyful manner. The rite invites all people to approach death and the 'other' without fear.

Leanne Holt from *Albuquerque Journal* described how diverse cultures and ethnic groups participated together in a Marigold parade organized for the Day of the Dead in the Northeast Heights part of Albuquerque in 2005. About a dozen floats carrying coffins and skeletons proceeded from Isleta Boulevard to the Westside Community Center in front of a crowd of about 500 people. Aztec, Haitian and samba dancers participated in the parade. Holt concluded the article with the words: "On Sunday, death was not only dealt with, it was celebrated. The event brought together cultures and neighbourhoods that might never have otherwise intersected in Albuquerque" (Holt 2005).

Whereas Day of the Dead celebrations in Mexico were fusions of indigenous spiritual practices and Catholic rituals, Chicano events were a hybridization of traditions that also included elements of Mexican and American popular culture and politics. Chicano artists did not merely reproduce the rituals of Mexico in California; they reconfigured the celebration to make it relevant to their experiences in the USA. The Chicano Day of the Dead practices were recreated to "offer a marginalized population resources with which to counter decades of discrimination from the dominant society" (Marchi 2013, 282). Because American Day of the Dead festivities were created as secular events rather than religious rituals, public places became key spaces for communicating messages of Latino cultural identity and political consciousness; so besides honouring the deceased, Chicano focus was to criticise the socio-political situation and oppression of ethnic minorities. Thus, Day of the Dead celebrations can represent 'Mexican American', 'Latino' or, more generally, a community identity. They can also refer to relationships between Mexicans and ethnically diverse Latino groups or Latinos and non-Latinos.

Sacred symbols of the Day of the Dead have become mixed up in commerce. "It has slowly evolved into a cultural holiday" says Helen Sides, of Fort Worth's Centro Cultural de las Americas. Colourful artwork is found in shops selling fashion and home décor. The 'Lucky' jeans brand sells a Dia de los Muertos-inspired top for women: a shirt with skeleton graphics on the back and sleeves. D. L. & Co., a luxury goods company, has a 'Memento Mori" line full of skull-shaped candles and skull-decorated notecards (Ward 2006).

Adrian Gomez in an article published in *Albuquerque Journal* (2015) describes how the Day of the Dead inspires artists. Designs by Albuquerque artist Sean Wells were displayed on New Mexico Lottery's "Dia de los Muertos" scratch card campaign. All the images that the lottery selected for the scratch cards represented the cultural aspect of the Day of the Dead. In addition to the lottery scratch cards, Wells developed six images for the Day of the Dead-themed beer label, *Cerveza de los Muertos*. The beer is a Mexican craft beer that is sold internationally. Next, she had the opportunity to develop six more images for the wine label *La Catrina Vino*. Wells described her project saying:

> Each character matches the flavor of the wine and stands alone, but the images also work as a set of characters attending an elaborate Day of the Dead wedding, showing the officiant, the mother of the bride, best man, maid of honor, mariachis and bride and groom.

Since Wells switched over to Day of the Dead-themed art, her projects have become an art commodity desired by consumers (Gomez 2015).

The Day of the Dead has often been compared to Halloween.

> The Day of the Dead promotes an interpretation of the world in which Mexico is unique, culturally discrete, and above all culturally distinct from the two powers that have dominated the country throughout its long existence: Spain and the United States. … Increasingly, the Day of the Dead has come to symbolize Mexico, and Halloween has come to symbolize the United States. (Brandes 2006, 117)

The masks and skulls prepared for Day of the Dead are usually less realistic than skeleton masks worn on Halloween. Day of the Dead masks are highly embellished and widely painted in festive colours (Arquette et al. 2008, 59).

Conclusion

The book has focussed on the cultural 'contact zones' that occur along the Mexican-American border and in any urban Hispanic ghettos where two national cultures meet and produce a 'Third Space' occupied by a hybridized Mexican American culture. Transculturalism, or the shaping of cultures by interactions with other cultures, raises questions about the meaning and authenticity of cultural practices. Mexican Americans combine a multicultural population with various degrees of Mexicanness and Americanness.

The reports analysing the growth in the American population in the period from 2000 to 2010 show that the Mexican origin population is numerically the largest Hispanic group, representing 63 percent of the total Hispanic population in the USA. In spite of the increase in return migration from the USA to Mexico, the number of Mexican Americans continues to grow due to the high birth rate. According to the estimates, a third of the U.S. population will be of Hispanic origin by 2050 (Williamson 2011; Dey 2016). This predicted growth is not going to result from future immigration but rather from a natural increase. The increasing numbers of Latinos, particularly Mexicans, has put them at the centre of politicians' attention during the election period. A trend for 'Hispandering'[148] has been observed among politicians who attend Hispanic holidays to win over Hispanic voters.

Demographic changes show that the United States is developing a new racial matrix, similar to that existing in Latin American and Caribbean societies. The old bi-racial description of American society determined

[148] 'Hispandering' derives from two words: Hispanic and pandering. According to Philip Bump from *The Washington Post* ("So, What is Hispandering?" March 10, 2016) Hillary Clinton was 'hispandering' during her presidential campaign. However, it was her opponent – Donald Trump – who won the elections. Among his signature policy proposals was the construction of a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border. He also called for deportation of undocumented immigrants, especially Mexicans. Despite Trump's anti-Hispanic rhetoric, many Americans, including Hispanic electorate, understood his strategy as a way to gain control of the country's borders. Although some politicians appeal to potential voters of Hispanic origin and others try to offend or threaten them, one thing is certain: Hispanics constitute one of the key issues in the contemporary politics of the USA.

by the clash of black and white is being replaced by a tri-racial division with a new category that is the 'Third Space' of brown colour. However, data concerning U.S. Hispanics, provided by the U.S. Census Bureau and the American Community Survey are not based on any medical testing or accurate examination. The Hispanic origin question on the census form is based upon the self-identification of individual respondents so governmental statistics demonstrate not how Americans view Latinos but how Latinos view themselves.

The continuous racial and ethnic mixture has produced individuals representing a hybrid makeup that is difficult to define and Hispanics themselves have problems with categorising their racial belonging. The U.S. Census Bureau treats race and ethnicity as two different concepts and establishing the immigrants' origin is based upon their nationality before arrival, regardless of their race. Federal agencies use a minimum of five racial categories and additionally for the purposes of the 2010 Census a sixth category was added: 'Some Other Race'. However, this new-added category was often chosen by individuals from the Hispanic population. This problem proves how difficult it is to separate the notions of race and ethnicity in the case of U.S. Hispanics who themselves combine those two concepts into one category. The U.S. Hispanic population continues to diversify and new categories need to be created for the purposes of their accurate identification. One example of a new term coined to describe those hybridized individuals, is 'MOCHA' – 'Mixed Origin Californians of Hispanic Ancestry'.[149]

In spite of the different racial makeup among the U.S. Hispanic population, a whitening trend has been observed among Latinos (Gans 2012, 269-270). Although the process has various dynamics, it generally depends on the social status, residential area, size of the Hispanic population, and the frequency of contacts with the white population. Light-skinned Latinos are already being whitened, in contrast to dark-skinned Latinos and Caribbean people. Mexicans are generally whiter than Caribbean people. The 2010 Census showed that the racial distribution of the Mexican-origin population was similar to the distribution of the total Hispanic population, although Mexicans are less likely to report as African Americans than the total Hispanic population.

Hispanics define themselves panethnically in national-origin terms, such as Mexican Americans. Panethnicity creates a basis for solidarity and they

[149] 'MOCHA' was created by Christopher Williamson. 2011. "Census 2010: Back to the future." *Planning* 77.6 (July): 26-30.

sometimes group together for a specific goal. Thus, Latinos are sometimes viewed and view themselves as separate national entities and sometimes as a group unified under the panethnic label. The terminology used to describe multi-ethnic populations begins to take on a similar meaning, e.g. creole and mestizaje have different origins but with time the continuous intermarriage among different ethnic groups has created a complex racial mixture and the terms embraced the general meaning of ethnic hybridity.

The U.S. Latinidad is not homogenous and mirrors multiculturalism in Latin America and the Caribbean. Hispanic hybridization intensifies with Latino migrations within the USA. Moreover, hybridity tends to destabilize the mainstream culture because in this complex, transcultural process, the breaking and joining of cultural elements are taking place at the same time. The elements of Hispanic and Anglo cultures constantly undergo transcultural transformations. Dynamic fusions and merging of cultures produces a new multicultural society.

There is no common Latino subculture but rather panethnic melding in major cities. Mexicans are the largest Hispanic group but their numbers vary by region. Although they are widespread all over the USA, there are certain migration patterns linking specific Mexican homeland-sending zones and the U.S. receiving-state destinations. Once settled, they alter the receiving community's character, revitalise many poor neighbourhoods and transform them into working class districts. In the transcultural process elements of Latino and American cultures mix and produce cultural hybridity, such as a hybrid linguistic code, known as Spanglish.

Languages are in constant flux, mirroring changes in society, and even serving to close racial and cultural divides. As American and Latino cultures mix, an evolving spoken Spanglish reflects a bilingual reality that leads to the coinage of new words and phrases, such as 'Hurban' – a melding of Hispanic and urban. Spanglish may be viewed as a part of a larger anthropological trend for linguistic hybridization. It is the result of the need for communication in linguistic border areas, not only in its literal meaning but also in many metropolitan areas encompassing ethnic enclaves. It is a border language – active in areas that mark boundaries between nations. Yet, it is also a hybrid language that emerges in territories other than borders, such as ethnic ghettos.

Demographic density in certain areas contributes to the preservation of Spanish and development of regional varieties of Spanglish. The development of Spanglish is fuelled by a constant infusion of Mexican

varieties of Spanish into the American Southwest, and then its further fusion with other Hispanic varieties, such as Nuyorican or Cubonics. Yet, according to Stavans (2003), thanks to the Internet and telecommunications that have popularised this linguistic code, each of the regional versions of Spanglish shows its own inclination towards standardization.

Linguistic blending allows the capture of the essence of a message that could not be accurately expressed in either English or Spanish. Spanglish has not only entered all areas of social space, such as the media, literature and pop culture, but it has also emerged as a marketable consumer product. Furthermore, Spanglish serves as a statement of identity. Immigrants do not assimilate but acculturate to the new environment and do not forget where they came from. For many Hispanics, Spanglish is more than only a language but also a form of expressing a political stance. It is also a way to construct the so-called 'Third Space' of Chicana/o identity.

Another aspect of cultural hybridity concerns culinary fusions. Ethnic cuisines in the USA can be analysed as a metaphor of multi-ethnic society. The growing numbers of Mexican Americans reflect the impact of Latino culture and its culinary traditions, which take different shapes in various American regions. Hispanics reproduce culinary traditions while blending different gastronomic heritages and creating pan-Latino menus. A new trend, known as Nuevo Latino, has been expanding from Florida to other parts of the country and transforming the U.S. restaurant industry. Chefs are experimenting with their own styles of cooking, creating hybridized regional cuisines, such as 'Texachusetts'.[150]

Tex-Mex cuisine is a *mestizo* mixture of Spanish, Indian and Mexican influences that combined in the American Southwest and adapted to the regional environment of the host culture. Although the terms Tex-Mex and Mexican American mean the same when speaking of food, there is a difference between Mexican cuisine and Tex-Mex cuisine. Firstly, Tex-Mex cuisine has been adapted to suit the Anglo taste while Mexican food has almost no influence from the USA. Secondly, Tex-Mex is also used for dishes originating in areas other than Texas. Thirdly, Tex-Mex food is not Mexican but Mexican-American. However, the terms: Mexican American dishes, South-western cuisine and Tex-Mex food are often used interchangeably.

Foods provide an example of ethnic borderlands. Some Indian foods originating in a pre-Hispanic period were carried by the settlers to the northern borderland where the dishes acquired Hispanic identity and

[150] Texas-inspired style of cooking in Massachusetts.

became central to the *mestizo* regional cuisines. The inclusion of food in the migration of Mexicans transforms the role of food from a simple consumption function into a marker of ethnic identity. Moreover, food substances are constantly changing through their natural growing cycles as well as when raw materials are transformed into cooked foodstuffs. Because of its transformative nature, food serves as a metaphor for changes that occur in human life, so food can be analysed as an area where ethnic identity is constructed. Ethnic food habits are part of transnational flows that link migrants' homelands and receiving countries. There is a struggle between preservation of traditional Mexican cuisine, which is perceived as authentic, and the popularization of various regional cuisines inspired by Mexican cooking. Migrants and their children at first try to cultivate their cooking traditions by relying on the recipes from the old country, and then adapt their cooking styles to prevailing American tastes, creating hybrid foods on the basis of traditional cooking techniques and ingredients available at local markets.

Apart from language and ethnic food, there are other ways of expressing Hispanic heritage, such as music. Although Tejano is traditional Mexican music, it has consistently been updated and modernized. It is not a specific style of music but a hybrid combination of evolving musical forms based on traditional Mexican music. Moreover, it is a form of border music reflecting the historical experiences, and ethnic identity of Mexican Americans. It is performed on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border but also across cultural borders between Anglo and Tejano worlds. Mariachi symbolises the act of migrating from rural Mexico to the American urban environment. The lyrics mirror social trends for ethnic revival – celebrating Mexicanness.

Tejano lyrics symbolize the life of the Mexican American border community and describe the social issues of racial injustice, clashes with law enforcement and illegal border crossings. Corrido lyrics at first used to reflect the conflicts between Anglos and Mexicans and depicted Mexicans as helpless victims of racial discrimination. Later, lyrics were shaped by regional contexts and cross-border tensions, exploring topics of marginalization and exploitation. Corridos have evolved to the symbol of political protest against oppressive government. Due to popularity of narcocorridos, the notion of border zone has taken on a new meaning – a zone of conflict and transition which separates poverty from wealth.

Latino music in various American regions creates community, constructs Tejano and pan-Latino identity and links Latinos with Texas-Mexico.

Tejano music was first accepted by other Hispanics who understand Spanish-language songs. Then, Tejano bands started to sing in English, thus, they have broadened their audience, which now encompasses not only Hispanics, but Americans in general. The complex musical combinations appeal to diversified communities; urban, rural, middle class, and lower class. Moreover, Tejano music has been played by both men and women; Hispanics and non-Hispanics. The growth of female mariachi bands has been noticed and it means that mariachi has crossed not only ethnic and class, but also gender, boundaries. Hybrid music is played by hybrid artists. Tejano is specifically Mexican but at the same time cosmopolitan.

Tejano music depicts the ways that migrants acculturate to the mainstream culture and fuse the adopted elements with their ethnic heritage. In fact, music epitomises the process of transculturality. Americanization often implies commercialization which can be exemplified by the image of the narcotrafficker, which has been commodified to generate profits for record companies. The transnational movement of this musical expression into the USA has incorporated this genre into the realm of popular culture and permanently redefined the sound of American pop. The continuing transmission of mariachi music in the USA is vital to the formation of hybrid identities of the Hispanic population. Establishment of mariachi programmes at schools and universities indicates that ethnic music occupies an increasingly significant role in American education and that mariachi music is recognized as a legitimate form. Mariachi music has become a strong signifier of Mexicanidad bridging the gap for Mexican Americans across generations, races, social classes, historical differences, and cultural tastes.

Musical bands usually accompany Mexican festivals of both religious and civic character. Even events that are meant to be secular have some reference to the religiosity of U.S. Latinos, thus, they are celebrated with a Mariachi Mass, known as Misa Panamericana. Although the majority of Chicana/os continue to identify with the Catholic faith, at the same time they consciously construct a symbolic system that contains significant elements of indigenous spirituality. Catholic icons such as saints and the Guadalupe Lady share physical space with indigenous elements such as non-Christian deities, e.g. the Nahua Mother Earth goddess. The coexistence of Catholic and Mesoamerican symbols reflects cultural hybridity in which various religious elements converge in a syncretic manner, at times in great tension and at times in cohesion, creating transcultural encounters of

various spiritual beliefs. The antagonism to religious synthesis leads to anti-syncretism, which is bound up with the attempts to construct the notions of 'authenticity' and 'purity', such as celebrations of the Day of the Dead – in which Chicana/os aim to delete traces of Spanish colonialism and Catholic contributions in order to recreate an indigenous religious practice.

Mexicans in the USA have recreated the practices they are familiar with. However, the rituals are no longer Mexican in their character, but represent a fusion of Mexican and American elements. The ethnic rituals give Mexicans a sense of place in the host society. They can express their Mexicanness in the American environment, which revitalizes the ethnic practices. The panethnic identity is symbolised by the two flags that are brought by participants: Mexican and American. Festivals bridge the gap between Mexicans and other Hispanic and non-Hispanic groups. In this way the hybrid rituals rooted in the customs of Indigenous Americans have become even more hybridized. The dynamic process of change and adaptation occurs simultaneously. The transculturation of Mexican rituals is visible in the ethnic background of the participants. The celebrations are no longer put on exclusively for Mexicans and among the participants there are members of other Hispanic groups who are being gradually joined by non-Hispanics as well. Celebrations are a way of bridging cultural gaps among ethnically diverse populations and a way of expressing diversity.

Mexican American practices bring religion into the public sphere, thus breaching the boundary between private life and public life and challenging the Western culture model in which religious faith tends to be seen within the sphere of the private conscience and domestic life. Some examples of religious manifestations in the public sphere can be seen in the processions organized to celebrate Las Posadas during which public space is transformed into cultural space. The distinction between religious art and secular art is blurred, which is exemplified by the Guadalupe murals and tattoos as well as altars and exhibitions organized for the Day of the Dead.

The ethnic celebrations, once considered old-fashioned, have now experienced a reawakening; however, the ethnic revival is accompanied by a high level of Americanization and commercialization. This trend is clearly visible in the quinceañera ritual which traces its hybrid origins in the ancient practices of the Aztecs and the Mayans, further enriched by the rituals of Spanish colonists. A rite of passage and a symbolic ceremony has transcended borders and generations to bring people together into a uniquely American version of the ritual for modern Latinas. The popularity

of the celebration parallels its commercialization, which is reflected in the rise of businesses focused on quince-regalia. The extravagant quinceañera parties thrown by wealthy Latinas evoke fairy-tale images and transform the ancient ritual into an American show.

Significant transcultural processes have been taking place in the American culture. Genuinely new transcultural products have emerged, combining Mexican and American influences in original ways. The gradual process of Latinization has been facilitated by two forces: the growth in the number of U.S. Hispanics, especially the Mexican-origin population, and the trend for ethnic revival. Latinization is especially visible in the American Southwest because part of this region used to be Mexican territory and the increasing numbers of Hispanics living there give the impression that they are reclaiming their land. Tejano music, the widespread usage of Spanglish and the popularity of Mexican traditions have become a permanent feature of the American Southwest Latinoscape. Even the geography of foodways shows that the Mexican influence on American regional cuisine also started in the Southwest. The U.S. Latinidad is assuming a panethnic character, blending indigenous and Spanish elements together with American mainstream culture into genuinely new hybrid forms.

Table 1. Hispanic or Latino Origin Population by Type: 2000 and 2010

Origin and type	2000		2010		Change, 2000 to 2010	
	nr	Percent of total	nr	Percent of total	nr	Percent
HISPANIC OR LATINO ORIGIN Total	**281,421,906**	**100.0**	**308,745,538**	**100.0**	**27,323,632**	**9.7**
Hispanic or Latino	35,305,818	12.5	50,477,594	16.3	15,171,776	43.0
Not Hispanic or Latino	246,116,088	87.5	258,267,944	83.7	12,151,856	4.9
HISPANIC OR LATINO BY TYPE Total	**35,305,818**	**100.0**	**50,477,594**	**100.0**	**15,171,776**	**43.0**
Mexican	20,640,711	58.5	31,798,258	63.0	11,157,547	54.1
Puerto Rican	3,406,178	9.6	4,623,716	9.2	1,217,538	35.7
Cuban	1,241,685	3.5	1,785,547	3.5	543,862	43.8
Other Hispanic or Latino	10,017,244	28.4	12,270,073	24.3	2,252,829	22.5
Dominican (Dominican Republic)	764,945	2.2	1,414,703	2.8	649,758	84.9
Central American (excludes Mexican)	1,686,937	4.8	3,998,280	7.9	2,311,343	137.0
Costa Rican	68,588	0.2	126,418	0.3	57,830	84.3
Guatemalan	372,487	1.1	1,044,209	2.1	671,722	180.3
Honduran	217,569	0.6	633,401	1.3	415,832	191.1
Nicaraguan	177,684	0.5	348,202	0.7	170,518	96.0
Panamanian	91,723	0.3	165,456	0.3	73,733	80.4
Salvadoran	655,165	1.9	1,648,968	3.3	993,803	151.7
Other Central American*	103,721	0.3	31,626	0.1	-72,095	-69.5
South American	1,353,562	3.8	2,769,434	5.5	1,415,872	104.6
Argentinean	100,864	0.3	224,952	0.4	124,088	123.0
Bolivian	42,068	0.1	99,210	0.2	57,142	135.8
Chilean	68,849	0.2	126,810	0.3	57,961	84.2
Colombian	470,684	1.3	908,734	1.8	438,050	93.1
Ecuadorian	260,559	0.7	564,631	1.1	304,072	116.7
Paraguayan	8,769	-	20,023	-	11,254	128.3
Peruvian	233,926	0.7	531,358	1.1	297,432	127.1
Uruguayan	18,804	0.1	56,884	0.1	38,080	202.5
Venezuelan	91,507	0.3	215,023	0.4	123,516	135.0
Other South American**	57,532	0.2	21,809	-	-35,723	-62.1
Spaniard	100,135	0.3	635,253	1.3	535,118	534.4
All other Hispanic or Latino	6,111,665	17.3	3,452,403	6.8	-2,659,262	-43.5

Source: The Hispanic Population: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf> Based on: U.S. Census Bureau, *Census 2000 Summary File 1 and 2010 Census Summary File 1.*

* This category includes people who reported belonging to Central American Indian groups.

** This category includes people who reported belonging to South American Indian groups.

Table 2. Racial distribution of Hispanics and Mexican origin population: 2010

origin	Total Hispanic or Latino population	One Race							Two or More Races
		Total	White	Black or African American	American Indian and Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	Some Other Race	
NUMBER Total Hispanic	50,477,594	47,435,002	26,735,713	1,243,471	685,150	209,128	58,437	18,503,103	3,042,592
Mexican	31,798,258	30,221,886	16,794,111	296,778	460,098	101,654	24,600	12,544,645	1,576,372
PERCENT Total Hispanic	100.0	94.0	53.0	2.5	1.4	0.4	0.1	36.7	6.0
Mexican	100.0	95.0	52.8	0.9	1.4	0.3	0.1	39.5	5.0

Source: The Hispanic Population: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf> Based on U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 census special tabulation.

Table 3. The Black or African American Population and Multiple-Race Combinations by Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States: 2010.

Race	number	percent	Percentage of Black or African American in combination
BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN IN COMBINATION WITH HISPANIC OR LATINO	1,897,218	100.0	(X)
Black or African American alone	1,243,471	65.5	(X)
Black or African American in combination	653,747	34.5	100.0
Black or African American; White	245,850	13.0	37.6
Black or African American; Some Other Race	227,648	12.0	34.8
Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native	31,571	1.7	4.8
Black or African American; White; American Indian and Alaska Native	50,000	2.6	7.6
Black or African American; Asian	15,451	0.8	2.4
All other combinations including Black or African American	83,227	4.4	12.7

Source: Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf > Based on U.S. Census Bureau. 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Tables P1 and P2.

Table 4. The American Indian and Alaska Native Population and Multiple-Race Combinations by Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States: 2010.

Race	number	percent	Percentage of American Indian and Alaska Native in combination
AMERICAN INDIAN AND ALASKA NATIVE IN COMBINATION WITH HISPANIC OR LATINO	1,190,904	100.0	(X)
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	685,150	57.5	(X)
American Indian and Alaska Native in combination	505,754	42.5	100.0
American Indian and Alaska Native; White	226,385	19.0	44.8
American Indian and Alaska Native; Black or African American	31,571	2.7	6.2
American Indian and Alaska Native; White, Black or African American	50,000	4.2	9.9
American Indian and Alaska Native; Some Other Race	106,604	9.0	21.1
American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian	12,257	1.0	2.4
All other combinations including American Indian and Alaska Native	78,937	6.6	15.6

Source: Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf > Based on U.S. Census Bureau. 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Tables P1 and P2.

Table 5. The Asian Population and Multiple-Race Combinations by Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States: 2010.

Race	number	percent	Percentage of Asian in combination
ASIAN IN COMBINATION WITH HISPANIC OR LATINO	598,146	100.0	(X)
Asian alone	209,128	35.0	(X)
Asian in combination	389,018	65.0	100.0
Asian; White	135,522	22.7	34.8
Asian; Some Other Race	103,591	17.3	26.6
Asian; Black or African American	15,451	2.6	4.0
Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	16,129	2.7	4.1
Asian; White; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	22,799	3.8	5.9
All other combinations including Asian	95,526	16.0	24.6

Source: Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf > Based on U.S. Census Bureau. 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Tables P1 and P2.

Table 6. U.S. population by ethnicity and Mexican origin, 2013.

Total	All	Hispanics	Hispanics of Mexican Origin		
	316,129	**53,964**	All **34,582**	U.S. born **23,081**	Foreign born **11,502**
Gender					
Male	155,592	27,377	17,726	11,625	6,101
Female	160,537	26,587	16,856	11,456	5,400
Nativity					
U.S. Born	274,788	34,981	23,081	23,081	---
Foreign Born	41,341	18,983	11,502	---	11,502
Age	37	28	26	17	39
Median (in years)					
Marital Status (aged 18 and older)					
Married	122,043	16,750	10,742	4,293	6,449
Never married	71,957	13,603	8,244	5,397	2,847
Divorced/separated/widowed	48,628	5,924	3,297	1,781	1,516
Citizenship					
Citizen	294,112	41,173	26,021	23,081	2,940
Non-citizen	22,016	12,791	8,562	---	8,562

Source: Hispanics of Mexican Origin in the United States, 2013. Statistical Profile. September 15, 2015. By Gustavo López. <www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/hispanics-of-mexican-origin-in-the-united-states-2013/>

Table 7. Percentage of All Mexicans by State, 1980-2005

State	1980	1990	2000	2005
California	41.4%	45.2%	40.4%	38.3%
Texas	31.6%	29.2%	25.6%	25.0%
Arizona	4.6%	4.7%	5.2%	5.6%
Illinois	4.7%	4.5%	5.4%	5.3%
Colorado	2.5%	2.1%	2.3%	2.5%
Florida	0.9%	1.2%	1.7%	2.0%
New Mexico	2.7%	2.5%	1.8%	1.7%
Others	11.7%	10.7%	17.7%	19.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Laird W. Bergad and Herbert S. Klein. 2010. Hispanics in the United States. A Demographic, Social, and Economic History, 1980-2005. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 67.

Table 8. Distribution of Mexican origin population in the U.S. regions: 2010.

Origin	United States		Northeast		Midwest		South		West	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Total Hispanic	50,477,594	100.0	6,991,969	13.9	4,661,678	9.2	18,227,508	36.1	20,596,439	40.8
Mexican	31,798,258	100.0	918,188	2.9	3,470,726	10.9	10,945,244	34.4	16,464,100	51.8

Source: The Hispanic Population: 2010. <www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf> Based on U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 census special tabulation.

Table 9. Top Five States for Mexican origin group in the USA: 2010.

Mexican origin	Total	Rank				
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
Area	USA	California	Texas	Arizona	Illinois	Colorado
Population	31,798,258	11,423,146	7,951,193	1,657,668	1,602,403	757,181

Source: The Hispanic Population: 2010.

<www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-04.pdf> Based on U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Summary File 1.

Table 10. Regional dispersion of U.S. population by ethnicity and Mexican origin, 2013.

Total	All	Hispanics	Hispanics of Mexican Origin		
			All	U.S. born	Foreign born
Northeast	55,943,000	7,537,000	965,000	488,000	477,000
Midwest	67,548,000	4,953,000	3,708,000	2,447,000	1,261,000
Illinois	12,882,000	2,118,000	1,697,000	1,022,000	675,000
South	118,384,000	19,724,000	12,105,000	8,222,000	3,883,000
Texas	26,448,000	10,155,000	8,890,000	6,370,000	2,520,000
West	74,254,000	21,749,000	17,803,000	11,923,000	5,880,000
California	38,333,000	14,716,000	12,251,000	8,027,000	4,223,000
Arizona	6,627,000	2,004,000	1,804,000	1,294,000	510,000
Colorado	5,268,000	1,109,000	822,000	603,000	219,000

Source: Hispanics of Mexican Origin in the United States, 2013. Statistical Profile. September 15, 2015. By Gustavo López. www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/15/hispanics-of-mexican-origin-in-the-united-states-2013/

Table 11. Top 60 metropolitan areas, by Hispanic population

rank	**Metro area**	**Hispanic population**	**Share of Hispanics among population**	**Top three Hispanic origin groups (group share)**
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
1	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA	5,979,000	45.1%	**Mexican: 78.5** Salvadoran: 7.4 Guatemalan: 4.6
2	New York-Newark-Jersey City, NY-NJ-PA	4,780,000	23.9%	Puerto Rican: 26.7 Dominican: 21.3 **Mexican: 13.6**
3	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL	2,554,000	43.3%	Cuban: 42.9 Colombian: 9.3 Puerto Rican: 9.3
4	Houston-The Woodlands-Sugar Land, TX	2,335,000	36.4%	**Mexican: 75.7** Salvadoran: 8.2 Honduran: 3.2

1	2	3	4	5
5	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	2,197,000	49.4%	**Mexican: 87.4** Salvadoran: 2.6 Puerto Rican: 1.8
6	Chicago-Naperville-Elgin, IL-IN-WI	2,070,000	21.8%	**Mexican: 79.8** Puerto Rican: 9.9 Guatemalan: 2.0
7	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	1,943,000	28.4%	**Mexican: 84.3** Salvadoran: 3.9 Puerto Rican: 2.6
8	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	1,347,000	30.1%	**Mexican: 89.0** Puerto Rican: 1.9 Spaniard: 1.3
9	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	1,259,000	55.7%	**Mexican: 89.6** Puerto Rican: 2.0 Spaniard: 1.2
10	San Diego-Carlsbad, CA	1,084,000	33.3%	**Mexican: 89.8** Puerto Rican: 2.4 Salvadoran: 1.0
11	San Francisco-Oakland-Hayward, CA	1,008,000	21.9%	**Mexican: 69.7** Salvadoran: 9.0 Guatemalan: 4.3
12	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	906,000	15.3%	Salvadoran: 33.3 **Mexican: 14.6** Guatemalan: 7.6
13	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	758,00	91.2%	**Mexican: 97.3** Puerto Rican: 0.3
14	El Paso, TX	676,000	81.2%	**Mexican: 95.6** Puerto Rican: 1.4 Spaniard: 0.4
15	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	645,000	28.3%	Puerto Rican: 48.4 **Mexican: 10.3** Dominican: 9.2
16	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO	644,000	22.6%	**Mexican: 76.9** Spaniard: 3.7
17	Austin-Round Rock, TX	631,000	31.8%	**Mexican: 85.1** Puerto Rican: 2.4 Cuban: 1.7
18	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV	627,000	30.3%	**Mexican: 76.6** Salvadoran: 5.0 Cuban: 4.0
19	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Roswell, GA	588,000	10.5%	**Mexican: 58.9** Puerto Rican: 8.3 Salvadoran: 5.0
20	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	544,000	8.9%	Puerto Rican: 50.9 **Mexican: 20.9** Dominican: 6.2
21	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	517,000	17.7%	Puerto Rican: 34.4 Cuban: 20.9 **Mexican: 19.8**

1	2	3	4	5
22	Fresno, CA	502,000	51.9%	**Mexican: 93.7** Salvadoran: 1.4 Puerto Rican: 0.8
23	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	502,000	26.5%	**Mexican: 86.7** Salvadoran: 2.8 Spaniard: 2.2
24	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH	484,000	10.1%	Puerto Rican: 25.9 Dominican: 24.5 Salvadoran: 9.9
25	Sacramento-Roseville-Arden-Arcade, CA	472,000	21.0%	**Mexican: 82.7** Salvadoran: 3.3 Puerto Rican: 2.8
26	Bakersfield, CA	450,000	51.5%	**Mexican: 92.6** Salvadoran: 2.4 Puerto Rican: 0.7
27	Albuquerque, NM	428,000	48.1%	**Mexican: 63.9** Spaniard: 7.3 Puerto Rican: 1.2
28	Brownsville-Harlingen, TX	373,000	88.7%	**Mexican: 96.7** Puerto Rican: 0.8
29	Tucson, AZ	362,000	36.1%	**Mexican: 92.0** Puerto Rican: 1.6 Spaniard: 0.8
30	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	355,000	9.7%	**Mexican: 70.2** Puerto Rican: 5.7 Spaniard: 3.3
31	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	355,000	41.9%	**Mexican: 90.8** Salvadoran: 1.9 Guatemalan: 1.3
32	Stockton-Lodi, CA	290,000	40.5%	**Mexican: 90.2** Puerto Rican: 1.6 Salvadoran: 1.4
33	Corpus Christi, TX	289,000	59.5%	**Mexican: 93.3** Spaniard: 1.8 Cuban: 0.5
34	Visalia-Porterville, CA	288,000	63.0%	**Mexican: 97.6**
35	Salinas, CA	282,000	57.5%	**Mexican: 94.7** Spaniard: 0.8 Salvadoran: 0.7
36	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	277,000	11.7%	**Mexican: 83.4** Spaniard: 2.5 Guatemalan: 2.3
37	Laredo, TX	254,000	95.3%	**Mexican: 96.3** Guatemalan: 0.5
38	Modesto, CA	235,000	44.1%	**Mexican: 91.5** Puerto Rican: 1.5 Guatemalan: 1.4

1	2	3	4	5
39	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC	227,000	9.4%	**Mexican: 49.2** Puerto Rican: 9.5 Honduran: 8.1
40	Salt Lake City, UT	206,000	17.1%	**Mexican: 76.3** Salvadoran: 3.1 Spaniard: 2.9
41	Santa Maria-Santa Barbara, CA	196,000	44.5%	**Mexican: 92.6** Spaniard: 1.3 Puerto Rican: 0.9
42	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	195,000	5.5%	**Mexican: 71.9** Salvadoran: 4.6 Colombian: 3.9
43	Providence-Warwick, RI-MA	186,000	11.4%	Puerto Rican: 34.7 Dominican: 25.2 Guatemalan: 14.4
44	Kansas City, MO-KS	183,000	8.6%	**Mexican: 75.4** Puerto Rican: 3.7 Honduran: 3.6
45	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI	178,000	4.2%	**Mexican: 72.3** Puerto Rican: 9.7 Cuban: 3.0
46	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	177,000	18.7%	Puerto Rican: 33.9 Ecuadoran: 12.3 **Mexican: 12.2**
47	Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	169,000	14%	Puerto Rican: 72.4 **Mexican: 5.7** Peruvian: 4.8
48	Oklahoma City, OK	167,000	11.8%	**Mexican: 80.0** Guatemalan: 5.3 Honduran: 3.6
49	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	160,000	10.2%	**Mexican: 60.7** Puerto Rican: 29.4 Ecuadoran: 1.8
50	Merced, CA	153,000	57.5%	**Mexican: 96.0** Puerto Rican: 0.8
51	El Centro, CA	148,000	82.3%	**Mexican: 97.8**
52	Baltimore-Columbia-Towson, MD	146,000	5.3%	**Mexican: 28.9** Puerto Rican: 15.7 Salvadoran: 13.5
53	New Haven-Milford, CT	145,000	16.8%	Puerto Rican: 58.7 **Mexican: 11.7** Dominican: 5.7
54	Las Cruces, NM	142,000	66.8%	**Mexican: 94.6** Spaniard: 1.0
55	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	133,000	19.6%	**Mexican: 28.7** Puerto Rican: 23.6 Cuban: 18.6

1	2	3	4	5
56	Nashville-Davidson-Murfreesboro-Franklin, TN	132,000	6.9%	**Mexican: 70.8** Guatemalan: 6.1 Puerto Rican: 5.8
57	Raleigh, NC	132,000	10.2%	**Mexican: 61.4** Puerto Rican: 10.2 Honduran: 4.3
58	Santa Rosa, CA	130,000	26.0%	**Mexican: 85.3** Salvadoran: 3.3 Spaniard: 1.7
59	Indianapolis-Carmel-Anderson, IN	126,000	6.4%	**Mexican: 72.7** Salvadoran: 5.2 Puerto Rican: 4.5
60	Yuma, AZ	125,000	61.6%	**Mexican: 94.4** Puerto Rican: 3.0 Guatemalan: 1.0

Source: Hispanic Population and Origin in Select U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2014. <www.pewhispanic.org/interactives/hispanic-population-in-select-u-s-metropolitan-areas/>

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Streszczenie

Hybrydowość kulturowa Amerykanów pochodzenia meksykańskiego

Tematem niniejszej książki jest hybrydowość kulturowa Amerykanów pochodzenia meksykańskiego, a w szczególności proces mieszania się różnych kultur i tożsamości narodowych na terenach USA przy granicy z Meksykiem oraz na obszarach miejskich zamieszkałych przez Latynosów. Według analiz przeprowadzonych przez Pew Research Center w 2013 roku populacja Amerykanów pochodzenia latynoskiego wynosiła 53 miliony, z czego 34,6 miliona stanowili Latynosi pochodzenia meksykańskiego. Przewiduje się, że do roku 2050 Latynosi stanowić będą jedną trzecią mieszkańców USA, jednakże wzrost ten nie będzie wynikiem imigracji, lecz raczej przyrostu naturalnego. Dane statystyczne wskazują, że z racji swej liczebności Latynosi, a w szczególności Meksykanie, nie tylko wywierają, ale i będą wywierać istotny wpływ na kształtowanie się głównego nurtu kultury amerykańskiej.

Od siedemnastego do połowy dwudziestego wieku w społeczeństwie amerykańskim dominował porządek dwurasowy oparty na doświadczeniach białej większości i czarnej mniejszości. Jednakże nawet wówczas w stanach zamieszkałych w znacznej liczbie przez osoby pochodzenia latynoskiego panowała bardziej złożona dynamika relacji międzyrasowych. Niniejsza książka pokazuje sposób, w jaki Stany Zjednoczone oraz wiele krajów Ameryki Łacińskiej i Karaibów zmieniają swą strukturę etniczną i podążają w kierunku systemu trzyrasowego, w którym oprócz licznej reprezentacji białych i czarnych trzecią, „brązową" grupę stanowią osoby pochodzenia wieloetnicznego, głównie latynoskiego. Panetniczność łączy różne grupy latynoskie zamieszkujące USA oraz jednoczy je w osiąganiu wspólnych celów i dbaniu o dziedzictwo kulturowe.

W niniejszej monografii opisano, jak poprzez proces transkulturacji kultura latynoska, a w szczególności meksykańska, staje się stałym elementem kultury amerykańskiej. Tradycje meksykańskie są kultywowane w USA, więc podlegają procesowi amerykanizacji. W ten sposób powstaje

hybrydowość kulturowa będąca fuzją elementów meksykańskich i amerykańskich. Wbrew koncepcji Samuela P. Huntingtona, która zakłada, że postępująca latynizacja kultury amerykańskiej stanowi zagrożenie dla tożsamości narodowej Amerykanów, celem niniejszej publikacji jest pokazanie, że latynizacja, a głównie wpływy meksykańskie, nie stanowi zagrożenia dla amerykańskiego stylu życia, lecz wzbogaca go kulturowo.

Homi Bhabha w swej książce zatytułowanej *The Location of Culture* (1994) stwierdza, że koncepcja hybrydowości wiąże się z powstaniem „trzeciej przestrzeni", w której mniejszości etniczne kształtują swą tożsamość. W niniejszej książce opisano mieszkańców USA, którzy są nie tylko Amerykanami lub Meksykanami, lecz Amerykanami pochodzenia meksykańskiego tworzącymi własną „trzecią przestrzeń" na terytorium Stanów Zjednoczonych. „Trzecia przestrzeń" pozostaje autonomiczna i daje możliwości negocjacji własnych reprezentacji kulturowych, w których wyniku zachodzi proces hybrydyzacji, a powstała fuzja łączy w sposób selektywny elementy kultury amerykańskiej i meksykańskiej, tworząc nowe społeczeństwo wielokulturowe.

Publikacja składa się z ośmiu rozdziałów. W pierwszym, teoretycznym, przedstawiono terminologię niezbędną dla zrozumienia procesu transkulturacji, którego następstwem jest tworzenie się hybrydowości kulturowej. Zdefiniowano też złożoną strukturę diaspory latynoskiej w USA, która funkcjonuje w kategoriach etnicznych i rasowych. Rozdziały II i III oparte są głównie na spisach ludności i analizach Pew Research Center. Celem tych sekcji monografii jest przedstawienie Amerykanów pochodzenia latynoskiego, ich liczebności oraz miejsc, w których żyją. W rozdziałach II i III zawarto opis owej grupy latynoskiej, jej reprezentację etniczną i profil demograficzny oraz poddano analizie rozprzestrzenienie terytorialne Meksykanów w USA i miejsc, w których stanowią największą grupę latynoską.

Zasadniczą część niniejszej monografii stanowią rozdziały IV–VIII, w których przeanalizowano hybrydowość kulturową populacji pochodzenia meksykańskiego w USA. Rozdział IV dotyczy sfery językowej, a dokładnie – dialektu znanego jako „Spanglish", który wykształcił się nie tylko przy granicy z Meksykiem, ale również w wielu obszarach metropolitarnych zamieszkanych przez Latynosów. Przedstawiono zarówno krytykę środowisk akademickich, według których używanie tej hybrydy językowej spowalnia proces akulturacji Latynosów w USA, jak i pozytywną ocenę Spanglish, zyskującego na popularności jako twórczy środek wyrazu. Ponadto wielu

Amerykanów pochodzenia latynoskiego uważa, że używanie Spanglish jest sposobem wyrażania ich tożsamości hybrydowych.

W rozdziale V opisano wpływ kuchni meksykańskiej na amerykańską kuchnię regionalną, w której największą popularność zdobyła odmiana teksaska, tzw. Tex-Mex. Jest to swoisty przykład wykształcenia się hybrydowości kulturowej w rejonie przy granicy z Meksykiem. Analiza pokazuje, jak w sposób selektywny elementy meksykańskie i amerykańskie połączyły się w kulinarną fuzję. Hybrydyzacja sfery gastronomicznej stanowi trend nazywany Nuevo Latino, który dotyczy mieszania się składników oraz technik kulinarnych różnych grup latynoskich zamieszkujących USA. Należy podkreślić, że kuchnia meksykańska jest jednym z najpopularniejszych elementów kultury meksykańskiej w USA.

Rozdział VI poświęcony jest muzyce tejano, która wykształciła się na obszarze przy granicy meksykańsko-teksaskiej. Tradycyjna muzyka Meksyku jest przykładem gatunku hybrydowego, powstałego poprzez fuzje tradycji europejskich kolonistów i imigrantów, które następnie zmieniły się wraz z migracjami Meksykanów do USA. Teksty piosenek są metaforą życia Meksykanów, którzy wyjechali z meksykańskich wsi i zamieszkali w amerykańskich miastach, w których doświadczyli aktów przemocy i dyskryminacji. Meksykańskie corrido wykształciło odmianę znaną jako „narcocorrido", gloryfikującą bossów narkotykowych, którzy przekraczając granicę meksykańsko-amerykańską, przekraczają granicę pomiędzy ubóstwem a bogactwem. Muzyka mariachi nadal utożsamiana jest głównie z Meksykanami, mimo że nabrała charakteru kosmopolitycznego, gdyż jej wykonawcy reprezentują różne grupy etniczne i narodowe. Co więcej, mariachi stała się tak popularna, że wprowadzono jej nauczanie do programów amerykańskich szkół i uniwersytetów.

Rozdział VII to analiza meksykańskich uroczystości o charakterze świeckim, które bardzo często łączą się z elementami religijnymi. Niezwykle popularny wśród Amerykanów pochodzenia meksykańskiego zwyczaj świętowania piętnastych urodzin córek, tzw. quinceañera, znacznie różni się od rytuału celebrowanego w Meksyku. Komercjalizacja święta sprawiła, że bardziej przypomina ono bal wróżki lub wystawne wesele niż urodziny nastolatki. Inne święta analizowane w tym rozdziale to Cinco de Mayo i Meksykański Dzień Niepodległości, które stanowią przykłady wytworzenia się panetniczności wśród Amerykanów pochodzenia latynoskiego, którzy przynoszą na festiwale dwie flagi: amerykańską i meksykańską.

Rozdział VIII dotyczy fuzji synkretycznych i religijności Meksykanów. Festiwal ku czci Matki Boskiej z Guadalupe, patronki wszystkich Meksyka-

nów, cieszy się rosnącą popularnością nie tylko wśród Amerykanów pochodzenia latynoskiego, ale również innych grup etnicznych. Guadalupe łączy różne grupy Amerykanów w jeden naród, a także łączy USA z Meksykiem. Z kolei święto Las Posadas stanowi metaforę wędrówki imigrantów do ich nowej ojczyzny, czyli USA. Ostatnie omówione święto, którym jest Day of the Dead, to próba odtworzenia rdzennych rytuałów z czasów przedkolumbijskich. W Kalifornii dzień ten stał się sposobem wyrażania tożsamości narodowej Meksykanów. Rytuał nabrał charakteru panetnicznego, gdy upowszechnił się w innych grupach pochodzenia latynoskiego. Święta etniczne pełnią funkcje łączników kulturowych pomiędzy Meksykanami, innymi grupami latynoskimi oraz innymi społecznościami zamieszkującymi Stany Zjednoczone. Można powiedzieć, że są wyrazem wielokulturowości.

W społeczeństwie amerykańskim zachodzą procesy o charakterze transkulturowym. Wzajemne przenikanie się i łączenie elementów kultury amerykańskiej i meksykańskiej wykształca zupełnie nowe formy hybrydowości kulturowej.