The International JOURNAL of the ARTS IN SOCIETY

Volume 4, Number 5

Chicano Art as Alternative Media: Its Influence on US Popular Culture (And Beyond)

Regina Marchi

COMMON GROUND

www.arts-journal.com

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE ARTS IN SOCIETY
http://www.arts-journal.com

First published in 2010 in Champaign, Illinois, USA by Common Ground Publishing LLC
www.CommonGroundPublishing.com.

ISSN: 1833-1866
Publisher Site: http://www.Arts-Journal.com

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE ARTS IN SOCIETY is peer-reviewed, supported by rigorous processes of criterion-referenced article ranking and qualitative commentary, ensuring that only intellectual work of the greatest substance and highest significance is published.

Typeset in Common Ground Markup Language using CGCreator multichannel typesetting system
http://www.commongroundpublishing.com/software/

Chicano Art as Alternative Media: Its Influence on US Popular Culture (And Beyond)

Regina Marchi, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, USA

Abstract: In 1972, Chicana/o artists held the first Día de los Muertos exhibits in the USA to publicly honor Mexican heritage in a majority Anglo-American society. Day of the Dead altar installations and art became mediums for publicly communicating about Latino identities and political struggles. Weaving together various elements of the US Latino experience – including Roman Catholic, Indigenous, and Mestizo artistic and cultural traditions juxtaposed with aspects of US popular culture, US Day of the Dead celebrations assumed an ideological and political value that far transcended the holiday's original religious meaning in Latin America. This celebration of the dead had unexpected appeal with non-Latinos, who felt that mainstream US culture lacked public opportunities to collectively remember and heal after the death of loved ones. Today, the holiday is a popular autumn ritual in schools, museums, community centers and commercial venues across the US. Through various communication flows (the mass media, tourism, commerce), Chicano artistic influences have not only proliferated across the USA, adding a new celebration to the holiday calendar, but have also migrated to Mexico and other parts of the globe.

Keywords: Chicano Art, Chicano Movement, Day of the Dead, El Día de los Muertos, Latinization, Imagined Community, Art and Politics, Mexican-American Identity, Alternative Media

Introduction

THE 1960S AND 1970s marked a decisive period in US history, when Latinos and other people of color were deeply engaged in struggles to gain civil rights, public recognition, and respect within an historically racist mainstream society. Blossoming in the 1970s (with roots going back to the 1930s), the Chicano Movement[1] began in California and the American Southwest as a political and cultural movement that worked on a broad cross section of issues affecting the Mexican-American community. These included farm workers' rights; Native American land rights; efforts to improve educational opportunities; voting and political rights; and the public celebration of cultural traditions. Among other goals, the movement sought to combat historically negative stereotypes of Mexican-Americans in the US mass media. Since few Latinos occupied powerful positions in the world of mass media production at the time, Chicanos created their own alternative media in the form of public art. In response to decades of the political, economic, and social oppression of Mexican-Americans, they created *arte contestatario* – art designed to challenge mainstream racist tropes (Gomez-Peña 1986, 86). Political transformation through collective efforts and spiritually influenced artistic expression became major themes of the Chicano Movement.

[1] "Chicano/a" is a self-identifying term for Mexican-Americans dedicated to progressive political organizing work.

The International Journal of the Arts in Society
Volume 4, Number 5, 2010, http://www.arts-journal.com, ISSN 1833-1866

COMMON GROUND

The 1970s was a period in which many racial minority groups in the US were attempting to learn about and reclaim their cultural roots – languages, clothing, art, music, rituals and other ancestral traditions that had been lost in processes of slavery, colonization, reservation systems, and forced assimilation. For a minority community that was unaccustomed to seeing positive images of itself in the mass media, the significance of publicly honoring collective experiences and cultural traditions cannot be overstated. Historically, US news coverage depicted Mexicans and other Latinos as lazier, less intelligent, less moral, and more prone to crime than Anglo Americans (Santa Ana 2002; Carveth & Alverio 1997; Friedman et al 1991; Rodriguez et al. 1997; Wilson & Gutierrez 1985), and the same pattern of negative representation existed in magazine and television advertising (*Hispanic Business* 1999; Taylor & Bang: 1997; Wilson, Gutiérrez & Chao 2003). In Hollywood films, Latinos were stereotyped in tropes such as the bandido, the gang banger, the over sexualized Latin Lover, the dangerous temptress, or the dim-witted buffoon (Fregoso 1993; Noriega & López et al.1996; Ramírez-Berg 2002). Mainstream US newspaper coverage reinforced many of the negative stereotypes found in generations of Hollywood films, portraying Latinos primarily within "problem" and "social disadvantage" frames, as people who lived in crime-infested neighborhoods, lacked basic educational and job skills, and were not legitimate US citizens (Carveth & Alverio 1997; Fishman & Casiano 1969; Quiroga 1997; Wilson & Gutierrez 1985).

In response to this widespread denigration, Chicanos engaged in political and cultural media work that included literature, theater, music, and visual art meant to tell the collective histories of their people. Neglected and abandoned buildings in Mexican-American neighborhoods became canvasses for giant public murals that educated onlookers about Aztec legends, Mexican revolutionary heroes/heroines, and Mexican-American political struggles such as the grape boycott of the United Farm Workers' Union. Chicano performance artists and theater troupes traveled to urban barrios and rural farming towns producing *teatro popular* – a street theater tradition common in Mexico – to educate immigrant laborers about their legal rights in the US. Chicano poets, novelists, musicians and painters expressed both the beauty and struggles of the Mexican-American experience. These art forms communicated alternative and oppositional messages about the histories and experiences of Mexican-Americans, and represented the first time that Mexican-American culture was so visibly celebrated in the US public sphere.[2]

Emerging at a time of widespread social justice activism by disenfranchised populations, the Chicano Movement was influenced by Black civil rights activism, the American Indian Movement, the Women's Liberation Movement, and the Gay and Lesbian Rights Movement (Lipsitz; 1990, 2001; Romo 2001). Chicano activists identified strongly with anti-colonial struggles around the world (e.g. in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Vietnam and Africa) and proclaimed solidarity with these movements for self-determination. They supported the struggles of elderly Filipinos in San Francisco trying to avoid eviction from affordable housing; striking coal miners in Kentucky; and the boycott of Nestlé's because of that company's aggressive

[2] During this time, similar multi-media work was carried out on the East Coast by Puerto Rican artists responding to the racism and discrimination Puerto Ricans faced as minorities living within mainstream US society. Although the Chicano Movement and Boricua Movement were distinct movements that sprung organically from each community, both were examples of public art serving as a medium for political education and organizing.

promotion of infant formula to nursing mothers in Africa.[3] The Chicano Movement integrated culture, art, and politics for the goal of building community and creating progressive political change (Gaspar De Alba 1998; Del Castillo et al. 1991; Ybarra-Frausto 1996).

Since there were no Latino Studies programs in US universities at that time, many Chicanos (most of whom were US-born and raised) undertook independent historical research and visited Mexico to gain a better understanding of Mexico's cultural traditions. Some dedicated themselves to learning Indigenous[4] languages, Mayan weaving, Aztec *danza* or other Indigenous arts. Referred to today as Neo-Indigenism (a movement to reaffirm and celebrate the contributions and achievements of Mesoamerican civilization), the collective espousal of Mexico's Indigenous past became a dominant theme of Chicano artistic expression. A particularly strong influence on Chicano art was the pageantry of Mesoamerican sacred rituals, religious symbols, and spiritual beliefs (Carrasco 1990; González 1972; Romo 2000). With its stunning aesthetics and vibrant rituals, the celebration of "El Día de los Muertos" or "The Day of the Dead," would become one of the most widely observed and cherished annual traditions of the Mexican-American community.[5]

Brief Description of Day of the Dead

In the Indigenous communities of Mexico, Guatemala, Bolivia, Ecuador, and other regions of Latin America, the celebration of Day of the Dead (officially observed on November 1 and 2) is a fusion of Roman Catholic All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day activities with pre-Columbian Indigenous rituals for remembering the ancestors. Like many other Latin Americans, Mexicans routinely visit cemeteries between October 30 and November 2, to clean and decorate family graves. *Papel picado* (intricate crepe paper cut-outs made for festive occasions to adorn homes, churches, and town squares) are ubiquitous in Mexico during these days. In areas of the country with large Indigenous populations, nocturnal cemetery vigils are held by candlelight to await the souls traditionally believed to visit the living at this time of the year, and elaborate home altars are constructed to honor the dead. These altars have pre-Columbian roots as harvest offerings or "ofrendas" for the deceased. The southern regions of Oaxaca, Michoacán, Puebla, Chiapas, Vera Cruz, and Yucatán, (home to Mexico's highest concentration of Indigenous peoples), are known for their painstakingly ornate ofrendas. The altars are often laden with *pan de muerto* (bread for the dead), salt, grains, fruits, vegetables, legumes, coffee, soda pop, alcoholic beverages, special dishes (such as *tamales* or *mole*), mementos and photos of the departed, candles, and Catholic iconography (such as crucifixes and/or images of saints). Tables, shelves, or crates may be used to create multi-leveled altars, which may be crowned with large arches or square

[3] A US boycott against Nestlé began in 1977 and expanded in the 1980s and 1990s. As a marketing strategy, the company offered free samples of baby formula to impoverished African women who, believing it was better for their infants, used it instead of breast feeding. When the free samples ran out and lactation ceased as a result of not nursing, women were forced to buy the expensive formula. Babies often starved to death or became malnourished, as mothers mixed the formula with too much water, attempting to make it last longer.

[4] In this article, a noun and adjective referring to the autochthonous peoples of Mexico, whose ancestors had the earliest human presence there. Today, there are more than 60 Indigenous linguistic groups in Mexico, comprising about 13% of the national population.

[5] Comprehensive information on the genesis of the celebration in San Francisco, California, can be found in the doctoral dissertation of theologian Suzanne Morrison (1992), listed in the bibliography. Further historical documentation and curatorial perspective on the Chicano celebration is available in *Chicanos en Mictlán*, a museum catalog written by Tere Romo, et al. (2000).

frameworks overlaid with marigolds and/or hanging fruits, (said to be gateways to symbolically welcome the traveling spirits home).

The most prominent symbol of Mexico's Day of the Dead is the *calavera* or "skull" – often made of papier-mâché, clay, wood, plastic, metal, or cut-out tissue paper. In particular, edible white sugar skulls decorated with colored icing have become internationally recognized emblems of Mexico (Brandes: 1998). Piled on trays by the dozens in shops and open-air markets, these fanciful treats adorn altars and are exchanged between family and friends as tokens of affection. Mexico's Day of the Dead skull imagery also takes the form of marionettes, gigantic puppets, chocolates, toys, masks, paintings, statues, posters, mobiles, candleholders and more. With humorous expressions that mimic the living and mock everyday behaviors, these images are meant to remind the living of the brevity of life and inevitability of death.

A Chicano Tradition is Born

Prior to the 1970s, public approbation of Latino cultures was rare in the realm of US arts, education, or the mass media. When Latino heritage was acknowledged at all, it was exclusively Spaniard, rather than Indigenous, ancestry that was lauded. In both Latin America and the United States, Eurocentric racism had categorized "Indian" heritage as a shameful impurity that consigned mixed blooded Mestizos[6] – the majority of the Latino population – to inferior socioeconomic status vis-à-vis Anglos. As a rejection of this mentality (which had colonized the minds of many Mexican-Americans and the larger Anglo-American society over decades), Day of the Dead celebrations and other actions emerging from the Chicano Movement emphatically commemorated the customs and beliefs of working class Mestizo and Indigenous Mexicans.

Before the 1970s, most Mexican-Americans observed November 1 and 2 similarly to other Catholics around the world, by attending mass, placing flowers by the gravesites of departed loved ones, and/or preparing a family meal. These dates were referred to by their Catholic names: "All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day," and sugar skulls, pan de muerto, and the elaborate Indigenous altar making traditions of southern Mexico were unknown to most people of Mexican heritage living in the United States (Gosnell & Gott 1989; Griffith 1985, 1995; 1997; Marchi 2009). However, as Chicanos visited southern Mexico and learned about these traditions, they brought them to the barrios of Los Angeles and San Francisco, where "Day of the Dead" altar installations were showcased in art galleries, community centers, schools and, later, in major museums. In the US context, these altar making rituals were hybridizations of Indigenous and Catholic spiritual practices mixed with elements of US popular culture and politics – components that comprised Mexican-American identities. Day of the Dead sugar skulls quickly became a ubiquitous expression of Chicano iconography because of their perceived connection to ancient Aztec culture and their attention-grabbing nature. Chicana artist and educator, Yolanda Garfias Woo, one of the first to teach about Day of the Dead in California's schools, noted that compared with most US holidays, Day of the Dead "was *so far out!* It was a shocking kind of thing to be doing. It literally *shocked*

[6] A term used to describe peoples and/or cultures that are the product of racial mixing – usually refers to Latin Americans or US Latinos of mixed European, Indigenous and/or African ancestries.

the non-Latino community. And that's exactly the emphasis that Chicanos were looking for. They wanted to make a statement and make it *big*."[7]

An innovative component of Chicano Day of the Dead celebrations was the inclusion of Aztec *danza,* a term that refers to a pre-Columbian style of "dancing in prayer" used as a form of communication with the spirit world. Wearing synthetic renditions of Aztec clothing and headdresses decorated with colorful feathers, danza performers frequently inaugurate US Day of the Dead processions, altar exhibitions, and community celebrations with modern re-creations of ancient ceremonies, although this form of dance was previously not done on Day of the Dead in Mexico (Marchi 2009, 46). By combining Aztec ceremonial dancing with the ofrenda tradition in ways that were not done by the Indigenous populations of Mexico, Chicanos exercised creative syncretism. They also exercised syncretism by mixing the personal with the political. Besides honoring deceased family and friends, Chicanos converted the holiday into a commemoration of the collective "ancestors" of all US Latinos, creating public altars for beloved Latino actors, singers, writers, artists, revolutionaries and other popular culture icons (i.e. Frida Kahlo, Diego Rivera, Che Guevara) as a way to educate the public about the historic contributions of Latinos to the world. Chicanos also utilized the holiday's focus on remembrance to criticize dominant power structures by creating altar installations intended to raise public awareness of the socio-political causes of death affecting Latinos and other people of color. In so doing, they expanded a tradition originally reserved for family members into one that also remembered groups of people not personally known to the altar makers. Chicano altar installations have commemorated Mexican-American farm workers poisoned by pesticides; Latin American migrants who died trying to cross the US-Mexico border; urban youth victimized by gangs and drugs; factory workers killed in industrial accidents; victims of US funded wars in Chile, Argentina, El Salvador, Guatemala, Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan; the "death" of the environment; and other political issues (Marchi 2006).

The first documented US Day of the Dead activities to occur in art gallery spaces occurred in 1972, organized separately by artists at Self Help Graphics, in Los Angeles, and La Galería de la Raza, in San Francisco. Self-Help Graphics, a community-based visual arts center in the predominantly Latino community of East Los Angeles, hosted a lively Day of the Dead street procession in which people dressed up as skeletons and walked to a nearby cemetery. Professor of Latino Studies, Sybil Venegas, notes that none of the Chicanos who helped organize this initial ceremony were personally familiar with Day of the Dead, but learned about it from the three founders of Self Help Graphics (Mexican-born and raised artists, Antonio Ibañez and Carlos Bueno, and Italian-American nun Sister Karen Boccalero). She notes: "While these artists were initially unfamiliar with El Día de los Muertos, they were undoubtedly attracted to its potential to generate cultural awareness, ethnic pride, and collective self-fulfillment for the East Los Angeles community" (Venegas 2000,47). Through the influence of Ibañez and Bueno, the Self-Help Graphics artists were introduced to Mexican calavera (skull) imagery and Indigenous-style altar making. Within in couple of years, the celebration had attracted the participation of the larger Chicano artist community, and a plethora of silkscreen prints, posters, paintings, T-shirts, multi-media compositions, performances, and other Day of the Dead-inspired expressions soon emanated from artists throughout the greater Los Angeles area.

[7] Personal interview with Yolanda Garfias Woo, San Francisco, California, June 6, 2003.

Comprised of artists and local residents, the Day of the Dead procession at Self Help became an annual event. It concluded in Self Help's gallery, which housed a Day of the Dead art show and held workshops in sugar skull making and related crafts. In subsequent years, performances by the Chicano political theater troupe, *El Teatro Campesino,* were also presented. Over time, the Los Angeles Day of the Dead procession grew to include music, Aztec danza, giant skeleton puppets, sculptures, banners, stylized Chicano "low rider" cars, decorated floats, and more. Because Self-Help Graphics worked with local elementary schools to educate students and teachers about Day of the Dead, hundreds of children attended the processions, displaying celebratory art projects made in school. Workshops teaching the public how to make papel picado, sugar skulls, plaster skeleton masks, and altars would be an important part of the organization's Day of the Dead festivals for decades to come. Inspired by Self Help, community centers, schools, libraries, art galleries, museums, folk art stores, city parks and commercial districts throughout southern California later developed annual Day of the Dead programming.

Simultaneously in the same year, the Chicano art gallery La Galería de la Raza, located in the heart of San Francisco's predominantly Latino "Mission" district, held the city's first Day of the Dead altar exhibition. Organized by artists René Yáñez and Ralph Maradiaga, together with other artists, including Carmen Lomas Garza and Yolanda Garfias Woo, the exhibition and related educational activities also evolved into an annual tradition. In 1981, La Galería organized a small Day of the Dead street procession with about twenty-five people who walked around the block holding candles and photos of deceased loved ones. Within a few years, the annual procession had burgeoned into a manifestation of thousands, including Aztec danza groups, colorful banners, streetside altar installations, sidewalk chalk art, giant calavera puppets, stilt walkers, portable sculptures, Cuban Santería practitioners, and a Jamaican steel drum band on wheels. Individuals walking in honor of deceased family members and friends were joined by contingents walking to draw public attention to various sociopolitical causes of death, such as US military interventions abroad, gun violence, and AIDS. Though no longer sponsored by La Galería de la Raza, the procession today attracts an estimated 20,000 participants, spanning diverse ages, races, and ethnicities – making it the largest Day of the Dead street procession in the United States.

La Galería's annual Day of the Dead exhibits have ranged from traditional ofrendas to high-tech video displays to cross-cultural installations done by students and artists from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds. From the beginning, the themes and people commemorated reflected a broad spectrum between the traditional and the contemporary, including installations honoring regional Mexican altar-making traditions, feminist ofrendas, and tributes to Latino artists.[8] This small gallery had a profound influence on the shape of Day of the Dead celebrations in the US, both in encouraging hybrid experimentation with and "mainstreaming" the altar format. Chicana curator Tere Romo notes that the Galería's most significant contribution to El Día de los Muertos and to Chicano art history was the new direction in which it took ofrendas. By blending traditional rituals with modern materials and designs, artist Rene Yáñez, in particular, transformed the altar format into an "environmental space" and pushed altar making into the realm of contemporary art, while still remain-

[8] According to Romo and Garza, La Galería's early Day of the Dead exhibits were instrumental in popularizing Frida Kahlo, who was virtually unknown in the US in the 1970s (Romo 2000,38; 2001,101; personal interview with Carmen Lomas Garza, San Francisco, California, May, 25, 2006).

ing respectful of the traditional ofrenda as the source of inspiration (Romo 2000,38). "Altar installations" (the term used by Chicano artists to describe the ofrendas they create in public spaces) always contemplate some aspect of death and often utilize mixed media such as sculpture, oil paints, silkscreen, mobiles, collage, computers, televisions, sound systems, video footage, or interactive websites. La Galería's exhibitions ultimately generated citywide recognition and inspired parallel celebrations elsewhere. As a result of the activities of these two art galleries, museums and schools throughout the US now organize Day of the Dead programming in October and November.

From Alaska to Iowa to Maine, New Jersey, Florida, and beyond, Day of the Dead is now one of the most popular multicultural educational activities in grades K-12, providing a creative platform for teaching social studies, history, art, and language skills. University departments of Anthropology, Latino Studies, Spanish, Religion, and Art routinely hold Day of the Dead celebrations, including altar exhibits, craft workshops; performance art; and poetry slams (where participants read poems or tell stories about the departed). Many contemporary US celebrations also include public lectures about Day of the Dead traditions or metaphysical topics related to death and the spirit world. They feature film screenings ranging from documentaries about Day of the Dead, such as *La Ofrenda: Days of the Dead* (Portillo & Muñoz 1988) and *La Muerte Viva, The Day of the Dead: A Living Tradition* (Llamas 1989), to classic Mexican movies with Day of the Dead scenes, such as *Macario* (Roberto Gavaldon 1960) and *Ánimas Trujano* (Ismael Rodriguez 1962), to films on Mexican folk art such as *Pedro Linares: Folk Artist* (Bronowski & Grant 1975). In all of these ways, the celebration was transformed in the US into a multi-faceted artistic, educational, and social phenomenon. It has become an annual autumn ritual that US-Americans of many races and ethnicities enjoy, as both Latinos and non-Latinos create public altars and participate in Day of the Dead installations at art galleries, schools, and museums.

Art in the Service of Community Building

In most of Latin America, Day of the Dead observances would be classified as "folk" culture, which John Fiske defines as "the product of a *comparatively* stable, traditional social order" (Fiske 1989, 169). This refers to beliefs and practices arising from the organic life of a community, not intended for promotion to a larger audience. A folk belief related to Day of the Dead, for example, is the widespread conviction that a family's wellbeing depends, in part, on respectfully remembering the dead. Whether people construct elaborate altars or simply lay flowers on family graves, these rituals are rooted in a common sense of moral obligation to the deceased. Meanwhile, within the more secular context of US society, Chicano Day of the Dead rituals emerged in non-religious spheres as a form of popular culture. The term "popular" here refers to cultural practices that are derived from folk culture, commoditized for intended consumption by mass audiences, and utilized as signifiers of new meanings. This does not mean that US Day of the Dead rituals are devoid of spiritual significance, but that they occur in secular contexts as "art," "ethnic culture," or "political expression," and are not primarily undertaken as acts of religious devotion.

US Day of the Dead installations reflect the hybrid nature of Chicano spirituality (Romo 2000), incorporating Catholic crucifixes, bibles, religious candles, rosary beads, and pictures of the saints, with Indigenous elements, such as pre-Columbian foods and Mayan or Aztec symbols. Their principal goal is to publicly celebrate Chicano/Mexican/Latino identities

rather than to fulfill religious obligations to the dead. In the United States, art gallery and museum exhibits are key "media" for communicating messages of Latino cultural affirmation and political struggle – another way in which US celebrations differ from the Indigenous celebrations in Mexico.

Unlike in Mexican villages where Day of the Dead customs were passed down through generations, most of the US public (both Latino and non-Latino) were unfamiliar with "El Día de los Muertos" prior to the 1970s, and needed to be taught the meanings behind the skull imagery and harvest-themed altar rituals. Some onlookers feared these "pagan" activities were affiliated with "necrophilia," and some even accused organizers of being associated with the "death cult" of Charles Manson (Marchi 2009, 93). So, each year from late September until early November, Chicano artists in California and elsewhere organized educational workshops about the history and meanings of Day of the Dead traditions, and taught participants how to make Mexican-style paper flowers, sugar skulls, papier-mâché masks, and altars. Today, such educational programming continues to be the medium through which most people in the US learn about Day of the Dead. These are important community building experiences that draw economically, ethnically, politically and generationally diverse groups of Mexican-Americans together, connecting them to each other and to other Latinos, and helping to build bridges between Latinos and non-Latinos.

Comments from the following middle aged Mexican-Americans in California illustrate that Day of the Dead is a new celebration for them and something they would not have known about were it not for the work of Chicano artists and educators. A librarian who was born in northern Mexico and lived in San Diego for more than 40 years noted that her family never celebrated Day of the Dead, and that she had never heard of the holiday until she saw altar exhibits at the university campus where she worked. A 42 year-old woman (also born in northern Mexico) who had moved to California in her teens learned about Day of the Dead in the year 2000, when she became active in a local Latino community center that held a Day of the Dead celebration. She liked the concept so much that she began to participate annually in her neighborhood association's Day of the Dead celebrations: "[W]hen I came here and saw the celebration, I really wanted to be a part of it…I feel so much closer to that part of my culture. And I've been able to teach my family about it. My mother is *really* into it now!"[9] A Mexican-American administrative assistant in her mid fifties, who grew up in East Los Angeles, learned about the celebration from the art gallery where she worked: "I'm a third generation Mexican-American, but we never celebrated Day of the Dead. I mean, we went to church and had a meal, but it was very solemn. I learned about it working here, and was inspired by all the artists who participate."[10] Similarly, a Chicano playwright in his mid fifties who was born and raised in East Los Angeles, recounts: "Day of the Dead was really introduced to me by Self Help Graphics."[11]

Chicano Influence on Mexico

While Chicano artists were initially inspired by Mexican Day of the Dead rituals, Mexico's Day of the Dead expressions were later influenced by Chicano renderings of the holiday.

[9] Personal interview with Guadalupe Ruiz, San Diego, California, April 29, 2003.
[10] Personal interview, Pasadena, California, June 4, 2004.
[11] Personal interview with Tomás Benitez, Los Angeles, California, June 5, 2004.

This happened as Mexican artists and tourists visited the US and observed Chicano Day of the Dead installations. It also happened as Chicano artists traveled to Mexico City to give workshops and promote books they had written about the celebration. Ironically, while Chicanos were discovering and popularizing El Día de los Muertos in the United States, many middle class Mexicans dismissed the tradition as something that only rural, uneducated and superstitious "Indians" would do. Urban elites who wanted to forge a "modern" (i.e. westernized) Mexico considered Day of the Dead a mortifying anachronism best left behind. In fact, until the latter twentieth century, Mexico's Indigenous peoples were often ridiculed by non-Indigenous Mexicans for creating Day of the Dead altars (Carmichael & Sayer 1991, 119; Beezley 1987), and ofrenda making traditions were waning (Brandes 1988; Nutini 1988). Therefore, the esteem that Chicano teachers, professors and artists had for the holiday helped elevate it in the eyes of urban Mexicans and, in particular, among Mexican artists. Amalia Mesa-Bains, a visual arts professor at the California State University at Monterrey Bay, explains: "A number of Chicanos began to go back to Mexico and assist in reclaiming the tradition there…In Mexico City and other large cities where there was much more dominance from the US…most contemporary Mexican artists were not interested in those traditions because to them they seemed rather old fashioned. And so we Chicano artists actually valued something that contemporary Mexican artists did not.[12]

Mexican artists have noted the influence of Chicano Day of the Dead celebrations on Mexico. Sculptor Guillermo Pulido, who was born in Guadalajara, Mexico and moved as an adult to California in the late 1980s, observed the "regeneration" and "transformation" taking place with Day of the Dead in the USA and felt there was a "recycling of influences back and forth" between the countries (Morrison 1992, 362). A staff member of the Mexican Museum of San Francisco expressed similar feelings. On moving as an adult from Mexico to California in 1997, he was surprised to see how Day of the Dead was celebrated in the US: "Here, because of the Chicano Movement, it's much more political." He felt that Chicano celebrations had inspired more politicized and artistic experimentation with altars in Mexico: "In Mexico, there are new interpretations of altars, and you now see artists doing more experimental things around Day of the Dead."[13] According to curator Tere Romo, Chicano Day of the Dead celebrations offered new models and inspiration for future generations of artists and "forever changed the tradition not only in the United States, but in Mexico, as well" (Romo 2000,31).

Art Attracts the Mass Media

In the weeks preceding November 1 and 2, mainstream US newspapers and magazines now announce Day of the Dead events in their "arts and culture" listings. Promotional posters are hung in windows of stores, restaurants, social service agencies, and schools, while large banners and billboards are placed in malls, parks, and university campuses. Each fall, community centers, art galleries, and museums mail thousands of postcards to their constituents, announcing the dates of their Day of the Dead events, while art galleries, universities, folk art stores, and community centers post schedules of their Day of the Dead activities in their web pages and newsletters.

[12] Personal interview with Amalia Mesa-Bains, July 24, 2007.
[13] Personal interview with Salvador Acevedo, San Francisco, California, June 3, 2003.

As the largest Latino festivity in the United States, Day of the Dead brings positive media attention to Latino culture in a variety of forms. There have been El Día de los Muertos episodes on primetime television shows such as PBS' *American Family* (2002 season); the popular HBO series, *Six Feet Under* (2002 season) and *Carnivale* (2003 season). The John Sayles movie, *Silver City* (2004), included a Day of the Dead scene, and the Tim Burton film *Corpse Bride* (2005) was filled with Day of the Dead imagery. Nationally distributed travel publications such as the American Automobile Association's *Horizons* and *Westways* magazines, and the *Elderhostel Annual Program* promote Day of the Dead excursions to New Mexico, Texas, and California, while popular lifestyle magazines such as *Better Homes and Gardens, Ladies Home Journal, Travel and Leisure,* and *Holiday Celebrations* have featured articles on the holiday. As of December 11, 2009, the celebration is the subject of more than 90,000,000 non-profit, personal, and commercial Internet web sites geared towards an English-speaking audience. Major news organizations such as the Associated Press, National Public Radio, *US News and World Reports, The New York Times,* and *The Washington Post*, as well as documentary films and local TV stations, now provide annual coverage of the holiday. For Mexican-Americans and other Latinos, this coverage has facilitated the development of an "imagined community" or "a community of sentiment"– a group that begins to imagine and feel things together, coming to see themselves as people with historical, religious and social commonalities (Anderson 1991; Appadurai 1996).

Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger coined the phrase "invented tradition" to refer to newly created practices of a ritual or symbolic nature "which seek to inculcate certain values and norms" and which "imply continuity with the past." In "using old models for new purposes," they observe, an implied (but fictitious) continuity with the past is key to establishing group cohesion and identity (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983,1-5). Although the term "invented tradition" often conveys a pejorative tone, connoting a falsification of history or manipulation from "above," US Day of the Dead celebrations exemplify agency from "below." Here, traditions are reenacted, not to provide a dominant group with "the sanction of precedent, social continuity or natural law" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, 2), but to offer an historically marginalized population cultural resources with which to counter generations of disparagement from the larger society. In the United States, Day of the Dead celebrations help counteract a long history of Latinos being marginalized and excluded from the mass media, museum exhibition circuits, and academic curricula. They also help counteract the psychological harm done by decades of racially segregated public education, where Latino children – largely relegated to substandard schools and non college-track curricula – were taught misleading histories that portrayed their cultures as devoid of value.

Popularity with non-Latinos

Studies of Latinidad should not be confined to analyses of how Latinos create and fortify cultural ties in response to the dominant US society. They must also examine how phenomena considered Latino enter different cultural spaces and change the dominant culture (Valdivia 2003). Today, the celebration of Day of the Dead in the US is not limited to Latinos, but is also enthusiastically embraced by non-Latinos, who comprise as many as half of the participants at exhibition and street processions. People of Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Filipino), Native American, African-American, Italian, Polish, Irish, Middle Eastern, and other ethnic and racial backgrounds now make Day of the Dead ofrendas at art

exhibitions or in their homes; walk in Day of the Dead street processions; and attend other Day of the Dead events. The mainstreaming of this celebration is an example of the "Latinization" of US culture that has occurred over the past 30 years, in the context of the biggest migration flow from South to North in the history of the continent (Suarez-Orozco 2001,40). Now the largest minority population in the United States, Latinos are influencing mainstream America's vocabulary, culinary tastes, music, dance styles and more. The mass media have played important educational and promotional roles by covering Day of the Dead as an annual autumn activity, but media coverage alone does not explain the appeal of the celebration for so many non-Latinos.

In a society famed for its rugged individualism, many contemporary Americans find themselves longing for emotionally satisfying community-building experiences to offset the feelings of isolation that increasingly accompany modern life. Day of the Dead celebrations help fulfill this longing by providing a public medium through which to express repressed emotions regarding death. Feelings of gratitude for the opportunity to process feelings about deceased loved ones are frequently expressed by attendees of Day of the Dead events. One respondent noted, "During Day of the Dead, there's…an incredible solidarity, a completeness of people coming together to celebrate their loved ones and their own emotions, which rarely happens here. It's a time to acknowledge that we're all human and are dealing with some pretty heavy emotions." Another non-Latino participant explained: "There is no venue in American tradition which lets us honor and celebrate our dead. Once people have died, their memory becomes a private matter for the family…There is no public remembrance past the funeral. It's as if they were swept under the carpet and we move on to the next thing. With Día de los Muertos, the entire community is involved in a public acknowledgment of the dead."[14]

Staff from a half dozen museum shops and folk art stores visited for this research confirmed the popularity of Day of the Dead among non-Latinos. Shopkeepers stated that Day of the Dead season is their most profitable time of year, and that at least half of the clientele buying Day of the Dead items are non-Latinos. For example, the owners of a San Diego folk art shop that distributes Day of the Dead merchandise wholesale to retailers across the US, noted: "Day of the Dead is our busiest time of the year…probably sixty-five percent of our clients are non-Latinos."[15] Similarly, the owner of a fair trade craft store in San Francisco noted: "October is our big season. You would be *amazed* at how many sugar skulls we sell here. I sell over a thousand. For a small store, that's *a lot*. I think that everyone I know, at this point, is making altars at home now. It's sort of like decorating the Christmas tree – an annual ritual."[16]

The popularity of Day of the Dead among non-Latinos is not limited to California or the Southwest. At celebrations I observed in November 2006, 2007, and 2008 in New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art, the National Museum of the American Indian, and El Museo del Barrio, as well as events in Massachusetts at Harvard University's Peabody Museum of Archaeology, roughly half of the attendees at each venue appeared to be non-Latinos. All of the non-Latino Day of the Dead participants interviewed for this research discussed what they felt was a dearth of opportunity for honoring the dead in mainstream US society.

[14] Personal communications with Sacramento and San Francisco residents, April 21, 2001.
[15] Personal interview with Claudio and Maribel DeLucca, San Diego, California, April 24, 2003.
[16] Personal interview with Nancy Chárraga, San Francisco, California, June 5, 2005.

A Korean-American from Los Angeles said, "Americans tend to be morbid and depressed about death, while the Latino culture honors their ancestors and celebrates their life through their death."[17] An Irish-American from Boston who had recently lost her father said, "I think it's a much healthier version of dealing with death and dying. Making the altar is very healing. It makes a connection with the people who have gone before us and affirms what they did in life."[18] Other respondents, such as this Anglo native of Kentucky, stated that participating in Day of the Dead helped them mourn the loss of family members: "I loved the somber yet celebratory tone of the event. I took the time to reflect on the loss of a favorite aunt who died unexpectedly that year. I hadn't been able to go to her funeral. My experience that night gave me some much needed closure on her death. It was wonderful to reminisce about her in such a supportive atmosphere.[19] All of the respondents described a dichotomy between mainstream US society's way of relating to death, which they considered "unfulfilling" or "depressing," and the personalized, communal rituals of Day of the Dead, which they called "celebratory," "supportive," and "healing."

The theme of healing was also discussed by Barbara Henry, Chief Curator of Education at the Oakland Museum of California, where Day of the Dead exhibits have been held annually since 1994. More than 20,000 people attend the six-week exhibit annually, making it the best-attended show in the museum's annual calendar. In fact, the exhibit is so popular that the museum has extended its hours of operation to accommodate all the families, school groups and others who want to attend.[20] The event receives enthusiastic feedback in the form of letters, emails, and guest book comments from visitors, and Henry believes that an important part of the exposition's popularity is the opportunity it provides for people to publicly reflect upon death: "A number of people have said that they don't have anything from their culture that helps them deal with death. One woman sent me a letter about three months after the exhibit closed, telling me how it helped her deal with the death of her mother. We've had a number of grief counselors and people from the health profession who have come here and used this exhibit with their clients to help them process death. There was one group of terminally ill patients. We've gotten written comments from many people telling us about how coming to this exhibit has become an annual tradition for their family."[21]

In addition to broadening society's options for processing death, Chicano Day of the Dead celebrations have affected US society, particularly the art world, in yet another way. They have transformed private, family traditions of altar making, previously relegated to the "folksy" world of "superstitious" and "uneducated" people, into a respected contemporary art form. According to museum curators and artists interviewed for this study, altar making first began to appear widely in US museums in the context of Day of the Dead exhibits. Today, altars are considered works of art worthy of year round exhibition, and are created by artists of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds.[22]

---

[17] Personal communication, Los Angeles, California, May 2, 2001.
[18] Personal communication, Boston MA, July 12, 2001.
[19] Personal communication, April 21, 2001.
[20] *El Corazón de la Muerte,* Oakland Museum of California 2005, 14.
[21] Personal interview with Barbara Henry, Oakland Museum of California, June 3, 2003.
[22] Recent examples are the San Diego Public Library's exhibit, "The Altars Project," shown from December 12, 2004 – January 30, 2005; The San Francisco SomArts Cultural Center's "Native Tears" altar exhibit shown from March 4 – 24, 2004; and the "Sacred Wild" altar exhibit at the Apexart gallery in New York, running from May 25-June 25, 2005.

Conclusions

Contrary to romanticized, essentialist portrayals of Day of the Dead as an uninterrupted continuation of pre-Columbian Indigenous rituals carried out continuously by people of Mexican heritage, the historical and ethnographic evidence presented in this article reveals the decisive roles played by Chicano artists; cultural and educational institutions; and the mass media in promoting the celebration. While increasingly popular in the United States, Day of the Dead is not universally embraced by all Mexican-Americans. There are differing levels of knowledge about and acceptance of the celebration within Mexican-American communities, and even within members of the same family. (It is not unusual, for example, to see Chicanos in their 20s or 30s passionately celebrating Day of the Dead, while their older and more traditionally Catholic relatives, who do not consider it empowering to embrace Indigenous customs, exclusively observe All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day.) Meanwhile, many non-Latinos in the US have become enthusiastic about the holiday, illustrating how expressions of Latinidad impact not only the Latino community, but the larger society, as well.

Despite fears of the homogenizing influence of "US culture" on the rest of the world, the growth of Day of the Dead in the United States illustrates that US culture is not monolithic. It is, instead, an evolving hybrid composite of the traditions and experiences of the country's diverse inhabitants. In their interactions for nearly 40 years with mainstream educational, cultural, and media organizations, the Chicano creators of Day of the Dead celebrations have shown that when mainstream audiences are exposed to alternative cultural aesthetics and values, the result can be a subversion rather than a reinforcement of dominant Anglo practices and standards. Day of the Dead has helped change mainstream US culture by increasing interest in alternative art formats and broadening the spectrum of available metaphysical reflections and material practices related to remembering the dead. It has also helped increase the general population's knowledge of Latino culture, providing Mexican-Americans and other Latinos with a source of public cultural validation.

As a result of Chicano Day of the Dead exhibitions, US society now has two popular autumn celebrations related to the spirit world, and many families, schools, and community centers celebrate both Halloween and Day of the Dead (Marchi 2007). Meanwhile, as Mexican immigrants and Chicano artists move to new parts of North America, Europe and other areas that previously had little or no Latino presence, Day of the Dead exhibitions and celebrations are spreading. A review of newspaper databases and Internet web sites reveals that in the past decade, Chicano-style Day of the Dead celebrations have been held in Canada, New Zealand, England, Ireland, Spain, Japan and Australia.[23] According to Tomás Benitez, the former executive director of Self Help Graphics, Chicano artists were invited to create Day of the Dead exhibits and teach altar-making workshops in Scotland in 1994 and 1996:

[23] According to the gallery program of the Naughton Gallery at Queens, in Belfast, Ireland, a "Mexican Dia de los Muertos" exhibition, which had earlier been shown in Mexico and Spain, was exhibited at the Naughton Gallery from November 28 to Dec 11, 2004. Retrieved from http://www.naughtongallery.org/naughtongallery.php?page=58&exhibition=28&PHPSESSID=4390b194cf334200 on July 27, 2009. The Lexis Nexis database yields various news articles in *The Toronto Star, The Toronto Sun, The Ottawa Citizen, The Globe and Mail* (Canada), *The Times* (London), *The Guardian* (London); *The Daily Post* (Liverpool); *The Dominion Post* (Wellington, New Zealand) and other newspapers about Día de los Muertos exhibits and celebrations in Canada, England, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand.

"We did an exchange with the Glasgow Print Studio. People asked us why, and we said, 'Well, we're hooking up with the Scottish. They're like the Chicanos of England.'"[24]

Methodology

This paper emerged from a research project conducted from October 2000 through November 2008 regarding Day of the Dead celebrations in the USA. Research methodologies included an extensive review of scholarly literature on both Latin American Day of the Dead celebrations and the Chicano Movement in the United States; archival research of US Day of the Dead exhibit materials at Chicano art galleries; ethnographic observation of more than 100 US Day of the Dead events; and 78 formal, tape recorded interviews with artists and staff at Chicano art galleries and community centers, as well as interviews with non-Latino participants. I attended Day of the Dead street processions, vigils, exhibits, craft workshops, film screenings, altar-making ceremonies, poetry readings, and related activities in California, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. I also used the Lexis-Nexis, Proquest, Los Angeles Times, and other news databases to retrieve articles and radio and TV transcripts about Day of the Dead activities occurring throughout the United States and in other countries. All interviewees whose names are cited gave written permission to be quoted by name. For more detailed information about US Day of the Dead celebrations, please see Marchi 2009.

References

Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Alvear, C. Fall 1998. "No Chicanos on TV." *Nieman Reports*. V52. n. 3, pp. 49-51.

Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* . New York: Verso.

Beezley, W. 1987. *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Brandes, S. 1988. *Power and Persuasion: Fiestas and Social Control in Rural Mexico*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

-------. 1998. "Iconography in Mexico's Day of the Dead: Origins and Meaning." *Ethnohistory*, 45:182-218.

Bronowski, J. and Grant, R. (Directors) 1975. *Pedro Linares: Folk Artist* . California: The Works.

Carmichael, E. and Sayer, C. 1991. *The Skeleton At the Feast: The Day of the Dead in Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Carrasco, D. 1990. *Religions of Mesoamerica: Cosmovision and Ceremonial Centers*. San Francisco: Harper Collins.

Carveth, R. and Alverio, D. 1997. *Network Brownout: The portrayal of Latinos in network television news*. Washington, DC: National Association of Hispanic Journalists/National Council of La Raza.

Del Castillo, R., McKenna, T., and Yarbro-Bejarano, Y. 1991. *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation 1965-1985*. Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California.

El Corazón de la Muerte. 2005. Oakland, California: The Oakland Museum of California.

[24] Personal interview with Tomás Benitez, Los Angeles, California, June 5, 2004. Another more recent Day of the Dead exhibit at the Royal Museum in Edinburg, Scotland, was noted in *The Scotsman*, "Heaven and Hell and other worlds of the Dead," Marc Lambert, July 17, 2000, p. 17.

Fishman, J. and Casiano, H. 1969. “Puerto Ricans in Our Press.” *Modern Language Journal*, 53:157-162.
Fiske, J. 1989. *Understanding Popular Culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman Inc.
Fregoso, R. 1993. *The Bronze Screen: Chicana and Chicano Film Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Friedman, L. (Ed.) 1991. *Unspeakable Images: Ethnicity and the American Cinema*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Gavaldon, R. (Director) 1960. *Macario*. Mexico City: Clasa Films Mundiales.
Gaspar De Alba, A. 1998. *Chicano Art: Inside/Outside the Master’s House: Cultural Politics and the CARA Exhibition.* Austin: University of Texas Press.
Gerbner, G. 1993. *Women and Minorities on Television: A Study in Casting and Fate*. Philadelphia: Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania.
Gomez-Peña, G. 1986. “A New Artistic Continent,” *Made in Aztlán,* San Diego: Centro Cultural de la Raza.
-------. 2005. *Ethno-Techno: Writings on performance, activism and pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.
González, R. 1972. “El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán.” In L. Valdez and S. Steiner, (Eds.), *Atzlán: An Anthology of Mexican-American Literature*. New York: Vintage Books.
Gosnell, L. and Gott, S. 1989. “San Fernando Cemetery: Decorations of Love and Loss in a Mexican-American Community.” In R. Meyer (Ed.), *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture,* Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.
Griffith, J. 1985. *Respect and Continuity: The Arts of Death in a Border Community*. Tucson: The Southwest Folklore Center, University of Arizona.
--------. 1995. *A Shared Space: Folklife in the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands*. Logan: University of Utah Press.
--------. 1997. *Between Two Worlds: Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. Wilmington
Habermas, J. 1991. “The Public Sphere.” In C. Mukerji and M. Schudson (Eds.), *Rethinking Popular Culture*. Los Angeles: University of California Press. 398-404.
Hall, S. 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.
Hispanic Business, 1999. “Combating the Network ‘Brownout.’” 21:46.
Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hoffman, A. and Noriega, C. 2004. “Looking for Latino Regulars on Prime-time Television: the Fall 2003 Season,” *Chicano Studies Research Center Research Report*. Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center, UCLA.
Klor de Alva, J. 1998. “Aztlán, Borinquen, and Hispanic Nationalism in the United States.” *The Latino Studies Reader: Culture, Economy and Society.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Kraeplin, C. and Subervi-Velez, F. 2003. “Latinos in the Mainstream Media: A Case Study of Coverage in a Major Southwestern Daily.” In D. Rios and A. Mohamed (Eds.), *Brown and Black Communication: Latino and African American Conflict and Convergence in Mass Media*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
Llamas, M.V. 1989. *La Muerte Viva, The Day of the Dead: A Living Tradition*. New York: Gessler.
Lipsitz, G. 1990. *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
-------. 2001. “Not Just Another Social Movement: Poster Art and the Movimiento Chicano.” *Not Just Another Poster: Chicano Graphic Arts in California*. Santa Barbara: University of California Press.
Lopez, A. 1991. “Are all Latins from Manhattan? Hollywood, Ethnography, and Cultural Colonialism.” In L. Friedman (Ed.), *Unspeakable Images: Ethnicity and the American Cinema*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Marchi, R. 2009. *Day of the Dead in the USA : The Migration and Transformation of a Cultural Phenomenon*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

-------. 2007. "Day of the Dead as a New US Holiday." In L. Clark (Ed.), *Religion, Media and the Marketplace*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

-------. 2006. "El Día de los Muertos in the USA: Cultural Ritual as Political Communication." In J. Santino (Ed*.), Spontaneous Shrines and the Public Commemoration of Death*. New York: Palgrave.

Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum. 1991. Día d*e los Muertos: (Day of the Dead)*. Chicago: Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum.

Morrison, S. 1992. *Mexico's Day of the Dead in San Francisco , California* . (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) Theology Department, UC Berkeley.

Noriega C. and A. Lopez. 1996. *The Ethnic Eye: Latino Media Arts*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Noriega, C. 2001a. *Chicano Studies Reader: An Anthology of Aztlán, 1970-2000.* Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California.

--------. 2001b. *¿Just Another Poster? Chicano Graphic Arts in California . Santa Barbara : The Regents of the University of California*.

Nutini, H. 1988. *Todos Santos in Rural Tlaxcala: a syncretic, expressive, and symbolic analysis of the cult of the dead*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Oakland Museum of California. 2005. *El Corazón de la Muerte: Altars and Offerings for Day of the Dead*. Oakland: Oakland Museum of California.

Portillo, L. and S. Muñoz. (Directors). 1988. *La Ofrenda: The Days of the Dead*. San Francisco, California. First Run Features.

Quiroga, J. 1997. "Hispanic Voices: Is the Press Listening?" in *Latin Looks: Images of Latinos andLatinas in the US Media* C. Rodriguez, (Ed.). Boulder: Westview Press., pp. 36-56.

Ramirez-Berg, C. 2002. *Latino Images in Film*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Rodriguez, C. (Ed.). 1997. *Latin Looks: Images of Latinos and Latinas in the US Media*. Boulder: Westview.

Rodriguez, I. 1962. (Director). *Ánimas Trujano*. Mexico City: Azteca Films.

Romo, T. 2001. "Points of Convergence: The Iconography of the Chicano Poster," In C. Noriega (Ed.), *¿Just Another Poster? Chicano Graphic Arts in California*. Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, University of California. 91-115.

-------. 2000. *Chicanos en Mictlán*. San Francisco: Mexican Museum of San Francisco.

Santa Ana, O. 2002. *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Suarez-Orozco, M. 2001. "Mexican Immigration and the Latinization of the United States," *ReVista, Harvard Review of Latin America ,* Fall 2001, p. 40.

Taylor, C. and Bang, H.K. 1997. "Portrayals of Latinos in magazine advertising." *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*. 52:285-304.

Valdivia, A. 2003. "Salsa as Popular Culture: Ethnic Audiences Constructing an Identity." In A. Valdivia (Ed.), *A Companion to Media Studies.* Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 399-418.

Venegas, S. 2000. "The Day of the Dead in Aztlán: Chicano Variations on the Theme of Life, Death and Self-Preservation." In T. Romo (Ed.), *Chic a nos in Mictlán.* San Francisco, California: Mexican Museum of San Francisco. 42-43.

Wilson C. and F. Gutierrez. 1985. *Minorities and Media*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Wilson, C., F. Gutierrez, and L. Chao. 2003. *Racism, Sexism and the Media: The rise of class communication in multicultural America*. 4th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ybarra-Frausto, T. 1996. "The Chicano Movement/The Movement of Chicano Art." In G. Mosquera (Ed.), *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

About the Author

Dr. Regina Marchi
Dr. Regina M. Marchi is Assistant Professor in the Department of Journalism and Media Studies, and Affiliated Professor in the Department of Latino Studies at Rutgers University.

The International JOURNAL of the ARTS IN SOCIETY

COMMON GROUND

Please visit the Journal website at http://www.Arts-Journal.com
for further information about the Journal or to subscribe.

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS JOURNALS

Creates a space for dialogue on innovative theories and practices in the arts, and their inter-relationships with society.
ISSN: 1833-1866
http://www.Arts-Journal.com

Explores the past, present and future of books, publishing, libraries, information, literacy and learning in the information society.
ISSN: 1447-9567
http://www.Book-Journal.com

Examines the meaning and purpose of 'design' while also speaking in grounded ways about the task of design and the use of designed artefacts and processes.
ISSN: 1833-1874
http://www.Design-Journal.com

Provides a forum for discussion and builds a body of knowledge on the forms and dynamics of difference and diversity.
ISSN: 1447-9583
http://www.Diversity-Journal.com

Maps and interprets new trends and patterns in globalisation.
ISSN 1835-4432
http://www.GlobalStudiesJournal.com

Discusses the role of the humanities in contemplating the future and the human, in an era otherwise dominated by scientific, technical and economic rationalisms.
ISSN: 1447-9559
http://www.Humanities-Journal.com

Sets out to foster inquiry, invite dialogue and build a body of knowledge on the nature and future of learning.
ISSN: 1447-9540
http://www.Learning-Journal.com

Creates a space for discussion of the nature and future of organisations, in all their forms and manifestations.
ISSN: 1447-9575
http://www.Management-Journal.com

Addresses the key question: How can the institution of the museum become more inclusive?
ISSN 1835-2014
http://www.Museum-Journal.com

Discusses disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to knowledge creation within and across the various social sciences and between the social, natural and applied sciences.
ISSN: 1833-1882
http://www.Socialsciences-Journal.com

Draws from the various fields and perspectives through which we can address fundamental questions of sustainability.
ISSN: 1832-2077
http://www.Sustainability-Journal.com

Focuses on a range of critically important themes in the various fields that address the complex and subtle relationships between technology, knowledge and society.
ISSN: 1832-3669
http://www.Technology-Journal.com

Investigates the affordances for learning in the digital media, in school and throughout everyday life.
ISSN 1835-2030
http://www.ULJournal.com

Explores the meaning and purpose of the academy in times of striking social transformation.
ISSN 1835-2030
http://www.Universities-Journal.com

FOR SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION, PLEASE CONTACT
subscriptions@commonground.com.au