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The Children of Solaga: Ritual, Identity, and Transnationalism Among the Children of Indigenous Mexican Immigrants

DISSERTATION

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by

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DEDICATION

To

my family, friends, and pueblo

Solaga
Mi bello pueblo
Es el lugar donde yo nací
Tierra de lindas morenitas
Con sus huipiles bien bordados
Cualquiera que llegue al pueblo
Siempre será bien recibido
Porque Solaga los recibe
Y con los brazos bien abiertos

Solaga a ti te canto
Porque de ti me voy a alejar
Pero algún dia yo volveré
Por un amor que dejaré

Adiós
todos mis amigos
Adiós adiós
todas mis mujeres
Nunca se olviden que en Solaga existe paz y tranquilidad

Bonifacio Cayetano

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Children of Solaga: Ritual, Identity, and Transnationalism Among the Children of Indigenous Mexican Immigrants

By

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Professor Leo Chavez, Chair

California is home to a vibrant Oaxacan community, with radio stations broadcasting in indigenous languages and second-generation children who may grow up speaking English, Spanish, and an indigenous language. The Oaxacan community in California is so large that they have come to refer to their new home as *Oaxacalifornia*. The very existence of indigenous immigrants challenges conceptions of indigenous peoples as fixed to a particular geographical place and time. The displacement of indigenous peoples from their native communities and their migration to the U.S. has begotten new generations of indigenous youth born away from their parents' homeland. This is the case for the individuals with whom I conducted research, youth with origins in the Zapotec community of San Andrés Solaga in Oaxaca, Mexico.

This dissertation examines how young adults form and negotiate ethnic, community, and national identities away from their ancestral homeland. Whereas in the U.S., school and workplaces are prime areas of social integration, in Mexico's indigenous communities the ritual cycle also plays a profound integrative role. In Solaga, the cargo system (civil-religious service positions) organizes social, political, and ritual life. In the transnational

context, ties to indigenous institutions, like the cargo system, are transferred to hometown associations and are essential for maintenance of village ties and transnational indigenous identity.

I conducted participant observation at patron saint celebrations, community events, and band and dance rehearsals in the U.S. and Mexico. Interviews were conducted with Solagueños living in Oaxaca and Los Angeles. I found that playing in the village-based band, performing traditional dances, or attending patron saint festivities in Los Angeles and, if possible, in Solaga, facilitate Solagueño youths' social integration into the U.S. by fostering a strong sense of ethnic pride in the face of anti-indigenous discrimination from within the Latino population or anti-immigrant hostility from mainstream society. Participation in such festivities also enable youth and their parents to sustain membership in multiple communities, allowing them to affirm continued attachment and affiliation with the sending community, even if they are unable to physically return. Nevertheless, youth who visit Oaxaca may also realize there are some significant differences between themselves and people still living in the home community, thus engendering hybrid identities.

Chapter One: Settings

Through ethnographic research in the United States and Mexico, this dissertation examines the intersections of religion, ethnicity, and immigration by studying the role of patron saint celebrations in how the children of indigenous Oaxacan immigrants living in Los Angeles, California form ethnic, community, and national identities. "Community" for these young adults extends from Los Angeles to their parents' home village of San Andrés Solaga in Oaxaca, Mexico. This type of transnational context has typically been understood as an economic survival strategy that allows families to sustain their economic and social position in the sending community (Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Massey et al. 2003). However, by focusing on children's long-term participation in patron saint celebrations, I propose that for Solagueños, people with origins in Solaga, transnationalism is more than an instrumental strategy. Ritual plays a key role in driving cross-border movement for Solagueños and their children. Some Solagueño immigrants cross the U.S.-Mexico border to celebrate their village's patron saint days; others simply choose not to return to the hometown. Solagueños living in Los Angeles and other parts of Mexico converge on Solaga for the *Virgen del Carmen* celebration, the largest of these festivities. Many Los Angeles-based Solagueños cannot travel legally to their home community due to immigration status; some, however, brave the dangers anyway. After four decades of presence in Los Angeles, Solagueños now also celebrate the saints away from Solaga. From this has emerged the first Oaxacan village-based band in Los Angeles composed of youth belonging to the "1.5-generation" (individuals who migrated to the U.S. as children) as well as the "second generation" (those born in the U.S.).

Participation in patron saint celebrations extends beyond feast days themselves. Everyday life for Solagueño immigrants and their children shape processes of identity formation for those involved, especially for those involved in these rituals as musicians, dancers, and sponsors. I define identity as groups that individuals see themselves as part of (Tsuda 2003). These self and social identities could range from being Solagueño, Oaxacan, Mexican-American, and American, to Latino. Self and social identities may not always align, especially if members of a group do not see individuals as part of the group. I refer to expressions of belonging as specific practices that signal an identity in relation to a community or group (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Such expressions of belonging may include wearing traditional dress or expressing loyalty to a particular town. Identity and expressions of belonging, in this case, stretch across national, ethnic, racial, and legal borders. Understanding how Solagueños navigate and seek to redefine national, ethnic, racial, and legal boundaries in everyday life is important because the migration of indigenous people from Mexico to the United States challenges the notion of indigeneity itself because they have moved from the geographical region they have been historically associated with to the United States (DeLugan 2010; Forte 2010). This may alter the ways in which indigenous people retain their indigeneity, especially among individuals in subsequent generations.

Research has shown that the level of transnational engagement of first-generation parents influences how active their children will be in their own transnational practices (Kasinitz et al. 2002). Visits to parents' place of origin have proven critical for second-generation youths' understanding of ethnicity and nationalism (Maira 2002). For individuals of Solagueño descent living outside of Solaga, the festivities for *La Virgen del*

Carmen, the height of the ritual cycle, provide community members with a chance to return to the home community to honor the saints. For American-raised Solaugeño youth, return visits may serve to replenish their Solagueño identity, that is to have access to people and be immersed in the cultural practices in their hometown (Jiménez 2010). This allows visiting youth to reconcile their own life experiences as the children of Zapotec immigrants with the Solagueños still living in the home community. However, among indigenous Oaxacan immigrants, like other immigrants, return for such replenishment may not be possible because of immigration status and an increasingly militarized U.S.-Mexico border.

Previous research among indigenous immigrants living in the United States has shown the importance of social ties that bind indigenous people to a common community of origin (Foxen 2007; Hagan 1994). Building on this scholarship, I conducted two years of ethnographic fieldwork among individuals with origins in the Zapotec community of San Andrés Solaga living on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. Below, I contextualize the settings of this research: Oaxaca, Mexico and Los Angeles, CA.

OAXACA

Oaxaca, a state located in the southern part of Mexico, had an estimated population of over 3,967,889 in 2015 (INEGI). The state of Oaxaca is home to 16 distinct ethnic groups, including Zapotecs, Mixtecs, and Triquis. Oaxaca is divided into 570 municipalities and 7 regions: the Central Valley, the Istmus, Papaloapan, La Cañada, Sierra Norte, Sierra sur, La Mixteca, and La Costa. Poverty levels have been, and continue to be high, leading many Oaxacans to migrate to other parts of Mexico and to the United States in search of a better life (Ruiz 2009). The large concentration of indigenous people in Oaxaca, 65% of the state's population in 2015 (INEGI), has captured the interest of many anthropologists.

Figure 1 Map of Mexico with the state of Oaxaca highlighted in red (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

Anthropological Work in Oaxaca

Early anthropological research on Oaxaca was characteristic of its day in its efforts to record "disappearing" cultures to work and assess patterns of acculturation among indigenous people. These endeavors were carried out under the auspices of local and national authorities who sought to use the results of these studies in their efforts to integrate the indigenous population into mainstream society. Nevertheless, these studies often disregarded the needs and concerns of the indigenous communities being studied (Deloria 1969). The treatment of indigenous peoples as objects for observation and manipulation has since been critiqued by scholars (Deloria 1969; Paredes 1993). Anthropological work in Oaxaca and the discipline more broadly has since included the voices and concerns of indigenous interlocuters (Rosaldo 1989; Jacobs-Huey 2002).

Frederick Starr was the first American anthropologist to conduct research in Oaxaca (Nader 1969). In *Notes Upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico* (1900), *The Physical Characters of the Indians of Southern Mexico* (1902), and *In Indian Mexico* (1908), Starr examines the physical types of indigenous people from southern Mexico. Using anthropometric photography, Starr recorded the different physical characteristics and cultures as he traveled across Oaxaca. In his analyis of these photographs, he classified individuals as "good," "fine," and "ancient" types, with "ancient" indicating that these individuals resembled their pre-hispanic ancestors and "good" and "fine" indicating subjects did so to a lesser extent. He also placed the indigenous people he encountered on a scale from barbarous to civilized, placing human kind's social development on an evolutionary scale, which was characteristic of the anthropological work of his era (Poole 1997; Stocking 1982). Starr's images often depict startled individuals, perhaps a result of being forced by local authorities to sit for these pictures (Starr 1908). The manner in which Starr collected these pictures and bodily measurments from his unwilling subjects are part and parcel of the ways in which the discipline of anthropology has been complicit exploitation of people of color.

Elsie Clews Parsons was the first anthropologist to conduct a community study on a Zapotec town and was also the first to conduct ethnographic research on indigenous people from the Valley of Oaxaca (Nader 1969). Parsons' *Mitla: Town of the Souls* (1936) examines patterns of acculuration to Spanish culture among indigenous Zapotecs in Mitla, a town on the outskirts of the city of Oaxaca. Parsons' work provides a description of Mitla's economic, political, religious, and social organization, as well as that of its surrounding communities. Parsons' main interest was investigating why "(pre-Columbian) traits

survived, why have other traits which we have reason to suppose were once a part of Zapotecan culture not survive why have certain features or aspects of what we think of as distinctively Spanish traits not been adopted into the culture?" (Parsons 1936:511). Parsons found that the town's homes, food, clothing, and farming methods are indigenous, while its social structure is predominantly European. For example, much of the civil-religious service strucuture for local government and religious fiestas was established by the Spanish. However, Pre-Colombian indigeneous practices also informed local life and social structure under Spanish imposed colonial rule (Arcinegas 1967). *Mitla* went on to inspire future generations of anthropologists to work in Oaxaca. While Parsons was interested in uncovering which Zapotec traits survived Spanish colonization and which Spanish traits were not adopted by Mitleños, my study inquires into how the social structure and culture that emerged out of the colonial encounter allows indigenous people living to build community and negotiate their indigenous identity outside of their homeland.

Noted anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski conducted research in Oaxaca. Malinowski collaborated with Mexican anthropologist Julio de la Fuente on a study of the Oaxacan marketplace for Mexico's Instituto Indigenista Interamericano (1957). The study's findings were intended to be of practical use to the Mexican government, whose *indigenista* policies sought to assimilate indigenous people into Mexican society through an eradication of their customs and language (Lomnitz 2000). In this work, Malinowski and de la Fuente focused on the interdependence of markets in the city of Oaxaca and its surrounding towns. They described Oaxaca's marketplaces, the people that frequented these markets, the goods sold during market days, and the different transactions the ethnographers

witnessed. The authors concluded that maize has a central role in the Oaxacan market system, since it sets the pace for all other market transactions. While peasants dominated the Oaxacan market system, Malinowski and de la Fuente noted that capitalist businessmen could also profit from the system and open these markets to national and international economies. However, in their discussion of indigenous-mestizo interactions, the authors noted instances of miscommunication, which Spanish-speaking mestizo merchants used to shortchange their indigenous counterparts. While Malinowski and de la Fuente's study fell in line with the Mexican governement's *indigenista* agenda in its attempts to bring indigenous communities into the national fold, their findings also highlight potential indigenous-mestizo interactions.

Charles Leslie's *Now We Are Civilized* (1960) delved into the world view of Mitla's inhabitants, focusing on what it means for Mitleños to be "civilized." To be "civilized" meant to have adopted Spanish practice, which Leslie and Parson's informants allude to when saying Mitleños used to have certain beliefs, but now see the world differently. Leslie noted that while townspeople may see themselves as civilized (in terms of economic progress) and peaceful peoples, there was considerable violence in the community, which appears to go unpunished both by the law and by Mitleño society. From Leslie's assessment we then gather, Mitleños are not civilized after all. Leslie's research in Mitla was in conversation with Parson's study of the same community and often focused on the changes the community had (and had not) undergone in the time since Parsons conducted fieldwork. While Leslie highlighted changes such as the construction of new roads leading to city of Oaxaca, he noted that the Mitleños attitudes and values remained the same since Parsons' research in the town.

Malinowski and Parsons' aforementioned work in the Valley of Oaxaca went on to inspire Beals' *The Peasant Marketing System of Oaxaca, Mexico* (1975) which also took the Oaxacan marketplace as its object of study. Beals found that the market system operated according to profit-maximizing principles. Nevertheless, Beals also found that merchants sometimes opted to forego economic profit in order to achieve social ends. At times, maintaining good relationships with buyers and suppliers or sponsoring religious celebrations would not immediately maximize profits, but were eventually beneficial for merchants in terms of profit and prestige. Beals' work reflects the importance of reciprocity in Oaxacan society. For those unfamiliar with the *guelaguetza* system, the idea of foregoing economic profit in favor of social relations may seem illogical. Nevertheless, the *guelaguetza* system maintained good relations among vendors and consumers in Beals study and continues to do sustain community relationships outside of Oaxaca, as discussed later in this chapter.

Laura Nader turned her attention away from Zapotecs in the Valley of Oaxaca to Zapotecs in the Sierra Norte of the state, an area which had not been studied by anthropologists prior to her fieldwork in the late 1950s. Nader's *Talea and Juquila: A Comparison of Zapotec Social Organization* (1964) compared social organization in the neighboring towns of Juquila Vijanos and Talea de Castro. She found that despite the proximity of these towns to each other, their systems of social organization developed differently. Nader attributed these differences to patterns of change and settlement. Among the changes Nadar considered are the acceptance or resistance to change promoted by the Mexican government and the physical distance between households in each community, which she argued also created social distance. Nader's work among Serrano Zapotecs not

only brought scholarly attention to the region, but also introduced Michael Kearney, who would become a preeminent scholar on the anthropology of Oaxaca and Oaxacan emigration from the region (Kearney 2004).

Kearney's *Winds of Ixtepeji* (1972) examines the worldview and community formation of townspeople in the Oaxacan village of Ixtepeji, as well as ther daily life and social organization. This study is noteable for its inclusion of the migration experience that would become a trend in Ixtepeji and other towns in Oaxaca. In his later work, Kearney would reflect that his encounter with a "full-time migratory worker … broke down the binary structure of classic and modern anthropology that shaped [his] fieldwork experiences" (2004:22). By classic anthropology, Kearney refered to anthropologists' view of communities as discrete, bounded places and viewing the community's relationship with the rest of the world as secondary. His attention to the migrant experience in *Winds of Ixtepeji* and his later work already gave importance to the phenomenon that would come to shape Oaxacan life across the U.S.-Mexico border: namely, migration.

Oaxacan Migration: An Overview

Extensive research has focused on Oaxacan migration (L. Chavez 1992; Kearney and Nangengast 1989; Stephen 2007). This work includes research on the identity formation of first-generation immigrants in the U.S. (Kearney 2000; Stephen 1996), the living and working conditions of Oaxacan immigrants (L. Chavez 1992; Holmes 2013), as well as work on the effects of transnational migration on traditional social, religious, and political structures in indigenous sending communities (Cohen 1999; Fox and Rivera Salgado 2002). Resarchers working with Oaxacan immigrants also found that their indigenous background made them targets of discrimination by non-indigenous Mexicans in both Mexico and the

U.S., and by some in the dominant U.S. population, which may have motivated them to remain active in their homelands (Kearney 2000; Stephen 2007). Most of these studies focus on first-generation immigrants, while more recent studies focus on the educational environment and outcomes of the children of indigenous immigrants (Barillas Chon 2010; Mesinas and Perez 2016; Vasquez 2011). More recent work has begun to look at the cultural practices of the children of Oaxacan immigrants, as does my research (Cruz-Manjarrez 2013; X. Chávez 2017).

Oaxacan Migration: A History

Wolf and other scholars suggest that the cargo system, or the social, religious, and political offices all men are required to partake in in Oaxacan municipalities to live in an indigenous community, serves as the mechanism through which closed corporate communities maintain equilibrium and prevent wealth accumulation (1959; see also Kearney 1971; Nash 1958; Tax 1953). Dewalt describes the basic features as follows:

> 1) it involves voluntary service without remuneration (although in most communities there are strong social and/or physical pressures upon individuals to participate in the system); 2) holders of civil or religious offices (cargos) perform most or all of the functions necessary for the running of the local government and/or the church; and 3) tenure in these offices is rotated, usually annually, to other members of the community (1975:90).

Serving as the *mayordomo,* or sponsor, for patron saint celebrations under the cargo system has been conceptualized as the socially acceptable way for wealthier individuals to gain prestige and display and redistribute wealth within the closed corporate community (Beezley et al. 1994; Chance and Taylor 1985; Whitecotton 1977). These functionalist explanations fail to take into account less affluent *mayordomos* for whom it may be a financial sacrifice to sponsor a fiesta but who do so as *promesas* or vows to patron saints in

exchange for a special favor. Such a relationship between patron saints and their devotees is best described as a patron-client relationshipcrather than a way to gain prestige or display wealth in a community. More recent work on the cargo system discusses changes to the system resulting from transnational migration (Kearney and Besserer 2004; O'Connor 2016; VanWey et al. 2005). This includes indigenous communities with a migrant population requiring immigrants to send payments to their communities in exchange for the communal labor requirements they are unable to fulfill while living abroad. The trend of out-migration from indigenous towns that anthropologists previously characterized as closed corporate communities has become commonplace throughout Mexico and Latin America (Berg 2015; Poplin 1999; Velasco and París 2014; Wolf 1955, 1957). In contrast to closed communities that resisted outside influence, internal and transnational indigenous migration undermines the earlier notion of indigenous communities as discrete, isolated entities (Kearney 2006; Rivera-Salgado 2014; Wolf 1955, 1957).

Researchers argue that indigenous Mexican displacement in the twentieth century is marked by three moments: intraregional movement for seasonal work in the 1940s and 1950s; migration to cities and agro-export zones in the 1960s and 1970s; and migration to the northern Mexico and to the United States with the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s (Baez 2011; Barbas and Bartolome 2011; Villela 2011). The 1940s and 1950s were also marked by the international migration of some indigenous groups, including the P'urépechas of Michoacán and Mixtecs and Zapotecs from Oaxaca (Ramirez Cuevas 2003). The migration of these indigenous groups diversified the Mexican migrant population, since early Mexican migrants were mestizos, or people of mixed Spanish, African, and indigenous ancestry, from central states in Mexico (Cardoso 1980; Rivera-Salgado 2014).

California, Oregon, and Washington became migration destinations for indigenous migrants the late 1970s and early 1980s (Rivera-Salgado 2014). At the end of the 1980s, migration from Oaxaca increased with Zapotec peoples going into urban services and Mixtecs and Triquis into agricultural labor (L. Chavez 2013; Kearney and Nagengast 1989; Mines, Nichols & Runsten 2010; Rivera-Salgado 2014). Until 1995, most indigenous Mexican migrants were either Zapotec or Mixtec. Nevertheless, the effects of neoliberal economic policies spurred the migration of indigenous people who did not have a long history of out-migration, leading indigenous migration from Mexico to become even more of a multiethnic phenomenon (Fox and Rivera-Salgado 2004).

The passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986 allowed many indigenous immigrants living in the U.S. to adjust their legal status (Rivera-Salgado 2014). IRCA was meant to halt undocumented migration and increase border control. Instead, provisions for family reunification and established migration networks led migrants to settle in the U.S., while new groups of undocumented migrants migrated the North (Durand, Massey, and Parado 1999). Increased border surveillance in the 1990s led to a change in migration patterns, since flows were diverted from traditional crossing points toward more dangerous areas (Velasco and París 2014). Migrants encountered increasingly restrictive policies with the passage of the Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA). IIRIRA established harsher sanctions against undocumented migrants, authorized an increase in the number of border patrol agents, and the construction of a fence along the U.S.-Mexico border. Due to the increase in the cost and danger of crossing, undocumented migrants, including Oaxacans, began to settle in the U.S. instead of continuing the practice of circular migration (Massey 2007; Rivera-Salgado

2014; Velasco and París 2014). The increase in deportation of undocumented migrants after 2008 and the U.S. economic crisis have led to the return of millions of migrants to their countries of origin, some of them after living in the U.S. for many years (Velasco and París 2014).

Transnational Oaxacan Social Organization

Velasco and París (2014) characterize Latin American indigenous migration as transnational in character because of strong community ties that are maintained across indigenous communities. Sánchez (2007) argues that the displacement of indigenous people has created new forms of community. For Oaxacan immigrants these communities may use these networks of support to build transnational communities to cope with and mediate their incorporation into the U.S. (Barajas 2014). Rivera-Salgado (2014) argues that the parallel process of long-term settlement and geographic concentration of Oaxacan migrants has allowed for the emergence of distinctive forms of social organization and cultural expression. Indigenous Oaxacan forms of social organization, allow immigrants to draw on ancestral cultural legacies and practices to build communities in the receiving community. As a result of life in a new social and cultural environment these practices often take new forms and new meanings. The cargo system, for example, organizes social, political, and ritual life and defines membership in indigenous communities. The rise in transnational migration among indigenous people necessitates changes to the system. As discussed below, some Oaxacan communities require their community members to return to their hometown to fulfull their obligations to the cargo system (Cohen 2001; Mutersbaugh 2002). Ultimately, Rivera-Salgado argues, "processes of invention and reinvention of identity have had social, cultural, and civic impacts in the United States and

in Mexico. In particular the creation and re-creation of collective ethnic identities by indigenous migrants influence their economic, social, and political relationships in the United States" (2014:36). Other towns, like Solaga, allow community members to fulfill their duties through economic remittances allowing them to reaffirm their connection to the hometown not through physical presence but throught monetary contribution.

Fox and Rivera-Salgado (2004) discuss the formation of two types of organizations among Oaxacan migrants, hometown associations and panethnic organizations. Hometown associations are composed of migrants from specific communities who come together to support their community of origin, while broad-based indigenous coalitions bring together people from a regional ethnogeographic sphere. Rivera-Salgado believes these organizations create spaces in which indigenous immigrants "engage in collective action and cultural sustenance and in which social identities are created and re-created through the institutionalization of collective practices (2014:38). Collective practices allow indigenous immigrants to validate specific cultural, social, and political identities. Michael Kearney (1995) used the term "Oaxacalifornia" to underscore the movement of Oaxacans and their cultural practices to California. Kearny's concept of Oaxacalifornia has also been used to describe the real and imagined space in which Oaxacans develop collective practices (Fox and Rivera-Salgado 2004). Oaxacalifornia represents a transnational space that bring together Oaxacan immigrants' lives in California and their communities of origin. Oaxacan youth born or raised in the United States add to the diversity of experience in Oaxacalifornia. While first-generation immigrants have re-created and adapted aspects of their culture in their new home, their children's upbringing in the U.S. exposes them to different social and cultural environments.

Barajas (2014) argues that transnational organizations may partly serve as a way for Oaxacan immigrants to resist dominant practices that suppress ethnic diversity and reduce immigrants' humanity to cheap labor. A dual sense of home among transnational immigrants can also help them maintain social networks across national and cultural borders and allows them to replenish their ethnic ties and traditions. Transnational organizations, Barajas suggests, empower indigenous communities and allow them to maintain a healthier sense of self and more dignified life. Participation in these organizations and retention and affirmation of their parents' culture might translate into healthier self-esteem and higher success rates for the children of indigenous immigrants (Barajas 2014; Portes & Rumbaut 2014). I found that some children of indigenous immigrants, however, find the negative connotations associated with indigenous people too overwhelming and choose to deny their indigeneity and choose to identify as mestizo, a person of mixed indigenous and Spanish ancestry. Still others continue to hold deep-rooted attachments to their parents' hometown and traditions, but are inevitably infuenced by the social and cultural environment of the United States.

Immigration policies in the 1980s and 1990s and stricter border enforcement greatly diminished circular and return migration among indigenous immigrants (Velasco and Páris 2014). This in turn led Oaxacan migrants to settle in the U.S. and create the transnational organizations described above. Legal status may hinder the transnational movement of indigenous migrants. While some may have legalized their status in the 80s and 90s, changes in immigration policies have made it increasingly difficult to do so (Velasco and Páris 2014). Although hometown organizations may provide a space in which immigrants can celebrate and replenish their culture, their mobility as undocumented

immigrants is restricted (Stephen 2008). Thus return visits to the home community become dangerous, if not impossible. In indigenous communities in which migrants must return to home community to fulfill their duties to the cargo system (an institution which organizes social, political, and ritual life and defines membership in indigenous communities), return visits may become virtually impossible, thereby endangering immigrants' status in the home community.

The Cargo System and Solaga

Anthropologists have conducted extensive research on cargo systems in Mesoamerica drawing different conclusions as to the function of the cargo system in indigenous communities, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, scholars agree that the institution of the cargo system was instituted by Spanish authorities to subjugate indigenous people. They describe the cargo system as a mechanism through which Spanish authorities could control indigenous communities and as a way to extract wealth from these communites (Chance and Taylor 1985; Harris 1964). Friedlander explains

> the cargo system has been effective in training the Indians to take their place in a Catholic Mexico, a country in which they were destined to remain ethnically distinct and socially powerless. If we consider that under the Spanish the Indians had to assume the burden of organizing village fiestas and managing local administrative affairs, we can see that through the cargo system the Indians have been drafted to serve as accomplices in their own oppression (1981:139).

Spanish missionaries set up the cargo system to "keep the Indians Indian" (Friedlander 1981). This was done by binding indigenous people to the cargo system. Failure to fulfill a cargo is tantamount to renouncing membership in the community. Thus, indigenous people were bound (and to continue to be bound) to the cargo system.

In Solaga, the cargo system has two main components: appointments to official roles in the town's administration, as well as appointments in committees that organize patron saint celebrations described in Chapter 5. Young men enter the cargo system once they turn seventeen, unless they are enrolled in school or are part of the municipal brass band. Men are initiated into the cargo system at the lowest rank of policemen. In this capacity, they are in charge of the public safety of the community to the point of sleeping outside of the municipal palace during the entire year of their service. *Topiles* are a step above the police and are also in charge of public safety. Individuals serving as police and *topiles* serve their *cargo* on a rotating basis. Each group is on duty for a week and alternate their responsibilites with another group of topiles and policemen on a weekly basis. After fulfilling these *cargos*, men are assigned to different committees including *el comite de agua potable* and *el comite de bienes comunales*. Through service on these committees, men work their way to more prestigious *cargos*, which include secretary, treasurer, and *sindico* who serves as mediator in communal disputes and represents the president in the district capital of Villa Alta. The president is the head of the *municipio* who presides over civic functions in Solaga and represents the town when visiting other communities. Men are eligible for service in the cargo system until the age of 60 and thus can be appointed to committees or offices even if they already served as president.

Solaga, like many communities in Oaxaca, is a town from which young adults migrate, leaving mostly children and the elderly behind (Stuart and Kearney 1981). Some indigenous communities require immigrant men to return to their hometown to fulfill their *cargos* like in Santa Ana del Valle in the Valley of Oaxaca and Santa Cruz in the Sierra Norte or risk being expelled from their community (Cohen 2001; Mutersbaugh 2002). Solagueños

living in the United States are able to send remittancess to the *municipio* in lieu of returning for the *cargo* they are unable to fulfill while living abroad. With the low number of men who traditionally serve in the municipal government under the cargo system or in the *tequio* (community projects in which all able-bodied men are expected to participate), the remittances sent by immigrants living in the U.S. as their *cooperacíon* to the village, at least serve to aid monetarily in their absence. Solagueños' *cooperacíon* of $75 for single men and women or $125 for married couples serves as a substitute for service in the indigenous town's cargo system and *tequio* obligations. The remittances from Solagueños annual *cooperacíon* serve to reinforce community belonging despite living abroad, while also assuming the role of the state in building infrastructure in an area neglected by the Mexican government (Hernandez and Coutin 2006; Yannakakis 2008).[1] While fulfilling their obligations to the cargo system may be convenient for Solagueños living abroad, less men participating in the cargo system means that Solagueños living in Solaga will serve *cargos* more frequently than if there were more men participating in the system.

Cooperacíon began with the foundation of the Los Angeles-based Solagueño hometown association, *Organizacíon Social Solaga* (OSSO). The first seven migrants to arrive in Los Angeles established OSSO to offer support for Solagueños now living in Los Angeles and later to send monetary aid to their hometown. Kearney and Besserer write

> original community-based organizations dealt with immediate material needs-such as collecting funds to send the bodies of deceased migrants home for burial and improving roads and schools in their home communities - the more recent migrant organizations have taken on many other responsibilities that are both cultural and political in nature (2004:450).

[1] Hernandez and Coutin see this phenomenon as an *absent presence*: "Since many [migrants] lack the ability to travel, remittances become a way to assert virtual presence… migrants *earn* the right to spatialize their belonging within the national imaginary" (2006:202).

The dues paid to OSSO became an important source of money for the building of infrastructure in Solaga, ranging from the restoration of the municipal palace and community church to subsidizing aspects of annual patron saint celebrations in the community. Liberceir and Schneider view migrant remittances as the "principal manifestations of attachment to their communities … [and are] a way for emigrants to show their solidarity and support to all those who have stayed in the home country" (1996:43). Although contribution to and membership in OSSO was voluntary during the first decades of the organization, the monetary quotas Solagueños contribute eventually became compulsory at the behest of the Solagueño municipal authorities who saw the town's population dwindle and witnessed the improvements to infrastructure brought about by economic remittances. Because *cooperacíon* symbolizes attachment to home communities, failure to contribute could be seen as renouncing membership in the community. *Cooperacíon* became a part of the regular expenses Solagueños assumed with migration. Those who did not pay the annual dues suffer the humiliation of having their parents or relatives pay off their debt by working during the annual fiesta or risk imprisonment when they return to Solaga.

The original hometown organization of OSSO developed as a means through which Solagueño immigrants in Los Angeles could help each other in times of need, as well as a mechanism through which Solagueños could fulfill their obligations to the cargo system while living abroad. Unlike in other Oaxacan communities, Solagueño immigrants do not have to make the financial sacrifice of leaving the United States to fulfill a one-year cargo in their hometown. Furthermore, in communities where returning for a cargo is mandatory,

undocumented immigrants must decide whether fulfilling their cargo is worth risking not being able to reenter the country.

Indigenous Latinos in the United States

The growing number of Latinos identifying as American Indian or Native American on the 2010 Census made headlines on CNN and in the New York Times (Decker 2011; Guthman 2011). The number of Latinos who identified as Native American grew from 407,073 in the 2000 Census to 685,150 in the 2010 Census. CNN attributed this change to recently discovered ties to indigenous communities among some Latinos and to the rise of indigenous people emigrating from Latin America, especially countries with large indigenous populations, such as Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. While these numbers were large enough to garner media attention, researchers at the Census Bureau suspect there may have been underreporting among Latinos who might identify as indigenous (Sandoval Girón 2017). If respondents selected "American Indian" as their race, they were asked to print the name of enrolled or principal tribe. Researchers found that indigenous people from Central and South America saw tribes as strictly relevant to indigenous groups in the United States. Although respondents identified with their indigenous culture and language, they did not see themselves as members of tribes and instead chose to identify as Hispanic or Latino.[2]

In his analysis of the 2010 U.S. Census, Almaguer (2012) notes that more than half of the Latino population identified as "White," while the 685,150 individuals who identified as

[2]In his seminal book *Mexico Profundo* (1996), Guillermo Bonfil Batalla posits that most mestizo Mexicans are in reality indigenous people that have undergone a process of de-Indianization or lost their indigenous groups' original collective identity as a result of colonial domination. Following Bonfil Batalla's theory, even more Mexican-origin U.S. census respondents may unknowingly be indigenous and fail to report this on the census.

American Indian accounted for less that 2 percent of the Latino population. Scholars also saw this trend emerge a decade earlier in the 2000 Census when almost half of the U.S. Latino population chose "White" as their race. The decision of Latinos seem to identify as White surprises scholars because of the central role that indigenous and African populations played in colonial Spain's caste system and racial order (Almaguer 2012). Some scholars believe Latinos' selection of White as their racial background is a result of the limited choices provided by the U.S. Census (Rodríguez 2000). In the 2010 Census, respondents were asked if they were of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin and were then asked to choose between White, Black, American Indian or Alaska Native, and other Asian and Pacific Islander nationalities. Others believe Latinos are in fact choosing to identify as white and trace this legacy to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War and declared former Mexican citizens living in newly claimed U.S. territory as whites eligible for U.S. citizenship (Suárez-Orozco and Paez 2002; Torres-Saillant 2003). Suárez-Orozco and Paez (2002) and Torres-Saillant (2003) argues self-ascribing as Whites is politically debilitating to the larger Latino population in the United States who could use their distinct ethnoracial identity as vehicle of empowerment. Furthermore, identifying with Whites also leaves the white supremacist legacy of racial relations in Latin America unaddressed in Latinos' new home (Blackwell et al. 2017; Torres-Saillant 2003). This in turn prevents Latinos from addressing racism within the Latino community, which allows for the continuation of intra-Latino injustices, including discrimination toward indigenous and Afro-descendants peoples within the Latino population. My interlocutors from Solaga experienced prejudicial attitutes about indigenous people and discrimination from other

Latinos, which underscored the integrative and identity factors Solaga youth associated with the Solagueño youth band and return visits.

The migration of indigenous people is unique because in crossing the U.S.-Mexico border, indigenous immigrants do not only cross national borders, but also legal, racial, ethnic, cultural, and regional borders (Kearney 2000; Stephen 2007). This is why instead of employing the term "transnational," Stephen (2007) employs the term transborder, which highlights the legal, racial, ethnic, gender, cultural, and regional borders indigenous immigrants cross. Stephen rallies for a multilevel concept of ethnicity, since "transborder" migrants' ethnic identity entails "simultaneously incorporating community place-based definitions with panethnic and panindigenous models of identity usually linked to national identity" (2007: 317–318). Similarly, Rivera-Salgado (2014) argues that the racial discrimination and exclusion that indigenous migrants encounter in the U.S., have led to the creation of new ethnic identities among Oaxacan migrants. Thus, migrants have adopted identities they did not necessarily identify with in the native Oaxaca, such as identifying as Mixtec or Zapotec instead of as an inhabitant of a particular village. The migration of indigenous people to the United States not only affects the identities that they adopt, but also destabalizes commonly-held assumptions among Americans about the Latinos as a homogenous population.

LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles, California is the second setting of this research project. Most immigrants with origins in the Zapotec village of San Andrés Solaga have migrated to the city of Los Angeles, with only a handful of Solagueño families settling in Seattle, Chicago, and New York City. Seventy-five percent of the approximately 1.2 million Oaxacans living in

the U.S. have also made their home in the state of California (Hinojosa 2004). The high concentration of Oaxacans in the state of California has led both scholars and Oaxacan immigrants to refer to the state as Oaxacalifornia (Kearney 1995). The concentration of Oaxacan immigrants, indigenous immigrants from other parts of Latin America, and Pacific Islanders have made Los Angeles the city with the largest indigenous population in the entire United States. Solagueños are part of the estimated 70,000 indigenous Oaxacans living in the Los Angeles metropolitan area (Stephen 2014). Of this number, 52,000 are first generation immigrants born in Mexico and 17,000 are part of the second generation, that is the children of immigrants born in the United States.

Figure 2 Map of the state of California with Los Angeles County highlighted (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

As of 2018, there are approximately 600 Solagueños living in Los Angeles. This includes 370 first-generation immigrants, 194 second-generation Solagueños, and 36

members of 1.5 generation who were born in Mexico, but grew up in the United States. Within the first and 1.5 generations, 122 first generation immigrants have been able to adjust their status to legal permanent resident then citizens once they are eligible, while 15 members of the 1.5 generation have adjusted their status as part of their parents' petition, through marriage with U.S. citizens, and through Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, which grants eligible individuals protection from deportaton and authorization to work in the U.S. Alongside other Oaxacan immigrants in Los Angeles, Solagueños have been able to maintain certain aspects of their culture, including forms of social organization like the *gozona* and the Oaxacan brass band, allowing them to draw on ancestral cultural legacies and practices to build community in their new home.

Guelaguetza

Guelaguetza is an indigenous form of social organization among Zapotec people in Oaxaca, Mexico. It is also the the name of an annual cultural festival held in Oaxaca City and in the United States celebrating the indigenous cultures of Oaxaca. *Guelaguetza*, also known as *gozona*, is a system of mutual aid among members of Zapotec communities in Oaxaca that promotes collective cooperation at an individual and community level. Adriana Cruz-Manjarrez (2013:53-54) describes the guelaguetza system in the community of Villa Hidalgo Yalalag as follows:

> Person A or group A performs *gwzon* (gives something or does a favor) for person B or for group B with the expectation that B will reciprocate with help in the future. During the celebration of rites of passage such as weddings and funerals, family members and close friends are expected to help and particiapte in these events by means of the gwzon. Help can be offered or requested in the form of money, goods, moral support, or labor.

The tradition of the guelaguetza does not only exist in Zapotec towns but travels with immigrants from these towns to the United States, where Zapotec immigrants

continue to practice this tradition. Among Solagueño immigrants, the *gozona* extends to various aspects of their social life, including patron saint celebrations. This includes supporting the organizers of a patron saint celebration by helping set up the event, as well as inviting a Oaxacan brass band to play at an event with the expectation that the Solagueño youth band will play at that community's event in the future.

The earliest iteration of the state-run Guelaguetza festival was first celebrated in Oaxaca in 1932 as a racial homage of the indigenous people of Oaxaca (Lizama Quiajano 2005). Under the direction of the Secretary of Tourism of the state of Oaxaca, this festival has become one of the biggest tourist attractions for the mostly indigenous state. Nevertheless, most of those in attendance at the festival are non-Oaxacan Mexican tourists, foreign tourists, and municipal and state bureaucrats, with few indigenous people in attendance save those that are chosen to perform during the festival (Nagengast and Kearney 1990). The cost of attending the festivities and the distance between indigeneous communities and the city of Oaxaca are among the barriers preventing indigenous people from attending what their state promotes as *la máxima fiesta de los oaxaqueños* or "the most important fiesta for Oaxacans" (Rivera-Salgado & Escala Rabadán 2017).

The Guelaguetza festival is also celebrated in nine cities throughout California: Bakersfield, Fresno, Los Angeles, Oxnard, Santa Cruz, Santa Maria, Santa Rosa, San Jose, and San Diego (X. Chávez 2013; Rivera-Salgado & Escala Rabadán 2017). Guelaguetza festivities brings together Oaxacan immigrants and their children providing them with a social setting in which they can form and reaffirm their distinct Oaxacan identity through food, dance, and music in their new homes among non-Oaxacan immigrant (Rivera-Salgado & Escala Rabadán 2017; Runsten, 2005; Stephen 2007). Rivera-Salgado & Escala Rabadán (2017)

state that the three most important guelaguetza festivals are held in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Fresno. The events are organized by different Oaxacan immigrant organizations including la Organización Regional de Oaxaca (ORO) in Los Angeles, la Coalición de Comunidades Indígenas de Oaxaca (COCIO) in San Diego, Frente Indígena de Organizaciónes Binacionales (FIOB) in Fresno. Preparations for these events have community leaders from these organizations interacting with city officials, activists, and local businessman allowing them to create and strengthen ties to the communities in which Oaxacans have settled. Scholars see U.S. based Guelaguetza festivals as more community-oriented than their Oaxaca City counterpart, which are marketed toward tourists rather than locals (X. Chávez 2013; Flores-Marcial 2015; Rivera-Salgado & Escala Rabadán 2017). Yet others predict U.S.-based guelagetza will be co-opted by corporate sponsors, whose presence is already seen in advertisements for the festivities, as well as booths selling their goods at the festival itself (Alberto Celis, forthcoming). More recently, the Los Angeles Guelaguetza festival is held as part of el *Mes de la Herencia Oaxaqueña* or Oaxacan Heritage Month, which has been held between the months of July and August since 2013 (Krannich 2017; Rivera-Salgado & Escala Rabadán). Other events during Oaxacan Heritiage Month include the annual Indigenous Literature Conference organized by the Los Angeles chapter of the Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales and *convite tradicional*, a procession along Pico Boulevard, which runs through the Mid-City and Koreatown neighborhoods in which many Oaxacan immigrants have settled. The procession ends at Normandie Park, the park in which the first Los Angeles-based Guelaguetza festivals were celebrated. During the *convite,* Oaxacan brass bands from different towns march and play traditional Oaxacan music as members of their community march and dance alongside them. Band members of

these groups mostly consist of the children of Oaxacan immigrants and oftentimes have more young women among their ranks than previous iterations of village-based bands (X. Chávez 2017). Oaxacan village-based bands defy previously-held assumptions among Mexican scholars that migration from a rural to urban setting necessitates the abandoment of certain aspects of village life (Flores Dorantes and Ruiz Torres 2015). Instead, Oaxacan brass bands continue to be a symbol of Oaxacan identity and allow immigrants to remember their childhood and their hometown in the places where they have settled (Flores Dorantes and Ruiz Torres 2015; Alfonso Muñoz 1994).

Conclusion: The Natives Are Gazing and Talking Back

> Oaxaca, Mexico, March 1 .-Prof. Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, is deep in the midst of his savages. He is manipulating primitive town governments, wielding the authority of federal and state governments, county police, and that of the clergy as well. He is threatening, cajoling, clapping in jail when necessary, and in general conquering his series of strange nations.

This piece ran in the Chicago Record in March of 1899 and describes the manner in which American anthropologist Frederick Starr conducted fieldwork in Oaxaca, Mexico (McVicker 1989). Today, his methods may read as offensive and unethical. Indeed, Starr's conduct in the field, which included using local officials and police to coerce indigenous people to submit to his study, as well as disentering deceased peoples without the consent of their relatives has been revaluated as such (Oppenheim 2005; Starr 1908). Still, a product of his time, Starr was so pleased with this article he included it in his book *In Indian Mexico* (1908).

As a discipline, anthropology has moved away from the work done in Starr's era. Work among indigenous people is not solely an effort to catalog "disappearing types" or as a tool of colonial administration (Harrison 1997; Said 1989). Anthropologists' have stepped

back and recognized the problematic origins of the discipline. Change has not only come in the way fieldwork is conduted, but also in who conducts research. Today, as Lanita Jacobs-Huey (2002: 792) notes

> The move by some anthropologists to conduct fieldwork at "home" is a fundamental break from the classic tradition of what Rosaldo (1989) characterizes as the "Lone Ethnographer" riding off into the sunset in search of the native. But for the last three decades and beyond, so-called Native/Other(s) have been duly observed gazing and talking back as researchers, students, and lay critics of academic presentations and published scholarship.

The type of anthropology that Starr conducted, in which he went to far off lands including the Congo, Japan, and the Philippines in search of different physical types to measure and photograph has since been phased out. Newer generations of anthropologists, who now include scholars with origins in communities that have been subject to the anthropological gaze, are now reevaluating the field of anthropology community and examining the ways in which the discipline has been complicit in the subjugation and exploitation of people of color across the (Aguilar 1981; Jacobs-Huey 2002; Messerschmidt 1981; Paredes 1984; Rosaldo 1985). Anthropologists working in Oaxaca and other parts of Mexico previously characterized indigenous communities as closed corporate communities, that is, as isolated and unchanging communities (Cancian 1965; Chance and Taylor 1985; Wolf 1955, 1957). Since then, scholars have challenged the idea of indigenous communities as discrete and isolated entities. Instead work, like that of Michael Kearney, recognizes the changes occuring within indigenous communities in a rapidly globalizing world. My own research touches on traditional anthropological topics of kinship, religion, and social organization. However, I recognize that one cannot study these topics in isolation from the systems of power to which indigenous groups are subjected. As

indigenous immigrants and the children of indigenous immigrants, my informants relations with kin is subject to laws that place restrictions on the movement of individuals who are in the United States without authorization. Furthermore, religious practices and social organization through institutions like the cargo system are part and parcel of colonial attempts to maintain control over indigenous communities and are also subject to changes brought about by migration, as I will discuss in Chapter 5.

In times of celebration, Oaxacan musicans improvise the *jarabes* they play for people to dance. Directors simply have to change a note for band members to know what *jarabe* to play next. Oaxacans who are familiar with traditional music also recognize the change and adjust their footwork accordingly. Similarly, Oaxacan immigrants bring their traditions with them and modify them to fit their lives in the metropolis of Los Angeles. Their migration and ability to adapt their aspects of their traditional way of life defy previously held assumptions of indigenous people as static and resistant to change. Throughout this dissertation, I will discuss the various ways in which indigenous people from San Andrés Solaga have continued to "change notes" as they maintain ties to their community of origin in the face of anti-indigenous and anti-immigrant discrimination and laws that create barriers to their movement.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

Chapter One discusses the cultural and historical settings of my research sites. I covered the ethnographic record on Zapotec communities in Oaxaca, as well as the changes migration has brought to the cargo system. To connect my research with this work, I compared the cargo system in San Andrés Solaga to the cargo system of other indigenous communities in Oaxaca. Next, I detailed the development, focus, and findings of existing

ethnographic research on Oaxacan immigrants, which included a discussion of Oaxacan bands and celebrations in California. Finally, I included statistical information about the Oaxacan community in California, as well as information on the Solagueño community in Los Angeles.

Chapter Two examines the theoretical framework this research engages with in the areas of indigeneity and Latinidad, identity and belonging, and the interdisciplinary field of migration studies, particularly in the areas of immigrant adaptation and identity, rituals and immigrant religion, and transnational practices. This chapter also included the methodological framework used for data collection.

Chapter Three discusses my own positionality as a researcher. My experience growing up in Los Angeles as the child of undocumented Zapotec immigrants, as well as return visits to my parents' hometown informs my research interests. I reflect on my positionality as a second-generation Solagueña to provide a better understanding of how I observed and interpreted my informants' lives, as well as how my positionality influenced the data I collected.

In Chapter Four, I examine the larger social context of Oaxacan immigrant lives in Los Angeles, CA, focusing on the Solagueño immigrant experience. I discuss the migration of Solagueños from their hometown in Mexico to Los Angeles, including the areas they migrated into, how they came to work in the dry-cleaning industry, and the neighborhoods in which they settled. The concentration of Oaxacan immigrants in these neighborhoods brought about a vibrant Oaxacan community, in which indigenous immigrants pass on apsects of their culture and values to their children.

In Chapter Five, I discuss the origin of patron saint celebrations and the cargo system in Oaxaca. Next, I detail the importance of these festivities to indigenous communities and detail what patron saint celebrations look like in San Andrés Solaga. This chapter includes a discussion of how patron saint celebrations have changed as a result of migration, including in how these festivities are funded and how they preserved through audio and video technologies for the consumption of Solagueño locals and immigrants.

Chapter Six delves into patron saint celebrations in Los Angeles. Here, I argue that these celebrations allow indigenous immigrants living in the United States to venerate their community's patron saints, while transmitting their cultural practices to indigenous youth living outside of their community of origin. While first-generation Solagueño immigrants take part in the religious aspects of patron saint celebrations, their children participate in the cultural aspects of these events as dancers or musicians. This chapter describes how the formation of *Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca* provided Solagueños with the opportunity to come together allowing immigrants to instill aspects of their culture and social values. As a result, immigrants and their children have been able to preserve their musical traditions, celebrate their culture, and develop a sense of pride in their indigenous origins.

Chapter Seven focuses on return trips among members of the 1.5-generation and the second generation. This section delves into the significance of returning to Solaga for patron saint celebrations and interrogates how youth reflect on this experience in terms of their identity. This section discusses villagers' reception to youth, including how Solagueños react to visiting youth. Return visits offer a way for indigenous youth to find positive aspects to their identity by strengthening their relations with family and culture

"back home." However, return visits also mean further individuation in terms of identity in that Solagueño youth also realize there are some significant differences between themselves and individuals living in Solaga.

In the concluding chapter, I analyze my research findings and discuss the significance of this study for the discipline of anthropology, work on migration, and studies of indigeneity and Latinidad.

Chapter Two: Theory and Methods

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This dissertation makes contributions to a range of scholarly fields, ranging from longstanding fields of anthropological inquiry to new and emerging interdisciplinary fields such as Critical Latinx Indigeneities. First, the dissertation contributes to long-standing anthropological interest in indigenous cultures, particularly through an examination of religious practices among indigenous people. Second, the work also contributes to the interdisciplinary field of migration, particularly in the areas of indigenous migration, immigrant adaptation and identity, rituals and immigrant religion, and transnational practices.

Indigeneity

As discussed in the previous chapter, anthropology has a long-standing interest in indigenous peoples. As evident in early anthropological work in Oaxaca, the methods used to conduct research among indigenous people have changed over time. The concern for recording the different physical types found among indigenous populations and placing them on an evolutionary scale is grounded in widespread assumptions about indigenous peoples as relics of the past who had yet to reach the evolutionary stage that so-called "civilized" societies had reached. Still, terms like indigenous and native are relational and retrospective, since "natives" did not exist before their encounter with Europeans (Tuhiwai Smith 2007). "Othering" indigenous people allowed Europeans to justify expansion and colonization in the so-called New World. The discourse used to subjugate native peoples is similar to the tropes in American anti-immigrant discourse, which characterizes

immigrants as "low class, subhuman, dangerous, foreign, morally inferior, and without history" (L. Chavez 2001:295). The similarities in anti-indigenous and anti-immigrant tropes are not surprising, since the construction of the nation often relies on notions of inferiority and superiority. Fitzpatrick notes:

> the nation must also include what it excludes. It remains connected to the other. The other, in short, becomes the nation's double. There is a dual projection of identity onto this double. First, those characters which are contrary to the nation's positive, or posited, being are projected onto the double, with the nation taking on a coherent identity in opposition to them (1995:10).

The nation includes the "double," only to bolster national identity at the expense of the double. For the Mexican nation, non-assimilated indigenous peoples represent this double. Post-independence Mexican national identity rests on the myth of the mestizo nation, the product of the encounter between two great civilizations, the Spanish and the Aztec (Gamio 1916). Non-mestizos were seen as "a 'miscarriage' of the great prehispanic cultures" (Ortiz Elizondo and Hernandez Castillo 1996:60). The legacy of these negative attitudes toward indigenous Mexicans is manifested in the racism indigenous immigrants and their children continue to deal with at the hands of some mestizo immigrants in the US (Holmes 2013; Kearney 2000).

Critical race theorists have demonstrated that "law has historically been a central protagonist in defining racial categories and that the boundaries of these categories have shifted over time to accommodate political realties and conventional wisdoms" (Calavita 2010:135-136). In fact, legal categories separating different groups of people preceded the modern notion of race developed in the nineteenth century (Yannakakis 2008). The emergence of the category of *indio* in Latin America came about as a legal distinction between Spaniards and the native population, who were governed by the *Republica de*

Españoles and *Republica de Indios* respectively (Benton 2002; Collier 1998; Yannakakis 2008). Indians were not only legally distinct; they were legally inferior to Europeans (Aguirre Beltrán 1972). The category of *indio* also served as a census and a fiscal category that enumerated how many "indios" lived in Spanish America and how much tribute indigenous people would pay to the Crown (Wade 1997). The label of *indio* and the racial connotations associated with *indios*, were used to explain cultural diversity in European colonies, justify exploitative relationships, and administer the colonial population (Wilson 2007). Ultimately, indigenous people as well as Africans brought to the Americas as slaves would occupy the lowest level of Latin American society.

The concept of *limpieza de sangre* acquired a racial dimension in the process of its transplantation from Spain to New Spain (Martínez 2011). Notions of purity of blood had originated in Spain and were connected to religion, primarily as a way to distinguish Old Christians from Jewish and Muslim converts. However in Spanish America, the racial dimension became increasingly salient. For the indigenous elite of the *Republica de Indios*, limpieza de sangre developed into a strategy to demonstrate descent from indigenous royal lineages. In the *Republica de Españoles*, the American-born Spanish elite, used this discourse to perpetuate hierarchies that favored descent from Spain, marginalizing mestizos with impure blood "contaminated" by Indians and Africans. The *sistema de castas*, or caste system, was developed by colonial authorities in order to maintain social order and perpetuate hierarchies in the *Republica de Españoles and Republica de Indios* (Martínez 2011; Sue 2013). An individual's caste was determined based on their race, culture, and socioeconomic status, with Spaniards positioned at the top, followed by mixed-race individuals, and then "Indians" and Africans. The descendants of individuals in lower castes

could become members of upper castes through intermarriage with people in higher castes (Vigil 1998; Wilson 2007). The *sistema de castas* survived until Mexico's War of Independence (1810-1821), after which both the caste system and slavery were abolished.

Although the *sistema de castas* was abolished, indigenous people continued experience discrimination on the basis of racial difference. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Europeans explained differences between Europeans and non-Europeans based on theories of unilineal social evolution and Lamarckian social evolution (Stocking 1991). These theories posited that the evolution of human societies followed the same basic principles of biological evolution. Social evolutionists created a hierarchy of human populations based on a presumed differential evolution with Europeans, falsely asserting that non-Europeans were "less evolved" than their European counterparts. In late nineteenth century Mexico, proponents of social evolution believed that the progress of the nation depended on the improvement of the nation's racial stock and thus promoted the immigration of Europeans to Mexico in order to whiten and modernize the nation (Stern 2003; Wilson 2007).

Indigenistas – supporters of *indigenista* policies – were interested in vindicating the "Indian race" who until this point had been at the bottom of society. Debates in Latin America revolved around issues of national identity, national unity, and the "Indian Problem" (de la Peña 2005; Wilson 2007). "The Indian Problem" was that indigenous people were purportedly too biologically inferior to be incorporated into Latin American nations. *Indigenistas* countered social evolutionists' claims that indigenous people were biologically inferior, instead arguing that their histories of subjugation and lack of access to education left them too ignorant to develop a sense of belonging to the nation. Thus, racial

distinctions were no longer a matter of biology, but of culture and economics (Wilson 2007). This type of *indigenismo* operated under the belief that Indians and Whites should be spatially and racially separated, since racial mixing led to the degeneration of both Indian and White races (Wilson 2007). This was to be achieved by encouraging or coercing indigenous people living in urban areas to move to the countryside and encouraging them to speak their native language rather than Spanish. The legacy of these *indigenista* policies of associating racial types with geographical space have been enduring in Latin America, since "Indians" are still thought to live on the periphery, while "whiter" people are thought to be urbanites.

The next manifestation of *indigenismo*, in the mid-twentieth century, moved away from critiques of racial mixing to embracing *mestizaje,* or racial mixture, as a positive component of improving racial stock and modernizing the nation. In Mexico, philosopher and politician José Vasconselos and anthropologist Manuel Gamio advanced the belief that *mestizaje* created the Cosmic Race, which preserved the positive qualities of both the Spanish and Aztecs (Sue 2013; Wilson 2007). The ultimate goal of this *indigenista* agenda was to promote the assimilation of indigenous people for the advancement of the Mexican nation. Vasconcelos' appointment as Minister of Education allowed him to build schools and institutions to create a Mexican national identity that fostered love of country and perpetuated the myth of mestizaje (Sue 2013). The myth of mestizaje allowed for the construction of the idea of commonality of descent as a feature of Mexican national identity (de la Peña 2006). Although the valorization of mestizaje improved the status of Mexicans of mixed-origin, the myth of mestizaje has since been criticized for promoting racism and the historical erasure of indigenous people and blacks (Hernandez Castillo 2001; Wade

1997). Further, the myth of mestizaje only exalts the "great" Aztec civilization, ignoring the existence of other indigenous groups who the Aztecs brutally conquered (Gutierrez 1999; Urrieta 2003; Wilson 2007). This ideology has also been critiqued as central to economic exploitation and the accumulation of wealth at the expense of indigenous people (Ceceña and Barreda 1998). Although the myth of mestizaje casts indigenous people at the center of Mexican history, indigenous people "have been excluded from the contemporary national project, and are now the marginalized of the marginalized" (Sierra 2001:76).

Sanabria (2007) attributes the rise of indigenous movements in Latin America to the failure of *indigenista* ideologies and policies to convince indigenous people to accept the mestizo identity they promote and to improve the conditions indigenous peoples live in. Indigenous people have formed organizations at the national, regional, and local levels to demand a new relation to the state and the legal recognition of their rights as indigenous peoples (Sierra 2001). The emergence of new indigenous organizations fighting for and defending indigenous interests has served to transform cultural and social discourse, encouraging sympathy toward indigenous people (Sierra 2001). Nevertheless, the word *indio* continues to be used as a derogatory slur, since it carries connotations of backwardness, anti-progress, and retrogradation (Friedlander 2006; Kearney 2000; Wilson 2007). Along with previous research, my findings indicate that negative connotations associated with people of indigenous origin carry over to the United States, where some mestizo immigrants and their children continue to discriminate against other immigrants because of their indigenous origin (Blackwell et al. 2017; Kearney 2000; Ortiz and Pumbo 2014; Stephen 2007).

Latinidad

Despite the negative connotations associated with indigenous peoples, as immigrants with origins in Latin America, Solagueños share commonalities with mestizo immigrants, including language, religion, and natal attachments to places that were once part of the Spanish empire and thus are part of the "Latino" population of the United States (Gutierrez 2016). Latino is also used in opposition to the panethnic label of "Hispanic," which was imposed by the U.S. government in the 1970s to enumerate individuals with origins in Latin America (Aparicio 2017; Gutierrez 2016). Academics and community members alike have embraced the term "Latino" despite the fact that such a term homogenizes the diverse power locations among U.S. Latinos, erasing historical, national, racial, class, and gender subjectivities, including attitudes toward indigenous people and Afro-Latinos (Aparicio 2003; Gutierrez 2016; Torres-Saillant 2003). This erasure can serve a strategic purpose: identifying as Latino has allowed Latin American immigrants and their descendants to expand their political clout by building coalitions across nationalities. Thus, Latinos have been able to organize in larger numbers to demand inclusion in U.S. society and advocate for fair housing, voting rights, and bilingual education (Gutierrez 2016).[3] Identifying as Latino can also be done as an oppositional identity among the children of Latin American immigrants born in the U.S. to identify themselves in relation to Anglos, while Latinos who descend from two national groups may identify as Latino in order to not erase either of their national identities (Aparicio 2017).

[3] The even greater influence Latinos could exert if they distinguished themselves from the White population in the U.S. Census are why scholars argue self-identifying as Whites is politically debilitating to the larger Latino population in the United States (Suárez-Orozco and Paez 2002; Torres-Saillant 2003).

As a discipline, Latino/a Studies has started to recognize that Latinos not only include people from more than twenty different nationalities, but also different class and racial backgrounds (Aparicio 2003). As Gutierrez states,

> The simple demographic fact is that the Latino population of the United States is large and diverse encompassing more than twenty nationalities, and numerous a language that includes a complex tapestry of indigenous ones. Latinos occupy various class locations and span the entire spectrum of race and color. Nothing specifically unites Latinos (2016:45).

Gutierrez seemingly contradicts himself in arguing that nothing specifically unites Latinos after stating that language, religion, and natal attachments to places that were once part of the Spanish empire unite the Latino population in the United States (Gutierrez 2016). Nevertheless, his description highlights the diversity of within the Latino population and the recognition of this diversity in the field of Latina/o studies.

Aparicio (2017) believes that Latina/o studies can become a space in which the power dynamics these differences engender can be accounted for in the construction of a new social imaginary that transcends old paradigms and nationality-based conflicts. Some of these very paradigms were created and perpetuated by scholars in Latina/o Studies and Chicana/o studies, particularly in the ways in which indigeneity has been conceptualized in these areas of study (Blackwell et al. 2017). The legacy of *indigenismo*, for example, endures within the discipline of Chicano Studies where it is at times synonymous with indigeneity (Blackwell 2017). Blackwell and her collaborators trace the amalgamation of indigeneity and *indigenismo* to the Chicano Movement's adoption of the Mexican state notions of *indigenismo*, which celebrated the Aztec past and ignored the present and future conditions of other indigenous groups in Mexico (Blackwell et al. 2017). In her discussion of the

coverage of the Afro-Latina/o experience in Latina/o Studies, Hernandez (2017) notes that many Latina/o studies scholars have treated *mestizaje* as evidence of the evisceration of any racial differences and inequality among Latina/os. Scholars' acceptance of *mestizaje* and the racial harmony it implies fail to acknowledge the historical roots of *mestizaje* as a racial project of whitening Latin America's indigenous and Afro-descendant populations (Blackwell 2017; Saldaña-Portillo 2001; Torres-Saillant 2003). Hernandez (2003, 2017) highlights Gloria Anzaldúa's endorsement of José Vasconcelos' take on *mestizaje,* which he argued, would allow inferior races to be absorbed by the superior white race and be redeemed by voluntary extinction. Anzaldúa saw *mestizaje* as more inclusive than American racial practices, despite its promotion of the annihilation of indigenous and peoples. Latina/o and Chicana/o scholars' use of *indigenismo* and *mestizaje* are among the paradigms these areas of study now seek to reevaluate (Aparicio 2017). By interrogating these concepts, scholars hope to construct a Latino ethnoracial identity that is "less complicit with white supremacist paradigms, more inclusive of intra-Latino diversity, and, consequently, more suitable as a vehicle of empowerment" (Torres-Saillant 2003:134). The construction of a more inclusive concept of *Latinidad* would allow indigenous peoples to be visible among the Latino/a population. Still, scholars like Serafín M. Coronel-Molina see indigeneity and *Latinidad* as incommensurate.

Wanka/Quechua sociolinguist Coronel-Molina (2017) argues that indigenous people and afro-indígenas are not Latino/as or hispanas/os. Instead, Coronel-Molina asserts, people of indigenous origin should be categorized under pan-indigenidad/es or pan-indianidad/es. These identities "could be the mantle that holistically embraces all categories of Indigenous Peoples, taking into consideration their distinct or multiple

identities, backgrounds, places of origin, and (local or global) life trajectories" (Coronel-Molina 2017:12). Rather than trouble established notions of *Latindad* as other scholars have called for, Coronel-Molina advocates for the creation of new categories that recognize indigenous and afro-indigenous peoples backgrounds. While *Latinidad* and pan-*Latinidad* may very well not yet account for the "multilingual, pluriethnic, multicultural, and translingual make up" of indigenous immigrants and their children (Coronel-Molina 2017:11), denying indigenous immigrants' *Latinidad* may further marginalize them within the Latino community and extend attempts by Latin American nations to erase their existence (Blackwell et. al 2017). Furthermore, while indigeneity uniquely shapes indigenous peoples' immigrant experience, they are often perceived as Latinos among Americans who may not recognize the heterogeneity within the Latino population. Following the Critical Latinx Indigeneities framework, this study understands that the recognition of the diversity of the Latino population allows for "multilayered discourses and ideologies of local, national, and transnational social and cultural flows both in Latin America and in diaspora" (Blackwell et al. 2017), rather than a narrative that erases the diversity within the Latino community.

Identity and Belonging

Classic identity development theory posits that individuals pass through eight stages of development over the life cycle (Erikson 1959; 1968). Adolescence, the fifth stage, is a crucial period for engaging with questions of identity. Erik Erikson considers identity to be a subjective sense of wholeness that is achieved through an identity crisis. If individuals fail to secure an identity, they are faced with identity confusion, a lack of clarity about who they are and what their role in life is. Studies of ethnic identity formation often emphasize

adolescence since this is when individuals encounter new social structures and relationships leading individuals to shift their ethnic identifications during this life stage (Agarwal 1991; Maira 2002; Waters 1990). Although adolescence is a pivotal stage for identity formation, an individual's childhood is also important to youth's socialization and development and affects the rest of the life cycle (Waters 1990).

Although many of the societies anthropologists studied were multiethnic, they wrote little about ethnicity as they sought to portray these societies as isolates, (Cohen 1978). Indeed, early anthropological conceptualizations of ethnicity made distinctions between those who were considered "ethnic" and those who were thought of as "nonethnic" (Brettell 2007). Ethnic identity was believed to be rooted in deep primordial attachments to a group or culture (Banks 1996; Jenkins 1997). Anthropological thinking about ethnicity changed with the publication of Fredrik Barth's *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969). Barth argued that ethnic groups were "categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people" (1969:10). In arguing this, Barth shifted attention away from external definitions of ethnicity to insider and subjective definitions of ethnicity. Barth's work is important for scholars studying the children of immigrants as it "allowed them to accept that rather than break down in situations of contact—ethnic boundaries might in fact be reinforced or newly created" (Brettell 2007:11). Importantly, Brettell (2007) notes that these boundaries are not just reinforced or created between majority and minority groups, but also among minorities.

Work on ethnic identity formation among children of immigrants in the U.S. has focused on immigrant adaptation, assimilation, and incorporation. Scholars acknowledge

that the social and historical inequalities between ethnic groups embedded in the racial structures of U.S. society plays a role in the ethnic identity formation of the children of immigrants (Gans 1992; Waters 1990). Race, class, gender, and city of residence are among the factors which contribute to variations in identities of the second generation (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Sommerville 2008).

Immigrant Adaptation, Assimilation, and Incorporation

American sociology has a long tradition of studying immigrant adaptation, assimilation, and incorporation. Early sociological studies on assimilation focused on the adaptation of recently arrived European immigrants and their children at the turn of the twentieth century (Waters 2000). The term assimilation has come to be defined as a "multidimensional process of boundary reduction which blurs or dissolves an ethnic distinction and the social and cultural differences and identities associated with it" (Rumbaut 2011:6). Rumbaut (2011) traces the academic and colloquial usage of the concept of assimilation that emerged from the study of these immigrants, including the influence of Boas, Park and Burgess, Warner and Srole, and Gordon. Boas studied the children of European immigrants in turn of the century New York City (Rumbaut 2011). He concluded that the social and physical environment altered the ways of thinking and the bodily form of the children of immigrants (Boas 1912; Rumbaut 2011). Thus, Boas argued, the children of immigrants "tend toward assimilation." Boas' findings critiqued the social evolutionist discourse of the era, which claimed biological differences between races were innate and immutable (Rumbaut 2011). Under these presumptions, the children of immigrants could not be incorporated into American society.

Park and Burgess defined assimilation as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (1924 [1921]: 735). They characterized this process as a subtle and unconscious that takes place most quickly and completely through primary social contacts. Although Park and Burgess noted the importance of language in facilitating communication that could bring about processes of assimilation, Park (1930) also pointed out that language and acculturation would not ensure assimilation if a group was categorically segregated and racially classified. Racial discrimination and residential segregation hinder the degree to which individuals can assimilate since they prevent possible forms of primary social contact and magnify social contrasts and increase the likelihood of conflict. Park noted that for assimilation to occur, individuals should be able to be able to "participate, without encountering prejudice, in the common life, economic and political" (1930: 281). Rumbaut notes that Park is best known for his concept of the race relations cycle, which posits that "assimilation is the final stage of a natural, progressive, inevitable and irreversible 'race relations cycle' (2011:13), thus, popularizing the notion that assimilation was the final stage of a four-step process. This four-step process involves contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation. Rumbaut also points out that Park (1937) outright refuted the idea of a unilinear assimilative outcome to race conflict and change. Nevertheless, what later became called straight-line assimilation theory gained traction, especially after the publication of Warner and Srole's *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* in 1945.

Warner and Srole (1945) linked assimilation to the degree of ethnocultural (religion and language) similarities, as well as racial difference from the dominant group. Those who were racially similar would not endure discrimination or fall victims to structural inequalities but be rapidly absorbed to the American mainstream. Gordon has also been hailed as a supporter of linear assimilation theory. Gordon (1964) posited that assimilation involved a seven-step process: cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, intermarriage, absence of prejudice, discrimination, and value conflict, and finally "identificational assimilation" (identification as an unhyphenated American). Gordon's data revealed that despite acculturating to American culture, individuals maintained structurally separate subsocieties according to religious and racial and national groupings. Thus, Gordon anticipated what scholars would term "segmented assimilation" three decades later (Rumbaut 2011).

Scholars eventually critiqued dominant narratives of immigrant assimilation for presumably working under three assumptions: "the clean break" assumption, the "homogeneity" assumption, and the "progress" assumption (Suárez-Orozco 2000). Immigrants purportedly made a "clean break" from the old country in order to become Americans. The process of assimilation was believed to be fully complete after two or three generations, at which time, the children and grandchildren of immigrants would presumably join mainstream society.[4] The American mainstream was dominated by homogenous middle class, white, European American Protestants (i.e. the "homogeneity"

[4] Basch et al.'s (1994) and Glick Schiller et al.'s (1995) original conceptualization of transnationalism also countered the clean break assumption. They and other scholars have noted that pre- and post-1965 immigrants maintained ties to their homeland (Basch et al. 1994; Foner 1997; Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Guarnizo 2001)

assumption). Lastly, assimilation narratives assumed that immigration involved uniform progress, going from good to best (i.e. the progress assumption). These assumptions have been reexamined with the study of the so-called "new second generation" (Waters and Kasinitz 2013; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2014).

The "new second generation" consists of the children of Latin American, Caribbean, and Asian immigrants who came to the US after 1965, including the U.S. born children of immigrants or the children of immigrants brought from abroad at an early age (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). The new second generation does not just differ from the children of last great wave of immigrants in terms of ethnic and national origin. The new second generation must contend with different "obstacles in their path that render their successful adaptation and economic advancement problematic" (Portes and Rumbaut 2014: 300). These obstacles include racial difference, different economic prospects due to the bifurcation of the labor market, and the fact that, abandoning their immigrant culture, as earlier European immigrants allegedly did, might not be as beneficial for contemporary children of immigrants as it was for previous generation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Indeed, these obstacles may make some members of the new generation vulnerable to downward assimilation.

Post-1965 immigrants and their children must also contend with social segregation based on race of immigrants of color and European Americans (Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 2000). Portes and Rumbaut note that

> prejudice is not intrinsic to any particular skin color or racial type, and indeed many immigrants never experienced it in their native lands. It is by virtue of moving to a new country and culture where physical features are

> assigned great importance that immigrants can become targets and victims of discrimination (2014: 303).

The prejudices they encounter because of their physical differences from whites create barriers in the path of their occupational mobility and social integration, affecting their ethnic identities, aspirations, and their academic performance (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Portes and Zhou (1993) also identify location, or the areas in which immigrant households are concentrated, as an obstacle that might affect the new second generation's prospects of incorporation. Immigrants tend to settle in urban areas which, Portes and Zhou argue, puts immigrants in close contact with native-born minorities who expose the children of immigrants to adversarial subcultures native-born minorities have developed to cope with their own difficult situation.

Since 1965, immigration can no longer be thought of as an upwardly mobile journey, since for immigrants, the length of residency in the U.S. has been associated with declining health, school achievement, and aspirations (Suárez-Orozco 2002). Today's scholars view assimilation of the second generation as inevitable but do question to which sector of U.S. society they will assimilate (Portes 1999; Portes and Rumbaut 2001a, 2001b, 2014; Portes and Zhou 1993). The concept of segmented assimilation recognizes that there are three paths of adaptation: "one of them replicates the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class; a second leads straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity" (Portes and Zhou 1993:82).

Portes and Zhou (1993) emphasize the role of modes of incorporation in the process of segmented assimilation. Modes of incorporation consist of the policies of the host

government toward particular immigrant groups (e.g. government-sponsored programs for political refugees), the values and prejudices of the receiving society toward particular immigrant groups (e.g. groups that have been exempt) from traditional prejudice endured by most immigrants facilitating their process of adaptation, and the resources made available through networks in the co-ethnic community (e.g. access to a range of moral and material resources well beyond those available through official assistance programs).

Portes and Rumbaut (2001b) trace three different trajectories of incorporation or what Portes and Zhou (1993) label typologies of intergeneration relations in immigrant families among the children of immigrants: consonant, dissonant, and selective acculturation. Consonant acculturation occurs when immigrant parents and their children learn the new culture and abandon their parents' culture at approximately the same pace. This type of acculturation occurs most commonly among middle-class immigrants and their children. Dissonant acculturation occurs when the children of immigrants rapidly adopt American cultural ways and the English language, while their parents do not adapt as quickly. Dissonant acculturation is marked by higher levels of family conflict, decreasing parental authority, and children's diminishing regard for their own cultural origins since preserving their culture seemingly does not benefit their incorporation. Members of the second generation who undergo dissonant acculturation show signs of greater psychological maladjustment, including lower self-esteem and depression (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b; Zhou 2001b). Portes and Rumbaut (2001b) argue that dissonant acculturation, weak ethnic communities and negative modes of incorporation might lead to the creation a new underclass where recent immigrants of color join native minorities already relegated to the bottom of society. Selective acculturation occurs when the second

generation is embedded in supportive co-ethnic communities. Selective acculturation is characterized by less intergenerational conflict, co-ethnic friendships, and fluent bilingualism in the second generation. Children of immigrants undergoing selective acculturation learn the host culture while retaining significant elements and respect for their culture of origin. Selective acculturation may lead to better psychological adjustment, social integration, and educational achievement outcomes since it preserves bonds across immigrant generations and eases the first and second generations' transition to American society (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b; Zhou 2001). Segmented assimilation recognizes that modes of incorporation in the receiving community may determine what segment of society the children of immigrants will join, while selective acculturation recognizes that immigrant culture may facilitate incorporation for the children of immigrants.

Ethnic Replenishment

Waters and Jiménez (2005) turn their attention to new factors that might influence the new second generation's assimilation to American society: immigration to "new destinations" and ethnic replenishment. Waters and Jiménez note that in new immigrant gateways, immigrant assimilation may differ from assimilation in more established gateways in terms of intergroup relations (the place of immigrants in new class, racial, and ethnic hierarchies may be less crystalized so they have more freedom to define their position), size of new gateways (rural towns versus urban centers facilitate intra- and intergroup interactions), and institutional arrangements (new gateways might lack institutions that facilitate immigrant assimilation available in older gateways). Waters and Jiménez (2005) argue that these findings challenge theories of assimilation that posit that the more generations individuals are removed from the immigrant generation, the more

integrated into American society they would be. Tomas Jiménez delves into this idea in his work on Mexican-Americans.

In his research on ethnic replenishment, Jiménez (2010) analyzes how race, class, a history of colonization, and proximity to the border influences ethnic identity formation for Mexican Americans. His research sites include Garden City, Kansas and Santa Maria, California. Garden City is a city to which a large number of Mexicans immigrated to at the beginning of the twentieth century, which then had a period where Mexican migration stopped, and finally had another influx Mexican immigration in the 1980s. Santa Maria, CA, which has had a steady flow of Mexican immigrants and has a Mexican American and Mexican immigrant population. Jiménez notes that early sociological theories of assimilation focus on European immigrants and their descendants, neglecting to account for the experiences of Mexican Americans, whose relatives have at times been present in the U.S. longer than some European groups. Mexican Americans, unlike their European-origin counterparts, continue to have a steady flow of co-ethnics migrating the U.S.

Interestingly, among the individuals in Jiménez's study, most selectively incorporated Mexican ethnic customs in ways similar to later-generation European immigrants. Jiménez inquired into how his respondents celebrated holidays that reflected their Mexican background and found that his informants could not think of ways in which their celebrations reflected their ethnic background and if they did it was mostly through food. As for celebrating Mexican holidays, such as Cinco de Mayo and Mexican Independence Day, Jiménez's respondents did so sporadically, and their celebrations barely resembled their Mexican counterparts. Still, the friendships and romantic relationships recent Mexican arrivals form with later generation Mexican-Americans gives Mexican-

Americans access to cultural practices associated with Mexican ethnicity both by recent Mexican immigrants and by non-Mexicans, including language, food, and traditions. Ethnic replenishment adds to the ethnic distinctiveness of Mexican Americans, since continuous immigration means Mexicans in the U.S. will be associated with its foreign-born population rather than with the U.S.-born segment of is population. Thus, it becomes harder Mexican-origin individuals to join the U.S. mainstream than it was for European-origin immigrants who were able to do so after a few generations and leaves Mexican Americans subject to racial forms of nativism because of their skin color and surnames.

I extend the concept of ethnic replenishment to discuss the experiences of the children of indigenous immigrants from the town of Solaga. Unlike the individuals in Jiménez's study who commemorated Mexican holidays sporadically, celebrations among Los Angeles-based Solagueños follow their hometown's religious calendar and bear a resemblance to aspects of these festivities in the hometown. Nevertheless, migration from a rural to an urban context inevitably changes the length and shape of these festivities. Ethnic replenishment in the Solagueño community is further influenced by return visits, in which returning immigrants and youth are able to experience celebrations first-hand and have a chance to develop relationships with people in their hometown.

The Role of Music in Immigrant Integration

Work on music in immigrant communities had focused on Latino musical influences popular music, the rise in the popularity of Latino music in the U.S., and the fusion of American musical genres from Latin America and the U.S. (Aparicio and Jáquez 2003; Avant-Mier 2008; Kun 2004). Kun (2004) examines the fusion of hip-hop and banda music in Proyecto Akwid, a pair of Michoacán-born brothers raised in South Central Los Angeles.

Their hit song "No Hay Manera" was a hit on both Los Angeles' top Mexican regional and hip-hop radio stations. In their song, Proyecto Akwid rapped about the originality of their musical style over samples of popular *banda* songs, including *Banda El Recodo*'s Te Lo Pido Por Favor. Akwid's musical style created "a new hybrid that does not ask the musicians to choose one world over the other but allows them to flow between both" (Kun 2004: 754). This hybrid does not force Akwid to choose between *banda* music and hip hop but incorporates both allowing them to reinforce their Mexican and American identities.

In his work, Byrd (2015) examines the Latino music scene in Charlotte, North Carolina. His study contextualizes the lives of Latino musicians in an increasingly anti-immigrant atmosphere allowing readers to see how immigrants navigate a risky environment. The lyrics of Latino musicians in Charlotte are not overtly political. Nevertheless, Byrd argues that immigrant struggles for musical spaces are in fact about vying for political recognition. Undocumented musicians in Charlotte must weigh the legal risks of touring, while organize must be conscious of the availability of public transportation for concert attendees. Byrd also discusses the staging of musical festivals, which requires organizers to pitch Latinos as harmless consumers to secure corporate sponsorship in an era where they are portrayed as a threat to American society. While some musicians may be opposed the corporatization of Latinidad at these events, music festivals provide Latinos with a place in which they can celebrate their national background and stake claims to the U.S. and to their countries of origin.

In a similar vein, Alex E. Chávez (2015, 2017) examines how Mexicans living on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border use *huapango arribeño*, a style of music popular in the Mexican states of Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, and Guanajuato, to construct community in an

anti-immigrant and anti-Latino context. Chávez focuses on the dialogic improvisation of *huapango arribeño*, which allows performers to debate contemporary and historical events, places, and social concerns within their lyrics. Chávez understands the sounds of *huapango arribeño* as part of "*voicing* one's place in the world, that is, claiming space across the physical divides of nations and the cultural divides of politics" (2017:11). Thus, both authorized and unauthorized performers are able to use their voices to claim space in their places of origin and in the U.S. Chávez argues that the bodies of musicians bear traces of the places they have known and alter the places where they have been, allowing move physically across distances and are also to move people emotionally thereby solidifying connections across borders. Thus, individuals can use music to locate themselves in different geographies at the same time. This phenomenon parallels Basch et al.'s concept of transnational social fields, which argues that daily activities allows immigrants to "forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al. 1994: 6).

O'Hagin and Harnish (2006) found that Latino musicians and communities use music as a way to preserve their musical traditions and to celebrate culture as a collective. O'Hagin and Harnish's informants further revealed that music and dance allow them to not only connect to their fellow musicians and dancers, but also to their audience. Indeed, Turino (2008) uses the concept of social synchrony to analyze the relationship between musicians and dancers in participatory settings:

> It is in participatory settings, however, that focal attention to synchrony becomes the most pronounced and important. Because the music and dance of participatory performances are not scripted in advance, participants must have to pay special attention to the sounds and motions of others on a moment-to-moment basis … Knowing and hence being able to perform appropriately in the style is itself a dicent index of belonging and social

> identity, because performance competence *is both a sign and simultaneously a product of* shared musical knowledge and experience -- shared habits (2008:43)

Therefore, a shared musical knowledge allows people to connect their places of settlement with their places of origin. Furthermore, this shared knowledge indexes belonging to a particular group. Drawing on these concepts, I conceptualize Oaxacan music, which my interlocuters play, listen, and dance to, as a means through which they connect to their places of origin. This is especially significant for members of Oaxacan youth bands who grow up or are born away from their parents' hometown but are exposed to their culture at social and religious functions where they perform. Participating in Solagueño events allows these young musicians to connect with other Oaxacan musicians, as well as other community members in attendance. These encounters allow indigenous immigrants and their children to replenish their indigenous identities away from their ethnic homeland.

Work on the new second generation recognizes that the assimilation of the "new second generation," the children of Latin American, Caribbean, and Asian immigrants who came to the U.S. after 1965, follows a different trajectory than it did for the children of last great wave of European immigrants at the turn of the 20th century. These differences are not merely limited to differences in ethnic and national origin of the new second generation, but also the fact that, abandoning their immigrant culture, as earlier European immigrants allegedly did, might not be as beneficial for contemporary children of immigrants as it was for previous generation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). I argue that transnational practices "offer viable bridge and platform for successful integration in the second and successive generations" (Portes and Rumbaut 2014:23; see

also Çaglar 2007). Further, this research addresses how participation in the transnational social field affects the integration of the children of immigrants into American society. By studying the transnational practices of the children of indigenous immigrants, this project asks what motivates youths to participate in patron saint celebrations and the effects of this participation on the integration of these youths into U.S. society.

Mixed-Status Families

As previously noted, the children of immigrants who arrived in the U.S. after 1965 encounter obstacles to their incorporation to the U.S. that previous generations of immigrants did not face, including racial difference, different economic prospects, and more restrictive immigration policy (Gomberg-Muñoz 2017; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Restrictive immigration policies, drafted to deter migration to the U.S., have been instrumental in the continued flow of Mexican immigrants. Revisions to immigration law have diminished the possibilities for Mexicans to migrate to the U.S. legally "and thus played an instrumental role in the production of a legally vulnerable undocumented workforce of 'illegal aliens'" (De Genova 2004:161). This has led to the creation of binational families or mixed-status families, immigrant families with both documented and undocumented members (L. Chavez 2013). Mixed-status families are composed of various combinations of undocumented immigrants, legal permanent residents, and naturalized citizens whose status may change as undocumented members adjust their status and permanent residents naturalize (Fix and Zimmermann 2001). Mixed-status families often have a harder time accessing social services and resources, since parents might be able to receive services for some of their children but not for their undocumented siblings who are ineligible for the same benefits (Capps, Kenney, & Fix

2003; Fix and Zimmermann 2001). In such instances, undocumented youth are confronted with the limitations of their legal status.

Gonzales et al. (2013) demonstrate the effect of immigration policy on the process of identity formation among undocumented youth. They argue that for undocumented 1.5-generation youth, entering adolescence results in "entering the world of the 'illegal immigrant'" (Gonzales et al. 2013:1190). During this already difficult life stage, undocumented youth must also confront the repercussions of their legal status. Thus, their conflicting experiences of inclusion and exclusion affect their emotional and mental health. Entering adolescence and being unable to participate in many of the rites of passage that their peers experience, leads to a distortion between their previous notions of self (when they were unaware of their legal status or their status did not matter) to their current conception of self, where they are "illegal." Their internalization of the discourse on "illegal aliens," leads to increased levels of stress and anxiety, fear, and isolation. Some externalize their behavior through engaging in excessive drinking and experimenting with drugs, while others internalize their feelings by developing chronic depression or having difficulties sleeping. Stress causes others to develop chronic diseases such as high blood pressure and headaches due to their status.

For the children of undocumented immigrants, the undocumented status of their parents may be detrimental to children in various ways. Having an undocumented parent may be associated with lower cognitive skills in early childhood, lower levels of general positive development in middle childhood, higher levels of anxiety and depressive symptoms during adolescence, and fewer years of schooling (Yoshikawa and Kholoptseva 2013). These symptoms are attributed to the possibility of detention and removal of

undocumented immigrant parents, which can harm their children's learning and emotional development due to disruption in attachment, interruptions in schooling, and economic hardship stemming from loss of parental income (Chaudry et al. 2010; Dreby 2012; Yoshikawa and Kholoptseva 2013). Undocumented parents might face barriers to enrolling the U.S.-born children in social welfare programs because of lack of information about these programs, a lack of English proficiency, and fear that they could be identified as unauthorized immigrants and make themselves vulnerable to arrest and removal (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011, Yoshikawa 2011).

Despite data that suggests that the children of immigrants may not access social welfare programs (Menjívar 2006; Menjívar & Abrego 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011; Yoshikawa 2011), politicians have made various attempts to strip immigrants and their children of social services they allegedly exploit. California's Proposition 187 was a ballot initiative that sought to deny undocumented immigrants social services, including prenatal care and education for their children (L. Chavez 2013). Supporters of reducing access to healthcare for undocumented immigrants believed this would eliminate a principal attraction that brought both documented and undocumented immigrants to the U.S., reduce incentives for family formation and discourage migration of spouses and children to the U.S. Leo Chavez (2013a) agrees that immigrants do benefit from social services and education, but not to the point of being a burden to American society. He notes that "immigrant workers cost society little to produce (the cost of raising and educating them were borne by their families and home societies); they are often willing to perform low-wage work; they are typically young and relatively healthy; and they are often afraid to pursue, or are unaware of, their rights as workers" (L. Chavez 2013:154). In the end, U.S.

society as a whole and especially American employers benefit from having an exploitable workforce.

Rodriguez (2016) notes that some immigration policies specifically target mixed-status families, particularly through immigrant women's reproduction. The U.S.-born children of Latina immigrants have been portrayed as part of a devious plot by undocumented immigrants to freeload off of U.S. resources and eventually naturalize their parents (L. Chavez 2013). Still, undocumented parents of U.S. citizens are less likely to apply for food stamp benefits or seek health care benefits, for lack of information or fear of deportation. Thus, so-called "anchor babies" may not even benefit from the social services and institutions they and their parents supposedly exploit, services and institutions that traditionally benefited immigrant families (Abrego and Gonzales 2010; Menjívar 2006; Menjívar & Abrego 2009).

Legal violence describes the process by which immigration laws directly and indirectly punish undocumented immigrants for being in the U.S. without authorization (Menjivar and Abrego 2012). Legal status leaves members of many families vulnerable to deportation and forces them to develop strategies to try to avoid deportation, including avoiding leaving their home. Multigenerational punishment extends the concept of legal violence to analyze how legal sanctions intended for undocumented immigrants extend into the lives of U.S. citizens (Enriquez 2015). As with Menjivar and Abrego's, Enriquez's informants develop risk-management strategies to avoid deportation. As a result of their hypervigilance, the children of undocumented immigrants also become wary of police. In doing so, undocumented parents realize they cannot provide their children with a carefree childhood, leading parents to develop feelings of guilt and anxiety. Enriquez finds that

restrictions on undocumented immigrants movement within the U.S. and internationally also affect citizen children, who consequently are unable to travel and bond with their peers over the same social and cultural capital.

Work on the effects of immigration raids on mixed-status Latino families demonstrates that U.S. citizen children are also vulnerable during these raids (Romero 2008). Romero finds that Latinos are more often at risk of being targeted for citizen inspection in low-income, Latino neighborhoods. Their physical appearance and dress also makes them targets for inspection. During inspections, family members, regardless of status, suffer embarrassment and humiliation. Children are not treated as a protected class and are instead intimidated and interrogated without their parents. Thus, despite their status or long-term familial presence in the U.S., citizens are marked as outsider and treated as such. If citizen inspection in fact leads to the deportation of an undocumented parent, the entire family, including U.S. citizen children, may have to leave the U.S. or the undocumented parent may be deported, creating a single-parent family, leave children with other caregivers, or have citizen children placed into foster care (Fix & Zimmerman 2001; Wessler 2011). In this dissertation, I examine how Solagueños youths identities as the children of indigenous immigrants, relationships to Latinos and non-Latinos in the U.S., and members of mixed-status families coalesce to shape youths' transnational practices.

Transnationalism

The assumption that immigrants' ties to the home community would be short-lived obscured immigrants' enduring transnational practices. Today's immigrants are actors on a transnational stage as a result of mass transportation and new communication technologies (Basch et. al 1994; Glick Schiller et. al 1995; Suárez-Orozco 2000) Thus,

immigrants tend to be "here" (in the receiving community) and "there" (in the sending community), articulating dual consciousness and multiple identities. Today, migration is no thought of as an uprooting or a process of acculturation (Basch et. al 1994; Glick Schiller et. al 1995; Portes 1999). This is in part due to the recognition that immigrants "through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders" (Basch et al. 1994: 6). Scholars argue that transnationalism is not a new phenomenon, since similar processes and transnational movement between receiving communities also took place among European immigrants in turn of the century America (Waldinger 2009; Foner 1997; Glick Schiller 1996). Nevertheless, Portes argues that "until the concept of immigrant transnationalism was coined and refined, the common character and significance of these phenomena remained obscure" (2001:184). Further, today's transnational communities possess distinct characteristics that justify coining a new term to refer to them (Portes 1997). These characteristics include: the number of people involved, the instantaneous character of communication, and the fact that transnational activities may be a strategy for immigrants to cope with low wage jobs and discrimination in the receiving community.

Transnational social fields are composed of "multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004:1009). Glick Schiller argues that the concept of transnational social fields enable us to grasp "the ways in which transmigrants become part of the fabric of daily life in more than one state, *simultaneously* participating in the social, cultural, economic, religious, or political activities of more than

one locality" (Glick Schiller 2003:107, emphasis added). Thus, the concept of the transnational social field allows researchers to investigate how immigrants and their children can simultaneously be active in their home community, while integrating and being active in the receiving community (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Importantly, this concept allows researchers to recognize that there are different types of social relations maintained across borders through various forms of communication linking those who move and those who stay behind. Importantly, transnational social fields recognize that transnational connections do not necessitate transnational movement, since transnational social fields include individuals who have never crossed borders, but who are connected through social relations to people in distant locations (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004).

Tsuda (2012) notes that Glick Schiller and her collaborators' initial conceptualization of transnationalism is two-fold (Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999; Glick Schiller et al. 1995). The first part of their definition refers to what Tsuda terms the transborder aspect of transnationalism: the social connections and linkages immigrants create and maintain with the sending community. The second part posits that transnational social fields allows immigrants to be embedded in two societies, thus, enabling immigrants to simultaneously affect and influence both the sending and receiving communities (simultaneity). Tsuda argues that researchers have focused on the transborder aspect of transnationalism (economic, political, social and cultural connections immigrants develop in the sending country) while neglecting how immigrants simultaneously affect and influence both the sending and receiving communities. Studies that focus on the economic, political, and socio-cultural connections of transnationalism are

actually studying a nationalist phenomenon or what Glick Schiller and Fouron termed "long-distance nationalism."

Tsuda believes that to truly theorize transnational simultaneity, researchers must examine immigrants' simultaneous engagement in both sending and receiving societies as interrelated processes, rather than separate processes that can simply occur together. He suggests four ways in which the relationship between sending and receiving community engagement can be conceptualized in order to understand the nature of transnational simultaneity. The first of these relationships is the zero-sum relationship, where increased engagement in one country leads to decreased engagement in the other. The second involves the co-existence of sending and receiving community engagement without one directly affecting the other. The third relationship is a positively reinforcing one, where increased engagement in one country leads to increased involvement in the other. The last option is a negatively reinforcing relationship, where decreased engagement with one society also causes disengagement with the other.

Transnational activities occur among powerful actors, such as government representatives, and ordinary people (Portes 1999). Portes attempts to uncover why transnational practices are popular in certain communities. He argues that "when migration is massive and motivated by political convulsions at home, it is highly likely that immigrants remain morally tied to kin and communities left behind and thus more likely to engage in a variety of activities that maintain a common bond" (1999: 464). On the other hand, when migration is more of an individualized process, transnational activities are more selective, since they lack the normative component attached to them as among participants in a political diaspora. Migrants may also use their distinct cultural make-up,

such as the Kanjobal Mayas, to shape the political activities tying it to its communities (Popkin 1999; Portes 1999). Strong hometown networks, such as the networks in rural areas may foster sustained transnational activities, in stark contrast of urban migrants whose choice to migrate is made on an individual level (Guarnizo and Portes 2001; Roberts et al. 1999).

Transnationalism may also be a direct response to racial and cultural in the receiving community. Transnational practices, then, become a way to reaffirm the collective worth of the group, which Portes (1999) identifies as reactive ethnicity. Although immigrants in these situations may be physically present in the receiving community, but are certainly not "of it," leading them to see themselves as belonging elsewhere both socially and economically. Portes suggests that these groups create a protective boundary around the group by identifying with traditions and interests from the sending community to symbolically and, at times, physically separate themselves from the receiving community. An example of transnational activities born out of reactive ethnicity are the transnational practices (in the form of indigenous customs, language, and traditions) of Mayan immigrants in Los Angeles who use these practice to reaffirm their indigenous identity against discrimination from mainstream American society and other Latino immigrants (Popkin 1999).

Transnational practices among immigrants' communities may raise concern among nativists and anti-immigrant pundits. This is especially the case for Latinos who have been portrayed in public discourse as "'alien-citizens,' perpetual foreigners with divided allegiances despite being US citizens by birth, even after many generation" (L. Chavez 2008:31). Samuel Huntington has gone as far as calling this "problem" the "Hispanic

Challenge" alleging "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 US 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" (2004:30). Thus, transnational activities among immigrants and their children may serve as fodder to discourse that characterizes Latinos and other immigrants as unwilling to relinquish their immigrant culture to assimilate to mainstream American society as previous generation have done. Nevertheless, those involved in "transnational activities and organizations are usually more established and better educated immigrants. They are precisely the candidates for a more rapid and more successful integration to the host society" (Portes and Rumbaut 2014:23; see also L. Chavez 2008; Portes 2001). Further, individuals who practice selective acculturation (learn the host culture while retaining significant elements and respect for their culture of origin) are better psychological adjusted, are social integrated in the receiving community, and have better educational achievement outcomes since this type of acculturation preserves bonds across immigrant generations and eases the first and second generations' transition to American society (Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Zhou 2001).

Return trips and contact with relatives and friends in the sending community can instill a sense of belonging and positive self-esteem among the children of immigrants and protect youth from the racialization and racial inequality they are subjected to in the U.S. (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Nevertheless, some parents may be hesitant to make return trips with their children because of their children's lack of familiarity with their country of

origin and fear that they may be ridiculed for their lack of language proficiency or cultural familiarity (L. Chavez 2013). The level of transnational engagement of first-generation parents influences how active their children will be in their own transnational practices (Kasinitz et al. 2002).[5] The literature on the second generation varies on the strength and persistence of their transnational cultural practices, as well as whether maintaining connection to their home communities interferes with or supports integration into US society (L. Chavez 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Rumbaut 2002). Transnational engagement among the children of immigrants may ebb and flow according to their life-cycle stages or in response to specific incidents or crises (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Somerville 2007). Indeed, transnational practices among the second generation might be sporadic (Levitt and Waters 2002). Participation in return trips may occur even less frequently among the 1.5-generation due to legal status (Gonzales and Chavez 2012). Nevertheless, the transnational experience of 1.5-generation immigrants is often conflated with the experiences of the second generation, obscuring the 1.5-generation's unique transnational experiences (Cruz-Manjarrez 2013; King and Christou 2008), especially in regard to the role of legal status in transnational movement. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the 1.5-generation is not transnational, especially if the concept of the transnational social field is employed to study their transnational practices in the receiving community (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2002; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Transnational social fields include individuals who have never crossed borders. Many more immigrants who do not cross or are unable to cross international borders may be engaged in

[5] Portes argues that transnationalism within the first generation is "limited in absolute and relative numbers" (2001:183).

transnational practices. Thus, transnationalism may take on a different form among members of the undocumented 1.5 generation.

Jones-Correa (2009) argues that transnationalism in the second generation decreases due to integration into the host society. Nevertheless, similar to Jiménez's argument of replenished ethnicity (2010), Jones-Correa believes that the continued migration of people from the home community could result in sustained transitional connections. Other research demonstrates that return visits among second-generation youth allow for the construction and reinforcement of ethnic identity in the U.S., as well as the formation of social relationships with relatives in the sending community, potentially leading to transnationalism as adults.

Maira (2002) describes second-generation visits to India as critical for second-generation youths' understanding of ethnicity and nationalism. She found that trips to India were seen as a rite of passage among Indian-Americans and harkened to the idea of returning or "going back" to an ancestral homeland. Viruell-Fuentes (2006) sees return visits as valuable resources for the construction of ethnic identities. Return visits allow members of the second-generation to build a sense of solidarity and belonging while resisting "othering" and the racialized stereotypes in the receiving community. Haikkola (2011) notes that individuals respond to return visits in various ways. Some might feel alienated from their place of origin and support minority ethnic identification in the receiving community. Kibria (2002) also found that return visits can also serve to highlight the differences between the children of Chinese and Korean immigrants and those remaining in the sending community. Alternatively, those who have positive experiences during return visits may identify with and have meaningful connections to both sending

and receiving communities. Lastly, Haikkola suggests that a third path involves orienting toward other places: the place of origin or to the global opportunity structure as a response to discrimination in the receiving community or simply out of volition.

This research project asks whether transnational practices among the children of indigenous immigrants are a response to discrimination in the U.S. or whether the need to engage in these practices is embedded in the customs and traditions of their home community. Further, this research asks why would the children of indigenous immigrants, many of whom are born abroad, engage in these practices. Levels of transnational engagement of first-generation parents influences how active their children will be in their own transnational practices (L. Chavez 2008; Kasinitz et al. 2002). For Oaxacan immigrants, transnational engagement may involve participation in traditional institutions like the cargo system. Thus, the transnational engagement of immigrants is closely tied to that of their children. Still, the incorporation of the children of indigenous immigrants has been relatively understudied.

Rituals and Immigrant Religion

Anthropological work on religion has focused on the use of rituals as a way to regulate and stabilize the social order, adjust a group's internal interactions, maintain the group ethos, and restore harmony after any disturbance (Bell 1997; Durkheim 1915; Radcliffe-Brown 1945; Robertson Smith 1889). For Durkheim, ritual rites and ceremonies were important as they allowed the social group to congregate. These rites and ceremonies arouse feelings of collective effervescence, in which individuals experience something larger than themselves, which Durkheim argued, was the collective community in a disguised form. Similarly, scholars studying the religious practices and institutions of

immigrants argue that these practices foster and strengthen a sense of ethnic identity among immigrant groups by reproducing and reaffirming important aspects of their home-country cultures (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Foner and Alba 2008). Religious practices among immigrants are also characterized as a reterritorialization of religious practices (McAlister 1998, Tweed 1997). That is, new religious sites in the receiving country add to, rather than replace spiritual centers in the sending country. McAlister (1998) also stresses the importance of transnational movement for religious purposes. In her case study, Haitian immigrants are able to perform healings and interventions in times of crisis in the US, nevertheless, they must return to Haiti for more serious works, such as initiations and funerary rituals (McAlister 1998). Legal status may influence transborder movement for undocumented immigrants thereby affecting the extent and character of immigrants' transnational activities, including their religious practices (Faist 2000; Levitt 2003; Menjivar 2002). In cases when immigrants may be unable to return their country of origin, such as with Cuban exiles living in Miami, rituals in honor of their national patron saint figuratively transport immigrants between the sending and receiving community (Tweed 1997, 2002). Thus, religious identities and practices also enable immigrants to sustain membership in multiple locations, allowing them to affirm continued attachments to a particular sending community or nation even if they are unable to return to their home country (Levitt 2003).

Transnational Festivities

Research on rural communities has defied previously held assumptions of these communities as discrete and isolated from the outside world, showing that they fact depend on labor migration to maintain their social organization and way of life

(Paerregaard 2010). Rural-urban networks allow immigrants to contribute to the reproduction of rural life forms, particularly patron saint celebrations, and enable immigrants to maintain ties to their places of origin. Mayan immigrants from the community of Cuchumatán, Guatemala living in the United States use their town's patron saint celebrations of All Saints Day and Day of the Dead to strengthen their ties to their hometown and to reiterate their desire to belong to Cuchumatán (Burrell 2005). Patron saint celebrations allow returning immigrants to exert influence and disrupt power relations and ways of experiencing culture in the hometown because of their relative economic strength and buying power. Similarly, Mixtec immigrants living in the United States return to their hometown's patron saint celebrations in Oaxaca to prove to their community members and to themselves their attachment to the hometown (Gonzalez 1999). Like their Mayan counterparts, Mixtecs also use the fiestas to display the material wealth they have accumulated as immigrants in the U.S. Among Ticuanenses, transnational social and religious practices allow them to remain active in their community both in New York and in Mexico. Mixtec immigrants from Ticuani, Puebla are connected to their town through the cargo system, an institution which organizes social, political, and ritual life and defines membership in indigenous communities (Smith 2000). Ties to the cargo system lead some Ticuanense immigrants to return to their hometown to fulfill their obligations to the instituton, while others return for patron saint celebrations as part of their family vacation. Festivities in Ticuani include a pilgrimage in which 200 people run in honor of Padre Jesus, half of whom are returning immigrants or their children. Ticuanenses living in New York recreate these celebrations in their new home where they celebrate their patron saint by holding a mass, a celebration, and a marathon in honor of Padre Jesus.

Andean immigrants from Cabanaconde, Peru use patron saint celebrations to strengthen their networks in their hometown (Paerregaard 2010). Paerregaard suggests that immigrants' participation in the fiesta intensifies economic and social divisions within the community by showing what villagers have access to migrant networks and those who do not. Among immigrants, return trips highlight the differences among documented immigrants who are able to return for fiestas and undocumented immigrants who are unable to do so. Similarly, Peruvian immigrants in Urcumarca use fiestas to improve their and their relatives' social position and in the hometown and as a way to make claims to both local and transnational membership and belonging (Berg 2008). For immigrants, returning to the home community to partake in in the patron saint celebrations legitimizes their claims of belonging to the Urcumarquino community in Peru and the U.S., since being in Urcumarca is seen as an authentic and validating experience. In other work, Berg (2015) describes return trips among Urcumarquino immigrants as a rite of passage that marks their transition from undocumented temporary workers to legal permanent residents. Once they have adjusted their status, many return to their hometown to sponsor festivities as a token of their appreciation and gratitude to the town's patron saints. Berg highlights the production and circulation of fiesta videos of patron saint celebrations. These videos are produced for the consumption of locals, tourists, and immigrants, as they are sold at local stores and sent to the United States for undocumented immigrants who are not able to return for patron saint celebrations in the hometown. Berg discusses how videographers are hired by returning immigrants to chronicle the fiesta and record the commentary of townspeople about the unfolding events. Sponsors not only instruct hired videographers on what events to record but are also told who not to elicit commentary from. Thus,

returning immigrants do this best to control the narrative of the fiesta videos. Immigrant sponsors who are not able to return to the festivities they sponsor use fiesta videos to ensure their remittances have been used efficiently and are able to express their approval (or disapproval) after seeing the fiesta video.

Overall, scholars agree that transnational festivities allow immigrants to sustain and display attachments to their community. Yet, most of this work focuses on festivities in immigrants' hometown. Furthermore, these studies focus on first-generation immigrants with only Smith's work on Ticuanenses from Puebla mentioning the second generation. My research examines transnational festivities in Los Angeles and Solaga and examines what these festivities symbolize for the children of immigrants.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Previous research among indigenous immigrants living in the United States has shown the importance of social ties that bind indigenous people to a common community of origin (Foxen 2007; Hagan 1994). Thus, I conducted two years of ethnographic fieldwork from November 2014 through November 2016 among individuals with origins in the Zapotec community of San Andrés Solaga living on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. This included participant observation and interviews at three main sites: cultural group rehearsals in Los Angeles, patron saint festivities in Los Angeles, and patron saint celebrations in Solaga. Interviews with first-generation participants were conducted in in Spanish, while interviews with members of the 1.5 and 2nd generations were conducted in English and Spanish. Interviews with Solagueños currently living in Solaga were conducted in Spanish. Informants' names and identifying information have been changed to protect their identity.

Breakdown of Interviews

	Formal Interview	Informal Interview	Unauthorized Immigrant	Documented Immigrant
Solagueños in Solaga	15	2	N/A	N/A
First Generation Immigrant	16	2	11	7
1.5 Generation	8	2	4	6
Second Generation	20	3	0	23

Research Site 1: Cultural Group Rehearsals In Los Angeles

I conducted participant observation cultural group rehearsals for the Solagueño youth band, as well as traditional dance group during my time in Los Angeles. During this time, I also conducted interviews with 1.5 and 2nd generation Solagueños whom I met at rehearsals in Los Angeles. During this time, the Solagueño youth brass band met every Friday night for band practice. There, children and young adults practiced musical pieces in preparation for upcoming patron saint celebrations, social gatherings, and fundraisers. The youth band either organized these events or were hired to play at them.

While I conducted fieldwork, two dance groups composed of 1.5 and second generation Solagueño youth were active. One was composed of young women who danced an all-female version of *Danza de los Negritos*, a Oaxacan traditional dance usually performed by an all-male group, and were under the tutelage of a first-generation instructor. These young women performed at the Los Angeles *Virgen del Carmen* celebration and eventually traveled to Solaga to perform for the celebration in honor of *La Virgen del Carmen* there. The other dance group was also composed of the children of immigrants but were elementary aged children. Seemingly inspired by the preschool

presentation of the traditional Solagueño wedding at school functions and patron saint celebrations in Solaga the previous year, Solagueño immigrants in Los Angeles decided to stage the traditional wedding dance for the Los Angeles patron saint celebration. Parents of members of the band contacted the parents of younger Solagueño youth to see if their children would be interested in participating in the dance group. Those that decided to participate eventually performed in the July and November festivities in Los Angeles in 2016.

Research Site 2: Patron Saint Celebrations In Los Angeles

The Solagueño ritual calendar honors seven Catholic saints. The two major feasts honor *La Virgen del Carmen* and *San Andrés*, the most important saints in the Solagueño pantheon. Patron saint celebrations in Los Angeles are held in Solagueño homes or at dance halls that feast sponsors rent for the occasion. At these celebrations the Solagueño youth brass band along with another brass band from a neighboring village play traditional music. These festivities usually have one traditional dance performed by a Solagueño dance group, composed of members of the first generation or by their children, members of the 1.5 and second generation.

Data Collection Methods

1) Participant observation: I attended and participated in Solagueño patron saint celebrations in honor of *La Virgen de los Remedios, Santa Cecili*a, and *San Andrés.* There, I observed the forms of participation of 1.5 and 2nd generation individuals in the ritual aspects of these events, the roles they were charged with during these events, as well as the number of 1.5 and 2nd generation individuals in attendance. Forms of participation were

categorized as follows: spectators (attend events but not as dancers and/or musicians) and performers (participating as dancers and/or musicians).

Informants were asked how important they deem this involvement to processes of identity formation. That is, how important these ritual practices or other practices were in their determination of what groups individuals see themselves as part of (or what groups they feel they are excluded from) and how that affected informants' sense of self. Further participants were asked how feelings of belonging to Solaga and to the U.S. affect this sense of self. Informants were asked under what circumstances and for what reasons they may mobilize their Solagueño, American, or national, ethnic, racial, and legal identities. Informants were asked how these identities influence their social integration to the U.S. and Mexico. Informants from the *1.5 and 2nd generation* were also asked about their parents' participation in Solagueño community events in Los Angeles and Solaga, whether their parents encourage them to participate in Solagueño events in Los Angeles or to travel to sending community and if so, why they agree to do so. First generation informants were also asked these questions. Lastly, 1.5 generation informants were also be asked whether they believe their legal status, whether documented or undocumented, affects their transnational involvement.

Research Site 3: Virgen del Carmen Celebration In Solaga

I traveled from Los Angeles to the sending community of San Andrés Solaga. In Solaga, she will conduct participant observation during the *Virgen del Carmen* festivities and she will interview Solagueños currently living in the town, as well as visiting immigrants and their children who return to partake in the *Virgen del Carmen* festivities, the height of the Solagueño ritual cycle, in the month of July. The annual festivities for *La*

Virgen del Carmen are held over the course of four days in the month of July. This celebration is the largest of Solaga's patron saint celebrations. The festivities take place in *El Centro*, the town square. There, a basketball tournament and *jaripeo* (rodeo) take place during the day; local and visiting *bandas* play while revelers dance at night. Solagueños and visitors are also entertained by *danzas* (traditional dances of the region) in front of the church.

Data Collection Methods

1) Participant Observation: In Solaga, I conducted structured observations to gauge how 1.5 and 2nd generation Solagueños interact with each other. While I was in Solaga, I noted down each time I saw a member of the 1.5 and second generation, who this person was accompanied by, be it a member of the first, 1.5, or second generation, a Solagueño resident, or people of Solagueño origin visiting from different parts of Mexico (including Oaxaca City and Mexico City). My background as a second-generation American-born Solagueña who returned for the *Virgen del Carmen* celebrations for over 20 years gave me the ability to be able to conduct these observations by sight only.

Nevertheless, I conducted some pre-festival research to determine who was a local, a member of the first, 1.5, or 2nd generation, and who was a person of Solagueño origin visiting from elsewhere in Mexico. Through these observations, I was able to see the types of interaction between these different groups and how connections with other returnees and current residents of Solaga might draw them to festivities. This included intra-generational and intergenerational interactions, that is whether visiting youth only socialized with other visiting youth or also with Solagueño youths and adults who remain in the sending community. I also observed and noted those that attend events in Los

Angeles and those that make the journey to Solaga for the *Virgen del Carmen* festivities, and relationships between activities in the two areas.

2) Interviews: I conducted formal interviews with first-generation immigrants, 1.5 and 2nd generation Solagueños, and Solagueños who were living in Solaga at that time. These interviews were conducted in Zapotec, Spanish, and English. Some of these interviews were informal because of time constraints during the fiesta. I collected names and contact information from those with whom I conducted informal interviews to potentially conduct a more formal interview after the festivities or back in Los Angeles. Interviews with first, 1.5, and 2nd generation Solagueños inquired into their involvement in Solagueño ritual events, including patron saint celebrations in Los Angeles, participation in the youth band or dance group, and why they chose to travel to sending community for the *Virgen del Carmen* festivities. Informants were asked how important they deemed this involvement to processes of identity formation. That is, how important these ritual practices or other practices were in their determination of what groups individuals see themselves as part of (or what groups they feel they are excluded from) and how that affected informants' sense of self. Further they were asked how feelings of belonging to Solaga and to the U.S. affected this sense of self. Informants were asked under what circumstances and for what reasons they may mobilize their Solagueño, American, or national, ethnic, racial, and legal identities. Informants were also be asked how these identities influenced their the social integration to the U.S. and Mexico. Informants from the 1.5 and 2nd generation were also be asked about their parents' participation in Solagueño community events in Los Angeles and Solaga, whether their parents encouraged them to participate in Solagueño events in Los Angeles or to travel to sending community and if so, why they agreed to do so. Finally,

first, 1.5, and 2nd generation informants were asked about their reception when they visit Solaga, whether they felt welcome by the locals, what drew them to the home community, and how often they returned. Interviews with Solagueños currently living in Solaga inquired into their perception of the criteria that establishes community membership in Solaga. That is, what criteria make someone a Solagueño/a and how do immigrants and their children fit in this conceptualization. In what way does living and being born outside of the community mean immigrants and their children do not meet those criteria. Finally, Solagueños were asked what they think it means for immigrants and their children to return to the community for patron saint festivities.

Conclusion

In this project, the way that I have focused specifically on the topic of religion in order to highlight my broader contributions to anthropology. To this end, I took Solagueño patron saint celebrations across the U.S.-Mexico border as one of its main objects of analysis, bringing together conversations in anthropological research on religion in indigenous communities with research on immigrant religion. Anthropological work on religion has focused on the use of rituals as a way to regulate and stabilize the social order, maintain the group ethos, and restore harmony after any disturbance (Durkheim 1915; Radcliffe-Brown 1945; Robertson Smith 1889). In a similar vein, scholars studying patron saint celebrations and the cargo system in indigenous communities argue that these festivities are a means through which wealthier members of the community can display their wealth through acceptable channels, while redistributing wealth through the expenditures used to put on these celebrations (Harris 1964; Nash 1975; Wolf 1959). Other scholars highlight the capacity of these festivities to bring indigenous communities

together (Gross 2009; Whitecotton 1977). Consequently, I have considered patron saint celebrations, particularly those held outside of the community of origin, as a social glue that brings the community together allowing Solagueños to reproduce their community and its traditions outside of the ancestral homeland. Thus, while patron saint celebrations were originally used as a means of colonial domination over indigenous peoples throughout Latin America, today, they offer a way for indigenous youth who born or raised in the U.S. to partake in religious celebrations from their parents' hometown. For Solagueño youth this happens through their participation as dancers and musicians. This allows them to participate and take pride in aspects of their parents' indigenous roots in a potentially hostile environment they encounter as part of the Latino immigrant population and as indigenous people within this heterogeneous population. Indigeneity, in this sense, is both relational and primordial: existing forms of creating and sustaining communal and social relationships are reproduced and reconfigured in new contexts, but do not cease to be indigenous. Again, this is a novel theoretical contribution to the discipline of anthropology regarding how indigeneity has figured as a traditional object of ethnographic knowledge.

Second, my research has extended interdisciplinary conversations about migration. First, the research has contributed to a body of scholarship that has been challenging the notion that the Mexican immigrant population is a monolothic group in the United States (Delugan 2010; Forte 2010). The surge in the migration of indigenous people from southern Mexico to the United States not only signifies a change in the diversity of the Mexican immigrant population but adds dimensions to the process of integration of this newer group of immigrants and their children. Previous research first-generation indigenous immigrants found that their indigenous background makes them targets of

discrimination by non-indigenous Mexicans in both Mexico and the U.S. (Kearney 2000; Stephen 2007). This research contributes to more recent work on the experiences of the children of indigenous immigrants in the U.S., much of which discusses the experiences of indigenous children in American schools (Barillas-Chón 2010; Ruiz and Barajas 2012; Vasquez 2012). Like these studies, I found similar instances of discrimination toward the children of indigenous immigrants at the hands of some of the children of *mestizo* Latino immigrants. However, in examining the experiences of youth who participate in the social and ritual life of their parents' community in the United States and Mexico, this research adds a transnational dimension to the study of youth living outside of their indigenous homeland. Further, in the dissertation I argue that partaking in patron saint celebrations ameliorates feelings of rejection at the hands of some members of the Latino population by fostering a strong sense of ethnic pride among youth who participate in these celebrations.

This dissertation argues that transnational practices also enables Solagueño youth and their parents to sustain membership in multiple communities, allowing them to affirm continued attachment and affiliation with the sending community, even if they are unable to physically return. With more restrictive immigration policies and border enforcement, undocumented immigrants are no longer able to engage in patterns of circular migration, leading many undocumented immigrants to settle in the U.S. rather than returning to their home country after working in the U.S. for a certain period of time (DeGenova 2004; Inda 2006). Their children are also punished for their parents unauthorized presence in the U.S. (Enriquez 2015; L. Chavez 2017). Solagueño children share their parents' fear and anxiety of detention and deportation. Nevertheless, immigrants and their children overcome restrictions on the transborder movement of undocumented immigrants by sending citizen

children to the home community in their stead, allowing both parents and children to maintain ties to Solaga even if parents themselves are unable to return. Return trips and contact with relatives and friends in the sending community can instill a sense of belonging and positive self-esteem among the children of immigrants and protect youth from the racialization and racial inequality they are subjected to in the U.S. (Portes and Rumbaut 2014).

Social ties and networks were integral to the migration of Solagueños to Los Angeles, CA as with other immigrant communities (Massey et al. 1987; Massey et al. 2002). Social ties not only brought Solagueños to the U.S but also led them to move into the same neighborhoods in Los Angeles (Alarcón et al. 2016). While living in unsafe neighborhoods placed immigrants and their children in precarious situations, the proximity of Solagueños to each other and other Oaxacan immigrants allowed them to become part of a thriving indigenous immigrant community in Los Angeles. Indigenous institutions like the cargo system, a system that organizes social, religious, and political life in indigenous communities, necessitated that immigrants maintain ties to their communities of origin despite living abroad. In the transnational context, ties to the cargo system are transferred to hometown associations and are essential for maintenance of village ties and transnational indigenous identity (Klaver 1997). While the U.S. born children of indigenous immigrants are not directly bound to the cargo system or hometown organizations, their parents' participation in these institutions and their community's social life also keeps American-born youth close to the community of origin.

Studies have shown that the transnational engagement of first-generation parents influences how active their children will be in their own transnational practices (L. Chavez

2008; Kasinitz et al. 2002). In the Solagueño case, I found that parents have been instrumental in encouraging their children participate in various aspects of these celebrations, such as the village-based band, and in return trips to the hometown. While some Solagueño youth remember this encouragement as coercion, many of my informants continue to participate in the band or engage in return visits as adults. But why? Scholars have now dismissed the assumption that immigrants' ties to their home community are short-lived and an obstacle to immigrant incorporation to U.S. society (Glick Schiller 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Participating in patron celebrations can ameliorate feelings of discrimination and assaults on identity experienced by Solagueños as part of the indigenous immigrant population and as part of the Latino population, while providing an escape from the harsh realities of immigrant life in Los Angeles. While these traditions are still popular among the children of immigrants and among some of the grandchildren of immigrants, one wonders whether the descendants of these generations will continue these practices. What will these practices look like for future generations? What might they mean for individuals with indigenous origins as they integrate in to U.S. society and begin to marry outside of the Solagueño community?

Finally, this research has implications for policy issues involving the integration of U.S. born children of immigrants in mixed-status families. Attending to the ways in which children cope with their identity and the constant risk of their parents' deportation in a climate of anti-immigrant hysteria is critical for understanding social mobility, education matriculation, and economic stability. This study contributes to work on transnational communities and pays particular attention to transnational practices among the children of immigrants. In examining patterns of identity formation among the children of indigenous

immigrants, my research is also attentive race in the U.S., particularly how the growing presence of indigenous immigrants and their children transform notions of indigeneity and *Latinidad* in the United States. Furthermore, I frame the experiences of indigenous immigrants through a transnational lens, analyzing how indigenous peoples navigate racial and social institutions in both the U.S. and Latin America. My focus on indigenous immigrants with origins in Latin America contributes to scholarly conversations in Latin American anthropology. This research is also relevant to interests in role of Catholicism in Latino communities in the United States and builds on sociological research on immigrant adaption by not only examining patterns of integration and assimilation in the U.S., but also by asking how returning to a sending community and participating in patron saint celebrations influence the identity formation and feelings of belonging of the children of immigrants.

Chapter Three:

Bi Nhol Jera Yego Iz (The Girl That Comes Back Every Year)

"Buenas tardes," I say as I walk by two men sitting in front of an adobe house.

Good afternoon.

"Buenas tardes," they reply.

"Bi che da Modest," one of them whispers to the other as I walk away.

The child of the deceased Modesto.

"Lhebo jera yego iz xhe?" he asks. *She's the one that comes back every year, right?*

"Lhebo," the man responds.

It's her.

This story is exemplary of my encounters with people living in San Andrés Solaga, the Oaxacan town from which my parents migrated in the mid-1980s. There, I am identified in several ways that are not my actual name, but through my relational identities. To Solagueños, I am *bi che da Modest Yadee* or the child of the deceased Modesto from Yatee; *bi che Elica Pio* or Elica Arce's child; *bi xha sua da Pach Pio len da Din Cansec* or the grandchild of the deceased Pacho Arce and the deceased Enedina Canseco; and *bi nhol jera yego iz* or the girl that comes back every year. In Solaga, the children of Solagueño immigrants, myself included, discover they are not individuals, but extensions of their families. This construction of self and the family differs from the one they are accustomed to in the United States, where "youths are encouraged to be economically and socially independent to make decisions for themselves, and to believe that each individual is the best judge of what he or she wants and should do" (Shkodrani and Gibbons 1995:766). In traveling to Solaga, American-reared youth must cope with a collective society where they are expected

to acquiesce to the needs and values of the group for the sake of social cohesion (Diaz-Loving and Draguns 1999). Differences in societal expectations could lead to conflict between visiting youth and Solagueño locals jeopardizing the chances of satisfying and repeated return visits that could build an attachment and loyalty to their parents' hometown (Huang et al. 2015).

Bi nhol jera yego iz or "the girl that comes back every year" highlights my relationship to Solaga as a place. Solagueños' usage of the word *jera* strikes me because it marks a sense of return. Embedded in this Zapotec word is the idea that I am returning to the place I come from and from which I have been temporarily absent. If I were known as *bi nhol jhid yego iz*, which in English translates to "the girl that comes every year," locals would signal a distance between not only Solaga and myself, but between them and myself. *Jhid* implies foreignness. An individual may come to Solaga but never really belong and thus they come but do not "come back" or "return."

I start this chapter by examining how Solagueños see me in an effort to place myself in my field sites as a second-generation American with origins in Solaga and as a researcher. This examination is also an effort to introduce the ways in which the children of Solagueños living in the United States, whom I studied, navigate their own self and social identities (Tsuda 2003) in a transnational social field that stretches from our parents' hometown of Solaga to Los Angeles, CA, where Solagueño immigrants have settled since the 1970s. I also engage with anthropologists' who have written about their fieldwork experiences, focusing on the experiences and theoretical contributions of anthropologists who share similar backgrounds to their informants.

Native Anthropology As A Homecoming

At the beginning of *Mules and Men*, Zora Neale Hurston reflected on her decision to collect folklore tales in her hometown of Eatonville, Florida:

> I was glad when somebody told me, 'You may go and collect Negro folklore.' In a way it would not be a new experience for me. When I pitched headforemost into the world I landed in the crib of negroism. From the earliest rocking of my cradle, I had known about the capers Brer Rabbit is apt to cut and what the Squinch Owl says from the house top. But it was fitting me like a tight chemise. I couldn't see it for wearing it. It was only when I was off in college, away from my native surroundings, that I could see myself like somebody else and stand off and look at my garment. Then I had to have the spy-glass of Anthropology to look through at that (2008:1).

In *Mules and Men*, Hurston writes about going back to her hometown as a return, having previously left to attend college and encountering what she terms "the spy-glass of Anthropology," through which she can now analyze the phenomena she encounters. For anthropologists studying their own society, this endeavor "involves an inverse process from the study of an alien one. Instead of learning conceptual categories and then, through fieldwork, finding the contexts in which to apply them, those of us who study societies in which we have preexisting experience absorb analytic categories that rename and reframe what is already known" (Narayan 1993:678). Thus, for native anthropologists, conducting fieldwork might not involve familiarizing oneself with the people and culture one studies, but involves applying analytic categories to experiences and phenomena one has previously experienced and observed (Cotera 2008; Ellis et al. 2011).

Hurston's reflections on her arrival to Eatonville is part of the ethnographic convention of beginning ethnographic works with the anthropologist's entry into the field (Boxwell 1992; Herndl 1991; Pratt 1986). These accounts "are responsible for setting up the initial positioning of the subjects of the ethnographic text: the ethnographer, the native,

and the reader" (Pratt 1986:32). Arrival accounts may include the first challenges some researchers may face in developing rapport with the community they wish to study, including learning the language and adjusting to their informants' way of life (Pratt 1986; Mughal 2015). For native anthropologists, cultural and linguistic proximity of the community of study one may diminish the challenges experienced by non-native anthropologists (Tsuda 2015) and one often finds researchers analyzing this experience as a homecoming.

While a common racial, ethnic, or national background might facilitate the anthropologists' entry into the field, native anthropologists "must also deal with informants' perceptions of their ethnic, national, gender, and class identities" (Tsuda 2003:11). The aspects of one's identity affect how fieldworker's collect their data and also what type of data they are able to collect (Coutin 2002). Thus, native anthropologists might have to contend with societal norms that non-native anthropologists are not privy to (Deck 1990; Kondo 1986). Because of this, as Tsuda notes, "fieldworkers must engage in a constant 'presentation of self' and 'impression management' in an attempt to negotiate their identities in a manner that will allow them to be accepted by the natives and provide access to the type of ethnographic data desired" (2003:10-11). This not only affects the relationship between informant and researcher, but also the impact of field experiences on the anthropologist themselves (Crapanzano 1977; Kondo 1986; Rosaldo 1984).

In an effort to engage in a decolonial approach to research practices, Sylvanna Falcón urges researchers to analyze how privilege affects "the power they wield in the research field and how that power can impact the research itself and the local community" (2016:178). For native anthropologists, privilege might not be racial or ethnic, but may

result from differences between the researcher's and their informants educational and class background (Najera Ramírez 1999). These differences emerge out of fieldwork itself (Ellis et al. 2011; Narayan 1993; Tsuda 2015).

As Narayan observes, even if researchers are acquainted with their would-be informants prior to fieldwork "the intense and sustained engagements of fieldwork will inevitably transmute these relationships" (1993:679; see also Coutin 2002). Furthermore, the fieldwork process makes native anthropologists realize that while they may be familiar with the society they study, they view their society from a particular standpoint (Narayan 1993). Thus, the researcher might not be normally privy to the information that emerges out of fieldworker. Native anthropologists may face other challenges that non-native anthropologists might not have to deal with, including having to be more respectful of the social norms. For native anthropologists, like Zora Neale Hurston and Ella Deloria, "their status as 'natives' did not afford them the immunity, usually granted to visiting anthropologists, from observing all of the taboos and attending to all the obligations their respective … cultures prescribed for them" (Deck 1990:247).

Dorinne Kondo, a Japanese-American woman who conducted fieldwork in Japan reasoned that her Japanese informants' attempts to mold her in their image as a response to the fact that she "posed a challenge to their senses of identity. How could someone who looked Japanese not be Japanese? Their response in the face of this dissonance was to make me as Japanese as possible, in accordance with their own preconceptions" (1986:76-77). Indeed, Kondo opens her essay on her experiences conducting fieldwork with the realization that the reflection she sees in the mirror is not of a Japanese housewife as she originally thought, but of herself. To her surprise, she finds that she is virtually

indistinguishable from other Japanese women. Upon discovering this, she decides to move into her own apartment, where she can distance herself from her Japanese existence. Perhaps the conflict "between the social identity we adopt in the field and our inner sense of self is highlighted, making clear who we are and who we are *not*" (Tsuda 2003:41) was too much to bear for this Japanese-American fieldworker.

While some native anthropologists might find or feel themselves "going native," others question whether so-called native anthropologists can truly "go native" in essays with titles like "How native is the 'native' anthropologist?" and "Is native anthropology really possible?" Many scholars have argued that by virtue of their profession, native anthropologists are already different from their informants and thus cannot be true "insiders" (Aguilar 1981; Messerschmidt 1981; Najera Ramírez 1999). Thus, scholars have urged researchers to view "insiders" or native anthropologists on a continuum, which shifts based on our participants and research contexts (Chawla 2006; Narayan 1993; Tsuda 2015).

My own experience doing research among people from my parents' hometown of San Andrés Solaga found me processing similar experiences to other native anthropologists. I did not have to deal with methodological concerns of entering the field and having my intentions or presence questioned by the community in Los Angeles or Solaga. However, in conducting fieldwork in Los Angeles, I realized that although I shared the same background as my informants, things like my schooling, upbringing, and legal status sometimes made me different to the Solagueños I spoke to. Even if we shared common ancestors or they were my grandparents' friends, my parents' teachers, family

members, and friends, their own intersectional identities shaped their own experience in different ways.

***Bi che Modest Yadee len Elica Pio*: The Child of Modesto from Yatee and Elica Pio**

As a child, I knew that my parents came from a town called Solaga. Because I did not yet grasp the concepts of nations or that the world was bigger than what I saw or heard, I thought that people of all ethnicities were from Los Angeles, where my parents and Ilived or were from Solaga where my paternal and maternal grandparents lived and my parents had been born. I was reminded that a far-off place called Solaga existed on the days a woman would show up in front of our house selling Oaxacan goods from the trunk of her car speaking to my mother in a language I did not yet understand. This was one of the few times, except for family parties, when my family and I would encounter other Solagueño or Oaxacan immigrants in Los Angeles, California. For the most part our interactions with other immigrants were with *mestizos* or people of mixed Spanish and indigenous descent.

On Saturdays, my father would work half the day at the dry-cleaning business he worked at full-time during the week near the University of Southern California. Since my parents could not afford childcare on the weekends, I accompanied my dad to work. He would sit me at a table in the back of the cleaners and I would entertain myself for a few hours until he was off work. Then, we would grab lunch and walk east until we reached John Adams Middle School. There, my father would play basketball for the rest of the day with *mestizo* Mexican immigrants. Like many Oaxacan men, my father was a devoted basketball player. He played basketball as a boy in Solaga and according to his own assessment was one of the best players Solaga had ever had.

At the basketball courts in Los Angeles, we encountered people with nicknames like "El Carnitas" or "El Cora." When my dad met new people, they would often ask him where he was from. He would always respond, "El DF." I did not know where Mexico D.F. was, but I knew my dad was not from there. It was not until later in life that I realized that he lied to hide his indigenous background. Had he revealed he was from Oaxaca, the men at the basketball courts would realize that he was an indigenous man. This might have put my father in a position where he would be looked down upon or ridiculed by his mixed-raced counterparts. Indigenous people, who speak an indigenuos language or retain aspects of their native cultures, are considered in as separate from Mexican national culture in the Mexican imaginary. To be Indian or an "indio" carries connotations of backwardness, anti-progress, and retrogradation (Friedlander 2006; Kearney 2000; Wilson 2007). These negative connotations associated with people of indigenous origin carry over to the United States, where some mestizo immigrants and their children continue to discriminate against other immigrants because of their indigenous origin (Holmes 2013; Kearney 2000; Ortiz and Pumbo 2014; Stephen 2007).

Sundays, we would go to the local swapmeet where many Mexican immigrants gathered to shop, eat, and dance. Here too we encountered many more mestizo immigrants than indigenous ones. Since this was the early 90s, *quebradita* was popular and our swapmeet visits would involve my parents dressing me up in a cowgirl outfit like immigrants and children of immigrants from northern Mexico who frequented the swapmeet. Although my parents did not dress up themselves, in retrospect, dressing up as a cowgirl was integral to the formation of my identity as a Mexican-American.

Figure 3 The author dressed as a cowgirl

My parents were fifteen and twenty-years-old at the time of my birth. The events I have shared above took place during a time where they were still forming their own identities as indigenous immigrants living outside of their homeland. As we made our home in Los Angeles, my parents, particularly my father, tried his hardest to assimilate into mestizo Mexican immigrant life. This not only involved lying to mestizo immigrants about his indigenous origin and dressing up his daughter in the style of immigrants from Northern Mexico, it also meant he refused to speak to my mother in their native Zapotec language.

My father never expressed any desire to return to Solaga. Over the years, I have often wondered why this was, especially because my mother was the polar opposite. She wanted to go back to Solaga to see her parents and even did so risking the possibility that

she would not be able to able return to the United States because of her lack of immigration status. As I grew up and heard more about my father's childhood, I realized that he never felt like he belonged in Solaga, since he was seen and often treated as an outsider. His mother's grandparents were from the town of San Francisco Yatee, while his father was born in Santo Domingo Yojovi. Although he grew up in Solaga, my grandfather's origins in Yojovi meant that some native Solagueños viewed my father as inferior. I believe this rejection from Solagueños and the discrimination my father must have encountered as an indigenous immigrant when he arrived in Los Angeles made him reject his identity as an indigenous man in favor of adopting the identity of a mestizo immigrant.

My mother on the other hand comes from a family that has deep roots in Solaga; I am related to most of the people from the town of Solaga on my mother's side. This ancestral rootedness in Solaga means that my mother has more of an attachment to the community. My maternal grandfather was also a well-respected man in Solaga in its surrounding villages. He sold animals throughout the region and was also a butcher. This meant that he had friends and clients all over the Sierra Norte of Oaxaca. As a child, my maternal grandmother told me that whenever I was in another village to be sure to mention who my grandfather was, and I would surely be welcomed in to any home, which has since proven to be true.

All this is to say that until I was five years old, I was aware that my parents were from a town called Solaga, but was unaware of their indigeneity, or even what that meant for my own identity. As far as I knew and comprehended, we were like the people we encountered at the local basketball courts and at the swapmeet. This changed after my first return trip to Solaga. In 1995, my mother and I traveled to Solaga for the *Virgen del Carmen*

festivities. She traveled to be the *mayordoma*, or sponsor, of the *Virgen del Carmen* fiesta despite her undocumented legal status in the U.S. One could even argue that she travelled *because* she was undocumented, since she sponsored the fiesta to ask the *Virgen* to help her with the legalization process she had just embarked on. At the end of this one-week trip, my mother and I crossed the U.S.-Mexico border pretending she was my baby sitter; she used the *coyotes'* daughter's documents, while I crossed back with my U.S. birth certificate. Three years later, after my maternal grandfather passed away, my mother began sending me on my own to spend time with my grandmother. By then, moving back and forth was too risky for her, as getting caught would potentially hinder her chances at becoming documented. Thus, at the age of 8, I began travelling as an unaccompanied minor to see my grandmother and to participate in the *Virgen del Carmen* festivities during summer vacations. Somehow my parents heard that you could send children as unaccompanied minors on Mexicana Airlines. Their only valid proof of identification at the time was my father's California Identification Card from the early 1990s, which he had obtained with a fake social security number. From then on, I traveled as an unaccompanied minor every summer, spending the three months in between the end and the beginning of the school year in Solaga. Although I lived in Los Angeles nine months out of the whole year, my summer trips allowed me to spend time with my maternal grandmother and paternal grandparents, as well as family members who still lived in our hometown. These were things my undocumented family members in the U.S. were unable to do. These repeated return visits made me a familiar face to Solagueño locals as the years went by.

Those summers were the most formative times of my life. I would spend every day hearing stories, sayings, and beliefs from my grandmother, going to other Solagueños'

homes, and visiting the local chapels making pilgrimages to the saints. At this time, my understanding of Zapotec was perfected. Zapotec is the principle language used in Solaga and Spanish was only spoken as a courtesy to me, so most of the time I had to rely on my knowledge of the language to understand my grandmother and other Solagueños' conversations. In the middle of my stay were the Virgen del Carmen festivities. At that time, people from Solaga who lived in Oaxaca, other parts of Mexico and the U.S. returned to village for the festivities. This was about the only time that the village was flooded with other children from Los Angeles who accompanied their parents to the festivities. Although I lived in Los Angeles nine months out of the year, my summer trips allowed me to witness the changes happening in Solaga, from having no streetlights, no private home phones, no paved streets to streetlights illuminating most of the village, the arrival of our very own cellphone tower and the paving of the village roads and streets.

While I spent summers in Solaga, my life in Los Angeles involved daily interactions with members of other racial and ethnic groups. Early on, my mother realized that I would receive a better education in private schools than at my local public school. Thus, she enrolled me in the Catholic school across the street from her job, which had a predominantly Black student body. There, I received a Catholic education that also incorporated Black history in the curriculum. My school was situated in Leimert Park, a historically Black neighborhood of Los Angeles. The walls of the school demonstrate the history of the neighborhood. The pictures of the graduating eighth grade class start off with pictures of all-white classes. Slowly with the relaxation of housing covenants beginning in the 1950s (Chapple 2010), the graduating classes included African American children, until finally they started to include Latinos. In my graduating class, there were two Latinos. As

one of two Latino students of Mexican origin, my peers only saw me as Mexican. Coupled with my upbringing with mestizo immigrants, I too very much identified as Mexican. Even though at this point, I had picked up Zapotec and spoke it on the bus ride to school with my mother, when she did not want the mestizo immigrants around us to understand our conversations. While my summers involved trips to Solaga, I still did not comprehend that I was different or might be seen as ethnically different to other Latinos with mixed Spanish and indigenous ancestry, probably because of my limited interactions with them. Other Solagueño-origin youth however were not so lucky. As discussed in Chapter 4, their childhood and schooling in the predominantly Latino neighborhoods of Koreatown and Mid-City left them vulnerable to anti-indigenous sentiment from some members of the Latino population.

After graduating from eight grade, I attended an all-girls school in the Los Feliz neighborhood of Los Angeles. This school was predominantly white although its student body also had more Latinas than I had previously encountered. Here too, I identified as Mexican although exposure to other Latinas also allowed me to see the commonality between my experiences and those of my peers, including having immigrant parents, speaking multiple languages at home, and celebrating rites of passage like quineañeras. During this time, my visits to Solaga became less frequent, since I had to work at school in the summers as a stipulation of my financial aid.

During college, I realized that I was different from my Latino peers who were not of indigenous origin. In high school, neither I nor others acknowledged my indigeniety. Although I grew up speaking Zapotec and traveling to my parents' hometown, it did not register that my family was different from other Latino immigrants who spoke Spanish, but

no longer spoke an indigenous language and had a different phenotype than myself and other people from my parents' hometown. Through my encounters with Native American undergraduate and high school students, I realized that I had some similarities to them that I did not share with my Latino peers. While my Latino peers were bilingual in English and Spanish, I was trilingual in English, Spanish and Zapotec. As a mentor in the American Indian Recruitment Program (AIR) at the University of San Diego, I became more conscious of the complexity of my identity as an indigenous woman, as well as the disparities between my education and that of my peers and mentees. I was also part of the Native American Student Organization, which consisted of me and a Diné and Tohono O'odam friend trying to make our university a more welcoming environment for Native American students. We volunteered for the AIR program, which sought to send children in the program into higher education. NASO and AIR meetings began with introductions in which mentors and students went around saying their name and tribal affiliation. This presented me with my first opportunity to express my own indigenous background, which for most of my life had been overshadowed with the Mexican-American and Latina label and were also ignored in the Chicano student organizations I was part of. As an undergraduate, I also encountered anti-indigenous discrimination for the first time, being called a "pinche india" by a Latino peer. Until then, I had only read about anti-indigenous discrimination within the Latino in scholarly work about indigenous immigrants. This instance of discrimination was my first time realizing that this was not limited to first-generation immigrants.

Bi Xha Sua Da Din Cansec

Two years prior to entering graduate school, my maternal grandmother, with whom I stayed when I visited Solaga, passed away making me *bi xha sua Da Din Cansec*, the

granddaughter of the *deceased* Enedina Canseco. I returned to Oaxaca a few days before she died, once I heard she was ill. I could not imagine not seeing my grandmother if she was as gravely ill and if the doctors were right when they informed our family that my grandmother might die. I prayed to all of the saints she was devoted to that she would recover or at least live longer than they expected. I was even ready to take a leave of absence from college to stay in Solaga and take care of her. Unfortunately, she passed away a few days later. During my grieving period, I told myself I could never return to Solaga. Walking around our family home and places where I had spent so many summers with her seemed unbearable. I was not the only one aware of this predicament. During my grandmother's wake, Solagueña women often wondered out loud what was to become of me now that my grandmother was gone, as I made my way by them. *She comes back every year. She has no one to come back to. What will she do now?* When graduate school became an option, I was faced with the realization that in order to conduct research that in part focused on return trips to Solaga, I would also have to travel to Solaga; to the place where the one person I went to visit was no longer. I too wondered what I would do now. The loss of my grandmother was more significant because she was my last remaining grandparent in Solaga. My paternal grandfathers were both deceased and my paternal grandmother lived in Los Angeles, since her children thought she too elderly to live on her own in Solaga. Consequently, the death of my grandmother meant I, unlike most visiting youth, had no one to return to.

My first summer of pre-fieldwork in Oaxaca followed the pattern that my return trips usually involved, including letting my immediate family know I was planning on visiting. But unlike previous visits, our family home was now abandoned. Not only were

there concerns that no one lived there, but also the house was overgrown with weeds and birds had made their homes in the terrace that overlooked the village. Before my arrival, my aunt had to hire workers to help her clean the house and the surrounding land to make it habitable. Furthermore, my aunt decided that I would need a chaperone to stay with me, since she would be unable to accompany me during my whole stay, since she had to take care of her family business and home in the nearby town of Yojovi. I tried to explain that I lived on my own during college and now graduate school and that I could do the same in Solaga. However, my aunt decided that the best option was to have a maid come to Solaga and live with me. It took me some time to realize that this decision was not just about my ability to fend for myself in Solaga, but also about societal expectations about single-women in our hometown. As an unmarried woman in Solaga, I needed a chaperone to safeguard my reputation (as well as my family's reputation).[6] I, in turn, also "took care" of the unmarried woman, Liliana, the 18-year-old woman who was dispatched to take care of me, her 22-year-old charge. Like many of my informants, I have had to deal with evolving gendered expectations from community members that come with age and living a transnational life, which I explore further in Chapter 7.

My return visits the first couple of summers doing fieldwork had Solagueños making comments on the absence of my grandmother. When people stopped to greet me they would bluntly express their despair that I had "no one left" in Solaga. This was an interesting remark to make since it often came from individuals that were part of my extended family or knew my extended family. My father passed away before my second

[6] This is often euphemistically phrased, "xhanabo bejg," or "protecting the chickens," alluding to the chickens a bride's family receives from the groom's family, as part of the dowry.

summer of fieldwork, increasing the times people informed how "alone" I was in the world. While I, of course, deeply felt the loss of my grandmother and father, I did not see myself as being alone as other Solagueños did. Still, Solagueños comments reinforced the importance they placed on the loss of close relatives both in Solaga and the U.S.

The Girl That Comes Back Every Year

My identity as *bi nhol jera yego iz* or "the girl that comes back every year" highlights various aspects of my identity, as well as my privilege. As an American-born member of the second-generation, my U.S. citizenship allows me to move across the U.S.-Mexico border freely. Thus, I am able to "go back" every year. I do not take my U.S. citizenship for granted. Many first and 1.5-generation Solagueños are unable to travel to Solaga because of their legal status. As a student, I was and am still able to visit Solaga during the summer for the *Virgen del Carmen* celebration, the most important patron saint celebration. Further, as a researcher, I have been able to secure funding to travel to Solaga, something that due to work and wage circumstances, many members of the community may be unable to do. As the daughter of Solagueños residing in Los Angeles and a frequent visitor to Solaga, I was raised in a Spanish and Zapotec-speaking household, while attending an African-American Catholic elementary school and later a predominantly Anglo-American Catholic high school and a university with similar demographics. As a result, I have been keenly aware of the diversity and histories of different groups in the United States. This background informs my worldview and the ways in which I interact with my interlocutors at my research sites, as well as the form this dissertation takes. My identity as "the girl that comes back every year" has given me the social capital that allowed me to conduct this research.

In Solaga, a place I only traveled to during summer, my presence was never questioned. Solagueños living in the home community have come to expect my presence during the summer months. During one of my first trips to Oaxaca after having started graduate school, a cousin asked me if I considered myself a tourist. Since we were in Oaxaca City at the time and he was taking me around because I was unfamiliar with the city, I answered, "Yes." He responded, "I don't consider you a tourist. You've come back every year since you were a little girl." It was then I realized he was not asking if I considered myself a tourist in Oaxaca City, but in Solaga as well. Despite this misunderstanding, this conversation enlightened me on the way that at least one Solagueño saw me. Even though I was not born in the community, I was not just another visitor. By virtue of traveling to Solaga every year, I belonged more to Solaga than I would otherwise. This brought up questions for my own research. Does the inability of some people to return to Solaga make them any less Solagueño? How do they navigate this? What happens to the children of immigrants who do return to Solaga but do not have a good experience? How does that affect how they identify in the United States? What cache is there to being able to claim Solagueñoness?

Fieldwork In Los Angeles

When I decided to conduct ethnographic research among Solaguenos in Los Angeles, I approached *Banda Juvenil Solaga USA,* the Los Angeles-based Solagueño youth band, in the hope that they would allow me to conduct research with them. Since most band members were minors, this meant getting approval from their parents was a first step. The parents who were part of the band's steering committee readily accepted. Some of the parents had known me since I was a child, while others simply knew of me. Although I

engaged in return trips to Solaga throughout my childhood, my mother kept her distance from the Solagueño community in Los Angeles. That is, we did not frequent social gatherings and other celebrations unless it was held by a close family member. We also did not attend these gatherings because when I was growing up, these celebrations were not held frequently. As I will discuss in Chapter 6, the formation of the Solagueño youth band served as a catalyst for the Solagueño community, since band-organized fundraisers and patron saint celebrations gave Solagueño immigrants a time and place to come together more regularly.

Since I neither frequented most of these events nor played in the band, the formation of my own identity as the daughter of Solagueños differs from the experience of my informants who were heavily involved in these events. My positionality also meant that when I first began conducting my dissertation research at these events in 2014, many people would express their surprise and joy that I was *conviviendo* or socializing with the community more frequently. During events like fundraisers or birthday celebrations, I would spend time with the mothers of band member' as they cooked and sold food. As I have had to back away from my involvement at these events due to school and work obligations, I now get comments about my absence at Solagueño events.

I began attending band practice at the beginning of my fieldwork. I was close in age to some of the remaining original band members, but considerably older than the younger ones. This meant that while we spoke the same languages and grew up in the same communities, I still had to learn the slang and the references they used. Since many of the minors could not drive or did not have parents who could drive them to events, I also volunteered to take them and their parents to their engagements, giving me more time to

build rapport with them on the way to their performances. Many of the children of immigrants I interviewed outside of the band were also around the same age as me during the time I conducted fieldwork. Some I had met at family parties as a child. Others I met during return visits to Solaga. Still others, I met during the course of fieldwork through family and friends. For the most part, Solagueño youth were willing to participate in this research. While speaking with the children of Solagueño immigrants, I realized the similarities and differences in our experiences and how these experiences have shaped our relationship with our parents' community across the U.S.-Mexico border. Our similiarities include having parents from the town of Solaga, who work at dry-cleaning businesses throughout the city of Los Angeles. Still, these similarities are shaped by other circimstances, including our parents' legal status, fluency in our parents' indigenous language, and the places in which we were raised. For example, the ethnic composition of the neighborhoods in which we grew up determined the potential interactions between Solagueños and mestizos, which at times resulted in instances of discrimination.

Conclusion

I began this chapter by examining how Solagueños see me in an effort to place myself in my field sites as the child of Solagueño immigrants and as a researcher. In hindsight, my experiences as a researcher and as a second-generation Solagueña are not mutually exclusive. Like native anthropologists who share a common background with members of the societies they study, the children of Solagueño immigrants who visit their parents' hometown may have to grapple with societal norms and cultural taboos different from those of the United States. As many visiting youth eventually find out – whether during their visit or as they mature and return to their hometown -- their actions in the

town of Solaga become a reflection of their entire family. Thus, they are sometimes reprimanded for what might be considered bad behavior and at times encouraged to modify their behavior to maintain their family's good social standing, as discussed in Chapter 7.

During the course of my fieldwork, I heard different ways that Solagueños across the U.S.-Mexico border imagine Solagueñoness. Some people saw being a Solagueño as merely having origins in the town of Solaga, others saw it as participation in the community. Yet, some believed that being a Solagueño meant one had to speak Zapotec, dance traditional dances, or play in the band. I found that not partaking in these activities made some, particularly the children of immigrants, feel like they were not as "Solagueño" as their peers. For youth that are part of the youth band in Los Angeles or are part of traditional dance groups, returning to Solaga might highlight differences in their lives in Los Angeles and the lives of people currently living in Solaga, as I will discuss in Chapter 7. Like Tsuda (2015), oftentimes I found that I was a sounding board for my informants as they reflected on their experiences as the children of immigrants in the sending and receiving community. In the chapters that follow, I will delve into the ways in which the children of immigrants are seen and see themselves. These include race, class, gender, and even at the village level. I argue that these identities shape the ways in which children of immigrant identify and articulate their identities.

Chapter Four: Solagueño Life in Los Angeles

In the previous chapter, I shared my experience growing up as the child of Solagueño immigrants in Los Angeles and the ways this shaped my own identity formation. In this chapter, I detail the experiences of other members of Solagueño community in Los Angeles, California. First, I discuss the factors leading Solagueños to leave their hometown in Mexico, including increasingly limited employment opportunities. Next, I share how dry-cleaning became the niche industry in which most Solagueño immigrants came to work. Solagueños were able to gain the skills necessary to work in this industry from their *paisanos* facilitating their integration into the dry-cleaning, nevertheless their unauthorized status and employment in the service sector left them with little chance for upward mobility and relegated them to inner-city neighborhoods.

Finally, I discuss the context Solagueños found in the neighborhoods where they settled and eventually raised their children. There, the children of Solagueños fell victim to structural racism in their schools and were exposed to street culture that could jeopardize their chances of integrating into American society. Solagueño immigrants and their children experienced prejudice toward indigenous people they were not subject to in their hometown, where all Solagueño were indigenous (INEGI 2015). Solagueños' lives among mestizo immigrants in Los Angeles taught many that their indigeniety was something to be ashamed of. Living in areas with a high concentration Oaxacan immigrants, however mediated experiences of discrimination among indigenous immigrants. The children of Solagueño immigrants grew up among co-ethnics, building friendships with youth who share a similar background. The children of immigrants who grow up in this type of environment are likely to experience selective acculturation, that is, they learn the host

culture while retaining significant elements and respect for their culture of origin (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b; Zhou 2001). Ultimately, the unsafe and unwelcoming environment Solagueños and other Oaxacans found themselves in Los Angeles allowed them to transmit their culture to their children.

Solagueño Migration

Scholars have marked indigenous participation in the Bracero Program as one of three moments of indigenous Mexican displacement in the twentieth century. These moments include intraregional movement within Mexico for seasonal work in the 1940s and 1950s; migration to cities and agro-export zones in the 1960s and 1970s; and migration to the northern Mexico and to the United States with the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s (Baez 2011; Barbas and Bartolome 2011; Castilleja 2011; Velasco and París 2014). California, Oregon, and Washington became migration destination for indigenous migrants in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Rivera-Salgado 2014).

Solagueños began migrating from the Zapotec community of San Andrés Solaga to the United States as part of the Bracero Program, a guest worker program that brought Mexican nationals to the United States from 1942 to 1964. These Braceros worked in farms in California and Pennsylvania and eventually returned to Solaga. Solagueños and other indigenous immigrants who participated in the Bracero Program diversified the Mexican migrant population, since previous Mexican migrants were mostly mestizos, people of indigenous and Spanish ancestry (Cardoso 1980; Rivera-Salgado 2014). As Jonathan Xavier Inda (2006) observes, the end of the Bracero Program helped spark the flow of unauthorized immigrants from Mexico. Despite the termination of the program, there was still a demand for immigrant labor. Furthermore, the transportation, communication, and

human infrastructure built to transport braceros to the U.S. facilitated the movement of undocumented immigrants. Importantly, the recruitment of Mexican men for the Bracero Program established a relationship between Mexico and the United States, as well as a pattern circular migration, in which men would work in the U.S. for a short period, make money, and go back to their hometown (Massey et al. 2002).

While both Zapotec and Mixtec men were recruited to work in agriculture during Bracero program, the trajectory of members of these ethnic groups deviated following the end of the program (Stephen 2007; Rivera-Salgado 2014). Beginning in the 1970s, Zapotec immigrants who made their way to the United States migrated to urban areas and found jobs in the service sector (Hirabayashi 1993). Zapotec migration to urban areas was not a new phenomena since some Zapotecs began migrating to Oaxaca City and Mexico City in the mid-1950s in search of work (Rivera-Salgado and Rabadán 2004). In contrast, Mixtecs continued to migrate to rural areas where they have found work in agriculture (López and Runsten 2004). Mixtec migration to agricultural fields in the Mexican states of Baja California and Sinaloa and later California, Oregon, and Washington was result of their recruitment by Mexican and American labor contractors (López and Runsten 2005). Eventually, the demand for more farm workers led labor contractors to seek out Triqui workers who lived in more remote parts of the Mixtec region of Oaxaca (Fox and Rivera-Salgado 2004; Stephen 2007). Triquis thus came to be part of the migrant pool in the U.S. first as seasonal workers toiling American agricultural fields for a few months of the year to later having to remain in the U.S. for several years due to the increased militarization of the border, which made their trips back from their hometowns more dangerous and less frequent (Holmes 2013).

Finding themselves unable to make ends meet in their hometown as subsistence farmers, Solagueños first migrated to Oaxaca City and Mexico City in search of employment. Some Solagueños settled in these cities, while others decided to venture to the United States. Don Mauricio, a 74-year-old first-generation immigrant, shared his experience as one of the first Solagueño immigrants to migrate and eventually settle in Los Angeles in the 1970s. During his first trip to the United States, Mauricio struggled to find work. He and his *compadre* Cristobal, also from Solaga, eventually found work at a restaurant in the Westwood area of Los Angeles where they worked as butchers until the location went out of business. Finding themselves jobless after two years in the U.S., they decided to return to Solaga.

Once in Solaga, Don Mauricio ran into Lucas, a Solagueño man who had previosly migrated to Mexico City. Lucas, like many Oaxacan men who migrated to Mexico City in search of employment, found work in the service sector (Hirabayashi 1993). During his time in Mexico City, Lucas learned to tailor and press clothing at a dry-cleaning business. He opened up his own dry-cleaning business in Mexico City, however, his business venture failed. Lucas decided to start an exporting business between Mexico City and Solaga, where he would sell goods like ground coffee and *chiles* to Solagueños who lived there. Upon hearing Lucas' plan, Don Mauricio attempted to convince Lucas to try his luck in the U.S.

> So, I told him, 'What you're doing? This isn't a promising business. It's not worth anything. My mother-in-law makes more money than you do!' He said, 'There's no other way.' But I said, 'What do you mean there's no other way?' And that's when Gregorio gets there, his cousin. [Gregorio said,] 'That's what I was telling him. We need to find something to do. We're screwed. There's no work in Mexico.' So I said, 'Go!' 'Where?' they said. 'Well Los Angeles,' I told them. 'And how are we supposed to do that?' 'However you can,' I told them. 'Get on a bus to Tijuana. There's no lack of coyotes to get you across. It's really easy to get across. Take some money.' They charged $300-$400.

While Don Mauricio did not fare too well during his first trip to Los Angeles, having lost his job and having to return to Solaga, he encouraged Lucas to travel to Los Angeles determining that his exporting enterprise would make him little money. During this time, as Don Mauricio notes, getting across the border was relatively cheap and easy. Upon hearing of the ease with which they could get to Los Angeles and the possibilities they had there, Lucas and Gregorio made their way to the U.S. Return trips by immigrants like Don Mauricio's sparked transnational migration among Solagueños. These first immigrants would return to their hometown, assemble a group of Solagueños who wanted to make the journey to the U.S., and depart for the U.S. Among Solagueños, migration became a common strategy through which individuals, families, and communities sought economic well-being (Cohen 2004).

Solagueños and Dry Cleaning

Indigenous Oaxacan immigrants in the United States found themselves in ethnically segregated labor markets where they were relegated to the most difficult and lowest-paid jobs (Fox and Rivera-Salgado 2004; Rivera-Salgado 2014). In some cases, this was a result of the era in which immigrants came to the United States. Since indigenous migration is relatively recent, many indigenous immigrants did not benefit from legislation that would have allowed them to adjust their status from unauthorized to authorized immigrants, such as the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which allowed newly legalized immigrants to move up in the labor force as a result of regularization of their status (Rivera-Salgado 2014). In other cases, indigenous immigrants fall victim to racialized labor hierarchies. Holmes' (2011, 2013) fieldwork on a farm in the state of Washington revealed that the farm's labor structure operated along a segregated continuum with white U.S.

citizens at the top, followed by Latino U.S. citizen, undocumented mestizo Mexicans in the middle, undocumented Mixtec immigrants below them, and finally undocumented Triquis at the bottom. A distinction was made between Mixtecs and Triquis based on perceived indigeneity, which was determined by an understanding of Triquis as more "purely indigenous" and Triqui remaining their primary language.

Solagueños immigrants first worked in the restaurant sector of the service industry, eventually the dry-cleaning industry. Don Lucas' arrival in Los Angeles was integral to Solagueños entering the dry-cleaning industry. His experience running a dry-cleaning business in Mexico City gave him the skills necessary work in this sector in Los Angeles. As a result, dry-cleaning became an "immigrant niche" occupation, in which Solagueños used their social networks to learn their trade and find employment (Logan and Alba 1999; Rosales 2013; Wilson 2003). Hometown networks facilitated Solagueños entry into the dry-cleaning industry and made it easy for potential employers to find workers using these same networks.

When Don Mauricio made his way to Los Angeles a second time, he found Lucas working at a temp agency. During his search for work his first time in Los Angeles, Don Mauricio stumbled upon a dry-cleaning business looking for workers. Recalling this and Don Lucas' experience in this industry, Don Mauricio persuaded Lucas to leave his work at the temp agency to go into dry-clearing in Los Angeles. Below, Don Mauricio reminisced about taking Lucas and other Solagueño men to that dry cleaners:

> The next day Gregorio went, [Lucas] went, I don't remember who else but there were a few. We went to the place where I told you I used to walk by. There was the Lebanese man standing at the door with his arms crossed. He said, 'Amigo, I let you down. The day before yesterday, lightning struck all my machines. It fried them,' he said. 'So now what am I going to do? I came

> wanting to work!' 'Don't worry, I'm going to call a friend around here on Pico.' I think Star Avenue is the name of the street. He said, 'It's done. Go.'
>
> We got there. It was a Chinese college student and her aging mother. Since I already spoke English and had gone to school, the girl asked if her friend sent us over. 'Who's the one with experience?' 'He's the one with experience, this man.' 'You have experience? How many years?' 'Since he was born he's been ironing,' I told her. And the girl laughed too. 'Let's see,' she said. She took down really delicate clothes and told him, 'Ok, iron.' Lucas was very experienced and took the machine and with a brush *shewww shewww*, fast. 'Perfect,' she said. 'I don't need any more proof. You're staying here.' …. That's where it all started.

In this story, Mauricio worked as the cultural broker between Solagueños and two separate immigrant groups. His ability to speak English, acquired on his first trip to the U.S., allowed him facilitate communication between Solagueños and their potential employers. While Don Mauricio did not have the skills necessary to work in the dry-cleaning industry, Lucas' arrival in Los Angeles provided Mauricio and other Solagueño immigrants with a niche industry in which they could work. With an established network of Solagueños at dry-cleaning businesses, future waves of Solagueño immigrants had an easier time finding jobs. Solagueños taught new Solagueño arrivals how to iron clothing, which they called "llendo a la practica" or going to practice. Once they learned their trade, Solagueños would start working at other dry-cleaning businesses. While the promise of a higher wage persuaded Don Lucas and other Solagueño immigrants to work in dry cleaning, their wages were and are still relatively low. Solagueños were paid approximately $150 a week when they first started in dry cleaning in the late 1970s. When my mother arrived in the United States in 1988, she too began working at a dry cleaners as a presser, earning $180 a week. Today, pressers at dry cleaners are usually paid minimum wage, currently $10.50, but as a result of the economic recession, work reduced hours and if possible at multiple dry-cleaning businesses to make enough money to survive.

The pay rate among dry-cleaning workers within the Solagueño community varies according to legal status with undocumented workers often making less than documented workers as in most industries. Research has shown that working conditions are worse for undocumented workers vis-à-vis their documented counterparts (Passel and Cohn 2009). In addition, the jobs available to undocumented workers are less likely to give them access to sick day, overtime, and health benefits (Yoshikawa, Orozco, and Gonzales 2016). Dry-cleaning also has little room for promotion. For instance, if individuals enter the industry as pressers, as most Solagueños do, they likely remain in that position. Still many strive to own their own dry-cleaning businesses, but few are able to so.[7] Dry-cleaning remains largely a first-generation occupation, however some children of immigrants -- particularly the children of business owners -- work in the industry as counter-people, receiving and dispatching clothing.

Making Los Angeles Home: Solagueño Settlement Patterns

Lucas and his wife Marina's home in South Central served as a landing pad for Solagueños when when they arrived in Los Angeles. Lucas and Marina shared their two-bedroom apartment with their children and recent Solagueño arrivals. Once new arrivals found jobs and made enough money to rent their own apartments, they moved out. As a result of low incomes, a third of immigrant families settle in central city neighborhoods like South Central (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). These neighborhoods expose immigrants and their children to gangs, drugs, and crime that could set them on a path toward downward assimilation (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). South Central Los Angeles of the 1980s and 1990s was described as:

[7] Some Solagueño immigrants work as janitors and some Solagueñas work as housekeepers or nannies.

> comprised of economically impoverished enclaves that are plagued by high unemployment and underemployment, crime, gang violence, drug and alcohol abuse, dilapidated housing, high educational dropout rates, etc. In other words, [Sout Central Los Angeles] was an extremely fertile ground for an urban upheaval. It had a whirlwind climate of discontent that was breeding popular frustration and anger (Navarro 1993).

Lucas and Marina's neighborhood was so dangerous that they would not allow their children to play outside or make friends with neighborhood children. Thus, when newly arrived Solagueños had the means to move out, many opted not to settle in South Central and gravitated toward Koreatown and its surrounding areas, which they saw as less dangerous. My family was among the few who remained in South Central.

Residential segregation by ethnicity predates the arrival of many immigrant groups to Los Angeles (Alarcón et al. 2016). In fact, immigrants in search of intra-ethnic comfort continue reproducing pre-existing patterns through their use of social networks to find housing (Alarcón et al. 2016). The concentration of immigrants in certain neighborhoods is further exacerbated by immigrants' need for affordable housing, which was often located in less desirable places to live (Logan et al. 2002). While Koreatown and Mid-City seemed like a safer alternative to living in South Central, Los Angeles, Solagueños and their children were still exposed to the dangers of inner city life and grew up with less resources than children in more affluent parts of the city.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, half of the population of Koreatown is Latino, while Asian Americans account for 36% of the population. 7% of the population is White, while blacks account for 4%. Approximately 400 Solagueños reside in Koreatown. Mid-City has the next highest concentration of Solagueño immigrants with approximately 100 Solagueños residing in this neighborhood. They are counted as part of the Latino population, who account for 45% of Mid-City residents. Mid-City is also home to African-

Americans who account for 38% of inhabitants, while whites account for about 9.5%. Asian Americans only account for 3.9% of Mid-City residents. Although as mentioned earlier South Central Los Angeles was the first stop for many Solagueño immigrants, only approximately 60 Solagueños live in this neighborhood. South Central is home to a considerable Latino population (56%) and black (38%) population, with a smaller number of Asian American (1.6%) and white inhabitants (2%).

Like many immigrants, Solagueños live economically and socially segregated from other groups (Kim et al. 2018; Liu 2011). Guillermo, a 26-year-old member of the second-generation, grew up in Mid-City, a neighborhood adjacent to Koreatown. While today's demographics of Mid-City reflect a large Latino and Black population, in the early 1990s, as Guillermo describes in the following statement, Mid-City was mostly inhabited by Latino immigrants and their children:

> I didn't know what an immigrant was at that time. All our parents were immigrants. It was something normal. No one said, 'My dad's from Philadelphia … from Missouri' or something. You would hear, 'My parents are from somewhere in Latin America.' It was like that in elementary and middle school. It wasn't 'til I got to high school … I went to a very diverse school … that I had my first interaction with white people 'cuz I hadn't been around them my whole life.

As a high school student, Guillermo learned that not all parents were immigrants. He found out that some of his schoolmates' parents had actually been born and grown up in Los Angeles. As a result, he noticed, their children's experience was different to his own.

> I realized their English was better. You could notice it. They were smarter at things because obviously they had the better education because they lived on the better side of town… that's when I knew that I'm different. My English sounds different than theirs … That's also when I learned about privilege because my school was on the west side … I would get the school bus and travel from my neighborhood to the west side. With all that traveling I realized 'Oh look where I live and look where I go to school. It's real different.' For the white kids, that was their home school.

Attending a school on the westside of Los Angeles made Guillermo aware of the disparities between his education and neighborhood and that of his white peers. His statement demonstrates an awareness of the structural racism embedded in the educational system and the resulting low-resource public schools the children of immigrants are assigned to (Abrego and Gonzales 2010).

Other Solagueño youth encountered these disparities at schools in their own neighborhoods. Mateo is 19-year-old member of the second generation. He attended an elite, private high school a few blocks away from his home in Koreatown. While whites account for less than ten percent of the population of Koreatown, Guillermo's high school had a predominantly white student body. As a student at St. Charles, Mateo noticed differences between him and his peers, particularly in terms of their upbringing. He says, "It's just everything's different for them and for us … Sometimes I hear them and they're like, 'Oh my parents just bought me this thing.' 'Oh I'm getting a car.' I mean, I see the parking lot of my high school and it's just like a bunch of nice cars." Guillermo bus ride to school highlighted the differences between neighborhoods in which Latinos and whites reside, as well as the disparities between the education receive in these neighborhoods. For Mateo, the differences between he and his private school pears manifested in the material things their parents were able to afford.

As the previous quotes demonstrate, the neighborhoods Solagueño moved into upon arriving in Los Angeles marked their children's childhoods. While Mateo and Guillermo commented on the economic disparities between them and their white peers, some Solagueño youth focused on the the prevalence of gangs in their neighborhoods. Inner-city neighborhoods like Mid-City and Koreatown can set the children of immigrants toward a

path toward downward mobility. Scholars posit that youths' exposure to drugs, gangs, and crime could present an obstacle to their integration into American society (Abrego and Gonzales 2010; L. Chavez 2018; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Youth who have been exposed to these aspects of the inner-city are more likely to drop out of school and less likely to experience economic upward mobility (L. Chavez 2018). The children of low-income undocumented immigrants are more likely live in neighborhoods and attend schools where they are disproportionately exposed to youth involved in gangs and intergroup violence (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010). As residents of inner-city neighborhoods in Los Angeles, which has been labeled as the epicenter of the American gang problem (Howell et al. 2011), the children of Solagueño immigrants inevitably grew up around Los Angeles gang life. The prevalence of gangs often came up during interviews with youth, who often portrayed Solaga as a safe place compared to their neighborhoods in Los Angeles. As I will discuss in Chapter 6, Solagueño parents and youth also described the Los Angeles-based Solagueño youth band as a hobby that successfully kept youth away from gang life.

Guillermo, whom I mentioned earlier, recalled his childhood in Mid-City:

> When I was in elementary school, which was a block away from where I live, there was shootings. This whole thing was like Mid-City gang. They were everywhere. It was crazy! There were shootings here. There were shootings there. Everywhere!

He also remembered his school would often go on lockdown when there were shootings in the neighborhood. Sam, a 23-year-old member of the second generation, also shared that his area of Mid-City was home to la Mara Salvatrucha and Playboy Gangster Crips. He stated, "That was what it was known for back in the day. Those were the gangs that really beefed it. As kids, we would grow up being careful trying not to get involved in that just in case there was a shooting. Just throw yourself down. You know? It was a little

bit scary." Kevin, a 16-year-old second-generation Solagueño, also mentioned being approached by gangs, including 18th Street Gang & La Mara Salvatrucha, in his neighborhood of Koreatown but said gang activity was relatively new to his area.

While neighborhoods of Koreatown and Mid-City might have left Solagueño youth vulnerable to gang activity and other dangerous aspects of inner-city life, living in the area also meant that they were surrounded by other Oaxacan immigrants. The neighborhoods Solagueños moved into upon arriving in Los Angeles left an impression on their children, but immigrants and their children leave impressions on the communities in which they reside (Coutin 2016). The cultural presence of Oaxacans in Los Angeles is evident on Pico Boulevard, a street that runs from the city of Santa Monica to Downtown Los Angeles. The Mid-City and Koreatown section of these cities are lined with Oaxacan businesses, which include ice cream shops, hardware stores, and restaurants. During the summer, Oaxacans parade along Pico Boulevard as part of a *convite tradicional*, a procession in which village-based bands play traditional music as Oaxacan immigrants and their children walk and dance next to them.

As Kevin observed,

> Growing up in Los Angeles there's a lot of Koreans because its Koreatown … in Los Angeles there's a lot of Oaxacans. Like the area is a lot of Solagans.[8] They live in the [San Fernando] Valley, Downtown, but mostly in Koreatown so it's just since we all live so near each other … us the cousins … the kids … the Solagans hangout … and also the schools are filled with Oaxacans. They might not be Solagans, but they're Oaxacans. All my friends from elementary, they're all Oaxacan and we didn't realize it until we met each other's parents and we're like 'Oh snaaaap! You're Oaxacan? I didn't even know that!' Also, the high schools. Like Hamilton to me is 'Home of the Oaxacans' not 'Home of the Yankees' cuz there's so many Oaxacans there.

[8] Some informants described themselves, community members, or objects and practices with Solagueño origin as "Solagan." This identifier seems to be an Anglicized version of "Solagueño."

For Solagueño youth, growing up in inner-city neighborhoods may make them subject to poor schooling and expose youth to gang violence. However, youth have found comfort living in close proximity to other Oaxacans. Having a viable Oaxacan community enables immigrant youth and adults to maintain social connections to cultural beliefs and practices shared by Solagueños in both Los Angeles and Solaga. A key aspect of life in Los Angeles for Solagueño youth in this study is their participation in Oaxacan village-based band and their participation in events in honor of the patron saint of Solaga, which I discuss more in-depth in Chapter 6. I found that playing in the village-based band, performing traditional dances, or attending patron saint festivities facilitate Solagueño youths' social integration into the U.S. by fostering a strong sense of ethnic pride. Participating in Solaga's village-based band allows youth to have an "escape" from their everyday lives.

The Children of Solagueños in Multi-ethnic Los Angeles

The children of Solagueño immigrants are part the "new second generation," a group that includes the children of Latin American, Caribbean, and Asian immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). The majority of these individuals are non-white, making them different from previous waves of immigrants and thus they are left outside of the American imaginary (L. Chavez 1992). The prejudices members of the new second generation encounter because of their physical differences from whites create barriers in the path of their occupational mobility and social integration, affecting their ethnic identities, aspirations, and their academic performance (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Portes and Rumbaut (2014) note that migration leads to some immigrants to experience prejudice they were not subject to in their home countries, since they may become targets and victims of discrimination after moving to the U.S. Still others, as is the case with

indigenous immigrants, are targets of racial discrimination by mestizos in their home countries and upon arriving to the U.S. (Boj-Lopez 2017; Kearney 2000; Stephen 2007). The children of indigenous immigrants are also privy to rejection from mestizo Latino immigrant in the United States they encounter at school and in their neighborhoods (Barillas-Chón 2010; Ruiz and Barajas 2012; Urrieta 2003).

For Solagueño youth rejection can come from other Latinos, a pan-ethnic group they are a part of based on a shared language, religion, and natal attachments to places that were once part of the Spanish (Gutierrez 2016). Nevertheless, Solagueños' indigenous background differentiates them from many of the mestizo members of the Latino community, that is people with mixed Spanish and indigenous ancestry. "Sometimes Mexicans stereotype Oaxacans. They're like short … brown," Miguel, 18, laughs. "They don't really ask you, but they see Oaxacans as small, short, brown." Miguel, a second-generation Solagueño, describes the physical characteristics mestizo Mexicans associate with people from the state of Oaxaca. Rebecca, a 23-year-old member of the 1.5-generation found that her high school peers held negative attitudes about her Oaxacan origin. She recalls her friends teasing her about being a "Oaxaquita," a derogatory term used to describe someone with origins in the indigenous state of Oaxaca. I pressed Rebecca on how her classmates determined who was a "Oaxaquita." She replied, "They would say, 'Si son chaparros, prietos, y feos son de Oaxaca.'" If they're short, dark, and ugly, they're from Oaxaca. Not fitting this description saves some indigenous youth from the discrimination faced by their peers who fit the racial descriptor. Luna is a 20-year-old member of the second-generation born to a Solagueña mother who married a mestizo from Mexico City. Luna has a lighter complexion than many of her Solagueño cousins. Although Luna took pride in her Zapotec

origin and often defended her Oaxacan friends, "people seemed to care less because my complexion is lighter." Luna's ability to pass as a mestiza with her light skin and green eyes, shows that the animosity Oaxacans endure stems from the racialized characteristics of being "short, dark, and ugly" Indians, a phenotypic difference that distinguishes them from the children of Latino immigrants with mestizo origins. Rebecca and Luna's experiences with mestizo youth indicate that negative connotations associated with people of indigenous origin carry over to the United States, where some mestizo immigrants and their children continue to discriminate against people of indigenous origin because of their racial background (Blackwell et al. 2017; Kearney 2000; Ortiz and Pumbo 2014; Stephen 2007).

Solagueño youth also experienced prejudice at the hands of members of the white population. Prejudice toward Solagueños on the basis of their Mexican-origin may stem from the idea that Mexicans are incapable or willing to integrate to American society (L. Chavez 2008). Guillermo is a 26-year-old member of the Solagueño second generation and identifies as "Mexican." This identity is both ascribed and self-imposed. "If a white person sees me walking down the street," Guillermo posits, "they aren't gonna say, 'There goes a fellow American. That's a Mexican.' You know? I'm not accepted by Americans, but at least I have my identity. It's still something. I might not be accepted by mainstream society, but I'm still someone." Although an American citizen by birth, his ethnic identity and his position in the racial hierarchy of the United States leaves him outside of the American imaginary (L. Chavez 1991). Nevertheless, this experience is mediated by his Mexican identity. Having a strong sense of identity is important because if individuals fail to secure an identity, they are faced with identity confusion, a lack of clarity about who they are and

what their role in life is (Erikson 1959; 1968). Many of the children of Solagueños I interviewed have felt rejected by American society at some point. Their reasons varied. For some, this rejection is a result of their interactions with Anglo-Americans.

For others, this rejection is a result of their legal status. Undocumented individuals who arrived as children grow up and are educated in the U.S. with the same upbringing and aspirations as their American-born peers (L. Chavez 2013; Gonzales and Chavez 2012). However, legal status becomes more salient once undocumented youth come of age and find that their legal status prevents them from fulfilling their aspirations (Gonzales 2011; Gonzales and Chavez 2012). Eduardo is a 31-year-old member of the 1.5 generation. He was born in Oaxaca and brought to the U.S. as a child. Here, he shares the difficulties he, his parents, and brother experienced as undocumented immigrants. This included not having a social security number, which in the 1990s meant both he and his parents had limited employment opportunities. When asked about his identity, Eduardo expresses uncertainty, "As an immigrant, you feel unwanted in this country and then you're like so where am I from? Am I from Solaga? Am I from Mexico? Am I from Oaxaca? Where am I wanted?" Eduardo's legal status left him in limbo with no clear understanding of where or if he belonged (or was even wanted) on either side of the U.S.-Mexico border. As Eduardo's statement, his uncertainty included his native Oaxaca, which one would assume he would a connection to as his birthplace. Nevertheless, immigrants who migrated as children may not remember their country of origin and inevitably develop an attachment to the United States. Their American upbringing makes many members of the 1.5 generation de facto aliens in their country of citizenship, since they are more familiar with American culture than they are with the culture of their country of citizenship (Coutin 2016).

Social and racial conditions in the neighborhoods the children of Solagueño immigrants grew up in marked their childhoods and set up the conditions that would lead many of these individuals to be active in the traditions of their parents' hometown. As I will discuss in Chapter 6, the need for safe alternative to the street life in their inner-city neighborhoods led parents to encourage their children's participation in the Solagueño youth band. For some, involvement in the Solagueño youth band allowed them to mediate the experiences of discrimination they experienced at the hands of some members of the mestizo population. For others, participation in the band allowed them to mediate their negative experiences with members of the white population.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I detailed the larger social context of Oaxacan immigrant lives in Los Angeles, CA, focusing on the Solagueño immigrant experience. I discussed the migration of Solagueños from their hometown in Mexico to Los Angeles, including the areas they migrated into, how they came to work in the dry-cleaning industry, the neighborhoods in which they settled, life like in those areas, and school life for the children of Solagueño immigrants. Solagueño youths' indigeneity left them susceptible to racial discrimination from some members of the Latino population, while their Mexican origin left them vulnerable to anti-Latino and anti-immigrant groups. The neighborhoods in which Oaxacans reside in have fostered an opportunity for immigrants and their children to foster strong sense of community with individuals from their hometown, as well as the larger Oaxacan community. As discussed in Chapter 6, this is done through patron saint celebrations and other community events. The roles Solagueño youth undertake at these events, particularly as musicians, allow them to not only develop a positive sense of self,

but provide allow them and their parents to maintain a sense of community away from their place of origin. The migration of Solagueño immigrants to Los Angeles has contributed to making the city with the largest indigenous population. The presence of indigenous immigrants is visible in immigrants' celebrations, celebrations that were once a means through which Spanish and Mexican authorities attempted to assimilate them to their societies.

Chapter Five: A Time To Dream of Utopias

Patron saint celebrations are festivities held in honor of Catholic saints who are appointed as the protectors of certain causes, vocations, or institutions (Gudeman 1976). Some saints are associated with particular places or countries like Saint Patrick is with Ireland and *La Virgen de Guadalupe* is with Mexico. The veneration of saints in Latin America is deeply intertwined with the region's colonial past. Spanish conquistadors brought the Catholic cult of the saints to the New World, renaming indigenous towns often adding the name of a saint to the original town name and at times even creating new towns in an effort to facilitate the evangelization of native peoples (Gross 2009; Marroquín 2007; Ricard 1974). Scholars working on indigenous communities have found that these celebrations serve various functions. Some scholars argue that sponsorship of these celebrations serves as a leveling mechanism by which wealthier members of indigenous communities can display their wealth through acceptable channels (Nash 1958; Wolf 1959). Others have written about patron saint celebrations as a social glue that brings indigenous communities together and contributes to the production and reproduction of these communities (Gross 2009; Whitecotton 1977).

In this chapter, I discuss the origin of patron saint celebrations in Oaxaca. Next, I compare the Solagueño religious cargo system to that of other communities in previous works on the cargo system. Importantly, I highlight the role of obligation to serve in the cargo system to the will of individuals to take on *mayordomias* or sponsorships as part of patrons saint celebrations. In Solaga, individual's choice to serve as *mayordomos* is a result of migration to the United States, which has allowed Solagueños access to money (and exposure to culture) that has changed fiesta practices. Nevertheless, while these changes

have made fiestas more expensive and austentatious, the underlying Solagueño cargo system and Solagueño gozona is built in the way that the fiestas survive without the aid of transnational immigrants. Furthemore, migration has not only transformed the scale of patron saint celebrations, but the ways in which people experience the fiesta. I analyze this consumption through media used by Solagueños to preserve patron saint celebrations. Media like audio and video cassettes and online transmissions of patron saint celebrations allow Solagueños to preserve the utopic that celebrations inspire and immigrants to experience patron saint celebrations away from their homeland. Still, this experience is often not enough for immigrants, who must find other ways to return to their homeland if legal status prevents them from doing so.

Patron Saint Celebrations in Oaxaca

Some scholars see patron saint celebrations as a tool of colonial domination that appropriated pre-Hispanic rituals, dances, and music and made them part of Catholic celebrations and the civil-religious calendar of indigenous communities (Arguedas 1968). The appropriation of indigenous traditions facilitated Spanish efforts to evangelize the indigenous population. Missionaries' conversion efforts in colonial Oaxaca were largely superficial due to a sizable multi-ethnic indigenous population with different religious ideologies.

In Oaxaca, the task of evangelizing the indigenous population fell to the Dominican order. Often outnumbered and unable to visit the scattered indigenous communities, Dominican friars used the figures of saints as a tool for Christianization (Whitecotton 1977). Dominican friars represented Catholic saints as figures similar to Zapotec deities. Like their Zapotec counterparts, saints had human needs and attributes and could

intercede with a higher supernatural being on behalf of humans. The sixteenth-century Iberian veneration of Catholic saints did indeed share these commonalities with native beliefs. Like sixteenth century, Spanish Catholics, present-day Mexicans' devotion to Catholic saints is often associated with the welfare of their own communities (Christian 1981; Watanabe 1990). The Virgin Mary and Catholic saints served and continue to serve as advocates for Spanish Catholics, asking them to intervene for them in front of God in exchange for refraining from work on the saint's feast day or the sponsorship of processions in the saint's honor (Christian 1981; Watanabe 1990). While Latin America's veneration of Catholic saints is similar to that of sixteenth century Spain, as Watanabe notes, the indigenous people of Latin America did not have the same experience with the cult of the saints as their Castilian counterparts. Catholic saints were not chosen by community members after seemingly interceding for them before God but were imposed by missionary friars (Ricard 1974; Watanabe 1990).

While the limited number of Dominican missionaries prevented them from monitoring newly-converted indigenous communities, they made sure that every indigenous community had their own Catholic church. Concurrently, they renamed indigenous towns often adding the name of a saint to the original town name and at times even creating new towns in an effort to facilitate the evangelization of native peoples (Gross 2009; Marroquín 2007; Ricard 1974). The appointment of patron saints for each indigenous community not only gave communities a common object of devotion, it also marked a time in which a community and its neighbors were to celebrate the saints (Arias 2011). These celebrations were institutionalized in indigenous communities as part of the *sistema de cargos*, or cargo system. The cargo system, the civil-religious hierarchy which

organizes social, political, and ritual life in indigenous communities, and as such administers patron saint celebrations. Religious *cargos* have been portrayed as a mechanism of domination and exploitation, since organizing patron saint celebrations extracts wealth from indigenous cargo holders into the hands of the religious clergy and merchants who profit from the staging of these festivities (Harris 1964).

Closed Corporate Communities and the Cargo System

Anthropologists have conducted extensive research on cargo systems in Mesoamerica drawing different conclusions as to the function of the cargo system in societies previously characterized as closed corporate communities(Cancian 1965; Chance and Taylor 1985; Wolf 1955, 1957). Characteristics of closed corporate communities include: a monoethnic population (usually indigenous), an aversion to change, disapproval of the accumulation and display of wealth, and efforts to reduce the effects of such accumulation on the communal structure (Wolf 1955). In contrast, open communities are comprised of a multi-ethnic population who continuously interacts with the outside world, change according to outside demands, and permit and expect individual accumulation and displays of wealth (Wolf 1955).

Serving as the *mayordomo,* or sponsor, for patron saint celebrations under the cargo system has been conceptualized as the socially acceptable way for wealthier individuals to gain prestige and display and redistribute wealth within the closed corporate community (Beezley et al. 1994; Chance and Taylor 1985; Whitecotton 1977). More recent work on the cargo system discusses changes to the system resulting from transnational migration and the rise in Protestantism in indigenous communities (Gross 2009; Kearney and Besserer 2004; VanWey et al. 2005). This includes indigenous communities with a migrant

population requiring immigrants to send payments to their communities in exchange for the communal labor requirements they are unable to fulfill while living abroad, as well as Protestants refusing to contribute their money or labor for patron saint celebrations. While scholarly and religious critiques of the cargo system and patron saint celebrations are valid, as Whitecotton notes,

> Religion, to the extent that it provided yet another focus for strong Indian community solidarity in the face of pressures from within and without, also provided an important psychological function for the Indian. Fiestas held in conjunction with the cult of saints, became a time when Indians could escape the tensions of everyday life, of poverty, of alienation, and of strong pressures to become submerged in a tightly knit social unity as well as a time to dream of utopias (Whitecotton 1977: 218).

For Solagueños and other indigenous people, the annual festivities in honor of their patron saints designates a time when a community comes together to honor their patron saints. Thus, community members are not only paying homage to and celebrating the saint, but are also paying homage and celebrating their own community (Gross 2009). Following Whitecotton and Gross, I posit that patron saint celebrations allow Solagueños to demonstrate their ties to Solaga by supporting the fiesta and returning when possible. This is evident through sponsorship of patron saint celebrations and through the purchase of videos and finally by sending their children.

Virgen del Carmen Celebration

The annual festivities for *La Virgen del Carmen* from July 14 through July 18 with festivities taking place across Solaga. July 14 is also know as *el dia de la matanza*, as the bulls, whose meat will be used to feed visiting musicians, athletes, dancers, and other visitors, are slaughtered at the *casa de la comision* during the early hours of the morning. Visiting bands who are invited or play at the festivities as part of the *gozona*, a system of

reciprocity that organizes social life and responsibilities in Zapotec communities, also arrive on July 14 and are welcomed by the Solaga's *Banda Municipal* on the outskirts of town throughout the day. These musicians proceed to a Solagueño household that has volunteered to host a dinner for the visiting band.

Figure 4 Mayordomo of Virgen del Carmen festivities carrying an image of the Virgin in July 2015

The festivities on July 14 culminate with the *calenda*, a procession which begins at the Catholic church and parades throughout the streets of Solaga stopping at every neighborhood chapel. At each stop, each band performs a *jarabe* before heading to their next destination. The *calenda* ends at the center of town in the early hours of July 15. Festivities on July 15 begin with a Mass in honor of *La Virgen del Carmen*. Following the Mass, the *danzas* chosen for the festivities begin performing and the *jaripeo* is inaugurated. The local and visiting bands alternate their time playing music for the *danzas* and during the *jaripeo*. During these rotations, members of the band walk from the town center the outskirts of town to be fed at the *casa de la comisión*. In the afternoon, a second Mass is

held and is followed by another night of dancing *jarabes.* The night culminates with firework displays and dancing in the hours leading up to the main feast day beginning the next morning.

Figure 5 Fireworks during the Virgen del Carmen festivities in July 2014

July 16 is the official feast day of *La Virgen del Carmen.* Visiting bands begin performing *Las Mañanitas* for the Virgen at 5 in the morning. The basketball tournaments begin on this day with a parade featuring the basketball teams that will compete over the next couple of days circling the basketball court in the center of town. Most visitors from the surrounding villages come to the fiesta on July 16, first stopping at the Catholic Church for Mass to pay their respects to the Virgen before joining in the celebrations. During the morning Mass, Solagueños of all ages gather at la *casa de la comisión* to change into costumes to participate in the *recua.* Dressed as in traditional Solagueño clothing, as clowns and other popular characters, they walk toward the center of town into the corral where they dance and throw candy, fruit, and other items to onlookers. Attendees are entertained

by the basketball tournament, *jaripeo*, and *danzas* throughout the day. At night, two *norteño*, *cumbia*, or *conjunto* groups alternate sets as Solagueños and visitors spend the night dancing.

Figure 6 Recua during Virgen del Carmen celebration in July 2014

The celebrations continue on July 17 with Mass, *danzas*, *jaripeo*, and the basketball tournament. In the afternoon, the basketball teams that place in the tournament receive their prizes. This is followed by the *jaripeo baile*, a combination of a midnight rodeo that is followed by dance in which another *norteño* band performs. The festivities draw to a close on July 18 with a morning Mass and are followed by send-offs for visiting bands on the outskirts of town. Solagueños gather to bid the bands farewell and for more dancing before the bands return to their hometowns. Each band member is given a bag with tamales, bread, and tortillas for their journey home. Solagueños end the day in the *casa de la comisión* as Solagueños living outside of the community also begin to pack to return to their places of residence.

Mayordomia and the Cargo System

Solaga's main patron saints are *San Andrés*, or Saint Andrew, after whom the town is named, and *La Virgen del Carmen*, a representation of the Virgin Mary associated with the Catholic Carmelite order. Each *barrio* in Solaga also has a chapel for that neighborhood's patron saint. These chapels house images of *La Virgen de los Remedios*, *El Santo Cristo de la Exaltación*, *El Santo Cristo de Tlacolula,* and *La Virgen de la Soledad*. The patron saint celebrations in honor of *La Virgen del Carmen and San Andrés* are organized by Solaga's municipal authorities, specifically by individuals appointed to serve under the cargo system in that year's *comisión de festejos* or festival planning committee, while the responsibility of the neighborhood patron saint celebrations fall to individuals living in that barrio.

The *comisión de festejos* begins meeting two months prior to the patron saint celebrations in honor of *La Virgen del Carmen* and *San Andrés* to calculate the cost of that year's festivities. Donations collected from townspeople and remittances from hometown organizations in Oaxaca City, Mexico City, and Los Angeles, CA are used to buy food items to feed visitors and to book *cumbia, conjuntos,* or *norteño* bands for entertainment during the festivities. The *presidente del templo catolico* (president of the Catholic church) decides on the *danzas* that will performed during the festivities and ensures priests will be present for the festivities masses. The *comité de jaripeo* (rodeo committee) organizes the rodeo, as well as the *recua*, a procession of revelers that begins at the *casa de la comisión* at the edge of town and ends in the center of town. The *comité de deportes* (sports committee) takes care of organizing the men's and women's basketball tournaments.

Scholars conceptualized religious cargos as a mechanism through which Spanish authorities could control indigenous communities and extract wealth from these

communites (Chance and Taylor 1985; Harris 1964). *Mayordomia,* or sponsorship, of patron saint celebrations allowed wealthier individuals to gain prestige and display and redistribute wealth within the closed corporate community in a socially acceptable manner (Beezley et al. 1994; Chance and Taylor 1985; Whitecotton 1977). Sponsorship of patron saint celebrations through the cargo system allowed indigenous communities to maintain equilibrium in their societies by preventing individuals from accumulating too much wealth (Kearney 1971; Nash 1958; Tax 1953; Wolf 1959). These studies studies draw their analysis from communities in which the cargo system relied cargo holders to independently finance celebrations. In Solaga, individual sponsorship of patron saint celebrations (or aspects of these festivities) is a relatively new phenomenon that stems from transnational migration. The Solagueño cargo system serves as an institution that organizes social and religious life, however, cargo holders are only in charge of the logistics of the celebrations and are not required to pay for the actual celebrations while they are in office. Thus, Solagueño cargo holders do not necessarily gain prestige while in office by sponsoring patron saint celebrations themselves. While cargo holders do not lose money as a result of financing patron saint celebrations, men's duties as cargo holders and members of fiesta-specific committees may entail some financial losses due to office holders' inability to work on a regular basis during their tenure.

Solagueño patron saint celebrations are funded by money collected from townspeople who share the cost of holding the fiesta. Cost sharing systems have been interpreted as a way to continue holding the fiesta declining interest in sponsoring fiestas (Brandes 1981; Magazine 2011). However, in these communities, individual sponsorship was first the norm, whereas in Solaga, cost-sharing has been the norm. In the weeks leading

up to patron saint celebrations, members of fiesta committee visit every Solagueño household asking for donations. Announcements are also made over the municipal palace's loudspeakers for Solagueños to take coffee, corn, beans and *panela* to *La Casa de la Comision* if they would like to contribute these items to aid in feeding visitors during the fiesta. Donations of both money and food items are written down by committee members and announced following the festivities. Besides the mandatory cargos Solagueño men are appointed to during the festivities, municipal authorities only require each household to deliver a batch of tortillas during the course of the festivities.

Solagueños contribute money and food for patron saint celebrations as part of their town's *gozona*, a system of mutual aid among members of Zapotec communities that promotes collective cooperation at an individual and community level (Cruz-Manjarrez 2013). Solagueño immigrants continue to practice the *gozona* away from their hometown by sending donations from Oaxaca City, Mexico City, and Los Angeles, CA to supplement community funds to fund patron saint celebrations. As a result, emigration from Solaga has transformed the scale of patron saint festivities. Transnational migration, in particular, also made it possible for individuals to single-handedly sponsor patron saint celebrations.

In Solaga, some immigrants sponsor fiestas (or aspects of these celebrations) as *promesas*, or special offerings, to the patron saints given in exchange for special favors, while others sponsor celebrations as displays of wealth. *Promesas* may also be seen as immigrant displays of wealth since their ability to single-handedly pay for patron saint celebrations can easily be interpreted as such. Sponsorships vary in cost and come from Solagueños living in the town or individuals living in other parts of Mexico or the United States. They range from bulls donated to feed visitors who arrive at the *casa de comisión*

during the festivities to prize money for the awards given to the winners of the town's basketball tournament. The largest sponsorship is taken by the volunteer who sponsors the religious celebration, paying the honorarium for the priest that presides over the Catholic masses during the festivities, as well as the flowers, candles, and decorations for the Catholic church the firecrackers announcing the beginning and end of a procession or mass, and fireworks that are set during the midnight festivities prior to the main day of the patron saint celebrations. Today, these expenses alone amount to 140 thousand Mexican pesos or approximately eight thousand American dollars, an expensive price tag for both locals and Solagueño immigrants.

Don Anibal, a 68-year-old Solagueño living in Solaga, explained how cargo holders and *mayordomos* work together to feed visitor during the fiesta: "the *comision de festejos* has the biggest responsibility, since they feed visitors and there are usually a lot of people. They must ensure the village doesn't look bad. From there, it's people's personal choice what they will give. My son, for example, gave a bull and our neighbors gave another. [The bulls] are donated specifically for [*la casa de la comision*]. It's the villages' custom for the nourishment of visitors." According to Don Anibal, the *comision de festejos*, the commitee in charge of *la casa de la comision,* bears the biggest responsibility since they are responsible for feeding visitors three meals a day during festivities. While the *comision de festejos* takes care of the logistics, people like Don Anibal's son and their neighbor provide donations to aid in feeding visitors. These men, both first-generation immigrants living in Los Angeles, donated bulls, which would be slaughtered for their meat. As Don Anibal points out, his son and his neighbor donated these animals in keeping with village tradition of feeding visitors.

While immigrant *mayordomos* certainly facilitate the town's task of paying for the fiestas, in instance when there are no sponsors, the town relies on community funds to host the celebrations. In the case of Solaga, patron saint celebrations are truly community events since first and foremost rely on community members generosity. This generosity is part of the Zapotec tradition of gozona, a system of reciprocity that unites villagers on an individual and at a community level.

El Jaripeo: A Changing Tradition

Migration has also brought about changes to fiesta traditions. The *jaripeo* or rodeo has undergone major changes in the last fifteen years. Fifteen years ago, the the construction of the enclosure for the *jaripeo* was a community endeavor. All Solagueño men had to go to the *campo* (fields) to find tree poles that would be used to construct the enclosure in the center of town. Men then spent the day tying these poles together until the enclosure was finished and deemed safe. Once the *jaripeo* began on the main feast day, community members who were assigned the role of *vaqueros* or cowboys for the festivities ventured into the *campo* to retrieve Solagueños' bulls that were kept on the outskirts of town. These bulls would serve as daily entertainment for the duration of the celebrations and would be escorted back to their owner's property.

The influx of cash from immigrants allowed the *municipio* to switch from a wooden enclosure to a metal one. Men are no longer required to contribute wooden poles for the enclosure, but they are still required to aid in the construction of the corral. The bulls used for the *jaripeo* have also changed from local bulls to bulls that are bred and marketed to participate in *jaripeos* throughout the Sierra Norte region. Bulls with names like *El Dolar*, *El Ladron de Ilusiones*, and *El Juguete Caro* travel the region in search of prize money, which

owners split between themselves, bull riders, and caretakers. These day tournaments attract a large crowd of locals and visitors on the second day of the fiesta. That night, locals and visitors are entertained by professional bull riders during the *jaripeo baile* also known as *el rodeo de media noche*. Hosting these tournaments relies on immigrant remittances for prize money, money to pay the norteño band that plays during the midnight rodeo, and money to pay the master of ceremonies. These newer events attract the attention of locals, people from neighboring towns, and immigrants and their children, drawing large groups of people to Solaga.

Solagueño Fiesta Videos

The image is grainy but I can make out the path that leads to my mother's childhood home. Around a dozen men holding musical instruments stand next to a water well waiting for my family and our guests. Some women carry a handful of gladiolas and a candle, while men carry bundles of flowers and candles wrapped in brown paper. The band and our guests start the procession from our family home to the church, a five-minute walk turn twenty minute endeavor due the solemnity and magnitude of the event. The band walks by slowly playing the music for a *canto* for La Virgen del Carmen, as the women and men sing:

Virgen del Carmen

Virgen del Carmelo

Ve ante mis ojos

Y muerame luego

As they come closer, I recognize people I have not seen in years: an uncle who lived next door, my grandmother, my mom's younger brother. Then finally, I see myself, in a pink

track suit holding my mother's hand. Her tight grasp both guides me to the church and ensures that I do not fall as we navigate the hilly terrain.

My mom comes into the room remarking that she had been looking for me. I try to wipe the tears away as I contemplate how lively our family home was during summer of 1995. "It's the right video *comadre*," Domingo informs my mother. My mother stares at the screen. "There goes the deceased Rodrigo. They're all there. Look! My brother!" she exclaims as her older brother rushes past her twenty-year-old self. "So many people that have passed away come out in this video *comadre,*" Domingo replies. "It's the right video though," he concludes.

Domingo, a first-generation Solagueño immigrant in his early sixties, hands my mom the video cassette, which is labeled *Fiestas Patrias 1995*. He had called me into his living room to make sure the video in fact had footage of the 1995 Virgen del Carmen celebrations. I was unsure if the video footage was poor because of the age of the cassette or because Domingo's video was a pirated version, which had lost quality as it was copied from the original. The fact that the video's label was hand-written and did not have the type-written *Fiesta en honor a la Virgen del Carmen 1995* on it as it would have been had it been distributed by Maria and Francisco, unoffical videographers of Solagueño patron saint celebrations from the 1990s to the mid-2000s signaled that it was a pirated version with other Solagueño celebrations from that year.

Scholars have interpreted fiesta videos as a means through which indigenous communities remain together across the U.S.-Mexico border and as a new form of social control (Berg 2015; Kummels 2017). Berg (2015) analyzes the production and consumption of fiesta videos in Peru. These videos are sold to locals, tourists, and

immigrants in local stores and in the United States. Berg finds that locals and immigrants hire videographers to chronicle their sponsorship of the fiesta in an effort to control the narrative of the fiesta videos, ensuring that sponsors are represented in a positive light. Videos are sent to the United States for undocumented immigrants who are not able to return for patron saint celebrations. These videos allow immigrants to experience the festivities from abroad and allow immigrant sponsors who are unable to return to the festivities to ensure their remittances have been used efficiently. Kummels (2017) sees fiesta videos as contributions to the decolonization of existing audiovisual practices. Kummels argues that the production of these videos satisfies indigenous audiences desires to see and themselves and their community on television. The production of these videos allows indigenous people to represent themselves in non-exotified and non-prejudiced manner in contrast to their portrayal in the mainstream media which misrepresents or ignores their existance.

I argue that Solagueños fiesta videos are a way for community members to preserve memories of the fiesta for themselves and for Solagueños living abroad. While Solagueños have found ways to preserve aspects of their fiesta prior to the arrival of video recording equipment, migration changed previous practices of record-keeping. Perla, a 47-year-old first-generation immigrant, recalled that in the 1970s when she was a child, "people would take cassette players to record the bands. We would take our cassette players and stand next to the bands to record while they played jarabes." Perla recalled that few Solagueños had the privilege of owning a tape recorder—her family was among the few who did since her father was a merchant. His profession allowed him to exchange his wares for the cassette player allowing is family to experience the fiestas once the festivities had ended.

Perla stressed that these tape recordings were unique, since Solagueños did not know how to reproduce these audio recordings en masse.

Porfirio, a first-generation immigrant who lived in Los Angeles, was the first person to record a patron saint celebration in Solaga in the late 1980s. Porfirio returned to Solaga with a video camera he procured during his time in Los Angeles. Like Perla's audio recordings, his footage was for his personal consumption. Emmanuel, a man from a neighboring community who married into Solaga, was the first to record patron saint celebration videos to sell. After working in Los Angeles, he too returned to Solaga with recording equipment. Eventually Francisco, another Solagueño immigrant returned to Solaga and became Emmanuel's competition. Francisco recruited his cousin Maria to work with him. Together, they were able to record twice as much footage of the fiesta eventually driving Emmanuel out of business. Maria and Francisco held a monopoloy on fiesta videos until the early 2000s, when individuals from surrounding towns made recording fiesta videos throughout the Sierra Norte their business. Today, Abrahán, another Solagueño immigrant who returned to live in Solaga, is the only Solagueño that continues to film the fiesta to sell videos.

Fiesta videos allowed Solagueño locals and visitors to see different events of the fiesta they might have missed out during the actual celebrations or to relive them after they were over. Video sets contained hours of footage of *danzas*, *jaripeo*, and *bailes*. Solagueño immigrants were also able to experience their hometown festivities through videos, even if they were unable to return to the hometown. Eduardo, a 31-year-old member of the 1.5 generation, who was born in Oaxaca and brought to the U.S. as a child, reminisced on the significance of watching patron saint celebration videos: "I remember seeing video tapes

because people were bringing video tapes. So that was a whole week. Like Friday night, 'we're watching the first part' and it took like … oh my god … so many hours on one event! Saturday we'd watch the second part, Sunday you were like, 'okay play it again, play it again,' but now as I look back my parents wanted to stay connected to it." As undocumented immigrants living in Los Angeles, Eduardo and his parents were unable to travel to Solaga for patron saint celebrations. As he points out, fiesta videos allowed Eduardo's parents to stay connected to their hometown. While repeated viewings of these videos may have overwhelmed some viewers, they demonstrate both the attention Solagueños placed on the events and their eagerness to consume these recordings.

I saw this enthusiam for fiesta videos within my own family. As a U.S. citizen, I did not have to spend weeks trying to successfully cross the border like undocumented Solagueño immigrants who returned for patron saint celebrations. My quick return to Los Angeles following my summer stays sometimes meant I was the first person to arrive in Los Angeles with videos from the fiesta. Once when driving home from Los Angeles International Airport, my mother's cousin called her to let her know he was on his way to our apartment. My mother informed my uncle that my plane had just landed and that we were not home yet. When we arrived to our apartment, he was already waiting. Once he left with his video set, we laughed because he was so eager to get his hands on the fiesta videos that he had sidestepped the protocol of waiting for our phone call to notify his mother had sent the video set for him.

Solagueños like my uncle, Eduardo, and Domingo who were unable to travel to Solaga for patron saint celebrations due to legal status and work obligations relied on the transnational circulation of fiesta videos to be able to experience the festivities for

themselves. These videos were in such high demand that as detailed above, Solagueño locals were in competition with each other to produce and sell these videos. The demand for videos of patron saint celebrations in Solaga and its surrounding communities that enterprising individuals have been able to make a living by dedicating themselves to the production of these videos. Traveling video producers attend as many as forty patron saint celebrations a year, editing their footage overnight and selling DVDs out of their mobile studio at the end of the fiesta (Kummels 2017). The last day of the fiesta in Solaga usually has at least two video producers screening their videos on opposite sides of the basketball court, allowing people to preview the videos before purchasing. In 2015, one of these video producers brought a drone to fiesta, ensuring that more people would purchase his DVDs in order to experience the fiesta with an aerial view of the celebrations.

The arrival of cellphone and internet service[9] has allowed Solagueños to upload videos of patron saint celebrations to Facebook and to broadcast festivities in real time. Thus Solagueños living in Oaxaca City, Mexico City, and Los Angeles are able to watch the festivities long before the fiesta videos arrive. Still, these videos are recorded through the literal lens of someone else. Immigrants who are unable to return miss out on other social connections made during the fiesta, including visiting relatives living in the community or reconnecting with friends and family members living in other parts of Mexico and the United States during these celebrations.

Previous waves of Solagueño immigrants were able to return to Solaga for patron saint celebrations. In fact, as in other indigenous communtiies, immigrants often planned

[9] The first business to provide internet service in Solaga was opened by a Solagueño who had migrated to Los Angeles to work for a period of time. He also sells cellphones and tablets at his store providing locals with both the technology and service they need to broadcast the fiesta.

return trips around their town's religious calendar (Berg 2015). Don Anibal remembered how Solagueños who had migrated to Oaxaca and Mexico City began the practice of returning to Solaga for patron saint celebrations: "the people that would return had only gone to Mexico and Oaxaca. With migration to the United States, everything completely changed. Before they could go and come back. They just needed money to cross. Not like now, it's more dangerous. People can't just go like they used to without papers. They went, they came back, they went, they came back. They would just come back for the fiesta. Sometimes they would stay." Restrictive immigration policies and border enforcement have made it increasingly difficult for undocumented immigrants to engage in such patterns of circular migration (DeGenova 2004; Inda 2006). Migration brought about the circumstances through which Solagueños were first able to access the technology necessary to make video recordings of patron saint celebrations. The increasingly difficult task of crossing the U.S.-Mexico border meant that video recordings were the only way Solagueño immigrants could experience their town's fiestas until the early 2000s, when Solagueños began celebrating their town's patron saints in Los Angeles, CA. Despite the transnational circulation of fiesta videos and the festivities held in honor of patron saints in Los Angeles, Solagueños engage in return visits if they are able to. Perla says this is because, "It doesn't feel the same to be here [in Los Angeles], than to be there [in Solaga]." Don Anibal believes Solagueños return to the hometown because "They do not forget their village. They are proud of where they come from. They want the chance to be able to spend time with their relatives." As will be discussed in Chapter 7, Solagueños who are unable to return to their hometown encourage their children to travel in their stead.

Conclusion

In her assessment of the cargo system, Friedlander (1981) argues that Spanish missionaries set up the cargo system to "keep the Indians Indian." Indigenous people were kept "indian" by being bound to the cargo system, which would ensured that they would remain distinct from the mestizo population. Failure to fulfill a cargo is tantamount to renouncing membership in the community. The burden of organizing village fiestas under the cargo system, Friedlander states, made indigenous people complicit in their own oppression (1981). While religious cargos may have indeed been institutionalized as a means of colonial control over indigenous people, following Gross (2009) and Whitecotton (1977), I contend that patron saint celebrations in their current form allow the Solagueño community to come together and reproduce their community and its traditions in the hometown and abroad. The Solagueño cargo system differs from that of other indigenous communites in that the community is responsible for the cost of patron saint celebrations. Solagueño ideas about individual and communal reciprocity underpin the organization of these festivities. Migration allowed individuals to have enough money to sponsor festivities as a *promesa* to their patron saint or as a display of the wealth accumulated through migration. Kummels (2017) describes patron saint celebrations as a time of abundance and renewal. Indeed, migration has provided Solagueño immigrants with the ability to stage more spectacular celebrations in honor of their patron saints. Thus, as Whitecotton described of indigenous communities in the past, Solagueños are able to "escape the tensions of everyday life, of poverty, of alienation, and of strong pressures to become submerged in a tightly knit social unity as well as a time to dream of utopias (Whitecotton 1977: 218).

Chapter Six: Music Follows Wherever Serranos Go

My mother, sisters, and I arrived at Garr Banquet Hall in South Central Los Angeles on November 30, 2014. This year, the feast day in honor of San Andrés the patron saint after whom Solaga is named happened to fall on a Sunday. When we arrived, we had to figure out who to give the water and soda cases we were donating for the fiesta. A band member's father helped us carry the drinks from my car to the venue. The woman at the door started writing my mother's name down as the donor but my mother told her to write my name down, since I was the one that was actually doing the donating. The list was already a page long and had the names of Solagueños and the items they donated written on it. The entrance fee for the event was $8, but the woman at the door told us to go ahead. My mom refused and handed her some cash.

Patron saints are honored with *misas oaxaqueñas* (Oaxacan Mass), for which traditional brass band and a choir are needed. During this celebration, the Los Angeles-based Solagueño youth band, *Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca*, played during the Mass, while a choir made up of six first-generation immigrant women, a first-generation man, and a young lady that appeared to be a member of the second generation, sang during the Mass. By the time we walked into the venue, Mass had already started and most of the seats were taken. We saw my godmother Lupe, her mother, and my Tía Jimena sitting together and headed toward them. Tía Jimena asked the boy she was with to bring over more chairs. People continued to arrive throughout the duration of Mass. At one point, individuals started grabbing folding chairs as they came into the venue and placing them where they wished to sit. During the homily, the priest said he hoped the children of Solagueños born in the United States would continue preserving their parents' traditions.

Once the Mass ended, the band played "Las Mañanitas" and "Celebremos Con Gusto Señores" in honor of San Andrés' feast day before venturing outside. Then Carlos, a first-generation immigrant who emcees most Solagueño events welcomed the attendees, who included Solagueño immigrants, their children, and their grandchildren, as well as individuals from other Oaxacan towns. He related to attendees how Solagueños came to the U.S. with the goal of going back to their hometown someday, but this changed once they had children. He concluded his speech by announcing *Banda San Jeronimo Zoochina* would arrive soon and that a dance group whose members were from town in the Sierra Norte were also set to perform.

The venue's parking lot had been covered with party tents. Inside these tents, there were tables with bread, *tamales*, coffee, and chocolate, as well as tables for people to sit once they received their food and drink. Once attendees ate, they headed back inside. By the time my family and I went back in, *Banda San Jeronimo Zoochina* had arrived and played "Las Mañanitas" at the alter that had been set up with the image of San Andrés. The band then played a *diana* in honor of San Andrés and sat in their designated area, where they continued to play until the *danza* was ready to perform. Carlos, a forty-six-year-old Solagueño immigrant, then took the stage to express his delight that so may Serranos[10] lived in Los Angeles because "music follows wherever Serranos go." He thanked *Banda San Jeronimo Zoochina* for attending the celebration and made announcements for *Solaga USA* to pick up their instruments and gather outside to escort the dance group.

Once the dance group was ready to perform, Solaga USA gathered outside the venue welcome the dance group. They played a *marcha* as they processed into the venue with the

[10] People from the Sierra Norte region of Oaxaca where Solaga and Zoochina are located.

dance group behind them. Children and parents rushed to the stage to get a good view of the danza with a few of them pulling out their phones to record the *dance.* Solaga USA played the *sones* for the dance group as they performed "Danza de los Hippies" clad in what appeared to be their interpretation of hippy attire made out of African-print cloth. The dancers threw up peace signs as they danced and transitioned into different routines. First-generation women (for the most part band members' mothers) ran inside to see the *danza* as a break from serving food outside the venue.

Once the danza finished performing, *Banda San Jeronimo Zoochina* played *jarabes* for guests to dance. During this time, Solagueños gathered outside of the venue to get ready for the *recua*. Children and adults grabbed costumes from boxes and put them on, while others grabbed fruit, candy, and other items that would be thrown at the crowd. My godmother attempted to convince her five-year-old son who usually enjoys dancing *jarabes* to participate, but he was reluctant that day. Solaga USA once again stepped outside this time to welcome the people that participated in the *recua*. Children rushed toward the participants to get their hands on candy, while other attendees attempted to protect themselves and simultaneously grab the fruit that was being thrown. Once the *recua* participants were done dancing, Solaga USA continued playing *jarabes*. We left soon after to celebrate my sister's birthday, which also falls on the 30th.

The patron saint celebration in honor of San Andrés marked the beginning of my fieldwork with *Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca* in Los Angeles. Over the course of my time with the band, I accompanied them to patron saint celebrations, *kermeses* (fundraisers), family parties, and weekly band practice. This vignette provides a glimpse into one of the many events *Solaga USA* performs at in Los Angeles, CA. In Chapter 5, I described what the

celebration in honor of la Virgen del Carmen in the town of Solaga. The celebrations in honor of San Andrés in Solaga are identical but have less people in attendance. Solagueños joke that this is because la Virgen del Carmen "se faja los pantalones" or wears the pants in the relationship, but the more straightforward explanation is that the Virgen del Carmen festivities fall in the summer and thus sees the arrival of Solagueños from Oaxaca City, Mexico City, and Los Angeles, and their children.

In this chapter, I examine patron saint celebrations in Los Angeles, focusing on the events hosted by *Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca*, the Los Angeles-based Solagueño youth band, who play at these and other Oaxacan social events. I detail the formation of the Solagueño youth band, the factors that led some members to joining the band, and the orchestration of *kermeses* and patron saint celebrations in Los Angeles. The foundation of the Solagueño youth band provided a catalyst from which Solagueños began gathering more regularly allowing immigrants to instill aspects of their culture and social values. Through music, immigrants and their children have been able to preserve their musical traditions, celebrate culture as a collective, and develop a sense of pride in their indigenous origins.

Making the Band: Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca

Solagueño patron saint celebrations in Los Angeles have become more frequent in the early 2000s as a result of the formation of *Banda Juvenil Solaga USA*, the first Los Angeles-based Oaxacan brass band to be composed solely of the children of immigrants. The formation of the band served as an impetus for not only for other towns to form youth brass bands, but also for Solaga and other Oaxacan communties to hold events for these bands to perform that. Today, Los Angeles-based bands have more young women among

their ranks than previous iterations of village-based bands (X. Chávez 2017). Mexican scholars assumed that Oaxacan migration from rural towns to Oaxaca City and Mexico City would lead to immigrants to relinquish aspects of village life, particularly traditional bands (Flores Dorantes and Ruiz Torres 2015). The establishment of village-based bands first in Oaxaca City and Mexico City and later in Los Angeles, CA defy these assumptions. Instead, these bands continue to be a symbol of Oaxacan identity that allow immigrants remember their childhood and their hometown away from their ancestral home (Flores Dorantes and Ruiz Torres 2015; Alfonso Muñoz 1994). Furthermore, these bands have also become a marker of Oaxacan identity for youth in Los Angeles.

Prior to the formation of the youth brass band, family gatherings allowed Solagueños to come together in intimate settings to celebrate their culture. Eduardo was born in Oaxaca and came of age in Los Angeles in the late 1990s. He remembered that Solagueño social events were "mostly birthday parties between family members but not like *kermeses* or big huge parties. At that time the only events I can remember are gatherings between family members and at those gatherings it was like a celebration of our culture because of the food, because of the language, because people were speaking Zapoteco, because of the music. People would take out their tapes and play it during the party." Eduardo's account underscores two major differences between the Solagueño events of his youth and those of today: the music and the scale of these events. Solagueños now host large fundraisers and "huge parties" for patron saint to which all Solagueños and Oaxacans are invited to attend. Moreover, instead of the cassette tapes of Eduardo's youth, these events have live music played by brass bands composed of Oaxacan youth. Still, as Eduardo indicated, small social gatherings provided a space in which Solagueños could pay

homage to the celebrate their community before the formation of the *Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca.*

Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca was formed by Antonio, a Solagueño immigrant who arrived in Los Angeles in 2001. A trained musician, Antonio pitched his idea of creating a youth band to his *paisanos*. Word quickly spread and 50 children joined the band. This new band was different from previous iterations of Los Angeles-based Solagueño bands, which were composed of first generation Solagueño immigrants. The members of what became *Solaga USA* were youth that were brought to the U.S. as children (1.5 generation) or children who were born in the U.S. to Solagueño immigrants (second generation). While *Solaga USA* was the first Oaxacan band to feature solely the children of immigrants, other Los Angeles-based Oaxacan bands soon followed suit. Today, most members of Oaxacan bands in Los Angeles are 1.5 or second-generation youth.

Many of the original members of *Solaga USA* were reluctant to join the band. Guillermo is a 26-year-old member of the second generation. He was thirteen years old when he was recruited to be part of *Solaga USA.* His story demonstrates how the recruitment of band members played out in one family.

> Pretty much my dad forced me. I remember him telling me and my sister, *'Vamos a hacer una banda de Solaga. Queremos hacer una banda y necesitan a muchachos y muchachas si quieren aprender musica y hacer una banda regional de musica oaxaqueña.'*[11] My sister was like, "Okay, I'll go!' She liked music. She's always liked music. I liked it too but at that time, I mostly listened to rap like Snoop Dogg and Dre. That's mostly what I listened to … Tupac … all that stuff. I wasn't really interested. I was like, 'Nah, I'm cool.' You know? I used to have a lot of friends where I lived. There was more than a dozen of us that lived in the same building. We used to play and hangout after school. I was on a soccer team and I was mainly doing that and hanging out, so I wasn't really interested. So, my sister went and when she came back she

[11] We're forming a Solaga band. We want to form a band and they need young men and women. If you want to learn music and be part of Oaxacan regional band.

> was like, 'You should go! You should go!' and I was like 'Nah nah' and then the following week came, and it was time to go again and my dad was like, 'You should go Guillermo. You should at least see, you might like it. You never know.' I was like, 'Nah' and then they convinced me. So that's pretty much how I got forced.

Guillermo's recollection demonstrates the persuasion it took for youth to join the band. His social circle included many non-Solagueño youth who he would spend time much of his time. Guillermo was also fan of rap, a different genre of music than he was to play as a part of *Solaga USA*. His father and his sister appear to have been instrumental in his joining the band. His father initially proposed the idea to his children, while his younger sister, Amy, encouraged him to attend band practice after attending the previous week. Guillermo was not the only reluctant recruit. Sergio, a member of the second generation, recalls

> At first I didn't want to [be part of the band]. I think I was 11 years old when they told me. When Antonio [the first director of the band] was creating it, forming it, getting everyone together. I already knew a little bit of music … I didn't wanna go because I didn't like it. I didn't like music. Well I did like music, but I didn't like playing and it wasn't really interested in playing. So, I was … should I say forced? Forced … my older brother too. We were forced to go … the first four years.

Sergio laughs as he finishes recounting his experience from thirteen years earlier. He is now 24 years old and one of the directors of *Solaga USA*. As Guillermo and Sergio's memories demonstrate, many parents and siblings managed to "force" or convince their children and siblings to give the band a chance. Some children agreed and decided to stay often for multiple years.

Older siblings played an integral role in the recruitment of today's *Solaga USA* lineup. Today's band is composed of some of original band members, like Sergio. Other band members are the younger siblings of former band members. Many of them joined

after tagging along to band practice or watching their siblings perform at Solagueño events. Arturo, a 19-year-old member of the second generation, was drawn to *Solaga USA* after his older brother, Josué, joined the band. Arturo recalls,

> I've been in the band since I was six years old. I started off when I was that young, but my brother had been in the band, since he's a couple of years older. So, I was kind of surrounded by that culture since before I wanted so I guess just watching them kind of encouraged me to join and I've been part of it since then.

Arturo recognizes the role of growing up surrounded by Oaxacan music. This was a result of accompanying his older brother to practice and eventually to performances. Josue and Arturo's younger sister, Araceli joined the band when she was four-years-old. Josué eventually left the band, while today Arturo is one of three band directors. Araceli too continues to play in the band.

Others, like Matias, joined the band after several failed attempts from his parents and through their involvement in other aspects of Solagueño life. Matias joined *Solaga USA* when he was nine years old, years after his father attempted to persuade him to join the band by taking him to band practice with his older brothers. Matias recalls, "I didn't want to go to band practice. My dad says once I kicked him in the shin and left crying because I didn't want to do it." Participating in a *danza* made him change his mind about being part of *Solaga USA*. "After joining a danza I heard the band and I was like, 'Oh that sounds fun!' So then I joined." While Matias' experience is similar to Arturo who attributes his participation in the band to growing up around the band because of his older brother's participation in the band, Matias only grew interested in being a part of *Solaga USA* after performing a traditional dance for a patron saint celebration.

For other youth, the harsh realities of life in inner-city Los Angeles led their parents to encourage them to join the band. Solagueño youth grew up in neighborhoods and attended schools where they were disproportionately exposed to youth involved in gangs and intergroup violence (Rumbaut and Komaie 2010; Vigil 2002). Mario, a 28-year-old of the second-generation states that participating in the Solagueño youth band, "Let me escape that reality and took me somewhere else. I think I owe it to the band and to the music … I got detached from the people in my neighborhood. If I didn't have any other hobby or good things I probably would've been hanging out with them, growing up hanging out with them doing the same [thing] they were doing 'cuz that's all you know but then I was exposed to something else that I didn't know about before and then I got invested in that." While Mario's neighborhood friends became gang members, including some children of Solagueño immigrants, his participation in the band allowed him to have an alternative to gang life. Band activities gave youth like Mario a healthy pasttime in their own neighborhoods as opposed to the Lucas and Marina's decision to forbid their children from playing outside or making friends with neighborhood children in their South Central neighborhood in the early 1990s.

Youth and parental fears of their children becoming involved in gang life have proven true in some instances. As in other communities, Solagueños who have become involved in gangs have been sent back to or made the decision to go back to their parents' hometown to distance themselves from gangs (Coutin 2016; Menjivar 2002; Portes et al 2009). Frankie, left his partner and children in the U.S. and lived in Solaga for several years. As an undocumented member of the 1.5 generation, so his departure from Los Angeles in the late-2000s meant he would have to hard crossing the U.S.-Mexico border if he tried to

return. He eventually moved to Mexico City, but found that his tattoos, shaved head, and style of dress made it difficult to find a job. Thus, he returned to Solaga and continued to make living working as a driver and operating beer stands during patron saint celebrations. In September 2015, Enrique, a second-generation Solagueño, a former gang member, was killed outside his home in Mid-City Los Angeles. His death was a shock for his parents and the community, since he was in his late thirties and had seemingly left that life behind. Enrique's premature death reminded Solagueños of the dangers the streets of Los Angeles present for their children. In addition to a premature death, youth who become involved with gangs can fall into a life of violence and drug use making youth more susceptible to arrest and incarceration (Vigil 2002). Participating in the band kept youth Solagueño youth away from neighborhood gangs, diminishing the possibility they experience downward assimilation and become part of a permanent underclass. Arturo, 19, joined the band as a six-year-old. When I interviewed him, he was a college sophomore at a prestigious private university. Arturo reflected on his neighborhood and his time with the band: "Yeah gangs were in my neighborhood, but the way my parents raised me, it [joining a gang] never even crossed my mind. It might have been different if I wasn't so busy with the band." Instead, participating in *Solaga USA* sets Solagueño youth on a path toward selective acculturation, that is, they learn the host culture while retaining significant elements and respect for their culture of origin (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b; Zhou 2001).

Children's retention of Solagueño culture is particularly important in the context of Los Angeles, where Solagueño youth face anti-indigenous discrimination from within the Latino population. The pride Solagueño youth experience as part of *Banda Juvenil Solaga*

USA allows them find a positive sense of self in the face of prejudice from the groups they encounter in the United States.

Rebecca, a 23-year-old member of the 1.5-generation found that her peers had negative attitudes about her Oaxacan background. She recalls her high school friends teasing her about being from Oaxaca:

> In high school, I think that's pretty much when you find yourself. I remember my friends used to be like 'Oh Oaxaquita! Oh you're from Oaxaca! You're a little Indian. Oh this and that.' And I was always like 'Oh at least I don't deny where I come from' because that's when reggaeton was cool and two of my best friends they were saying they were Puerto Rican. They had like a Puerto Rican flag in their folder. Me and my other friend, she's Salvadoran … we were like, 'Dude, you're not Puerto Rican, you're Guatemalan.' And she was like 'It's cuz I have an uncle and he's Puerto Rican' and so then I was like, 'Right.' So, when they would call me little Indian I would be like, 'Freakin' Guatemalans are indigenous too!' You know? 'They have their own indigenous groups.'

Rebecca expressed a sense of pride in not denying her indigenous background, while the classmate she mentions adopted an alternate nationality because it "was cool." Her recollection of the event shows her taking pride in defending her indigenous background despite being taunted about it. This was especially true because she, unlike some of her other Oaxacan classmates, never felt ashamed about her indigenous roots. She attributes this pride to her time in *Solaga USA*.

> I don't know if I would have been as close to my culture as I am if I hadn't joined the band. I have to give credit to the band. I liked it … playing *sones y jarabes* from the region. I love dancing *jarabes*. Todos las tradiciones que tenemos aca lo hacemos alla. Si hacen la fiesta de la Virgen del Carmen lo hacemos alla tambien.[12]

[12] "All the traditions they have here [Solaga], we have there [Los Angeles]. If they hold the Virgen del Carmen celebration [in Solaga], we hold the celebration there [in Los Angeles] too."

Some indigenous youth, like Rebecca, experience discrimination at the hands of some members of the Latino population. Rebecca believes her participation in the band allowed her to be in touch with her culture. The formation of the youth band allowed for Solagueño youth to have an outlet through which they could stay connected to their parents' culture and has also created a strong community among the Oaxacan community in L.A, since Solagueños began to celebrate their patron saints away from their hometown more frequently than before the youth band existed. Participating in the band fostered a strong sense of ethnic pride in the face of anti-indigenous discrimination from within the Latino population.

La Escoleta

The first generation of the *Solaga USA* band, which included Mario, Rebecca, and Guillermo, practiced in the garages and backyards of Solagueño homes. Noise complaints led band parents to look for a practice space where there would not be such issues. Their search led them to an apartment building in the Adams-Normandie neighborhood of Los Angeles, close to Mid-City and Koreatown where most Solagueños live. There, they were able to rent a single-room occupancy apartment for their children to practice. When the band first moved into this space, there were fifty band members. Each parent would pay twenty dollars a month for their child to be in the band. This money would cover the monthly expenses for the practice space. As the number of band members began to diminish, parents began to host fundraising events to cover the cost of renting the space.

The practice space is known as *la escoleta,* the same name for the practice space for Solaga's municipal band in the hometown. The Los Angeles *escoleta* is covered in carpet, not only on the floors, but also on the walls. The use of carpet seems to be a way to prevent

the sound the band makes during practice from escaping. The walls are also covered in band memorabilia. These items include posters advertising band performances and framed images of *Solaga USA* at different performances. Two wooden benches line the walls and serve as the seating for the horn section. The clarinet and flute players sit on metal folding chairs. The percussion section stands to the side of their peers. All these instrumets, save the bass drum and the sousaphone —the largest of the instruments— are purchased by band members' parents. As band members grow up and start working, many start purchasing their own instruments.

Figure 7 Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca during band practice

The area behind the percussion section is used as storage space. During practice, band directors venture into this area in search of music sheets, which include Oaxacan standards, ballads, and waltzes. These sheets are located on shelves or in filing cabinets. Some of these pieces are shared among musicians across the U.S.-Mexico border. Others are written by and arranged by the directors of Oaxcan bands in Los Angeles, including

adaptations of American pop songs like There is also a copy machine, where copies of music sheets. Water, soda, and beer cases are also stacked in this area. These beverages are leftovers from patron saint celebrations and band fundraisers are usually donated by Solagueños for these occasions.

The *escoleta* not only functions as a practice space for *Solaga USA,* but also as a venue for small gatherings. These celebrations include a small get-together for the Feast of the Epiphany, where band members and their parents come together to cut the traditional *rosca*, or sweet bread. The *escoleta* is also a stop for Solagueño Christmas *posadas*, in which Solagueño immigrants and children reenact Mary and Joseph asking for shelter prior to the birth of baby Jesus. Since the *escoleta* is relatively small for the number of people that show up for the occasion, the band squeezes into the storage area, while guests sit on the benches along the wall, folding chairs placed along the walls, and outside of the practice room.

Solaga USA meets on Friday nights to practice for that weekend's events or upcoming events. Practice begins at 8pm, but band members trickle in throughout the night. Some come to practice after other extracurricular activities like athletic events in which they partake as athletes or musicians in pep bands. Many band members attend the same schools, including Hamilton High School, where they are part of the school's music program. Practice begins with the director and band members choosing the musical pieces for their upcoming events, which they call *tocadas* or gigs. Once chosen, these pieces are written on the dry-erase board facing the band. In-between songs, band member catch up, joke with each other, and check their social media accounts, ignoring the sign on the wall that prohibits the use cellphones during practice. Other Oaxacan musicians, usually band

member's friends from other Oaxacan brass bands, also stop by Friday night practice and play with *Solaga USA* on some occasions.

Throughout the night, Solagueño parents come in and out of *la escoleta* ensuring that their children are preparing for their upcoming events. At times, their presence is necessary since some band practices descend into chaos. This usally happens when the main director, Fernando, a 22-year-old member of the second-generation has to leave practice early or miss practice altogether to play with his ska band. While Fernando is young, he is able to maintain the attention of teenage band members. Sergio, another *Solaga USA* director is 24 and more soft-spoken. Unlike Fernando, he does not chastise his fellow band members when they lose focus during practice so his younger bandmates often talk and play around more when he leads practice. During one of these band practices, Sergio quickly ran through the set for the band's next event and called an end to band practice. His fellow bandmates still wanted to play so instead of putting their instruments away, they switched instruments and attempted to play each other's. This led to laughter as some teenagers managed to successfully and unsuccessfuly to play *jarabes* with instruments they were unfamiliar with.

My time at *Solaga USA's* band practice allowed me to see not only the dedication band members have for the band, but also the community they build at band practice. *Solaga USA* band members spent most weekends together and are in constant communication with each other on the band's Facebook group chat, where they send each other information about their upcoming events and joke with each other throughout the week. While school and work obligations sometimes prevented band members from attending practice, most members consistently came to band practice, even if it meant

arriving late or leaving early. The presence of musicians from other Oaxacan bands at *Solaga USA's* practice and events demonstrates the connections Oaxacan musicians build with musicians from other Los Angeles-based brass bands and ultimately with their parents' hometowns. Music provides musicians and communities with a way to preserve their musical traditions and to celebrate their culture as a collective (O'Hagin and Harnish 2006). Parental involvement and support in the lives of these young musicians further links band members to their places of origin.

Los Papás de la Banda

Research has shown that the level of transnational engagement of first-generation parents influences how active their children will be in their own transnational practices (Kasinitz et al. 2002; Vickerman 2002). Parental involvement in *Solaga USA* events allow immigrants to build and maintain ties with Solaga, as well a with the Oaxacan community in Los Angeles. Immigrants' personal networks allow them to socialize their children into their culture and to transmit specific values from their places of origin (Goitom 2016). In the Oaxacan case, this involves the transmission of cultural practices like Oaxacan music and dance. Parents who attend *Solaga USA's* band practice stay in the hallway outside of the practice space, catching up with each other. Their conversations are mostly in Zapotec, but they switch to Spanish if non-Solagueño parents are present. Occasionally interested parties stop by to discuss booking the band for their event. Saturdays and Sundays are filled with engagements. On Saturday *Solaga USA* usually plays at family parties and receptions for baptisms, quinceañeras, or weddings. The band performs at patron saint celebrations and fundraisers for the Solagueño community and other Oaxacan towns on Sundays.

Lorena, a forty-nine-year-old Solagueña, was a regular face at band practice and at band events. One night during band practiced, she shared with me how her children had joined *Solaga USA*. Lorena remembered that she was opposed to the idea of her children joining the band, while her husband actively encouraged his children to participate in the band. Lorena believed being in the band would be too time consuming. Her oldest son, Josué, was friends with several of Solagueño-origin children who joined the band in 2001 and he decided to do so too. Lorena tried to get Josué to quit to no avail. Later, Lorena's younger children Arturo and Araceli also joined the band. Josué eventually did quit the band once he left for college, but Arturo and Araceli stayed. As a result of her children's desire to participate in the Solagueño youth band, Lorena has been involved with the band for more than fifteen years. In this time, Lorena's backyard has become a center for Solagueño social gatherings, particularly those hosted by the Solagueño youth band. For a time, Lorena's family allowed Solagueños to hold family parties in their backyard but stopped doing so for fear of noise complaints. Noise complaints led to encounters with police who were called by neighbors to break up Solagueño parties. Thus, gathering at Lorena's now only allows people to use her yard for band-only events and *kermeses* or fundraisers.

One Sunday in April 2015, I arrived at Lorena's house a little before 10am to help with a *kermes*. Although the fundraiser was set to start at 10am, tables and chairs were barely being unloaded from a van and food was still being prepared. I greeted the men who were seated in the backyard and headed to Lorena's kitchen. Inside, I found my Tía Mariana and the mothers of other band members slicing cabbage that would be used as a topping for the *tlayudas* they were going to sell at the fundraiser. Lorena offered me a cup of coffee,

which I drank as the women started setting up outside. Once I was done, I went outside to see how I could help. One of the women asked me to put table cloths on the tables where guests would sit. As I began to cut table-length pieces from the table cover roll the woman handed me, Sebastian a second-generation band member arrived with his friend. Since the food was not ready, the women told Sebastian to help me. Sebastian's friend and I cut pieces from the roll as Sebastian taped the table cloths to the bottom of each table. By the time we were done, the women had finished setting up and were manning the food stations they were assigned to, which included a *tlayuda* station, a *champurrado* and coffee station, a *quesadilla* station, and a station selling tortillas con *rellena* and empanadas. The men were assigned to the bar area, where they sold the tickets that people would use to pay for food, as well as alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages.

Figure 8 Solaga USA fundraiser

Eventually, Solagueños and people from surrounding towns started arriving for the *kermes*. Some came with their entire families, while others came during their lunch break

to pick up food for themselves and their coworkers. I took orders for the women in charge of the *quesadilla* station for most of the day and served individuals who ordered from our station. Band members did not arrive until close to 1pm, since they were told to play at 2pm. The band's performance at fundraisers draws larger crowds, so the band's arrival and guests' arrival meant that the latter half of the day was busier. Stations began running out of food items like *masa* and *tlayudas*, which I was sent to purchase at a Mexican-run *tortilleria* and at a Oaxacan-owned business in Mid-City Los Angeles.

When I came back from these errands, I found the band playing backup for Bartolome, a man from the town of Yatee. The man was singing a popular Zapotec song by Martin Marcial, a native of the town of San Francisco Yatee. Marcial's songs are rare in that regional Oaxacan music does not have lyrics. Still, his songs are so popular that Oaxacan bands from the Sierra Norte on both sides of the border know the tune to his songs. Thus, while the majority of *Solaga USA* did not understand the lyrics of these songs, they were able to accompany Bartolome as he sang Marcial's songs about alcoholism, love, and loneliness indexing their belonging to indigenous communities through their shared musical knowledge (Turino 2008). Following Bartolome's performance, the band played *sones* for people to listen to while they ate, alternating sets with a DJ that was hired for the event. Later in the afternoon, the band played *jarabes* for those in attendance to dance. Dancers during the band's set included first-generation immigrants and their children. A few band members would dance while the DJ played during their break, but most hung out on the sidewalk outside of Lorena's house or socialized with friends and family members that came to support the fundraiser.

Fundraisers like the one described above are held to raise money to pay for the band's practice space, which is also paid for by the money the band makes by performing at paid events. The parents of band members take care of the logistics of the fundraisers, including preparing food at home and at the *kermes* and purchasing items necessary for the fundraisers. Parents also ensure that there are enough band members in attendance. Band members' school and work obligations mean that sometimes there are not enough members to attend a performance. Thus, parents have to ask individuals from other bands to fill in for a missing musician.

Patron Saint Celebrations in Los Angeles

Figure 9 Altar for San Andrés during the 2015 patron saint celebration

In addition to fundraisers, patron saint celebrations allow Solagueños to come together to celebrate the saints and their culture in their new home of Los Angeles. Patron saint festivities have been modified with their move to the U.S. While the cargo system no longer serves as the backbone for planning these events, Solagueños' willingness to

cooperar through cost-sharing helps the youth band and sponsors host celebrations providing a space of Solagueños and their children with a time and space to honor the saints and their hometown.

Oaxacan festivities in honor of patron saints are usually held in rented party halls or backyards the weekend before or after the main feast day of the patron saint. Solagueño celebrations are held as close to the dates of the festivities in Solaga, however, the dates are aso contingent on the availability of party halls and musicians. Different individuals and groups take on the responsibility of putting on these festivities. The festivities in honor of *San Andrés* and *La Virgen del Carmen* are hosted by *Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca* with the assistance of individuals who wish to pay for certain expenses for the celebration, including the food that will be served to attendees. *Solaga USA*'s steering committee takes on the role the comision de festejos usually takes in Solaga. The steering committee, composed of band parents, takes care of the logistical aspect of the event, including booking at least one other Oaxacan band for the event, planning the r*ecua*, and ensuring that all guests are fed. Other festivities for neighborhood saints like *La Virgen de los Remedios* are sponsored by individual families, who also count on individual and community support through the *gozona* system.

Patron saint celebrations begin with a Catholic mass with musical accompaniment by the Solagueño youth band. Mass is followed by a light breakfast of *tamales*, bread, and c*hampurrado*. After breakfast, the Solagueño youth band escorts members of the chosen *danza* into the venue. The *danza* performs, while Solagueños and their guests, for the most part other Oaxacan immigrants and their children, observe. Lunch usually chicken with *mole*, *barbacoa*, or *caldo de res* (beef soup) is also served during this time. Following the

danza performance, the brass band begins playing *jarabes* and attendees begin to dance. A DJ, *cumbia*, *norterño*, or *conjunto* group also performs at these events. Solagueño celebrations are part of the social and religious calendar of the larger Oaxacan community in Los Angeles. These indigenous immigrants celebrate their own saints in a similar fashion with their own community's band playing at their festivities.

Solagueño patron saint celebrations are mostly attended by Solagueño immigrants and their children. Since these celebrations are held around the same time as festivities in Solaga, Solagueños who travel to the home community for the celebrations may not be able to attend. Undocumented Solagueños are not able to travel to Solaga with the guarantee they will be able to return due to their unauthorized status. Thus, patron saint festivities in Los Angeles are their only opportunity to experience patron saint festivities away from their hometown. As Oscar, a 29-year-old second-generation Solagueño, put it, "It's a way to stay connected to their homeland. My parents haven't been there in 25 years. It's a connection to their friends, it's a connection to their hometown, and it's a connection to their culture."

Patron saint celebrations are also important for the children of indigenous immigrants. As previously stated, these events provide a space for parents' to socialize their children in spaces where they can transmit their culture and values to their children away from their indigenous homeland. Village-based bands in Los Angeles rely on the children of indigenous immigrants to fill their ranks and to preserve Oaxacan music. Reflecting on the importance of youth at Oaxacan events, Matias, a sixteen-year-old member of the second generation observed,

> If Oaxacan kids stop going to the party, the traditions would get lost. The money the [hometown] organizations get [from the fundraisers] … they'll

> start losing the support … the contact here. Let's say from one day to another all the Oaxacan kids stop going to the parties. Where has the tradition gone? It'll be forgotten.

As Matias spoke, I too started imagining community events without the children of Oaxacan immigrants. I responded, "There's no band!" Still picturing a world without Oaxacan youth, Matias responded,

> Yeah. It'll be unknown! Like 'Where are you from again?' 'Oaxaca.' 'I've never heard of that place.' But because there are a lot of kids here, a lot of teachers are like, 'Oh you're Oaxacan? you must play music.' So, it makes the pueblos known. It's representing Oaxaca and without it, it's just another lost place.

In Matias's dystopia, a world without Oaxacan youth is a world where neither Oaxaca nor its cultures are known. This is in direct contrast to Matias and other Los Angeles-based Oaxacan youths' reality, in which by merely mentioning their parents' home state, their teachers recognize their students are likely to have a musical background. An outsider's recognition of Oaxacan culture instills youth like Matias with a sense of pride, which makes a difference to Oaxacan youth who might face discrimination because of their ethnic background.

Conclusion

Living in areas with a high concentration Oaxacan immigrants allows the children of Solagueño immigrants grow up among in a large and vibrant Oaxacan community in Los Angeles in which they build friendships with youth who share a similar background. The children of immigrants who grow up in this type of environment are likely to experience selective acculturation, that is, they learn the host culture while retaining significant elements and respect for their culture of origin (Portes and Rumbaut 2001b; Zhou 2001). Central to the life of Solagueño youth in Los Angeles in this study is their participation in

Oaxacan village-based band and their participation in events in honor of the patron saint of Solaga. Celebrations among Los Angeles-based Solagueños follow their hometown's religious calendar and bear a resemblance to aspects of these festivities in the hometown. Nevertheless, migration from a rural to an urban context inevitably changes the length and shape of these festivities.

While patron saint celebrations were used as a tool of colonial domination and exploitation, as Whitecotton (1977) and Gross (2009) have noted, these celebrations have become opportunities in which indigenous communities come together to escape the harsh realities of their everyday lives and to celebrate their community. For the children of immigrants growing up away from their parents' hometown, patron saint celebrations are times in which they too can escape their realities and come together in celebration of their indigenous community. The everyday lives of indigenous youth in Los Angeles differ somewhat to the realities of Solagueños still living in Solaga. In their American schools, they represent Oaxacan culture. To some, their Oaxacan background signals their musicianship. To others, their Oaxacan background is a something to be ridiculed. Nevertheless, this background gives indigenous youth a source from which they can draw pride in the face of the anti-indigenous discrimination and the realities of living in Los Angeles as the children of mostly undocumented immigrants as discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter Seven:

Moving Between the Land of the Fallen Leaves and the City of Angels

> I came with the band in '04 and '08. It's something I'm never going to forget. Everyone was so excited. We were so pumped up. Playing for our grandparents. Coming from so far to an annual feast when a lot of people come.
>
> Rebecca, 23-years-old, 1.5-generation Solagueña

> Out here you play Saturday and Sunday. Out there, you play a whole week and then you go play somewhere else for another week. That experience is different and the fact that you see how that *banda* is well-known and they're at the level where they go to a different town and they get treated like royalty, so you get to see that side of it.
>
> Guillermo, 26-years-old, second-generation Solagueño

During the summer, Solagueños living in Los Angeles and other parts of Mexico converge on Solaga for the *Virgen del Carmen* celebration, the largest of the community patron saint festivities. Some Solagueño immigrants cross the U.S.-Mexico border to celebrate their village's patron saint days; others simply choose not to return. Many Los Angeles-based Solagueños cannot travel legally to their home community due to immigration status; some, however, brave the dangers anyway. Patron saint celebrations, then, become times when legal identities are most visible, since they highlight the differences in legal status among first-generation Solagueño immigrants, as well as their documented and undocumented children. Return trips for these festivities show who is able or unable to return to home community for these ritual celebrations.

As teenagers, Rebecca and Guillermo traveled to San Andrés Solaga with *Banda Juvenil Solaga USA Oaxaca* for the festivities in honor of *la Virgen del Carmen* in 2004 and 2008. Rebecca's remembered the excitement band members felt about traveling to Solaga

to play for the people who would be in Solaga for the festivities, especially band members' grandparents. Guillermo was able to experience the week-long patron saint festivities in Solaga as part of the Los Angeles-based youth band and as part of Solaga's municipal band where he gained some insight into the experiences of local musicians. Guillermo's cousins invited him to play with Solaga's municipal band. Guillermo pointed out that not all *Solaga USA* band members had this opportunity, since the local band "only invited a few people. They didn't invite everyone because of the way they conducted themselves. Some of the people from over here go over there and they don't like it because they don't know anybody and they just hangout with the other Americans." While Rebecca's memories evoke band members' anticipation of their trip to Solaga, Guillermo's recollections highlight the tensions that may arise between American-born or reared youth and Solagueño locals. Some of these tensions may arise as a result of less out-going youth socializing with people they are accustomed to.

This chapter focuses on return trips among members of the 1.5-generation and the second generation. Scholars stress the importance of the children of immigrants visiting parents' place of origin to develop and maintain ties to the ethnic homeland (Maira 2002; Menjívar 2002; Viruell-Fuentes 2006). As Cecilia Menjívar states,

> When children do not remember or might not have ever seen their parents' homeland, and when they cannot travel there easily, and are unable to communicate culturally and linguistically with families and other individuals back home, their potential for being interested in maintaining ties with their home country may be curtailed (2002:537).

I delve into the significance of return visits to Solaga during patron saint celebrations and interrogate how youth reflect on this experience in terms of their identity. This section discusses villagers' reception to youth, including how Solagueños react to

visiting youth. Return visits offer a way for indigenous youth to find positive aspects to their identity by strengthening their relations with family and culture "back home." This allows visiting youth to reconcile their own life experiences as the children of Zapotec immigrants with the Solagueños still living in the home community. However, return visits also mean further individuation in terms of identity in that Solagueño youth also realize there are some significant differences between themselves and individuals living in Solaga, including in gender norms and language ability. This chapter engages with work on the transnational practices of the children of immigrants (Maira 2002; Menjívar 2002; Viruell-Fuentes 2006). Some argue that transnational practices among the second generation decrease due to their integration into the host society (Jones-Correa 2009). Other scholars argue that transnational engagement among the children of immigrants may ebb and flow according to their life-cycle stages or in response to specific incidents or crises (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Somerville 2007). Indeed, transnational practices among the second generation might be sporadic (Levitt and Waters 2002).

Solagueño Youth and Multigenerational Punishment

Legal violence describes the process by which immigration laws directly and indirectly punish undocumented immigrants for being in the U.S. without authorization (Menjivar and Abrego 2012). Legal status leaves members of many families vulnerable to deportation and forces them to develop strategies to try to avoid deportation, including avoiding leaving their home. Multigenerational punishment extends the concept of legal violence to analyze how legal sanctions intended for undocumented immigrants extend into the lives of U.S. citizens (Enriquez 2015). Enriquez finds that restrictions on undocumented immigrants movement within the U.S. and internationally also affect citizen

children, who consequently are unable to travel and bond with their peers over the same social and cultural capital. In discussing the effects of legal status on the transnational practices of the children of Solagueño immigrants, I add a transnational dimension to the concept of multigenerational punishment. Below, I detail how Solagueño children share their parents' fear and anxiety of detention and deportation. Still, immigrants and their children overcome restrictions on the transborder movement of undocumented immigrants by sending citizen children to travel to the home community, allowing both parents and children to maintain ties to Solaga even if parents themselves are unable to return.

Yoshikawa and Kholoptseva (2013) have found that having an undocumented parent may be associated with lower cognitive skills in early childhood, lower levels of general positive development in middle childhood, higher levels of anxiety and depressive symptoms during adolescence, and fewer years of schooling. Detention and removal of undocumented immigrant parents can harm their children's learning and emotional development due to disruption in attachment, interruptions in schooling, and economic hardship stemming from loss of parental income (Chaudry et al. 2010; Dreby 2012; Yoshikawa and Kholoptseva 2013). Undocumented parents might face barriers to enrolling the U.S.-born children in social welfare programs because of lack of information about these programs, a lack of English proficiency, and fear that they could be identified as unauthorized immigrants and make themselves vulnerable to arrest and removal (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2011; Yoshikawa 2011). Undocumented immigrants are also more likely to hold low-wage jobs where they experience poor working conditions that may lead to psychological distress among parents, leading to low levels of child cognitive development

and emotional well-being throughout early childhood and adolescence (Yoshikawa 2011; Yoshikawa et al. 2006). My interlocuters vividly recalled the financial hardships as a result of their parents' legal status, however they did not seem to experience problems with cognitive development and problems in schools. Still, the children of undocumented immigrants are not immune from the social trauma of immigration laws (Chavez 2017).The children of undocumented immigrants fear their parents will be deported even when their parents have never been arrested or detained by immigration authorities (Dreby 2012, 2015). Anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies and a increased awareness of enforcement tactics heightens children's fear of parental deportation (Dreby 2012; Chavez 2017).

Valentina is a 22-year-old member of the Solagueño second-generation who grew up in Los Angeles. As an American citizen, she did not have to worry about being detained or deported for lack of proper documentation. Nevertheless, she grew up fearing that her undocumented parents could be deported. "What's it been like growing up at the child of immigrants in the U.S.?" I asked Valentina as we sat in my bedroom taking a break from the patron saint festivities in honor of *Santo Domingo*. "It's been hard," she said and laughed. Her mood quickly turned somber. "It's been hard just cuz, you know, you always have the fear of your parents getting deported. You always kind of feel below other people, especially at the schools that I attended. They'd say their parents have big houses and front lawns. I never had that. I had my tiny little apartment cuz my parents couldn't afford anything else. We couldn't get a house. It's been pretty rough, but it's also helped me appreciate the things that I have now and appreciate my parents a lot more. I'm gonna make myself cry!" Valentina concluded as her eyes started to water.

Valentina's recollections show her feelings of inadequacy when comparing herself to her peers due to the disparities between the incomes of her parents and her peers' parents. She pointed to out having a house with a front lawn as a way to signify how material wealth set her and her family apart from her classmates. Families like Valentina's often have limited access to financial services, including owning a bank account or retirement plan, due to not having access to social security number or jobs that provide retirement plans as part of their benefits (McConnell 2015). Undocumented immigrants may also fear losing any assets they acquire should they be deported (L. Chavez 2013; Menjívar 2006). Many undocumented families are low income but fear using government services as this might be used to deny them permanent legal residence in the United States (L. Chavez 2013).

While American-born Solagueño youth are privy to multigeneration punishment by virtue of being the children of undocumented immigrants, their citizenship allows them to circumnavigate the barriers to their undocumented parents' movement. While return trips are an important component of ethnic identity formation among transnational youth, they are also important in maintaining transnational connections between immigrants in the sending and receiving community (Menjívar 2002). Transnational practices, including participating in patron saint celebrations as musicians and dancers, enable immigrant youth and adults to maintain social and religious connections to the sending community or nation even if they are unable to return to their home country.

Oaxacan immigrants have created a vibrant community in Los Angeles, in which they can practice their religious and cultural traditions. Ethnic enclaves, like the ones Oaxacans have created in Los Angeles' Koreatown and Mid-City neighborhoods, have been described as reservoir of culture that can substitute for actual contact with immigrants'

places of origin (Vickerman 2002). Nevertheless, immigrants like Isabel still long to return to their place of origin but are unable to do so because of the legal status. In June 2016, the Los Angeles-based Solagueño youth band, some of their parents, and I squished into the band's rehearsal space to watch the dress rehearsal of the young women who would perform *Danza de las Negritas* at the festivities for *Virgen del Carmen* in both Los Angeles and Solaga. Monica, the mother of one of the dancers and two of the band members, had been sewing beads on her daughter's costume for the last couple of band practices and was due to travel with her daughter to Solaga that summer. Other mothers like Isabel, mother to a dancer who was also part of the band, would be unable travel with her daughter as she did not have the legal documents to travel to the home community and be able to return to the U.S. As we watched the band and dancers practice, Isabel started asking me about my own travel plans. I informed her I would not be in Los Angeles for *Virgen del Carmen* fiesta as I would already be in Solaga. She asked me to record the girls when they danced in Solaga for her as she would not be able to go. Isabel said she wished she could see her daughter perform in Solaga, but that she could not go "the way it is now," referring to tighter border enforcement. Her remark expressed the sentiment of many undocumented members of the first generation: they would like to go back to their hometown to experience the fiesta for themselves or to visit family members still living in the home community but are unable to do so with the certainty that they will be able to return. Nevertheless, Isabel's daughter, Marina, a U.S.-born citizen could travel to Solaga in her mother's stead.

Figure 10 Los Angeles-based young women performing Danza de las Negritas in July 2016

In this instance, Isabel's return would be made more special by her daughter's participation in a traditional dance in honor of *la Virgen del Carmen.* Instead, pictures and recordings of Isabel's daughter dancing at the patron saint celebrations must suffice. These ''transnational objects'' serve as substitutes for people and places (Baldassar 2008). Still, While transnational objects are highy valued, "it is generally felt that longing, missing and nostalgia are best resolved through physical co-presence; actually being bodily present with the longed for person or in the longed for place so as to experience them fully, with all five senses" (Baldassar 2008:252). In situations where physical co-presence is not possible, as in the case of undocumented Solagueños who cannot travel to their hometown, their children become proxies who reaffirm both individual and family roles and relationships.

Return Visits Among the Children of Immigrants

Kevin is a sixteen-year-old member of the second generation living in Los Angeles, CA. When discussing his return trips to Solaga he stated,

> Now that I'm older, I'm able to appreciate visiting Solaga more. To be able to go back as I please. Sometimes I feel bad *because of me* my parents can't go back. They can't really go back without fearing what's going to happen to their sons. It makes me appreciate [traveling] more. My mom's not able to see her mom. How can you not miss your mom? What is that? Why is it like that?

Kevin's situation is emblematic of many children of undocumented Solagueño immigrants. As American citizens, they can travel across the U.S.-Mexico border for return visits to their parents' hometown of San Andrés Solaga with ease, while their parents must remain in Los Angeles for fear of not being able to return to the United States. Kevin notes the very real implications of legal status has on family life. Traveling to Mexico not only means possible separation for undocumented Solagueños and their U.S.-born children, it also means actual family separation from parents and relatives still in the sending community. Kevin is able to visit his grandmother in Solaga, while his mother has not able to see her own mother for many years. Kevin questions the legal policies that separate his mother and grandmother. As an American citizen, Kevin enjoys all the liberties and benefits of his birthright citizenship, including crossing the U.S.-Mexico border as he pleases. Nevertheless, as the child of undocumented immigrants, he, like many of his peers, must contend with the implications of his parents' legal status.

Scholars have noted that family formation is a major determinant of settlement patterns in the U.S., since "the family's center of gravity shifts from the family 'back home' to the family that is now in [the U.S.]" (L. Chavez 2013:195). Although children may keep many immigrants from permanently returning to their home country, as is the case with Kevin's parents, children also help connect immigrants and their families abroad. When I asked Kevin why he traveled to Solaga, he replied, "My mom wants me to go every summer, so I can to give to them [her children and grandchildren in Solaga] even more. Most of my

luggage are mostly presents. I took two cases and most of the things were their things." Kevin not only travels to Solaga to visit his family in his mother's absence, he is also courier, and he physically takes things to his family in Oaxaca for his mother.

Valentina also discussed her return trips to Solaga and mentioned her parents' reasoning for sending her to their hometown. She recalls,

> I came ten years ago with an aunt that did have papers and with my older brother. [My parents] sent me cuz they didn't have papers and because they wanted me to meet my grandparents and my aunt that was still living there with her younger son. I think they just wanted me to get to know the place to see where they grew up.

Like Kevin and Valentina's stories show, return trips serve multiple purposes. Members of the Solagueño 1.5 and second generation may be sent back to visit family members, to get to know their parents' birthplace, and sometimes as representatives of their undocumented parents if they are the *mayordomos* or sponsors of that year's patron saint celebration. Valentina story demonstrates that one of her parents' main reasons for sending her and her brother was because they did not have the documentation to travel to Solaga themselves. Return trips and contact with relatives and friends in the sending community can instill a sense of belonging and positive self-esteem among the children of immigrants and mitigate the harmful effects of racialization and racial inequality they are subjected to in the U.S., in this case by both mainstream society and immigrant society.

Eduardo is 31-year-old member of the 1.5 generation who was born in Oaxaca and brought to the U.S. as a child. Previously undocumented, Eduardo was able to adjust his status through his work. He gave being able to travel to Solaga particular importance. He states,

> As an immigrant the only chance I've gotten to connect with my roots was last year when I traveled to Solaga. The music always kept me connected.

> And the visit I made to Solaga just reaffirmed it. [Going back] was magical. It felt like I found peace because I wanted to reconnect with where I came from and it had to happen after 25 years. Talking to our grandfather about our family, going to that home where we were kids and played … it was just like finding that inner peace.

The uncertainty that Eduardo felt of not knowing where he belonged or where was wanted because of his legal status as discussed in Chapter Four was eased through his return trip.

Others found that return to Oaxaca allowed them to feel like they belonged to the sending community, especially when they felt rejected in the receiving community. Guillermo, a 26-year-old member of the second-generation, states, "In Oaxaca, everything goes. Going out there made me love my skin and my indigenous features… that's where I fit in. Out here I fit in my neighborhood, but I don't fit in Beverly Hills." Guillermo feels like he is part of the community, as he does in his neighborhood of Mid-City Los Angeles, which has a sizeable Oaxacan population. However, he realizes that his phenotype makes him stand out in areas outside of both Oaxaca and Mid-City Los Angeles. The realization that people in Oaxaca share similar physical characteristics allows Guillermo to embrace the very characteristics that set him apart from the groups he encounters in Los Angeles and to feel like he is part of the social fabric of Oaxaca.

Guillermo's experiences in Oaxaca could be categorized as ethnic replenishment. Jiménez (2010) posits that the interactions with recent Mexican immigrants provides later generation Mexican-Americans access to cultural practices associated with Mexican ethnicity, including language, food, and traditions. Immigrant replenishment also instills positive sense of self in Mexican-Americans. Importantly, Jiménez concept of replenished ethnicity hinges on interactions between Mexican immigrants and later generation Mexican

Americans in the United States. While first-time immigrants sporadically arrive in Los Angeles from Solaga, Solagueño ethnic replenishment mostly occurs as a result of return trips among the children of immigrants.

Eduardo, whom I mentioned, earlier described his return to Solaga as a chance to find inner peace. His trip was even more significant because he had been unable to return for 25 years because of his legal status. Thus, his encounter with family members and his family home was even more special. Fernando, 22, described Solaga as an escape: "Every time I can, I try to go. If I'm having any troubles in the States, I just catch a flight to Solaga and I go. It feels like home. It's just green, like nature. There isn't concrete, just fresh air. It's just so different, you just get lost. You're traveling to an enchanted place and you just get lost. Here, Fernando juxtaposes the differences between Solaga and Los Angeles, calling Solaga and enchanted place. Fernando's visits to Solaga are even more signficant because he is the main band director for *Solaga USA*. During his trips to Solaga, he plays with the muncipal band and socializes with visiting bands. This allows him to hear and learn new musical pieces from musicians in Oaxaca and take these to Los Angeles, where they will be added to *Solaga USA's* repetoire. Timothy, a seventeen-year-old member of the second generation, says his trip to Oaxaca gave him insight into what it really means to be Oaxacan:

> Before I went over there I just told myself I'm Oaxacan. Ok cool. What does that really mean? I didn't really know what that meant. I just knew that meant I liked *tlayudas*. I like to dance *jarabes*. But once I went over there, I learned … I guess I actually learned *jarabes*. I learned what a *tlayuda* is. I learned that my grandma makes it. I learned that she makes the tortillas I know what goes into making the tlayuda. It's not just food, its like a part of her in there.

Timothy believes his visit to Oaxaca provides him with a more profund understanding of the food and music from his parents' hometown. While both *tlayudas* and *jarabes* are readily available for Oaxacans' consumption in Los Angeles, experiencing these in Oaxaca appears to provide youth with an appreciation for their parents' culture that they do not get in Los Angeles.

Gender and Return Visits

In Solaga, as well as surrounding Zapotec communities, women are relegated to the domestic sphere. The separation between male and female spheres can be seen the most clearly in the afternoon at "El Centro," the center of the town. El Centro consists of the municipal government building, a building that serves as a market when vendors come to town, several permanent storefronts, and the bilingual secondary school, all surrounding the village basketball court. Here, boys and young Solagueño men gather in the afternoon to socialize by playing basketball or drinking in the *cantinas* near El Centro.

Interactions in this public space, especially during the fiesta allows for Solagueños to scrutinize the behavior of the transnational generations visiting Solaga. One of the main points of contention between Solagueños and U.S.-based 1.5 and second-generation females revolves around women's behavior. Frankie, a 30-year-old member of the 1.5-generation now living in Solaga, set up a beer stand at this summer's fiesta. Males and females of the 1.5 and second generation, as well as young Solagueños, used this space to socialize and drink. Although the location of Frankie's *puesto* (stand) was out of sight from people attending the fiesta, hidden in the back corner of the municipal palace, this did not stop rumors about who was seen there from circulating. Drinking is generally frowned upon for everyone in the community, especially because of the high rates of alcoholism

among Solagueño men. At the same time, drinking is one of the ways in which men prove that they are indeed "real men." Nevertheless, drinking is completely unacceptable for women.

One of the main topics of conversation at Frankie's stand was a rumor that had been circulating among Solagueños about one of the second-generation Solagueñas. The rumor went as follows: after being seen drinking at Frankie's stand, Sonia was allegedly found lying on a dirt path leading to El Centro later that night. Solagueños were saying that Sonia's breasts were exposed and her pants were unbuttoned. The position she was supposedly found in insinuated that someone had taken advantage of her in her drunken state. Sonia' friends and cousins, also from the second generation, were quick to deny these rumors, assuring everyone that Sonia was with them the entire time and they would never leave her drunk on a dirt path. It is unclear how much if any part of this rumor is true. Nevertheless, the sexual violence enscribed in this story would surely dissuade visiting and local women from drinking because of the possibility of a such violence being a real threat or to prevent a similar rumor from spreading. The potential for these types of rumors circulating, which would in turn damage a young woman's reputation in the village, lead some second-generation Solagueñas to modify their behavior for the purpose of their visit. One returnee, Alicia a 22-year-old member of the second-generation, confessed to not drinking with her peers for fear that rumors that were spread about Sonia would also be spread about her. Others, like 21-year-old Noemi, are more overt in their rejection of what they saw as unreasonable standards. After introducing myself to her and telling her about my research, Noemi immediately distanced herself from other returning second-generation youth. As she sipped on her beer, she stated, "I'm not like the other people that come back. I

won't change to keep people from talking about me." Here, Noemi not only rejects the gender norms of the community, but also rejects her peers who are willing to comply with these standards while visiting Solaga.

Rebecca, a 23-year-old member of the 1.5-generation, has been traveling to Solaga for the *Virgen del Carmen* festivities since she was 7-years-old. She commented on her changing feelings toward the control of women's behavior. She remembers enjoying coming to Solaga as a child because she was freer than in her Mid-City home in Los Angeles: "You were free to be wherever you wanted to be. You're not at risk of danger here." Now, she sees the disadvantages of being a woman in a town like Solaga: "There's curfew. You have to be home by 8 [p.m.]. When I was younger I didn't mind because where was I going to be you know? But now you know I want to hang out with the friends around town. Another one of the disadvantages is it's a small town. Small town big talk, everybody finds out about everything." Although Solaga might have offered a safe alternative from inner city life for the children of Solagueño immigrants, the gender norms to which women have to comply with as adults changes their perception of life in the village.

Pessar and Mahler note that "for generations, immigrant daughters have been expected to remain virtuous and to behave in direct contrast to the 'loose' sexuality immigrant parents imagine of 'American' girls. The same discipline is not applied to sons" (2003:830). Espiritu (2009) studied the gendered dynamics of intergenerational relations among Filipino immigrants in the United States. Her research shows that since women are seen as the keepers of their culture, their behavior comes under the scrutiny of Filipino men and women as well as U.S.-born Filipino Americans. Espiritu observes that parents place more restrictions on their daughters than they do on their sons, including

encouraging their daughters to go to colleges closer to home, while these restrictions are not placed on their sons. The parents of Filipina-Americans also discipline daughters as racial and national subjects regulating their daughter's behavior by associating their actions to cultural ignorance or betrayal. Interestingly, Espiritu argues that the source of immigrant parents' power is that "they possess an emotional hold on their children because they have the authority to determine if their daughters are 'authentic' members of their racial-ethnic-community. Largely unacquainted with the 'home' country, US-born children depend on their parents' tutelage to craft and affirm their ethnic self and thus are particularly vulnerable to charges of cultural ignorance or betrayal" (2009:62; see also Maira 2002).

Concurrently, scholars have noted how transnational migration can challenge gender norms immigrants bring with them from their countries of origin. As Levitt (2009) suggests, many female immigrants find themselves on a more equal footing to their male counterparts in their new capacity as breadwinners. This, in turn, provides their children with a different kind of role model than they would have in their parents' society of origin. In returning to the sending community, the daughter of immigrants, in particular, are often confronted with a degree of social control that they may find more stifling (Wessendorf 2007). Young women visiting Solaga must contend with gender norms in the sending community, which is more restrictive than in their new home of Los Angeles. Despite these restrictions, 1.5 and 2nd generation women continue returning to the sending community. Ana, a 24-year-old member of the second generation, says this is because "Gossip doesn't play a big factor for me. Visiting the relatives [in Solaga] is more important." At least in

Ana's case, the relationships she maintains with family members in Solaga motivate her to continue visiting the community, despite the gossip her behavior might cause.

Linguistic Differences and Return Visits

Gender norms are not the only aspect of Solagueño society that sets Solagueños living in Solaga and the children of immigrants apart. Tensions also arise over language among locals and visiting youth. As in other immigrant communities, proficiency in their parents' language shapes youths' return visits (Huang et al. 2015; Menjívar 2002; Rumbaut 2002). Felix is a 32-year-old member of Solaga's muncipal band. I interviewed him a few days after the *Virgen del Carmen* fiesta concluded in 2016. By then, most visitors had left and locals were back at their usual haunts. In Felix's case, this was his friend's internet café. During our conversation, Felix made an observation about visiting youth: "What I've seen is that they come here and only speak English. Only English. It seems … disrespectful. I don't know. We're in a pueblo … the least they could do is speak Spanish. Like when we run into a group, we don't know what they're saying." I made a face at Felix and was about to defend my peers when he laughed and said, "I think the same thing happens when we speak *zapoteco* … maybe."

I found Felix's observation particularly insightful. While my ability to speak Spanish and Zapotec keeps me in the loop with the locals during my visits to Solaga and my ability to speak English also allows me to converse with other Los Angeles-based youth visiting Solaga, the same is not the case for all locals and visitors. Felix points out what it is like for individuals who do not speak at least one of the three language members of the transnational Solagueño community are conversant in. Monica, a twenty-year-old member of the second-generation shared that her inability to speak Zapotec makes her feel

unwelcome while visiting Solaga: "I think my parents' mistake that I wish they could go back and change is teach me Zapotec … teach me the culture, send me off every year if they could you know because I feel like super unwelcome too when people start asking me do you speak Zapotec and I'm like no." While this sentiment arises from simply being asked whether Monica speaks Zapotec, tensions do arise among Solagueño locals who are bilingual in Spanish and Zapotec and returning youth who are likely bilingual in Spanish and English.

As Felix notes, conversations in English among visiting youth cause suspicion among the locals, who more than likely do not understand what returning youth are saying. The same applies with visiting youth who do not speak Zapotec and are suspicious of locals' conversations in Zapotec. A few days before the *Virgen del Carmen* fiesta, I was running some errands in Solaga when I stumbled upon a group of English-speaking teenagers in the center of town. As I walked behind them. I heard them discussing their encounter with a couple of locals who had apparently had a side-conversation in Zapotec while talking to the visiting youth in Spanish. There was a sense of outrage among the teenagers since they were convinced that the locals were gossiping about them to their faces. Felix's observations following the fiesta reminded me of this incident. While I had not seen or heard the interaction they were discussing myself, I have seen and been part of similar interactions, especially with locals who are unaware of my ability to speak Zapotec. Arturo, 19, felt unwelcome when Solagueños assumed he did not speak Zapotec because he was born in the United States: "they assume you don't understand *zapoteco* and they're talking about a lot of stuff. Sometimes they talk about you and sometimes they're like, 'Oh isn't that this and this' son.' Like that's just … I don't feel unwelcome but I don't always feel totally

welcome." Ironically, Arturo's ability to understand Zapotec makes him feel not "totally welcome" during his visits to Solaga.

Prior to my conversation with Felix, I had never thought about how locals felt in the reverse situation, when English-speaking youth spoke amongst each other. From what Felix noted, the same suspicions arose among Solagueño locals. This situation is inevitable in an immigrant sending community. As with other immigrant communities in the United States, the normal pattern of language loss within three immigrant generations is also part of the Solagueño immigrant experience (Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Rumbaut et al. 2006). This is further exacerbated among indigenous immigrants who may be reluctant to teach their children their native languages due to the belief that speaking an indigenous language could potentially hinder the incorporation of their children into American society (Ruiz and Barajas 2012). Solagueños immigrants' first language is their native Zapotec. Most learned Spanish as children in school and were encouraged to speak Spanish instead of their native Zapotec while on school premises. Upon emigrating, their knowledge of Spanish allowed Solagueño immigrants to communicate with other members of the Latino immigrant population in the United States. Nevertheless, their physical characteristics and accented Spanish can set them apart from other Latino immigrants. Other times, their use of Zapotec among non-Zapotec speakers reveals that they are different to Latino immigrants not only to mestizos but to their own children.

Rebecca, a 23-year-old member of the 1.5 generation, realized her parents were different from other immigrants upon hearing them speak Zapotec in front of non-Zapotec Spanish speakers. Rebecca recalls,

> When I was younger I didn't understand what it meant to be indigenous or what it meant when my parents would speak Zapotec like at public places. I

> mean I wasn't embarrassed, but I was like, 'Do other people speak it?' I knew the Solaga people spoke it, but I didn't understand … For example, I was at the market once and then [my parents] were about to pay and they were deciding whether they were going to get an item or not and they were speaking *Zapoteco* and the cashier was just looking like confused and waiting and I remember looking at her like, 'Why is she looking at them like that? Why can't she understand my parents? Can't she understand what they're saying?'

For Rebecca her parents' use of Zapotec was commonplace. However, in her account, the puzzled looks the cashier gave her parents made her aware that not all people spoke Zapotec and Spanish like her parents and other Solagueños. While, Rebecca's parents use of Zapotec set them apart from the mestizo immigrants they interacted with at the grocery store, it also gave them a moment of privacy in a public space. They were able to discuss whether or not they would purchase an item without eavesdroppers listening to their decision-making. As Rebecca notes, as a child, she did not know the significance of her parents to speak their native language in public spaces. Their use of their native Zapotec revealed their ethnic identity to other Latinos among people who might not have responded positively to such a revelation.

While Rebecca and other children of Solagueño immigrants are trilingual in their parents' indigenous language, Spanish, and English more easily navigate life among Solagueños in their parents' hometown, other youth who are bilingual and Spanish and English can find that the language barriers between them and those that remain in their parents' hometown can cause tensions (Huang et al. 2015). For the children of Solagueño immigrants who grow up in the U.S., visits to Solaga may heighten the differences between locals and Solagueños born or raised in Los Angeles. Linguistically, the children of the children of indigenous immigrants not only contend with legacy of colonization on their

parents' ancestral land but must also contend with assimilation to the immigrant receiving society.

Conclusion

Sending citizen children as unaccompanied minors is one of the ways Solagueños have found to have their children travel in their stead, thus, allowing undocumented members of the first generation to circumnavigate their inability to cross the U.S.-Mexico border. Identity formation for the children of Solagueño immigrants is not just contingent on their life in the United States. Their parents' sending community also plays an important role in these processes. For the children of Solagueño immigrants in the Los Angeles, CA, identity formation is a transnational process. Importantly, legal status is central to these processes. Legal status most certainly affects persons marked as "illegal." Yet, the effects of being marked as "illegal" also affect their children even if they are U.S. citizens. While return visits allow the children of immigrants and their parents to maintain ties to their home community and reaffirm aspects of their indigenous identity, these visits may also result with youth comprehending that various aspects of their life in the United States set them apart from Solagueños still living in Solaga.

Conclusion

A firecracker goes off and my godfather and I look at each other. Then we both smile and start laughing. The firecracker interrupted the *jarabe* he and I were dancing. For a second, I think I imagined it. The stunned look on my godfather's face tells me I did not. "Hasta parece que andamos en Solaga," my godfather says with a big grin on his face. *It sounds like we're in Solaga.* His words echo my own thoughts. For a brief moment, the firecrackers made me forget I was in a backyard in South Central Los Angeles. It made the exact sound *cohetes* make in Solaga. My next thought is that someone in *Solaga USA* made the sound. They sometimes imitate *cohetes* by whistling and hitting the bass drum. It soon dawns on me that the firecracker was thrown by someone who was already celebrating Fourth of July somewhere down the street. Still, the stars aligned to transport us all to Solaga: the band was playing, people were dancing, and the firecracker went off in the exact moment that the *jarabe* was reaching its peak.

In the forty years since Solagueños first settled in Los Angeles, they have gone from listening to tape recordings of *jarabes* played during patron saint celebrations in their hometown to having a youth band made up of the children of immigrants playing their town's traditional music at their social and religious events in Los Angeles. These events allow the Solagueño immigrants and their children to come together and reproduce their community and its traditions away from their homeland. Oaxacan religious and social events provide indigenous youth with a space from which they can draw pride in their indigenous origin in face of the anti-indigenous and anti-Latino discrimination, as well as the harsh realities of their everday lives in inner-city Los Angeles. Solagueño youths' return visits to Solaga during patron saint celebrations allow immigrants and their children to

overcome restrictions on the transborder movement of undocumented immigrants. In sending citizen children to the home community as surrogates for immigrants, parents and children to maintain ties to Solaga even in cases when parents themselves are unable to return. Return trips and contact with relatives and friends in the sending community can further instill a sense of belonging and positive self-esteem among the children of immigrants.

Throughout this dissertation, I discussed the various ways in which Solagueños adapt aspects of their traditional way of life to their lives as immigrants in the metropolis of Los Angeles. Their willingness to do so defies previously held assumptions of indigenous people as static and resistant to change. Indeed, improvisation is even embedded in the *jarabes* Solagueños dance. Band directors simply have to change a note for band members to know what *jarabe* to play next, while dancers acknowledge the change and adjust their footwork accordingly. As Alex Chavez eloquently puts it

> The body not only reaches places but also bears the traces of the places it has known – these residues are laid down and emplotted within the body, this incorporation ultimately shapes both body and place, for places are themselves altered by our having been in them. Thus, places move physically, which is to say that they travel over distances (with the body), and they move emotionally, which is to say that they affect us deeply (think of the phrase *moved to tears*) so that we are bodily aware, changed, and reconfigured (2017: 234-235).

Solagueños bodies bear traces of their ancestral land and of their new homes in Los Angeles, CA. Thus, even though some Solagueños are not able to return to their hometown as a result of legal status, they carry their hometown with them. Indeed, Solagueños and other Oaxacan immigrants have brought their indigenous culture with them, altering the neighborhoods in which they have made their homes. Here, they are able to "escape the tensions of everyday life, of poverty, of alienation, and of strong pressures to become

submerged in a tightly knit social unity as well as a time to dream of utopias (Whitecotton 1977: 218).

Signficance of Research

This dissertation makes contributions to a range of scholarly fields, ranging from longstanding fields of anthropological inquiry to new and emerging interdisciplinary fields such as Critical Latinx Indigeneities (Blackwell et al. 2017). First, the dissertation contributes to long-standing anthropological interest in indigenous cultures, particularly through an examination of religious practices among indigenous people. Second, the work also contributes to the interdisciplinary field of migration, particularly in the areas of indigenous migration, immigrant adaptation and identity, rituals and immigrant religion, and transnational practices.

Indigeneity and native populations have long been an interest in the discipline of cultural anthropology. Traditionally conceptualized as "others," indigenous communities have provided anthropologists with the data that they have used to challenge and unsettle taken-for-granted assumptions about the "West" and its cultural institutions (e.g., law, ritual, "coming of age," systems of sex/gender, et cetera). In other words, the presence of indigneous cultures in the discipline of anthropology primairly has been to provide the cultural content for anthropology's most significant philosophical contributions throughout the twentieth-century: cultural relativism and the so-called "ethnographic veto." What are the implications for the discipline, though, when, "otherness" is no longer neatly mapped on to the spatialized distance between "home" and the "field?" While there has been an emerging interest in indigeneity in Latin America over the past few years within the field of anthropology, this scholarship has been predicated on the "radical alterity" of indigenous

livilihood (de la Cadena 2015), the question I pose goes to the foundation of ethnographic and anthropological knowledge production and theorization. This is because the multi-generational presence of indigenous immigrants in the United States challenges conceptions of indigenous peoples as fixed to a particular geographical place and time.

In this project, the way that I have focused specifically on the topic of religion in order to highlight my broader contributions to anthropology. To this end, I took Solagueño patron saint celebrations across the U.S.-Mexico border as one of its main objects of analysis, bringing together conversations in anthropological research on religion in indigenous communities with research on immigrant religion. Anthropological work on religion has focused on the use of rituals as a way to regulate and stabilize the social order, maintain the group ethos, and restore harmony after any disturbance (Durkheim 1915; Radcliffe-Brown 1945; Robertson Smith 1889). In a similar vein, scholars studying patron saint celebrations and the cargo system in indigenous communities argue that these festivities are a means through which wealthier members of the community can display their wealth through acceptable channels, while redistributing wealth through the expenditures used to put on these celebrations (Harris 1964; Nash 1975; Wolf 1959). Other scholars highlight the capacity of these festivities to bring indigenous communities together (Gross 2009; Whitecotton 1977). Consequently, I have considered patron saint celebrations, particularly those held outside of the community of origin, as a social glue that brings the community together allowing Solagueños to reproduce their community and its traditions outside of the ancestral homeland. Thus, while patron saint celebrations were originally used as a means of colonial domination over indigenous peoples throughout Latin America, today, they offer a way for indigenous youth who born or raised in the U.S.

to partake in religious celebrations from their parents' hometown. For Solagueño youth this happens through their participation as dancers and musicians. This allows them to participate and take pride in aspects of their parents' indigenous roots in a potentially hostile environment they encounter as part of the Latino immigrant population and as indigenous people within this heterogeneous population. Indigeneity, in this sense, is both relational and primordial: existing forms of creating and sustaining communal and social relationships are reproduced and reconfigured in new contexts, but do not cease to be indigenous. Again, this is a novel theoretical contribution to the discipline of anthropology regarding how indigeneity has figured as a traditional object of ethnographic knowledge.

Second, my research has extended interdisciplinary conversations about migration. First, the research has contributed to a body of scholarship that has been challenging the notion that the Mexican immigrant population is a monolothic group in the United States (Delugan 2010; Forte 2010). The surge in the migration of indigenous people from southern Mexico to the United States not only signifies a change in the diversity of the Mexican immigrant population but adds dimensions to the process of integration of this newer group of immigrants and their children. Previous research first-generation indigenous immigrants found that their indigenous background makes them targets of discrimination by non-indigenous Mexicans in both Mexico and the U.S. (Kearney 2000; Stephen 2007). This research contributes to more recent work on the experiences of the children of indigenous immigrants in the U.S., much of which discusses the experiences of indigenous children in American schools (Barillas-Chón 2010; Ruiz and Barajas 2012; Vasquez 2012). Like these studies, I found similar instances of discrimination toward the children of indigenous immigrants at the hands of some of the children of mestizo Latino

immigrants. However, in examining the experiences of youth who participate in the social and ritual life of their parents' community in the United States and Mexico, this research adds a transnational dimension to the study of youth living outside of their indigenous homeland. Further, in the dissertation I argue that partaking in patron saint celebrations ameliorates feelings of rejection at the hands of some members of the Latino population by fostering a strong sense of ethnic pride among youth who participate in these celebrations.

This dissertation argues that transnational practices also enables Solagueño youth and their parents to sustain membership in multiple communities, allowing them to affirm continued attachment and affiliation with the sending community, even if they are unable to physically return. With more restrictive immigration policies and border enforcement, undocumented immigrants are no longer able to engage in patterns of circular migration, leading many undocumented immigrants to settle in the U.S. rather than returning to their home country after working in the U.S. for a certain period of time (DeGenova 2004; Inda 2006). Their children are also punished for their parents unauthorized presence in the U.S. (Enriquez 2015; Chavez 2017). Solagueño children share their parents' fear and anxiety of detention and deportation. Nevertheless, immigrants and their children overcome restrictions on the transborder movement of undocumented immigrants by sending citizen children to the home community in their stead, allowing both parents and children to maintain ties to Solaga even if parents themselves are unable to return. Return trips and contact with relatives and friends in the sending community can instill a sense of belonging and positive self-esteem among the children of immigrants and protect youth from the racialization and racial inequality they are subjected to in the U.S. (Portes and Rumbaut 2014).

Social ties and networks were integral to the migration of Solagueños to Los Angeles, CA as with other immigrant communities (Massey et al. 1987; Massey et al. 2002). Social ties not only brought Solagueños to the U.S but also led them to move into the same neighborhoods in Los Angeles (Alarcón et al. 2016). While living in unsafe neighborhoods placed immigrants and their children in precarious situations, the proximity of Solagueños to each other and other Oaxacan immigrants allowed them to become part of a thriving indigenous immigrant community in Los Angeles. Indigenous institutions like the cargo system, a system that organizes social, religious, and political life in indigenous communities, necessitated that immigrants maintain ties to their communities of origin despite living abroad. In the transnational context, ties to the cargo system are transferred to hometown associations and are essential for maintenance of village ties and transnational indigenous identity (Klaver 1997). While the U.S. born children of indigenous immigrants are not directly bound to the cargo system or hometown organizations, their parents' participation in these institutions and their community's social life also keeps American-born youth close to the community of origin.

Studies have shown that the transnational engagement of first-generation parents influences how active their children will be in their own transnational practices (L. Chavez 2008; Kasinitz et al. 2002). In the Solagueño case, I found that parents have been instrumental in encouraging their children participate in various aspects of these celebrations, such as the village-based band, and in return trips to the hometown. While some Solagueño youth remember this encouragement as coercion, many of my informants continue to participate in the band or engage in return visits as adults. But why? Scholars have now dismissed the assumption that immigrants' ties to their home community are

short-lived and an obstacle to immigrant incorporation to U.S. society (Glick Schiller 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Participating in patron celebrations can ameliorate feelings of discrimination and assaults on identity experienced by Solagueños as part of the indigenous immigrant population and as part of the Latino population, while providing an escape from the harsh realities of immigrant life in Los Angeles. While these traditions are still popular among the children of immigrants and among some of the grandchildren of immigrants, one wonders whether the descendants of these generations will continue these practices. What will these practices look like for future generations? What might they mean for individuals with indigenous origins as they integrate in to U.S. society and begin to marry outside of the Solagueño community?

And finally, this research has implications for policy issues involving the integration of U.S. born children of immigrants in mixed-status families. Attending to the ways in which children cope with their identity and the constant risk of their parents' deportation in a climate of anti-immigrant hysteria is critical for understanding social mobility, education matriculation, and economic stability. This study contributes to work on transnational communities and pays particular attention to transnational practices among the children of immigrants. In examining patterns of identity formation among the children of indigenous immigrants, my research is also attentive race in the U.S., particularly how the growing presence of indigenous immigrants and their children transform notions of indigeneity and *Latinidad* in the United States. Furthermore, I frame the experiences of indigenous immigrants through a transnational lens, analyzing how indigenous peoples navigate racial and social institutions in both the U.S. and Latin America. My focus on indigenous immigrants with origins in Latin America contributes to scholarly conversations in Latin

American anthropology. This research is also relevant to interests in role of Catholicism in Latino communities in the United States and builds on sociological research on immigrant adaption by not only examining patterns of integration and assimilation in the U.S., but also by asking how returning to a sending community and participating in patron saint celebrations influence the identity formation and feelings of belonging of the children of immigrants.

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