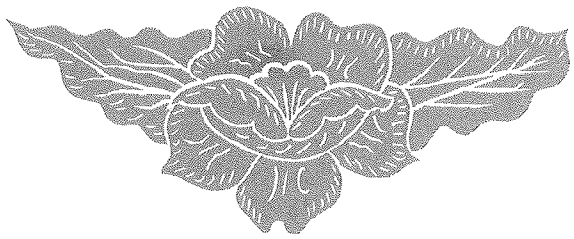
BORDERS AND IDENTITY

A Resource Guide for Teachers



IDENTIDAD Y FRONTERAS

Una guía para maestros

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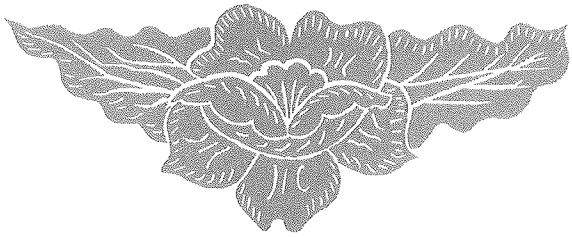
Preface:

BACKGROUND TO THE BORDERS AND IDENTITY MATERIALS



Prefacio:

ANTECEDENTES DE LOS MATERIALES DE IDENTIDAD Y FRONTERAS

In the summer of 1993, the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife featured a program on the culture of the United States-Mexico borderlands. Over one hundred residents of the U.S.-Mexico border region gathered on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., to demonstrate their knowledge and skills to almost one million visitors. The Festival brought together a wide spectrum of people living on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, including musicians, members of the Border Patrol, cooks, cowboys, and many more. People came to Washington from many different backgrounds — among them Chicano, Mejicano, Tejano, Mixteco, Tohono O'odham, Pai Pai, Yaqui, Black Seminole, Cajun, and Chinese — to participate in this program. The participants at the Festival were selected by scholars and community resource people along the border, who researched border communities and traditions.

The Festival program provided a glimpse of the many different components that shape border culture: different histories, religious beliefs, occupations, local and regional identities, music, art, crafts, theater, healing practices, foodways, and storytelling.

The Festival was held in Washington, D.C., but the research took place along the border. The success of the Festival encouraged Smithsonian staff and Festival researchers and participants to pursue production of educational materials, for

Gloria Moroyoqui, of Nogales, Sonora, shares border stories with (left to right) Enrique Lamadrid, of Albuquerque, New Mexico, Arturo Carrillo Strong, of Tucson, Arizona, and Reynaldo Hernández, of Nogales, Arizona.
Gloria Moroyoqui de Nogales, Sonora, comparte historias de la vida en la frontera con (izquierda a derecha) Enrique Lamadrid de Albuquerque, Nuevo México, Arturo Carrillo Strong de Tucson, Arizona, y Reynaldo Hernández de Nogales, Arizona. *Photo by/foto de Richard Strauss, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution*

use along the border and beyond. The *Borders and Identity* educational materials are based on the photographs and video and audio documentation from the 1993 Festival research and presentation.

These materials aim to contribute to an increased understanding of the complexities of border culture through a focus on the peoples and places of the U.S.-Mexico border. The materials encourage students to explore different kinds of borders and to examine how borders shape identities, through close examination of the experiences of border residents and also of students themselves. Planned activities will challenge students to think critically and creatively, and will stimulate them to form conclusions through careful observation and analysis. Students will be encouraged to express themselves through role-playing, writing, and art work.

The *Borders and Identity* materials include this teacher resource guide, a four-part video, and a poster-size cultural map with additional exercises. The goals for the materials are:

- to introduce students to the peoples and cultures of the U.S.-Mexico border;
- to guide students in an investigation of borders in their own communities and to think about how such borders affect their lives and identities;
- to introduce students and teachers to ethnographic investigation methods (close observation and documentation of living persons) used by folklorists and anthropologists to explore living culture;
- to engage students in critical thought through the use of oral interviews, photographs, videos, maps, documents, and topical readings. Student exercises take a variety of forms: written, performed, recorded.

This guide is written for teachers and students. Each section begins with an introduction for the teacher. The loose-leaf format allows teachers to reproduce pages as needed and to add new materials to "customize" the materials for each classroom. Exercises and readings are written for a student audience and are meant to be xeroxed from this book.

The overall structure of the teacher resource guide is as follows:

- an introduction to the concept of *borders and identity* with related exercises;

- four sections corresponding to the four parts of the video (History, Celebrations, Expressive Traditions, Occupations). Each section includes:
  - a discussion quotation with questions to be completed prior to viewing the video;
  - questions and exercises to follow the video;
  - a short reading with discussion questions and exercises.
- a concluding section to guide students in their own documentation project;
- appendix with key dates, key words, a *corrido* (ballad), bibliography, text of the video narration, and reprints of articles from the 1993 Festival program book.

The content of the six sections plus Appendix is as follows:

Introduction: What Does *Borders and Identity* Mean?

This section locates the U.S.-Mexico border through the use of maps and introduces the topic of borders. What is a border? How does it affect people's lives? What does identity mean? Discussion questions and exercises encourage students to examine maps — both of the U.S.-Mexico border as well as their own communities — and to guide students to understand how borders shape people's identities as well.

Part 1: History and Identity

This section stresses the importance of historical circumstances in the formation of today's border culture. In addition to Part 1 of the video, students will use the cultural map. A short reading provides more in-depth information about the history of the U.S.-Mexico border.

Part 2: Celebrations and Identity

This section looks at celebrations on the U.S.-Mexico border: Day of the Dead preparations, Tohono O'odham feasts, and Pascola dances. This section shows how many of these celebrations rely on the interdependence of people on both sides of the border. Students document and explore the rituals, celebrations, and secular shrines in their own lives. The short reading examines the importance of the Virgin of Guadalupe as a cultural symbol along the U.S.-Mexico border.

Part 3: Expressive Traditions and Identity

This section introduces students to several expressive traditions on the border: mural art, lowrider cars, and traditional music. This section discusses how these

cultural forms often depict historical and contemporary social issues. Exercises examine *corridos,* lowrider clubs, and street theater. Readings include excerpts from the story of a musical duo and an explanation of the history and contemporary manifestations of murals on the border.

Part 4: Occupations and Identity

This section explores several occupations that have been created by the geographic, political, and economic reality of the border region: tourist craft sales, assembly-line work, ranching, and the Border Patrol. Exercises examine how people learn the skills needed for their jobs, and how these occupations often evolve over time. Readings include a piece on *maquiladora* factory workers and an article on Border Patrol agents.

Part 5: Borders and Identity in Your Own Community

This section guides students through a documentation project on their own community. Ideas for a final project, as well as practical information about methodology, are included.

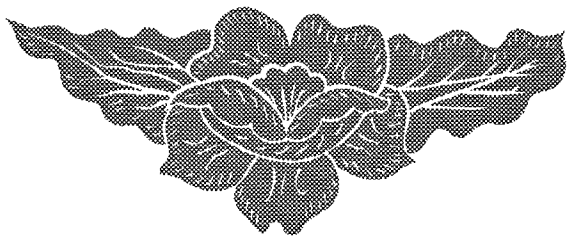
Appendix:

The appendix includes a timeline of key dates, a glossary of cultural concepts and border terminology, an example of a *corrido,* an annotated resource listing and bibliography of historical and literary sources, a transcript of the video narration, and reprinted articles from the 1993 Festival program book.

If you have any questions about using these materials, or if you wish to contact other teachers in the border region or elsewhere who have implemented these materials, please contact: Education Specialist, Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza SW, Suite 2600, MRC 914, Washington, DC 20560, (202) 287-3424.

Introduction:

WHAT DOES BORDERS AND IDENTITY MEAN?



Introducción:

¿QUÉ SIGNIFICA IDENTIDAD Y FRONTERAS?

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

What is a border? Why is it important to explore the U.S.-Mexico border? How do borders affect identities? These are questions to discuss with your students. There are many possible answers.

A border can be a geopolitical line between

- neighborhoods
- cities
- regions
- states
- countries

A border can also be a social divider between

- families
- ethnic groups
- religions
- classes
- genders
- occupations

The border between the United States and Mexico is many different things: a line on a map; a 2,000-mile stretch of changing landscape; a river; a barbed-wire fence; a border-crossing station. It is also a complex cultural region which is home to a wide spectrum of people. Some have lived in the region for centuries; others have arrived recently. Some were drawn by economic opportunities; others have stayed despite poverty and hardship, because it is the land of their ancestors.

The border divides two countries, but it also fosters a culture of its own. Some traditions persist in spite of the border. Some traditions are transformed by the border. And the border creates new traditions as well. The border separates communities, but it also brings people together, through confrontation as well as cooperation.

This section of the *Borders and Identity* materials introduces students to the geography of the U.S.-Mexico border, and encourages students to draw maps of their own communities. Questions include: What separates your community, your neighborhood, your school from others? How do people cooperate or compete across these divisions? How can a border be both beneficial and harmful?

Students then move to the subject of identity. Discussion questions include: How do the borders in students' lives affect their own identities? These questions are followed by exercises in which students analyze their own identities, using nicknames and identification cards.

Suggestions to prepare for exercises in this section:

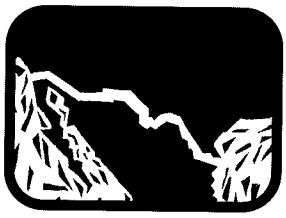
Map Exercise: Obtain several types of maps of the U.S.-Mexico border, for instance, a road map, a topographical map, and a population map, to remind students that maps present different points of view.

Statement of Identity: For definitions of terms like "Hispanic," "Chicano," "Latino," see the glossary in the Appendix. You may wish to discuss with students the uses of these or parallel terms in your own experience, as well as their own.

Designing Your Own Identity Card: Show students your own identification cards such as a driver's license, credit cards, insurance cards, etc. Discuss the different uses of each card. Provide each student with two 3" x 5" blank file cards and art supplies such as colored pencils, and markers, or materials for collage.

By the end of this section, students will:

- *understand the basic geography of the U.S.-Mexico border.*
- *learn that people from many cultural backgrounds live on the border.*
- *examine photographs as clues to people's identities.*
- *analyze the statements of two border residents.*
- *identify borders in their own communities.*
- *explore how their own identities are shaped by the borders in their lives.*



Map Exercises

1. What Is a Border?

Draw a map of the neighborhood around your school or home. Examine the borders or boundaries of the map you drew. How did you decide where to stop drawing? What marks these borders (fences, roads, rivers, parking lots)? What lies beyond these borders? How is the area beyond different from what is inside your mapped area? How is it the same? Do you need to cross these borders? What happens when you cross them?

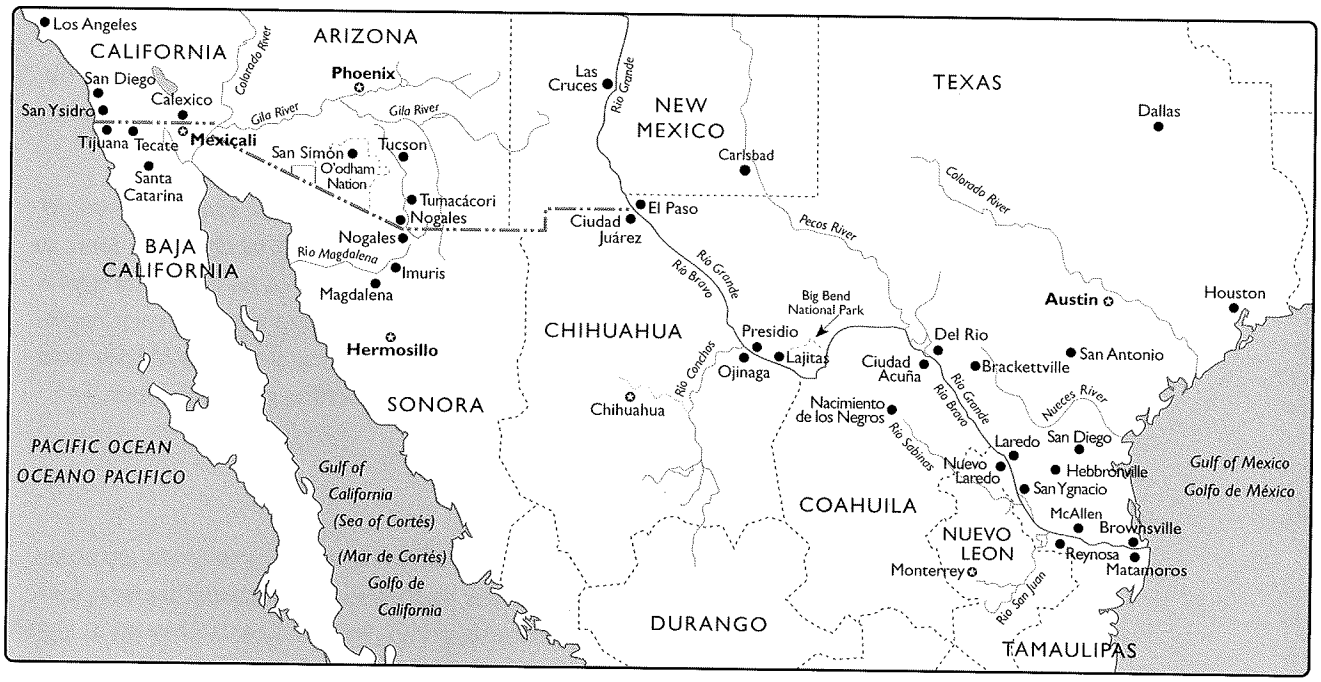
2. Reading Maps

The following materials introduce the peoples and cultures of the U.S.-Mexico border region. The map (page 29) offers a closer look at the geographical region of the border.

- Name the states on either side of the U.S.-Mexico border.
- How many "twin cities," like El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, can you find?
- What geographic features help to define the border?
- Look at another map of the border region and study the differences in the information provided. How does a road map differ from a topographical map?
- If you are not from the border region, obtain a map of your home city, county, or state. Discuss the borders of your own region.

The border is a geographic region. It also defines a cultural region which is home to many different people. In 1993, border residents from many different cultural backgrounds traveled to Washington, D.C., for the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife. They came to talk about the U.S.-Mexico border, and how it affects their lives.

At the Festival in Washington, a frequent topic of discussion was how living on the U.S.-Mexico border affects a person's identity. This topic runs through the *Borders and Identity* materials. The following exercises help you to explore what factors make up your own identity.



IDENTITY EXERCISES

1. Defining Identity

- What does the word *identity* mean?
- Write down several ideas. Can you think of other words that might come from the same root (i.e., identify, identification, identical)? Explore the relationship of these words to one another.
- Look up the word *identity* in a dictionary. Compare definitions from different dictionaries.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Based on your own experience, do you agree or disagree with the meaning in the dictionary? Do the dictionary definitions cover situations that you have experienced? What would you add?

2. If you disagree with some points of the dictionary meaning, or find the definition incomplete, rewrite the entry to reflect your own ideas.

2. A Statement of Identity

Read the following statement from Carmen Cristina Moreno, a singer from Cathedral City, California, who spoke about her own background. Then discuss the statement using the questions below.

It's very difficult for a Hispanic, a Chicano, a Mexican American child, a child of Mexicans born in this country, to find identity. I felt that strongly. I felt ambiguous — you're neither here nor there. The Mexicans do not accept you because you were born here. They're resentful because you were born in the land of plenty. And you go down to Mexico, and to them you are an American, a gringa. *You are an outcast, and they discriminate against you. And, here of course, there's a cultural barrier.*

Carmen Cristina Moreno is a singer from Cathedral City, California.* ● *Carmen Cristina Moreno es una cantante de Cathedral City, California. *Photo by/photo de Jeff Tinsley, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution*

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Carmen Cristina uses different terms to describe a child who is born in the United States of Mexican parents: Hispanic, Chicano, Mexican American, American, *gringa*. How do these meanings differ?

2. Why do you think Carmen Cristina felt "ambiguous"? Have you ever felt this way?

3. Why did Carmen Cristina feel like an "outcast" when she went to Mexico? Have you, or has anyone you know, ever had an experience that made you feel like an outsider? Describe how you felt.

4. What does Carmen Cristina mean by "a cultural barrier"? What is a barrier? Is it different from or similar to a border? What other kinds of barriers exist? **Clue:** Could a barrier be a fence built around someone's property? Does a fence keep people in or out?

3. Another Look at Identity

Read the following statement from Enrique Lamadrid, a folklorist from New Mexico.

We continually negotiate our identity, every day of our lives, every time we open our mouths. My name is Enrique Lamadrid. I'm from New Mexico. Every time I open my mouth, I have to decide whether to talk to people in Spanish or English. When I was growing up, to some people I was Rick, to other people Enrique. It's a dual identity, but it's not cut in the middle. Both of these ends meet, and there is a unity to all of that. All of us have experienced that, I'm sure.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What does Enrique mean when he says we "negotiate our identity"?

2. How does the way someone expresses him/herself identify him/her? If you speak more than one language, have you had an experience similar to Enrique's? **Clue:** Different speech does not necessarily mean different languages like English and Spanish. You may speak one way to your close friends and another way to your parents or at school.

3. What is a "dual identity"? How can someone be more than one person at the same time? Have you experienced this feeling?

4. Nicknames

William Warrior is a Black Seminole from Del Rio, Texas. In the 1830s Black Seminoles migrated west from Florida to Indian Territory (to what is now Oklahoma). In both regions, they were targets of slave raids. Many Black Seminoles moved to northern Mexico, seeking refuge from repression in the United States. In Mexico, they are known as Mascogos. In 1870, some of the Black Seminoles moved back to the United States to serve as scouts for the U.S. Army.

William Warrior has many different names. William is his given name, but he is known as Dub by most members of the Del Rio community. Dub has relatives across the border, in Nacimiento de los Negros, Mexico. In Spanish, the name William becomes Guillermo. Dub has a nickname in Mexico as well; people call him Memo. And if you are really close to him, you might call him Memito. Thus, William Warrior has five different names. How many do you have?

Miguel Luna Franco, born on the El Sáuz ranch in the northern state of Nuevo León, Mexico, recalls how he and his brother, Cirilo, came to be called El Palomo y El Gorrión (the Dove and the Sparrow).

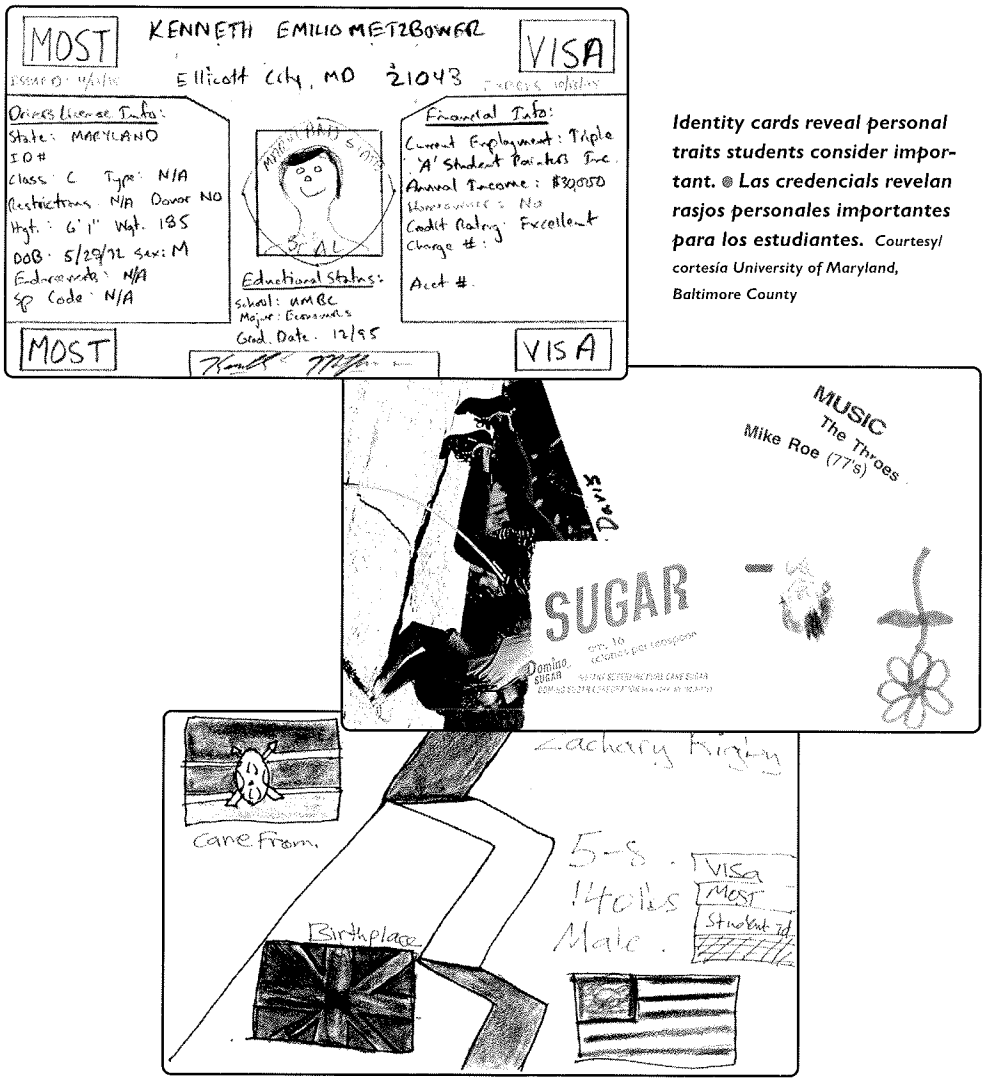
> *Here come The Birds! From childhood, that's how we have been known in La Chona [the name of the small town near the ranch where they lived] and everywhere we have been since. Father says that he called me Gorrión [Sparrow] because I looked like those little birds that have very few feathers when they are born. I was bald at birth, and so he baptized me Gorrión. Palomo [Dove] was chubby when he was born, like a dove with a fat breast, and that's why Father gave him that name. To this day, when we are around, people say, "Here come the Pájaros [Birds]." It makes me think of my childhood, my town's people and the land we come from.*

Think of two names that people use for you. One might be your real or given name, and one might be a nickname that family or friends use. Write a short essay explaining how these names came about and how each name defines your identity in a different way.

5. Designing Your Own Identity Card

1. Design your own identification card. (Possibilities include a school I.D., a club card, or simply a card that shows or tells something important about yourself.) Include any information you would like, but do not exceed the size of a 3" x 5" file card.

2. Exchange cards with someone else in the class, and interpret each other's identity cards. Does his/her reading match what you wanted to express about yourself? What does the card tell you about the person's identity? How does the information on the cards differ from what you already know about your classmate? What did you choose to include in your identity card? Did you include where you were born, where you live now? Did you include other members of your family? Do you consider such facts a part of your identity? Can identification cards include all the information about your identity?



Identity cards reveal personal traits students consider important.* ● *Las credencials revelan rasjos personales importantes para los estudiantes. *Courtesy/ cortesía University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

Summary of Introduction
WHAT DOES *Borders and Identity* MEAN?

Ideas in this section:

- The U.S.-Mexico border is a diverse region, in terms of people and geography.
- Borders divide and define areas.
- A person's identity is affected by how people perceive him/her as well as how he/she thinks about him/herself.

Following these exercises, think back to the questions you discussed at the opening of the section. How have your ideas and those of your students changed? How do borders define who you are? How do borders affect your identity?

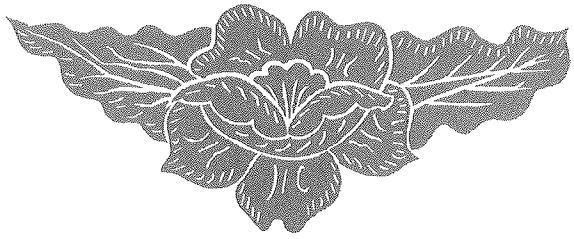
What's Next?

In the next section, on **History and Identity**, students will learn:

- *how history and present-day circumstances have created the distinct cultural region of the U.S.-Mexico border.*
- *to critically view the first section of the videotape.*
- *how to use the cultural map to explore border culture in its many forms.*

Part 1:

HISTORY AND IDENTITY



Parte 1:

HISTORIA E IDENTIDAD

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

The historical circumstances that led to the formation of the U.S.-Mexico border remain important today. This history is part of what makes the region so culturally distinctive. In the following section, students will view a 15-minute introductory video about border culture as it was presented at the Smithsonian's 1993 Festival of American Folklife. The video features many of the people who participated in the Festival. The video also includes a brief sketch of the historical events that helped create the border. A supplementary reading provides additional information. The cultural map also provides exercises for students.

In recent years, border culture has been the subject of a growing number of articles and books. Many of these writings suggest that the kinds of social and cultural interactions that take place in our increasingly multicultural cities are intensified in border regions. If you are interested in this topic, you may wish to consult some of the works listed in the Appendix.

The first exercise related to the video asks students to watch the video with a critical eye. Students may need to view the video more than once in order to complete their critique. The second exercise asks students to choose a quotation from the video and write an essay about it.

The cultural map has many different uses. The suggested exercises emphasize history, people, and border culture. Please note the information on the back of the poster as well as on the front.

By the end of this section, students will:

- *learn some basic facts about the history of the U.S.-Mexico border.*
- *view the first section of the video.*
- *use the cultural map for additional geographical, historical, and cultural information.*

Discussion Quotation

You are about to watch a video about the U.S.-Mexico border. The following quotation from Jim Griffith, a border resident, offers some perspective on the history of this region.

This cultural region stretches on both sides of the international border. The reason, of course, is that the border came into the country. There wasn't always a border. A border isn't something like the Grand Canyon. A border is an artificial line that gets drawn on a map, and later gets marked on the ground.

Jim Griffith, folklorist, Tucson, Arizona

What is the difference between a region defined by two governments and a region defined by cultures? What does Jim Griffith mean when he says that a cultural region stretches over two sides of an international border?

Think about Jim Griffith's statement, "There wasn't always a border." What do you think was there before the border between Mexico and the United States was defined by the two governments?

Video Viewing

Watch **History and Identity,** Part I of the video.
Discuss the following:

- What makes a border area different from other areas?
- How does living on the border affect its residents?
- What are some examples of "border culture"?

EXERCISES

1. Video Critique

Watch the video again, this time very carefully. Did the video convince you that there is such a thing as border culture? Why, or why not? After watching the video, whom do you want to know more about? Which individual was most memorable? Why? Write a paragraph explaining what draws you to this person's story.

2. Choose a Quotation

Choose one of the following passages from the video script. Write a one-page essay about what this excerpt means.

A) Blaine Juan: *My name is Blaine Juan, and I'm from a village called Wo:g I-Huduñk (Woog E Hudungk). Now, for the white people, it's the San Simon village. It's the Tohono O'odham Nation and where I live is about 105 miles west of Tucson, which is the main Tohono O'odham reservation, and we live by the Mexican border.*

Jim Griffith: *I suppose I could ask you a silly question. I could say, how come you settled so close to the border?*

Blaine Juan: *I guess the way I probably would answer that is it's the white people who put the border there.*

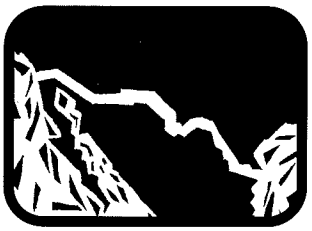
B) Enrique Lamadrid: *Immigration is a contradiction to us as Hispanics in the Southwest, because from our perspective the original immigrants are Anglo. Anglo-America came in and conquered us, in the Mexican-American War, and said, "Guess what, now you are Americans, and guess what, here is a new line that we are using to divide your communities, and guess what, now we are going to call you the migrants." And so, in the United States, we are a country of migrants, all of us are migrants except our Native American neighbors.*

C) Jim Griffith: *When the border came through there were people, Mexican and Native American people, already living in that country, and the border came — whop — right down the middle, and it split our cultural region in half.*

Arturo Carrillo Strong: *A lot of the people that were Mexican citizens, and living in their homes that they had lived in for many years, all of a sudden became American citizens. Some wanted to stay, and a lot of them went back to Mexico.*

A woman passes through the turnstiles at a border crossing point in the 1950s. • Una mujer cruza la frontera en los años 1950.

Photo courtesy/foto cortesía Library of Congress



Cultural Map

The poster-sized cultural map includes information about the history, geography, peoples, and common symbols of the border region. Use this information and your own research to explore the following:

EXERCISES

1. History: Investigating Our Past

Read the Key Dates section of the poster.

- How many years ago did indigenous people settle in the border region? When did the first people settle in your area? **Clue:** Library research might help: look for local history books or pamphlets. Often they include a section on indigenous people, who were the first known inhabitants of the region.
- Who are some of the most recent migrants to the U.S-Mexico border? What drew them to the border region? Who are the most recent arrivals to make a home in your area? Where did they come from? Why did they choose to come to your area?
- Pick an event from the Key Dates that interests you. Research the event to find out why it was important to border culture. If you are from another part of the country, research an event that happened around the same date in your area.

2. The People of the Border

Read the short texts that accompany the photographs on the cultural map. As you will see, people have come to the border for many different reasons.

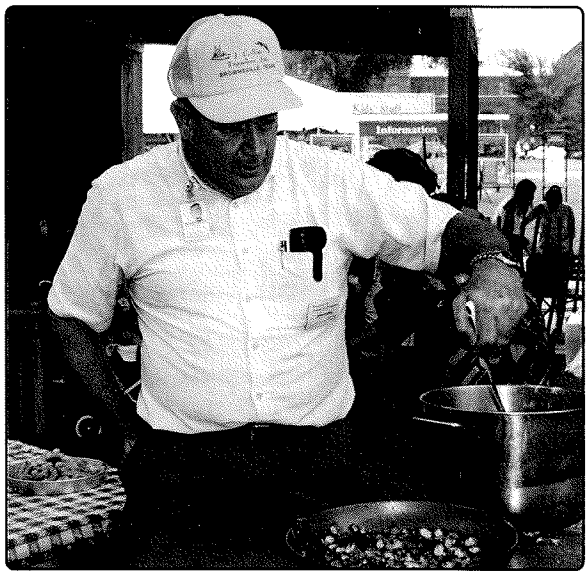
- Remember Ofelia Santos López's story of coming to the border. Ofelia can be found on the cultural map, as well as in Part I of the video. If you need to refresh your memory, read the following transcription from the video:

  I'm from Oaxaca, but I live in Baja California. I left Oaxaca when I was about 18 years old to go to Culiacán, Sinaloa, to pick tomatoes. I had two children; when I had a third child, I went to pick cotton.

My life was very sad. I worked hard in the fields. When I made some money in Sinaloa, I came to Baja California.

Julius Collins, a Cajun shrimper, told his story at the Festival of American Folklife as well:

My flight to the border came during the Korean War, in which I served. That's when the shrimping industry in Louisiana waters was going down. New grounds opened in New Mexico and Texas. Ambitious people ventured to that part of the world, and I happened to be one of them. I went to Brownsville, Texas, in 1952, right after I got out of the war. I found that the border was very similar to Louisiana. People spoke a foreign language. They didn't understand me, but that was part of the game. I saw that they were raised as I was. Their first language was Spanish, mine was French. I had to battle all my life to try and achieve something, and they were doing the same thing.



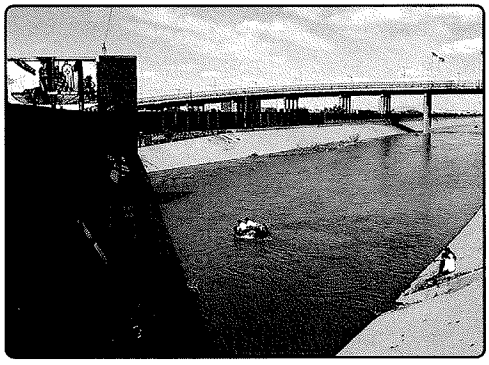
Julius Collins, a Cajun shrimper, grew up in Louisiana but lives in Brownsville, Texas.* ● *Julius Collins, un camaronero cajún, creció en Louisiana pero ahora vive en Brownsville, Texas.
Foto de/photo by Rick Vargas, cortesía/courtesy Smithsonian Institution

- How does Ofelia's experience differ from that of Julius? How are the two stories similar?

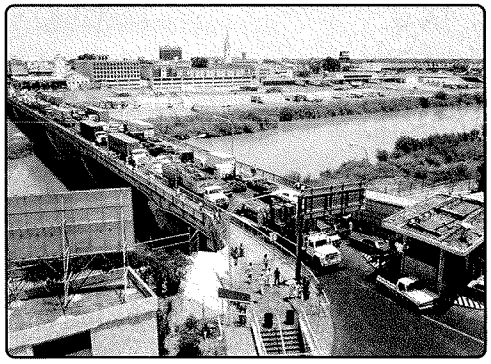
3. Images of the Border: Interpreting Photographs

Look closely at the four photographs on the bottom of pages 48 and 49. Choose one, and write a paragraph describing what this photograph tells you about life on the U.S.-Mexico border. Possible questions to consider:

- What attracts people to the border as a place to live or to visit?
- If you were trying to represent the borders in your own neighborhood, what would you photograph?



Crossing the border between Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, and El Paso, Texas.* ● *Cruzando la frontera entre Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua y El Paso Texas.
Photo by/foto de Lyle Rosbotham



The bridge across the Rio Grande between Laredo, Texas, and Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas.* ● *El puente sobre el río Bravo entre Laredo, Texas y Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas.
Photo by/ foto de Luis Barrera López

READING BORDER HISTORY

BY OLIVIA CADAVAL

The signing of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty in 1848 at the end of the United States-Mexico War (1846-48) and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853 fixed the location of the U.S.-Mexico border. But long before there was a border, Indian communities had settlements in this area, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. In the 17th century, Spanish settlers claimed the same area as the northern frontier of New Spain. In the Spanish colonial period, this area attracted explorers and missionaries. On the Gulf Coast, Jewish families from central Mexico sought refuge from religious persecution in the 18th century and established businesses in Matamoros and in the Texas Valley. Their presence helped develop the area into a commercial region. After the Mexican War of Independence in 1810, new settlers from the north and south continued to come to the region.

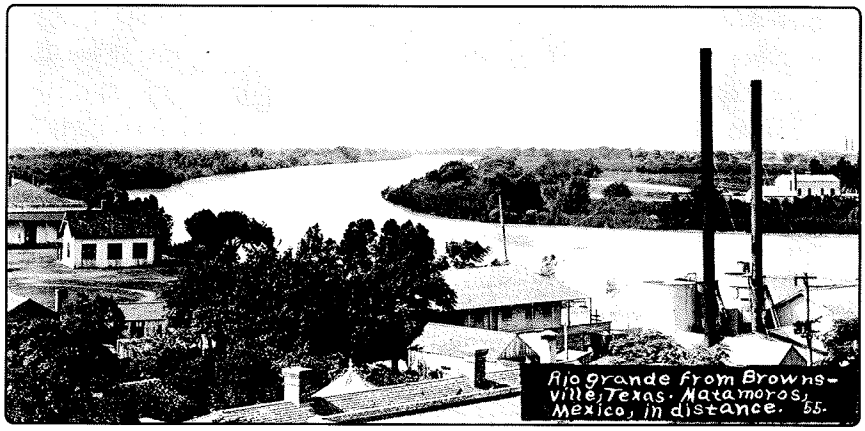
The Rio Grande, or Río Bravo, as it is called in Mexico, makes up over half of the length of the border. El Paso del Norte, now known as El Paso, was the first and largest settlement built on the river. It was built in the early 1600s and named for the mountain corridor *"el paso del norte"* (the passage to the north). Many small towns established before the creation of the border still dot the Texas Valley. In the decades following the U.S.-Mexico War, wealthy cattle barons and agricultural land merchants from the East and the Midwest of the U.S. succeeded in dominating the U.S.-Mexico trade across this border river between Texas and the Mexican states of Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Chihuahua. These merchants acquired extensive tracts of land in Texas and displaced local Mexican ranchers. The new arrivals from the East, who had access to capital and enjoyed more favorable political conditions, often became more powerful than the earlier Spanish and Mexican settlers. This created an environment of cultural and economic conflict that characterizes the border to this day.

In addition to these early communities, the border has attracted many others. These successive arrivals continue to change life in the region. In the latter part of the 19th century, a Mexican government concerned by U.S. expansionism encouraged settlement in the border region. This led to migration to the western region of the border by groups as diverse as Chinese, Mennonites, Molokan Russians, Black Seminoles (known as Mascogos in Mexico), and Kickapoo Indians. Black Seminoles and Kickapoo were welcomed on the condition that they defend the territory against the Apache and Comanche raids.

In the beginning of the 20th century, Chinese managers and laborers established residence in the towns of Mexicali and Calexico. The damming of the Colorado River converted the area, now called the Imperial Valley, into fertile agricultural land. Anglo landowners leased the land to Chinese businessmen from California, who smuggled agricultural laborers into Mexico from China.

During the Mexican Revolution, which began in 1910, the border population increased significantly, as many Mexicans

moved across the border seeking refuge, some temporarily, others permanently. Others simply migrated to the border without crossing. Migration patterns reveal links between particular states in Mexico and particular regions or towns on the border. Refugees from central Mexico who settled in the Texas Valley were likely to be joined later by other immigrants from their home towns.



This photograph, circa 1915, shows the Rio Grande, which marks the border between Mexico and Texas. ● En esta foto, circa 1915, se ve el río Bravo, la línea divisora de la frontera entre México y el estado de Texas. *Photo courtesy/foto cortesía Library of Congress*

When economic hard times hit the United States, efforts were mounted to push citizens of Mexican descent and immigrants back to Mexico. In 1914-15, the U.S. side of the Rio Grande Valley experienced a winter of violence when hundreds of Mexicans, or *"mejicanos"* in border usage, were persecuted and killed by the Texas Border Patrol. The Great Depression of the 1930s brought a new wave of deportations in which many citizens of Mexican origin and immigrants who had lived for decades undisturbed in the United States were sent back to Mexico.

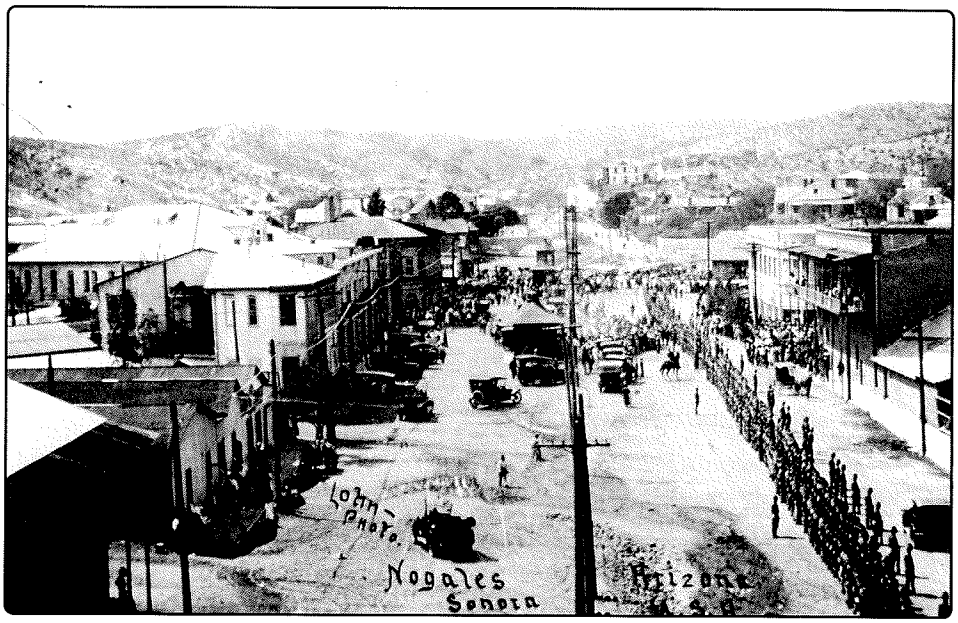
World War II changed the immigration flow once more. The Bracero Program of 1942-64, first negotiated by the United States and Mexico as an emergency measure during the war, encouraged large migrations of Mexican workers to the United States. Under its terms, U.S. agricultural employers brought Mexican contract laborers across the border for seasonal work. In the off-season some workers returned to their home communities, while others stayed on the border, often in a region where people from their home state had already settled.

Like European and Asian immigrants, Mexicans continue to seek economic opportunities in the border region. Workers have been attracted to the border by the 1961-65 Mexican National Border Economic Development Program, followed in 1965 by the Industrialization Program of the border, which introduced the *maquiladora* assembly plants to the region.

From the 1980s onward, economic and political refugees from Central America have swelled populations at the border. Individuals, groups, and corporations throughout the world continue to be attracted to the border. These companies often destroy the environment and exploit people. The 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement became the latest in a long line of international economic arrangements that have had wide-ranging local impact.

The border today is the result of the histories of the people who settled there over the years: the things they brought with them and the things they built, destroyed, rebuilt, and continue to build. History is very much alive on the border in the physical landscape and in the memories and daily experiences of the people who live there.

For additional reading, consult the bibliography in the Appendix.



This photograph shows how the creation of the border physically divided a community, like Nogales, down the middle. ● ***Esta fotografía muestra como la creación de la frontera dividió físicamente la comunidad, como Nogales, por la mitad.***
Photo courtesy/foto cortesía Library of Congress

QUESTIONS

1. Name some of the groups of people who settled in the U.S.-Mexico border region. What were their reasons for coming to live in the border region?

2. Why has the border remained a magnet for economic opportunity?

3. What does the word "indigenous" mean? Who were the indigenous people on the border? Why did indigenous peoples from other parts of Mexico move from their homelands to the border? How do their experiences compare to the migration to the border of indigenous peoples in the United States?

EXERCISES

1. Look for examples of history in the physical landscape of your community. Can you find older buildings? Murals portraying historic events? Statues of war heroes? Abandoned railroad tracks? Pick a feature of the historical landscape, and do some background research to uncover the history of your selection. Take a photo or sketch this feature, and write an explanatory paragraph to share with your classmates.

2. Pick a historical event in your community, and interview people about their impressions of this event. If you live on the border, you might choose one of the events discussed in this reading or listed on the poster's Key Dates. If you do not live on the border, pick an event of national or local significance (anything from World War II to your community's most recent elections). Are there any songs, tales, or jokes about this historical event? Gather some of the impressions, and write an essay about them. Do you notice any conflicting recollections of these events among the people you interview?

Summary of Part 1
HISTORY *and* IDENTITY

Ideas in this section:

- The culture of the U.S.-Mexico border has been shaped by historical events and by the people who have settled there over many years.
- The border is a dynamic place, with constant interaction and exchange between people, goods, and cultures.
- Uncovering geographical and historical facts helps students to better understand the stories and cultures of today's border residents.

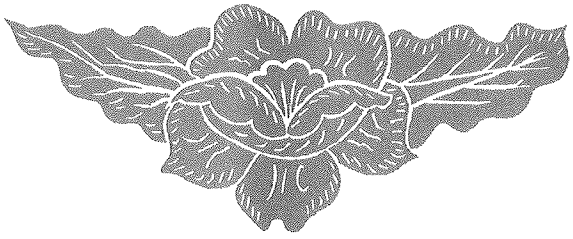
What's Next?

In the next section, on **Celebrations and Identity,** students will learn:

- *how many celebrations on the border link people and communities from both sides.*
- *how ritual, art, food, and music all play a part in these celebrations.*
- *how to investigate shrines and rituals in their own lives, and create their own imaginary fiesta.*
- *why the Virgin of Guadalupe is an important symbol on the border, and think about the symbols that are important in their own communities.*

Part 2:

CELEBRATIONS AND IDENTITY



Parte 2:

CELEBRACIONES E IDENTIDAD

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

In this section, students examine two different communities: the Tohono O'odham in southern Arizona and the Mixtecos in Tijuana. The sacred rituals and events (Pascola dancing, Day of the Dead feasts) of these communities illustrate the interdependence between people on both sides of the border.

As they learn about the fiestas of the Tohono O'odham and the Mixteco communities, students will also explore the ways in which celebrations and commemorations of special events and local heroes take place in their own communities.

The optional reading introduces students to the importance of the symbol of the Virgin of Guadalupe on the border. More than a religious icon, the Virgin has become a cultural symbol for Chicanos and young Mexicans alike, used on T-shirts, lowrider cars, and border murals. Students will explore the symbols that are important in their own communities.

Suggestions to prepare for exercises in this section:

Cultural Shrines: Identify several shrines at your school to help students understand this concept in its broadest meaning. If possible, visit a few local shrines in the school neighborhood as a class. Possibilities include: war memorials, family altars in grocery stores, a trophy case.

Rituals: Be prepared to give students an example of a personal ritual from your own experience, following the examples given.

Plan Your Own Fiesta: If possible, obtain a few brochures from your state tourism office advertising local festivals and events to provide students with ideas for their own projects.

By the end of this section, students will:

- *learn the importance of traditional celebrations on both sides of the border.*
- *explore the everyday rituals, shrines, and symbols that are important in their own lives and communities.*

Discussion Quotation

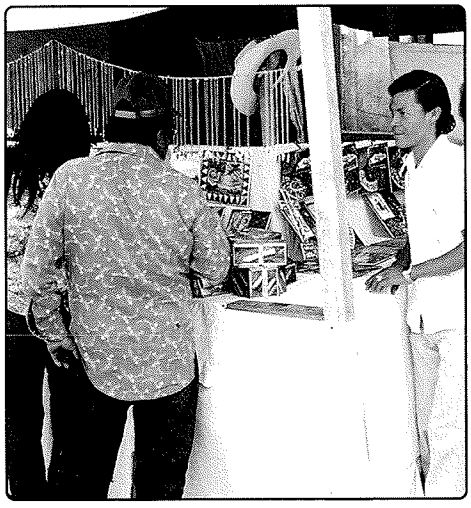
Read the following quotation, and discuss the questions that follow:

We're talking about celebrations along the border and our little tiny part of the border. These celebrations are so complex, and they involve all these different things. The paper flowers fit into the food, the food fits into the music, the music fits into the pictures of the saints; it all sort of goes together into a complex whole, and it involves two nations and lots of different artists living in different places.

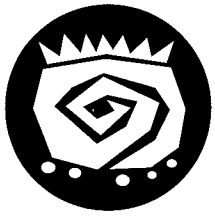
Jim Griffith, folklorist, Tucson, Arizona

How do you define a celebration? What kinds of celebrations are part of your life? What makes them complex? **Clue:** the different people involved, the different elements that are part of the event, such as food, decorations, clothes worn, etc.

Jesús León passed his skill and knowledge of frame making to his son Anastasio León, who maintains the family tradition today. ◉ Jesús León transmitió su habilidad y sus conocimientos artesanales a su hijo Anastasio León que mantiene hoy en día la tradición familiar. *Photo by/foto de Jim Griffith*



Members of the Tohono O'odham Indian community in Arizona purchase picture frames in Magdalena, Sonora. ◉ Miembros de la comunidad indígena tohono o'odham en Arizona compran en Magdalena, Sonora, los marcos para sus imágenes. *Photo by/foto de Jim Griffith*



Video Viewing

Watch **Celebrations and Identity,** Part 2 of the video. Discuss the following:

- Is there a celebration in your own family or community that is similar in some ways to the Tohono O'odham feast or the Mixteco Day of the Dead? **Clue:** Do friends and family come from far away to celebrate with you? Do people sing or dance? Do you hang decorations? Do you prepare and eat special foods?

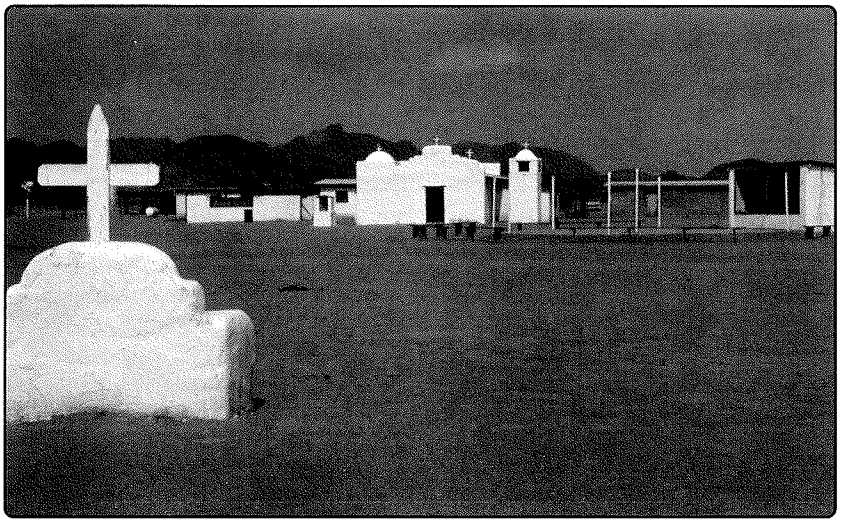
EXERCISES

1. Celebration Announcement

Read the information about celebrations on the back of the cultural map. Jim Griffith explains how fiestas are publicized in the Tohono O'odham Nation of southern Arizona:

> *This is a culture and this is a world where these celebrations are announced on the radio. The radio goes out over the whole reservation in O'odham. Every Sunday there's a radio program in the native language of this reservation, and the parties are announced then. So if you can hear the radio, you know you're invited, and you go. You don't get a card saying, "We're having a party, please come." You hear on the radio that San Simon Village is having a feast, and if you have friends or family — relations in San Simon, why you'll go and see them.*

Write a short radio announcement inviting people to the Tohono O'odham feast, the Mixteco Day of the Dead celebration, or another celebration of your choosing. Be sure to mention the important details: time, activities such as music and dancing, and foods that will



The Tohono O'odham Nation is in southern Arizona. ● *La nación tohono o'odham está localizada en el sur de Arizona.* Photo by/foto de Jim Griffith

be served. Remember to explain what is being celebrated, and why the celebration is important to the community. You might mention some highlights, like the Mixteco candle making, or the moth cocoons used for the Tohono O'odham Pascola dancing. Announce your piece to your classmates. Ask them to tell you what information you forgot to include, if any.

2. Shrines in Everyday Life

Whenever someone designates a special place to commemorate people, places, and important events in his/her life, he/she creates a shrine of sorts. People may not call these places shrines, but they are important to the person who creates them, in the same way a religious shrine is important. The objects we place in a shrine connect us with the person, event, or object celebrated. Consider these: a group of family photos on a mantelpiece or end table; a decorative collection of ceramic figurines on a shelf; some photographs of your favorite movie star taped inside your school locker.

Look around your school, home, and other public places (local bakeries or family-run grocery stores) for examples of such shrines. You might find a tribute to a local sports hero, an image of an important saint, or a marker for a town's war heroes. At school, you might see pictures of your teacher's family on his/her desk, or a sports trophy case in the hallway. At a local family-run store, you might find garlic, oranges, or a national flag hung over the cash register or in a special alcove in celebration of the family's ethnicity. Take a photo of three of the shrines you find, draw a sketch, or describe them in a paragraph. Share your findings with the class.

Now make your own shrine. Possible ideas: 1) a tribute to your favorite rock star or sports star with photos and clippings from newspapers or magazines; 2) a collage of family photographs and memorabilia from a vacation or family reunion; 3) an arrangement of items you collect: sports cards, stuffed animals, show tickets, souvenirs.

Write a paragraph about your personal shrine. Why is it important to you? Include a photo if possible, or recreate the shrine in the classroom. Use your paragraph as a descriptive label, so the classroom will become a museum for the day.

Fresh fruits and flowers adorn a Mixteco Day of the Dead altar and add tempting smells and colors.* ● *Flores y fruta fresca adornan un altar mixteco para el Día de los Muertos. *Photo by/foto de Rick Vargas, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution*

3. Exploring Everyday Rituals

What is a ritual? A ritual consists of specific ceremonial actions used to mark a particular occasion. Most people participate in many rituals. Here are some examples:

- birthdays: friends and family sing a special song; a wish is made; candles are blown out; birthday cake is eaten; a *piñata* is broken; presents are opened. What happens in your family? Is it always the same?
- sports events: pre-game activities may take place, like a marching band playing the school song; players ensure good luck by wearing their favorite charm, reciting a good-luck phrase, or by other means; the game itself takes place with cheering and jeering; post-game activities celebrate victory or mull over defeat. Can you think of other rituals associated with sports events?

Think of an everyday ritual (or one that occurs once a month or year) that you participate in (grace at meals, saying hello and goodbye). Write down all of the elements that are a part of the ritual, like the lists above. Now, write a short essay explaining the importance of the different elements in your list.

4. Planning Your Own Fiesta

Imagine that you are from a small border community and you are helping to plan a fiesta. Use the fiestas described in the videotape as a guide. Give your fiesta a name. What is the special occasion that your fiesta celebrates or marks? Consider these questions: Will other communities participate in your fiesta? Look at the cultural map. Whom will you invite to your fiesta? What kinds of music groups will you invite? Who on the cultural map might offer you help in your fiesta planning? **Clue:** Could Eduardo Auyón help make signs? What will you need for your fiesta? Where will you find these things? Make a list of the things you need.

Imagine that some of the things you need for the fiesta are located on the opposite side of the border. Who will go across the border to collect the supplies? Will there be any problem in locating these items and bringing them across the border? Fill out the forms (reproduced on the next page) to travel across the border. If the official crossing was 40 miles away and an unofficial crossing was only 10 miles away, which crossing would you use?

How will you publicize the event? What do you think will be the best way to announce your event in your community?

Imagine that people unfamiliar with your event are coming to the fiesta. Create a brochure to inform the general public about the fiesta. Include the following: a brief history of the fiesta; an account of how it has changed over the years; a schedule of events; a menu of foods; acknowledgments or thanks to the people, stores, restaurants, or others who have contributed to making the fiesta a success.

SAMPLE

U.S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

OMB 1115-0077

Admission Number

Welcome to the United States

907369248 00

I-94 Arrival/Departure Record – Instructions

This form must be completed by all persons except U.S. Citizens, returning resident aliens, aliens with immigrant visas, and Canadian Citizens visiting or in transit.

Type or print legibly with pen in ALL CAPITAL LETTERS. Use English. Do not write on the back of this form.

This form is in two parts. Please complete both the Arrival Record (Items 1 through 13) and the Departure Record (Items 14 through 17).

When all items are completed, present this form to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Inspector.

Item 7 – If you are entering the United States by land, enter **LAND** in this space. If you are entering the United States by ship, enter **SEA** in this space.

Form I-94 (11-I-86)

Admission Number

907369248 00

Immigration and Naturalization Service

I-94
Arrival Record

CLASS OFFICE CODE

1.Family Name

2.First (Given) Name

3.Birth Date (Day / Mo. / Yr.)

4.Country of Citizenship

5.Sex (Male or Female)

6.Passport Number

7.Airline or Flight Number

8.Country Where You Live

9.City Where You Boarded

10.City Where Visa Was Issued

11.Date Issued (Day / Mo. / Yr.)

12.Address While in the United States (Number and Street)

13.City and State

Departure Number

907369248 00

Immigration and Naturalization Service

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I-94 Departure Record

14.Family Name

15.First (Given) Name

16.Birth Date (Day / Mo. / Yr.)

17.Country of Citizenship

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Primary Inspection

Applicant's Name

Date Referred ____ Time ____ Insp. # ____

Reason Referred

☐ 212A ☐ ☐ ☐ PP ☐ Visa ☐ Parole ☐ SLB ☐ TWOV

☐ Other

Secondary Inspection

End Secondary Time ____ Insp. # ____

Disposition

18. Occupation	19. Waivers
20. INS File A –	21. INS FCO
22. Petition Number	23. Program Number
24. ☐ Bond	25. ☐ Prospective Student

26. Itinerary / Comments

27. TWOV Ticket Number

Warning – A nonimmigrant who accepts unauthorized employment is subject to deportation.

Important – Retain this permit in your possession; ***you must surrender it when you leave the U.S.*** Failure to do so may delay your entry into the U.S. in the future.

You are authorized to stay in the U.S. only until the date written on this form. To remain past this date, without permission from immigration authorities, is a violation of the law.

Surrender this permit when you leave the U.S.:
– By sea or air, to the transportation line;
– Across the Canadian border, to a Canadian Official;
– Across the Mexican border, to a U.S. Official.

Students planning to reenter the U.S. within 30 days to return to the same school, see "Arrival–Departure" on page 2 of Form I–20 **prior to surrendering this permit.**

Record of Changes

Port: **Departure Record**

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READING THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE

BY OLIVIA CADAVAL

According to the legend of the Virgin of Guadalupe, in December 1531 the Virgin Mary appeared to an Indian, Juan Diego, on the mountain of Tepeyac, located near what is now Mexico City. The Virgin directed Juan Diego to tell the Bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, to build a temple in her honor on the site where she had appeared. Doubting Juan Diego, the Bishop asked for a sign. The Virgin appeared again and told Juan Diego to cut roses of Castille, which were growing miraculously on the barren mountain in the middle of winter. The Virgin told Juan Diego to bring them to the Bishop. Juan Diego gathered the flowers in his cloak *(tilma)* and went to the Bishop. He unfolded the cloak in front of the Bishop and revealed an image of the Virgin imprinted on the fabric. Thus convinced, the Bishop commissioned a shrine to house her image.

The mountain of Tepeyac, where the vision of the Virgin occurred, had held important significance for Indian populations for some time. The Aztecs honored the deity Tonantzín at this same site. In 1810, the Virgin became a major symbol of nationhood when Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla led Mexico to independence carrying a banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

The Virgin was brought to the border region with the first Spanish settlements. In 1659, a mission called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe) was built at El Paso de Norte, where Ciudad Juárez and El Paso are now located. This was the earliest permanent settlement along the border. Three hundred years later, her presence persists as part of the cultural identity of the region. In the 1960s, the Virgin became one of the key symbols of the Chicano movement. She represented "La Raza," the new culture of the Americas that fused Native American and European heritages.

Known as La Morenita, because of her dark-skinned face, the Virgin is also referred to as Tonantzín, incorporating Aztec ancestry. Her appeal is widespread. Her followers come from all levels of society and include bankers, politicians, teachers, *maquiladora* workers, and farmers. Indians and mestizos from any walk of life often appeal to the Virgin for help and protection in everyday problems of health, family, and work, although they may have their own patron saint as well.[1]

At different places on the border, shrines with the Virgin's image appear in churches, markets, homes, yards, and in roadside altars. Artists incorporate her image into murals, tatoos, T-shirts, and lowrider cars. Furniture makers carve her image on chairs and headboards. The Virgin is ever present in the home, the neighborhood, and the community. On the border, as throughout the Americas, people celebrate the feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe on December 12th with music and processions. On this day, *norteño* and *conjunto* groups serenade the

[1] Latin American countries are predominantly Roman Catholic. Most villages, towns, and cities have their own patron saint. In addition, many individuals adopt a personal patron saint if they feel a saint helped them during an especially difficult time.

Virgin with the traditional song, *"Las Mañanitas."* From the 1600s to today, the Virgin has remained a powerful cultural symbol and advocate for many residents along the border.

For additional reading, consult the bibliography in the Appendix.

Tatoo designs range from images of popular heroes to that of the Virgin of Guadalupe. ◉ En los diseños para tatuajes se encuentran tanto imágenes de héroes populares como la de la Virgen de Guadalupe.
Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval

The market place, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. ◉ El mercado, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. *Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval*

QUESTIONS

1. Think about the story of the Virgin of Guadalupe. What makes her image important to many border residents? **Clue:** To whom did the Virgin appear, what does she look like, what makes her uniquely Mexican?

2. In what ways does the history of the Virgin of Guadalupe bring together European and indigenous cultures? Identify another characteristic of the border — its food, language, agriculture — that brings together more than one culture.

3. Discuss some of the more contemporary ways the image of the Virgin is used in artistic expression. What other images are often shown alongside the image of the Virgin? **Clue:** You might use the cultural map for ideas.

EXERCISE

As you read, the Virgin of Guadalupe is a cultural *symbol* throughout the U.S.-Mexico border region. An image of the Virgin, no matter what form it takes, reminds people of important

things in their lives: religious feelings, pride in their heritage, a common bond with others from the region.

Look around for similar symbols in your life, your family, and your community. If you live near the border, explore your community for images of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Murals on public walls, lowrider cars, tatoos, church art, grocery or variety stores, marketplaces, and the homes of family and friends are all possible starting points. If possible, interview people who sell or own images of the Virgin. What do the images mean to them? Take photographs of the images in their surroundings or make sketches. Share your findings with your classmates. If you do not live near the border, pick a symbol that is common in your town, region, or state. License plates often provide clues to states' symbols. Possible symbols include:

- a flag
- a mascot for an athletic team
- an emblem of a local product (like peaches in Georgia)
- Mickey Mouse ears in Orlando, Florida
- cows in Wisconsin or Vermont (dairy states)

Take photographs of the images in their surroundings, or make sketches. Share your findings with your classmates.

Summary of Part 2
CELEBRATIONS *and* IDENTITY

Ideas in this section:

- Celebrations along the U.S.-Mexico border often rely on the interrelationship and interdependence of people.
- Icons, shrines, and rituals are important cultural symbols in everyday life.

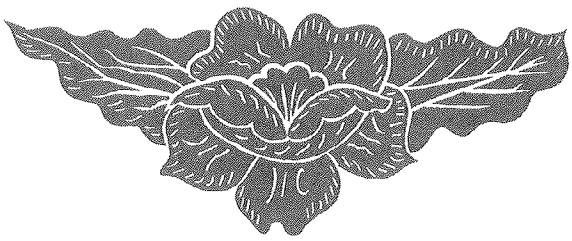
What's Next?

In the next section, on **Expressive Traditions and Identity,** students will learn:

- *some of the expressive traditions that can be found on the border (visual art, music, theater).*
- *how these expressive traditions reflect contemporary social and political issues.*
- *how expressive traditions contribute to the identity of individuals and families.*

Part 3:

EXPRESSIVE TRADITIONS AND IDENTITY



Parte 3:

ARTE POPULAR E IDENTIDAD

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

People along the border express themselves in many ways: through music, dance, painting, theater, and literature. In this region, traditional expressions include ballads that recount historical events, murals or improvised street plays that are public statements about social injustice, and lowrider cars that proudly showcase the presence of a vibrant Chicano culture and identity.

In this section, students will view Part 3 of the video, which introduces artists from both sides of the border. Carlos Callejo is a muralist from El Paso. La Brigada por la Paz (The Brigade for Peace) is the name of a group of *cholo* muralists from Juárez. Lowrider car artist Romy Frías talks about the importance of his art in his life. The street theater group, El Taller Universitario de Teatro, performs a segment of their improvisational play, *"Mexicali a secas."* The Layton Family, *conjunto* musicians, discuss their family's musical history, and Carmen Cristina Moreno sings a *corrido* (ballad).

A charting exercise helps students to organize information about these traditional expressions. Additional exercises include an excerpt from an interview with Romy Frías, in which he explains how his life changed following his involvement with the Slow and Low lowrider club. Students examine a *corrido* and are encouraged to write their own improvisational skit. This section includes two reading pieces: the first narrates the story of the musical duo El Palomo y El Gorrión, and the second summarizes the history and contemporary significance of murals along the border.

Suggestions to prepare for exercises in this section:
Corridos: You may wish to provide more examples of *corridos* for your students. See the *corrido* "In Honor of Kennedy" in the Appendix or consult publications by Américo Paredes and Vicente Mendoza in the Bibliography for more examples.
Theater: Bring in newspaper clippings about current local problems and issues to give students ideas for their skit topic.

By the end of this section, students will:

- *recognize expressive traditions as an important part of people's personal, family, and community lives.*
- *learn how expressive traditions reflect contemporary social and political issues.*

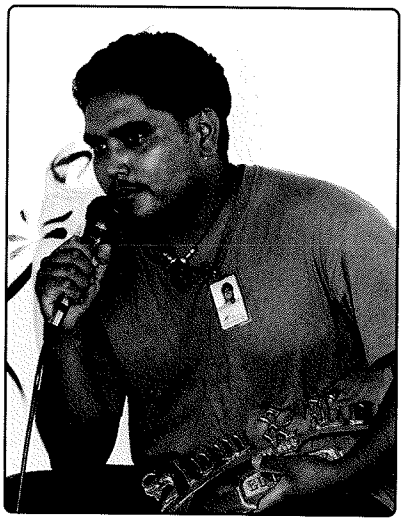
Discussion Quotation

Read the following quotation, and discuss the questions that follow:

The truth is the truth. Where there are problems, there are problems. Whether you put it on a wall or the hood of a car, we are trying to make a story, tell the truth, let everybody know. Some people do it one way, our way is through paint. This is the way we choose to express ourselves. It's all about expression.

Romy Frías, lowrider artist, El Paso, Texas

How can people express truth, or problems, through art? What questions does this quotation raise for you? Write down your questions. Look back at your questions following the video viewing.



Romy Frías, a lowrider from El Paso, Texas, holds a hood ornament with the name of his car club, Slow and Low. • Romy Frías, un lowrider de El Paso, Texas, muestra una decoración para su carro con el nombre de su club "Low and Slow". *Photo courtesy/foto cortesía Smithsonian Institution*

Video Viewing

Watch **Expressive Traditions and Identity,** Part 3 of the video. Discuss the following:

- Were any of your earlier questions answered by the video?
- What new questions did the video raise for you?
- How do the experiences of Carlos Callejo differ from those of the members of La Brigada por la Paz?
- What are some of the similarities between the creation of a lowrider car and the painting of a mural?
- How have family and history influenced the experiences of Carmen Cristina Moreno and Norfilia Layton?

EXERCISES

1. Art Chart

Make a list of the different forms of artistic expression in the video. Create a chart that compares and contrasts the types of expression. Use the following categories for comparison, and add others if you feel the necessity.

- Type: oral/written/sung/visual (painted, sketched, etc.)
- Authorship: composed by one artist/composed by group
- Theme: historical/social statement/entertainment/survival
- Meaning to artist(s): group or family solidarity/expression of injustice or social problem/statement of identity

Discuss how the chart emphasizes the differences and similarities among the forms of traditional artistic expression along the border.

2. *Corridos:* The Singing of a Story

Corridos are musical ballads that tell stories about events of significance to a place. A *corrido* interprets, celebrates, and dignifies events already familiar to its audience. Themes range from love to commentary on a political situation. The narrative may have an epic flavor that concerns an heroic figure, for example a bandit, a general, or a president. It may be the story of an ordinary person recognized locally by the community. Like the Virgin of Guadalupe's image, the events told in a *corrido* form are symbols of value to the community.

A *corrido* follows a traditional poetic form:

- Quatrain verse – 4 lines
- Rhyming pattern – A B C B (see second verse of the *corrido* in Spanish, page 90)
- Some have a 4-line refrain.

The content of the *corrido* also follows a standard format:

1) Formal opening – Initial call of the *corridista* (balladeer) to the public.
2) Introduction – Setting the scene. Often states the place, date, and name of the main character of the *corrido* (see verses #1 and #2).
3) Action – The arguments of the protagonist as reported by the narrator through face-to-face conversations (see verse #2, #4, #6). The story is told in the third person, by an observer.

Gregorio Cortez is a border hero from the Lower Río Grande region. The corrido named after him made him famous in the region. ● Gregorio Cortez es un héroe de la frontera en la región del río Bravo. El corrido que lleva su nombre lo hizo famoso en la región. *Photo courtesy/foto cortesía University of Illinois Press (Américo Paredes' personal collection)*

4) The message (see #9).

5) The farewell of the protagonist (see #10).

6) Formal close (*despedida*) – The farewell of the *corridista* (see #11).

Corridos vary from region to region, and most *corridos* don't employ all elements. On the border, the formal opening is not as important as the formal closing, the *despedida*. Often the *corridista* will jump to the action, skipping the introduction.

Certain standard phrases, such as *"Ya con ésta me despido"* (With this I say farewell) and *"Vuela, vuela palomita"* (Fly, fly, little dove), often signal the *despedida* (see #10 and #11).

In the video, Carmen Cristina Moreno sings a *corrido* that is set during the Mexican Revolution (1910-17). She explains that the song has a special meaning for her because her father fought in the Revolution. Carmen Cristina sings the *corrido* in Spanish and then translates for the English-speaking audience. Here are the words to the *corrido*:

1. He said farewell to Allende
At exactly twenty-one years of age;
He left pleasant memories
With the people and the *rurales* (federal troops).

2. Arnulfo was sitting down,
When a lieutenant happens to pass by;
The lieutenant says to him, "Listen, why are you staring at me?"
"Looking is very natural."

3. The lieutenant was very angry,
And he struck him in the face;
With his pistol in his hand,
He threatened him with death.

4. Arnulfo rose to his feet,
Calling the lieutenant down:
"Listen, friend, don't go away.
My reply is yet to come."

At the Festival, Carmen Cristina stops in the middle of the *corrido*. This is how the song concludes:

5. They started shooting at each other,
They were fighting face to face;
With his pistol Arnulfo
Shot the lieutenant three times.

6. But, "Oh," the lieutenant says,
Almost with his last breath,
"Listen, friend, don't go away.
Come back and finish me off."

7. Arnulfo returned,
To put a bullet through his forehead,
But as he turned around,
The lieutenant shot him down.

8. Arnulfo, very badly wounded,
Was taken away in a car;
When he got to the hospital,
He was near his death bed.

9. How admirable are the men
Who fight to the death face to face,
Each one of them with his pistol,
Defending his right!

10. Fly, fly, little dove,
Go light on those wheat fields;
Go take the news to Lupita
That Arnulfo González is dead;
He took a scalp along with him,
That of the lieutenant of the *rurales*.

11. Now with this I say farewell
To civilians and to officials;
This is the end of the ballad
Of the lieutenant and González.

As a class, or in small groups, compose your own ballad, either about a person or an event on the U.S.-Mexico border, or from your own community. You might borrow music from a song you know and perform it for the class. Listen to Carmen Cristina's song again for ideas.

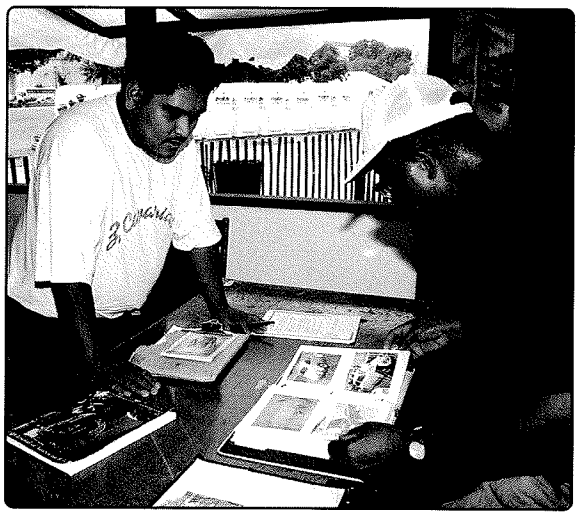
3. Lowriders: A Statement from the Streets

At the Festival of American Folklife, Romy Frías of El Paso, Texas, told the following story about how he joined the Slow and Low car club.

> *I played football in high school, and I suffered a very crippling knee injury. This injury stopped me from practicing. My life was very crushing to me. I turned to the gangs; they also have a very high profile, and I was by no means as wimpy as the coaches made me out to be. So there I was, a soldier of the gangs for a while, and I saw where that was taking me. I didn't really see myself as that kind of a follower. So for about two, three months*

I went through the painstaking task of disassociating myself from the gangs around the city. Now I was a target for the jocks and for the gang members.

Little by little, I started seeing the cars cruising around. You always dream about having a car like that. I had an '87 Escort, so I started putting my attention toward my vehicle. I did after-school jobs, and what little money I was making, rather than spend it foolishly taking the boys out to drink beer, I started putting it into my car. And little by little, I started attracting the attention of the car clubs.



***Romy Frías shares his lowrider scrapbook with Festival visitors.** ◉ **Romy Frías muestra su álbum lowrider a los visitantes del Festival.** Photo by/foto de Rick Vargas, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution*

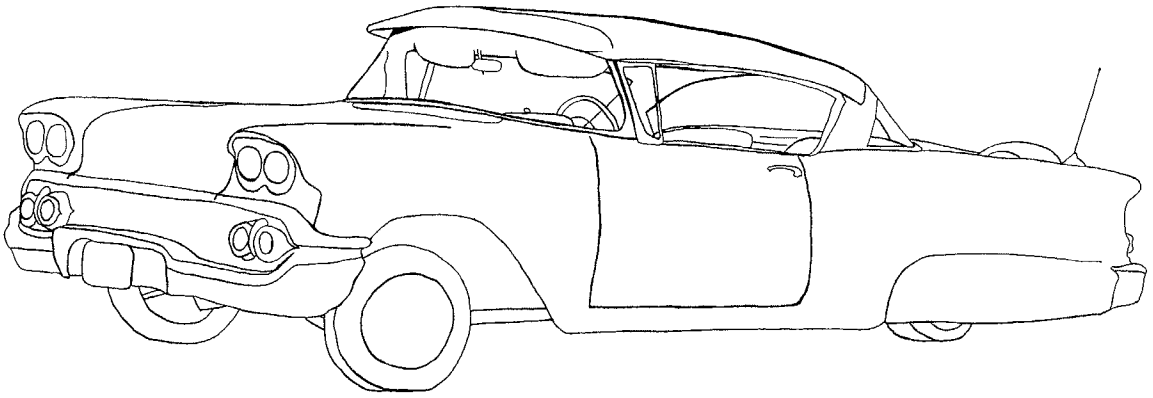
One weekend, I was just minding my own business, following the cruising scene. I was approached by a number of gang members, both from my ex-gang and other gangs that were allied with them. The gang members pulled me out of the car — they literally pulled me out of the window of the car — and told me I wasn't going to go home tonight and that they'd have fun cruising my new ride. Immediately upon seeing that, Slow and Low car club members pulled around me. It wasn't so much a show of force; they just showed up. Slow and Low showed up that time with 40 members, 40 different vehicles, mostly VWs, some mini-trucks, and a few traditionals. This was indeed something that the gangs would have to reckon with.

When the gangs saw that, they let me go. A couple of the board members, the leaders if you will, of Slow and Low, came up to me and shook my hand. "Hi, Romy, we've known you for a while, and we saw you are interested in lowriding. We were wondering if you would like to hook up with us, 'cause we think you have come a long way." They didn't tell the gang members anything. All they did was show up and introduce themselves to me. Their very presence was intimidating enough for the gang members to leave me alone.

Of course, the next couple of years would bring threats and gossip, but they were there for me. In return, I've given them the skills that I have learned. I will never forget that night. I was terrified. I didn't know if I was going to go home. The guys were known as knifers. They were known to bring weapons. Slow and Low showed up, and it was a unique way that they defused the situation. It showed the responsibility of the members not to bring themselves down to the mentality of the gang members,

but rather just to show up and to get me involved. It effectively eradicated the whole presence of the gang, completely.

- Romy's story shows how a lowrider club can act as a positive alternative to joining a gang. What activities in your community might serve the same purpose?
- Have you ever been in a potentially dangerous situation like the one Romy describes? How was the situation resolved? How would you tell the story?
- Design your own lowrider car, using colors, symbols, and other elements to express your identity or that of your group. You can use the following drawing as an outline.



4. Theater Improvisation

Along the U.S.-Mexico border, theater often expresses issues such as injustice, discrimination, poverty, and pollution. The border theater group, El Taller Universitario de Teatro, uses their play, *"Mexicali a secas,"* to point out injustices in the *maquiladora* industry, as you saw in the brief excerpt of their performance on the video.

- Break into small groups. Pick a topic that is a problem in your area. Select different characters to represent different points of view.
- Possible topics include:
  strained race relations in a nearby high school
  pollution in a local water supply
  homelessness
  drugs
  migration
- Create a skit to dramatize the problem. Perform it for your class with simple costumes and props. Or record it as a radio play, and broadcast it over the school loudspeaker system.

READING

THE STORY OF THE DUO EL PALOMO Y EL GORRIÓN

The following excerpts are from Ingratos ojos míos: Miguel Luna y la historia de El Palomo y El Gorrión, *the story of two brothers, Miguel and Cirilo Luna Franco. The brothers were born in El Sáuz, a ranch in the border state of Nuevo León in northern Mexico. This is the story of their musical career as the duo El Palomo y El Gorrión. The story is told by Miguel, "El Gorrión," and written down by Guillermo Berrones.*

Here come The Birds! From childhood, that's how we have been known in La Chona [the name of the small town near the ranch where they lived] and everywhere we have been since. Father says that he called me Gorrión [Sparrow] because I looked like those little birds that have very few feathers when they are born. I was bald at birth, and so he baptized me Gorrión. Palomo [Dove] was chubby when he was born, like a dove with a fat breast, and that's why Father gave him that name. To this day, when we are around, people say, "Here come the Pajaros [Birds]." It makes me think of my childhood, my town's people and the land we come from.

When they were young, Father, Ramoncito [a friend of the family] and my mother formed a musical group and played for parties. They would return with goats, pigs and beans, which was how they were paid.

The truth is that Father was out of tune, but he liked to sing and he was stubborn. We learned to sing from my mother. We started performing in the ranch schools. One school would recommend us to other schools. That's how I started going from one ranch to another. Eventually we went to Mexico City. [The father took the three sons to Mexico City to see a doctor about Palomo's eye, which he had hurt in an accident.] We sang in the streets, in markets and on buses. Father realized singing brought in cash, which meant we could keep looking for doctors.

One day, Father decided to go to Cuernavaca. We went with trip fare only. The brightly lit signs greeted us as we arrived. I was traumatized from that time on. Whenever I saw the image of those lights, I was overcome with sadness. It meant arriving in an unknown town and singing, singing and singing. If we arrived at night we would go directly to the bars, because we had to get enough money for the hotel.

If the town had a radio station, Father would ask them to let us sing. They would say no but he would insist stubbornly until we got a chance. Then he would ask for a letter that stated we had sung at the station.

One day while singing on a bus, we met a man who was the representative for several important music groups. He heard us and said, "Get off." We were afraid but we got off. He said, "Would you like to record?" "Yes, but we have to talk to our father." "I'll give you my card and you tell your father to bring you to this address." [Thus, El Palomo y El Gorrión began their recording career.]

The golden age of El Palomo y El Gorrión was in the 1960s. We filled the plazas in Torreón, Nuevo Laredo and

many others. We also went to ranches lit with oil lamps and we sang without amplification. To this day we keep in touch with the ranch and with the country folk. We return to visit and to be together. We have not forgotten our origins.

El Palomo and El Gorrión, a musical duo from Monterrey, Nuevo León, sing rancheras and corridos at the Festival in Washington. ● ***El Palomo y El Gorrión, un dúo musical de Monterrey, Nuevo León, canta rancheras y corridos en el Festival en Washington.***

Photo by/foto de Jeff Tinsley, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution

QUESTIONS

1. Where did El Palomo y El Gorrión learn to sing? Is family history important to this duo? In what ways?

2. Why do you think El Gorrión was traumatized by the bright lights of Cuernavaca?

READING MURALS

BY KARIN HAYES

Murals are an excellent way to pass on some of these traditions, some of these legends, and some of these stories. Murals are effective because they are in public places, accessible to everyone, and so they reach literally thousands upon thousands of people. And so they are a way to bring some of this identity, some of this history to the new generations.

Carlos Callejo
muralist and 1993 Festival of American Folklife participant

We get people to participate in painting murals and to help redirect violence between barrios. *They are promoting peace, culture, tradition.*

Alonso Encina
muralist with La Brigada por la Paz and 1993 Festival of American Folklife participant

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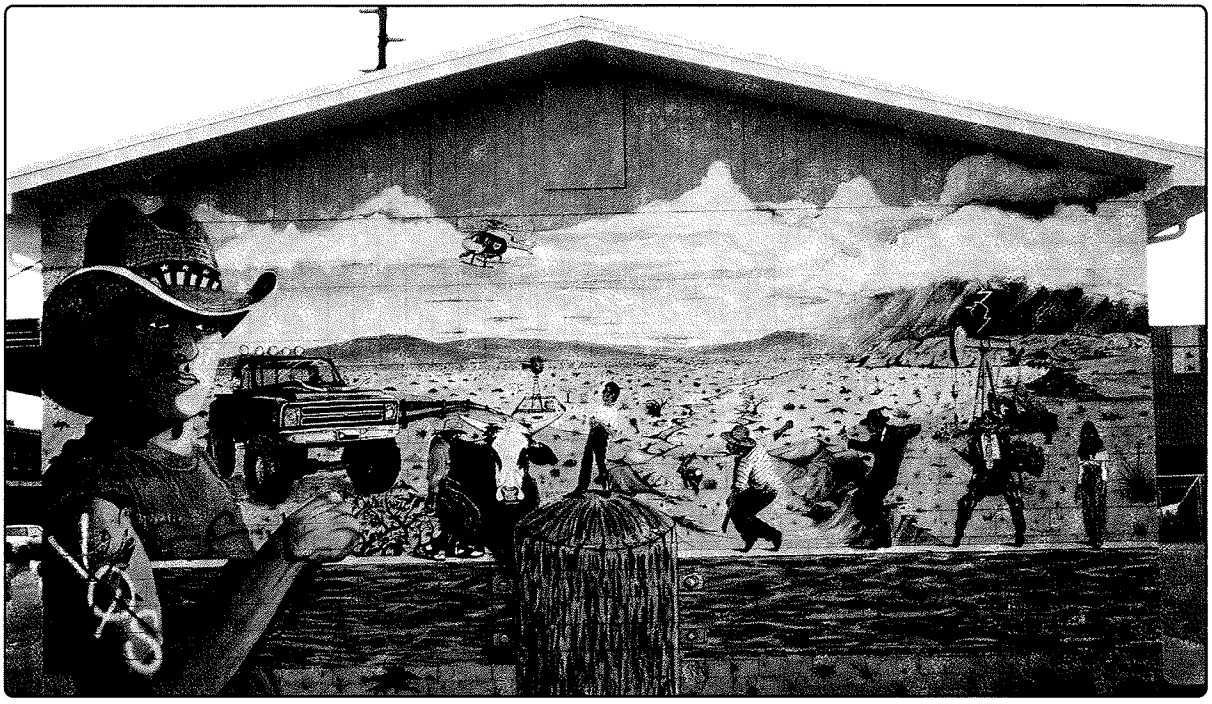
Muralism is a form of painting traditionally done on walls. Mexico has a long tradition of muralism. Mexican muralism dates back to pre-Colombian (pre-1492) times with paintings on temples, pyramids, and palaces done by the Tolteca, Mayan, and other Native American societies. When the Spanish invaded Mexico in the 16th century, they discovered these murals. The Spaniards often employed Native Americans to paint murals, adorning their church walls with religious themes. During this early colonial period, Native Americans were forbidden from painting their own traditions and lifestyles in murals.

Although muralism in Mexico did not receive much attention by the upper classes in the 17th and 18th centuries, it continued to flourish as popular art, often in signs on store fronts and bars. It was not until the Mexican Revolution began in 1910 that ordinary people seized the walls to make political statements in public places.

In the 20th century, muralism was led by three great muralists — Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and José Clemente Orozco. The work of these *tres grandes* (three great ones) provided a record of Mexico's history, politics, culture, and a voice of the people. In addition, these *tres grandes* influenced muralists of the United States government-funded Federal Arts Project in the 1930s.

During the Depression of the 1930s, more than 2,500 murals in the United States were funded by the government through the Works Progress Administration, Federal Arts Project. Mural artists sponsored by the project were often among the large number of people left unemployed by the Depression. In the 1930s, murals depicted agricultural life, the history of pioneers and Native Americans in the United States, immigrants, farming, and labor. Although many American artists of the Depression wanted to include the lessons of the *tres grandes* in their work, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that a strong Chicano muralist movement occurred. Gaining a voice through the Civil Rights Act, affirmative action, and media attention to minority issues, the Chicano working class sought to address issues such as job discrimination and the prohibition against speaking Spanish in schools through murals on neighborhood walls. Carlos Callejo, a contemporary Chicano muralist who came of age in the late 1960s, explains:

Mural painting is more of a community art project. The



"El Chuco y Que" mural by Carlos Callejo, El Paso, Texas. ● Mural "El Chuco y Que" de Carlos Callejo, El Paso, Texas.
Photo by/foto de Michael Stone

artist basically becomes a tool to portray the struggles, the aspirations, the needs of that particular community.

Artists of the Chicano mural movement were often self-taught sign painters, house painters, college art students, and graffiti artists. Although these artists had different backgrounds, they used murals as positive affirmations of their Mexican heritage. The artists used murals to involve the community, moving art outside of museums and into the daily lives of people. Under the direction of an artist, community members often designed and painted murals themselves.

Chicano artists paint murals for many different reasons, many of which come from within the community itself. In El Paso, Texas, muralists have chosen topics that reflect problems in their community — homelessness, AIDS, drugs, gang violence, illiteracy — as well as pride in family, community, and cultural heritage. Since the 1960s and 1970s, in El Paso as well as in Los Angeles, Chicago, and other cities across the United States, many artists in Latino neighborhoods have expressed their hopes, dreams, and fears through murals.

Murals affect people on different levels, from the passer-by who watches the painting evolve, to the community member who participates in the planning and painting, to neighbors and outsiders who live in or visit the community. As a public form of art and communication, murals express cultural heritage and identity, and pride in the community. Murals are powerful tools to teach onlookers about history and legends, and to create an awareness of social and political problems.

For additional reading, consult the bibliography in the Appendix.

The Virgin of Guadalupe is a favorite image in murals, like this one in a neighborhood in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. ● *La Virgen de Guadalupe es una imagen popular para murales como éste en un barrio de Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.*
Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval

QUESTIONS

1. Why is it important to find ways to express identity and cultural values? How can a mural help you tell a story about your community?

2. If you were to paint a mural about your own identity, what images would you use?

EXERCISES

1. Create a mural as a class.
   - Decide on a general theme: sites in your town, city; life as a teenager; the environment; an historical event; community issues, etc.
   - Choose images to represent that theme.
   - Sketch the idea on paper, and then transfer it to large butcher paper (the size of the mural).
   - Paint the mural. Make sure all class members are involved in some way; this is a group effort.

2. After creating a mural with your class, plan a smaller mural about yourself. Use the images you thought about for question 2.

3. Find a mural in your community. What does the mural represent? Who painted the mural? If possible, contact the muralist and ask if you can interview him/her. Why did the muralist select the themes he/she chose?

Summary of Part 3
EXPRESSIVE TRADITIONS *and* IDENTITY

Ideas in this section:

- People can express themselves in many different ways through traditional arts.
- Art can point out social problems and political issues.
- Art can be used for many purposes, even to prevent people from joining gangs.

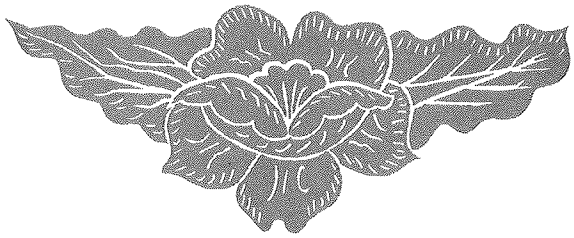
What's Next?

In the next section, on **Occupations and Identity,** students will learn:

- *how the presence of the border has affected the working lives of its residents.*
- *how traditional occupations along the border have evolved over the years to accommodate new situations.*

Part 4:

OCCUPATIONS AND IDENTITY



Parte 4:

TRABAJO E IDENTIDAD

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

Along the border, geography and history, as well as political and social conditions, have affected where and how people work. In some cases, jobs have been created because of the border. Occupations along the border range from cowboy to craft vendor, from Border Patrol agent to factory worker. The different ways people make a living are often important identity markers.

In Part 4 of the video, students will learn from the stories and experiences of people working in many different occupations along the border. Cowboys in the Rio Grande region talk about the changes in their work over the years; a Border Patrol agent and a blacksmith tell how growing up among ranchers helps them in their present jobs. The *maquiladora* industry is examined briefly. Mixteco women from Tijuana explain how tourism has created opportunities that they have taken advantage of as souvenir vendors.

One exercise examines how tourism affects the border. Another exercise considers occupations like blacksmithing, which use recycled materials. A third encourages students to think about the occupations that are important in their own communities. Students read about factory workers in the *maquiladora* industry of the border region.

The excerpted article from *American Cowboy* provides an example of the relationship between two occupations — the Border Patrol and ranching. The article also offers students an opportunity to examine critically the predicaments and attitudes that a border creates. The article uses analogies between skills required to track cattle if they leave a pasture and those for tracking a person traveling across the border. In the article, "potentially diseased, stray livestock" are compared to "drug smugglers and illegal aliens." However, the analogies raise questions about comparing people with disease-carrying animals, a practice that may lead

to rationalizing human rights abuses and infringements. Students are also asked to think about the romanticized notion of the "Old West," which is seen as an empty wilderness waiting to be settled by pioneers, but in reality was a territory inhabited by indigenous people and later by Mexicans, before Anglo settlers came from the United States. (For more information on this subject, consult the *Legacy of Conquest* by Patricia N. Limerick and *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own* by Richard White, cited in the Bibliography.)

Suggestions to prepare for exercises in this section:

Tourism: Obtain brochures from a tourist agency depicting places to visit to give students ideas about techniques to attract tourists.

Professions in the Community: Brainstorm with students about different occupations so that the class covers a broad range of occupations.

Using What's Around: Identify several examples of the reuse of materials in your community, for example, historic factory buildings remodeled into condominiums or a shopping area; a recycling plant; scrap metal sculptures; rubber tire planters in yards.

If you live near an international border, try to arrange a visit to your classroom by a Border Patrol agent or former agent.

By the end of this section, students will learn:

- *how occupations can be specific to a region geographically, historically, or through political or social circumstances.*
- *how traditional occupations along the border have evolved over time, while certain of their characteristics remain the same.*

Discussion Quotation

Read the following quotation, and discuss the questions that follow:

When some aspect of the tradition doesn't hold up with what else is going on, then you make changes to keep the tradition alive. For example, there is not a boot maker in Texas, on the border or elsewhere, who still stitches by hand. The machine is an important part of carrying on the tradition.

Pat Jasper, folklorist, Austin, Texas

What does Pat Jasper mean by "what else is going on"? What are some of the forces that impact on traditions today?

Think of an example of an occupation in which the workers have adapted new methods to stay alive and productive.

Video Viewing

Watch **Occupations and Identity,** Part 4 of the video. Discuss the following:

- How long has ranching existed on the border?
- How has ranching influenced other occupations on the border, like blacksmithing and the Border Patrol?
- What kinds of occupations have been established due to the creation of the international border?

EXERCISES

1. Looking at Occupations

- Make a list of the occupations portrayed in the video. Under each occupation, list what conditions make this occupation attractive, or what makes it difficult. How does geography affect each occupation? How does tourism?
- Do you think Reynaldo Hernández thinks of himself first as a Border Patrol agent, or first as a rancher? Think about other people you know and their occupations. How can occupation characterize identity?

2. Tourism: Occupations and Economy

The border draws tourists, and tourists spend money, creating jobs. Make a list of some of the things tourists do when they are visiting a new place. What types of occupations respond to these needs and interests? Do you know anyone working in any of these occupations?

- Doña Ofelia and her fellow Mixteco vendors sell crafts and souvenirs to tourists in Tijuana. They have formed a union. What is a union, and what can it do to help workers? Why do you think the Mixteco women decided to form one? **Clue:** Read about unions at your school or local library. Consult the Bibliography in the Appendix.
- Doña Ofelia's years of experience as a vendor have paid off. Olivia Cadaval, a folklorist, describes Doña Ofelia as a "master in knowing her clientele and the different venues in which she sells." A basket may sell for $10 in Tijuana, but at the Festival in Washington on the National Mall, Doña Ofelia priced the same basket at $20. Why did she do this?
- Imagine you are a tourist buying something from Doña Ofelia. You speak no Spanish. Doña Ofelia knows very little English. Negotiate a price for a doll or a basket. Create a short skit using this scenario.

3. Interview: Professions in Your Community

- Choose a profession that interests you, perhaps one you are considering as a career. Locate someone who is currently working in this profession, and interview him/her. How is his/her occupation related to the region the person lives in? Has the person's occupation been affected by changes in materials and

technologies? How has the person adapted to new methods to stay in business?

4. Using What's Around

In the video, Armando Flores, a blacksmith from Laredo, Texas, discusses the materials he finds to create traditional and contemporary metal work. Armando uses railroad spikes, scrap metal, anything he can find.

- Study the other examples of recycling along the border on the cultural map. Can you think of an example of the reuse of materials in your own family or neighborhood?
- Write a short essay about the importance of reusing materials, using the examples in the cultural map or from your own experience.

Armando Flores, from Laredo, Texas, demonstrates his blacksmithing skills at the Festival in Washington. ● *Armando Flores de Laredo, Texas, demuestra sus habilidades de herrero en el Festival en Washington.* Photo by/foto de Burt Miller, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution

This table shows the range of items Armando Flores makes. ● *Esta es una muestra de las diferentes cosas que Armando Flores hace.* Photo by/foto de Rick Vargas, courtesy/cortesía Smithsonian Institution

READING INDUSTRY: CHEAP LABOR AND ASSEMBLY PLANTS

BY OLIVIA CADAVAL

The Mexican government initiated the National Border Economic Development Program in 1961 in an effort to develop industry and create jobs in the northern border region of the country. This program was followed by the Industrialization Program in 1965, which granted large companies special dispensations in taxes, tariffs, and various forms of regulation when they established assembly plants in Mexico. Along the Mexican side of the border, American-based companies like General Electric, RCA, and Kenworth have built assembly plants, called *maquiladoras*, which employ Mexican workers. Other countries, including Japan and Canada, have also taken advantage of the Industrialization Program to establish assembly plants in this border region.

A maquiladora employee works on parts at an assembly plant in Ciudad Juárez. • Una trabajadora en una maquiladora en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, ensambla piezas. *Photo by/foto de Olivia Cadaval*

The *maquiladoras* have industrialized the border and created thousands of jobs, which have spurred migration from other regions of Mexico. These plants have also increased the pollution of the region, which has led to legal disputes and environmental investigations.

The majority of *maquiladora* workers are women. Most of the work is tedious and boring. Workers are responsible for individual components and rarely see the final product. Nevertheless, the friendships that develop and the enticements offered by the companies contribute to the work culture found in the border *maquiladoras* and to the social life that the work creates.

Most *maquiladoras* organize activities and competitive events to boost the interest and enthusiasm of their workers. These include sports and pageants with elected queens and kings. Workers spend a large part of their free time in the plant's recreational facilities, where they can meet their friends and bring their family to events organized by the company. Norma Iglesias, a sociologist who has done research among factory workers, finds that this may be the only social life available to many workers.

Many workers seek out "good" companies with better working conditions, easier schedules, and better transportation benefits. In addition, many workers may also look for *maquiladoras* that offer T-shirts, caps, and other clothing items as incentives. Many workers have friends or relatives in other plants, and networks among the workers help new employees to select the best plant.

Here are some stories told by workers in *maquiladoras*, recorded by sociologist María

Eugenia de la O, researcher at El Colegio de la Frontera Norte:

- *The woman who recommended me was a neighbor when I lived with my aunt in Otay. When I arrived, I told my aunt that I wanted to work. She said she knew somebody that worked at a* maquila *and that there might be a possibility of working there. So then we talked to that woman and she said that there were jobs but only at night, from 5 p.m. to 2 in the morning. That's how I knew that there was work there.*
- *I have to take two buses, really four — two going and two coming.... We have to be there at six so I have to get up very early.... The work is very hard, very dirty. You work with metals, and all the time you are shaking off shavings and picking out splinters....*
- *When we achieve good production or rejection ratios, perhaps 100 percent or even only 70 percent, we go [to eat in Tenampa] with the supervisor, the boss of the work group, and all the operators.... They tell us that this is our place, but I don't think so. For example, there is this person that hires us. He tells us that we are pure garbage, and that is why we are here. We have told this to the bosses, but they do nothing.*
- *It's not that there was no other work — it's where one ends up, the last place you go. If you don't get something in one place... this leaves going to a* maquila.... *I always said, I am never going to work in a* maquila, *but yet here I am.*

QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the reasons why *maquiladoras* developed in the border region?
2. What are some of the benefits of working in a *maquiladora*? The disadvantages?
3. Why might a *maquiladora* sponsor social events for its workers? What benefits might this practice bring to the factory?
4. What do you think "work culture" means?

EXERCISES

1. *Maquila* Skit

Create a skit about working in a *maquiladora* factory, based on what you have read. Possible plot ideas include:

- a discussion between a worker and her boss
- a new employee gaining tips from a long-time *maquiladora* worker
- a *maquila* worker explaining her work to one of her children.

2. Occupational Interview

Interview someone who works outside his/her home. Find out how this person's work affects his/her life outside of work. For instance, a factory worker could also be a mother, a champion bowler, and a Girl Scout leader. What does the person like about work life versus the other parts of his/her life? Where do the different parts of his/her life intersect? **Clue:** Are work friends also social acquaintances? Are social and sport events sponsored by the factory? Who takes care of children while the parents work? Write a short profile of the person and the different spheres of his/her life. Explain how the different spheres intersect in the person's life. Illustrate the profile with a graphic to show how work, home, and social life are related, if at all.

READING
RIDING THE INTERNATIONAL FRONTIER
BY MICHAEL D. CARMAN

The following excerpts are from the article "Riding the International Frontier" by Michael D. Carman, published in the magazine American Cowboy *and reproduced with permission. Michael D. Carman is the Division Director for the Museum Division of the Arizona Department of Library, Archives and Public Records. His father, the late Herbert C. "Hoppy" Carman, was a Border Patrol agent. Angela Howell contributed to this article.*

The article offers a view of how some of the U.S Border Patrol agents on the Arizona border with Mexico use traditional border skills. It is important to remember that contemporary border agents also are trained to use other skills, such as helicopters, night vision devices, and other sophisticated para-military equipment. The article also raises questions about racism and attitudes toward people who try to cross the border illegally. Some of these people are smugglers, but most are not. The great majority are simply attracted by better opportunities across the border, like many of the immigrants who in the past came to the United States. These people seek work in the United States to make enough money to send to their families back home. Their work contributes to the U.S. economy by the taxes they pay and the labor they perform.

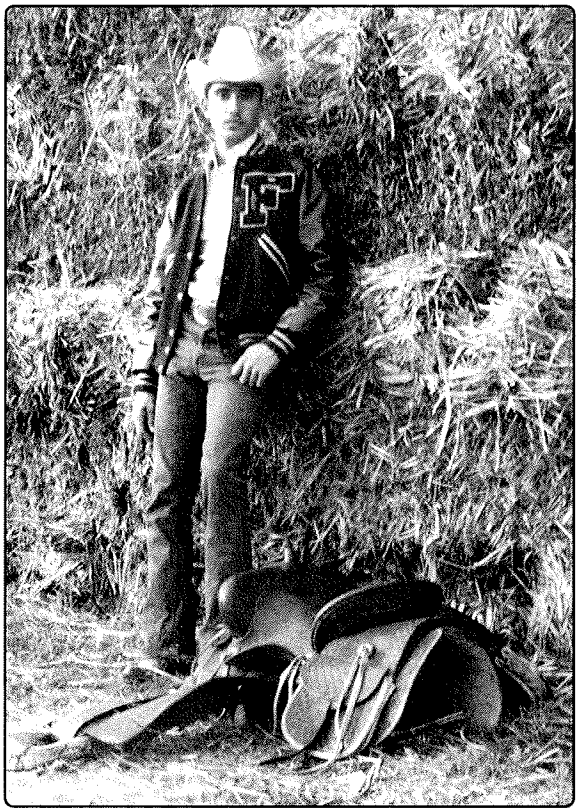
Read the article carefully, with particular attention to the language of the author. Remember this reading represents only one point of view. Think about the following things as you read:

- *What would the story be like if it were written from the point of view of people who cross the border?*
- *Think how the establishment of a border required some people to develop specific skills. Would Border Patrol agents be necessary if the two countries allowed people to cross freely? If the border did not exist, could agents use their skills elsewhere?*

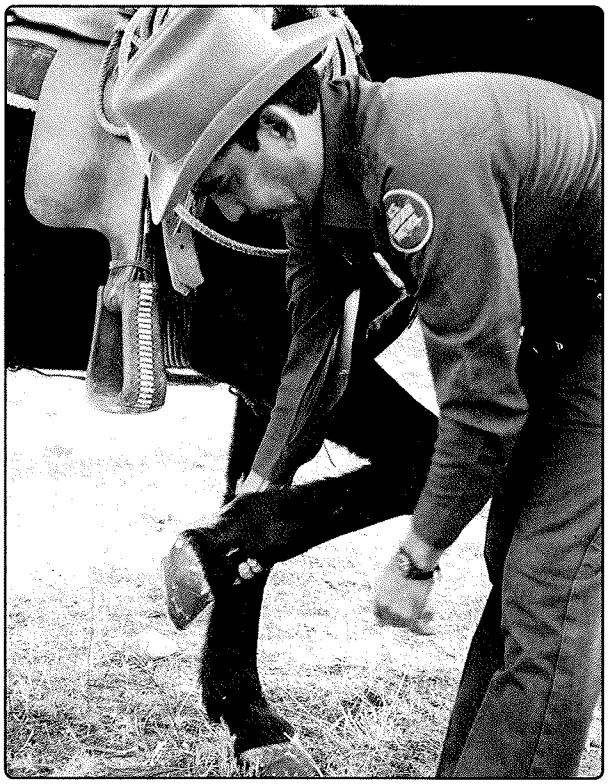
The U.S. Congress created the Border Patrol in 1924 as an agency of the Bureau of Immigration in the Department of Justice. Many former cowboys who learned to hunt and track along the Mexican border and who knew how to speak Spanish were actively recruited.

Steve McDonald, senior Border Patrol agent from Tucson, Arizona, says the unique job requirements led to the Patrol's rich history. "The first Border Patrol agents were cowboys, old cavalrymen, town marshals, even some gunslingers," says McDonald. "It started out with a cowboy tradition and there are still people on the Border Patrol who have experience as cowboys."

[Reynaldo] Hernández is one such agent. He was born and raised in South Texas, where he was surrounded by horses on his father's ranch. Hernández says his cowboy heritage helps him in many ways in his job as a Border agent. Through his experience with horses, he can tell immediately if horseshoe tracks were left by an American or a Mexican horse. Horses are shod differently in Mexico, Hernández says, and Mexican horses are smaller. He knows how far a horse can travel in a day or in an hour, an insight which he uses to lay strategy. For example, he'll gauge the progress of some traffickers and confront them at a spot where there is no exit nor escape route. Most smugglers will size up the situation



Reynaldo Hernández spent much of his youth around horses. ● *Reynaldo Hernández pasó gran parte de su juventud trabajando con caballos.* Photo courtesy/foto cortesía Reynaldo Hernández



As a Border Patrolman, Hernández continues to rely on ranching skills, such as horsemanship. ● *En su trabajo con la patrulla fronteriza, su conocimiento de caballos le es muy útil a Reynaldo Hernández.* Photo courtesy/foto cortesía Reynaldo Hernández

quickly and surrender, but not all.

"Sometimes there's standoffs," says Hernández. "They will dump their contraband and take off on horseback. I've seen smugglers ride horses through barbed wire fences. I've seen them ride their horses off cliffs." Sure, it's hard on the horse, says Hernández, but to a trafficker facing five to ten years in prison, the horse is the least of his worries. It is not always possible to overtake the mounted smugglers, says Hernández. "The smugglers are good cowboys, good horsemen. I never underestimate their abilities," he says.

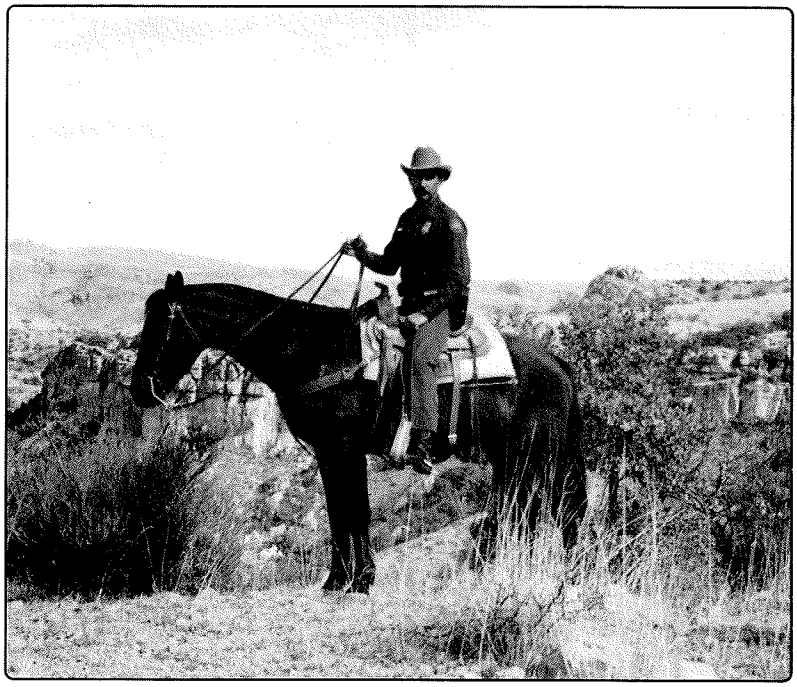
Though any of the Border Patrol's encounters could be a confrontation with smugglers or other armed criminals, more commonly they are with illegal immigrants. Curtailing illegal immigration is the Border Patrol's main objective. Encounters with drug smugglers may be inevitable, but they are not the priority.

Before Hernández joined the Border Patrol, he had a similar job as a livestock inspector for the U.S Department of Agriculture's Veterinary Services. In that position, he patrolled the international line for potentially diseased, stray livestock instead of the drug smugglers and illegal aliens he watches for today. The group of inspectors he worked with were nicknamed "River Riders," because they were a horseback patrol that monitored stray livestock crossing the border through the Rio Grande River.

In 1987, Hernández took a job with the Border Patrol station in Nogales, and established the horseback patrol. Because of a shortage of man-

power, the horse patrol has been scaled back, but Hernández says not for long. New agents from the academy are expected to join the force by May. "Once we get more people, we'll bring it [the horse patrol] back," says Hernández. "Outside the city limits, it's the most effective way to patrol. You can go places on horseback when you can't in a four-wheel vehicle."

Hernández says that the beauty of the land he patrols often makes him feel like he's living back in the West's glory days. "Tracking these guys is like being in the Old West," he adds. "I have seen Indian caves intact with drawings on the wall. I have seen mountain lions, nests of Mexican eagles, an abundance of wildlife."



Reynaldo Hernández spends much time surveying the dry desert expanses of southern Arizona. ◉ Reynaldo Hernández pasa mucho tiempo de su trabajo en el desierto del sur de Arizona. *Photo courtesy/foto de Reynaldo Hernández*

QUESTIONS

1. Name some of the ranching skills Border Patrol agents use. Do you think some of the people the agents pursue possess some of these same skills? What other skills and knowledge should Border Patrol agents have? For instance, do you think they need to fill out official reports? Do they need to know rules and regulations that cowboys would not know? Do they need para-military training? If possible, interview a Border Patrol agent about his/her training and his/her day-to-day work activities. How does his/her view differ from the description in the article?

2. Michael Carman writes that Hernández's job with the Border Patrol is "similar" to his earlier job as a "livestock inspector." Both jobs rely on tracking techniques and require a knowledge of the land. There are also some key differences between the two jobs. List some of these differences. Can you think of any problems that might occur if Border Patrol agents think of the people they are pursuing in the same terms as a livestock inspector thinks about cattle?

3. What are some of the differences between trying to catch a smuggler and trying to catch a person crossing the border without legal documents?

EXERCISES

1. Hernández says, "Tracking these guys is like being in the Old West." What does Hernández mean by this statement? What is the "Old West"? Do you think it feels like the "Old West" to the "guys" he is tracking? Write a response to "Riding the International Frontier" from the perspective of a person trying to cross the border at a point other than at an official border-crossing. Why is the person crossing the border? For work? To visit relatives? To buy things? What will the person contribute to the United States? Describe what the journey is like. Then, write a counter-response from the point of view of someone who has followed the rules and crossed the border legally.

2. Many present-day jobs rely on knowledge and skills from an earlier time, just as the Border Patrol agents rely on their ranching roots. For instance, present-day farmers must know basic information about the weather, soil, and plant and animal diseases even if they use high-tech equipment to plant and harvest crops. Interview someone who has a job or hobby requiring skills that have been developed over many years. Where did this person learn the older skills? Is the person passing these skills on to a younger generation?

3. Think of an occupation in which a person has to travel outside his community, outside his city, outside his country, or across borders. **Clue:** migrant farmworkers, salesmen, diplomats. How do the different legal requirements in the places he or she has to travel to affect his or her job? Can you imagine why people may be tempted to break or at least "bend" some of these official rules to get their job done?

Summary of Part 4
OCCUPATIONS *and* IDENTITY

Ideas in this section:

- Many occupations on the U.S.-Mexico border come from traditions older than the border or have a long tradition in the region.
- Some occupations incorporate elements of older traditions in new forms.
- Historical and social circumstances affect occupations along the border.

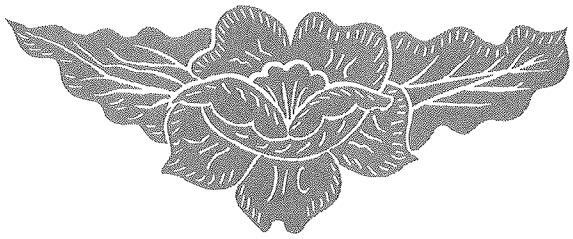
What's Next?

In the next section, on **Borders and Identity in Your Own Community,** students will learn:

- *guidelines for carrying out a documentation project of their own communities.*
- *ideas for topics, format, and follow-up for their projects.*

Part 5:

BORDERS AND IDENTITY IN YOUR OWN COMMUNITY



Parte 5:

FRONTERAS E IDENTIDAD EN TU COMUNIDAD

TEACHER INTRODUCTION

You are now ready to guide your students through a documentation project on your own community! This section provides practical advice for such a project. The section begins with an exercise in which students create their own version of the cultural map included in the kit. This exercise should help students generate ideas for their own project.

Make sure you know the hours of local libraries and/or archives and the accessibility of their collections to students. You may want to do some preliminary research to identify sites such as family-run businesses, ethnic bakeries or grocery stores, murals, and events such as local celebrations. You may know some folk artists for students to interview. Do not overlook your school as a rich source of information: fellow teachers, administrators, janitors, cafeteria workers may be resource people themselves or may know people whom students could interview.

Remember that students will look to you as a model. Be sure to "place yourself" on their cultural map. You may also wish to conduct an interview of a family member yourself and share this with your students, or have them interview you. Bring in some family photos or an artifact and explain why they are important to you, or tell students a funny story from your childhood. If you do not know how to use a 35-mm camera or a video camera, invite a person with knowledge of such equipment into the classroom to give a mini-workshop before your students go into the community. Practice gathering visual information with them. If you are an accomplished photographer or videographer, share some of your work with students.

The following guidelines provide only a sketch of the information your students may need to carry out a full-blown project. There are a number of excellent oral history and folklore guides available; see the Bibliography for suggestions.

By the end of this section, students will learn:

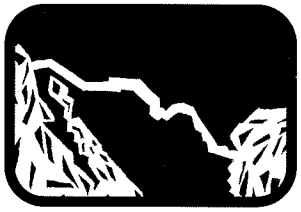
- *the history of their own families and/or communities.*
- *how to carry out a documentation project of their own choosing.*

Student Project

The four-part video has introduced you to the rich culture of the U.S.-Mexico border region. Now you are ready to explore the borders in your own lives and communities in a large-scale project. Here is a framework for such a project.

The following guidelines will help you:

- Pick a theme.
- Plan your background research.
- Prepare for interviews and other forms of documentation.
- Carry out interviews.
- Create a final project.
- Develop plans to share your project with a wider audience.



Your Own Map

As a class, create your own cultural map, and place yourselves on it. The map may be of your town or city, county, or state. Research the local history of your area, and include some brief information.

Note geographic and other physical features that have had an impact on your area. **Clue:** for example, mountains, rivers, oceans, railroad tracks, housing projects, industrial complexes as well as any significant political events that helped form the area (disputes over territory, changes in administration, etc.).

- What familiar images are associated with the region you are mapping? Street signs, commercial logos, art forms, foods?
- Where are the borders on the map? **Clue:** Remember that borders are not only between two countries. What's different about life on each side? What's the same?

Each member of the class should write a paragraph about him/herself similar to those included on the border cultural map. Include information about why and when your family came to your area. Bring in family photographs or take photographs in class. If you are bilingual, include a translation of your paragraph in your other language.

EXERCISES

1. Designing Your Project

Now it is time to design your own project.

Your project should include a combination of:

- interviews
- visual documentation through drawings, still photographs, or video
- library or archival research

Your research and documentation should lead to a final product that can be displayed, performed, or written and illustrated. Your class cultural map may help you choose a topic, or you may already have some ideas from carrying out the exercises related to the videos. Here are some more possibilities.

- Compile a photo essay on a local celebration or community event. Interviews with participants, organizers, and audience members might produce some interesting quotations to use as text to accompany photographs. How does the celebration serve as an identity marker for those involved (including yourself)?
- Make a short (5-minute) video on a local folk artist (such as a wood carver, instrument maker, quilter, basket maker, musician). Be sure to include information about the artist's family history, why he/she lives in your area, and/or why his/her art is an important part of his/her identity. Does this craft or this person have a special meaning for you as well?
- Invent a "Borders" game based on a popular game, like "Monopoly." Your game can be about your community or the U.S.-Mexico border. If you don't want to buy houses or hotels, what might you invest in along the border? What about *maquiladoras* or shrimping boats? How can you incorporate the consequences of crossing the border into your game?
- Create a 12-month calendar with a different illustration for each month, including an illustration (photo or drawing) of your family or community or group of friends. A caption can explain why the picture is an important identity marker. Important local events should be noted for each month. Possibilities include: birthdays of local heroes, commemorations of battles fought, dates of

significant landmarks, anniversaries of local natural disasters (floods, earthquakes) or industrial disasters (mine cave-ins, building fires).

2. Outline

Write a one-page outline of your topic, including whom you plan to interview, where you plan to get the illustrations from, and what libraries or archives you will use. Explain what the finished product will be, with information on length, number of images, wall space it will cover, and other details pertinent to your plans. Describe who you think the audience for the final product will be (classmates, the rest of the school, or parents). Include a short bibliography if possible. Write out a schedule for completion of the project. If you are working with a group, be sure to explain who will be responsible for which parts of the project.

Share your outline with your teacher and classmates, and adjust the outline to incorporate their comments and suggestions.

3. Carrying Out the Project

Now you are ready to start. The place to begin will depend on your project. You may want to gather preliminary information at the school or local library, historical society, or archives of the local newspaper office. You may need to begin with a survey of your community for likely subjects for photos or interviews.

Here are some clues to successful information gathering:

- *Interviews:* Use a cassette tape recorder if available. It is much easier to record speech than to try to write down every word. Practice runs are recommended, to make sure you are comfortable with your equipment. One of the biggest problems for a beginning interviewer is the tendency to dominate the interview. Ask one question at a time, and let the person take time in answering. A list of questions helps to begin, but don't let these questions rule the interview. If a question leads to a topic not on your list, don't hesitate to ask. You may come away with information that you had never thought to gather.
- *Library or Archives:* Consult the reference staff of the library or archives before plunging into research. Explain your project, and ask for suggestions of where to start. Be sure to respect any rules the institution has about handling materials, using equipment (such as computers or microfilm readers), and the proper way to credit photos or other materials gathered. Find out the policy for copying materials before you decide what to include in your project.

- *Visual Information:* Make sure you know how to use your equipment (still camera, video camera) before you begin! Practice before shooting the pictures for your project. If possible, get some pointers from a skilled photographer or videographer. It may help to look through photo essay books and to watch some well-made documentary videos to get ideas on what you would like to do. Make sure your equipment is in good working order and that you have enough film, videotape, and batteries with you. In some cases you may need to use a tripod to avoid blurry photos and jumpy video. Be sure to allow enough time to reshoot photos or video if a problem occurs. If you are working in a group and have enough equipment, have more than one person shoot different aspects of the same event to ensure good coverage.

4. Putting It All Together

Once your information is gathered, you are ready to edit, compose, and finalize your project.

Here are some ideas that will help guarantee a good final product:

- Choose your best work. Your project will look sloppy and will be less effective if you choose blurry photos, uninteresting quotations, scratchy recordings, or badly reproduced artwork. Consult your teacher, family members, and classmates to help you choose information if you are having a hard time deciding what to use.
- Keep it short and precise. You may be tempted to include all of the information you gathered in a final product, but your audience will remain engaged longer and understand your point better if you keep explanations as concise and clear as possible. Select only those images and quotations that best illustrate your theme.
- Know your audience. If you plan to present your final product to lower grades, parents, family members, or the community at large, you will want to adjust the information to suit the age, knowledge, and/or interests of your audience.
- Be sure to obtain permission from all sources (people you interviewed, or who participated in a performance you may have videotaped) to use the information. Properly credit all of the information you use. You do not want to anger or hurt anyone who provided information for your project.

- Plan an event around the opening or inauguration of your project. If possible, offer simple refreshments.
- Obtain some formal feedback. After you have presented your project to your audience, be sure to note their reactions and comments. You might wish to assign someone in your group to gather comments or to administer a short evaluation sheet to audience members. This information will help you improve your next project, or adjust this project if you are so inclined.

Follow-Up

You may want to take your final project further.
Here are some suggestions:

- *As a class, gather together the information from all of the projects. Make a book of the class projects.*
- *If you made a video, find out if a local cable or community access television channel would like to broadcast it.*
- *If you created a small exhibition, ask a local organization or business (local historical society, bank, community center) if they would like to borrow it for a display.*
- *Share your project with another audience. If appropriate, take your show "on the road" to a local senior citizen center or nursing home, a daycare center, another school, your local school board, or city government. Find out if local organizations are looking for program ideas (Boy Scouts, Lion's Club, community center), and present your project to them.*
- *Write an article for the local newspaper based on your research.*
- *Organize all of your transcripts, notes, photos, or video footage, and create an archives for the school library. This is a good way to use information that you cannot include in the final product. Be sure to include an index for easy access by others.*

For more information on creating a project, interviewing, and other techniques, consult the Folklore Research Resources listing in the Appendix.

Apéndice:

FECHAS CLAVE

PALABRAS CLAVE

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Appendix:

KEY DATES

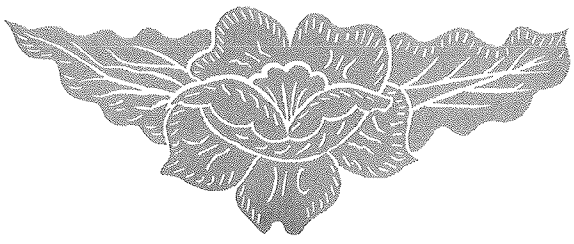
KEY WORDS

CORRIDO

BIBLIOGRAPHY

VIDEO NARRATION

REPRINTS



KEY DATES IN BORDER HISTORY

10,000 years ago	Earliest Native American settlers in the region
2,500 years ago	Settlement of Pai Pai and other Yumano-speaking Native American groups in the region
1500s	Introduction of ranching to the region by Spanish colonists
1659	First settlement and mission of the Virgin of Guadalupe established at El Paso del Norte
1755	Founding of Laredo
1790s-early 1800s	First Anglo-American fur traders, merchants, and explorers to the region of northern New Spain (later Mexico)
1820s	Settlement in the region that is now Texas of first Anglo-Americans, who learn ranching from Mexican *vaqueros*
1823-34	Emergence of earliest printing presses and newspapers in the region
1835-36	Texas Revolt and Independence
1840s	Migration of Black Seminoles to the region
1846-48	United States-Mexico War
1848	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
1848	Founding of Nuevo Laredo
1848	Founding of Tijuana

1853 Gadsden (Mesilla Valley) Purchase

1860s-70s Accordion brought to the eastern border region by German and Czechoslovakian immigrants

1880s Railroads reach the U.S.-Mexico border

1882 Chinese Exclusion Act in the United States

1888 Town of El Paso del Norte in Chihuahua officially recognized as a city; name changed to Ciudad Juárez

Late 1800s Arrival of Chinese immigrants in western border region

1910-17 Mexican Revolution

1911 First Mexicanist Conference in Laredo, Texas

1924 U.S. Border Patrol founded

1929-40 The Great Depression in the United States and Mexico

1930s Anti-Chinese movement in Mexico

1943 California Zoot-suit riots

1942-65 Bracero Program

1954 Operation Wetback

1960s Alliances between Chicano movement and United Farmworkers Association

1960s-70s El Movimiento La Raza: the Chicano political movement

1960s-90s Migration of Mixtecos from Oaxaca to Baja California, California, and other parts of the United States

1961 National Border Economic Development Program in Mexico

1964 Chamizal Treaty

1965 Founding of Chicano Teatro Campesino

1965-66 Border Industrialization (*Maquiladora*) Program initiated by Mexico

1968-75 First period of the Chicano art movement

1969 Adoption of *"El plan espiritual de Aztlán"*

1960s-90s Border population increases from 4 million to 9.3 million

1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act

1991-93 Residents of Del Río, Texas, and Ciudad Acuña, Coahuila, stop the construction of a toxic waste dump near their cities

1994 North American Free Trade Agreement

1994 Proposition 187

1994-95 Operation "Gatekeeper" in Tijuana

1995 First River Day celebrated in Laredo – Nuevo Laredo: 700 residents from both sides of the border clean 17 tons of solid pollutants from the Rio Grande/Río Bravo

1995 Operation "Hold the Line" in El Paso

KEYWORDS

The following words will help define topics covered in the video and in the written materials. If other unfamiliar terms come up while you are watching the video or completing the exercises, look them up in a dictionary and discuss their meanings with your teacher. Add your own words to this list.

Black Seminole: Black Seminoles are African Americans who originally lived with the Seminole Indians in Florida. They migrated westward with the Seminole Indians into Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) and later, during the nineteenth century, to northern Mexico, to avoid enslavement. In the 1870s, some moved back to the United States to serve as scouts for the army. In Mexico, they are called Mascogos.

Cajun: Cajuns are descendants of French settlers who were forced out of Arcadia, in northeastern Canada, by the English. The English renamed the land Nova Scotia or New Scotland. Many of these Arcadians settled in southern Louisiana, where the name "Arcadian" became "Cajun." Many Cajuns still speak French and maintain a distinct culture. Some Cajuns migrated to the border region along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico to follow the shrimping industry.

Chicano: One of several terms used to refer to U.S. citizens of Mexican ancestry. The term became popular in the 1960s and is associated with the Chicano Civil Rights Movement. **See also: Mejicano, Tejano, Latino.**

Cholo: An old Spanish and/or Indian term that has been defined in numerous ways and has a variety of connotations. In Andean South America, Indians who migrated to the city and became acculturated were called *cholos*. During the early twentieth century, *"cholo"* came to refer to persons of rural Mexican origin who lived in urban working-class neighborhoods in the Southwest of the United States. Currently, *"cholo"* represents a primarily urban youth culture that extends throughout the southwestern United States and across the border into Mexico.

***Conjunto* music**: The *conjunto* style of border music (as it is known in Texas; it is referred to elsewhere as *música norteña*) is a popular

type of accordion music played to accompany dancing. In the 1940s and 1950s, ensembles featuring the accordion and the Mexican guitar known as a *bajo sexto* rapidly replaced the formerly popular string bands. *Conjunto* music was exclusively instrumental until Valerio Longoria introduced vocals after World War II. In the 1960s, Los Relámpagos del Norte, a musical group from Mexico, synthesized a more modern *conjunto* style from Texas with an older *norteño* tradition to create a style that reached new heights in popularity. *Conjunto* and *norteño* have great appeal among working-class communities on the border.

Corrido: *Corridos* are ballads (traditional forms of narrative poems intended to be sung) that tell a story or comment on events of significance to a region.

Ethnographic documentation: The study and recording of living culture in its real-life setting. This can be done by interviews, written notes, photographs, and/or audio or video recordings. Documentation usually relies on a combination of observation, interview, and recording techniques.

Fiesta de San Francisco: The annual Fiesta de San Francisco is celebrated on October 4 in the town of Magdalena de Kino in the state of Sonora in Mexico. This celebration commemorates Saint Francis Xavier, Saint Francis of Assisi, and Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, and brings together border residents from many backgrounds, including Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Tohono O'odham, Yaqui, and Mayo Indians from Arizona and different regions of Mexico.

Folklorist: A researcher trained in recognizing and documenting traditional culture. Also called a folklife researcher.

Hispanic: A broad ethnic designation used to refer to persons whose ancestors came from Spain or Latin America. For terms to refer to persons of Hispanic heritage who come from Mexico, **see also: Chicano**, **Mejicano**, **Tejano**, or **Latino**.

Latino: A recent term used to describe persons of Latin American heritage living in the United States. Many Latin Americans in this country choose to call themselves Latino, rather than Hispanic.

Lowrider (also called *onda bajita, carritos, carruchas,* or *ranflas*): Along the border and throughout the Southwest of the United States, a

lowrider refers either to an elaborately decorated car adapted with a hydraulic system to make it jump, or to a person associated with the car. The lowrider image and style contribute to a distinctive border identity that is shaped by the local neighborhood and community.

Maquiladora: A Spanish word for large assembly-plant factories established by foreign companies in Mexico. Until the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the location of *maquiladoras* was on the Mexican side of the U.S.-Mexico border. Today they may be found throughout Mexico. Although they contribute to increased employment in the region, *maquiladoras* have caused health and environmental problems as well.

Mariachi: A popular form of traditional Mexican music. Instruments in a mariachi ensemble typically include violins, trumpets, and members of the guitar family, such as the Spanish guitar, the *vihuela* (predates the guitar), and *guitarrón* (a bass guitar). Mariachi music became popular in Mexico and along the border beginning in the 1930s.

Mejicano: Some persons of Mexican origin who live in the southwestern United States prefer the spelling "Mejicano" for the term "Mexicano" (Mexican). The spelling of the word with the letter "j" instead of "x" predates Mexico's independence from Spain in 1810 (at this time Mexico chose to spell both "Mexico" and "Mexicano" with an "x" as opposed to the "j" customary in Spain), but most importantly, it represents for Mejicanos in this region a heritage that predates the territory becoming a part of the U.S. **See also: Chicano, Latino, Mexican American, Tejano.**

Mestizo: A term used to refer to persons of mixed European and Native American background.

Mexican American: Mexican Americans are persons of Mexican heritage living in the United States. **See also: Chicano, Mejicano, Latino,** or **Tejano**.

Mixteco: Mixtecos are one of the many Native American groups from Oaxaca who have migrated to urban and agricultural areas in Mexico and the United States, including Tijuana, Baja California, and Los Angeles, California, during the past thirty years.

Mural: Murals are works of art, applied directly to a wall or ceiling,

which often tell stories. Along the border, many persons of Hispanic heritage (among others, Chicanos and *cholos*) use murals to depict cultural heroes or struggles important to their identity. The imagery in the murals found in the border region often draws from significant historical events, religious symbols, and icons of protest.

***Música norteña*: See: *Conjunto* music**

Pai Pai (also written **Pa'ipai**): A Native American group from the Sierra Juárez mountains in Baja California. The Pai Pai live in the community of Santa Catarina. Today, their population numbers approximately 200. They belong to the Yumano linguistic family.

Pajarero: The term *"pajareros,"* a Spanish word meaning "bird catchers," is a euphemism for a social class of people along the border who make part of their living trapping and selling wild birds.

Ramada: An open structure, roofed with natural materials such as thatch or branches (*"rama"* is the Spanish word for "branch"). A *ramada* may provide shelter for people while they work in agricultural fields, for a shrine during a Tohono O'odham fiesta, or for relatives during a family picnic.

Tejano: A term that refers to persons from Texas of Mexican American cultural heritage. It is a cultural identification based on the name of the region, connecting the region with the earlier Hispanic settlement, and pre-dates the creation of the border. **See also**: **Chicano**, **Mejicano**.

Tohono O'odham: The Tohono O'odham, formerly called the Papago Indians, are Native Americans who live in the Pimería Alta region, the central Arizona-Sonora area. Today, the Tohono O'odham live on land called the Papago Indian Reservation, set aside for their use and designated as such by the United States government. This land constitutes the Tohono O'odham Nation.

Tradition: Knowledge, beliefs, and practices passed down among people within a community, often through several generations. Traditions may include songs, dances, crafts, foods, celebrations, healing practices, storytelling, occupational skills, mural painting, lowriding, *vaquero* knowledge and skills, and other forms.

Vaquero: *"Vaquero"* means "cowboy" in Spanish. *Vaquero* culture originated in New Spain (later to become Mexico) in the sixteenth century and spread northwards into areas that are now the western United States. U.S. cowboy culture evolved from *vaquero* culture. The traditional *vaquero* is known as a *vaquero completo*, because he knows the entire range of the cattle business. This way of life and culture surrounding the cattle industry has been under threat from modern technology and from specialization.

The Virgin of Guadalupe: The patron saint of Mexico. Also called the Mother of Mexico, the Virgin is a national symbol that plays a significant role in the expression of Mexican identity, not only in Mexico, but in the border region and wherever Mexicans migrate. Her image appears in a variety of settings, such as on murals, in churches, and on cars.

Yaqui: A Native American group who lived in northern Mexico. During the early twentieth century they were persecuted in Mexico and fled north across the border. Many settled in Arizona.

CORRIDO

En honor a Kennedy

Voy a cantarles señores,
sólo así puedo expresar
el dolor de mis dolores
mi gran pena y mi pesar.

Año del sesenta y tres
del veintidós de noviembre,
entre la ciudad de Dallas
mataron al Presidente.

Tres balazos bien certeros
el asesino tiró,
dos dieron al Presidente,
el otro al Gobernador.

Y era casi el medio día
cuando este caso pasó,
donde a este gran Presidente
la vida se le quitó.

Que Dios lo tenga en su gloria
como ejemplo de razón,
y a su familia aconseja
mucha fe y resignación.

Aquí termino señores
la tragedia que escribí,
con dolor de mis dolores
en honor a Kennedy.

In Honor of Kennedy

I'm going to sing for you, ladies and gentlemen,
Only in this way can I express
This grief of affliction,
My great sorrow and heavy heart.

The year of sixty-three
On the twenty-second of November,
In the city of Dallas,
They killed the President.

Three very well-aimed bullets
The assassin fired,
Two hit the President,
The other hit the Governor.

And it was almost noon
When this happened,
When the great President's
Life was taken.

May God have him in his glory
As an example of reason,
And counsel his family
To have much faith and resignation.

Here I end my song, good people,
The tragedy that I wrote,
With the grief of affliction,
In honor of Kennedy.

por/by Gastón Ponce Castellanos, grabado por el Trío Internacional/recorded by the Trío Internacional

Cortesía de/ Courtesy of Dan William Dickey, *The Kennedy* Corridos: *A Study of the Ballads of a Mexican American Hero.* Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, Monograph No.4, The University of Texas at Austin.

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FOLKLORE RESEARCH RESOURCES

●

FUENTES PARA LA INVESTIGACIÓN DE LA CULTURA POPULAR

Baker, Holly Cutting, Amy Kotkin, and Steven Zeitlin. 1982. *A Celebration of American Family Folklore: Tales and Traditions from the Smithsonian Collection* (New York: Pantheon Books; reprinted by Cambridge: Yellow Moon Press).

● This publication provides examples and practical tips on collecting the kind of folklore found in families of all kinds. It includes stories from many families, divided into different categories, such as immigration stories and stories about family characters. It also discusses the importance of family photographs and includes a guide to collecting your own family stories.

● *Esta publicación ofrece ejemplos y sugerencias útiles para recopilar tradiciones populares de la familia. Contiene historias de familias, divididas en diferentes categorias, como por ejemplo historias de inmigración y personajes de la familia. Considera la importancia de las fotos familiares e incluye una guía para la recopilación de las historias en tu familia.*

Belanus, Betty, ed. 1985. *Folklore in the Classroom.*

● A loose-leaf collection of articles that provide an introduction to folklore and folk art ideas that work well in the school curriculum.

● *Una colección de artículos que ofrece la introducción a los conceptos de la cultura y las artes populares que funcionan dentro del plan escolar.*

It can be ordered for $5 from/*Se puede solicitar por $5 dólares a:*

Indiana Historical Bureau
140 North Senate
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Dorson, Richard M., ed. 1983. *The Handbook of American Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

● This publication serves as an excellent source of information about almost any kind of traditional folk culture, folk music, and folk art you can imagine. The volume is organized into numerous short essays on topics as varied as family folklore, religious folklore, ethnic folklore, folk healers, foodways, crafts, vernacular architecture, children's folklore, the varieties of folklore research, and the presentation and preservation of folklore.

● *Esta publicación es una fuente de información sobre casi todo tipo de cultura, música y arte popular imaginable en Estados Unidos. El volumen está organizado en pequeños ensayos sobre variados temas como la cultura popular familiar, religiosa, étnica y juvenil, el curanderismo, la comida, las artesanías, la arquitectura vernacular y los diferentes tipos de investigación, presentación y preservación de la cultura popular.*

McDowell, Marsha. 1987. *Folk Arts in Education: A Resource Handbook.*

● A handy, loose-leaf resource guide to a variety of folklore curriculum ideas and project descriptions that have been planned and carried out in schools around the country.

● *Una guía útil sobre las ideas y descripciones de planes de estudios que se han llevado a cabo en Estados Unidos.*

It can be ordered for $15 from/*Se puede solicitar por $15 dólares a:*

Michigan State University Museum
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI 48824-1045

● For additional reference sources for folklore studies in general, fieldwork and how to do it, and also archival and preservation issues, see *A Teacher's Guide to Folklife Resources for K-12 Classrooms* and *Folklife and Fieldwork*, American Folklife Center, The Library of Congress. Single copies of both publications are available free from the American Folklife Center. There is a postage charge for multiple copies.

● *Para más referencias sobre estudios de cultura popular en general, la investigación y cómo llevarla a cabo y sobre temas de archivo y preservación, véase* A Teacher's Guide to Folklife Resources for K-12 Classrooms *y* Folklife and Fieldwork *(éste último también está traducido al español con el título* Tradición popular e investigación de campo*), publicados por el American Folklife Center de la Biblioteca del Congreso. Hay costos de correo cuando se solicitan multiples copias.*

Send for copies from/*Mande pedir copias a:*

American Folklife Center
Library of Congress
Washington, DC 20540
(202) 707-6590

AUDIO/VISUAL MATERIALS

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MATERIAL VISUAL Y AUDITIVO

● For information on obtaining films and videos about American folklore, see the *Center for Southern Folklore's American Folklore Films and Videotapes: An Index.* This catalog contains over 1800 titles with a subject index, film and video annotations, locations of special collections, and title listings with addresses of distributors. For a free catalog, write to:

● *Para información de cómo obtener películas y videos sobre la cultura popular de Estados Unidos, véase* Center for Southern Folklore's American Folklore Films and Videotapes: An Index. *Este catálogo contiene más de 1800 títulos con un índice temático, anotaciones sobre los videos y películas, la ubicación de colecciones especiales y una lista de títulos con la dirección de los distribuidores. Se puede solicitar un catálogo gratis a:*

Center for Southern Folklore
152 Beale Street
P.O. Box 226
Memphis, TN 38101-0226

● The following films and videos are available for purchase and rent from/*Las siguientes péliculas se pueden comprar o rentar en:*

Cinema Guild, Inc.
1697 Broadway, Suite 506
New York, NY 10019-5904
(212) 246-5522

Birthwrite: Growing Up Hispanic. Produced by Jesús Salvador Treviño. Directed by Luis R. Torres. 1989. 57 minutes. Video.

Chicano Park. Directed by Marilyn Mulford. 1989. 60 minutes. Film/video.

Yo Soy. Directed by Jesús Salvador Treviño and Jose Luis Ruíz. 1985. 60 minutes. Video.

Yo Soy Chicano. Directed by Jesus Salvador Treviño. 1972. 60 minutes. Film/video.

The Art of Resistance. Directed by Susana Ortiz. 1994. 26 minutes. Video.

The Cinema Guild has many additional titles to choose from/Cinema Guild *ofrece muchos más títulos para seleccionar.*

● The Center for Media and Independent Learning also has videos for rental and purchase/Center for Media and Independent Learning *también tiene videos para rentar y vender:*

The University of California Extension
Center for Media and Independent Learning
2000 Center Street, Fourth Floor
Berkeley, CA 94704
(510) 642-0460

Invisible Indians: Mixtec Farm Workers in California. Produced by Div. of Information Technology, University of California, Davis. 1993. Video.

Oaxacalifornia. Produced by Trisha Ziff and Sylvia Stevens. 1995. Video (National Educational Film Festival Gold Apple Award).

Smithsonian/Folkways and Folkways Sound Recordings/*Grabaciones Smithsonian/Folkways y Folkways:*

Borderlands: From Conjunto to Chicken Scratch. 1993. Smithsonian/Folkways #40418.

Polkeros de Ben Tavera King. 1983. *Border Bash*. Folkways #6528.

Recordings can be ordered from/*Las grabaciones se pueden solicitar a:*

Smithsonian/Folkways
Mail Order
414 Hungerford Drive, Suite 444
Rockville, MD 20850
toll free (orders only/*para pedidos*) 800-410-9815

Other Sound Recordings/*Otras Grabaciones:*

The Chicano Experience. 1980. Folklyric.

Conjunto. 1988. Rounder Records.

Martinez, Narciso. 1989. *The Father of the Tex-Mex Conjunto*. Folklyric.

Texas-Mexican Border Music. 1974. Folklyric.

VIDEO TRANSCRIPT

Part 1:
HISTORY *and* IDENTITY

The international border between the United States and Mexico stretches over 2,000 miles from the southern tip of Texas to the northernmost point of Baja California. More than nine million people live along the border. Just as the landscape changes dramatically over these miles, so do the people and traditions found there. Is there something that can be called "border culture"?

The 1993 Festival of American Folklife brought eighty-five people from the border to Washington, D.C. For five hot, July days, these border residents shared their culture.

Olivia Cadaval: The border has great depth. Historically, we can learn a lot about different people from China, from the Mixteca in Central Mexico, the Native Americans that were already there before. The new identities that are forming. The *cholos*, the Chicanos, there is this very complex way of intercultural dynamics happening at the border.

Blaine Juan: My name is Blaine Juan, and I'm from a village called Wo:g I-Huduñk (Woog E Hudungk). Now, for the white people, it's the San Simon village. It's the Tohono O'odham Nation, and where I live is about 105 miles west of Tucson, which is the main Tohono O'odham reservation, and we live by the Mexican border.

Jim Griffith: I suppose I could ask you a silly question. I could say, how come you settled so close to the border?

Blaine Juan: I guess the way I probably would answer that is it's the white people who put the border there.

Carmen Cristina Moreno: We're going past this Cortés stuff, past this Spanish stuff, into the indigenous thing, and I'm Yaqui, I'm a member of the new race.

To better understand border culture, it is necessary to learn about the history of today's border. In May of 1846, in the wake of the Texas Revolution of 1835, the United States declared war on Mexico. Asserting the ideology of Manifest Destiny, the United States pushed the boundary between the United States and Mexico further south, from the Nueces River to the Rio Grande.

The Mexican-American War concluded in 1848, with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty defined a new boundary line between the United States and Mexico. Almost immediately, the boundary became a source of dispute when surveyors discovered inaccuracies in the map used to form the border.

More importantly, however, the border divided Indian tribal territories, Mexican communities, and families.

Jim Griffith: When the border came through, there were people already, Mexican and Native American people, already living in that country, and the border came — whop — right down the middle, and it split our cultural region in half.

Arturo Carrillo Strong: A lot of the people that were Mexican citizens, and living in their homes that they had lived in for many years, all of a sudden became American citizens. Some wanted to stay, and a lot of them went back to Mexico.

Jim Griffith: And this region, this cultural region stretches on both sides of the international border. Really, the people, a lot of the old families living in southern Arizona, have a lot in common with the old families living in the northern part of the state of Sonora in Mexico. It's the same families quite often. The reason, of course, is that the border came into the country. There wasn't always a border. A border isn't something like the Grand Canyon. A border is an artificial line that gets drawn on a map, and later gets marked on the ground.

Modern-day immigration frequently brings border crossings into the news. But migration and immigration have been going on throughout the history of the border.

Enrique Lamadrid: Immigration is a contradiction to us as Hispanics in the Southwest, because from our perspective the original immigrants are Anglo, is Anglo-America. Anglo-America came in and conquered us, in the Mexican-American War, and said, "Guess what, now you are Americans, and guess what, here is a new line that we are using to divide your communities, and guess what, now we are going to call you the migrants." And so, in the United States, we are a country of migrants, all of us are migrants except our Native American neighbors.

Some of the people who participated in the Festival came to the border recently; others have been living in the region for centuries.

Blaine Juan: We have ancestors in Mexico. And when they put that border, that kind of cut us off, so it was kind of hard to visit our ancestors on the Mexican side. Especially right now, it's really hard. I go across, but I don't go through the main gate.

Olivia Cadaval: Storytelling is very important.

Benito Peralta: (translated by Olivia Cadaval) *The coyote is a smart animal but he trusts too much. They get him every time.*

Olivia Cadaval: Storytelling is really the history-making, is really giving people the history and identity of who they are and how their existence is connected to the land, is connected to the history of an area.

Dub Warrior: I am one of the descendants of that, from the Seminole Indian scouts. And at the time that we became Seminole Indian scouts, in 1870, prior to that we were down in Mexico at the little town we have a couple of participants here with, from the little town which is in Coahuila, Mexico, the state of Coahuila. The name of the town is Nacimiento de los Negros, which means in English "where the Blacks were born."

Like I always says, if you don't know where you're going, you don't know where you are coming from. You gotta know where you are

coming from, to find out where you're going. And where you're going, you have to have been somewheres.

Ofelia Santos López: *I'm from Oaxaca but live in Baja California. I left when I was about eighteen years old to go to Culiacán, Sinaloa, to pick tomatoes. I had two children; when I had a third child, I went to pick cotton. My life was very sad. I worked hard in the fields. When I made some money in Sinaloa, I came to Baja California.*

The people of the border are proud of their histories, but history is not the only thing that has helped to shape border culture.

Enrique Lamadrid: You may have a history, but a history is one thing, that's what happened. An identity is something else, an identity is something that you put together for yourself here and now.

The interplay of language, a sense of shared space, and problems common to both sides of the border also help to define border culture.

Enrique Lamadrid: The people along the northern states of Mexico have more in common with the people in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas than they do with the capitals of the various countries. We depend on each other. A lot of people talk about border culture as being something distinct from the main cultures and the two countries, and in a lot of aspects we would agree with that.

Carmen Cristina Moreno: Every time I go to Mexico, to the borderlands, I feel really comfortable. When I get deep into Mexico, I feel alien.

Enrique Lamadrid: This is a very complicated place to live. Every time you open your mouth, you have to negotiate your identity. When I open my mouth, is it English? Is it Spanish? What am I going to be? What am I going to do? It's the same me, but Spanish and English are so different that it's like different me's at the same time.

Jim Griffith: The border isn't the simple dividing line. It's extremely porous sometimes, it's extremely hard to get through sometimes. It's not always porous and hard to get through at the appropriate times, and it's also a culture all its own.

At the same time the border creates its own cultural identity, it complicates the identities of individuals who live there.

Part 2: CELEBRATIONS *and* IDENTITY

A person's traditional beliefs are an important part of his or her identity. Along the border between Mexico and the United States, celebrations display the different beliefs of the many people who live there.

Jim Griffith: It's so hard to talk about one thing, you know, paper flowers or music, without talking about food and the other things that all go to make a part of the occasion, because these celebrations, we're talking about celebrations along the border and our little tiny part of the border, these celebrations are so complex, and they involve all these different things. The paper flowers fit into the food, the food fits into the music, the music fits into the pictures of the saints; it all sort of goes together into a complex whole, and it involves two nations and lots of different artists living in different places.

The Pascola dance plays an important part in the traditional celebrations and ceremonies of the Tohono O'odham Indian Nation of southern Arizona.

Blaine Juan: I started when I was twelve. The thing is, if you want to dance, when you start younger, you can't go to sleep if it's all night. You have to push it to do the dance. And you have to do it at least three to five years in order to be called a Pascola.

Jim Griffith: These are the O'odham, Tohono O'odham people from the Arizona Sonora borderland, west of Tucson, the big desert country west of Tucson, and they're doing a dance which in English is called Pascola, *Pacola* in O'odham. And it's a ritual dance, a sacred dance. You'll notice there's an altar here at the back of the *ramada* and you'll notice that several of the dancers bless themselves before starting. It is a part of a very complex mixture, a complex blending of Native ideas and Christian ideas that make up the Tohono O'odham culture.

Blaine Juan: We have to make the sign of the cross when we start dancing. That's why we brought our patron musician saint, St. Cecelia. And on the side is St. Javier, a picture from Magdalena. And it's true that we do this for certain occasions. Sometimes there's a sickness that's involved in this Pascola. So what we have to do is at the same time the healer is in there with the sick person, we go ahead and play and dance first, and after we dance, each Pascola besides the player will have to go over there and make the sign of the cross on the person that's sick. And sometimes this will go all night.

Jim Griffith: I bet people are wondering what the leg rattles are. They are the cocoons of moths, a special kind of a moth that lives in the desert, and you find the cocoons, and you tie them into long strings. You slit them open, and you take the moth inside out, and you put little pebbles in, and they make this wonderful rustling sound, so that the dancer really turns into a third instrument, another musical instrument accompanying the music.

Blaine Juan: We all line up right here to go back four times. See, the elderly tell us, if you want to kill a rabbit, don't eat it until you kill four of them. So anything you do, you have to do it four times, commemorating the east, west, south, and north.

Jim Griffith: One thing I'd like to remark on is this extraordinarily delicate music. This violin music has lived in this community by ear. This is not written-down music. This is not music you can learn in school. There are very few violin players even in the community who play this music, and it's strictly a living, oral tradition.

The Pascola dance is only one part of a traditional event for the Tohono O'odham. When members of the community gather, food and religious decorations play an important role.

Jim Griffith: This is a culture and this is a world where these celebrations are announced on the radio. And the radio goes out over the whole reservation in O'odham. Every Sunday there's a radio program in the native language of this reservation, and the parties are announced then. So if you can hear the radio, you know you're invited, and you go.

At the O'odham feasts, decorations adorn the chapel walls. Some of the decorations are made on the reservation, but others are from across the border, in Mexico. Many of the painted picture frames that hang in the Tohono O'odham chapels are made by Anastasio León. Anastasio León is not from the Tohono O'odham community. He lives and works in Imuris, Mexico, over the border from Arizona. Anastasio learned his skills from his father, Jesús León, who was a craftsman and a puppeteer. Although they live on opposite sides of the border, Anastasio León and the Tohono O'odham share some of the same sacred objects.

Every year on the 4th of October, a celebration honors Saint Francis in Magdalena, Mexico. People come from both sides of the border to this celebration. At the fiesta in Magdalena, the Tohono O'odham often purchase Anastasio's painted picture frames to bring back to Arizona to display pictures of their own saints.

At the Festival in Washington, a daily procession was held to honor the Virgin de Guadalupe. The procession brought together residents from all along the border.

Norma Cantú: It struck me the other day how some people were saying that every *pueblo* in Mexico has its saint. Well, we in the United States have, I think, as a *pueblo chicano*, as a tribe, we have the Virgin of Guadalupe as an image.

Gloria Moroyoqui, of Yaqui Indian descent, made this elaborate image of the Virgin de Guadalupe at her home in Sonora, Mexico. She brought the picture with her to the Festival. Jim Griffith, a fellow border resident, spoke of Doña Gloria and her work:

Jim Griffith: She is a consummate artist with paper. And she makes things, the things that she makes are intimately connected with celebrations. She makes *piñatas* for parties, decorated eggshells filled with confetti, *cascarones* for kids to whack each other over the head with at parties, and she makes paper flowers to make altars beautiful with and to hang on the graves of the dead.

Doña Gloria has been making flowers for most of her life.

Gloria Moroyoqui: *I learned to make flowers from my mother. Every time I make a flower I feel a great happiness and great pleasure, because I feel as if my mother were still teaching me. I feel very happy.*

Norma Cantú: *Did you make these flowers for the Festival?*

Gloria Moroyoqui: *Yes, I made them to send here because they asked me, and when I make things I make them with lots of love.*

Jim Griffith: A couple of people have said, "Gee why do you use artificial flowers when real flowers are so beautiful?" We live in the desert. There aren't always real flowers. Real flowers are beautiful today, and they'll be wilted and dead and gone tomorrow. It's hard to realize that in real life, one makes constant compromises in order to keep tradition going. And it's the tradition that you carry in your heart, that is important to continue, rather necessarily than all the outward aspects of that tradition.

Compared to the Tohono O'odham community of southern Arizona, the Mixtecos of Tijuana, Mexico, are recent migrants to the border. When they moved to the border from Oaxaca, this group of Mixtecos brought their own celebration traditions with them.

In Washington, D.C., the Mixtecos built an altar for the Day of the Dead, which normally takes place from October 31st to November 2nd.

Laura Velasco: *This is a Day of the Dead altar, a tradition from the lower Mixteca region in Oaxaca. The Mixtecos have celebrated this tradition for over 500 years, long before the Spaniards' arrival. On November [October] 31st, we await the arrival of the dead children, as we call them. It is the day of the little angels. In this tradition the children arrive in the evening to rejoin their parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents. They come home to find food and smells to guide them. It is a way of giving them life again. At this altar, candles are very important. They will guide the dead to their house.*

Juvencio Extrada Maceda (Francisco Paulino Sierra Cruz, translator): *This small candle is for the children. The candle to my left is for adults, for the most important person in the community or the home. In this way you boys need to uphold authority — the oldest and youngest — to respect each.*

Food is an important part of the Mixteco Day of the Dead ceremony. They prepared some of the Mixteco food, like *mole*, at the Festival. Not all of the food at the Day of the Dead ceremony is for eating. Different fruit adorn the altar. Laura Velasco explains their purpose:

Laura Velasco: *The food that we offer the children is light, not heavy. The tequila and beer are on the altar today for the adults. Alcoholic beverages are an important element in Mexican and Indian fiestas. They are one element that makes a fiesta a happier occasion. We offer our best to the dead.*

Beliefs help to define and confirm a person's identity. These beliefs are celebrated in many different ways along the border. Despite the daily difficulties created by an international border, people find ways to keep their traditional beliefs alive.

Part 3: EXPRESSIVE TRADITIONS *and* IDENTITY

Traditional art can do many different things: make a statement about political and social problems; unite a family; or reinforce group identity. These traditional artistic expressions can also bring past histories into the present.

Carlos Callejo: Murals are an excellent way to pass on some of these traditions and some of these legends, some of these stories, and it's effective because they're in public places accessible to everyone, so it reaches literally thousands upon thousands of people. And so it's a way to bring some of this identity, some of this history to the new generations.

Carlos Callejo was born in El Paso in 1951 and moved to Los Angeles as a teenager. The political climate of the late 1960s motivated much of Carlos work.

Carlos Callejo: During that time we were experiencing a lot of turmoil. Vietnam War, there was a lot of issues of police brutality. In my particular community, those issues were prevalent, along with, not just the Vietnam War, but the high death rate of Chicanos dying in Vietnam. So the mural movement is very much rooted into your political realities. You have to understand that mural art is a little different from easel painting. Easel painting is basically a person's personal endeavor. A view of how that person views the exterior world. On the other hand, mural painting is actually kind of more of a community art project; the artist basically becomes like a tool, a tool to portraying the struggles, the aspirations, the needs of that particular community.

Along the border, young people known as *cholos* also express themselves through murals. Just as the turmoil of the late 1960s and early '70s influenced Carlos, the political reality of today is central to art of the *cholos*.

Gustavo Grado Tiscareño: *At first, we painted murals about ourselves, our way of life, problems of the* barrio. *Later we began to represent social problems, and create something for our community. In our murals we address problems of the* barrio *such as police repression, rejection by society, and ignorance about us.*

At the Festival, members of the *cholo* group Brigada por la Paz spoke about their lives and their art.

Gustavo Grado Tiscareño: *We reach people with our murals. We make them aware of things that cannot be said openly, things that are usually prohibited by the police and by society as a whole. Murals are for everyone to see, to become aware of problems around them.*

Many different forms of expression flourish on the border. Lowriders express themselves through their cars, which are decorated and lowered to ride inches above the ground.

Romy Frías: It's all about getting low, a lot of chrome, a lot of brilliant colors, to bring out again our festive spirit inside, to show the world, "We're here." It's kind of a statement, the slow cruise just so that people can see you. It's a kind of statement that "Hey, take a look, I'm here, this is my beautiful culture, this is the part of the United States culture that I am part of, and here I am."

Romy Frías of El Paso, Texas, has been a member of the Slow and Low car club since he was a teenager. At the Festival, Romy explained what Slow and Low means to him.

Romy Frías: The lowrider clubs function as a family. I'd have to say the best way to describe the way our clubs function is as a family. The car becomes our expression, our canvas if you will, both inside and out. Before I got involved with Slow and Low, before I got involved with lowriding, I ran around with a couple of gangs, over from East and from Central El Paso. Fortunately for me, there was a group of friends involved with this car club, which was established approximately two years earlier. And I got involved. Year after year, getting deeper and deeper into the club, you create something, you create a brand new family, so to speak. There's nothing I — they won't do for me, and there's nothing I won't do for them. It's a lot of the same mentality that the gangs like to claim, but in the car club, it's for real.

Many forms of traditional art address the social problems of the border. El Taller Universitario de Teatro, a theater group based in Mexicali, Baja California, perform a play on the *maquiladora* industry.

— I am a machine.

— No, I am not a machine.

— I work in front of a wall that looks at me, asking me questions.

— I should have never accepted this job.

— Don't complain or ask for a raise. There are going to be many layoffs, and you may be the next ones.

— Unions have become a forbidden topic. Don't even think about forming one because a maquiladora *can disappear overnight.*

— In Mexicali, we are all of this and more. We will be something else tomorrow. Things are always changing. That is the border, myth and reality, bridge and chain link fence, a place for crossing and an impenetrable wall.

— Mexicali bends with the crisis, but does not break.

— Mexicali bends with the crisis, but does not break.

— Mexicali bends with the crisis, but does not break.

— Mexicali bends with the crisis, man, but does not break, homey.

— Mexicali bends with the crisis, but does not break.

Along the border, music often brings a family together. At the Festival, the Layton family from Elsa, Texas, shared their music, as well as their family memories.

Norfilia Layton: I am the only daughter from a family of four, and being from siblings of migrant families, I was not allowed to play with my brothers. I used to sit back in the back porch of my parents' house while my brothers would practice, and I would listen to them play nightly. They would practice every evening after supper, they'd go out there. I'd do the dishes in a hurry and I'd go out there, and as a result I learned how to sing.

Benigno Layton: When we got started I was seven years old, and René was nine, and Tony was eleven. The very first time that we played as "Los Hermanitos Layton" was four houses down the street. It was a baptism party, and we played in a garage. That was our debut. What I try to do with my accordion playing, I try to make it as happy as possible, *alegre*, you know. And sometimes when there's a little interlude between the singing, I get a little chance, a couple of bars, a couple of beats to do whatever I feel I want to do.

Norfilia Layton: At the age of eleven I did my first performance in public, and the rest is history. I am now approaching forty-one, and I am still singing with my brothers.

Music has always been a part of Carmen Cristina Moreno's family. Her parents, professional musicians, sang *rancheras*.

Carmen Cristina Moreno: I was raised in the mariachi. I'm just learning about her history too.

Carmen Cristina has a history of music in her family, and her music is filled with history.

Carmen Cristina Moreno: I'm going to sing a song about the Mexican Revolution, which is something very close to my heart. My father was in the Mexican Revolution he was, because my grandfather was a full-blooded Yaqui Indian and my grandmother was a French refugee. But my father was dark and had the Yaqui features like I do. They conscripted him in the Yaqui division of the Revolutionary Army. In order to whittle down and weed out the Yaqui population, they conscripted these Yaquis to go to the front lines, and they drafted my father; he was only fifteen and a half, and he was sent to fight with General Carranza. This is *"El teniente y González,"* the Lieutenant and González.

From Allende he said goodbye
21 years completed,
He left a lot of pleasant memories
To the town and to the *rurales*
(*Rurales* like the federal troops).

And it says:

Arnulfo was sitting down
And at that time a lieutenant goes by,
And the lieutenant said,
"What are you looking at?"

And the lieutenant got very angry and hit Arnulfo in the face with his gun. He hit him in the face and pulled out his gun threatening him, and then he put his gun back in his holster and walked off. Then Arnulfo said, "Hey, wait a minute. You need my answer." And so it goes.

Using music, drama, and visual images, traditional art expresses identity along the border.

Part 4: OCCUPATIONS *and* IDENTITY

Occupations can reflect a regional and personal identity. Along the United States-Mexico border, traditional occupations tied to the land, like ranching, have a long history. The border fosters other occupations born from special circumstances: the availability of inexpensive labor, a bustling tourist trade, and the control of people crossing the border.

For many people, ranching is a way of life in the lower Rio Grande/Río Bravo region. The dry open ranges of South Texas and northeastern Mexico create an ideal area for raising large herds of cattle.

Cynthia Vidaurri: The cattle industry as it exists today had its origins in Spain. It was brought in to Mexico by the Spanish visitors that came in the 1500s.

One of the occupations connected to ranching is that of the cowboy, or *vaquero*. A *vaquero*'s identity is evident in the clothes he wears, the equipment he uses, and in the skills he's learned over a lifetime.

Omar Galván: I was born and raised in a ranch in South Texas. I come from a big family of ten. My father was a cowboy, my grandfather was a cowboy, my great-grandfather was a cowboy. All my brothers and myself.

Identity can also be tied to the terms used to refer to oneself. When speaking English, Omar calls himself a cowboy. In Spanish, however, he is known as a *vaquero completo*.

Cynthia Vidaurri: There's a distinction between a cowboy and a *vaquero* on the South Texas ranches. "Cowboy" might mean the guy who is twenty, twenty-five, takes his pick-up truck and his goose-neck trailer and works cattle using hydraulics, but the *vaquero completo* knows the entire range of the cattle business. These are the fellows who fix windmills, *papelotes*, these are the guys who build the fences, as well as going out there and working the cattle. Some of these older cowboys can tell you by sight which calf belongs to which cow.

At the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C., Omar described a typical day's work for a cowboy:

Omar Galván: *We get up very early, sometimes at 3:00 a.m., sometimes at 4:00. We have to be ready to ride at dawn.*

Omar is retired now and no longer lives on a ranch. He still identifies himself as a *vaquero*, though, and is often called upon to guide younger, aspiring *vaqueros*.

Many people working along the border are influenced by ranches and their history. Armando Flores, a blacksmith, was inspired by his family's involvement in ranching:

Armando Flores: Throughout my years growing up, on both sides of my family, my mother's side and my father's side, all the folks in our family were ranch hands or worked in ranches all their lives. On my mother's side, I'm the first generation that

did not grow up on a ranch, that did not do ranch work. On my father's side, I'm the second generation that was pulled off the ranch. So, I've always heard from when I was a kid stories about blacksmiths, and how resourceful those people were, how they would repair wagons and plows and all kinds of stuff, make implements for the ranchers and stuff. So I kept that in the back of my mind somewhere, and as I progressed in my blacksmithing skills, I brought that back. So now I go to scrap yards and look for items that I am able to recycle into something else, whether it be decorative or practical form.

Other occupations, like rope and basket making, continue in ranching regions of the border.

Arturo Carrillo Strong, an author and former border investigator, explains that ranching is not the only occupation with a long history in the region.

Arturo Carrillo Strong: The smuggling business is one that has been handed down from one generation to another. The old smuggling routes of the *tequileros* go back centuries, and these routes are inherited and handed down to the children.

Since the early part of this century, the United States Government has increased its patrol of the border to monitor traffic of people and goods between the two countries.

Reynaldo Hernández: My name is Reynaldo Hernández; I'm with the United States Border Patrol, part of the branch of the Immigration Service, and my job is to stop illegal immigration of illegal aliens from all parts of the country, all parts of the world that are coming into the United States. I was born and raised in South Texas. For the past sixteen years I have been involved in the enforcement of smuggling or contraband directly, right on the river in South Texas, now right on what we call "the line," the *"linea"* in Nogales. I was born and raised on a horse and worked with these King Ranch cowboys at one time. And when I went to the area where I am now in, we started up a horse patrol. And we have been able to apprehend narcotic violators on horseback, partly because now we are using the trades, tools that they are using, countering what they are using, and it also helps us in the tracking of illegal aliens. My background in ranching allowed me to track and, you know, apprehend a lot of narcotic and illegal alien violators.

The availability of inexpensive labor has lured many U.S. companies to relocate their assembly plants to the border. These plants are known as *maquiladoras*. In many cases, the U.S. companies exploit their workers, and pollute the environment.

One *maquila* worker offers a description of her work: "The work is very hard, very dirty. You work with metals, and all the time you are shaking off shavings and picking out splinters."

Other occupations have benefitted from the thriving tourist industry of the border. In Tijuana a group of Mixtecas have organized themselves to sell crafts to tourists. In the Plaza de Santa Cecilia, these women display their goods in specially designed carts.

The Mixtecas, originally from rural Oaxaca in southwestern Mexico, migrated to the border, which is a mid-point between the agricultural fields of Mexico and those of the United States where many of their husbands find seasonal

work. Ofelia Santos López, president of the Unión Mixteca de Comerciantes y Artesanos de Artículos para el Turismo, explains:

> **Ofelia Santos López:** *We are all women. Our husbands go to the United States to work, while we stay in Tijuana. We struggle to help our husbands and children get ahead. We have organized ourselves, so they don't suffer like we did. We are hard workers, and we help each other out.*

From the clothing of a *vaquero* to the union card of a Mixteca vendor, occupations along the border help define people's identities. Occupations change over time — but the border itself creates circumstances that affect the working lives of its residents.