

Copyright
by
Seiri Janett Aragón García
2017

**The Thesis Committee for Seiri Janett Aragón García
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:**

**Are There Any Machos in The House? Contemporary Manifestations of
Machismo**

**APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:**

Supervisor:

Rachel V. Gonzalez- Martin

Belem G. López

**Are There Any Machos in The House? Contemporary Manifestations of
Machismo**

by

Seiri Janett Aragón García, B.A.

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2017

Dedication

Para el legado de mi familia, mis ancestros y los que vienen.

Acknowledgements

I did not get here by myself. Throughout my educational career there have been genuine kind individuals who believed in me. Many thanks to Mrs. Perkins, Ms. Kovanis, Vince Hamilton, Patricia Kim-Rajal, Mariana G. Martinez, Belem López, and Rachel Gonzalez-Martin. I would also like to acknowledge the little family I made for me in Austin, Texas that made transitioning to grad school, from California bearable. Many thanks for your kindness and friendship Blanca Pacheco, Noé López, Griselda Madrigal Lara, and Pablo Montes. Last, but not least my parents whom I love very much and although they were not able to help me throughout my educational career they have always supported my educational goals and aspirations.

Abstract

Are There Any Machos in The House? Contemporary Manifestations of Machismo

Seiri Janett Aragón García, M.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2017

Supervisor: Rachel V. Gonzalez-Martin

This research explores the transnational existence of machismo and its continuous presence among Mexican and Mexican American men as transnational ideologies and attitudes from Mexico into the United States. This mixed methods approach, comprised of in-depth interviews, virtual ethnographic analysis, and textual analysis. These approaches to machismo is dedicated to better understand the social performances of Mexican origin, cis-gendered men living in the United States and Mexico, who find their masculinities bridged through social media, as nationalistic pride, taking pride in their Mexican origin/ heritage risen out of narco culture specifically. These three different interviews are presented in holistic sections titled, *Señoras de Las Lomas* and *Machismo*, Traditional ideologies of Mexican undocumented millennial, and The Complexity of Social Media and the Narco Lifestyle. The compilation of these case studies presented, aims to demonstrate how *machista* ideologies and attitudes continue to persist in contemporary U.S. and Mexican society. This research aims to provide insight on how traits are learned and adopted, (public and private) and how they become manifested in online spaces (not exclusively). Readers will be able to reflect about the oversaturation of *machista* ideologies, and gendered perspectives on *machista* ideologies and how these “traditions” have been embedded in Mexican culture, become transnational, circulated, re-circulated, inculcated, and how they persist, even subtly in quotidian life in the 21st century.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	viii
Chapter 1 The Policing of Gender Roles and Machismo	1
Chapter 2 Señoras de Las Lomas y Machismo	9
Chapter 3 Transnational Machismo: Gendered Idologeis of a Mexican Undocumented Millenial	31
Chapter 4 New Media and the Narco Lifestyle	52
Chapter 5 La Lucha Sigue	74
Bibliography	82

List of Figures

Figure 1: Rural Mexican outfit	62
Figure 2: Narco style outfit	62
Figure 3: Machismo textual image.....	65
Figure 4: Humility textual image.....	66
Figure 5: "Reasonable" selfishness.....	67-68

Chapter 1: The Policing of Gender Roles and Machismo

“Bodily indicators are the cultural means by which the sexed body is read”

-Judith Butler (*Gender Trouble* 37)

Gender theorist Judith Butler, contests gender as performance through social and cultural constructions (Brady 42). Butler in her book *Gender Trouble* offers a critique of “sex” and “gender” resulting in the binary: men and women (xvii). In addition, performance, according to Diane Taylor in her work *Archive and the Repertoire*, signals to the embodied “aesthetics of everyday life...signals its artificiality- it is ‘put on’” (4). By approaching machismo among Latinos as gender performativity that is socially constructed, we can begin to understand the ways that machismo has continued its oppressive legacy, through centuries of Latino generations.

Machismo has long been the subject of interdisciplinary study by various disciplines including, but not limited to, sociology, psychology, and anthropology (Torres, 20). Anthropologist, Matthew Gutmann, in his book *The Meanings of Macho*, uses ethnographic methods in order to understand gender identity in Mexico City among both men and women. In addition, he provides nuanced rendering of gender roles in the nation-state of Mexico. Sociologist, Alfredo Mirande, in his book *Hombres y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture*, examines how Latino men view themselves in culturally specific conceptions. Mirande approaches this by providing perspectives of fathers, brothers, sons, husbands, and uncles both from a personal perspective and shared networks. Aída Hurtado, Chicano/a Studies scholar and Psychologist, in her book, *Beyond Machismo*:

Intersectional Latino Masculinities, applies the concept of intersectionality to college students, in order to explore the influences of race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender shape Latinos' views of manhood, masculinity, and gender issues. As these authors focus on ideologies and attitudes of machismo, how it is performed, and how it has affected them. There is little perspective on how their ideologies and actions have affected a significant other and policed others into their gendered ideologies.

Still, the majority of these fields and works focus on summarizing the characteristics of machistas. Miguel Arciniega notes in his article, *Toward a Fuller Conception of Machismo* that machista characteristics from his machismo and caballerismo¹ scale, are “sexist, chauvinistic, and hyper-masculine,” which translate culturally specific quotidian activities, into “violent, aggressive, and sexualized behaviors” (Arciniega 24). The observed values, ideologies, and attitudes that are studied within the broader notion of *machismo*, are concluded to be negative, and manifested in socially undesirable qualities. Alfredo Mirande discusses in his book, *Hombres y Macho*, the differences between the term *machismo* and macho, which he asserts; indicate a separation between two types of attitudes performed by Mexican men. Mirande designates the word ‘macho’ as negative, indicating male dominance, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and spousal abuse (17). On the other hand Mexican writer, Octavio Paz, states in his famous writing *El Laberinto de la Soledad (Labyrinth of Solitude)*, “a man who is *muy macho* (strong, virile, stubborn)... describes a *real man*, good drinker, lover, singer fighter, brave and willing to defend what he believes in”(33)(emphasis mine). For example, Sergio de la Mora examines in his book, *Cinemachismo*:

¹ Caballerismo refers to the drastic opposite of machismo. Arciniega develops a scale testing the attitudes and ideologies of each.

Masculinities and Sexuality in Mexican Film, famous Mexican actor Pedro Infante's popular buddy films as a dominant hetero-normative performance of masculinity (54), using Paz's definition; he labels Infante's character as constantly virile, brave, proud, sexually potent, and physically aggressive reinforcing the value of his character in the public eye and public discourse. Therefore, symbolic capital, as gender ideologies are reinforced by these films to the greater Mexican national audience, it is a key point of reference in accounting for the hegemony, dominance, and constraints due to the socially manifested performances of *machismo*.

Gloria Anzaldúa famous Chicana feminist writer, argues in her book *Borderlands: La Frontera*, that machismo is not a one sided gender issue. She states, "that Chicano/a culture (and to an extent Mexican) has a rigid gender roles where males make the rules and laws and women transmit them"(106). These characteristics are posed to identify the continued trajectory and potency of machista attitudes and ideologies, among not only those of Mexican heritage, but the greater Latino population found within the United States, in reference to Americo Paredes "greater Mexico". I assert that not only are machista ideologies part of the Mexican/ Mexican American male formation, but also that society and cultural constructions enable the gendered performance of Mexican/ Mexican American males. Through the constant policing of roles of both cis-heteronormative genders and structured societal norms, these social constructs remain engrained throughout Latino generations.

This research is organized into three sections and discusses sub-topics in machista culture using different methodologies, offering interpretations from a variety of disciplinary vantage points. Despite the diversity of forms, each chapter returns to the theme of Mexican/ Mexican American male self formation, in

order to delve into the severity of contemporary machista ideology. I specifically sought out in-depth interviews in order to demonstrate how these attitudes and ideologies affect different generations of Mexican and Mexican American communities in Mexico, the United States, and cyberspace. I present interviews of three middle-aged women to demonstrate the generational similarities between wealth and class; women from Las Lomas in Mexico city and a low-income family in the United States. This is done in order to expose family dynamics, which set a foundation among hetero-normative marriages or destabilize them. The interviews presented demonstrate personal accounts regarding machismo and specific events; wealthy women in Mexico City have advocated for themselves and a teen parent has made a family of his own in the United States. In addition to in-depth interviews, I used digital ethnographic work to investigate machismo as it circulates by a way of images that depict machista ideologies in contemporary social media. Taking inspiration from Felicity Amaya Schaffer's *Love and Empire: Cybermarrige and Citizenship across the Americas*, and further probing into new media studies I came to the decision to develop a virtual ethnography within the social media platform Instagram. By collecting and assessing images and engaging in textual analysis I looked into the manifestation of machista ideologies in a form adapted specifically with new media technology. Not only has machismo in general affected past generations, but it continues to persist and adapted a presence in cyberspace. Much like transnational migration into the United States, machista ideologies have become transnational and a transcultural phenomena affecting communities, as it is propelled through social media free from geographic constraints.

In the first chapter, *Señoras de Las Lomas y Machismo*, I present research from my 8-week stay in Mexico City with elite

women of the Santa Fé neighborhood, Las Lomas². I conducted interviews with Estela, Maria Guadalupe, and Maria del Socorro, all whom were host mothers and hosted many classmates in the study abroad program. I was particularly interested in assessing their socioeconomic status and their personal narrative/experiences of machismo over the course of their lives or marriages. The university presented these host families as part of the elite class as metropolitan, progressive, and proud nationalists. It was difficult to accept that as part of the elite they could have never dealt with machismo at one point in their lives or rather that it existed in their social circle, as most of the literature presents machismo as a negative way of thinking and pointing at those who are uneducated who inhabit these ideologies. These interviews demonstrate that machista ideologies are present within every society and every social class regardless of education.

Chapter two, Transnational Machismo: Gendered Ideologies of Mexican Undocumented Millennial. I approached a formal acquaintance as a possible collaborator because of his self-described identity, contradictory traditional ideologies, and his relationship to public spaces he inhabits daily. Our interactions focused on his upbringing he has had, as well as how machista ideologies have transcended into his romantic relationship, and work environment. Recently, his upheld traditional machismo ideologies have become set back due to the generational and geographical differences. I have known this acquaintance for 5 years and we often had a difficult time developing a connection, specifically because of his machista ideologies and behaviors as well. Through our interview and observations, I discovered that by his early twenties Manuel has been given the responsibility to provide for his family and his parents. Through our conversation, Manuel's position at home is complex and complicated, from being

² The private neighborhoods of Santa Fe in Mexico City. These were predominantly mansion style homes.

an undocumented Mexican millennial to having the economic responsibility to support his parents and family.

The third chapter, emphasizes the expression of digitally savvy, Mexican / Mexican American³ Millennials. In, "The Complexity of Social Media and the Narco Lifestyle", I conducted a virtual ethnography, I observed over a period of time the hashtag category of [#]NarcoStyle on the social media site Instagram and took a total of 150 screenshots. From this group I singled out 11 specific screenshots over the course of four months, which I labeled as "Narco Ideological values". The overrepresentation of narco culture and the oversaturation of violent images embedded in social media were evident. The relationship to machismo was clear, from the phallic images to the 'textual images'. However, since heavily popularized narco culture is appealing to those of Mexican heritage it has begun to inspire and illustrate nationalistic pride, and as well as be capitalized on to a wider consumer appeal. The goal of my thesis is to explain how the transnational movement of not only people from Mexico into the United States, but also the constant mutual exchange of culture supports and maintains the continuation of machista ideology and national forms of machista attitudes. My thesis narrates specific cases from elite wives of Mexico city to a low working class undocumented Mexican male in California into a nongeographical space. These geographical and nongeographical spaces demonstrate the similarities in attitudes and policing to a new space where hyper-masculinity and violence have manifested. The persistence of these ideologies among within gendered society has affected multiple generations, as I note here, strong and courageous women who advocate and confront these policed ideologies.

My interest in youth contemporary Latina/o communities and

³ The use of Mexican/ Mexican American is for the sole purpose of distinguishing the different populations separated by the U.S.- Mexico border while at the same time sharing a culture, but adapting to a U.S. one as well.

popular online culture led me to focus specifically on identity formations among Mexican / Mexican American/ Chicano/a identifying youth. While I focus on *machismo*, interviewing all of my participants, and exploring social media narratives, opened more questions about parental relationships and romantic relationships. This topic is not only important to me, as a woman of color, but also as a growing adult and possibly engaging in a long-term relationship with a cis-male, it is important to acknowledge the labor and struggles of brown women who choose to engage with cis-gender Mexican-American males. Not only have these ideologies persisted throughout history as a continuous and adaptive cycle, but now, I turn to a key questions relevant to Latinx communities: how do we begin to combat *machismo* in our quotidian lives? How do young men deal with their intersectional identities including gendered-citizenship in a country where becoming assimilated are crucial while living in the United States? How is narco culture further perpetuating hyper-masculine ideologies and narratives to young Mexican/ Mexican American millennials? Not only do these questions are somewhat addressed in this thesis, but contesting narratives must also be included in the topic of machismo. In addition to further contextualize and complicate migration and digital performance as there are machista discourses stemmed from both of these. Further, there must be an inclusive narrative from women who live and have relationships with men who claim to be “feminist” and or “woke”. As these labels and categorizations are problematic in general. As contradictions arise from these persons who claim their solidarity. The first chapter starts in Mexico City and sheds light on the heterosexual cis-gendered marital partnership of three wealthy women who living in similar neighborhoods. These elite women have each experienced machismo in intimate domestic contexts. Through major life events and societal policing all three

collaborators demonstrated resilience and created agency for themselves and fought first hand with the enforced ideologies of their husbands and extended family members in order to alter their home dynamics or completely live without them.

Chapter 2: Señoras de Las Lomas y Machismo

“*Machismo* - so they tell us - has its origins in the conquest”
Americo Paredes (*The United States, Mexico and Machismo* 329)

Americo Paredes agrees that Hernán Cortés, along with the Spanish, raped indigenous women with their machismo and out of this act the mestizo was born (1). This legacy of machismo has continued throughout the many generations and is reminiscent of the colonized. Those of Mexican descent and or heritage have been witness to the generational lineage of machismo as it has been continuously embedded within cultural productions, such as Mexican film, corridos (folk songs), and celebrations (Paredes 330).

In this chapter I look at the marital relationships and marital life, among three middle-aged women who live in the greater Santa Fe area of Mexico City. While taking advantage of my position in the Mexico City study abroad program at Iberoamericana University, I interacted with privileged host parents, who are extremely well off in comparison to the rest of Mexico City. Therefore, their position in society, will give me insight about their ideologies and attitudes, as part of the elite, regarding machismo and, if any, experiences with it. My goal in this chapter is to expose the contemporary manifestations of machismo within the metropolitan progressive site of Mexico City among its progressive and modern elite. Interview excerpts are in Spanish and translated as closely as possible in English. Closely as possible in order to carry the sentiment delivered in Spanish, however not all words in either language are translatable, which is why I present the original transcribed version. As a researcher who considers herself bicultural and bilingual it is important to provide both versions if possible, regardless of the labor involved.

According to Octavio Paz, defines *machismo* as, “a hermetic being, closed up in himself... Manliness is judged according to one’s invulnerability to enemy arms or the impacts of the outside world”. A man “must never show weakness or emotion because such blunders could crack the machismo mask, an opening which enemies would exploit”, and he would essentially be less of a man according to Paz. However, there is a difference between a *macho* and a *machista*. According to such definition from of a “hero type” as “a man who is *muy macho* (strong, virile, stubborn,... described as *a real man*, good drinker, lover, singer fighter, brave and willing to defend what he believes in” (Paz 34)(emphasis mine).

Machismo, is both an attitude combined with ideologies where a person of either sex has inherently adopted based on their close niche of close relationship with mentors, family members, and most importantly, parents regardless of their age or generation. Machismo ideology is not a complete set of ideologies that are imposed on a person; some inherently acquire a spectrum of values, while others do not. This is important to note, while some of these characteristics may be seen as positive, and similar to *caballerismo*. Coming from the Spanish term horseman, *caballerismo* is a code referring to masculine chivalry, developed from a “sociohistorical class... people of wealth and status and owned horses” (Arciniega 20). The single, *caballero*, refers to the Spanish gentleman and later on through time *caballero* has served to signify someone with “proper respectful manners, living by an ethical code of chivalry” (Arciniega 20). Here in this chapter, I am specifically interested in focusing on those ‘negative’ traits that constrain women into submissive social-partnership roles within marriage. Further, how their role and duties as wives are constantly put under scrutiny and policed by their mother’s in law. I explore, how *machismo* exists today, in Mexico City among the elite, how

these ideologies persist in Mexican society, and how these three women come to terms with it in their quotidian day to day with the men in their lives.

Background

Americo Paredes, Octavio Paz, and Matthew Gutmann analyze Mexican, Mexican American men. I use all three authors here to not to generalize men, Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans, but to contextualize the machista ideologies comprised of societal gendered ideologies that stem from and maintained within these particular populations on either side of the border. Matthew Gutmann argues, in his ethnographic research, Mexican men are becoming more involved in child rearing, such duties include taking care of children and or helping with household duties as a new form of masculinity and abandoning machismo in general (38). Gutmann argues that women are no longer kept in their home inhabiting household chores (35). The contested progressiveness of the nation state of Mexico is of great importance of those living in the city who point at those coming from a rural areas of Mexico for their backwardness ideologies of machismo (Gutmann 33). Such descriptions Gutman provided were, “men from the countryside are *necios* (stubborn), ignorant and stupid”(Guttmann, 1996). Gutmann concludes, informants views of rural areas and rural folk, as places and people that have not progressed; therefore, this perception of traditional machismo only coming from the countryside and non-existent in Mexico City. However, resources between rural and metropolitan areas in Mexico are vastly unequal and its rural populations do not have access to adequate education and exposure to other cultures. These disproportionate ideologies further expose and perpetuate the fallacy, that those living in the city consider themselves progressive and simply based on geographical location and rural

locations in their lack of modernization.

Symbolic capital remains a key point of reference in three ways: accounting for the hegemony, the nation state of Mexico, and the dominant ideology of machismo. Dominance, the overall power and influence machismo is channeled and expressed through processes of common sense and hegemony. Ultimately, this constraint due to the ideologies pertained with *machismo*. Italian thinker, Antonio Gramsci states that, a person's particular worldview that combines ideas and ways of thinking from the past are combined in unpredictable ways (Forgacs 2000) in order to form a "common sense" to the greater population, to their version of what a machista is. As a result, a person's common sense is a product of their historical, geographic, and social context. For example, nationalistic pride or regional pride, identity formations, in addition to diasporic and transnational ideologies.

"Common sense" also contains a "good sense," which should be nurtured and expanded into a coherent philosophy to the masses (Gramsci 1988). In other words, this philosophy of praxis is not completely alien to the masses; they already believe parts of it and practice it, which then encompasses the subaltern classes common sense. Thus, these parts are what are reproduced and incorporated in the commonality, practices that have become normalized, of the culture, which is both allowed and common knowledge, such as the perception of what a *machista* is, looks like, does, and this is known to the greater population. However, this generalization varies in geographical and cultural differences, such as the difference of urban and rural areas in Mexico as Guttman points to. This chapter specifically addresses those who are oppressive, violent and aggressive towards women. Ultimately, as "members of the same culture must share of concepts, images, and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus interpret the world in roughly similar ways" (Hall 1997).

Essentially, this process enables such ways of thought that become part of a consensual domination of all, for all; becoming a hegemonic ideology and thus enabling a medium that circulates it. Ideologies and attitudes are formations of conceptualized knowledge within a culture; they result in the popularization of significance, where meaning is transmitted by its popularization or hegemonic power. Such meaning is what Hall describes so heavily on the significance of symbolic implications that allude to representation (Hall 1997). Thus, symbolic meanings are produced and constructed whether it is through film and or any other type of media. De la Mora examines Pedro Infante's buddy films as a dominant heteronormative performance of masculinity (virile, brave, proud, sexually potent, and physically aggressive) (2006). Alfredo Mirande, discusses the differences the term *machismo* and macho indicate for two types of attitudes of men, as he states that they are not interchangeable (65). Mirande designates the word 'macho' as negative, male dominance, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and spousal abuse. This synthetic and exaggerated form of masculinity among Mexican men continues the *machismo* rhetoric as performative, "one who acts tough and is insecure of himself" (Mirande 34), as one informant stated. Not only does processes of socialization within their own particular society affect their masculine performance, but also the influence of familial relationships as well. That is, gender formations through symbolic meaning, popular Mexican film and national identity formation; enable the continuous adaptation and normalization of machista ideologies throughout the Mexican familial generations.

Continuing with machismo, Aída Hurtado (2016) states, Latino men occupy a contradictory position within a system of privilege one that offers them advantages but concurrently disadvantages those belonging to devalued social categories. Hurtado continues to explain that "performative" aspects of

maleness and femaleness are independent of biological embodiment as spaces such as society, geography, and life experiences shape their ‘performances’. Therefore, through “higher education” (a bachelor’s degree or higher), positive role models, such as men in their lives whom they aspire to be, Latino males learn and are able to overcome machismo. Such as, eradicating any oppressive and gendered ideologies in reference to the women and further people in their lives. Thus, according to Hurtado, these healed men have an opportunity to have positive relationships among all (Hurtado 62).

The core attribute of machismo/ hypermasculinity drives on power and domination, which is threatened by weakness, in addition to the disdain of intellectual challenges. Hurtado’s case study reveals that Latino men (undergrad and graduate level) rejected core machista values when have been exposed to feminist writings and or feminist perspectives (Hurtado 56). However, Josué Ramirez, creates a narrative through the cultural connotation that the words macho and machista convey among his interviewees from UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico) in Mexico City (Ramirez 23). Ramirez looks at Mexico City’s middle class university students of UNAM, one of the most prominent universities in Mexico with a reputation of being one of the most activist driven and socially conscious within Mexico. A majority of the students interviewed were convinced that *machismo* is associated with backwardness and an unwilling to explore new ideas, these ideologies are parallel to what Gutmann found. However, young women interviewed discussed how, “at home, at school, and the media... the practices [machista] continue to persist as sexist it is different, but it has never changed” (Ramirez 35). Nevertheless, the policing of machista attitudes uphold societal standards to intimate communities as well as, society in general, as Mexican men who attend UNAM, for

example, do not experience, sexual harassment on a daily basis as their female classmates. State initiatives in Mexico City such as the ‘penis seat’⁴, ‘experiment screens’⁵, and ‘women-only’⁶ subway cars have been implemented to reduce sexual assault. These interventions of the Mexican state create an illusion that sexual oppression has ceased, because the government has purposely acknowledged a machista stemmed issue and started initiatives in order to protect women. However, no studies have concluded that these initiatives have lowered the number of sexual assault of non-gendered folk and women on their commute to and from work (Arana 2015). These initiatives further the ideology that machismo (as an idea and something that just happens) becomes subtle and obvious practices that impact, not only women and non-gender conforming folk in Mexico city. Machismo happens everyday within every geographical space (personal and public), especially in larger societal contexts, regardless of class, gender, and race. In order to overcome machismo, as men and further extending to society in general, the literature states this is possible. Practices must include higher education, positive role modeling, and positive relationships. However, how do we ensure that these tools are available for all? This is in reference to higher education. If machismo is a societal issue, how will society resolve this without the intervention of higher education? Further, how do Mexican women deal with persistent attitudes of machismo within their home, once married? How does society police these women into their submissive roles?

⁴ Subway system, *el metro*, in Mexico City has implemented ‘penis seats’, a seat changed to look like the lower half of a male’s body. This is an initiative by the UN Women and the Mexico City government to raise awareness of sexual harassment on subways. See Franco.

⁵ Cameras put in subway stations in Mexico City, purposely taking shots of male rears and display on screens. Another initiative of the UN Women and the Mexico City government. See Franco.

⁶ Restrictions on subway cars where they are sometimes unenforced. See Arana.

Methods

While studying abroad in Mexico City, I had the opportunity to explore its historical trajectory (temple remains, catholic churches, and metropolitan areas), and its people. I took advantage of the close connection with host parents as the study abroad program. Everyone in the program was lodged with a host parent, in this case host mother who lived in either Loma del Parque, and Loma de Vista Hermosa neighborhoods. During class discussions, I listened to students who spoke about culture shock of ideologies predominantly host mothers had. One vivid example I remember was an occasion when, one student stated that her host mother advised her to take Uber to school instead of the bus, because she did not want to be associated with “Indios” (i.e. indigenous people) or those part of the “lower-class”. Not only was it clear that class differences were prevalent in Mexican society, but host mothers adhered to and or enforced these ideologies to those who come from abroad. From this point of reference I was curious to see what these wealthy women of Mexico City thought about machismo and whether they have experienced it.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews provide the, “basic model that is committed in allowing the people to speak for themselves in their own way” (Hoffman 319). In addition, I aim to provide a different perspective via the common hegemony within machismo, as an only male inflicting issue. Further, Hoffman highlights that the interview process is essentially a collaboration between interviewer and interviewee, “this collaboration demands including emotions and emotional labor as part of the data” (319). These reflections are important for they are indicative of what respondents’ lived experiences. Recalling these events, which require delicate emotional labor in addition a certain level of

confianza (trust)⁷. Additionally, I ruled out surveys and the various response scales. Surveys and scales serve as a measurement of attitudes, which serve to gain a wider understanding, still I was further interested in actual lived experiences. Although I view their importance in positive and negative attitudes of household, gender roles, and attitudes regarding masculinity used by Hurtado and Mirande. However, I was specifically interested in how machista ideologies affected these wealthy women in their daily lives and most importantly how these ideologies had a lasting impression in their bodies and spirit. Dialogue and validation was important as well, in order to demonstrate that I believed the level of oppression these women faced or continue to face over large periods of time.

In addition to validation collaborators wanted to be sure they would be able to express them selves adequately. Respondents were relieved that the interview would be in Spanish, although all three of the women knew English, they made it known that they have visited the United States and or they have property to visit. Regardless, they were not comfortable enough to hold a conversation in English and I am fluent in Spanish. Therefore, I viewed that the interviews should be recorded in Spanish, as I considered that it was important to acknowledge the value of not only the cultural context that the interviews provided and the topic, but also the language these conversations are often in. I was first introduced to host parents via study abroad students in class.

While building relationships with students in class, we discussed our research projects for the summer. I proposed to student in class if they would be able to ask their host parents if it they would be willing to do an interview with me. I then gave my phone number to those students who thought their host parents would be interested. Those who accepted, a total of 3 host mothers,

⁷ In order to gain trust from wealthy white Mexican women was not only easier than I thought, but being an “educated foreigner” certainly helped in order for the acceptance for an interview.

either gave me directly their phone number to reach out and make an appointment with them at their convenience. Interviews were collected across two weeks, as it was a six-week program. All three interviews were completed inside mother's home, in their kitchen, or living room and or office. This was intentional, as we were going to talk about sensitive and emotional subject. I drafted a consent form both in English and Spanish, where I stated my intent in researching machismo in Loma del Parque and Loma de Vista Hermosa in Mexico City.

Interview questions included:

English	Spanish
What does machismo mean to you?	¿Para usted qué significa el machismo?
Has machismo affected your life in any way? If so, how?	¿Ha afectado su vida el machismo y si sí, de qué forma?
Do you believe there is a difference between machismo in the city and rural areas / countryside?	¿Hay una diferencia entre machismo en la ciudad y el pueblo/zonas rurales?

These questions were aimed in order to probing elite women in the Lomas area. First by asking what machismo means to them, as economically affluent women of Mexico City, I aim to get an understanding whether it is a positive or negative cultural asset. Followed by, possibly the most personal question, whether machismo has affected their lives. Here, I look for ways and events machismo has or has not affected them and why. The last question is aimed at the rural and urban ideologies Gutmann explores, as he asked working and upper working class women these differences I

wanted to explore the opinions of elite women of the Lomas neighborhood. I was concerned in gaining the trust among these women, as an outsider I was concerned whether the interviews were structured to explore personal details about their lives.

After introducing myself and telling the host mothers where I grew up in the United States, my undergrad experience, and why I had decided to come to Mexico city proved to be good talking points in gaining their trust. On average, interviews lasted about thirty minutes to about an hour and twenty-five minutes. With consent from each participant the interviews were audio recorded in order to ensure validity. To protect the identity of the participants their real names are not used and in their place pseudonyms are used. Only their signatures are recorded on the consent forms all other identifying information was not recorded in order to protect their identity as well as any information that could be used to identify them.

Estela

Estela is a sixty-year-old retired woman who lives in Loma del Parque. She also lives with her seventy-year-old retired husband. Mother of two children her eldest son is a business executive and her daughter is a lawyer. Her interview consisted of how challenging it was when both her and her husband were retired. After being married for 42 years and becoming retired, Estela describes the tone of her home has changed. Estela stated:

“pero en cuanto me jubile, quería salir y disfrutar la ciudad y en vez de pedirle permiso para salir. Un día simplemente le avise que iba a salir.”

“ When I retired I wanted to go out and enjoy the city (as her husband did not want to) I would ask (Eduardo) for permission (he’d previously said no). One day I decided to tell him I would go

out.”

This specific event tells of Estela’s decision to do what she wished to do. Her children were already married and she just had retired; she had nothing to lose. She adds:

“Tenía miedo de que cuando llegara el ya no estaría. Cuando llegue simplemente me dijo que si cenábamos”

“I was scared that when I arrived (from the city) he would not be home. When I arrived he simply asked me if we would have dinner.”

Again, her determination to do as she wished as, she described this as she saw her circle of friends dealing with the same problem, “the invasion of their husbands in their homes as retirees”. Estela offers a an analysis to why her group of friends have become divorcees, their husbands essentially did not know how to be home, how to be men in their home, often with nothing to do. Either, both partners arrived to a compromise, their husbands decided to go back to work, or they simply divorced.

When asked about her married life Estela distinctly recalls her mother in law dictating and policing how she should treat her husband and more importantly how to be a wife. “I would have dinner ready and I would also have to fix myself, showered with makeup on”, Estela mentioned, and in regards to her husband her mother-in-law told her, “your husband is ***your husband*** from the doorstep inside”. Here in this example, Estela is being policed by her mother-in-law. Her mother-in-law not only justifies her son’s possible actions, but also makes it clear what she believes Estela’s role as a wife should be. Estela adds, that because her mother-in-law wanted her husband to have full freedom within their marriage, making it clear to Estela that she had no authority in her

husband's actions other than to serve him as a wife. Estela's mother-in-law, contested that although she was his wife it did not mean that Estela, as his wife could tell him what to do. This statement made it clear who was to maintain patriarchal dominance in her household. Maria Guadalupe had a similar experience with her mother-in-law.

Maria Guadalupe

Maria Guadalupe owns a very beautiful home in Villa Hermosa. Mother of three, two married with professional degrees and one still in Medical school, it is safe to say she has done a great job raising her children. At the beginning of her interview Maria Guadalupe stated that she enjoyed playing tennis at her sports club and since her husband also enjoyed playing tennis, he did not want to her playing tennis with other men, so she decided to stop going. Her reasoning was that she did not want to cause an argument with her husband, so she decided to evade the situation completely. When asked if her husband was a machista she stated that he was not, because "he always provided for his family", "what they needed" "what they wanted", but he was the jealous type. She painted her husband as a provider, Mirande would categorize this as "not hypermasculine or aggressive, and he does not disrespect or denigrate women" (67), therefore not machista. However, Mirande points to this as the relationship men have with society and not their wives. Here, Maria Guadalupe's husband was providing for her family, but oppressing her and by making decisions or comments on her behalf. This all changed suddenly when her husband passed.

As a young widow Maria Guadalupe did not have as much help from anyone when her husband passed suddenly. "It is as if my children, were not her grandchildren anymore because her son had passed" (or anyone in that family in general). Her mother-in-

law's treatment and relationship after her son's death was essentially non-existent. No help was offered and no aid was taken from her husband's side of the family. Maria Guadalupe came to the conclusion that her mother-in-law thought that since her son was not able to provide for her family. Her mother-in-law did not feel the need to provide support, or anyone for that matter. Maria Guadalupe did not expect economic support, rather emotional comforting support, instead she was met with complete silence. It would then be up to Maria Guadalupe to find a new man to provide for her and her three children. Maria Guadalupe has yet to remarry; it is not to say that she needed to find a man to help sustain herself and her children, because she did not need a provider. Maria Guadalupe confided in me, that throughout her life she has received various marriage proposals, but for her, her priority were her children. For Maria Guadalupe needed to be sure that her children got what they needed, they did not need some stranger in their lives taking their mother away from them. Maria Guadalupe describes that once or twice throughout her life, her mother-in-law complimented how well had raised her children, but that was about as close she got to an apology or something alike . Which was about all Maria Guadalupe's mother-in-law stated about the lack of aid and support provided by her mother-in-law.

It was painful to see how Maria Guadalupe recollected how her mother-in-law treated her and her grandchildren. A woman who Maria Guadalupe described as someone who, "never asked if we had enough to eat, if her grandchildren had shoes on their feet, or anything remotely close", even though her mother-in-law had more than enough access to provide for them. Nevertheless, Maria Guadalupe remained resilient. She worked very hard and long hours to get her children ahead academically, still she had a very good job as well and her husband had left her their home in Mexico City and Guadalajara, Jalisco. Maria stated she had an

office job that paid really well as she herself moved from Jalisco to Mexico City for this job. Her job required a lot of hours and this helped her to afford help in her house, both a maid and cook were always hired to help her with her children and to this day with international students.

Maria Guadalupe tells that she did not hold any grudges and this is what has allowed her to live in peace and be successful with her children. Maria Guadalupe faced many challenges; still because of her class background she was able to support herself and her three children. Now, retired and with all her children happily married, she finds joy hosting international students and spending time with her grandchildren. The last interviewee faced a different kind of difficulty with her faith as well as decisions to taking her husband back after an infidelity.

Maria Del Socorro

Raised by her grandmother, Maria del Socorro did not see her parents often. Her parents worked all day in Santa Fe, the business district of Mexico City. Maria del Socorro would have her parents all to herself and her siblings when the family went out for bi-yearly vacations. Maria del Socorro, who lives in Loma del Parque, had mentioned extensively the infidelity of her husband and her process on how she was able to move on, throughout her interview. Maria del Socorro is a 57 year-old woman with three children the youngest being 16, while her two eldest daughters are married. Her husband returned to her within two months, but by then she replied that she had grown a lot. She mentions that never in her life had she been alone with her children (at this time she had a 16 year old daughter). She armed herself with courage in order to “survive” this experience. She was baffled and confused to her husband's reasoning to cause of the infidelity. “*Lo hacen para saber si pueden, creó*”, “They just do it to see if they can [be

romantically involved with another woman], I think”, stated Maria del Socorro. She had the means to go to a psychologist, in addition to speaking with her priest, where not only was she able to process her husband's infidelity, but also fight through her depression. Through prayer and speaking with her psychologist she had been “feeding her spirit” and recuperating. It was made clear to Maria del Socorro that her grandmother, who had raised her and other siblings that married life was not what she was told to be like. After her husband’s “mistake” with a younger woman, Maria del Socorro said things will never be the same. When she went to report her husband for abandoning her home, which would translate into child support for her 16 year-old daughter. The officers at the penitentiary told her that her claim was unable to be processed because abandonment only applied to those who are divorced. “It is assumed that this city is fighting for human rights and advocates for women, this is a lie, no one follows through with these ideals”, Maria del Socorro adds.

Maria del Socorro described a year’s worth of agony, stress, and depression regarding her husband's abandonment. He had left her home only two months, throughout she constantly thought “it [her relationship with her husband] was not worth fighting for”, after deciding this is when she sought out help.

Maria del Socorro states:

“Yo era una de esas que decía mi abuelita, viejas chancludas, pero ahora me arreglo para mi misma” “I was one of those women my grandmother would point out, lazy women who don’t shower (rough translation), but now I dress up for myself”

Maria del Socorro describes how these acts of self-love have helped her process her husband's infidelity and grown accustomed to people she loves, like her daughters and friends. In addition to receiving a compliment from people from her neighborhood,

something she questioned before.

Findings

It is evident that all three of my respondents were affected by *machista* ideologies. These women have been policed into their roles as wives, not only by society, but by their mother's-in-law and grandmother, in the case of Maria del Socorro. Only after events such as becoming a widow, infidelity, and retirement, did these women come to the realization that they did not fail their societal roles as wives. Only upon this realization, these women began to question their families, husband's roles, and how those who had instructed their marital roles had failed them. Important to note here is these women's economic position, in the Lomas neighborhoods of Mexico City. It must be acknowledged that all three of these women had professional jobs and or access to different resources such as retirement stipends, psychologists, and friends whom were in the same situation. As a result, these resources were beneficial to these women, throughout crucial life events during their marital lives. What is there to say about this cultural phenomenon that polices and is maintained by society regardless of class and gender?

Anzaldua suggests, "that Chicano/a culture (and to an extent Mexican) has a rigid gender roles where "males make the rules and laws" and women transmit them"" (Martinez 26). This is evident when talking about *machismo* where not only gender roles are transmitted, the oppression of not only women, but also society as a whole. This seemed to resonate with Estela, Maria Guadalupe, and Maria del Socorro as all three of these respondents are or were married at one point in their lives. All of these respondents stated or recalled specific instances where either their mother-in-law, grandmother, and or mother would enforce these informal laws and or customs. Certain instances included when the mother in law

stayed the night and or simply spending time with their mothers in law. Statements from mothers in law that were used in order to discipline wives were used in order to allow for liberty of husbands to do what they wished and or justify their *machista* attitudes and or behaviors. In addition, there were specific events where all three women advocated for themselves, either by moving forward with their children, being independent her husband, and discovering an infidelity and gathering the courage to continue her life with or without her husband.

So where does *machismo* come from?

This question is crucial in framing the generational cycle of machismo, the continuous legacy of machismo within Mexican society and the transnational movement of it. When asked about where the origins of machismo had come from, both Maria Guadalupe and Estela mentioned that this was due to ignorance and lack of education (meaning manners and or familial values taught at home). Therefore, machismo, according to all respondents is taught through the upbringing of as children. Society maintains these gendered roles and constantly polices them. An academic career was a solution and/or cure for machismo, two of my respondents stated yes Maria Guadalupe used her son as an example of how obtaining an education could ameliorate machismo. Juan who traveled to Spain for his MBA (Masters of Business Administration), because he lived on his own paying rent, cooking, cleaning, and doing laundry, which are all tasks he was not accustomed to while living at home. Estela on the other hand, stated that no matter how much education a machismo will still be present.

The inculcation of machista values and ideologies come from one or two parental figures that apply gender roles throughout their upbringing, including family members, friends, and acquaintances.

Estela, possibly the most outspoken of the interviewees, stated with a simple “No, they are taught”. Her reasoning was essentially if this man was taught these ideologies and attitudes regarding how to treat women from his mother and or father, he has essentially has done up until he received an academic career. An academic career, education, does not teach moral and values to young men. However, Maria Guadalupe’s son, who studied abroad for education purposes, was exposed to live on his own and this may have enabled him to take care of himself and do things on his own. All of which I agree with, however I do want to also point out here that the bases for these roles begin with being taught at home.

Where is *machismo* going?

Is there room for machismo in the 21st century? The eradication or the contesting of societal gender norms is a start. “[L]a psicología del mexicano es resultante de las reacciones para ocultar un sentimiento de inferioridad” “A Mexicans’ psychology is a result of reactions to hide the feeling of inferiority” (Ramos 36) Mexican writer Sergio Ramos echoes Paz’s definition of machismo, showing no weakness. However, by allowing men to be human and be able to express their emotions could be of importance. According to the host mothers, it is diminishing in the city, among their children and grandchildren. All women argue that young women are becoming more educated and becoming more independent and “liberal” or “*modernas*” (modern). All, told me, their married children were in happy married relationships. Both people in the relationship “share” gender roles, economic, household chores, and child rearing duties. Since mothers are also working, fathers/ partners help whenever possible. However, one can still bare witness to the policing of machismo.

Further, one afternoon while on the *pecera*, small privately owned vans that do small routes throughout two or three

neighborhoods for 25 US cents, going back to Las Lomas from the University, the driver was on his phone speaking with a male friend. This became evident when the driver referred to him (individual on the phone) as, “*no seas chillon*” “don’t be a cry baby” and followed with “*se te va a caer el bigote*” “your mustache will fall off”. This example provides a form of *machista* policing that keeps Mexican males from showing weakness. Nevertheless, if one encounters attitudes and the policing of machista attitudes, then one will uphold to those standards as well to those around him/ her. This allows machismo to become part of the day to day within every space and within each society, regardless of class, gender, and race. Here, we have three discussions: machismo is a dominant, taught, and a maintained ideology among Mexican and Mexican Americans. This is regardless of gender, on either side of the border. Therefore an individual, who inhibits these ideologies and performs these internal and external behaviors, is usually, but not exclusively the male partner of cis-gendered hetero-normative partnership. Those, who maintain machista ideologies, or in this case the submissive positions of these male partners, connect both of these subjects. As further generations grow, these constricting roles need to cease.

Conclusion

Essentially, machista men do exist in Santa Fé, as they exist in the greater part of Mexico and thus in the United States. Machistas exist because people around them have left an impression of such ideologies that teach them and allow them to be machista. By applying gender roles, attitudes, and ideologies frame and affect human life. The patterns regarding machismo are evident in Mexico City, regardless of age, gender, and generation. As such, one can always have and believe in *machista* ideology and or attitudes, as well as enforce them. They can, skewed even,

with feminist theory or by a matter of gaining independence. One would hope for some change; however, such persons must believe that machista ideologies and attitudes are not normal as human beings. The eradication of machista ideology may end with the progressiveness of childrearing within my generation. This is if parents deem its legacy worth eradicating.

Living in a patriarchal and heteronormative society it is difficult to point to Mexican society for their machismo. Machismo is not exclusive to those of Mexican descent, but there is a definitive word in Spanish to define men as oppressive. Since I have provided an analysis of those living in Santa Fé in Mexico City. Right now, particularly with my interviewees there are small battles won, that may be either with partners, extended family, or discovering self-love. How then do these same ideologies are existent in a young Mexican American millennial? And how do these affect him in liberal California?

Chapter 3: Gendered Ideologies of a Mexican Undocumented Millennial

““*Don* (roughly translated to Mr.) Armando would sell newspapers while I guarded a building in my parents home town in Mexico, those days when I was a police officer’, my dad stated, ‘that whole month I was there guarding, I would see how he would sell his newspapers every morning, you know how they scream out? ‘Extra! Extra!’. He was telling me this one morning after he saw Don Armando and his wife selling blankets at the storefront where my mom sells her tamales, a Mexican market in Petaluma. They had just gotten to Petaluma after living in Las Vegas for a couple of months. Little did I know, Don Armando’s son and I would be compadres a year after, the reason for our relationship is our state origin of Oaxaca in addition that our fathers knew of each other in Oaxaca City.”

(Fieldnote conversation with my Dad, Fall 2016)

It is no coincidence that people who migrate into the United States often find *paisanos*, those who are born in the same place, particularly from the same home state of Oaxaca. *Paisanos* find each other in the same towns, counties, and or state within the U.S.. Hometown associations make residing in a U.S. for migrants easier (Orozco 35), by becoming part of these social networks migrants connect with people from their hometowns as this facilitates the migration process and eases the process of settlement (Reyes 43). These associations are crucial in ensuring the success of migrants, as the access to housing, transportation, and employment are set before the migrant gets to the United States (Reyes 43). Therefore, the relationships are even stronger because of struggles mutually faced while in the United States. The

relationship between my father and *Don* Armando may have influenced my compadre to initiate a relationship with my brother and I.

In specifically Mexican Catholic culture, *compadrazgo*, is the relationship one has with the parents of a godchild who is taken to receive one of holy sacraments. In this case I am the sponsor for my compadre's son, as I took the child to receive the baptism sacrament. This relationship is not only with my godchild, but also my compadre, as this relationship is binded by not only religion, but Mexican culture as well. By taking my godson to receive this sacrament, I made a promise to the Catholic Church that I remain a positive example, remain present in his life, and support any life event my godchild may have while maintaining a good relationship with my compadres. Recently, this has been hard while getting to know my compadre and his ideologies regarding identity and gender roles.

Youth identity and educational opportunities

Mexican/ Mexican American and Latino youth are constantly in an internal fight within themselves figuring out who they are, where, and how they belong within the greater U.S.. In her work, *Qué onda?: Urban youth culture and border identity*, states, Cynthia Bejarano states, “youth identities are created and directly influenced by the complexity of the geopolitics and social cultural implications (e.g., culture, language, social groups and social hierarchies, internal colonialism, races/ethnicities, and citizenship and residency issues) (Bejarano 3). In addition to these, youth are under parental influence, cultural traditions, and traditional ideologies, which are shaped at home and performed socially. These traditions and ideologies are pertinent to life in the United States as migrants maintain cultural traditions maintained by hometown association and or networks therefore, they are

diasporic communities (Orozco 35). However, within these traditional ideologies such as gender roles and household hierarchical status remain the same, for example, when a head of household migrates, usually male, to the United States, remittances are sent to partner in order to provide a sole income for family in Mexico (De la Garza 29). This then is updated when the family is reunited in the United States as expenses become higher there needs to be a higher income.

In Chicana/o Identity in a changing U.S. society: Quién soy? Quiénes somos?, Aida Hurtado, touches upon the community creation of personal identity and social identity. She argues that personal and social identities are developed and affected by social changes especially within the identity of youth (Hurtado 47). Research concerning politics of ethnic identity, educational achievement, in school or college setting demonstrates singularity. However, not much research has been conducted on teen parenthood and obstacles new low-income parents face regarding society, identity, socioeconomic conditions and familial support. Those students who fell victim to the educational system and were not admitted or not considered college track. My Compadre was one of those students, brought to the United States at the age of five by his parents. He grew up attending predominately Latino and underfunded schools in southwest Phoenix, Arizona. For many first generation Mexican/ Mexican Americans we receive words of encouragement from our immigrant parent/s, the most prevalent one may be:

“Echale ganas a la escuela, tu tienes que ser alguien en la vida, y salir adelante , which roughly translates to, Make your best effort in school, you have to be someone in life, you have to get ahead [in the United States]”.

However, this encouragement does not help us navigate the pipeline and or the school we go to, as they are often “racially segregated, overcrowded high schools in dilapidated buildings” (Yosso 57). In addition, Mexican / Mexican American and Latino students have many other obstacles such as navigating their schooling alone, as immigrant parents have, “labor-intensive jobs, child care arrangements, and transportation issues” (Louie 70) and other impediments, such as able to engage and communicate with administrators and staff at school. Still, there is this constant push for children of immigrant parents to “not be like them and work in the fields”(Marciel 480), such as the work of Jose Marciel and Carmen Knudson-Martin. Both Marciel and Knudson-Martin found the problematic dichotomy of children of immigrant parents to “not be like them” and society [school] telling them, “you’re not like us” (488).

My compadre’s testimony not only provides an undocumented student in public schools in Arizona, but he also provides a narrative that is not too omitted in the study of undocumented students. This absent narrative is that of the average students. These are the students who graduate from high school, work in the service industry, do not enroll in a 2-year or 4 -year university, and are teen parents. How do young men, like my compadre, deal with this dichotomy after a high school? How does he deal being a teen parent and working to provide for his family? How does he perform his intersectional identities, all the while having strong Mexican traditional ideologies (i.e. Machismo)?

Methods

During spring break in the spring semester (2016) while conducting intended preliminary ethnographic fieldwork, at a Latino nightclub. My intent that night was to capture those

interested in the Regional Mexican musical genre, as they would most likely dress up in those aesthetics (e.g., cowboy hat, dress up shirt bedazzled that would match with their pants and sometimes boots). Instead, my attention was focused how my compadre behaved among the Mexican and Latino immigrants in attendance that night. Since residing in Austin, Texas and away from Northern California, my contributions as a godparent had been small since moving. Upon visiting my compadres and spending time with my godson, I discussed my goals for spring break, to do fieldwork at a Latino nightclub. My compadre voiced his interest in accompanying me, since in these spaces aggressive men may be present. My compadre was concerned for my safety, at the Latino nightclub, and invited himself with my comadre to accompany me to my field site. Being a single young woman I was someone that needed protection, according to my compadre, going to this Latino nightclub I could possibly be prone to sexual assault among other dangers. This ties with what I claim is traditional machismo, the protection or under the supervision, responsibility even of this male figure, whom I have a semi-formal relationship with.

Throughout the night, my compadre voiced that he did not want to be at this nightclub and while getting tacos he stated that “he was not like them [migrant attendees]”, among other comments stating the difference between him and the nightclub attendees. Before this night I had not interacted with my compadre socially outside of his home. It was eye opening for me to see how he, as an immigrant from Oaxaca Mexico, wanted to physically exclude himself from other Mexican immigrants.

I sought out *testimonio* as a form of methodologic interview, in order to provide a content analysis that highlighted my compadres conflicting identity, contradictory traditional ideologies, and relationship to society. *Testimonios*, used by Chicana/ Latina scholars are used in order to demonstrate the

workings of oppression, marginalization, and resistance across time and space (Huante-Tzintzun 37). It is also important to note that *testimonios*, are emotionally exhausting, as it is a labor of recalling personal histories, trauma caused by the public school educational system that oppressed and marginalized my compadre. Therefore, “Chicanas/ Latinas using *testimonio* shift the understandings of who is considered subaltern or marginalized” (Huante-Tzintzun 38) in this *testimonio*, who is further ignored within those who are subaltern and marginalized. The following is the a personal history of my compadre followed by content analysis on the coded comments about compromised identity, familial power structures/ relationships, and misogyny (these are also coded as machista ideology). Thus, throughout this chapter I am further arguing that machista ideologies are transnational, adopted, policed, and are performed not only by my compadre, but by his nuclear family as well.

One of Many: A Personal *Testimonio*

As an only child growing up in south Phoenix Arizona, my compadre faced many challenges immigrant families face while settling in the United States. Brought to the United States as five year old, his parents decided to leave their hometown in Oaxaca, Mexico. Like many immigrant parents they work low-wage labor-intensive jobs, in order to pay rent, utilities, and provide meals for their children. All the while undocumented and documented Mexican/ Mexican American students travel through the pipeline alone. “[Children] recognize from an early age that their parents were supposed to provide homework support and other kinds of help” (Louie, 76) and further, verbal motivation and encouragement is often not enough.

In addition, “compared to White schools, elementary schools are comprised of low-income Students of Color rarely offer high-

quality programs” (Yosso 22) and more often than not, Students of Color receive their education from, “uncertified and less-experienced teachers tend to be placed in the most low-income and overcrowded schools” (Yosso 21). My compadre recalls:

““A lot of immigrants, a lot of people that didn't speak English went to that school, not really a lot of White people there, so right away when they notice you were going to that school, they saw you different they took you to different classes’ his relationship with his teachers, ‘I had Mexican teachers in south in South Phoenix, and they weren't the nicest people you know [mostly because] they [the teachers] were not getting paid, you know, so they didn't pay attention to the kids, you know a lot of my fellow classmates by the age of 9, 10 they were already gang members’”

In these excerpts my compadre outlines the kind of public schooling my compadre received in South Phoenix.

In 2010 Arizona drafted a senate bill 1070 (also known as Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act) that changed and criminalized undocumented individuals living in Arizona. Its aim was to require all persons who looked “undocumented” to carry legal papers on their persons at all times, those persons who would not comply would be charged a misdemeanor crime. Not only that, but those living in Arizona would have to comply to all state law enforcement officers to a "lawful stop, detention or arrest", when there is reasonable suspicion in order to determine an individual's immigration status. There was a huge uproar across the country in response to SB 1070, marches, rallies, and calls to action, such as boycotts, were put into place across the state and throughout the United States. During this time my Compadre was a junior in High School and in order to be protected his parents decided to pack up and sell all

their things and head to Las Vegas Nevada. They had family in the Sin City, however, since my compadre was still underage, his parents did not want him to, “let him cut loose here”, meaning the spaces he would be able to access or his parents worried they would be able to have control over him, protect him from getting in trouble. My compadre’s parents thought the best place for them was in Northern California, “so we’ll move to California and here, when we came here, it nothing but like fields, you know, cows and shit they were like oh, what’s he’s going to get into here?”, my compadre states.

While in between schools and moving constantly in order to find more affordable housing in Petaluma, Rohnert Park, and Santa Rosa my compadre went to Casa Grande High School in Petaluma. Soon after, he initiated a romantic relationship with my comadre and within months, they were expecting. My Godson was who brought my younger brother, my compadres, and myself together. My younger brother is my comadre’s best friend from high school. Unfortunately at the time she [my comadre] was having family issues at home, she would often eat dinner at our home or wait for her mother to pick her up at my house. Eventually, my Compadre would take her to his home in Santa Rosa and they have been living together since, the five of them. My family and I attended their babyshower a few months later.

When Angel was born, my brother and I agreed to be the godparents. Mainly because my Compadre’s parents are from Oaxaca, Mexico and so are mine. “We want to celebrate the same traditions”, I recall my compadre telling my dad the night before the baptism back in 2013. He had brought with him a basket filled with Mezcal, meat, chocolate, and bread. Signifying a fruitful relationship, in addition to them being thankful for taking on such a responsibility with them.

Compromised Ethnic Identity

Mexican / Mexican American identity is intersectional, which is compromised between public and private spaces. Between these spaces Mexican/ Mexican Americans are a subject to be stigmatized for being one or the other in each space. Here the argument is that the conflicting ethnic identities always differ among Mexican/ Mexican American youth. This is due to the level of marginalization that Mexican and Mexican Americans have experienced while growing up in the United States, more specifically in the greater U.S. borderlands. Experiences with marginalization, and instructed ideologies and attitudes both socially and at home. Specifically, my compadre exhibits and negotiates his identities whenever convenient. For example, always speaking English in public, and only speak Spanish when in a Mexican restaurant or feel comfortable enough to code-switch. As Mexican/ Mexican American youth self-identify and differentiate themselves from other students this is done by the use of, “symbols, stereotypes, styles, and languages [that] others weaken them by transforming them into disadvantaged ethnic minorities” (Bejerano 48). It is evident that youth who acknowledge their biculturalism have a much harder time choosing one particular identity especially if that identity is assigned to them and is used to oppress them, based on the cultural practices that are present at home and ultimately marked in public, such as phenotype and accent (Bejerano 48).

This becomes a process of assimilation and acculturation. It is inevitable when one is in the presence of others who are starting the process of assimilation, unlearning these symbols and styles that compromise their existence in public spaces, such as schools. The levels of internal colonialism, oppression, prejudices, or subordination, of one ethnic group, in this case generation/ acculturation differences over another, among students of color

impact how students treated each other. Youth often equate language and culture as defining their identity, taking pride in being Chicana/o and Mexicano/a, as does my Compadre. While looking for a job at the age of 18 my compadre presented himself as a young man with a lot of *ganas* (desires to work hard). He explains, “[*ganas*] has to do with your family [work ethic] in in the Mexican culture, they [parents] push you, they don't want, they always put themselves as an example, that you don't want to be like me [parents] you have to be better than me”. He was given the apprentice job at collision shop and has been working there for the past 4 years, slowly working his way up to be a paint tech. Marciel and Knudson-Martin (2014) find that “adolescent immigrants believe if they end up working in the fields they will be failures”(488), whereas “ images of success: having a house, a car, being married, and having children” (489) are part of the dream immigrant parents paint for their children. This list of success varies widely depending on the narratives, goals, and access to education and resources. However, my compadre distances himself from other immigrant workers at the shop. This is in terms of bringing lunch prepared by their wives, or going out to lunch, he states:

““I know everybody [Mexican co-workers] takes lunch but they're Mexicans, their wives need to make them lunch no matter what’, when asked about what his co-workers think about him not taking his lunch he states, ‘well they think I am Americanized...all the White people [White co-workers/ bosses], and you see they don't take lunch, their spouses don't cook for them””.

In this example, he equates himself to his White coworkers and bosses, because he is “Americanized” not because he does not make his partner make him lunch, but it is one of these

“successes”, he is economically able to pay for his lunch like his White coworkers and bosses. This, becomes a problem at home. His parents, being traditional, see that my comadre is not preparing lunch, therefore not providing for my Compadre, and she is seen as not a “good woman”. My compadre’s parents tell him, in my compadre’s words:

“ ‘you're dumb, you're wasting your time with her. You know, ‘cuz in their mentalities she needs to get up and cook because she needs to [because she is a woman], but that's in every [traditional Mexican] marriage”.

Gender roles such as cooking and disciplining Angel have become topics of arguments among my comadre, in-laws and my compadre. Living in the same household. Although my compadres are not officially married, this then creates a sensitive subject with my compadre’s parents and my comadre as different power dynamics are manifested at home.

Power Dynamics & Relationships at Home

“They’re [parents] pissed off at me, she's [comadre] pissed off at me. I am always stuck in the middle. I am always either, if with her on her side, [and] they're pissed off... they're like why is she, why are you taking her side? If i am on their side, why are you taking their side you’re supposed to be with me? The fuck? I [am] just nowhere.”

In this excerpt, my compadre shares his frustrations while living at home with his parents, partner, and child. My comadre is first generation Mexican American, she was born in the United States, and my Compadre is 1.5-generation undocumented immigrant, “those born abroad yet largely raised in the United

States” (Seif 23). Seif states, “with more education and fluency than their parents, 1.5-generation immigrants are generally better equipped to influence the English language” (24), typically the younger undocumented individuals are when they arrive to the United States, the better they adapt and gain social capital as they grow into adulthood (Seif 24). As a result in many cases, “subordinates reaffirm the dominant order and ideology as legitimate” (Pyke 152), therefore having conflicting ideologies [U.S. and traditional Mexican] contradictions and tensions occur.

During my compadre's *testimonio*, it is clear that he acknowledges his Mexican traditional ideologies bring issues with his partner and parents, he explains:

““maybe I still have that mentality that my parents put in me, that she needs to cook...maybe I'm still stuck in the era [mentality/ ideology] I need I don't need to help her”

In this example, my compadre acknowledges his parents meddling in his relationship, and acknowledges in stating “era”, he is reinforcing/ performing his participation in the relationship as not needing “to help her”, as my compadre is considered the breadwinner. My compadre’s parents constantly tell him, how to manage his relationship. Earlier, I pointed to this same situation, where his parents would tell him that he’s wasting his time with my comadre, stating that she is not a worthy woman for him.

Given that, my Compadre is an only child, he has a very good relationship with his parents. Even if they are unable to provide economically for him now, both of his parents are in their early sixties. His father does not have a job, but helps drive his mom around to get ingredients and supplies for her food stand. Regardless, my compadre is the breadwinner of the family.

“Latino families typically include a deep sense of family

loyalty emphasis on interpersonal relatedness, relationships, and mutual respect” (Dixon 2). This level of respect for parents it is possible, as well as difficult, for my compadre to be submissive, which further complicates the power dynamic at home. Since Latino families, “emphasize obedience and respect toward elders and parental authority” (Dixon 2), in addition to being responsible to take care of their parents my compadre has taken it upon himself to keep his family together. My compadre stated in the interview in regards to family, “you can't deny family, no matter if you like them or if you don't like them, even if you agree or disagree”. This shows that my compadre values family, elders, and considers them with respect regardless if he cares for them or not. When talking about work he states a specific situation, his sentiment is disgust when his boss tells another coworker that he does not want to pay for mother's retirement home rent. My compadre states:

“ I would never say that about my mother, I would never want to my mother to die [to not pay rent at retirement home], and they're like, agh she'll be better off if she just dies...so, you know... the American culture is really cold they're really cold hearted”

As such, this may be the reason he still lives with his parents, not only loyalty, but a responsibility to provide for them now that he is older.

Machismo/ Gender Roles

Machismo is both performative span of ideologies, that are believed and practiced within a person, based on their close niche of close relationship with mentors, family members, and most importantly, parents regardless of their age, sex, or generation. The close relationship, my compadre has with his parents clearly demonstrates this, in addition to his constant interaction with his

parents. Machismo ideology is not a complete set of ideologies that are imposed on a person; some inherently acquire a spectrum of values, while others do not. For example, my compadre believes in gay rights and will not shun his son if he does come out as gay, “ I am not going to do that [outcast/ shun] if he's gay, he's gay, if he wants to come out he's gay that's fine”. Various scholars including *Arciniega, Torres, Stevens, Avila, Guttman*, overall agree that machismo is exclusively Latino. Being seen as both positive (caballerismo) and negative (violent, aggressive, and sexualized behaviors” and “responsible, breadwinner, hard worker”). Further, the word ‘*machismo*’ in the Spanish lexicon describes such a person who inhabits these oppressive ideologies and attitudes are a very integral part of Mexican and Latino culture.

However, when bringing up a contesting point that, I found with the children of the women of Las Lomas, as being a new generation it is not stigmatized in helping around the house. My compadre counter argues that as having a cis- female partner who does not do household chores, a man has no choice, but to do it.

““[H]e has no choice... ‘if I don't help out she doesn't do it’. It's not that he wants to it's just that he has to.. but it's good when a woman cooks at home.””

In this example when pushed on his opinion, every individual decides how they wish to live, however it is “good” desirable even when a woman cooks at home. The following excerpt my compadre elaborates what other “good things” women and men do:

"When a woman takes care of her husband and the kids it's good, that means she cares, you know if the man helps in the house, cuz

the man always helps out, no matter what he always helps out, he put the bread he paid all the bills.”

essentially ‘the man’ of the house is ‘helping’ by bringing home the bacon and nothing else is expected from him because he has already contributed by bringing the bread.

Another example of distinction of labor, for example he asks me:

“when you were a little girl didn't he [my dad] pay the bills didn't he have two jobs? I suppose your mom [did] too, but your dad took more of a beating”.

I stated that both of my parents worked physically exhausting jobs, when I was a child. My dad worked in the fields in the morning and at Applebee's in the afternoon, while my mom worked at bakery and on her days off she would clean houses with her comadre. He does not like my answer as this counters his argument; this is a prime example of machismo. As stated earlier anything contesting thoughts with machistas are threatened and in order to show dominance rather than intellectual weakness. My compadre proceeds to explain that:

“Your dad is more labor, than your mom it has to be more labor intense cuz your dad does *pisos* [sets tile floors] and he works in the field *que no* [right]? That's hard labor, your mom makes tamales, and all that and it is hard, but there is difference. There is [always] a way difference”.

Here my compadre, simply answers his own question by informing me, that my dad who works 8+ hour work days since he has been in the United States, as a man my father has taken “more of a beating” than my mom. Because my mom is a woman, she has

been working in a more domestic atmosphere and has the luxury of taking “breaks”, has time to pick up children at school, and time to come home to clean and cook at home. My compadre does not understand that my dad stops working at the end of his shift and technically my mom does not take a “break”. From picking up kids at school to doing laundry, these activities are not a break, just because my mother is at home all day does not mean she is not tired from doing housework or preparing tamales. My compadre sees that as a woman, she has the opportunity to take a break. My compadre, as a man, however can not afford a break, because of his responsibility to provide for his family and my dad, for mine.

He follows this with an example of responsibility and his own selflessness:

“ [I] have [had] to work my ass off so she [my comadre] could graduate from college [pharmacy tech], she didn't work for 3 years in a row, and I did, *I'm not bitching* [emphasis mine], but it is like that my parents taught me you know what, *you're the man of the house*. ¿Que no? (Right?)”

I take this response as not complaining about being robbed of his adolescence/ young adulthood, his unselfishness to let his partner continue to go to school, being responsible and work for his family. However, for my comadre as a woman, it was acceptable for her to stay home with her baby, and not work for three years like him. Instead, my comadre was able, though the sole support of my compadre to go school while he worked at the collision shop. Therefore, because my compadre sees this division of labor as laborers depend on the type of work performed. Specifically his work is seen as more intensive because of its physicality, while my comadre's is not because she is “using her head”. As such, his construal of the division of labor aligns with his parents' beliefs as

in the following:

“My parents see that mine [work] is more intense than hers and that's why they question. Why should you help her when you are beat? You should come home and relax man, come home and you know sit down let her take care of you”.

Again, this is another example where household expectations of my compadre's parents are aware of his acculturation to U.S. culture. Therefore, my compadre's parent ideologies are enforced and policed, not only his gender roles, but they also criticize and police my comadre as well. As their authority, as parents and elders within their household enables them to dictate structural hierarchies of power.

“Married life”

Throughout my compadre's *testimonio*, he refers to my comadre sometimes as a girlfriend, and others as his wife, never as a partner. Important to note, again, that they are not married. This distinction creates a lot of issues at home as well. My compadre is undocumented. He was brought to the United States at the age of five, he is eligible for Obama's executive order of DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals), which grants temporary relief from the threat of deportation to undocumented youth who qualify (Chavez 99). It also provides a work permit and in some states a driver's license. This executive order does not provide any access to a legalization path; it is a 2-year protection program, which can be ended at anytime (Chavez 99). Contrary, my comadre is a U.S. citizen. Therefore, the unwillingness to start a legalization process is a constant issue to bring up.

Statements such as: “if you really love my son you would give him papers” and “what if he gets deported”, were confided in

me by my comadre one afternoon. I consider my comadre a very open-minded person, Mexican American millennial, and a constant advocate for herself in her home. Proving her feelings for my compadre are evident such as: living with him and his parents, contributing economically to her home, and her four year relationship with my compadre proves this. However, one is able to see that my comadre not accepting an (absent) marriage proposal and the possibility to give my compadre legal documentation holds a certain power for her in the relationship. Thus, the recent tension (after four years) in my compadres relationship, as well as the constant arguments has led to my compadre retreating:

“I don't fight to her anymore. I decided you know what dude? I am not gonna tell her anything anymore...We both work and she is like, ‘you don't treat me like we’re equal’”

These contesting statements made by my comadre not only challenge my compadre and his parents, but also attempt to contextualize their relationship. Therefore, just like my compadre states that his “parents” believe that they, my compadre and comadre, are not equal because:

“They [parents] don't believe in change. They don't believe that a woman is equal than [to] a man”.

The increasing amount of arguments in their relationship are motivating my compadre to reflect on his person and ‘change’, according to him this means to stop drinking, not an ideological change but a physical one.

“I need to change for my kid for my life, it becomes a habit and I

am starting to catch it [alcoholism], [I am] starting not to like the person that I am becoming”.

Whether or not my compadre decides to ‘change’, reducing or eliminating his alcohol intake will help, but not as much if he changes or willing to change his machista ideological expectations, in regards to his partner.

Conclusion

Narratives of young adults, like my compadre, often not deemed worthy of research. Most of the research is concerned with parenting styles among immigrant parents, acculturation levels of parents and child, educational attainment based on parental involvement (elementary to high school level, and high school to college), and language brokering for parents (Brooks 2008, Cardona 2008, Cox 2013, Louie 2012, Love 2007, Maciel 2014). However, research on DACA students/ activists and professionals have increased and narratives about undocumented DACA recipients who work blue collar jobs or in the service are missing from the “Dreamer” narrative, especially if they are teen/ adolescent parents, and not involved in school at all.

This *testimonio* with my compadre demonstrates a specific part of the undocumented student narrative. This narrative provides his existence as an only child, but his relationship with his parents [willing to live with them], being unmarried with a 4-year-old child, and full time job at collision shop. His particular experience is unique to low-working class students of color who become teen parents after high school. This specifically speaks to migration patterns into the United States and life as an undocumented millennial. These intersectionalities complicate machismo within in the United

State, but also among Mexican/ Mexican American populations. They further maintain machismo, as demonstrated by my compadre's parents as they both insert and reinforce these. Ultimately by continuing to police traditional gender roles, ideologies, and attitudes these ideologies may be passed onto the next generation; my godson. As Mexican/ Mexican Americans populations continue to grow in the United States, we must pay attention how machista and hyper-masculine ideologies and attitudes are recirculated not only within society, but also within media, this may be entertainment media, musical media, and social media.

Chapter 4: New Media and the Narco Lifestyle

This chapter aims to explore social media to discover ideological discourses of Mexican/ Mexican American affinity for narco culture within the social media platform, Instagram. The narratives are from these images collected, that have perpetuated as a hegemonic ideology that encompasses Narco culture or “NarcoStyle” within social media. Narco style, a perceived lifestyle taken by those involved in drug trafficking and the obvious display of their material wealth. The overpowering theme of wealth and power are saturated within narco culture is not only reflexive with those who are a fan of this culture, but this culture resonates with machismo, but greatly resonates with Mexican / Mexican American men. These narratives are not only within social media but these are also reflective within narcocorridos, the musical genre dedicated to the storytelling of anti-heroes.

The narratives that follow in this chapter resonate with Mexican / Mexican American millenials not only to bring pride of their heritage, but also provide a legacy of powerful patriarchal figures. Further, these images are not only found within entertainment media, but they made a presence in social media. I propose that social media is a space where hegemonic ideologies navigate through its collective users and posts. Social media sites include (but not limited to), Tumblr, Facebook, and Instagram. Earlier social sites and services launched, like SixDegrees.com in 1997, Blogger in 1999, Friendster in 2002, Myspace in 2003, and ultimately Facebook in 2004 (O’Neil 2011). Social media sites provide a new space for expression, catering to youth, this simplistic display enables tech savvy individuals to have a space, but this space is a complex expression of identity and ideology. Therefore it must be explored and analyzed.

These social sites have created spaces for such online groups.

These virtual spaces where “people constantly pay attention to how to present themselves” (Barton 37) to their audience, such as friends and followers: this is important and intentional. In addition, social media “delivers content via a network of participants where content can be published by anyone” (Page 42), all the while remaining anonymous in some cases. Therefore, the images seen on social media, regardless of content have value to those who post them; the image adds value and is transmitted to those who see them. This in-depth analysis, considers a 150 screenshot collection from a previous project that was collected, on the #NarcoStyle feed, in the Spring of 2016, this is followed by a textual-image analysis of 11 images collected.

The main concern in this chapter is the content and narrative that these screenshots tell. The screenshots from Instagram are visual proof of the phenomena. The amount of information of Instagram is limited, this is the reason choose to collect images from this social media site. Mass media such as film (Narco film industry), music (the Narco corrido), and news of drug trafficking within Mexico as some of the main contributors to the circulation of such images that frame and define narco culture, as this culture has become present in mainstream media, as well on social media. These platforms have created a niche for violence and are continuously reproduced within. Ultimately, these media platforms have enabled the popularization of “narco culture” within mainstream media targeted at young millennials of Mexican/Mexican American descent. The Instagram feed (#)NarcoStyle features images that mostly contain expensive accessories as well as stacks of money, the portrayal of a trendy and luxurious lifestyle, which is pertinent to a ‘narco lifestyle’. This mixed methods ethnographic new media analysis brings forth a new perspective of performance, interpretations, and ideologies of “narco culture” provided through Instagram. Instagram’s

website tells us that as of 2015 there are a total of 400 million users in its network, in addition to, 19 detected languages. 75% of these users reside outside of the United States (Instagram 2016).

Instagram mission is to become the global interface for all its users to share “the worlds moments”, not only with your friends and family (followers), but also from “creative people across the globe” that you can also follow and “see the world from their eyes”, therefore creating a global network of shared images (Mission statement of Instagram). The purpose of instagram is for users to generate a following which, is increased by the amount of followers one has. Instagram provides a link between public and private, by having the user construct a personal, yet public archive of images and emotions of quotidian events or extravagant moments.

Aside from images, Instagram, allows a caption or description, which is optional, here is where most users decide to incorporate the hashtag as well as emoticons. Instagram’s users tend to be tech savvy individuals who are able to own a smartphone, and who are economically stable individuals with access to wireless internet or data acquired from a provider. Although one is able to access the Instagram website, on a computer, there is no option to upload an image from said computer, still, one is able to view, comment, search, and like follower’s photos, forcing the user to have access to a smartphone in order to contribute. The following section provides an overview of literature regarding topics such as: online practices, Mexican/Mexican American identity, and youth involved in drug trafficking.

Background

Online practices and Mexican American identities are the main themes for answering my research question for this chapter’s

themes. This combination of literature will help us understand online engagement among users and the creation and recirculation of culture within these online spaces and gain perspective on how Mexican American youth engage with identity. This leads us to think about how Mexican American youth engage with social media.

The importance of understanding youth, especially those who identify as Mexican American, will help us understand the spaces they have created. These spaces are used to publicly display their culture and ideologies, (however they perceive it), and is reflected, especially, within social media. It is important to note that while I attempted to seek out literature that incorporated Mexican/American and Latino youth identity, social media, and masculinity many sources regarded their sexually activities online and no literature intersecting all of these topics. Public health articles focused on the social media or their participation of ‘hook up’ culture, Latino millennial purchasing power, and advertising companies requiring research to lure themselves into social media (Villa 2014). Regardless, this alone has a lot to say about who is interested and in what context scholars are interested in Mexican Americans and their time online and especially with social media. Not only does this tells us that they are interested in their economic power, but also concerned for the reproduction tendencies of this population.

I have organized this chapter purposely to outline how users individually navigate themselves online expressing their identity, but also participating in modes of representation within media (specifically Mexican and Latino men) as a collective online movement, and follow with literature that engages with identity formation among Mexican/ Mexican American and Chicano/a youth. This will help my reader to gain perspective how this population, and the projection of Mexican male masculinity/

machismo in film. I finalize this literature with youth participation in drug trafficking, as these young men are targeted purposely because of their socioeconomic status in order to escape poverty.

Online Practices

While engaging with this literature I have found trending theories that explain online behavior or practices. Those engaging with social media think about themselves constantly; *who we are - who we want to be*- in an online context. Similar practice patterns arise among those who take on an identity online. David Barton (2013) writes about the role of language and identity, as well as the role of technology in people's lives in a contemporary context. Barton explains the constant use of personal expressions and feelings online as well as a visual representation are intentional for a target audience. Barton then extends, identity is also 'the social positions of the self and other' linguistic and cultural identities align themselves with certain groups of speakers online. Therefore, global online communities are dynamic and diverse, different cultures and languages develop simultaneously (Barton 2013). Michele Zappavigna (2012) adds that the Internet has made it possible to enact relationships rather than share information; users create and develop online relationships with 'friends' or 'followers' on social media. By categorizing through the use of hashtags familiar strangers, on twitter for example, share common interests and attributes but do not necessarily know each other, and these strangers collectively make up a "communal performance" (Zappavigna 2013). Such collective groups contribute and recirculate images, supplying the ongoing ideology of such group. According to Caroline Tagg (2015) online literacy is a wider social practice that enables online users to make relationships. This affects one's ability to read and write and alters how people think, as a dynamic and interactive process. The social context then, is critical in understanding how messages are perceived, the form

they take, and how the content is valued among users. Barton and Zappavigna agree in the process of engagement of online users as a process of performing online identities in order to connect with others: language (hashtagging, microblogging, and slang) (Barton, 2013) and images (Zappavigna 2013).

Zappavigna dedicates a whole chapter of her book on memes, a heteroglossic image that derives from both popular culture and obscure sources. She claims, memes are deployed for social bonding that engage with humor, involving a witty observation, which primarily exist on social media. Memes mark an awareness of particular aesthetics, where signals of solidarity (“I get it; I’m part of this” or “I am like you”) and value are present. Barton (2013) adds that texts are part of the glue of social life, interaction and how we use language. He claims that we live in a *textually mediated social world* where language and literacy are responsible for much of the structured knowledge that enables communication, especially in a contemporary context.

Film Male Representation

Richard Delgado in *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge* (1995) speaks to minority males within films. Brown and black bodies are depicted as violent, criminal, lascivious, irresponsible, and not very smart. Delgado stresses that the re-circulating of stereotypical roles among white actors that construct and perform experiences of men of color have permeated. “Empathic fallacy”, as Delgado explains, is the system of negative depiction resists alteration. Specifically, when it comes to Latino men in entertainment a notion to change in favor or the positive depiction of Latino characters/ actors in general, was not the interest of the dominant discourse. For Example, casting a white actor as the hero/ moral character in movies fighting against a brown or black criminal character.

Sergio de la Mora (2006) continues this and describes how

Mexican actors in Mexican film, of the golden era, circulated fashioned Mexican identity. De la Mora describes the term *cinemachismo* as an institutional deployment of a masculinized *Mexicanidad* through symbols of “*mexicanidad*.” De la Mora explains the ways sexualized national ideologies both accommodate and marginalize “normative” as well as “non-normative” subjectivities. For example De la Mora examines Pedro Infante’s buddy films as a dominant heteronormative performance of masculinity (virile, brave, proud, sexually potent, and physically aggressive). Alfredo Mirande (1997) discusses the differences the term *machismo* and *macho* indicate for two types of attitudes of men, as he states that they are not interchangeable. Mirande designates the word ‘macho’ as negative, male dominance, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and spousal abuse. This synthetic and exaggerated form of masculinity among Mexican men continues the machismo rhetoric as performative, “one who acts tough and is insecure of himself”, as one informant stated (Mirande 65). This performativity among young men is a survival tactic in dangerous situations.

Teenage Narco Narrative

Young Mexican men are preyed upon in Mexico, in order to fight for the war on drugs since 2006. *Los Morros del Narco* by Javier Valdez Cárdenas (2011) provides narratives from both young men involved with drug trafficking as well as widows and orphans of men who were involved with drug trafficking. The majority of the stories narrate young men’s lives in constant poverty in their rural hometowns/ cities in Michoacán, Mexico City, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Sinaloa, and most of northern Mexico. Most of these young men seek out easy money to escape their extreme poverty (Cardenas 27), in order to purchase food, clothing, and whatever they desire because of their economic situation. Cardenas explains that these young men could be windshield

wipers at intersections or those living off garbage or selling aluminum cans.

“La neta yo no me agüitaba a veces. Me daba hambre y no tenía con qué. Jugaba y no podía comprarme un refresco o agua. Y veía como los demás compraban y compraban y lo antojaban a uno.”

-Guadalupe, 13

“Honestly, I would not get discouraged, sometimes. I would get hungry and I would not have anything. I would play and I couldn’t buy myself a soda or water. I would watch others how they would buy and buy and one would just crave.”

Cardenas states that the levels of poverty these young men face in addition to the propaganda directed at them by local cartels lures them, with 1,000 pesos daily, further as well as personal desires to become drug lords. However, Morelos informs that during the year 2010 underage sentencing rose to 600% in comparison to 2009, many of the cases involving federal crimes (drug dealing and weapon possession) most often sentencing of young adult Mexican teens. Propaganda strategy is important, as it shows and promises these young men who live in poverty the possibility to own a car, house, and be able to feed themselves and their whole family in a matter of months. These are desperate young men who yearn all of these securities in exchange for simple, but dangerous tasks. This political context demonstrate issues of poverty within all of Mexico, drug cartels are providing citizens what the government is not. Thus, the visual representation of material success is what is displayed on social media.

Narco culture’s relationship with drug trafficking is heavily important. Amaya analyzes narcocorrido artists and their authenticity of identity, in relationship to the regional Mexican genre, which I will bring in briefly. Hector Amaya describes artists

like Gerardo Ortiz (from Pasadena, CA) and Jenny Rivera (from Long Beach, CA) who have molded themselves into marketable artists on both sides of the border with their high popularization of narcocorridos (Amaya 2014). As Amaya claims, this kind of branding is a strategy in order to cater a cultural experiences therefore, “branding is not only about capitalism, but also, about identity” (Amaya 263), where contemporary narcocorridos are for the marginalized urban Mexican-American youth. Artists like Rivera and Ortiz must constantly perform *Mexicanidad*, as it is not only about their star persona, but it must be performed in order to ensure validity. Narcocorridos are played in Spanish and contemporary artists must heavily embody a Mexican nationalistic identity in order to claim authenticity. This embodiment encompasses performance, regardless if narcocorrido artists identify as Mexican-American and were raised in heavily populated Latino spaces across the United States, therefore artists must be bicultural and able to predominantly sing in Spanish.

The textual-images and narcocorrido artists perform in Spanish, they continue to gain popularity among both Mexican and Mexican American populations, and they rely heavily on Mexican machismo. If online presence is a reproduction of the self, which involves identity (both linguistic and cultural), and gender performance, it is clear that Mexican/ American and Chicano youth must be part of the representational system online either directly as users (microblogging, sharing of images, hastagging, engaging with slang) or consuming as a targeted audience. Further, if Mexican/ Mexican American/ Chicano youth identity is complicated by geography, cultural influences/ upbringing, life experiences, and relationship to native language, then it is greatly complicated as Mexican/ Mexican American/ Chicano youth navigate through higher education or place of work. As identity is constructed deconstructed and reconstructed throughout life, it is

possible for Mexican (nationals)/ Mexican American/ Chicano youth (both male and female) to overcome machismo core attributes through “higher education, positive role modeling, and positive relationships” (Hurtado 76).

This study will enable my readers to further understand the need for research about Mexican/ Mexican American/ Chicano youth and their engagement online and with social media. Such initiatives are taking place, *The Hispanic millennial project* that has been published online on the Latino Post. However, this is not enough. More research must engage in contemporary uses of Mexican/ Mexican Americans/ Chicanos on social media, in addition this goes even further for representation and culture online. Through, the exploration of machismo on social media, the purpose of this study is to find visual narratives that are extremely powerful and nuance. Furthermore by investigating visual narratives we can begin to understand processes of self-formation online.

Methods

Since January of 2016 up until April 2016 I observed the hashtag category of [#]NarcoStyle on the social media site Instagram and took a total of one-hundred-fifty screenshots of posts in no particular order or with any number of particular likes. From this group, eleven were singled out that are labeled as “Narco Ideological value”. The hashtagging of narcostyle, can be identified as the replication of a rural Mexican outfit. A rural Mexican outfit consists of cowboy boots, denim pants, belt, long-sleeved button up shirt, gold necklace, and cowboy hat (figure 1 Rural Mexican outfit) and figure 2 demonstrates the narco styling of this outfit.



Figure 1: Rural Mexican outfit



Figure 2: Narco style outfit

These eleven images are interesting and worthy of future research. These particular eleven photos contain text that convey attitudes and ideologies that pertain to #NarcoStyle, further maintaining hyper-masculine ideologies within social media, among its users and followers of #NarcoStyle. Further, all eleven textual-images are in Spanish and have been translated to English as closely possible. Therefore, these images are specifically for bilingual or dominant Spanish speakers on Instagram. Most importantly, these images are more likely to be seen by Latinos in general, wherever in the world they may physically be. Returning to Barton (2013), as he stated the linguistic and cultural identities align themselves with certain groups of speakers online, therefore these groups are targeted because of the language the textual-images are in, Spanish speaking Latinos, more specifically tech savvy and smartphone owning Latinos. So, these eleven textual images are aimed for and identifiable with not only Mexican/Mexican Americans, but Latinos as well. This is the global phenomenon Instagram aims to achieve as a social media

platform.

The purpose of looking at Instagram was the limited amount of information it contains, rather than investigating on other social media sites, such as, Facebook or Tumblr there is a lot more content. Such as the inclusion of articles YouTube videos and the ability to repost these further complicates place/ user origin. In addition, in order to trace the amount of content and the origin source would be an enormous task. The amount of visual narratives provided of these platforms concerned me whether I could handle; therefore the limiting of Instagram images and captions were deemed appropriate. Drawing from *Researching Language and Social Media* by Ruth Page, the purpose of ethnography is, “for [the] researcher to understand a previously unknown culture which is based in a specific physical location”(Page 2014). For online ethnographic research the field of study is online, however, this is further complicated by deciding what counts.

Textual Analysis

These eleven images with text convey and create a narrative to those who may want to follow a #NarcoStyle. Three dominant themes are identified within in these images: hyper-masculine vanity, conserving humility, and ‘reasonable’ selfishness. The images and quotations can be found on the #Narcostyle Instagram feed. This is a space (hashtag category) that exposes and frames perceived ‘Narcostyle’ images involved with drug the like. These images expose ideologies and attitudes, as well as personality traits and values such as self-absorption/wealth, weapons/violence, and misogyny, which give insight into thoughts and attitudes towards women, authority, and society. This collection of eleven images contains text within each image, that is, they may be perceived as a meme, but they are not. A meme is a heteroglossic image that

derives from both popular culture and obscure sources, heavily based on humor or witty statements (Zappavigna 2013). These textual images are not in anyway amusing; they narrate accurate statements that patriarchal figures in my life may say, and or young women and men in general are exposed to. This is what makes these eleven textual images important and special, and therefore in need of a further in-depth study of contemporary *machismo* that has made its way into social media. These eleven textual images have common accessories and materials that are related to the one-hundred-fifty-image collection, such as, jewelry, mens accessories (mainly belts and Tejanas, western styled hat), money, cars, handguns, and women. Many of these same items are in the background of the text of the images analyzed. In the next section, images are analyze as performances/ narratives of machismo ideology featured prominently in these images.

Machismo performance was one of the most easily distinguishable ideologies that four of the eleven images conveyed through text. Machismo is pertinent to Narco culture as whole. It has and is dominated by men. As Hector Amaya states, “narco-brand connects self-identity to politics, and this is possible because of the cultural labor of performers, consumers, and institutions [predominantly composed of Mexican/ Mexican American men]” (Amaya 2014). The following example is a translated from the image-text, it reads:



Figure 3: Machismo textual image (“It is not that I enjoy fighting. I simply do not let any asshole be the reason I back down from a fight”).

The phrase, “it is not that I enjoy fighting”, tells of this person’s toughness, which translates to fearlessness or a willingness to defend ‘honor’ by any means necessary. This performance of masculinity is fragile, therefore, anything and or anyone, threatening their “masculinity” is worth fighting over. This domination, in any form, is a predominant concept applied to the majority of all men, as Oware states. However, I will further apply this to minority men in general, for their need to dominate; whether that may be straight cis-women, lesbian, bisexual and/or trans women, and/or gay men: “[A] real man... gain[s] their footing by putting women in their place” (Oware 25). Further, this text proves that such a person must be willing to defend himself whenever threatened, which leads to the constant fighting, assuming that such a person enjoys fighting. Essentially these statements signal to the justification of the provocation and threat to fight. The definition of Octavio Paz the definition to machismo, as no weakness (Paz 1993), any valiant machista defending one’s own honor is justified and admired for dominating actions they may take.

Humility was a significant value among the next three

images, as validity for achieving success. This particular, text states:



Figure 4: Humility textual image (“One must be humble in order to become big/ successful.”)

The word *grande*, directly means big but along with the context it suggests successful and powerful. This possibility is what drives many young men, specifically who are in Mexico are recruited into drug trafficking (Cardenas 2011). These young men often as young as 15 contain humble sentiments, as they come predominantly from a rural and low or poor working class, and they run away from home to take part in drug trafficking. This text in particular contains a tone or one may assume that there are “humble” men who have achieved success who participate in drug trafficking because of it, therefore, a desirable quality. This image makes the reader understand, that if a person has become “successful,” economically speaking within drug trafficking, therefore he is humble/ maintained his humility or being grateful for maintaining this lifestyle. Such is the certainty that this image communicates, through all of acclaimed success; one has managed to maintain his humility, and accumulated vast amounts of wealth. This text, may

also serve as propaganda for drug cartels in general.

Campbell argues that drug cartels in Mexico use, “narco-propaganda as a powerful new form of political discourse, to threaten, confuse, inspire fear, and persuade” (62), not only the state, but also its Mexican citizens. As drug cartels, “through social media advertise themselves as a culture, religion, and way of life” (Campbell 70). Using Campbell’s “types of narco propaganda”, this text fits within his second category: narco messages, written statements and signs with cartel related content, one example Campbell sites is a propaganda message from the drug cartel Los Zetas, “We offer good wages, food, and benefits for your family. Don’t keep putting up with mistreatment and hunger...quit living in the poor neighborhood and riding buses” (Campbell 67). However, once an individual has made enough money, sometimes signaling that it is too much money, will use their money to “help” their community.

“Reasonable” selfishness is the theme of the last four images. These statements declare that their greediness is due to their personality, the “way life works”, or prejudices others may have towards them because of the lifestyle they have chosen. The text states:



Figure 5: "reasonable" selfishness ("In life, you cannot help everyone, not because one is a bad person, but because at the end, they are ungrateful.")

Such a person doing the 'helping' is not to blame even though they are capable to. This is selfish. So, if a person not willing to it is because those who are in seek of help are ultimately ungrateful and the risk of this only is worth not helping at all. This then holds an unequal perception of those who are economically able and unable. In addition, the possible situations where favors are involved, and sometimes, those are lesser off being indebted to such a person. This creates an economic power structure, especially in rural hometowns. As previous research has entailed the affects of hypermasculinity and narco culture becoming idolized because of violent practices (proving of masculinity) and materialistic economic wealth, this ultimately relates to the definition of machismo and the desires of poor young men.

This is the case for Joaquin "el chapo" Guzman, drug lord of the Sinaloa drug cartel. His hometown of Badiraguato, Sinaloa is one of the most impoverished in the state. Residents of this small town of the Sierra Madre have, "heard stories of... gifts of medicine for the poor, deliveries of drinking water to storm-stricken towns" (Tribune wire reports, 2015). However, none of the two-dozen people interviewed in the news article could point to actual evidence. "[N]ot a single one that you can say was built by drug traffickers or their money", stated mayor Mario Valenzuela. Yet, the mythology of "El Chapo" lives on. Statements of his legacy include, "he was poor and now he has lots of money and lots of power", high school student or Amairany Avilez, who called Guzman "my hero"(Neuman, 2015).

Narcocorridos

Narcocorridos have become increasingly popular from artists like Los Tigres del Norte, Chalino Sanchez, Los Tucanes de Tijuana, and Valentín Elizalde. As Ioan Grillo (2011) states, two of these four artists have been murdered because of their increasing popularity within the genre. It is speculated and pointed as obvious that, these murders occurred because of the underlying truth of drug dealing within narcocorridos. This tone is echoed into contemporary narcocorridistas and narcocorridos, now more than ever, lyrics are increasingly detailed and violent. Several years have passed since Chalino Sanchez's murder and narcocorridos have become increasingly popular among Mexican and Mexican Americans in Mexico and across the United States.

Nacro culture has become profitable and incorporated within the United States popular culture, even more so, commercialized to attract a larger population, whether it be the popular Narcocorrido CD's found at Wal-Mart (Rashotte 2015) or media platforms such as Netflix and YouTube that stream narco themed series. For example, in the film *Narco Cultura*, available to stream on Netflix, which follows creators of music label *Movimiento Alterado* discuss their business relationship with Wal-Mart and the economic success of El Komander. El Komander is one of the key narcocorridistas in the group *Movimiento Alterado*, El Komander is, the narcocorridista to dominate the new genre of narco corridos, as stated by label managers. As the documentary states, the creators of the *Movimiento Alterado* truly believe that Narcocorridos will be the next Hip-Hop (Narco Cultura 2013). This label's goal is to create a musical genre as big and popular, economically speaking, on both sides of the border. Unlike previous years, many of the new narcocorrido music is being aimed directly at the U.S. market, and produced mainly by Mexican-American artists in Los Angeles, CA. Thus, as a capitalistic maneuver, concerts in metropolitan cities in the across

the United States with a heavy Latino population are targeted strictly for the ability to fill the concert halls at higher ticket prices. Artists are less likely to perform in Mexico because of the devaluation of the peso and the ticket prices are not likely affordable by the average Mexican citizen. As more often than not, their overwhelming popularity allows them to fill venues made for tens of thousands of people.

Gerardo Ortiz

Ortiz, his album debut in 2010 from *Del Records*, a heavily drug trafficking influenced album. Currently, he is the winner of 17 Latin Grammy's. His albums are continuously on the top 5 Billboard charts. Born in Los Angeles California in 1989, Ortiz and his family moved to the state of Sinaloa at the age of 3. By eight-years-old he had already recorded his first album under the name Gerardito el Hijo de Sinaloa [Little Gerardo the son of Sinaloa]. At the age of twelve he had 3-recorded albums under his belt. Ortiz and his nuclear family moved back to Los Angeles, for school. While attending Blair High school, he could not afford or had opportunities to record an album in the United States. This all changed when he was “discovered” after a strong following on his YouTube channel.

Ortiz has recently gone under fire for his recent music video *Fuiste Mía* (You were mine). The song is a romantic ballad, however no romanticism is portrayed in the music video. As Ortiz kills his love interest by placing her in the trunk of a car, as he walks away it is lit on fire. The music video as whole, depicts a facet of machismo, masculine, and hyper-masculinity ideologies and attitudes within. This music video not only was heavily criticized for narrating a femicide, but also a previously raided mansion where the music video was filmed had been confiscated and under the possession of the Jalisco government. Various

investigations were started, however we have yet to know what really happened.

Narco entertainment in general, not only in Ortiz's music video, is another example of machismo legacy that surrounds the transnational population of Mexico and the United States. By the clear depiction of violence within these textual images on social media, narco culture, and narco entertainment furthers the stereotyping of the Mexican population on both sides of the border. These media platforms, are being used to further the criminalistic rhetoric of drug trafficking and those involved. This then enables the adaptation and circulation of machista ideologies throughout the generations by being incorporated into modern spaces and profitable themes incorporated into popular entertainment among Mexican/ Mexican American populations.

Conclusion

Through this collection of textual-images collected from Instagram, I exposed contemporary discourses online pertaining to a continuum of machismo narratives and ideologies, particularly involved and influenced by narco culture and drug trafficking. I have provided insights on contemporary usages of Mexican/ Mexican American youth within social media, pertaining to the textual-images found on the #NarcoStyle category, in addition how these textual-images carry themes such as, hyper-masculinity, vanity, humility, and 'reasonable' selfishness. This mixed methods, ethnographic new media approach provided a new perspective on performance, interpretations, and ideologies of "narco culture". These images also mirrored those found in music videos and narrated throughout narcocorridos. The feeling of terror and overpowering patriarchy are overwhelming, to see such normalization and popularization of such ideologies that capitalizes on a culture in a U.S context. The

constant influx of violent narratives of narco culture, in general, is becoming translatable in a U.S. context, again, because of its profit value. Narcocorrido bands and “narco themed” shows have adapted into the United States, by stereotyping a Mexican population for a white U.S. entertainment audience, which furthers ‘narco terror’ discourse. Further, the complication with youth identity, consumption, and internal struggles with personal ideologies problematize whom they are “supposed to be” according to what is available for them on their smartphones, and most importantly, “how they are to perform” based on these images. We must pay attention to social media and the complexity of the various discourses present and how they perpetuate violence.

Chapter 5: La Lucha Sigue

Throughout my research I have presented contemporary discourses pertaining to a continuum of machismo narratives and ideologies, in both a Mexican contemporary society and within the transnational populations of Mexico and U.S.. It is clear that machismo is still prevalent within contemporary U.S. and Mexican society. I have continuously observed that machista discourses remain through their verbal ideology, material/ visual manifestation, and oppressive legacy. These provide contemporary examples from Mexico City, Northern California, to new media, non-territorial spaces such as Instagram that aims to engage global participants. This mixed method approach that included in-depth interviews, *testimonio*, and a virtual ethnography explored contemporary manifestations of machismo. The compilation of these allowed me to demonstrate the many perspectives on machismo as it remains existent in transnational societies and the narrative of visuals.

Mexican and Mexican American populations, more than a geographical presence on either side of the border, the legacies of history are responsible for the continued existence of machismo, in the name of gendered traditional roles, mainly with reference to cis-gender heterosexual relationships, and the fetishizing of violence. This is done through the policing of gender roles within households and society in general. These toxic ideologies have the long legacy among communities of Mexican descent, but we can extend this to religion and all of Latin America, as the shared colonized language and colonized land of the Spanish. Originated or not from the Spanish, societies and generations are responsible for the legacy of machismo. By both the colonizing of peoples of Latin America governmental structures were forced in place, but

Catholicism further enforced gender roles engrained in society and life. The instruction of structured gender roles within each society and or culture/ subculture facilitate this. Machista ideologies are part of the Mexican/ Mexican American male formation and yet social and cultural constructions, productions of Instagram, enable the gendered performance of Mexican/ Mexican American cis-males.

The core attributes of machismo, as a culturally specific form of hypemascularity that oppresses, is rooted in power and domination, which is threatened by weakness or acknowledging weakness, such as the constant state of working hard. This develops further the disdain of intellectual challenges, as a machista is never wrong. Therefore machismo, is both an attitude combined with ideologies that a person of either sex can adopt based on their social environmental niche of close relationships with mentors, family members, and most importantly, parents regardless of their age or generation, which is the reason for its long legacy. Machista ideology is not a complete set of ideologies that are imposed on a person; some inherently acquire a spectrum of values, while others do not, these vary on specific circumstances and child rearing and the many variations of life.

Maria Guadalupe, Estela, and Maria del Socorro have cumulatively endured the machista standards that were upheld by their husband's and extended family. Statements from mothers in law that were used in order to discipline wives were used in order to allow for liberty of husbands to do what they wished and or justify their machista attitudes and or behaviors. This demonstrated that not only men police machista behaviors, but women police other women as well. They each described specific events where each woman advocated for themselves, either by moving forward without their family, being independent from partner, rejecting infidelity, and gathering the courage to continue ahead with

children without a partner. These actions were self-preservative, predominantly as maternal and social sacrifices. As they felt their marital expectations were failed. This new found courage, were strengthened through their various support groups and or services that they were able to access because of their socioeconomic status. On the other hand, Mexican and Mexican American low-income populations in the U.S. also police their gendered ideologies.

Manuel, my compadre, in his current living situation continues to perform and enact his machista ideologies within his home and his identity, because these ideologies are encouraged by both of his parents. The various intersectional identities inhabited include Mexican, Mexican American, undocumented, and a millennial. My compadre complicates not only machismo within in the United States, but among Mexican/ Mexican American populations as well. These identities help furthered to maintain machismo, as they occupy various spaces, both placed and reinforced, and ultimately continue to police traditional gender roles, ideologies, and attitudes. In addition, my compadre and many others like him, in these particular situations, having a close relationship with parents of older and traditional generation, adapt to their ideologies. Because of the co-habitation of parent to child, a cultural norm for Mexican families living in the U.S., this makes it impossible for those in that situation to grow and become independent as adults. However, domestic roles, such as cooking for your husband are being challenged by his girlfriend and or wife, although not married my compadre uses both to describe the status of their relationship. By questioning and contesting norms, my compadre has begun to retreat from arguments regarding the constant attack, his girlfriend/ wife is under from my compadre's parents. Statements regarding her parenting, domestic chores, and or lack of concern for my compadre, have begun to cause a strain

after four years of their relationship, while still residing with my compadre's parents in the United States.

A recent non-geographical phenomena has taken place in the new media platform Instagram. Narco culture within social media is providing to be more popular than ever, based on regular forms of media such as musical film, and television. Machismo continues to be integral to new media themes, because of their visual frame of accessible material wealth. Through the #NarcoStyle feed on Instagram provides visual attitudes and narratives regarding what “Narcostyle” should look like. However, these visual narratives continue to perpetuate and recirculate hyper-masculine imagery within popular platforms, as these spaces contribute to the legacy of machismo. These platforms are not limited to Instagram and other new media sources, such as narcocorridos and narco themed shows and films. These provide those of Mexican descent and Mexican heritage an opportunity to continue the machista legacy throughout the many generations. This ethnographically informed new media approach provides a new perspective on circulation, as these serve as a new media platform to share narratives, ideas, interpretations, and ideologies of “narco culture”. In order to prove the mirrored visuals and narratives found in music videos and throughout narcocorridos. There must be a consensus that these images adapted to new media continue the legacy of machismo and will follow the next generation.

In order to obtain some ideological change, we must start at home, there must be a consensus that machista ideologies and attitudes can no longer be handed down from generation to generation. We must demonstrate that these ideologies will not be tolerated among our peers and therefore it may be possible that it will not carry on into the next generation. However, it is important to acknowledge in which spaces this will happen. As Aida Hurtado examines in *Beyond Machismo*, the attempt to eradicate or reject

machista ideologies are only presented as among those attending college or are college educated. Manuel is being challenged by his girlfriend/ wife who has a community college education. This educational space may have introduced feminist writings or possibly the realization that her relationship expectations are not being met. According to the *Señoras de las Lomas*, machismo is learned at home and policed among family members. In reality Mexican / Mexican American men unlearn these ideologies while away from their families, educated in college or living on their own. Still, this is a complex issue as familial ties and familial obligations condemn children into staying close or at home. The problem with this is only nine percent of Latino males over the age of 18 have obtained a bachelor's degree (Mellander 2015). The pipeline for males in higher education is much narrower than that of Latinas, those in the 18-24 age, a full 60 percent of all bachelor's degrees earned by all "Hispanics" were earned by Latinas (Mellander 2015). Not only is there huge gendered discrepancy among Latinas and Latinos in higher education, Mellander also points as the reason for the lack of attendance of Latino males as their need to and "their ability to provide for their families" (2015), again a provider narrative.

The provider role is a gendered issue, through its existence in the greater society of the Mexico and U.S.. Both have created a culture where males occupy a socially constructed position where they must exude masculinity. The United States television entertainment has already tapped into the popularity of narco culture. Such that, the online streaming giant, Netflix, has a large collection of narco themed shows, movies, and "documentaries". These not only further the narco terror rhetoric, but also audiences are presented with generalizations, for the purpose of entertainment about Latin American populations. In addition to this, the television network AMC in 2008 gained massive amounts

of viewers with the hit series *Breaking Bad*. USA network followed this, with an “American” spin off the Telemundo telenovela *La Reina Del Sur*, *The Queen of the South* (2016), which was recently renewed for a second season in the spring of 2017. AMC is a cable network, which means they have a bigger national U.S. audience. In addition, we must pay attention to social media and the complexity of the various discourses present and how they perpetuate violence. This misrepresentation of Mexican and Latin Americans must be acknowledged, these various cultures are rich with other stories.

There must be future research on Mexican/ Mexican American millennials, must be about them, how they enact in relationships, the creation of subcultures, and their contributions to society. Not only this, but also how they overcome adversity, I think of my compadre, what will he do when his DACA expires? Will my comadre marry my compadre and start the process of permanent residency? In addition, more research needs to be engaged with the missing narrative that my compadre provides. How are low-income millennials surviving? Not only this, but also who are the Mexican / Mexican American millennial women who are married, dating, seeing these men? What are their struggles in dealing with potential partners like Manuel? How do they deal with these conflicting identities of their own, especially if these women are aware of these toxic ideologies?

This thesis engages with the gendered ideologies of machismo. Still there must also be a class analysis of machismo, as I sort of touch upon in this thesis. In addition, there must be an analysis of other kinds of media, such as spanish language radio or television reproducing machismo. Lastly, how do we deal with gendered violence? Beginning to answer or explore this reproduction, these questions may lead to the eradication of machismo ideology. This will be an enormous task, but by learning

from different communities across the United States may provide different lenses in which to understand how subcultures and communities are dealing with machismo and how they may be continuing or not the legacy of machismo.

In closing, machismo and machista discourse are still present in Mexican and Mexican American populations across the United States and Mexico. These spectrum of ideologies and attitudes enable and adapt machista ideologies in the quotidian lives of those most affected: non cis-heteronormative males. Then these ideologies are maintained by society by the constant gendered expectations within each particular society, this should be done with the U.S. racial class and stratification: patriarchal oppression. There must be new societal norms where gendered ideologies are no longer enforced, not only is this an utopian idea, but it may be possible with the next generations to come.

As the legacy of past generations witness the challenging of gender roles in the present, new norms may arise in future generations. It will be of great importance to witness the further adaptation of machismo in spaces that are yet to be discovered; however interventions may arise by drawing from Gloria Anzaldúa, and as applied to Chicano/a and ethnic studies overall, we observe the reimplementation of ancient deities and goddesses of binary duality of gender. For example Gloria Anzaldúa, uses the Aztec deity Coatlicue in order to argue contradictions and duality. "She is a symbol of the fusion of opposites" (Anzadúa 69), by combining opposites, the fusing societal gender roles, future generations will be ale to perform gender in a spectrum of ways. Based on this ancestral knowledge: How will future generations perform the gender spectrum? What is this gender spectrum and what does it look like? What will the spectrum of ideologies look like?

Bibliography

- Amaya, Hectore. "The dark side of transnational Latinidad: Narcocorridos and the branding of authenticity." *Contemporary Latina/o Media: Production, Circulation, Politics*, edited by Arlene M. Dávila and Yeidy M. Rivero, New York, New York UP, 2014.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. 2nd ed., San Francisco, Aunt Lute Books, 1999.
- Arciniega, G. M., et al. "Toward a Fuller Conception of Machismo: Development of a Traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale." *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, vol. 55, no. 1, 2008, pp. 19-33, doi:10.1037/0022-0167.55.1.19.
- Barton, David, and Camren Lee. *Language Online: Investigating Digital Texts and Practices*. New York, Routledge, 2013.
- Bejarano, Cynthia. *Qué Onda?: Urban Youth Culture and Border Identity*. Tucson, U of Arizona P, 2007.
- Boellstorff, Tom. *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds: A Handbook of Method*. Princeton, Princeton UP, 2012.
- Boothroyd, Dave. *Culture on Drugs: Narco-cultural Studies of High Modernity*. Manchester, Manchester UP, 2006.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015.
- Campbell, Howard. "Narco-Propaganda in the Mexican "Drug War": An Anthropological Perspective." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2014, pp. 60-77, doi:10.1177/0094582X12443519.
- Cityscope*. citiscope.org/story/2015/hoping-men-can-behave-mexico-city-bus-line-aims-better-women-only. Accessed 10 Apr. 2017.
- Constructing Masculinity*. Hoboken, Taylor and Francis, 2012.
- Espinal-Enríquez, Jesús, and Hernán Larralde. "Analysis of México's Narco-War Network (2007-2011): E0126503." *PLoS One*, vol. 10, no. 5, 2015, doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0126503.
- García Bedolla, Lisa. *Fluid Borders: Latino Power, Identity, and Politics in Los Angeles*. Berkeley, U of California P, 2005.
- "Gerardo Ortiz Fuiste Mía Vídeo Oficial." *You Tube*, 20 Apr. 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=65uN9uxaf9k. Accessed 29 Feb. 2017.
- Gramsci, Antonio, et al. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York, International, 1972.
- Grillo, Ioan. *El Narco: Inside Mexico's Criminal Insurgency*. New York, Bloomsbury Press, 2011.
- Grimes, Kimberly M. *Crossing Borders: Changing Social Identities in Southern Mexico*. Tucson, U of Arizona P, 1998.
- Gutmann, Matthew C. *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City*. 10th ed., Berkeley, U of California P, 2007.

- Hall, Stuart. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London, Sage [u.a.], 2011.
- Hernández Luna, Juan. *Samuel Ramos: Su Filosofar Sobre Lo Mexicano*. vol. 13;13., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Dirección General de Publicaciones, México, 1956.
- "Hip Hop: Beyond Beats & Rhymes." , directed by 1960 Chuck D, et al. , Kanopy Streaming, 2016.
- Hurtado, Aída, and Patricia Gurin. *Chicana/o Identity in a Changing U.S. Society: Quién Soy? Quiénes Somos?* Tucson, U of Arizona P, 2004.
- Hutchinson, Sydney. *From Quebradita to Duranguense: Dance in Mexican American Youth Culture*. Tucson, U of Arizona P, 2007.
- Johnson, E. Patrick, and Ramón H. Rivera-Servera. *Blacktino Queer Performance*. Durham, Duke UP, 2016.
- Larson, Stephanie Greco. *Media & Minorities: The Politics of Race in News and Entertainment*. Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.
- McKenna, Stacey A. "Reproducing Hegemony: The Culture of Enhancement and Discourses on Amphetamines in Popular Fiction." *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2011, pp. 90-97, doi:10.1007/s11013-010-9202-y.
- Mendoza-Denton, Norma. *Homegirls: Language and Cultural Practice among Latina Youth Gangs*. Malden, Blackwell Pub., 2008.
- Mirande, Alfredo. *Hombres Y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture*. New York, Westview Press, 1997.
- Mora, Sergio De la. *Cinemachismo: Masculinities and Sexuality in Mexican Film*. Austin, U of Texas P, 2006.
- Mraz, John. *Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity*. Durham [N.C.], Duke UP, 2009.
- New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/2017/03/31/world/americas/penis-seat-mexico-city-harassment.html?_r=2. Accessed 10 Apr. 2017.
- Nájera, Jennifer. "Auto/ Ethnography and Reverse Migration in South Texas: An Anthropologist's Testimonio about Method and Meaning in the Gathering of History." *Chicana/Latina Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2009, pp. 48-61.
- Noriega, Chon A., et al. *The Chicano Studies Reader: An Anthology of Aztlán, 1970-2010*. 2nd ed., Los Angeles, UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 2010.
- Ojeda, Lizette, Rocío Rosales, and Glenn E. Good. "Socioeconomic Status and Cultural Predictors of Male Role Attitudes among Mexican American Men: Son mÃ¡s Machos?" *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2008, pp. 133-138, doi:10.1037/1524-9220.9.3.133.
- Page, Ruth. *Researching Language and Social Media: A Student Guide*. Researching Language and Social Media, Routledge, 2014.
- Paley, Dawn. *Drug War Capitalism*. Oakland, AK Press, 2014.
- Paz, Octavio, and Enrico Mario Santí. *El Laberinto De La Soledad*. Vigésimotercera edición. ed., Madrid, Cátedra, 2015.

- Pérez-Torres, Rafael. *Mestizaje: Critical Uses of Race in Chicano Culture*. Minneapolis, U of Minnesota P, 2006.
- Ramirez, Josué. *Against Machismo: Young Adult Voices in Mexico City*. New York, Berghahn Books, 2008.
- Rashotte, Ryan. *Narco Cinema: Sex, Drugs, and Banda Music in Mexico's B-filmography*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Schaeffer, Felicity Amaya. *Love and Empire: Cybermarriage and Citizenship across the Americas*. New York, New York UP, 2013.
- Simonett, Helena. *Banda: Mexican Musical Life across Borders*. Middletown, Wesleyan UP, 2001.
- Singh, Ningthoujam K., and William Nunes. "Drug Trafficking and Narco-Terrorism as Security Threats: A Study of India's North-East." *India Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 1, 2013, pp. 65-82, doi:10.1177/0974928412472106.
- Tagg, Caroline. *Exploring Digital Communication: Language in Action*. London, Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2015.
- Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham, Duke UP, 2003.
- Valdez, Javier. *Los Morros Del Narco: Historias Reales De Niños Y Jóvenes En El Narcotráfico Mexicano*. Mxico, Aguilar, 2011.
- Wald, Elijah. *Narcocorrido: A Journey into the Music of Drugs, Guns, and Guerrillas*. New York, Rayo, 2002.
- Zappavigna, Michele. *Discourse of Twitter and Social Media*. London, Continuum, 2012.
- Zolov, Eric. *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture*. Berkeley, U of California P, 1999.