

# UC Riverside

## UCR Honors Capstones 2021-2022

### Title

MUSIC'S IMPACT ON IDENTITY FORMATION: AN EXPLORATION OF FIRSTGENERATION AMERICAN LATINX IDENTITY

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1qw5s8f5>

### Author

Lagunas, Jocelyn

### Publication Date

2022-05-06

### Data Availability

The data associated with this publication are not available for this reason: N/A

MUSIC'S IMPACT ON IDENTITY FORMATION: AN EXPLORATION OF FIRST-  
GENERATION AMERICAN LATINX IDENTITY

By

Jocelyn Lagunas

A capstone project submitted for Graduation with University Honors

May 06, 2022

University Honors

University of California, Riverside

(APPROVED)

Dr. Tanya Nieri

Department of Sociology

Dr. Richard Cardullo, Howard H Hays Jr. Chair, University Honors

## ABSTRACT

Latinx Americans born to immigrant parents may experience distress when thinking of their self-identity. Being immersed in two or more cultures can overwhelm young people who are seeking to discover themselves. Identities are dynamic and based on multiple social categories, such as age, gender, and race. However, as humans, we develop our own identities based on personal experiences and cultural norms. Thus, we can develop our identity based on exposure to aspects of ethnic culture such as the arts and music. This capstone project explores what is known in the research literature about how Latinx music plays a role in Latinx identity among first-generation Americans. This project will consist of an in-depth review of existing research regarding the formation of Latinx identity, Latinxs' consumption of music, and the role of Latinx music consumption in Latinx identity.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to give my thanks to everyone that has helped this capstone project come to fruition. Firstly, I would like to thank my faculty mentor Tanya Nieri, for guiding me all throughout the process of this project as well as for giving me the confidence to participate in scholarly research which was a completely foreign concept to me in the beginning stages. I would truly not have been able to complete my capstone were it not for her incredible support. Despite her many responsibilities, she made the time to help me navigate this experience and for that I am very grateful.

I would also like to express my thanks to my Honors counselor Dennis McIver. Dennis has been very supportive of my academic efforts since my freshman year. Additionally, whenever I felt low on moral, Dennis was always able to lift me up with his kind and wise words. The start of the Covid-19 pandemic created chaos in my life like many others experienced as well, however I am glad to have been supported by Dennis and the rest of the University Honors staff. I thank them for their understanding of my personal hardships and their humanity.

Lastly, however definitely not of lesser importance, I would like to thank my close friends for being so encouraging in my efforts to complete this project. Their enthusiasm for my creative research topic gave me the drive to continue in spite of some difficult roadblocks along the way. Their support was not lost on me, and I dedicate this project to all of the individuals that have supported me along the way.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction .....	4
Methods .....	5
Positionality .....	6
Results .....	6
What is known about Latinx identity? .....	6
What is known about first-generation Americans' exposure to and experience of Latinx music? .....	9
What is known about consumption of Latinx music and Latinxs' musical tastes? .....	10
What do we know about how parents and peers influence Latinxs's consumption of music? .....	12
What is known about the relation between Latinx music and Latinx identity?	
Discussion .....	16
References .....	19

## INTRODUCTION

### **Introduction**

As of 2020, the US Census Bureau (2021) reported that 18.7% of the U.S. population identified as Hispanic or Latino/a. Additionally, nearly 51% of the reported population growth in the U.S. between 2012 and 2020 came from this subpopulation. However, these statistics fail to encapsulate the diversity of identities within the Latinx/Hispanic subpopulation. People who are foreign born and identify as Latinx may have a different Latinx experience than people who are U.S. born and identify as Latinx. Furthermore, the Latinx experience may also differ based on country of origin within Latin America, citizenship status, language and bilingualism, skin tone, and ethnic self-label, the last of which will be the focus of this research paper. Due to the diversity within Latinxs, it is possible for individuals to have different levels of Latinx cultural consumption which then leads to different identity outcomes. Because this subpopulation is large and diverse, it is important to understand the experiences of its members and in particular, their identity development. The goal of this capstone project is to better understand the differences in Latinx experiences and the relation of Latinx music to Latinx ethnic self-identity labels among first-generation Latinx Americans. This research will describe what is currently known about how Latinx identities develop, what defines Latinx identities, and the role of Latinx music in those identities.

Current research on identity explains that “identities are complex, multifaceted, and dependent upon people’s self-descriptions” (Markus, 2010, p.169). While what we think of ourselves is important to our self-perception, the phenomena of Cooley’s looking glass self is an equally major component of the culmination of ourselves. The looking glass self suggests that other people are the mirror in which we see ourselves (Markus, 2010). Sociologist Hazel Markus

(2010) divides the components of our identity into two parts: 1) what we think of ourselves and 2) what others think of us. Our identities are also based on our relationships and societal roles. Since identities are affected by societal roles as well as our relation to our peers, the intersection of Latinx culture – such as the consumption of Latinx music -- could relate to Latinx first-generation Americans’ identity formation in various ways.

This study aims to:

- 1) Describe what is known in the research literature about first-generation Americans’ Latinx identity,
- 2) Describe what is known in the research literature about first-generation Americans’ exposure to and experience of Latinx music.
- 3) Describe what is known in the research literature about the relation between first-generation Americans’ exposure to and experience of Latinx music and their Latinx identity.

## **Methods**

This study is a review of existing published research. Thirty-four sources were selected for review based on the researcher’s prior coursework, search of scholarly databases (Google Scholar, Jstor), and recommendations from the researcher’s faculty mentor. To be selected the research had to address one or more of the three aims addressing Latinx identity, Latinx music, and the relation of Latinx music to Latinx identity. The earliest work was published in 1998. The latest work was published in 2022. The works include articles and books. For the purposes of the study, “identity” was defined as ethnic self-labels, such as Mexican-American, Latina/o, and Chicana/o.

## *Positionality*

Research regarding self-identity requires the researcher to reflect on how positionality may affect the conclusions made in the study. As the primary researcher, it is important to acknowledge my own intersecting labels in relation to the study. I self-identify as a first-generation college student and first-generation American. I am an insider to this study because I am Mexican-American and well acquainted with the effects of Latinx music on my own self-identity. However, since Latinx music comes from various regions of Latin America, I am also limited to a small fraction of Latinx music. I also identify as a Latinx musician. While I personally listen to Latinx music, my consumption of Latinx music is further limited by my musical tastes of rock/indie-pop and folk in the Spanish language which excludes the very important genres of Norteño, Ranchera, and Corridos to name a few.

## **Results**

### *What is known about Latinx identity?*

According to Merriam Webster's Dictionary (n.d.), a Latino is defined as “a native or inhabitant of Latin America.” However, in the U.S., the term “Latino” is used to describe people with Latin American heritage, including people who inhabit and/or are native to the U.S. The term to describe a Latino has taken different forms over the years. For instance, the term “Chicano” was coined in the 1960s. “This was during the time of the Chicano Movement where Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and many others combatted unfair wages and labor exploitation” (Vigil & Hanley, 2002;16; Hansen & Tlapoyawa, 2018). For those who felt affected by the civil rights issues of the 1960s, Chicano might be a common moniker used within their households. Ahtziri Hernandez (2021) explains that the Chicano term fostered a sense of community among Mexican-American farm laborers. Chicano is derived from the word ‘Mexicano’ but with the



Indigenous pronunciation of the word which changes the Spanish ‘x’ sound to ‘sh’.” The inclusion of the indigenous pronunciation is used here as a way to honor the historic indigeneity in the Mexican and Chicano cultures (Hernandez, 2021, P.22).

Although the Chicano identity had its roots in civil rights, we have since seen variations in this identity. The same goes for nationalities other than Mexican which fall under the Latinx umbrella. Newer generations have chosen various labels to describe themselves. Children of parents who consider themselves Chicano may label themselves American. Others might claim a hyphenated identity, such as Mexican-American. However, immigrant Latinos who have experienced racism within the U.S. may reject hyphenated self-labels, such as Mexican-Americans, due to feelings of resentment and alienation in a socially hostile environment within the U.S. (Massey & Sánchez, 2012).

Additionally, as our perception of gender evolves, these same identity labels of Chicano/a, Latino/a, have become more commonly referred to as Chicanx and Latinx. The use of “x” instead of the gendered “o” and “a” in the word “Latino/a” challenges the dichotomy of gender which is so heavily ingrained in the Spanish language. The “x” allows for more individuals who identify as non-binary, or more people who want to be inclusive of non-binary folk, to identify themselves within the Latinx community while still being inclusive of all people and rejecting binary gender within society’s patriarchal hegemony (Torres, 2018). However, this term is controversial; some people criticize the Latinx term for arising out of academia and not out of community (Torres, 2018). In recent years, those against the use of the “Latinx” term suggest that the term “Latine” is a step towards better inclusion of both non-binary individuals as well as for Spanish speaking communities who may not feel comfortable using the Latinx term in casual conversation (Kamara, 2021).

Due to the malleability of identities, first-generation Americans might also assume multiple ethnic labels to reject or redefine labels such as American, Chicano, Indigenous, or Hispanic. For example, Grace O. Doan and Cookie W. Stephan (2006) state in their research on the functions of Hispanic ethnic identity that "individuals select identity labels they believe confer rewards and avoid costs." Whether an individual claims their cultural heritage has much to do with their internalized attitudes of their own culture based on how they believe society perceives their culture. Doan and Stephan (2006), in their research on Hispanics in New Mexico, found that some participants claimed Spanish identity over their Mexican identity because they believe that Spanish ancestry is of a higher status than Mexican ancestry. While some reject certain ethnic labels, others adopt them hoping to feel validated and accepted in their communities. An individual's cultural heritage can be a source of great pride and may allow them to feel a sense of belonging. Doan and Stephan (2006) explain that "a positive and personal identification with a group also provides a way for members of devalued racial or ethnic groups to reject the stereotypes and discrimination of the larger culture." Ultimately, an individual's self-identity is affected by external sentiments about their own cultural heritage that they have internalized. However, by reclaiming their ethnic self-labels, these individuals feel empowered about their cultural heritage.

The U.S. Office of Management and Budget (2021) defines Hispanic or Latino as "a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race." With such a wide array of subcategories in the Hispanic/Latinx umbrella category, it is a difficult feat to have a single definition of what it is to be Latinx or Hispanic. These identities are still in their infancy. A report by Deanna Shosh (2021) explains that, "From a political and historical perspective, the term Hispanic was added to the census in

1980.” Before this category, Latin-Americans were deemed White, a racial category on the U.S. Census. However, due to a lack of representation and resources, Latinos lobbied for better federal recognition on the Census. The report further states that, the term “Hispanic” was rejected by many Latinxs due to its ties with the historic colonization of Latin America by Spaniards. In response to this, the term Latino emerged; it was a new ethnic category better suited for individuals of Latin American descent residing in the United states. The new Latino term would also include Brazillians who speak Portuguese, but exclude Spaniards (Shosh, 2021). Ultimately, the distinctions in these identities have real-life implications for individuals on a personal level and mold their life experiences to a certain extent. The distinction between Latino and Hispanic is important to analyzing what is deemed Latinx music. In short, the term Hispanic refers to individuals of Spanish-speaking descent. Meanwhile, the Latinx identity is more inclusive of various Latin cultures, such as indigenous Latin Americans who speak indigenous languages.

*What is known about first-generation Americans’ exposure to and experience of Latinx music?*

Ethnographic research by Xochitl C. Chavez (2017) illuminates the impact of music on the formation of ethnic self-labels. In the case of Jessica Hernandez, a first-generation Latina, we see how Hernandez navigates a male-dominated musical space, while negotiating the labels of mother and wife, to be respected as a Oaxacan musician. This exposure to regional Latinx music is common for many Latinx ethnoburbs across the U.S. Ethnoburbs are subsections found within a residential city or suburb containing a notable concentration of a particular ethnic minority population (Oselin, 2022). It is more common to be exposed to Latinx music when living in Latinx ethnoburbs, such as the mainly Oaxacan community examined in Dr. Chavez’s work. First-generation Americans often form Latinx musical groups in their ethnoburbs as a way to

honor their cultural roots while raising money to send to their relatives in their homelands (Chavez, 2017). It is also common to constantly be surrounded by Latinx music due to how prevalent it is in Latinx cultural gatherings and celebrations. For example, Cumbia bands (known for various musical rhythms originating from Colombia) are common for private celebrations, Mariachis (mainly string instrument groups) are popular for Quinceañeras (a traditional coming-of-age celebration observed by Latin-American cultures), and Bandas (bands with mostly brass wind instruments) can be seen at large parties or even funerals.

Southern borderlands in the United States also allow for increased exposure to Latin-American music. Latinx identity cannot be fully examined without acknowledging the implications of the political climate Americans live in today. Although the United States includes various ethnicities and races, Latinx people, especially immigrants, have been heavily stigmatized and policed relative to people from some other ethnic groups (Ramos-Kitrell, 2019). The policing of Latinx immigration and the existence of a border wall have heavy implications for how Latinx individuals identify in the United States. The US-Mexico border cannot be ignored in the examination of first-generation Latinx individuals. The existence of borders has historically perpetuated violence and invoked the "othering" of groups of people. This is not lost on the first-generation Americans whose parents likely felt alienated in a country that demonizes their ethnic group as a whole. The implications of othering and border violence are prevalent in Latinx music which serves as a form of storytelling and coping for those who have had to live through this experience (Cisneros, 2017).

*What is known about consumption of Latinx music and Latinxs' musical tastes?*

The dynamic and evolving nature of Latinx identities directly affects what people deem as Latinx music. "There are a lot of people who have criticized this focus on language and

linguistic definition, because, particularly in the United States, the idea that Spanish is the defining marker of Latinidad is also contested” (Sayre, 2021). Latinx music can be defined in terms of language (e.g., Spanish) or the geographical origin of the genre or artist of the song. For the purposes of this research, Latinx music can be defined as music made by Latinx artists. Defining Latinx music as music exclusively created in Spanish for bilingual or monolingual Spanish-speaking people may exclude some first-generation Americans who participate in Latinx culture but are monolingual English.

Latinx music has had an impact on American music over the decades. In the past, Anglo-American music listeners have tried to relabel Latinx and Chicanx music to fit into music genres they are more comfortable with (such as rock-n-roll); however, Chicanx and Latinx artists have pushed back by allowing their music to freely express their own identity. Unfortunately, the choice between displaying their Latinx identity or adhering to Anglo-American music taste has proven difficult for artists, such as Los Lobos, whose music suffered commercially for their decision to include traditional Mexican music elements to their music (Love, 2021). A book titled “Oye como va” details the slow progression of the acceptance by Americans, regardless of race/ethnicity, of Latinx elements in American music. Latinx artists, such as Carlos Santana, Jennifer Lopez, and Marc Anthony, have all contributed to the growing acceptance and admiration of Latinx music in the United States. However, Jennifer Lopez has been strategically marketed in the past to appeal to Anglo-American audiences. A L’Oréal advertisement conflated phenotype with ethnic background using Jennifer Lopez as the ideal image of what “100% Puerto Rican” looks like. Of course, this is only one clear example of the problematic racial and ethnic depictions in the U.S. which deserves more in-depth discourse (Lugo-Lugo, 2015). While the traditional genres of music (such as Cumbias, Rancheras, and Norteño) tell stories of

immigrant and pan-Latino experiences, there is yet another realm of Latinx music in America that celebrates Latinx identity while integrating bilingual Spanish-English characteristics. While Latin music has been defined by some as music that incorporates the instrumentation of horns or notorious Latin rhythms (Hernandez, 2017), this excludes Latinx artists who create music outside of these parameters. Artists, such as Carla Morrison, Bandalos Chinos, and Maná, challenge these parameters while still being popular Latinx musical artists among Latinxs and non-Latinxs alike (Lechner, 2006).

*What do we know about how parents and peers influence Latinxs's consumption of music?*

As explained by researchers Eun Cho, Assal Habibi, and Beatriz Ilari, musical tastes are linked to personal characteristics such as self-identity, age, gender, and personality (Cho, Habibi, Ilari, 2020). This research highlights the impact that social upbringing and self-labels can have on musical consumption in the early stages of development for school-aged children. Identity is in turn influenced by the family, especially parents. Parents engage in ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) of their children which may influence the child's identity. In ERS, children receive information from adults regarding their race or ethnicity. Cultural socialization, one form of ERS, is the dissemination of messages of pride and knowledge of one's ethnic group (Grindal & Nieri, 2015). It may include exposure to music from the parent's ethnic culture(s). One study found that ERS messages stressing pride in and knowledge of one's ethnic group (i.e., cultural socialization) increased adolescents' Latinx ethnic identity (Grindal & Nieri, 2015). "Cultural socialization represents parents' efforts to promote cultural customs, histories, and traditions, either overtly or covertly" (Ayón, Nieri, & Ruano, 2020). It is achieved through such behaviors

as maintaining the Spanish language, eating ethnic foods, and celebrating religious holidays. Latinx music shared during family gatherings may play a role in the process of ethnic-racial socialization.

Furthermore, authors Cho, Habibi and Ilari further consolidate this claim that parents and peers may influence musical tastes by stating that children develop their musical preferences within the culture of the family during their infancy. Additionally, the researchers also state that as children begin to grow up and expand their social networks, their peer groups also begin to influence their musical tastes (Cho, Habibi, & Ilari, 2022). This longitudinal study ultimately concluded that while home environments with parents shape early childhood musical tastes, overtime, social media and popular culture trends within peer groups have greater influence on the types of music children choose to listen to.

*What is known about the relation between Latinx music and Latinx identity?*

One Latinx genre of music is the Mexican Corrido which is a prominent form of storytelling for the Mexican people. In their work entitled “Corridos and La Pura Verdad: Myths and Realities of the Mexican Ballad,” Jose Pablo Villalobos and Juan Carlos Ramirez Pimenta (2004) explain that the Corrido traditionally offers insight to current socio-political events “meant to portray the popular view of such events though skewed by the lens of hegemonic political power” (p.129). This analysis of the Corrido offers insight into the depth of Latinx music as a form of self-expression and furthermore, an extension of self-identity. Latinx artists utilize the power of music as a means of self-expression. Banda consists traditionally of brass instruments and woodwinds and is most popular in Mexican culture. (Sayre 2021) explains that “...banda was being innovated by Mexican Americans in Southern California, incorporating

what some people were calling “Techno-Banda”- modernizing it, in a way. Then, banda becomes this symbol of Mexican American identity for teenagers in Southern California, who are navigating this present time period full of anti-immigration rhetoric that targets Latinxs. With a lot of the songs, the lyrics are not necessarily political lyrics, but being part of the community and consuming the music together is what makes the music political (Sayre, 2021). This is a clear example of how Latinx youth can reclaim the Latinx ethnic label and fight against negative stereotypes that have been ascribed to their ethnic group.

A recurring theme in the connection between Latinx music and Latinx identity is the creation of Latinx music in response to the sociopolitical climate affecting Latinx individuals in the United States. For example, the origins of Hip hop in the U.S. have been heavily influenced by social and economic inequalities experienced by the African-American and Latinx communities. Hip hop music features rap and electronic elements and is of Hispanic and US-black origin. Hip hop music can also be defined as a cultural movement used to voice social issues (Flores, 2000). As a result, Puerto Rican and Mexican young adults appreciate Hip hop music that highlights unjust living circumstances that marginalize their communities (Pulido, 2009).

Additionally, Latinx music may even serve as a form of music therapy for bereavement experienced in leaving family members behind when immigrating to the U.S. Corridos especially may aid Latinx individuals to process their grief in a culturally familiar way. Corridos include storytelling, especially about migration, that allows for Latinx individuals to hear represented their unique experiences as Latinx individuals in the U.S. (Schwantes, 2011). Much like Corridos and Hip hop, Ska music has Latinx and Latinidad as the driving force behind it. Ska music has strong reggae musical influence, is fast paced, and traditionally incorporates brass horns



(Serrano, 2014). For Chicana and Latina self-identifying individuals in Los Angeles, Ska music has been a great source of empowerment. Ska music is the outlet through which Latina individuals navigate their biculturalism and contest Americanization and xenophobia within the U.S. By engaging in the Ska music scene, Latina youth can build their confidence and ability to express their Latinidad (Serrano, 2014). Furthermore, research by Nancy A. Heitzeg reveals information on the criminalization of rock and rap music among Latin communities as well as African-American communities. Heitzeg explains that music is not simply entertainment and may even be a potent source for influencing individual attitudes, actions, and can ultimately incite deviant behavior as well as large social movements (Heitzeg, 1999). Due to its ability to enact social movements and social change, Latina youth recognize the power in music and utilize this to further express the social matters that pertain to their own life experiences.

While some Latinxs consume and produce Latinx music to express themselves and celebrate their culture, there are arguments against certain genres such as Chicano rap for perpetuating negative machismo stereotypes in Latinx culture. Author Jonathan C. Hernandez explains how Chicano rap is demonized in the media despite its purpose to allow Latinx artists to explore identity, politics, social justice and assimilation (Hernandez, 2012). Although Chicano rap contains elements of profanity, phallic imagery and violence, Hernandez argues that this genre cannot be reduced to such minimalistic labels. Chicano rap is overall an important aspect of Latinx music and serves to represent the male Chicano experience in the United States. Hernandez concludes that Chicano rap offers Latinxs with a sense of power, awareness, and cultural richness in their lived experiences as Chicanos.

While the Latinx identity continues to evolve, current research connecting music to Latinx identity formation is sparse and requires further research, especially qualitative work.

Additional ethnographic research is necessary to produce compelling evidence connecting exposure and consumption of Latinx music to the formation of Latinx identities within Latinx first-generation American communities. Current research lacks the perspective of how first-generation Americans' consumption of music has affected them. While it is known that first-generation American youth often feel excluded from institutions such as the public education system, (Gonzales, 2016), there is not enough research pertaining to how pop-culture musical influences from their peers may further pressure first-generation youth to choose other music over Latinx music.

While there is compelling evidence for the cultural impact of Latinx music genres such as Corridos and Rancheras on Mexican immigrant populations, other forms of music consumed by first-generation Americans has not been sufficiently examined. Likewise, research on the effects of Latinx music on Latinx communities other than Mexicans is not as common, though this fact is likely due to the demographics of the Latinx population in the U.S.: Mexican-Americans comprise 62% of all Latinx Americans (Noe-Bustamante, 2020).

## **Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to examine the relation of exposure to Latinx music to Latinx identity. Of the literature reviewed, the populations observed included immigrants, first-generation Americans, second-generation Americans, Latinx youth, and Latinx musicians. The sources reviewed included identities that intersect with Latinx identity, such as age and gender, and highlighted the role of the sociopolitical climate. Age, gender, and their physical environment or acculturation process played an important role in the development of ethnic self-

labels. Latinx music exposure also proved to be an important factor in the Latinx individual's ethnic self-labels.

A limitation of this study is that this was not a systematic review; a future study could employ the systematic review methodology (Petticrew & Roberts, 2006). Additionally, the literature reviewed did not examine differences between Latinx subgroups, such as national subgroups. The sources cited focused mainly on Mexican and Puerto Rican subpopulations which limits the generalizability of the results to all Latinxs. It is important to note that Puerto Ricans, since they are American citizens and not immigrants to the U.S., may have identities and experiences of music that are different from other Latinx subgroups. Future research should examine more Latinx subgroups and make comparisons among Latinxs.

A majority of the sources cited were qualitative research and cross sectional. We know that ethnic self-labels can change over time (Holley, 2009). Thus, future research should longitudinally examine the relation of music consumption to ethnic self-label. A majority of the articles reviewed did not examine gender differences within Latinxs. Many of the Latinx cultures are heavily influenced by patriarchy. Chavez (2017) and Serrano (2014) explained the importance of amplifying women's experience of Latinx music since the Latinx music industry is a male-dominated space. Future research should aim to examine intersectionality – that is, how Latinx identity and the role of music in it vary by other social identities. The use of the Chicana Feminist Theory in future research could inform studies of Latinas' exposure to Latinx music and its relation to identity.

The genres of music in the sources cited included mainly Corridos, Rancheras, Hip Hop, Ska, Mariachi, and Banda. However, many other genres, such as Salsa and Reggaeton, were not included and may also be influential for identity – specifically the ethnic-self labels chosen. For

example, Rancheras and Banda are most popular among Latinx immigrants or first-generation Americans and can lead to the adoption of a Mexican-American identity. There is a common stereotype among Mexican-American communities that perpetuates the idea that the genre of Latinx music to which an individual listens can determine their level of Mexican heritage. The derogatory Spanish slang term “Pocho” is often used for Mexican American individuals who do not adhere to the culture of their ancestors’ homeland. Those who listen to Corridos are often respected more by their elders than those who listen to Rock en Español or Reggaeton. This stratification of Latinxs by music consumption is influenced by perceptions of masculinity in a patriarchal society and may play a role in music selection and identity among Latinx individuals. These possibilities were not explored by studies in this review, but they could be explored in future research.

Lastly, like many Latinxs, I had to conduct research to gain a better understanding of the complicated distinctions in Latinx identity and which labels most accurately described my own experiences. Research on Ethnic-Racial Socialization presents compelling evidence for the impact parenting has on children’s perception of ethnicity and race. In the past, discourse and information on Latinx identity has been commonly excluded from K-12 educational curriculum (Calderón, 2019). A pan-Latino experience is presented; it overlooks variations within Latinxs and limits Latinx youths’ knowledge of their own culture. Without exposure at school, children only learn about Latinx music at home, an experience that may involve exposure only to a few Latinx genres of music. As a researcher, my undergraduate education of the past four years was the first time that my Latinx culture was examined under a sociopolitical and sociocultural lens. Given the importance of music to identity, more inclusive education for younger people about their heritage may better support identity formation among Latinxs.

## REFERENCES

- Ayón, Cecilia, Tanya Nieri, and Elizabeth Ruano, "Ethnic-Racial Socialization among Latinx Families," *Social Service Review*, vol. 94, no. 4, 2020, pp.693-747,  
<https://doi.org/10.1086/712413>.
- Bureau, U.S. Census. "2020 Census Illuminates Racial and Ethnic Composition of the Country." *Census.gov*, 25 March 2022, 2020.
- Bureau, U.S. Census. "About the Hispanic Population and Its Origin." *Census.gov*, 3 Dec. 2021,  
<https://www.census.gov/topics/population/hispanic-origin/about.html>.
- Calderon, Dolores, & Luis Urrieta. "Studying in Relation: Critical Latinx Indigeneities and Education." *Equity & Excellence*, vol.52, no. 2-3, 2019, pp. 219-238.,  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2019.1672591>.
- Chavez, Xochitl C., "Booming Bandas of Los Angeles," *The Tide Was Always High: The Music of Latin America in Los Angeles*. University of California Press, 2017.
- Cho, Eun, et al. "What Is Your Favorite Song?" *The Routledge Companion to Interdisciplinary Studies in Singing*, 202, pp. 384-395., <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315163734-29>.
- Cisneros, Josue D., "The Border Crossed Us: Rhetorics of Borders, Citizenships, and Latina/o Identity." *Journal of Latin American Geography*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2017, pp. 187-188.,  
<https://doi.org/10.1352/lag.2017.0033>.
- Doan, Grace O., and Cookie W. Stephan, "The Functions of Ethnic Identity: A New Mexico Hispanic Example." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2006, pp.229-241.,  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.009>.

- Flores, Juan. *From Bomba to Hip-Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity*. Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Gonzales, Roberto G. *Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., vol. 31, University of California Press, 2016.
- Grindal, Matthew and Tanya Nieri, “An Examination of Ethnic Identity and Academic Performance: Assessing the Multidimensional Role of Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization among a Sample of Latino Adolescents.” *Race and Social Problems*, vol. 7, no. 3, 2015, pp. 242-225  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-105-9154-5>.
- Hansen, M.P., & Tlapoyawa, K. (2018). Aztlán and Mexican transnationalism: Language, nation and history. *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map*, 1-19. Doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-73400-2\_68-1.
- Heitzeg, Nancy A. “Legal Control of Music.” *The Social Organization of Law*, 1999, pp.245-265.,  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-012083170-8/50012-2>.
- Hernandez, Ahtziri. “Remembering Our Roots and Forming Chicanx Identity,” 2021.  
<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2tf96635>.
- Hernandez, Jonathan C, “Machismo: The Role of Chicano Rap in the Construction of the Latino Identity,” *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, vol.2, No.20, pp.98-106.
- Holley, Lynn C., et al “Youths of Mexican Descent of the Southwest: Exploring Differences in Ethnic Labels.” *Children & Schools*, U.S. National Library of Medicine, 1. Jan. 2009.  
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2758796/>.
- Kamara, Doxey. “Latinx vs Latine.” *The Tulane Hullabaloo*, 30 Sept. 2021,

[https://tulanehullabaloo.com/57213/intersections/opinion-latinx-vs-latine./](https://tulanehullabaloo.com/57213/intersections/opinion-latinx-vs-latine/)

Lechner, Ernesto. *Rock en Español: The Latin Alternative Rock Explosion*. Chicago Review Press, 2006.

Love, Julien. "Los Lobos Revisited: Chicanos and Pop Music in the Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century." *University of Arizona*, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2021.

Lugo-Lugo, Carmen R., "100 % Puerto Rican: Jennifer Lopez, Latinidad and the Marketing of Authenticity," *Washington State University*, Research Gate, 2015.

Markus, Hazel R., "Who Am I? Race, Ethnicity, and Identity." *Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Social Class: Dimensions of Inequality and identity* vol. 3, 2010, p.169.

Massey, Douglas S., & Sánchez Magaly. *Brokered Boundaries: Creating Immigrant Identity in Anti-Immigrant Times*. Russel Sage Foundation, 2012.

Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Latino. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. Retrieved March 28, 2022, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Latino>.

Noe-Bustamante, Luis, et al. "Facts on Latinos of Mexican Origin in the U.S." *Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project*, Pew Research Center, 3 Jan. 2020, <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/fact-sheet/u-s-hispanics-facts-on-mexican-origin-latinos/#:~:text=Mexicans%20are%20the%20largest%20population,36.6%20million%20over%20the%20>.

Oselin, Sharon. 2022a. "Gentrification." Zoom Lecture, UC Riverside.

Pacini Hernandez, Deborah. "The New Name Game: Locating Latinas/os, Latins, and Latin Americans in the US Popular Music Landscape." *A Companion to Latina/o Studies*, 2017, pp.49-59., <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405177603.ch5>.

- Pacini Hernandez, Deborah. *Oye Como Va!: Hybridity and identity in Latino Popular Music*. Temple University Press, 2009.
- Petticrew, Mark & Helen Roberts. *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences: A Practical Guide*. Blackwell Publishing, 2012.
- Pulido, Isaura. "Music fit for us minorities: Latinas/os' Use of Hip Hop as Pedagogy and Interpretive Framework to Negotiate and Challenge Racism," *Equity & Excellence in Education*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2009, pp.67-85., <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665680802631253>
- Ramos-Kittrell, Jesus A., "Decentering the Nation: Music, Mexicanidad, and Globalization." *Lexington Books*, 2020.
- Sayre, Anamaria. "The Many Contradictions of 'Latin Music.'" *NPR*, NPR, 20 Dec. 2021.
- Schwantes, Melody, Tony Wigram, Cathy McKinney, Allison Lipscomb, and Cathy Richards. "The Mexican Corrido and Its Use in a Music Therapy Bereavement Group." *The Australian Journal of Music Therapy*
- Serrano, Crystal E. "Skalifornia: Identity Resistance and Empowerment in the Chicana/o Latina/o Ska(Core) Music Scene in Los Angeles." M.A., The University of Texas at San Antonio. Accessed March 8, 2022. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1615811200/abstract/AA00BC32F5FC40A7PQ/1>.
- Shoss, Deanna. "Hispanic-Latino-Latinx Heritage Month." *Executive Diversity*, 13 Oct. 2021, <https://www.executivediversity.com/2021/10/13/hispanic-latino-latinx-heritage-month/>
- Torres, Lourdes. "Latinx?" *Latino Studies* vol. 16, no. 3 pp. 283–85, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41276-018-0142-y>.



Vigil, J. D., & Hanley, G. (2002). Chicano macrostructural identities and macrohistorical cultural forces. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.15 No.3, pp. 395-426. Doi: 10.1111/1467-6443.00184

Villalobos, José Pablo, and Juan Carlos Ramírez-Pimienta. “‘Corridos’ and ‘La Pura Verdad’: Myths and Realities of the Mexican Ballad.” *South Central Review* Vol. 21, no. 3., 2004, pp. 129–49.