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Singing the Great Depression: Mexican and Mexican American Perspectives Through Corridos (1929-1949)

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Singing the Great Depression:

Mexican and Mexican American Perspectives Through Corridos

(1929-1949)

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in Latin American Studies

by

Michelle Salinas

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Singing the Great Depression:

Mexican and Mexican American Perspectives Through Corridos

(1929-1949)

by

Michelle Salinas

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Kevin B. Terraciano, Chair

This study attempts to create a holistic historical account of the Mexican communities' experiences in the United States during the repatriation period of the Great Depression (1929-1939), by centering their perspectives as expressed through song. Therefore, I will conduct a textual analysis of corridos that address repatriation and deportation. Abraham Hoffman describes the Repatriation period as one led by both federal and private community committees that organized to send immigrants back to their countries as a supposed attempt to relieve public resources and the labor market. I define corridos as a traditionally Mexican song form reinterpreted in the U.S. Southwest to express the Mexican diasporic experience. I will examine six corridos found in The Strachwitz Frontera Collection of Mexican and Mexican American Recordings digital archive. I am examining these sources because they have not been acknowledged enough within dominant scholarship, even though they provide substantial insight on how the Los Angeles Mexican communities were dialoguing about such events. By

examining these primary sources through Lindsay Pérez Huber's (2010) Latina/o critical theory (LatCrit) and the concept of racist nativism, I aim to demonstrate how they serve as collective historical counter narratives to the mainstream accounts given by government and Anglo American media. These collective counter narratives not only combat a hegemonic account of the Great Depression, but they also challenge dominant Anglo American media sources. Therefore, my study will illustrate how these folkloric forms of expression served as media tools for cultural resistance within the Mexican migrant community living in the midst of persecution.

The thesis of Michelle Salinas is approved.

Susan J. Plann

Steven J. Loza

Kevin B. Terraciano, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2016

For those who believe in the power of music

and act accordingly.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Most historical accounts on the Great Depression in the U.S. focus on the economic challenges and the shortage of employment opportunities that all Americans faced. For example, we often hear about the shortage of jobs, the losing of homes, the closing of banks and the overall economic suffering of the American population. However, few scholars extensively discuss the repatriation campaigns that were offered as solutions to the crisis (Hoffman, 1974). These repatriation efforts greatly affected the Mexican community in the U.S., especially the Southwest. Yet many scholars have paid little attention to this part of this time period and have thus failed to include a substantial account of the Mexican and Mexican American communities' experiences in the history of the American population during the Great Depression.

In addition, most historical accounts have solely depended on mainstream sources to recount these stories, such as government documents and mainstream newspapers. This provides an incomplete story of the Great Depression. The Mexican community used alternative folkloric outlets of expression, such as music, to voice their own experiences and offer different and useful perspectives from those given by the dominant sources of information. Moreover, these alternative folkloric sources have not been given enough attention as valid additions to the holistic historical account of this time period. Therefore, this study will explore themes of repatriation and deportation within selected songs in the Mexican corrido genre.

Specifically, I will explore (1) how do corridos highlight the experiences of the Mexican and Mexican American community during the repatriation efforts such as those during the Great Depression? (2) and how do these forms of folkloric media serve as a Mexican collective counter narrative against the dominant historical account of the Great Depression? In order to situate the corridos within the Great Depression in the U.S., one must learn about the history that led to a large wave of Mexican migrants to the U.S.

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

The Mexican Revolution

Before the Mexican Revolution, dictator Porfirio Díaz held power for thirty-four years, from 1876 to 1910. Díaz promoted economic development and the U.S. was attracted by Mexico's seemed stability, so they invested in the development of mining operations, export agriculture, commercial endeavors and most importantly railroads, all throughout the border region. Although Mexico's own economy did experience some growth, what the U.S. had set up in the border was an extractive economy (Lorey, 36). The railroad system connected commercial Mexican towns more closely to the United States than to the rest of Mexico's interior regions (Lorey, 37). This most likely greatly facilitated the Mexican migration to the U.S., especially during the Revolution.

As Díaz's rule came to an end and the Mexican Revolution ignited, the border economies began to differ. While the Mexican border-states suffered through political turmoil, the U.S. border-states flourished, especially in the Southwest. For instance, as the agriculture in Mexico suffered, the agriculture in the U.S. border-states thrived (Lorey, 43). Between 1910 and 1920, California orange production quadrupled and lemon production quintupled leading to a boom in land values (Lorey, 44). Therefore, while land in Mexico was being disseminated to the revolutionary armies, many Mexicans immigrated to buy land in the U.S. (Lorey, 43).

Migration to the United States

Moreover, the Mexican Revolution stimulated migration from Mexico to the U.S. due to the growing economy in the border-states and the descending economy in Mexico. For instance, from 1910 to 1920, about 206,000 documented immigrants and 628,000 temporary migrants entered the U.S., making a total of 890, 371 within the time-span of the Mexican Revolution.

This figure does not even include the undocumented migrants that arrived to the U.S. during that time. Poverty and hunger hit many Mexican communities as a result of the armed turmoil around them, causing them to seek the north for resources and refuge. Therefore, many Mexican workers were pushed into migrating into the U.S. due to the scarce employment opportunities in the homeland. However, many professionals also migrated, such as teachers, architects and lawyers (Lorey, 70). Although these immigrants had diverse backgrounds, they were all important to the development of the cities they migrated to.

Due to the large influx of particularly Mexican immigrants into the U.S., cities like Los Angeles prospered with industrial and demographic expansion (Romo, 3). Especially communities in the Eastside such as Boyle Heights, which became a port of entry for Mexicans and Mexican Americans just as it had been for the Jewish, Armenians, and Japanese in previous years (Acuña, 13).

On the other hand, in response to the large influx of immigrants, the U.S. passed the Immigration Act of 1917 as an attempt to halt the migration. The Act implemented various tests for migrants, including a literacy tests and a tax for eight dollars. In addition, the Act applied a ban on labor contractors' activities but they still tried recruiting early-arrived migrants in the Southwest because the labor was cheaper (Lorey, 71). This shows how valuable Mexican migrants were to the Southwest labor market. However, the anti-immigrant sentiment persisted with the revival of groups like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in the 1920s, with around five million members. Their nativist outlook helped nurture this anti-immigrant sentiment, especially during 1924, when Congress stifled the immigrant wave and halted what had been an era of almost unlimited entry into the U.S. (Kennedy, 15). In addition, prior to the start of the Great

Depression, growers and other industrialists cooperated with the departments of state, agriculture and the interior to prevent the restriction of immigrants entering the U.S. (Loza, 36).

The Great Depression

By the start of the 1930s, the Mexican American population was at about 1.5 million. This is a rough estimate due to differing records kept by the U.S. and Mexico (Watkins, 68). Much of this population resided in large cities like Los Angeles, where it rose from 33,644 in 1920 to 97,116 in 1930. Los Angeles became the "Mexican Capital" of the U.S., containing the most Mexicans after Mexico City till this day (Watkins, 69). Even though the Mexican influx declined during the 1930s, Los Angeles remained the fifth largest city in the country and the largest among the western and southern states thanks to Mexican migration. The Eastside communities of Los Angeles reached a population of more than 90,000 during these years. This population was larger than the three capital cities of the three largest states: Albany, New York; Sacramento, California; and Austin, Texas (Romo, 3).

A few years after the Immigration Act, the U.S. economy suffered a great downfall. This time period is known as the Great Depression and it took place from 1929 to 1939. As a result, both the U.S. and Mexico encountered many financial challenges such as, defaulted banks, closed failed businesses and masses of workers who lost their jobs. Many people in the rural and urban Southwest areas struggled to make ends meet while living in an environment that lacked resources and opportunities (Lorey, 78).

On the other hand, these communities were already living in unreasonable conditions. Most Mexicans and Mexican Americans were forced to work for extremely low wages that were below subsistence levels due to job discrimination. For instance, a survey conducted in 1919

demonstrated that many lived in appalling housing with almost four out of five families living in residences without baths (Acuña, 9).

Furthermore, the Great Depression inspired various federal responses on both sides of the border, such as long-term investment in infrastructure projects for regional growth. However, the northern side of the border benefited the most from these investments because the new infrastructure became the foundation for World War II. (Lorey, 78). In addition, the U.S. government implemented Roosevelt's New Deal. This government initiative subsidized public resources to both producers and consumers. According to Lorey, the West of the U.S. benefited disproportionately more than the rest of the U.S. from the New Deal expenditures. The border-states received various grants and loans that helped relief economic distress (79).

On the other side, Mexico's government also initiated policies intended to make fundamental changes to the nation's economy. For example, Mexico's president at that time, Lazaro Cardenas, implemented a land reform (1934-1940) that intended to distribute land to peasant families. In addition, the government made huge investments in attempting to revive the tourism along the border after the Mexican Revolution. One way Mexican government did this was by making the border towns free trade zones (Lorey, 79). On the other hand, even as the U.S. and Mexican governments tried to combat the economic challenges of the Great Depression through various policies, one half million Mexicans were forcefully repatriated between 1929 and 1935 (Balderrama, 1995).

Repatriation

Repatriation was seen as a way to relieve the U.S. from the negative effects of the Great Depression. Watkins states that the deportation during this time "managed to combine racism with selfishness and desperation in one of the least edifying episodes in American history" (68).

Mexicans and Mexican Americans were blamed for taking cheap labor and working conditions that no "real" Americans would take, supposedly making it harder for Anglo Americans to access the labor market. Thus, deportation seemed like the perfect solution. Watkins describes, "In Gary, Detroit, and other industrial centers, open discrimination, physical threats, racist propaganda campaigns, and free transportation helped to persuade thousands of Chicanos [Mexican Americans] to return to Mexico" (70).

Repatriation efforts during the 1930s had three main objectives: (1) to return impoverished nationals to their own country, such as Mexico (2) to conserve welfare agencies' money and (3) to create jobs for so-called real Americans (Balderrama, 120). The difference between repatriations and deportations is that repatriations were generally local efforts carried out by the city and deportations involved the federal government. Repatriations were often funded by private organizations (Balderrama, 120).

There were twenty-six basic charges that were used for determining repatriation or deportation. Some include, not being able to physically work, not being self-supporting, engaging in prostitution, and suffering from epilepsy. The usual charges were entering the U.S. without documents, being convicted of a crime, advocating for the overthrow of the government, carrying a contagious disease, or having poor moral turpitude. The most common charge was for entering the country without documents, or illegally, as the U.S government referred to it (Balderrama, 64). In addition, minors were deportable if their parents did not accompany them. The immigrants who were declared deportees had two options: (1) ask for a hearing or (2) return to their country voluntarily (Balderrama, 64).

However, according to the Immigration Service's statistics, between 1930 and 1939, Mexicans constituted 46.3 percent of all the individuals deported from the U.S. Then again, they

only formed less than one percent of the total U.S. population (Balderrama, 67). Mexican immigrants were an easy scapegoat for repatriation campaigns as the labor force faced an excess of workers. Repatriation was an easy, inexpensive and efficient way of reducing the workforce (Balderrama, 120).

Therefore, many Mexican workers were repatriated, but also independent businessmen, merchants, shopkeepers, farmers, property owners, people who operated mom and pop grocery stores, retail furniture outlets, movie theaters, barbershops, secondhand stores, and other small businesses (Balderrama, 136). Most of the time the repatriations were via train because it was the most inexpensive form of transportation (Balderrama, 134). The Mexican consulates of San Diego and Los Angeles cooperated with each other to maximize the number of nationals being shipped home (Balderrama, 123). Overall, Mexico cooperated with repatriation programs because it had lost about one-eight of its population to the U.S. However, it was not prepared to accommodate all the workers and families that were repatriated, thus those back in Mexico became disappointed with the program (Loza, 37).

Repatriation efforts were strongest in Los Angeles. The first deportation from Los Angeles left Union Station with 6,024 people on February 1931. The city and county paid $14.70 per individual, with a total of $77,249.29, but the so-called relief savings that resulted from these deportations for 1931 reached $347,648.41. In the course of three years, Los Angeles city and county deported 12,688 Mexican Americans to Mexico (Watkins, 69). Meanwhile, many Americans from the South Western Plains migrated to California to get away from the Dustbowl, but cities like Los Angeles were not very welcoming because they were preoccupied trying to get rid of "extra" people such as Mexicans and Mexican Americans (Watkins, 197).

For instance, the California border patrol increased surveillance along the borders of Arizona and Oregon (Watkins, 198).

On the contrary the Confederación de Sociedades Mexicanas denounced the repatriation efforts and demanded that it stop immediately. They viewed the repatriation campaigns as nothing more than a racist project with the objective of getting rid of all Mexicans and Mexican descendants. Mexican press from both Mexico and the U.S. agreed with this point of view and they dedicated themselves in exposing the racism involved in these campaigns. Such publications were *La Opinión*, *La Prensa,* and *El Heraldo* (Balderrama, 147).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Music as a folkloric alternative media form

Lazere argues that the bourgeois class reinforces the idea that only "artists" can create culture because common people are considered incapable of producing culture. It is thought that culture is bought and sold, turning potential creators into passive consumers. The bourgeois class also romanticizes and nurtures the idea of a classless society, leading people to ignore the reality. However, Lazere uses blues and country music as an example of culture created by the common people for social purposes rather than for consumption. Some social purposes may be to make work go faster, create a background for dancing, or to express collective views about life. Lazere emphasizes that this music played a significant role in developing a working class consciousness.

Although this music has never been autonomous from the bourgeois culture in form and content because these interacted with each other, it still contains roots in a more liberating culture because it portrays a collective experience rather than attaching it to an individual accomplishment (Lazere, 303). However, during the mid-1920s various recording companies

such as Victor, Brunswick, Decca, and Columbia "began to exploit for commercial gain the musical traditions of Mexicans in California and in the Southwest" (Peña, 67). The songs observed in this study were products of this exploitation for commercial gain. However, their recording made it possible for expressions about repatriation efforts to be heard, illustrating the agency that this folkloric music form provided for these recording artists and the community they represented through their lyrics.

What is a corrido?

Vicente T. Mendoza (1985) is often credited for the definition of the corrido. He defines the corrido as a derivation of the Spanish romance song due to their similar structure and rhyme scheme. On the other hand, Celedonio Serrano Martinez (1963) argues that although the corrido and the Spanish romance song may be similar in structure, they greatly differ in content. According to Martinez, Spanish romance songs are based on passed down traditional lyrics, whereas Mexican corridos are constantly expanding the genre's lyrical repertoire as they document everyday happenings.

Furthermore, Américo Paredes (1963) also addresses what he considers a misunderstanding of the definition of the corrido between his work and that of Merle E. Simmons (1963). According to Paredes, Simmons disagrees with the commonly held view that labels the years between 1860 and 1930 as the corrido period. The common belief is that the Mexican corrido greatly developed as a major song form during this time. On the other hand, Simmons does not find the ballad form unique to Mexico. Thus, Simmons tries to demonstrate this by identifying elements from the Mexican corrido in other Spanish American folk songs such as the use of the décima, which is a structural characteristic.

Moreover, Paredes notes that Simmons believes there is an unbroken line of descent between the Spanish romance song and the Mexican corrido during the early nineteenth century. Simmons is essentially saying that corridos did not suddenly appear, that they have been around, because if they existed in places like Argentina before the 1860s, then they must have existed in Mexico before that time as well. Finally, according to Paredes, Simmons does not believe that the corrido is a highly original genre.

Paredes emphasizes that the misunderstanding over definitions is the root of the debate because in general, what he may consider folklore is not what Simmons may consider folklore. Paredes continues by differentiating the corrido from the corrido tradition. This facilitates the differentiation process between specific songs and the evolution of the corrido. Essentially Simmons considers a song a corrido if it contains elements found in corridos, but Paredes argues that this does not make it part of the corrido tradition. Paredes is trying to localize the corrido back to Mexico because Simmons argues that it is not unique to Mexico.

The corrido definition debates between Martinez, Mendoza, Paredes and Simmons reveal deeper issues around the remaining effects of colonialism on the population's culture and identity. These debates are essentially arguing for ownership of a folkloric expression. These scholars fail to explicitly address the role of power in a debate on definitions of cultural expressions that are not even produced in the elitist spaces to which these scholars belong.

María Herrera-Sobek (1993) agrees with the definitions set by Mendoza and Simmons tracing the corrido back to the Spanish romance song. However, she emphasizes Américo Paredes's theory, which geographically situates the beginning production of the corrido during the 17th and 18th centuries in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas, United States, in addition to its renaissance during the 19th century. Herrera-Sobek asserts this theory because corridos are

found to have flourished in south Texas during the 1850s. Those early corridos illustrated cultural conflict that rose out of the 1848 U.S.-Mexico War between Anglo Americans and Mexicans and Mexican Americans, since Mexicans had been living in the area since the 1700s. This is a very important theory that demonstrates the significance of the border region for the development of the corrido as an outlet of cultural resistance, in this case, against the Anglo American imperialist forces taking over what used to be Mexican-state territory.

Herrera-Sobek continues to make the corrido clear by providing Armand Duvalier's criteria for a corrido: (1) initial call from the corridista (person singing the song) to the public (2) place, date, and name of the main character (3) formula preceding the main character's arguments (4) message (5) main character farewell and (6) corridista farewell. In addition, she provides secondary criteria elements such as: (1) repeated phrase or phrases warning the audience to not forget a particular event (2) exclamation or reflection the corridista makes regarding the events narrated (3) biographical data and other information regarding the main character (4) summary of the main theme expressed in the corrido (5) an invitation from the corridista to the corrido (6) the ending of the first corrido and invitation to stay and listen to the second part or a new one (7) name of the author of the song and (8) beginning of the second part of the corrido just sung or beginning of the singing of another corrido analogous to the previous one (Herrera-Sobek, xxiv). Needless to say, not all elements have to be met, but at least one of them should.

For the purpose of this research study, I wish to situate the corrido to the Southwest of the U.S. since this is the geographic population described in this study's songs. Furthermore, I define the corrido as a traditionally Mexican song form reinterpreted in the U.S. Southwest to express the Mexican ongoing diasporic experience.

Spanish romance song versus the corrido

Limón (1992) does a great job at making clear the differences between the Spanish romance song and the corrido by using definitions developed by Mendoza (1954) and Geijerstam (1976; 50-51). Limón created a list of key differences: (1) The romance has lines of seven or eight syllables; corridos often have eight, but may have up to twenty syllables per line (2) The romance song consists mainly of non-strophic series of lines , assonantic, with simple rhymes on lines with an even number; the corrido is strophic, with four or six lines in each verse, and has different types of rhyme (3) The romance is epic, novelistic, and morisco, which means it deals with festivities, tournaments, and love affairs. The corrido further develops these themes (4) Musically, the romance song is "serious", modal, and melodically restrained, while the corrido is "overflowing", lyrical, and of wider melodic range, although it preserves the metric and rhythmic characteristics, which are the Spanish influence (5) The romance usually consists of a dialogue between two characters; however, the corrido is a narrative usually in the first or third person, with the corridista acting as the witness of the event described (Limón, 9-10).

Finally, Limón states, "Further, the effacement of the corridista reinforces the social, collective nature of the corrido. While most corridos are the work of a single author, any personal point of view manifested in the ballad seems to represent a shared perspective" (15). This is the point I want to make by arguing that the corridos are a collective counter narrative.

Theory in corrido analysis

In another publication, Herrera-Sobek (1990) explicitly demonstrates how she uses feminist theory to deconstruct the corrido. Her work contributes to the literature on corridos through her use of archetypal criticism. Her goal is to prove that the solidification of an archetype on society is the result of a historical process. I too will be using a theory to critically analyze the corrido. However, I want to use Latina/o Critical Theory (LatCrit) to prove that

counterstories are beneficial and possible to create as an attempt to form counter-spaces through music.

In addition, Herrera-Sobek triangulates the bracero experience with oral histories and other sources including corridos. Once again, she uses the common corrido definition having origins in the Spanish romance song. Herrera-Sobek emphasizes, "the corrido is a form of musical expression written for the people and by the people and containing themes relevant to the people" (75). She points out that the corrido has proved to be easily adaptable to a wide variety of themes and thus we find them written for almost every occasion.

Furthermore, Chew Sanchez (2006) analyzes corridos through the field of cultural studies and argues that often times cultural expressions carried out by marginalized groups are romanticized. She calls this "imperialist nostalgia." Chew Sanchez demonstrates three purposes that imperialist nostalgia serves: (1) allows one to reject responsibility for the chaos caused by colonization, (2) allows one to position oneself in a paternalistic role where the marginalized group is seen as the "other" that needs to be helped and (3) allows one to use the "original" traditions that belong to the "other" to reconnect with "nature." All of these purposes are problematic but my research relates to the first purpose. If one romanticizes corridos, then it makes it more difficult to point out revealing expressions from the songs, such as racism from Mexicans toward another underrepresented racial group such as Pilipinos or Afrikan Americans. This is important for my research because I have found songs that contain racist expressions coming from Mexicans laborers toward Pilipino laborers, and I am interested in pointing these tensions out because it shows the bigger structural problem that creates these labor and interracial conflicts, such as capitalism and competition for jobs.

The corrido as a source

In terms of definitions, Chew Sanchez argues that although corridos serve as sources of information, they do not act as a newspaper source because for one to be able to interpret the corrido, one must already have some knowledge of the happenings mentioned since the corrido takes a stance on the situation. Chew Sanchez also states that corridos are a popular source of entertainment for Mexican and Mexican American communities possibly because they are easy to memorize, since they use local language and narrate stories about subjects that the community is invested in. This is an important point when thinking about transforming my research into educational tools to use in k-12 public schools in Los Angeles. This means that corridos are easily grasped and thus students will be more receptive to analyzing the content and learning about the historical context of the songs.

Corridos and Mexican nationalism

Chew Sánchez argues that corridos that were created during the Mexican Revolution later became part of the nationalism project because they mainly talked about revolutionary heroes. This is an interesting point because when looking at Mendoza's earlier work (1939) it almost sounds like part of a nation building project, promoting the cultural richness of corridos. Chew Sánchez's argument that corridos promote nationalism is one of the categories of analysis my work is also concerned with. Many of the songs I have observed from the list I will be analyzing, expressed hostility toward the U.S. citizenship due to conflicting feelings of betrayal to the homeland.

Mexico and the U.S. collaborated to make repatriation possible, although each nation had different reasons. Mexican intellectuals, such as José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gamio, were very influential during the repatriation period. While in exile in California, José Vasconcelos encouraged Mexican laborers to repatriate themselves so they would not be a loss to the nation.

There was a pro-Vasconcelos movement in Los Angeles at that time because he was considering running for president in Mexico. Thus, this campaign included increased educational programs to incite patriotism among the children of immigrants, programs to facilitate repatriation of immigrants back to Mexico and new restrictions on emigration from Mexico (Sánchez, 123).

Manuel Gamio was another Mexican intellectual who greatly influenced the repatriation period of the Great Depression in the U.S. According to Gamio, the skills that Mexicans in the U.S. were gaining were beneficial to the Mexican nation. Thus, Gamio, like Vasconcelos, encouraged the repatriation of Mexican laborers in the United States. He believed that they should return to Mexico because "They have learned to handle machinery and modern tools; they have discipline and steady habits of work" (Sánchez, 123). Gamio argued that these practical skills would be beneficial for the agriculture and industry in Mexico. In addition, Gamio believed that those who migrated to the U.S. became “Mexicans” as they grew a stronger- and perhaps nostalgic - connection to the land they had left. Gamio wanted to convince migrants to return to Mexico, especially after the Mexican Revolution because the nation needed their labor. Also, it was embarrassing for the revolutionary leaders to see large amounts of Mexicans migrate to the U.S. after overthrowing the pro-American dictator, Porfirio Díaz. They feared that the U.S. would steal Mexico's most productive laborers. Thus, people like Gamio led institutions that nurtured Mexican patriotism to bring together the immigrant generation and their children to Mexico (Sánchez, 123).

The Mexican Consulate in Los Angeles was one of the main institutions that facilitated repatriations. In the midst of the Great Depression, Rafael de la Colina was the consul. He collaborated with local U.S. officials to develop government sponsored plans that would return Mexicans and their U.S. born children living in Los Angeles to Mexico on trains. The Mexican

Chamber of Commerce criticized that the deportation raids were disruptive to the local community because they made the residents afraid to go to work. They were not criticizing the actual repatriations. Another Mexican institution that supported the repatriation project was the Comité de Beneficienca Mexicana. It shifted the focus from supporting indigent Mexicans in the city by providing them with food, clothes and medical care to funding railroad passages back to Mexico.

In conclusion, the repatriation efforts were not just a reaction by the Anglo Americans in the U.S. using Mexicans as a scapegoat, but also an effort of Mexican elites attempting to win the loyalty of laborers for their nation's agriculture and industry. The Mexican Consulate would never again serve such a crucial role in organizing goals in collaboration with the leadership in Mexico City (Sánchez, 123).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Latina/o Critical Theory

Latina/o critical theory (LatCrit) allows researchers to examine the unique experiences of the Latina/o community, such as immigration status, language, ethnicity, and culture (Solorzano and Delgado Bernal, 2001). Through this theory I will explore the immigration status of the community addressed in the corridos. Many of the Mexicans repatriated were undocumented, but even U.S. citizens were persecuted. Thus, immigration status is a core characteristic of this research because it was used as a justifier for persecution even as it became irrelevant in practice. In addition, language is also a very important aspect of this study because the corridos examined are sung in Spanish. This falls under cultural resistance because language is part of culture and the native language is maintained through the songs. Ethnicity is an extremely important characteristic of the community because I argue that the repatriation project was directed to

Mexicans and Mexican Americans rather than all immigrants, as part of the racism embedded in Anglo society. Finally, culture is where corridos are cultivated from and the continuance of them is a form of resistance against Anglo mainstream media in the U.S. LatCrit provides tools that will allow me to emphasize the uniqueness of these experiences as represented in corridos.

Moreover, through LatCrit I will be able to explicitly underline the racism behind the events that inspired many of these corridos. This theory rose out of critical race theory, which helps researchers explore the intersections between different forms of oppressions that People of Color experience. Its tenants include (1) the centrality and intersectionality of race and racism with other forms of subordination; (2) the challenge to dominant ideologies; (3) the commitment to social justice; (4) the importance of experiential knowledge; and (5) the use of interdisciplinary perspectives (Solorzano and Yosso, 2001). This study benefits from the first tenant because I will attempt to emphasize how the intersectionality between race and legal status plays into the repatriation and deportation of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. The second tenant is relevant because corridos create discourse that challenge dominant ideologies of the U.S. Anglo society. The third tenant applies to the overall goal of the research study of converting this archival research into a pedagogical tool for K-12 public school in the Southwest in an attempt to make education more culturally relevant. The fourth tenant applies because I attempt to demonstrate the value of the corridos as an addition to a holistic historical account of the experiences of the Mexican community in the U.S. Finally, my interdisciplinary approach fulfills the fifth tenant by uniting history, folklore, music, and cultural studies.

Racist Nativism

Racist nativism is a concept that developed out of LatCrit to help researchers better examine how the historical racialization of immigrants of color has influenced the experiences of

Latina/o undocumented immigrants (Pérez Huber, 2008). In order to explain racist nativism, one must break down its components: white supremacy, racism and nativism. Racist nativism places white supremacy as the core of racism. Thus, white supremacy is defined as a system of racial dominance and exploitation where power and resources are not distributed equally to privilege whites and oppress People of Color (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Dubois, 1999; Roedigger, 1999). Therefore, racism is then defined as "the assigning of values to real or imagined differences, in order to justify white supremacy, to the benefit of whites and at the expense of People of Color, and thereby to defend the right of whites to dominance" (Pérez Huber, 2008). Finally, nativism is defined as "the practice of assigning values to real or imagined differences, in order to justify the superiority of the native, thereby defending the native's right to dominance" (Perez Huber 2008). Altogether, racist nativism is defined as "the assigning of values to real or imagined differences, in order to justify the superiority of the native, who is to be perceived white, over that of the non-native, who is perceived to be People and immigrants of Color, and thereby defend the rights of whites, to dominance" (Pérez Huber, 2008).

Racist nativism theory serves as a pertinent lens to help deconstruct the historical reasons for the content communicated in the corridos. The component of white supremacy is embedded in the Anglo American system that developed the repatriation project. Therefore, many scholars describe the repatriation project as racist. The sense of racist nativism becomes explicit as Mexicans and Mexican Americans are deported or repatriated for not being believed to be native to the U.S. just because they were not Anglo American. This is supported by the fact that many Mexican Americans were also deported and their legal status was irrelevant in the process.

Also, racist nativism can help explain why the experiences of the Mexican and Mexican American community during the Great Depression has not been given much attention in

dominant historical scholarship. If they are mentioned in the text, it is usually a very small section that is designated. Racist nativism can help explain this by highlighting the significance of who is considered "native" or "American" when telling the story of the American population during the Great Depression.

METHODOLOGY

Textual Analysis

Textual analysis is a method researchers use to observe how people have made sense of their world. Textual analysis is popular within cultural studies, history, media studies, mass communication, but it can be utilized in any almost any field of study. One uses this methodology to make an interpretation of a certain text. A text can be defined as "something that we make meaning from" (McKee, 4). Since the definition of a text is very broad and it can apply to various sources such as, literature, films, art, newspapers and songs. However, one must keep in mind that this is merely an interpretation, meaning that textual analysis will not provide the truth of how a certain group of people made sense of a certain time in their lives (McKee, 2003). This methodology will help me make interpretations of how Mexicans and Mexican Americans made sense of the world around them as they experienced repatriation campaigns in the U.S. such as the one during the Great Depression by analyzing corridos that mention this topic within their lyrics.

In addition, it is important to conduct textual analysis on sources like corridos because they are often overlooked as holders of significant insight on how people made sense of their world. Many times we read material that is written from the perspective of the outsider looking inside, rather than from those who actually experienced first-hand. There is an overall lack of valuable analysis of music in academia due to the negative stereotype of music not being a

serious source (Tagg, 72). Music has been dominantly researched within the field of musicology and this may be limiting because many other aspects of the music, other than the technicalities, may be ignored (Tagg, 74). If interdisciplinary researchers analyze music, such as corridos, many different aspects can be interpreted and used to put together a denser account of specific events, time periods, etc.

When analyzing music, one has to keep in mind who the "emitter" and the "receiver" is (Tagg, 75). For instance, the emitter maybe the performer and/or composer of a song, and the receiver is anyone listening to that song. While keeping this in mind, one must think about who is making the music, why they are making it, for who, and what effects the music may have on those receiving it. While thinking about the effects, one must take into consideration the caliber of the effect. For example, are the messages conveyed in the song being actively or passively received. This is especially important for my study because I want to attempt to interpret how much corridos influenced the Mexican and Mexican American community living during the Great Depression in the midst of the Repatriation projects.

Tagg mentions that it is important to develop an appropriate methodology to analyze what he calls, "subcultural music" (98). According to Tagg, subcultural music is one that tries to counter mainstream music and that most scholars have focused on analyzing this music because they are interested on how they are doing this. However, Tagg argues that scholars need to further analyze mainstream music to figure out how mainstream music has been so successful and thus, figure out why subcultural music may not be as popular (99). Although I do agree with Tagg to some extent, I would not refer to corridos as "subcultural music" because the prefix 'sub' implies inferiority. I do agree that it is appropriate to analyze mainstream music if one wishes to try to determine why non-mainstream music is not mainstream. On the other hand, I do not think

it is the only way. I will analyze corridos through the theoretical frameworks of Latina/o critical race theory and the concept of racist nativism in an attempt to show why the mainstream music may be successful and not the non-mainstream.

SONGS

The songs analyzed in this study are all two part songs. The first one is titled "Adios Estados Unidos" ("Goodbye United States) and it is performed by Los Hermanos Bañuelos accompanied by guitars. The composer of the song is Luis Bañuelos and it is recorded under the label Bruinswick in a 78 rpm format. This narrator in this song is a Mexican migrant who leaves everything behind in Mexico to work and earn more money in the United States, but he goes through many humiliations and ends up returning to his home country.

"Adios Estados Unidos" Primera Parte	"Goodbye United States" First Part
Escuchen esta verdad Escuchenla compañeros Todo esto es la realidad En este país extranjero	Listen to this truth Listen to it brothers All this is the reality In this foreign country
En México todos dicen Lo dicen por darnos coba Que en este país se recoge El dinero con la escoba	In Mexico everyone says They say it to incite us That in this country they scoop up The money with the broom
Yo dije hay que ir a barrer Barrer allá tiene cuenta Y luego empecé a poner Todos mis triques en venta	I said I wanted to sweep Sweeping over there can be profitable And then I began to place All my belongings on sale
Vendí todito señores La cama y hasta el colchón Y ahí empezó la comedia Y ahí empezó el vacilón	I sold everything, gentlemen The bed and even the mattress And there began the farce And there began the joke
Al llegar a la frontera Ay ni recordar lo quiero Me hicieron mi juego tablas	Upon arrival at the border I don't even want to remember They played me with multiplication

Cuando cambié mi dinero

"Aquí los pesos," dijeron
"Tú no lo sabes tal vez
Por cada dólar que quieras
Tu me tienes que dar tres"

Les dije "yo quiero un dólar
Y ya volveré después"
Y ahí fue donde un chicano
Soltó los primeros tres

De ahí me fui a la frontera
Fue mi primer desengaño
Para principio de cuentas
Me despacharon al baño

Yo les dije, "No señores
Ya me bañé en el hotel"
Me dijeron "You se baña
Si no querer *borehel* [go to hell]"
Yo el *borehel* no entendía
Por no hablar nada de inglés
Y el güero aquel se reía
Cuando yo le dije "Yes"

Crucé por fin la frontera
Tras muchas humillaciones
Quería llegar hasta el sitio
Donde hay dinero a montone

Segunda Parte

Yo me vine entusiasmado
Me vine con la ilusión
Pero al llegar a mi lado
Que todo fue vacilón

Para sacar los frijoles
Hay que sudar mucho hermanos
Solo trabajos muy duros
Nos dan a los mexicanos

Pero el chicano señores
Trabaja con alegría
Y guarda cual buen patriota

When I exchanged my currency

"Here the pesos" they said
"You may not know it
For every dollar you want
You have to give me three"

I told them "I want a dollar
I will return later"
And that is where a Chicano
Let go of the first three

From there I left to the border
It was my first disillusion
To begin with
They dispatched me to the restroom

I told them, "No gentlemen
I already showered in the hotel
They told me "You shower
If not borehel [go to hell]"
I did not understand the borehel
For not speaking any English
And the white guy laughed
When I told him "Yes"

I finally crossed the border
After various humiliations
I wanted to arrive to the place
Where there is plenty of money

Second Part

I came excited
I came with high hopes
But upon arrival
Everything was a joke

To afford beans
Brothers have to sweat a lot
Only very difficult jobs
They give us Mexicans

But the Chicano, gentlemen
Works with joy
And preserves like a good patriot

Su amada ciudadanía

En cambio las otras razas
Luego se ciudadanizan
Traicionando su bandera
luego se americanizan

Por eso aquí el mexicano
Tiene muy negro destino
Porque él no es americano
Como lo es el pilipino

El pilipino es honrado
Es muy honrado de veras
Se mantiene traficando
Comprando y vendiendo güeras

Debiera darles vergüenza
Andar en esos paseos
Con esos diablos de changos
Ay desgraciados tan feos

Hoy se me niega el trabajo
Porque no soy ciudadano
Pero yo nunca traicionó
Mi pabellón Mexicano

Voy deportado señores
Por esta crisis canalla
Pero no pido favores
Mejor me muero en la raya

Les dejo como un recuerdo
Esta sentida canción
El tren ya va caminando
Me llevan a mi nación

También les dejo mi escoba
Con la que barrí dinero
Ay que bien nos han tratado
En este país extranjero

His beloved citizenship

Unlike the other races
They become citizens
Betraying their flag
They become Americanized

So here the Mexican
Has a very dark destiny
Because he's not American
As is the Pilipino

The Pilipino is honorable
He is truly very honorable
He supports himself by trafficking
Buying and selling white women

It should shame them
Walking on those paths
With those devilish monkeys
Oh such ugly bastards

Today I am denied a job
Because I am not a citizen
But I never betray
My Mexican flag

I leave deported gentlemen
Due to this damn crisis
But I ask for no favors
I'd rather die on the line

I leave as a memory
This heartfelt song
The train is already leaving
They're taking me to my nation

I also leave you my broom
The one I swept the money with
Oh how well that have treated us
In this foreign country

The second song is titled "La crisis actual" ("The Present Crisis") and it is performed by Los Cancioneros Alegres. The composer of this song is C. Cuevas and it was recorded under the

Vocalion label also in a 78 rpm format. This narrator of this song is another Mexican migrant who is disillusioned with the experiences he has had while in the U.S. and is going back to his homeland while warning others about the current situtation.

"La crisis actual"
Parte 1

Señores pongan atención
Aquí les voy a cantar
Una triste situación
Que me he venido a encontrar

Crisis y deportación
Nos trae con mucho cuidado
A todos los Mexicanos
Que aquí nos hemos quedado

Mas antes para este lado
Se venía uno a trabajar
Y en término de seis meses
Se podia bien regresar

Y ahora no digo mentira
Pues esto a todos nos pasa
Que aquí estamos sin salida
Porque el trabajo nos falta

Y antes en los talleres
Mexicanos ocupan
Sin que supieran inglés
Muy buenos sueldos ganaban

Pero ahora todo ha cambiado
Con todos estos paisanos
Que les quitan el lugar
Para poner ciudadanos

Por donde quiera que he andado
Por donde quiera he perdido
Pues por no ser ciudadano
Buen trabajo no he tenido

A todos los extranjeros
Excepto a los mexicanos

"The Present Crisis"
Part 1

Gentlemen pay attention
Here I will sing to you
A sad situation
That I have encountered

Crisis and deportation
Is cause for great worry
To all us Mexicans
Who have stayed here

However, to this side
One would come to work
And in a period of 6 months
One was able to return

And now I don't lie
Since this happens to all of us
That we are here with no way out
Because we lack the job opportunities

And before in the factories
Mexicans they hired
Without them knowing English
They earned very good wages

But now everything has changed
With all these compatriots
They take away their job
To hire citizens

Everywhere I have been
Everywhere I have lost
Because I'm not a citizen
Good jobs I haven't had

To all the foreigners
Except to the Mexicans

Aquí les dan protección
Porque se hacen ciudadanos

Uno que otro de la raza
Ese camino ha seguido
Pero para más desgracia
De nada les a servido

Mas los buenos mexicanos
Los hombres trabajadores
Prefieren vivir de pobres
Y no a su patria traidores

Parte 2

A todos esta canción
Como un recuerdo dejamos
Y también de corazón
Este consejo les damos

El modo de repatriarnos
De algún modo hay que buscar
Sin que como a otros hermanos
Nos vayan a deportar

Siempre desaires aquí
El mexicano ha sufrido
Pero nunca se había visto
Lo que ahorita ha sucedido

Por toditos los villares
Ya empezaron a dar corte
Están dando a la cárcel
El que no trae pasaporte

La crisis es general
Ya lo empiezan a notar
Solo ellos saben señores
En que esto venga a parar

Muchos de los sin trabajo
El gobierno no está asistiendo
Por las esquinas se ven
Están manzanas vendiendo

Nuestro buen cónsul también

Here they give them protection
Because they become citizens

One here and there of our people
Have followed that path
But for additional misfortune
It has served nothing

Yet the good Mexicans
The working men
They rather live poor
And not be traitors to their country

Part 2

To all this song
We leave as a memory
And also from the heart
We give you this advice

The method of repatriating ourselves
We have to look for it some way
To avoid that like other brothers
We will be deported

Always snubs here
The Mexican has suffered
But it had never been seen
What has happened today

Through all the villages
They began to cut
They are sending to jail
Whoever does not have a passport

The crisis is widespread
It’s beginning to be felt
Only they know, gentlemen
How this will end

Many of those without jobs
The government is not aiding
On the corners you see
They are selling apples

Our good consul as well

Con personas distinguidas	With distinguished people
Nos ayuda como hermanos	He helps us like brothers
Con provisión y comida	With supplies and food
Adiós calle meimentada	Goodbye paved street
Adiós plaza concurrida	Goodbye busy plaza
Por muchos que en ley esperan	For many trust in the law
Encontrar pronto salida	To help them find a way out
Esos tiempos han pasado	Those times are gone
No se volverá mirar	We will not see again
Lo reinganchitas buscando	The contractors looking
En que sea trabajar	For any odd job
Ya con esta me despido	With this I say goodbye
De toditos mis amigos	To all my friends
Vamos en deportación	We are leaving in deportation
Adios estados unidos	Goodbye United States

This last song is also performed by Los Hermanos Bañuelos and is also composed by them. Their voices are accompanied by guitars and it was recorded under the Vocalion label in a 78 rpm format. This song is narrated by a Mexican migrant who describes his journey from Mexico to the U.S. border on the train. He tells about his suffering and his eventual deportation.

"El deportado"	"The Deportee"
Primera Parte	First Part
Voy a contarles señores	I am going to tell you gentlemen
Voy a contarles señores	I am going to tell you gentlemen
Todo lo que yo sufrí	Everything that I had to suffer
Desde que dejé mi patria	Since I left my nation
Desde que dejé mi patria	Since I left my nation
Por venir a este pais	To come to this country
Serían las diez de la noche	It may have been ten at night
Serían las diez de la noche	It may have been ten at night
Comienza un tren a silbar	A train begins to whistle
Oí que dijo mi madre	I heard my mother say
Allí viene ese tren ingrato	There comes that terrible train
Que a mi hijo se va llevar	That is taking my son
Adiós mi madre querida	Goodbye my dear mother

Adiós mi madre querida	Goodbye my dear mother
Écheme su bendición	Give me your blessing
Yo me voy al extranjero	I am leaving to a foreign land
Yo me voy al extranjero	I am leaving to a foreign land
Donde no hay revolución	Where there is no revolution
Corre, corre maquinita	Run, run, little engine
Corre, corre maquinita	Run, run, little engine
Vámonos de la estación	Let's leave from the station
No quiero ver a mi madre	I don't want to see my mother
Llorar por su hijo querido	Cry for her dear son
Por su hijo del corazón	For her beloved son
Al fin sonó la campana	Finally the bell rang
Al fin sonó la campana	Finally the bell rang
Dos silbidos pegó el tren	The train let out two whistles
No lloren mis compañeros	Don't cry my comrades
No lloren mis compañeros	Don't cry my comrades
Que me hacen llorar también	You will make me cry too
Pasamos pronto Jalisco	We soon passed Jalisco
Pasamos pronto Jalisco	We soon passed Jalisco
Ay qué fuerte corre allí el tren	Oh how fast the train runs there
Luego Irapuato	Then Irapuato
Luego La Chona	Then La Chona
Y Aguascalientes también	And Aguascalientes too
Al recordar estas horas	As I remember these hours
Al recordar estas horas	As I remember these hours
Me palpita el corazón	My heart pounds
Cuando de mi sea lo lejos	When I am distant
Cuando de mi sea lo lejos	When I am distant
Mentado Torréon	So called Torréon
Cuando Chihuahua pasamos	When we passed Chihuahua
Cuando Chihuahua pasamos	When we passed Chihuahua
Se notó gran confusión	There was a great confusion
Los empleados de la aduana	The customs agents
Los empleados de la aduana	The customs agents
Te pasaban revisión	Led you to inspection
Segunda Parte	Second Part
Ya llegamos por fin a Juárez	We finally arrived to Juarez
Llegamos por fin a Juárez	Finally arrived to Juarez
Y allí fue mi apuración	And there grew my concern

Que onde vas, que de dónde vienes	That where you going, where are you from
Que cuánto dinero tienes	How much money you have
Para entrar a esta nación	To enter this country
Señores traigo dinero	Gentlemen I have money
Señores traigo dinero	Gentlemen I have money
Para poder emigrar	To be able to migrate
Tu dinero nada vale	Your money is worth nothing
Tu dinero nada vale	Your money is worth nothing
Te tenemos que bañar	We have to give you a bath
Ay mis paisanos queridos	Oh my dear compatriots
Ay mis paisanos queridos	Oh my dear compatriots
Yo les platico nomás	I'm only telling you
Me estaban dando ganas	I was getting the urge
Que me estaban dando ganas	I was getting the urge
De volverme para atrás	To go back
Crucé por fin la frontera	I finally crossed the border
Crucé por fin la frontera	I finally crossed the border
Y en re-enganche salí	And in re-enganche I left
Ay mis queridos paisanos	Oh my dear compatriots
Ay mis queridos paisanos	Oh my dear compatriots
Fue mucho lo que sufrir	I suffered a lot
Los güeros son muy maloras	The whites are very mean
Los güeros son muy maloras	The whites are very mean
Se valen de la ocasión	They take advantage of a situation
Y a todos los mexicanos	And all the Mexicans
Y a todos los mexicanos	And all the Mexicans
Nos tratan sin compasión	They treat us without compassion
Hoy traen la gran polvareda	Today they bring chaos
Hoy traen la gran polvareda	Today they bring chaos
Ni sin consideración	Without consideration
Mujeres, niños y ancianos	Women, children and elders
Nos llevan a la frontera	They take us to the border
Nos echan de esta nación	They kick us out of this nation
Adiós paisanos queridos	Goodbye dear compatriots
Adiós paisanos queridos	Goodbye dear compatriots
Ya nos van a deportar	They are going to deport us
Pero no somos bandidos	But we are not bandits
Pero no somos bandidos	But we are not bandits
Venimos a camellar	We came to work hard

Los espero allá en mi tierra	I wait for you all in my land
Los espero allá en mi tierra	I wait for you all in my land
Ya no hay más revolución	There is no more revolution
Vámonos cuates queridos	Let's go dear friends
Seremos bien recibidos	We will be welcomed
En nuestra bella nación	In our beautiful country

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

These corridos reveal various themes but I will focus on citizenship, Mexican nationalism and fraternity because these are the themes I found more salient in various songs, beyond the ones analyzed in this study. As stated before, I analyze the corridos with a Latina/o critical theory and racist nativism lens to better understand the experiences communicated in these lyrics.

"Adios Estados Unidos"

In the first part of the corrido, "Adios Estados Unidos," the narrator begins the song by addressing the audience as "compañeros" or brothers, clearly defining the relationship between the one singing and those listening as intimate and fraternal. The narrator further underlines this by stating that the song's purpose is to tell the truth and the reality of this foreign country. This can be seen as a cautionary note for those who may still be in Mexico but are thinking of migrating to the U.S. In addition, it also shows that the narrator does not feel welcomed in this country and this may be due to the lack of citizenship in the U.S., feelings transmitted through the racist nativism he encounters later in the song.

This cautionary note becomes clear in the following stanza where the narrator addresses people back in Mexico and tells them that in the U.S. supposedly one can sweep up money with a broom. He is trying to show his brothers back in Mexico that this image is a false illusion and that he has seen the truth. This is when he transitions into his personal narrative and states how

he fell into this illusion himself and sold all his belongings to leave to the U.S. The rest of the song becomes a tragic personal narrative.

The narrator begins to the tell his border crossing story and reveals his encounter with a Chicano in charge of exchanging currencies. This verse introduces the word "Chicano," which for the purpose of this study, can be defined as a person of Mexican descent in the U.S. However, it wasn't until the 60s that this term and identity stopped carrying a negative stigma. The Chicano in this song is given the power of granting U.S. currency to newly arrived immigrants in exchange for their Mexican currency. He is then portrayed as privileged above the newly arrived Mexican compatriots creating tension and possibly jealousy. This type of rhetoric is being displayed in a popular song form that reaches the masses and thus, has the potential to influence the image of the Chicano community, creating a division between immigrants and migrants without citizenship and Chicanos with citizenship.

Near the end of the first part of this song, the narrator talks about a humiliating incident that reveals the correlated power dynamics within documentation status and race. He reflects on why the white authority laughs at him and attributes this humiliation to his lack of understanding of the English language, also underlining the privilege of U.S. citizenship status. Race emerges when he refers to the authority as "güero" or white. This time it is not a Chicano, who although has legal documentation, is ethnically closer to the migrant. The term "güero" really demarcates the difference in race or at the least skin color between the humiliated Mexican migrant and the white authoritative offender.

In the second part of this song, the narrator begins by readdressing his brothers, continuing the tone of the song as one of advice and caution for those back in Mexico. He reaffirms this fraternity by underlining their Mexican national identity. This identity is further

emphasized when the narrator brings up the Chicano again. This time the Chicano is mentioned in a sarcastic tone. The narrator comments on the Chicano's privilege of working happily, without worrying about documentation. He is said to preserve his beloved citizenship as a good patriot. This statement displays the dividing rhetoric between recently arrived Mexican immigrants and Chicanos. Although from the same ethnic identity, recently arrived Mexican immigrants may have viewed Chicanos as traitors to their motherland for having citizenship, although being born in the U.S. was something out of their control.

In the following stanza, the narrator extends the othering of the Chicano to other ethnic groups in general. He makes a reference to other "razas" or races that become U.S. citizens and explicitly calls them traitors who Americanize themselves. There is more freedom to explicitly refer to other ethnicities and races as traitors than with the Chicanos, who are ancestrally related, and who may even be within the same families. This rhetoric reflects the animosity between immigrant groups that find themselves competing for jobs. U.S. citizenship and the privileges that come with it are seen as selling out but they are also envied.

Further in the song, the narrator specifies one of other "razas" as Pilipino, although this is a nationality and not a race. He may be using the word "raza" as a way to refer to a group of people of the same ethnic background. Either way, Pilipinos are negatively portrayed for being "American." The stanza makes the conclusion that Mexicans do not have a bright future in the U.S. because they are not "American" or do not gain citizenship. In addition, it makes a direct reference to Pilipinos as ones who do "Americanize" themselves. This shows a direct criticism to Pilipinos for obtaining/having citizenship without an attempt to learn about their very parallel experiences as immigrants of color within the racist nativism they live in.

Towards the end of this two-part song, the narrator denounces the rejection of undocumented workers in the labor market and declares loyalty to the Mexican nation even if that means being denied job opportunities. Although having access to work was a main incentive for migration, obtaining that access is not worth becoming a U.S. citizen and "betraying" the motherland. So he would rather be deported to his nation due to the crisis, which may be referring to a falling economy, and also underlines the strength of the Mexican nationalism.

"La crisis actual"

"La crisis actual" begins by addressing the "señores," the gentleman, giving the greeting a respectful and serious tone but also emphasizing that this is meant for the men. He completes the greeting by telling the listeners that he is going to sing them a sad situation that happened to him. This statement furthers the sense of fraternity because the male narrator is explicitly admitting that his current circumstances are sad, placing himself in a vulnerable position while trusting that the "señores" he is sharing this experience with will understand.

In next stanza he explicitly describes the situation he finds himself in with the words "crisis" and "deportation," two words especially relevant for Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the Great Depression. Then he creates a sense of unity by commenting on how these two words have all the Mexicans who stayed in the U.S. living with precaution. Thus, the Mexican nationalism becomes present both in the U.S. with the Mexicans suffering this circumstance and with the Mexicans back home listening to this story about their brothers.

Later in the song the narrator reminisces on how Mexicans used to be needed in the workplace without them having to know English and they earned good money. He marks the difference between this past situation and the present one where "paisanos" are replaced by

"ciudadanos." In other words, he and his compatriots are being replaced with U.S. citizens who can thus, speak English. Once again, U.S. citizenship affirms its privilege. The narrator solidifies his reflection by explicitly stating that he has not gotten a good job because he is not a U.S. citizen. Then he affirms that other foreigners, except for Mexicans, are given protection because they become U.S. citizens. The narrator elaborates on this point by commenting that the few Mexicans who have become U.S. citizens have not benefited from this new documentation status. This alludes to the factor of racial discrimination on top of discrimination against a legal status. Many other immigrants of that time were of European descent, and were not targeted in repatriation campaigns even if they were also undocumented.

At the end of this first part of the song, the narrator follows up with his observation about those who do pursue U.S. citizenship and distinguishes those who don't as good, hardworking Mexicans who prefer to be poor than to be a traitor to their country. This strongly illustrates the depth of the narrator's Mexican nationalistic sentiment.

The second part of this song begins by stating that its purpose is to serve as a memory and a piece of advice, really underlining the sense of unity with the intended Mexican nationalist and fraternal audience. The following advice is to repatriate oneself before one gets deported like other "hermanos" or brothers have. This decision is obviously based on documentation status and the lack of U.S. citizenship. It also has to do with pride and not wanting to be chased out of the country or incarcerated for not having a passport, as the narrator mentions in one of the following stanzas. The use of the word "hermanos" shows the sentimental solidarity with the other Mexicans and those of Mexican descent going through this period of persecution and repatriation in the U.S. In addition, the narrator underlines that the Mexican specifically, has suffered a lot in the U.S. and this points again to ethnic and racial discrimination within the

Anglo community that led to many of these anti-Mexican repatriation and deportation campaigns.

Further in the song, the narrator points to the assistance that the Mexican consul in the U.S. has provided by treating Mexicans in the U.S. as brothers and providing food. He describes the consul and those with the consul, as distinguished people who nonetheless are helping people like him, as brothers. This stanza demonstrates a moment where Mexican nationalism and fraternity seemingly transcends class and documentation status. Unlike the tensions between Chicanos and the narrator due to citizenship status illustrated in "Adios Estados Unidos," here the relationship between those with obvious documentation status and privilege are portrayed to have a harmonious relationship with the narrator, but it is because they are seen as lending their privilege to those who do not have access to such resources.

"El deportado"

"El deportado" also begins with a greeting addressing the "señores," the gentlemen, telling them he is about to share all that he suffered since he left his country to go to the U.S. This greeting communicates deep sentiment placing the narrator in a vulnerable spotlight that reveals trust in the gentlemen listening and Mexican nationalism. The Mexican nationalism is apparent if one compares his use of the words "mi patria" to refer to Mexico and his use of the words "este país" to refer to the U.S. "Mi" is possessive and therefore indicates closeness rather than "este" which is general and indicates emotional distance. "Patria" carries a very nationalistic and proud connotation whereas "país" can be any country.

In a later stanza, the narrator is describing his departure from Mexico to the U.S. He begins by explicitly saying goodbye to his dear mother, which is referring to his actual mother but can also represent him saying goodbye to his motherland. This contrasts with the narrator

continuing the stanza by affirming that he is leaving to "al extranjero," a foreign place. However, he elaborates by adding that he is going to where there is no revolution. This additional note can help the listener speculate that the narrator left his country due to the Mexican Revolution, which is a time when a large number of people migrated to the U.S. as noted earlier.

The train in which the narrator travels to the U.S. finally takes off and he tells his "compañeros" or comrades not to cry because they will make him cry as well. This portrays a high level of fraternity between those who leave and those who stay and it underlines the emotional toll migration can cause on both groups.

The second part of this song begins with the narrator's arrival to Juarez, south of Texas. He describes the dialogue he has with authorities at the border and it shows his lacking privilege for not having any type of documentation, especially not U.S. citizenship. For instance, they ask him where he is going, where he is coming from, and how much money he has to enter the U.S. One must emphasize that this is a Mexican migrant trying to enter the U.S. through the Juarez and El Paso border. The Anglo community of Texas has a history of being strongly anti-Mexican. Thus, the questions this migrant encounters may greatly differ from the questions a white European immigrant would be asked.

The narrator proudly responds to these questions by saying that he does have money to emigrate into the U.S., but they quickly shut him down by telling him that his money is worthless in this country and that they need to bathe him. After this, he makes a brief interjection into his story by directly addressing his compatriots and confessing to them his desire to go back. These types of feelings are what deepen the appreciation for the home country and may contribute to the strengthened sense of Mexican nationalism that has been observed throughout these corridos. The mistreatment of these migrants seeking work in the U.S. pushes them further away from an

idea of becoming loyal by becoming citizens. The narrator continues to communicate his despair by explicitly saying that the "güeros" or white people, are very malicious and take advantage of any occasion to mistreat Mexicans. This clearly demonstrates the racial discrimination involved under such racist nativism.

Throughout the entire song he directs himself to his dear compatriots, really showing a sense of genuine fraternity cradled by the Mexican nationalism that unites them. At the end he says goodbye by telling the listeners that he will wait for them in his land. The possessive use of the word "mi" shows his how he feels about going back to Mexico and especially the importance of the land. Although this migrant most likely does not own land, he says "mi tierra" to refer to Mexico as a whole. The Mexican nationalist sentiment may have strengthened after going through so much mistreatment in the U.S. He assures his friends that they will be well received in their beautiful nation.

CONCLUSION

The content of these corridos not only transcends borders but they also transcend time and place. In this study, exact dates become irrelevant. I do not provide recording dates for any of these songs because they are not available in the archive I utilized, although it is safe to speculate that they were recorded around the 1930s with clues given by the songs' style, instruments, recording format, sound quality, the performing artists, and the labels. Even then, the importance of these songs is that they were relevant then and they are relevant today. The experiences communicated through these corridos are still lived by migrants today, especially migrants of color in various borders beyond the U.S. -Mexico. These folkloric alternative medium forms made it to mainstream recording labels and they exposed the injustices being lived by Mexican and Mexican Americans in the U.S. during times of economic suffering

followed by repatriation and deportation. Although the content of these songs matches the period I focus my study on, the Great Depression, this economic suffering, repatriations and deportations are very much still a reality today. Therefore, I believe that paying attention to past sung histories and present sung experiences can help us construct stronger connections and holistic documentation of what happens within communities of color under a racist nativist system. This can help reveal ongoing injustices but also ongoing resistance and resilience through modes of agency such as music. All this is significant when thinking about fighting racist policymaking and teaching our youth that what they may be living is not be something new and there are ways our ancestors recorded their survival. At the end, engaging in a counter-narrative can lead to individual and societal transformations.

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