

CON EL NOPAL PEGADO EN LA FRENTE: A PSYCHOSOCIAL STUDY OF PREJUDICE AND  
DISCRIMINATION AMONG MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AND MEXICAN AMERICANS IN ARIZONA

NATALIA HERNÁNDEZ JIMÉNEZ

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Centre for Psychoanalytic Studies

University of Essex

2017



© Copyright 2017

Natalia Hernández Jiménez

All rights reserved

## Abstract

In this thesis I develop a psychosocial approach to prejudice and discrimination among the Mexican-origin population in the U.S. state of Arizona. I argue that although the Mexican-origin population has been oppressed and discriminated against by the dominant white population for centuries, this minority group has its own history of intra-group prejudice and discrimination. Moreover, I argue that the attitudes and behaviours of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans, and the interactions between them, are influenced by three main elements: 1) structural factors (such as exploitation and inequality); 2) dominant ideologies (such as colonisation and white supremacy/superiority) and; 3) cultural commonalities between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans (in particular, the Spanish language). Within this context, I employed approximately thirty free association narrative interviews, notes based on ethnographic and participant observations, amongst other data sources (such as newspaper articles and informal interviews), to reveal much about the unconscious dynamics and processes under which Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans interact. In the first half of the thesis I describe the social and political context of Arizona, which includes the history of the Mexican-origin population in that state as well as the implementation of the anti-immigration law, Senate Bill 1070 and its effects on the Mexican-origin population. In addition to this, I describe the methodology I used to conduct this research (participants, types of interviews and analysis of the collected data). In the second half of the thesis, I analyse prejudice and discrimination coming from ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ the Mexican-origin population with the use of psychoanalytic (Freud, Klein, Dalal), sociological (Douglas, Jimenez, Clarke) and post-colonial theories (Fanon, Memmi, Bhabha). In conclusion, I argue that the phenomenon of prejudice and discrimination among Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in Arizona cannot be reduced to psychological nor sociological explanations but that it needs to be addressed and approached by several disciplines.

## Contents

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>ABSTRACT .....</b>   | <b>2</b>   |
| <b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>  | <b>8</b>   |
| <b>CHAPTER 1 THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT IN ARIZONA .....</b>  | <b>17</b>  |
| 1.1 Mexican Immigration to the United States: Mexican Immigrants, Mexican Americans and<br>Chicanos.....          | 21         |
| 1.1.1 Assimilation, Acculturation and the Mexican Replenished Ethnicity .....                                     | 32         |
| 1.1.2 Mexicans as an Ethnic Group .....   | 38         |
| 1.1.3 The Mexican-American and the Chicano Identity.....  | 42         |
| 1.2 S.B. 1070 and Racial Profiling in the United States.....  | 47         |
| 1.2.1 Anti-Ethnic Studies .....   | 59         |
| 1.2.2 The Reinforcement of the Border and Operation Streamline .....  | 64         |
| 1.3 The Colonised Mind: Frantz Fanon's Inferiority Complex and Melanie Klein's Projective<br>Identification ..... | 74         |
| <b>CHAPTER 2 CONDUCTING PSYCHOSOCIAL RESEARCH .....</b>   | <b>87</b>  |
| 2.1 Participants: Selecting a Sample and Collecting the Data .....  | 91         |
| 2.2 Doing Location-Based Research and Gaining Access as an Insider and Outsider .....                             | 97         |
| 2.3 Free Association Narrative Interviews and the Participant Observation Method.....                             | 100        |
| 2.4 Analysing the Data.....   | 107        |
| 2.5 Important Considerations.....   | 112        |
| <b>CHAPTER 3 MEXICANS AND GRINGOS IN ARIZONA: PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION FROM<br/>THE OUTSIDE.....</b>          | <b>116</b> |
| <b>CONCLUSIONS.....</b>   | <b>243</b> |
| <b>GLOSSARY .....</b>   | <b>255</b> |
| <b>PSYCHOANALYTIC TERMS .....</b>   | <b>258</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX 1 .....</b>   | <b>260</b> |

|                    |     |
|--------------------|-----|
| BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... | 261 |
|--------------------|-----|

## Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Professor Colin Samson and Mr Mike Scott for their continuous support throughout my PhD studies and related research, for their patience, sense of humour, motivational skills, and immense knowledge. Their guidance helped me during the last few years I have spent researching and writing the thesis. I could not imagine having better supervisors. As well as my supervisors, I would like to thank the other members of my thesis committee: Dr Matt Ffytche and Professor John Walshe for their insightful comments and encouragement, but also for their probing questions which gave me the incentive to widen my research from various perspectives. My sincere gratitude also goes to Dr Anna Ochoa O’Leary, Dr Raquel Rubio-Goldsmith, and Dr Celestino Fernández, who provided me with the opportunity to join their team as a Visiting Scholar in the Mexican-American Studies Department at the University of Arizona. Without their incredible support it would not have been possible for me to conduct this research in the United States. I would also like to thank my fellow researchers in the Centre for Psychoanalytic Studies and the Department of Sociology for their stimulating discussions and questions, for their encouragement at every stage of my PhD, and for all the fun we have had during the last four years. Especially, I would like to thank Orsolya Lukács and Shehzad Victor Raj. I would also like to thank my parents, Carlos and Angelines, for being the best parents in the world. Their encouragement, love and support during all stages of my life has enabled me to complete this thesis. Also, I have to thank my sister, Lola, for being my role model and inspiration throughout my life. No matter how much I study, she always

has the answer I need. Last but not least, I would like to thank John, for his patience, kindness, love, and amazing support throughout the last few years of my research.

## Introduction

Over the past few centuries, the Mexican-origin population has played a central role in shaping and influencing areas of the United States. The Mexican-origin population in this country has long been labelled as undesirable aliens and foreigners who have at various times had to endure denigration, physical attacks, exclusion and segregation. Until recent decades, the dominant social groups in the United States utilized violence, racism, and discrimination as procedures for exercising control and domination over people of colour. This terrible history is painful to acknowledge, particularly as, since its foundation the United States has promoted the notion that equality for all is a fundamental tenet of life in a democratic society.

The presence of Mexicans in the United States is not a new phenomenon, and neither is the continuing migration of this population to the country. However, even now U.S. citizens fear that the silent and on-going ‘invasion’ of Mexican newcomers will not only overwhelm U.S. culture, but that it will transform the U.S. into a *third world* country. There is some scepticism among U.S. citizens about whether Mexicans will assimilate in the country and become productive members of society instead of draining social welfare resources, medical and health services, and public schools (Foley, 2014).

Moreover, the increase in the Latino population seen in recent years is unprecedented in the history of the United States. According to the Pew Hispanic Centre in 2010 the Census counted 50.5 million Latinos in the United States, making up around 16.3 percent of the population. Most of the growth since 2000 has been due to a natural increase rather than immigration (in 2010, one in every four babies born in the U.S. was born to a Latino mother). It is estimated that by 2050, the Latino population will have

almost doubled, meaning that nearly one in three U.S. residents will be of Latino origin. Consequently, it is not surprising that the overwhelming amount of Mexican-origin people in the United States has led the media, politicians, authorities and the population in general to direct a significant amount of attention towards the ‘problem’ of immigration from Mexico.

According to the political scientist Samuel Huntington, the Mexican-origin population in the United States represents a ‘threat to the country’, since it modifies the ‘Anglo-Protestant culture of the founding settlers’ (Huntington, 2009: 32). For Huntington, the presence of Mexicans in the United States has prompted the division of the country into ‘two peoples, two cultures and two languages’ (Huntington, 2009: 33). Others have expressed similar ideas about the Mexican population. For example, the former Colorado representative and chairman of the House for Immigration Reform, Tom Tancredo, stated that Mexican undocumented immigration had a ‘death grip’ on the U.S. nation. In addition, he warned that failing to stop the flow of Mexican migrants to the United States amounted to ‘cultural suicide’. The ‘barbarians’, as Tancredo called the undocumented immigrants, would only need ‘to give a slight push and the emaciated body of Western civilization would collapse in a heap’ (Horwitz, 2006).

In the spring of 2010, Senate passed one of the most controversial anti-immigration bills on record: the ‘Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighbourhoods Act’, also known as S.B. 1070. The bill institutionalized racial profiling by requiring police officers to check the legal status of those whom they regard with ‘reasonable suspicion’ of being in the U.S. without documents during ‘any lawful stop, detention or arrest’ in the enforcement of local or state laws. In effect, this meant Arizona



became the first state to demand that immigrants (or anyone who looked like an immigrant) carry documents demonstrating that they are in the country ‘legally’.

Last but not least, in July 2015, in a public speech delivered during his presidential campaign, President Donald J. Trump<sup>1</sup> accused Mexican immigrants of bringing drugs, crime and sexual violence to the United States. Fuelled by the idea that Mexican leaders have been taking advantage of the United States by using undocumented immigrants to export crime and poverty into the country, President Trump proposed the building of a permanent wall between Mexico and the United States, as well as tripling the number of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers. He also proposed that Mexico should pay for the wall, since the construction costs would be less than U.S. taxpayers spend every year on dealing with undocumented immigration.

The historian Neil Foley (2014) suggests that deep in the ‘American psyche’ there resides a ‘primal fear’ that both Latino and Mexican undocumented immigrants will transform the country into ‘something radically different, alien, and fundamentally un-American’ (Foley, 2014: 6). However, this claim begs the question of what does it actually mean to be ‘American’? Is being ‘American’ the exclusive preserve of the ‘Anglo-Protestant’ population? The Mexican immigrant population residing in the United States might not technically be ‘American’ by nationality, but what about the Mexican-American population? Are they also ‘un-American’? Do they share the ‘American’ national psyche and, if so, do they too fear that Mexican immigrants will make America ‘un-American’? As this study will show, Mexican immigrants are sometimes made to feel unwelcome, humiliated and feared even by people of their *own*

---

<sup>1</sup> This thesis was written before the presidential election in 2016. In the thesis’ ‘Conclusion’ there is a note on the political impact of Trump’s campaign in Arizona during 2015 and 2016.

*race*<sup>2</sup>. Although Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans share significant similarities, there are also notable differences between them, and the discriminatory behaviours they exhibit towards each other is proof of this.

Despite the enduring presence of the Mexican-origin population in the United States, research into the relationship between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans has been limited, especially to non-psychological issues. Much of the existing research has focused on the impact that Mexican immigrants have on the processes of assimilation and acculturation for Mexican Americans (see for example Menchaca, 1995; Jimenez, 2010; Ochoa, 2004; Romero, 2011).

There are a number of explanations for the scarcity of research on Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans relations. The first is that for many years, no distinction was made between these two groups; therefore, within the academic and public discourse, the diversity or separation between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans has been overlooked (see for example Gutierrez, 1995; Martinez, 2001). Moreover, in more recent years, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have tended to be grouped into two separate bodies of research. While the former focuses on the experiences of undocumented immigrants, the latter examines the position of Mexican Americans as ethnic minorities (Virgil, 2012; Zavella, 2011; Elenes, 2011). Finally, most of the race/ethnic relations studies of the Mexican-origin population have been framed in terms of their opposition, or comparison, to the white population (Menchaca, 1995; Romero, 2011). These studies exemplify the kind of ‘binary thinking’

---

<sup>2</sup> As will be discussed throughout the thesis, for the Mexican-origin population, the word ‘raza’ (literally translated as ‘race’) do not only refer to biological features of a living being. For the Mexican-origin population this term expresses ethnic pride.

that, according to the sociologist Gilda Ochoa (2004), has not only prevented the analysis of heterogeneity among the Mexican-origin population, but has also promoted the idea that the experiences of the white population constitute the norm against which other ethnic groups should be compared (Ochoa, 2004).

In the following work, a psychosocial approach is applied to the interactions of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans with people from the same ethnic background. In telling this story, the thesis addresses some of the gaps in the literature on relations between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans, as well as on the psychodynamics of prejudice and discrimination among members of the same ethnic group. The idea of combining psychoanalytic theories (such as those of Freud, Klein, etc.) with sociological theories (such as those of Goffman, Douglas, etc.) and post-colonial theories (such as Fanon, Bhabha, Memmi, etc.) for this research is based on the premise that all these theories *in combination* are able to provide deeper and richer answers to the phenomena under investigation. While psychoanalysis focuses on understanding the role played by the unconscious in the origin of prejudice and discrimination among members of the same ethnic group, sociological and post-colonial theories provide answers of the relations between two or more groups as well as in the power dynamics in race/ethnics relations.

The term ‘prejudice’ can be understood to mean the holding of negative attitudes toward either a group or an individual; whereas discrimination consists in negative behaviours toward a group or and individual. Therefore, it may be assumed that, if prejudging consists in merely having thoughts about someone or something, in the absence of evidence or actions deemed necessary to constitute discrimination, it should

be relatively harmless. However, as this research will show, thoughts, ideas and feelings about other human beings actually have powerful and harmful effects on the psyche. This research will focus on analysing both thoughts about, and actions towards, the Mexican-origin population from both outside and inside the group.

In the chapters that follow, I argue that although the Mexican-origin population has been oppressed and discriminated against by the dominant white population for centuries, this ethnic group<sup>3</sup> has its own history of intra-group prejudice and discrimination. Moreover, I argue that the attitudes and behaviours of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans, and the interactions between them, are influenced by three main elements: 1) structural factors (such as exploitation, inequality and discrimination); 2) dominant ideologies (such as colonisation and white supremacy/superiority) and; 3) cultural commonalities between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans (in particular, the Spanish language). Within this context, approximately thirty free association narrative interviews, copious notes based on ethnographic and participant observations, amongst other data sources, revealed much about the dynamics and processes under which Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans interact.

The state of Arizona provided an ideal site for examining the intra-group conflicts and tensions between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. The implementation of laws such as S.B. 1070 and H.B. 2281<sup>4</sup>, its proximity to the border, as well as the significant numbers of Mexican-origin people residing there, made this state an

---

<sup>3</sup> In Section 1.2.3 ‘Mexicans as an Ethnic Group’ I will discuss in more detail why Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have to be understood as an ethnic group.

<sup>4</sup> S.B.1070 (Senate Bill 1070) and H.B. 2251 (House Bill 2251) are two laws implemented in 2010 in Arizona. S.B.1070 will be discussed in detail in Section 1.1 ‘S.B. 1070 and Racial Profiling in the United States’ and H.B. 2251 will be discussed in detail in Section 1.1.2 ‘Anti-Ethnic Studies’

appropriate location to analyse the ways in which the external or ‘outer-world’, affects the ‘inner world’. The physical and symbolic space in which members of this group live, their interactions with other ethnic groups, and the constantly changing immigration laws: all of these, if taken together, create a base of ideas and symbols that combine to convey the message that Arizona is an unwelcoming place for the Mexican-origin population. The first chapter of this dissertation, entitled ‘The Social and Political Context in Arizona’, explores this context. It also provides a brief account of the history of the Mexican-origin population in the United States and the differences between the Mexican immigrant, the Mexican-American and the Chicano identity. In addition to this, Albert Memmi’s (1965) concepts of the coloniser and the colonised; Frantz Fanon’s (1952) concept of the inferiority complex; and Melanie Klein’s (1946) concept of projective identification, are explained and linked together in order to understand the complexity of the inner-world and the psychodynamics experienced by the Mexican-origin population in Arizona.

In Chapter 2, entitled ‘Conducting Psychosocial Research’, I describe the methodology used to conduct this research. Firstly, I explain the rationale for carrying out a psychosocial study. Drawing on Simon Clarke’s and Paul Hoggett’s (2009) concepts of psychosocial studies, I explain the relevance of ‘researching beneath the surface’ (Clarke and Hoggett, 2009). As will be discussed in this chapter in particular, and throughout the thesis, the methodology used to conduct the research and the psychoanalytic and post-colonial theories used to analyse the data, shed light on the unconscious motivations for Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans to behave discriminatorily towards each other. In this chapter, I also describe the criteria used to select the participants for this project and my position as both an ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’

researcher (Hollway and Jefferson, 2009). Moreover, I describe in detail the different techniques used to collect data, such as Wendy Hollway's and Tony Jefferson's Free Association Narrative Interview technique, as well as Robert D. Hinshelwood's (2002) method of observing groups and organisations. Lastly, I describe the decoding system I implemented to analyse the data collected and I list a series of important considerations that should be taken into account when reading the thesis.

Chapter 3, entitled 'Mexicans and Gringos in Arizona: Prejudice and Discrimination from the Outside' is concerned with analysing the prejudice and discrimination towards the Mexican-origin population that comes from 'outside' this group. What this means, is that prejudice and discrimination are analysed through the interactions between the white and the Mexican-origin populations. Using vignettes, either from my own personal experiences or from the interviews conducted, I analyse the state of Arizona, and its laws and population. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on what Arizona represents for its Mexican-origin residents. As will be discussed, in the mind of the Mexican-origin population, Arizona can represent a place filled with hopes or a threatening place whose laws are designed to persecute them. Moreover, in this chapter I also analyse the meaning of the white population (also known as the *gringos*) for the Mexican-origin population. As will be shown, the Mexican-origin population tend to polarize the *gringos* as either 'good' or 'bad' people. This binary way of thinking will be analysed with recourse to Melanie Klein's (1932) concept of *splitting* and the paranoid-schizoid position. Lastly, I analyse how the Mexican-origin population behave and see themselves in relation to the *gringos*. For this section of the chapter, I draw on Melanie Klein's (1946) concept of *projective identification*.

Chapter 4, 'Mexican Immigrants and Mexican Americans in Arizona: Prejudice and Discrimination from the Inside', explores the interactions between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in Arizona. Using vignettes from the interviews conducted or from my own experience, prejudice and discrimination are analysed in terms of the following three themes: interactions between the Mexican-origin population and the Mexican-origin Border Patrol officers; the usage of the Spanish language versus the English language as a means of communication between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans; and the perspective of Mexican Americans who are not 'really' Mexican and the Mexican-origin population who pretend not to be of Mexican origin. I show how psychoanalytic (Freud, Klein) and post-colonial theories (Fanon, Memmi) contribute to the understanding of prejudice, discrimination and ethnic conflict from an unconscious perspective.

Lastly, in the conclusion, I suggest how my approach can be used to provide a context for greater understanding between the immigrant and Mexican American populations and thereby improve the lives of people of Mexican-origin in the United States.

You are not from the Castle, you are not from the village, you aren't anything. Or rather, unfortunately, you are something, a stranger, a man who isn't wanted and is in everybody's way, a man who's always causing trouble (Franz Kafka, *The Castle*).

## CHAPTER 1 THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT IN ARIZONA

### Introduction

There are different emotional reactions that can occur between the receptor group and the person who arrives to a new country, these go through enthusiasm and acceptance to complete rejection. Naturally, the reactions of the country member's toward immigrants will have several effects on how the immigrant settles in and adapts. The presence of immigrants in a new country will modify the group's structure and can also cast doubts on the community's political, moral and even religious belief; it destabilizes the group organization. The presence of strangers in a new land is difficult to cope with for the natives; it is not just the migrant who feels his/her identity endangered. As the psychoanalysts León and Rebeca Grinberg (1984) suggest, 'in a different way the community on the receiving end may feel that its cultural identity, the purity of its language, its beliefs, and its sense of group identity are also threatened' (Grinberg, L. and Grinberg, R., 1981: 81).

Furthermore, the receptor community is more likely to view these changes in a negative manner if the newcomer abruptly appears without warning, i.e. as an



unwelcomed guest. In this case, often the receptor community will be on guard until the newcomer's intentions are known. Even though the immigrant's attitude and personality will confirm or change the group's first impressions, it could be possible that the receptor groups' paranoid anxieties will also increase (Grinberg and Grinberg, 1984). In Arizona, in particular, the arrival of undocumented immigrants is one such group of 'unwelcomed guests'.

When attempting to predict or understand the reaction of an immigrant community, i.e., if the newcomer will be seen as an intruder who would deprive the natives of economic opportunities and life resources or as an unconsciously revered messianic leader who would solve the problems of existing community' (Akhtar, 1999: 23), it is also important to have in mind three variables:

- 1) The nature of the existing community
  - 2) The period of time or era in which that specific migration is taking place
  - 3) Previous relationship between the host country and the country of origin
- (Akhtar, 1999: 27).

These are the three foci of the following chapter.

The following chapter explores the social and political context of Arizona and gives a brief description of the Mexican-origin population residing in this state. The chapter is divided into three sections: the first section a brief account of the Mexican immigration history to the United States is given, as well as a profile of the Mexican immigrant. Moreover, Mexican-origin groups residing in Arizona are explained and differentiated, starting with Mexican immigrants (newcomers), followed by Mexican

Americans and Chicanos. Whether they are seen separately or as a group, Mexicans immigrants and Mexican Americans in the United States have to go through different steps in the processes of acculturation and assimilation as well as in their interactions with other races and ethnicities. In this section authors like Robert Park (1921), John W. Barry (2010) and Tomas R. Jimenez (2010) offer frameworks for understanding these two main concepts and the issues affecting the Mexican immigrant and the Mexican-American populations. Along the same line, studies of Mexican immigrants and the Mexican population, by anthropologists and psychologists like Anna O'Leary and Andrea Romero (2010, 2011) will be used to explain in more detail the issues experienced by this ethnic group in their interaction with other ethnic groups. Following this, two main identities are described: Mexican-American and Chicano identity. In this section, the work of the geographer Doreen Massey (2002) as well as the sociologist Tomas R. Jimenez (2010) and the anthropologist Leopoldo R. Chavez (1998), among others, will be utilised to describe the transformation (or colonisation) of Mexicans in the United States and also the differences and similarities between these main groups which come from the same racial and ethnic background and interact both in the state of Arizona and the country as a whole.

The second section of the chapter gives a detailed description of Senate Bill 1070, followed by a summary of the bills that attempted to ban Ethnic Studies as part of the curricula in the city of Tucson (House Bill 1108, Senate Bill 1069 and House Bill 2281). The first two laws, proposed and written by former President of the State Senate, Russell Pearce (2006-2011), are described in order to understand their effects on the Latino population, and more precisely on the Mexican-origin population in Arizona.

In this same section, the Operation Streamline (OSL) programme and the federal laws, which aim to reinforce the border, are explained in order to introduce the reader into a context in which undocumented immigrants are perceived and understood as criminals and as a threat, not only to Arizona, but also to the nation. The aim of this section of the chapter is to show how if taken together, the growing focus of federal law on control, the security of the state, the reinforcement of the U.S-Arizona border, the criminalization of the practice of hiring unauthorized workers, and the enhancement of federal agencies' power to detain and deport immigrants sends a clear and strong signal to the American public that migrants from Latin and Central America are undesirable.

Finally, in the third section of the chapter, Albert Memmi's (1965) concept of the coloniser and the colonised; Frantz Fanon's (1965) concept of the inferiority complex; and Melanie Klein's concept of projective identification will be explained and linked to each other in order to define the processes and characteristics of a *colonised mind*. As will be explained, in this thesis, the Mexican-origin population in Arizona will be understood as a colonised ethnic group with colonised minds.

This chapter will describe the environment in which Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans develop and interact. Moreover, it will also describe the main characteristics of the Mexican-origin population residing in Arizona. Drawing on sociological, psychoanalytical and post-colonial theories, both the outer and the inner world of the Mexican-origin population will be analysed and discussed in the following sections of this thesis. Psychoanalytic thinking will contribute to an understanding of prejudice; discrimination and ethnic conflict from an unconscious perspective.

## **1.1 Mexican Immigration to the United States: Mexican Immigrants, Mexican Americans and Chicanos**

The Mexican immigration and settlement in the United States has an extensive history. The history of the Mexican-origin population in the United States starts even before the U.S.-Mexico war. The first Mexicans in the United States were actually not immigrants at all. Rather, they were, like the Native Americans of the western states, first hand observers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century American belief in a 'Manifest Destiny' for the country. Many white Americans during the 1800s believed that the United States was destined to expand throughout North America and eventually to reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. With this idea in mind North Americans travelled steadily west; often without regard to the occupancy and land ownership of native populations. As consequence of their settling in Mexican territories, a two-year war between Mexico and the United States broke out in 1846, which involved massive and violent invasion of Mexico.

In 1848, the war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. It stipulated that large parts, of what is now the American west and Southwestern United States (California, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, parts of Wyoming and Utah) had to be ceded by Mexico. According to the provisions of the Treaty, the estimated fifty thousand Mexicans who remained in the former Mexican territory after the United States had annexed it became U.S. citizens (Massey, Durand, and Mole, 2002). The treaty also created a new U.S.-Mexico border, which meant that from 1848 onwards, any Mexican national who crossed the border northwards would be considered a foreigner (Massey et al, 2002).

The first Mexican Americans, most of whom were also settlers, were considered obstacles to U.S. expansion despite their status as American citizens. White settlers moved rapidly into the recently annexed territory searching for gold and land and, as Jimenez (2010) points out, ‘it became increasingly clear that Mexican Americans would not enjoy U.S. citizenship on equal grounds, despite provisions in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteeing their rights as citizens’ (Jimenez, 2010: 33).

According to Albert Camarillo (1971), these first Mexican Americans were seen as impediments to the expansion of the United States. After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexican Americans became regarded as second-class citizens who were economically, socially and politically displaced. Moreover, David Gutierrez (1995) also concurs that the first Mexican Americans were forced into isolation by growing numbers of whites that settled in the new territory. As Jimenez (2010) points out, while Mexican Americans were once prominent landowners, white settlers displaced them by using a legal system that Mexican Americans found confusing. Thus, ‘before long, Mexican Americans saw their landholdings reduced to a fraction of the territory they once owned’ (Gutierrez 1995 cited in Jimenez 2010: 33).

This new economic structure left the Mexican Americans with the least desirable jobs and the whites with the most desirable ones. Another consequence was that Mexican Americans were omitted from the political scene. Even though regulations were different in each state, white leaders took charge of political power and government, thus marginalizing Mexican Americans and leaving them without a voice.

Economic and political changes in Mexico fomented immigration to the United States, thus, creating two often-confused populations: Mexican immigrants and Mexican

Americans. The historian Mae Ngai (2004) suggests that as people dedicated to agriculture, politicians were interested in Mexican labourers for four main reasons: a) Mexican workers were understood as a temporary population; b) Mexican workers were willing to take ‘backbreaking jobs’; c) Mexican workers could work for long shifts for a low wage and finally d) since Mexican workers were a temporary population, they were not a threat to the country (Ngai, 2004).

In the 1900s, as John Highman (1963) states, it was not unusual for employers in the United States to hire Mexican temporary workers. By the 1920s just after the end of the Mexican Revolution, ‘Americans became increasingly weary of the newcomers, who were regarded as inferior, uncivilized, racially distinct and unassimilable’ (Jimenez, 2010: 36). At the same time, Mexicans were still dealing with some consequences of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In the 1920s, racial and ethnic differences were fixed and Mexican Americans were living in segregated neighborhoods, attending segregated schools and being excluded from political and economic opportunities in both Mexico and the United States.

It is important to highlight that by this time, interactions between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans were already characterized by conflict. Despite the fact that both groups share the same ethnic background and language, Mexican immigrants or newcomers, regarded Mexican Americans as *pochos*, meaning ‘dull’ or ‘bleached’ ones. For the Mexican immigrants, Mexican Americans lacked a homeland and had no sense of Mexican culture (Jimenez, 2010). The Great Depression of the 1920s had a strong impact on the United States’ expansion. As a consequence of this, thousands of foreign-born Mexicans had to be sent back to Mexico since there were no jobs for

them. In some cases, even Mexicans that had been born in the U.S. were also deported (Ngai, 2004).

However, by the 1940s, WWII was having an impact on Mexican immigration to the United States. The two countries negotiated the Emergency Farm Labor Program, also known as the *Bracero Program*. The sociologist Kitty Calavita (1992) explains how the Bracero Program, which was initially designed to bringing temporary workers to the United States during the war, actually turned into a prolonged guest worker program. When the war ended, many temporary workers asked the lawmakers and their employers to extend their contracts.

The Bracero Program proved to be laden with problems; the main one was that it inadvertently opened the door for undocumented Mexican immigration to the United States. Even though the program was regulated by the federal government both workers and employers found ambiguities and loopholes that permitted them to avoid all the bureaucratic red tape that governed the program. As Calavita (1992) suggests, it was not only Mexicans who were responsible for this, the U.S. government also played a direct role in allowing undocumented immigration as, during the harvest season, the Border Patrol was careless, in its supervision of the southern border (Calavita, 1992). While many employers and growers were satisfied with, and benefited from the cheap labour force that the Bracero Program provided, not all U.S. citizens were agreed. Many Americans started to pressure government officials to deal with these undocumented immigrants working in the U.S. Operation Wetback was subsequently born, and it was intended to satisfy the demands of both nativists and employers. The aim of this program consisted in replacing unauthorized workers with legal Mexican labour. As a result of the

program, the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) and the state and local authorities deported thousands of Mexican immigrants (Jimenez, 2010).

During the 1940s and 1950s, Mexican Americans increased their sense of belonging to U.S. society. In this period, as Mario T. Garcia (1989) suggested, a Mexican-American middle class emerged and Mexican Americans were suddenly granted opportunities (i.e. education, politics) that were previously denied to them. Jimenez (2010) states that:

For many, the entrance into the American mainstream meant creating distance from the growing Mexican-immigration population. Mexican Americans held sympathetic views of braceros, but the predominant sentiment was that braceros stymied Mexican American progress by making all people of Mexican origin appear foreign in the eyes of U.S. society (Jimenez, 2010: 40-1).

In the 1960s, the United States' immigration laws underwent several changes. It was also a period of time during which the country was redefining itself. One of the most important changes involved the growth of civil rights movements. As a result of this, lawmakers started to reconsider the immigration policy that had been in place for the previous forty years. Two key events in 1965 made lawmakers change their perspective on restrictive immigration laws dating back to 1924: the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. As Jimenez (2010) points out, 'with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, policy makers saw the restrictive immigration laws that were passed in 1924 as racist and in need of reform' (Jimenez, 2010: 43).

By 1965, Congress had passed liberal amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act. These amendments ensured that visas were assigned more equitably across countries, so that now, 'instead of applying different quota levels to countries, a



quota of 20,000 persons per year was placed on all Eastern Hemisphere countries, and a total hemispheric count was set at 170,000 immigrants per year' (Jimenez,



Figure 1 Tucson Bus Station

2010: 43). Family reunification and occupational skills were central to the preference system of the 1965 law for assigning visas.

Members of the Mexican-origin population also witnessed significant changes in the 1960s. A new generation of Mexican Americans was born: the *Chicano* generation, which emerged as a result of the civil rights, black pride and anti-war movements. The Chicano generation's aim was to change the social order by encouraging people of Mexican descent, to be proud of their ethnic roots instead of trying to assimilate into the predominant Anglo U.S. mainstream. Jimenez (2010) suggests that Chicano activists saw all people of Mexican descent (Mexican Americans and Mexican-born) as a unified group of people, who they called '*La Raza*'. Chicanos disagreed with the idea of distancing themselves from Mexican immigrants as many Mexican Americans did; therefore, both groups were intimately tied together, since they believed that all people of Mexican descent (regardless of the length of time they had spent in the U.S.) have suffered oppression been treated as second-class citizens (Jimenez, 2010).

The Chicano generation's aim was to embrace, respect and love the indigenous roots of Mexican culture, which included music, art, food and language. The myth of *Aztlán* (*Huitzilopochtli's* promised land where Aztecs would have to build the city of *Tenochtitlán* once they found an eagle standing on a cactus eating a snake) was taken by the Chicanos in order to explain their migration to the U.S. Southwestern United States and the land they lost in 1848.

As Ian Haney-López (2003) argues, even Chicano leaders started to make their voices heard in the political mainstream, and the Chicano movement continued to perceive Mexican Americans as inheritors of a legacy of racial discrimination. Nevertheless, the Chicano movement and generation created a new and refreshing image of Mexican Americans in the United States. The movement positioned Mexican Americans as a minority population, and also as a new ethnic group, which had a voice and was worthy of being studied in its own right. By the 1970s, the foreign-born Mexican population made up just 16 percent of the total Mexican-origin group population in the United States.

The Chicano-student populations became the main motivation in the Chicano movement. High school and college Chicano students focused their attention on their ethnic identity, thereby finding inadequacies in their educational institutions. The Chicano student movement aimed to help raise the status of Mexican Americans through education by increasing the number of Mexican Americans on college and university campuses (Muñoz, 1989). In 1969, Chicano activists met in Denver and Santa Barbara, with the aim of defining Chicano nationalism and finally establishing Chicano studies and Chicano departments in high schools and colleges (Muñoz, 1989).

The Chicano movement also had an impact on politics. Mexican Americans in Texas formed the La Raza Unida Party (LRUP), the aim of which was to become part of mainstream political structure and to win formal political representation for Mexican Americans. However, when the LRUP went national, it lost influence because of internal divisions and a lack of an ideological core. As Jimenez (2010) explains, ‘the overrepresentation of Mexican-origin service members among the combat-killer was seen as part of a larger oppressive system and as symbolic of the repression that the movement aimed to transform’ (Jimenez, 2010: 45).

Though not explicitly part of the Chicano movement the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) led by César Chávez, was nonetheless, quite illustrative of the movement’s ideological positions during that period of time. It organized boycotts and strikes with Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans to try to bring about better wages and working conditions (Garcia, 1995). Along the same lines and during the same period, Rejes Tijerina’s La Alianza de los Pueblos Libres (Alliance of the Free Peoples), helped the first Mexican Americans in New Mexico to reclaim the land taken from them by the U.S. government and land corporations (Jimenez, 2010).

Even today, evidence remains of the legacy produced by the Chicano movement in the 1960s. Among the notable organizations that were born out of the Chicano movement are the National Council of La Raza, the *Mexican Defence and Education Fund* (MALDEF), the Mexican civil rights organization and the *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* (MEChA).

In the beginning of the 1980s, Mexican Americans showed considerable improvement in the economic, political and social aspects of their lives. As part of their

assimilation and interaction into the country, according to Cazares et. al (1985) that there was a considerable rise in intermarriage among Mexican Americans and other ethnic groups.

Concurrent with the Chicano movement was however continued immigration. Massey, Durand and Malone (2002) state that during the 1970s, the cyclical migration pattern (immigrants went to the United States, worked and then crossed back to Mexico without documents) was the norm. In some ways, this constant immigration overshadowed Mexican-American assimilation and integration to the United States to the point that in 1986, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). One of the main goals of this act was the idea of making a ‘fresh start’. As Jimenez (2010) explains:

The new legislation included three major provisions: it granted amnesty to all unauthorized immigrants who had been living in the United States for the previous five years; it imposes fines on employers who knowingly hired unauthorized workers; and it dramatically increased the Border Patrol budget (Jimenez, 2010: 41).

Soon after the IRCA legalized those undocumented workers and immigrants residing in the country, Canada, Mexico and the United States signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994. The agreement removed a number of considerable barriers to free trade among these three countries. As it has been stated previously in this chapter, NAFTA encouraged a flow of Mexican immigration to go northward. At the same time, as Massey et. al (2002) state that the decline in the value of the Mexican peso was a ‘pushing’ factor to make Mexicans migrate. Also at the beginning of 1994, Mexico faced one of the worse economic crises in their history. During the first days of presidency of the Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, the

Mexican peso was massively devaluated causing even more the migration to the United States.

Over the past years, the Mexican immigrant profile in the United States has undergone a gradual transformation according to the Census Bureau. Nowadays, younger and more educated undocumented immigrants travel to the United States to try their luck in the hope of achieving a better quality life. Thus, the Mexican-origin population continues to be ranked as one of the highest in terms of poverty levels. The Mexican-origin population also contains the highest percentage of people without any kind of health insurance and the lowest proportion of bachelor degrees in comparison with other Hispanic groups (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011).

The demographer Jeffrey Passel (2011) from the Pew Hispanic Center, stated that Mexican immigrants are now better educated than those who went to the United States thirty or forty years ago. Nevertheless, they still have lower levels of education than other U.S. citizens (Gonzalez, 2012). In that sense, the Mexican-origin population remains below the national average, which contributes to the higher percentage of poverty they experience. The annual household income, among households where at least one of the members is of Mexican-origin, is approximately \$38,884, in comparison with \$50,502 for the rest of the population. The average rate of poverty for the Mexican-origin population is around 27.5 percent, 10 percentage points above the average for other U.S. citizens. Almost 49 percent of Mexican-origin families own their homes, compared with 64.4 percent of the population in general. Among the most common occupations, 16.4 percent of the Mexican-origin population works in jobs related to administration, business, science or arts, 27 percent in the service sector and 21.1 percent in sales or

office jobs. Around 17.8 percent work in construction and 18 percent in transportation (Gonzalez, 2012).

For twenty years (1990-2010) only 25 percent of the Mexicans in the United States had a high school diploma, but the figure has increased to 41 percent for the current Mexican population in the U.S. Around 71 percent of Mexicans who reside in the United States have lived there for more than ten years, whereas in 1990, the proportion was only 50 percent according to the results of a survey by the INEGI ([inegi.org.mx](http://inegi.org.mx), 2011).

In terms of integration in the United States, for many Mexican-origin people the pursuit of being accepted in the country has been accompanied by denial of their heritage. Even in the 1950s, sociologists such as Ozzie G. Simmons wrote about the Mexican ambivalence about equality with the Anglos. Namely, that it ‘is reflected in the constraint, lack of poise and self-assurance. And general sense of discomfort that characterizes the behaviour of Mexicans of all classes when they participate in informal social situations with Anglos’ (Simmons cited in Martinez, 2001: 76). Such rejection comes from the noticeable negative connotation *Mexicans* has had in the United States. In Martinez’s (2001) words: ‘Long ago Mexican-origin people learned that by blurring, minimizing or obliterating their Mexican genetic and cultural inheritance, they could receive better treatment from European Americans’ (Martinez, 2001: 73).

Finally, Mexican immigrants have long been vulnerable to stereotyping, especially because of their physical features: predominantly *mestizo*. This may be related to the once widely held belief in the United States that fair-skinned people were superior to dark-skinned people. Fortunately, this belief has steadily faded but still today

Mexicans and Mexican Americans have generally claimed that they belonged to the white race and should be classified as such. A more detailed discussion of this topic is deferred to the section below.

### **1.1.1 Assimilation, Acculturation and the Mexican Replenished Ethnicity**

Since the beginning of the twentieth century North American social scientists primarily anthropologists and sociologists have been advocating that more studies should be conducted into acculturation. These early social scientists defined acculturation as a process of change that occurs when individuals from different cultures interact and share a common geographical space following migration, political conquest, or forced relocation (Balls Organista et al, 2010).

Much of the early research from the 1960s and 1970s on acculturation was marred by severe conceptual limitations including a simplistic assumption that acculturation inevitably leads to a weakening of one's original cultural identity and practices. As David L. Sam and John W. Berry (2010) state, acculturation is used to refer to the changes in behaviours, values, cognitions, and emotional responses that occur in people of one culture as the result of their interaction with another culture. This assumption as Balls Organista et al. (2010) point out has result in a 'unidirectional model of acculturation'. For these same authors, acculturation must be understood as a more complex phenomenon that considers at least two cultural dimensions in which an individual may retain some aspects of the culture of origin and also learn and favour aspects of the new culture. It can be a long-term phenomenon affecting several

generations, and it is therefore not limited to immigrants but also continues to take place among their children and grandchildren. As the social psychologists explain, individuals change and learn new values, attitudes, and behaviours. The process of acculturation is not limited to individuals who are forced to change their nationality because of political events, as immigrants and temporary workers also experience acculturation.

In the book *Who are We?* political scientist Samuel P. Huntington (2004) states that the main concern regarding Mexican population in the United States relies on the idea that they 'have not assimilated into American society as other immigrants did in the past and as many other immigrants are doing now' (Huntington, 2004: 222). For Huntington, there is a combination of six main factors that prevent the proper integration of the Mexican population into the United States:

1. Language
2. Education
3. Occupation and Income
4. Citizenship
5. Intermarriage
6. Identity

Huntington (2004) claims, that, the persistent influx of Mexican immigrants has contributed to confusion about the American national identity, which is seen as crucial to the prosperity of the republic. He describes this as follows:

The persistent inflow of Hispanic immigrants threatens to divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures and two languages. Unlike past immigrant groups, Mexicans and other Latinos have not assimilated (Huntington, 2004: 222).



According to Ana Gonzalez Barrera, Mark Hugo Lopez, Jeffrey S. Passel and Paul Taylor (2012) from the Pew Hispanic Centre, of the 48 percent of Mexican-origin green card (work permits) holders, 33 percent said that the main factor that explains why they had not yet naturalized was for personal reasons, while 16 percent said it was due to administrative barriers. These figures were 17 percent and 22 percent respectively for around four in ten Latino green-card-holders (born in a country other than Mexico). It is important to highlight that, among those citing personal barriers, around 65 percent of Latinos mentioned that they needed to learn English, while approximately 23 percent said they found the citizen tests too difficult. Among who cited administrative barriers, more than 94 percent said the reason they had not naturalized was due to the impossibility of paying the \$680 required for the application (Gonzalez, A. et al., 2012).

Mexican immigrants had a comparatively lower rate of naturalization compared with 61 percent for all immigrants and 68 percent for all non-Mexican immigrants. According to the study, only 36 percent of Mexicans naturalize in comparison with 61 percent from Latin America and the Caribbean (Gonzalez, A. et al., 2013). The new understanding of racial and ethnic relations, along with the complicated and slow progress of Mexican Americans, has inspired specialists in the subject to try to see the phenomena from a new perspective and to stop applying the same theories to this specific group. Scholars have focused their attention on analyzing how people of Mexican-origin relate to American society, taking colonialism as a means of explanation (Gutierrez, 2004). For example, in *Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt*, Robert Blauner (1969) developed the theory of 'internal colonialism'. This theory postulates that there is a relationship between coloniser and colonised. The relationship is characterized by a

situation akin to colonialism in which white colonisers and colonised nonwhites become merged so that there is no geographical distance between the ‘metropolis’ and the ‘colony’ (Barrera, 1979: 194).

In effect, the Mexicans constitute a colonised group because of having experienced conquest and subordination within the American system (economic and political). As Martinez (2001) suggests, the degree of colonisation changes depending on the place, generation and social class. The poor for example, suffered economic marginalization and all it entailed: lower wages than the European American, unacceptable working conditions and few opportunities for ascending. The Mexican-origin population suffered segregation, poverty, poor education, and discrimination. On the other hand, oppression perhaps was more common along the border, where recurring international incidents germinated extreme nationalism and nativism among European Americans (Martínez, 2001).

Tomas R. Jimenez (2010) proposes that the exceptional feature of the Mexican-origin population consists in the idea that it is: a) a colonised group *and* b) an immigrant group; an old immigrant population *and* a foreign-born population (Jimenez, 2010: 8). Moreover, Jimenez suggests that the theories of assimilation proposed so far, have either completely overlooked people of Mexican-origin or have been applied too narrowly to a particular segment of this population. Thus, classic assimilation theories fail to explain the Mexican-American experience, since assimilation is understood as an inevitable and mostly irreversible process. The author states that the concept of assimilation is embedded in the idea that the process of immigration will eventually stop, as was the case in the late 1910s and 1920s for European-origin groups. The lack of contact that

later-generation white ethnics had with their ethnic homeland contributed to the development of a new form of identity and the weakening of European-origin ethnic categories. In contrast, Mexican immigration to the United States has not ceased and therefore it remains a noticeable part of the ethnic scene that Mexican Americans have to deal with continuously (Jimenez, 2010: p.12).

Moreover, Jimenez (2010) goes on to explain how skin colour has become an important factor in the process of assimilation, since discrimination against non-white immigrants, such as Mexicans, precludes their entrance into the mainstream and positions them in a racialized American society and population. According to the author, Mexicans have come to be seen as an exemplary case of segmented assimilation.

Sociologist Nancy Foner (1999) defined *segmented assimilation* as a process of assimilation into a particular segment ranging from the middle to the lower classes. Other sociologists like Rumbaut and Portes (2001) argue that segmented assimilation will depend on factors such as economic opportunity and the pervasiveness of racial discrimination (Organista et. al, 2010). Foner (1999) finally argues that the process of segmented assimilation does not necessarily imply the complete internalization of the new values and behaviours.

When theories of assimilation have been applied to Mexican Americans, the results have shown how the long history of Mexican immigration and discrimination has affected the way in which later generations are received in the United States in a deep-rooted and intimidating way. In the United States, since the Mexican-origin population is often racialized as an undesirable foreign group, the ethnic boundaries that Mexican Americans encounter in daily life are correspondingly sharpened.

An important factor is the relationship between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans, since Jimenez (2010) claims that Mexican immigrants ‘inform what it means to be an authentic’ person of Mexican descent. Mexican Americans are often unable to deploy the requisite ethnic symbols and practices that would allow them to live up to a norm of ethnic authenticity determined by Mexican immigrants’ (Jimenez, 2010: 145).

Same as Jimenez, the anthropologist Martha Menchaca (1995, 2011) proposes that the constant flow of Mexican immigrants to the United States creates intragroup conflict between the Mexican-origin populations residing in the United States. What the author means by these, is that the Mexican-American population, do not always show ethnic solidarity with their co-ethnics Mexican immigrants, and the reason for doing this is because ‘the prevailing ideologies of assimilation and experiences of differential treatments as a result of ethnicity, race, geography and class’ (Menchaca, 1995: 218). Although Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans share the same ethnic background, the latter, not always show a positive attitude about Mexican undocumented immigrations to the United States.

Moreover, the author points out that the opposing perceptions of Mexican Americans toward assimilation and acculturation (i.e. to adopt the culture and norms of the Anglo Americans) are often manifested as social distance between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. For example, it could be the case that Mexican-American individuals would consider to speak in Spanish as ‘improper’ and ‘shameful’ forms of social behaviors in the United States. And, as a result of this, Mexican immigrants who exclusively speak in Spanish might feel discriminated, unwelcomed and pressured to ‘Americanize’. As Gilda Ochoa (2000) proposes, the Mexican-origin

population residing in the U.S uses a diverse range of ethnic self-reference labels to identify themselves. These labels, reinforces the idea among that the Mexican-origin population perceive themselves to be a culturally diverse people.

Furthermore, Menchaca (1995) also points out that although at particular times Mexican Americans could have negative perceptions of Mexican immigrants because of cultural differences, in other situations, certain external forces may result in a shared identity and affiliation with immigrants. However, according to Mechaca (1995), during periods of stress (i.e. when the Anglo Americans confer upon them social, economic, or political disadvantages), intra-group conflict ceases and is temporarily suspended in favour of their common interest. Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans do act as a political ethnic unit.

So far, the history of the Mexican-origin population in the United States has been explained. As discussed above, the continuous flow of Mexican migrants to the United States has created tensions between Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants. But despite the broad diversity within this population, it is possible to identify certain characteristics shared by all of its members. In the following section, I will be describing the peculiarities of the Mexican-origin population as a group.

### **1.1.2 Mexicans as an Ethnic Group**

In his text *Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigration, and Identity*, Tomas R. Jimenez (2010) points out there is, uniqueness about the Mexican-origin population in the United States relative to virtually any other group. To be precise, the Mexican-origin

population in the United States is an *ethnic group*. In order to understand these shared characteristics it is important to draw a distinction between race, social race and ethnicity.

According to E. Ellis Cashmore (1984) the word *race* can be used in at least four different senses. The most common use of the term in biology has referred to a variety of species that has developed distinguishing characteristics through isolation, but has not yet lost the ability to interbreed with other subspecies. Moreover, physical anthropologists used to speak of human ‘races’ in the sense of subspecies, the most common scheme being the great tripartite division of mankind into Negroid, Mongoloid and Caucasoid. However, as Cashmore (1984) points out, over the last seventy years it became increasingly clear that no meaningful taxonomy of human races was possible. Not only were numerous groups not classifiable as belonging to any of the three main groups but physical anthropologists could not agree with each other as to where the genetic boundaries between human groups were drawn (Cashmore, 1984: 238). The second usage of the word is a synonym for species, as in the phrase ‘human race’. Moreover, the third meaning of the word, is a synonym ‘for what we usually call a nation or an ethnic group’, for example, the ‘German race’ or the ‘American race’. And finally, *race* can mean a group of people who are ‘socially defined in a given society as belonging together because of physical markers such as skin pigmentation, hair texture, facial features, stature, and their likes’. In order to avoid any confusion, some people specify *social race* when they use the term race in this fourth meaning (Cashmore, 1984: 238). It is important to highlight that even though the word race, in Spanish *raza* is commonly understood to define biological features of a living being, for the Mexican-origin

population this term expresses ethnic and racial pride (an example of this is seen in the use of La Raza during the Chicano Movement in the 1960s and 1970s). As will be discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, Mexicans immigrants and Mexican-Americans in Arizona consider someone who share their same physical features, as someone from their 'own race'.

Moreover, the word *ethnicity* derives from the Greek word *ethos* meaning a people as well as a nation or a crowd (Bhopal, 2007). Therefore, *ethnic identity* can be understood as part of a self-concept, which is based on the understanding of membership of a specific social group (or groups) and the meaning and emotional significance that people can attach to that particular membership. As Balls et al (2010) suggest, ethnicity holds a symbolic place in their identity, therefore any ethnic attachments are understood as: 1) a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; and 2) a love for and pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour (Balls et al, 2010: 39). Moreover, *ethnic identity* refers to 'the subjective sense of membership and belonging to an ethnic group, which includes attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, feelings, and behaviors associated with a particular ethnic group' (Balls et al., 2010: 138).

For Cashmore (1984), one of the main characteristics of an ethnic group is the fact that these tend to prosper in times of adversity and quite frequently, there is a relationship between a group that is considered a distinct 'race' by the dominant population and the group that considers itself a unified people sharing a common experience. As the author points out, 'whereas race stands for the attribution of one group, ethnic group stands for the creative response of a people who feel somehow

marginal to the mainstream of society' (Cashmore, 1984: 98). In addition to this, the author believes that not all societies actually recognize *social races*. However, where social races exist, there is an attribution of social and behavioural importance to physical markers. Moreover, as the author points out, 'societies that recognize social races are invariable racist societies, in the sense that people, especially members of the dominant racial group, believe that the physical phenotype is linked with intellectual, moral, and behavioural characteristics' (Cashmore, 1984: 98).

As mentioned previously, members of the Mexican-origin population somehow struggle as to what to call themselves and the various labels that they use such as Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, Latino, Hispano, etc., usually suggest personal and political identities. Jimenez (2010) differentiates between and defines Mexican descendants as follows:

- *Mexican origin* and *ethnic Mexicans*: refer to all people, foreign or native born, who are of Mexican descent.
- *Mexicanos* or *Mexican immigrants*: refer to individuals who were born in Mexico and now reside in the United States.
- *Mexican Americans*: refer to individuals whose ancestry is Mexican and whose family has been a considerable time in the United States.
- *Chicanos*: refer to Mexican Americans during the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s.



In the following section I will be discussing the Mexican-American and the Chicano identity. As will be explained, although both terms are sometimes used interchangeably Mexican American and Chicano ideologies and postures can differ.

### **1.1.3 The Mexican-American and the Chicano Identity**

As stated previously, in order to define a Mexican-American identity certain features need to be explained in advance. The first one relies on the idea that the ethnic identity of this particular group is built through their attempts to resolve their own life experiences as ethnic Mexicans with the prevailing U.S. narrative of Mexicans as foreigners. At the same time, since Mexican immigration is still a very important part of their daily experience and history, immigration, and the issues that it entails through the process of assimilation, are central to understand the meaning of Mexican-American identity (Jimenez, 2010).

Mexican-American ethnic identity is linked with present day Mexican immigration in the United States. In certain way, immigration creates their identity; to some extent this is beneficial, but it can also be counterproductive, since on the one hand Mexican Americans may identify with, or feel more attached to, their history (roots), but on the other hand, it may generate a dominant perception of Mexicans as foreigners. These ambivalent features could both slow down assimilation and position Mexican Americans as part of the United States mainstream. Even though Mexican-mericans are not fully excluded from participation in American society, the widespread presence of immigrants identifies them as a distinct group and as a separate ethnic group. In order to

understand Mexican-American identity formation, it is important to consider more than the common features that constitute assimilation and ethnic formation (housing, language, intermarriage and socioeconomic status). Mexican Americans experience the cost of their ethnic identity in a context of poor and undocumented Mexican immigrants (Jimenez, 2010).

In the book *Nobody's Son*, the Mexican-American author Luis Alberto Urrea (2002) describes a personal statement of his childhood divided between Mexico and the United States. The author, who was born in Tijuana to a Mexican father and an Anglo mother from Staten Island, defines his childhood as a mix of opposites, a clash of cultures and languages. In the book, Urrea expresses the 'battlefield' he experienced at home, where his parents waged daily war over their son's ethnicity. Although his story is unique, it is also like thousands of other stories being played out across the United States.

Similarly to Urrea, the Mexican American CNN contributor Rubén Navarrete published a testimony of his identity crisis and the issues it entailed in belonging to both Mexico and the United States. In *My Mexican American Identity Crisis* (2012), Navarrete blames Mexico for not giving the same opportunities to all of its population. As he expresses it:

The only reason you have so many people of Mexican ancestry living in cities like Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Phoenix, Denver or San Antonio is because, at some point, in our family tree, there was a person, maybe a parent or grandparent who was shut from opportunity in Mexico and had to go north (...) We're the offspring, and we're loyal to them. Not Mexico. (...) We're aware that many of the elite Mexicans in the ruling class don't like us. The feeling is mutual. They see us as a reminder of a humiliating defeat and look down on us as inferior stock that isn't sufficiently Mexican (Navarrete, 2012).

According to Jimenez (2010) Mexican Americans are not ethnic nationalists and still have not yet experienced the socioeconomic assimilation as that of white ethnicities. Even though the Mexican Americans suffered harsh forms of discrimination during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Mexican-Americans have assimilated through generations. Mexican-Americans' opinions regarding immigration from Mexico show the complex experience in which the continuous flow of immigrants to the United States has shaped their image and experience in the country.

Jimenez (2010) also state that middle-class Mexican Americans often use symbols of their class status or send the message that they are U.S-born people of Mexican descent. Homeownership, consumer items, vacation destinations and occupations are some of the symbols that Mexican Americans use to invoke their social class status. By doing these, Mexican Americans differentiate themselves with the poor unauthorized immigrants many people imagine when they think of Mexican-descent individuals. Mexican Americans aim to communicate that they are integrated members of the U.S. society.

Moreover, the word *Chicano*, (also spelled *Xicano*), refers to a peculiar sector of the Mexican-origin population, who was, either born in the United States or grew up in this country. The term can be confused and interchangeably used with Mexican American, since both refer to a population that has both Mexican and American backgrounds. However, they are not interchangeable. Both Mexican American and Chicano are to some extent chosen identities adopted by the Mexican-origin population residing in the United States and in Mexico. The term became widely used during the time of the Chicano Movement in the 1960s, mainly amongst those Mexicans or Mexican

Americans in the United States who wanted to express a new form of self-identity, an identity based on community values, rather than the assimilationist values of the Mexican-American.

The historian Edward R. Siemmen (1969) conducted a study into the etymology of the word Chicano. Siemmen used two main theories to explain the word's origin. The first theory ascribes the word to *Náhuatl* origin, suggesting that Indians pronounce *Mexicano* as *Me-shi-ca-no*. The word was then merely a term of ethnic identification and not meant in any way to demean.

The term Chicano, according to Siemmen can be seen as having pejorative connotations and it can be used as a noun to define 'a dissatisfied American of Mexican-descent, whose ideas regarding his position in the social or economic order are considered to be liberal or radical and whose statements are often extreme and sometimes violent. As it has been discussed in previous sections of this chapter, the goal of the Chicano Movement was to move Chicanos from the periphery to the centre of the United States' collective consciousness (Siemmen, 1969: 31). Therefore, as a part of correcting Mexican-American image, many Mexican-descent took jobs in educational, governmental and professional sectors. These Mexican Americans refer themselves as Chicanos (Dunn, 1975).

As O'Leary and Romero (2011) noted, the Chicano movement or *El Movimiento* called for unity under the banner of cultural nationalism. Chicanos regarded themselves as people whose land, history, culture and language were taken as part of the Americanization policies. In the author's words: 'Chicanos and Chicanas sought to redefine themselves in ways that were culturally meaningful, in part by adopting a new

home' (O'Leary and Romero, 2011: 13). This constituted one step towards reaffirming a positive ethnic and cultural identity based on knowledge of history and traditions as a means of amplifying their political voice and unifying communities of Mexican heritage. Thus, motivated by cultural pride, the Chicano movement has contributed to reestablishing social respect for the community's language, history, rituals and even religious traditions (O'Leary and Romero, 2011).

As Jacob Piatt Dunn (1975) points out the Chicano is often pictured by Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans as being dirty or careless about his appearance. He may also be viewed as 'sneaky', as a thief or as deceitful. On the contrary, Mexican Americans according to Dunn (1975: 31) have 'a distinct regard for his own integrity and his sense of honor which makes him easily as trust-worthy as his Anglo counterpart in American society'.

To sum up, in this subsection of the chapter I have explained the differences between the Mexican-American identity and the Chicano identity. Moreover, I have also explained the history of the Mexican-origin population in the United States and how and why this group has to be understood as an *ethnic group*. I have established that there are class distinctions among people of Mexican descent, based on their chronology of arrival as well as how affluent they are. New waves of Mexican immigrants (especially labourers) are not always welcomed by all Mexican-Americans. One reason for this is because Mexican Americans fear that Mexican immigrants might make them appear as undocumented immigrants in the United States. This fact sheds light on the motivations for Mexican Americans to create divisions with the Mexican-immigrant population. However, as is the case with any division or fragmentation Mexican Americans and

Mexican immigrants might experience pain in the process of trying to separate. As will be discussed in Chapter 4 ('Mexican Immigrants and Mexican Americans: Prejudice and Discrimination from the Inside'), Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans sometimes experience prejudice and discrimination from people of the same ethnic background.

It is important to highlight that the Mexican-origin population in the United States has to be understood, firstly, as a colonised group, and secondly, as both a settled *and* an immigrant group. As stated previously, the Mexican-origin population constitutes a colonised group because it has experienced economic and political conquest within the U.S system. Moreover, Mexican Americans and Mexicans immigrants have had to endure segregation, marginalization, discrimination and oppression from the Anglo-American population. As a result of this, Mexicans have developed a *colonised mind*.

In the following section, Arizona's social and political context will be explained in detail. In the first two sub-sections, anti-immigration law S.B.1070 is explained in detail. Followed by it, H.B 2281 is also described. At the end of the section, the reinforcement of the U.S.-Mexico border is explained as well as the Operation Streamline programme.

## **1.2 S.B. 1070 and Racial Profiling in the United States**

In 2008, the United States experienced one of the most significant elections in the nation's history: an African-American was elected as President. This same period also

witnessed the development of intense debates about ethnicity, race and immigration to the United States. These would soon come to a head in Arizona with the introduction of new anti-immigration legislation, namely the ‘Support our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act’ S.B. 1070, signed into law by the state’s former Governor Janice K. Brewer on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2010. Its goal was to ‘reduce the state’s undocumented immigrant population through the aggressive enforcement of immigration laws’ (Senate Bill 1070).

Debates and concerns, while always present in Arizona, started to take on new importance approximately four years before S.B. 1070 was signed. Mexico and the United States were dealing with significant sociopolitical changes that had a significant impact on the perception of immigration and immigrants who were either settling in the United States or were considering moving. On December 1st 2006, President Felipe Calderón’s administration (2006-2012) commenced, bringing within it one of the most problematic and terrible wars in Mexico’s history: the Mexican drug war. According to research conducted by Mexican newspaper *La Jornada* in 2012, around 53 people died daily in the Mexican drug war. Six years after the war started, it was estimated that around 136,000 deaths had been caused as a result of it (Mendez, 2012).

Two years before S.B. 1070 was signed, in 2008, Arizona former Governor Janet Napolitano (2003-2009) vetoed the Arizona House Bill 2807. This bill aimed to allow law officials, agencies, or other authorized personnel from



Figure 2 Signs in Nogales, Arizona 2014.

counties, cities, and towns to check the immigration status of persons in order to determine their eligibility for any federal, state or local benefit, verify of legal domiciles, and confirm the identity of arrested persons. It would also have required county sheriffs and police departments to implement programs designed to address violations of federal immigration laws by training peace officers, by embedding Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents, or by establishing operational relations with Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

In 2010, the situation regarding undocumented immigration in Arizona was highly complex. According to the report entitled *Fact Sheet: Immigration in Arizona* (2012), produced by the Federation for American Immigration Reform, from 2001 to 2010 an average of 1,374 undocumented immigrants were apprehended every day in the Arizona-Mexico border area. The undocumented population made up at least 46 percent of the state's total foreign population and 6 percent of the state's total population. Between 2007 and 2009, there were over 2,500 murders in Mexico near the Arizona border. The Border Patrol found that criminal gangs were driven to the Arizona desert



because of the predominance of drug smuggling and human trafficking. Between 2006 and 2010 around 51 cross-border drug smuggling tunnels were discovered in Nogales, Arizona. Over 10 percent of children enrolled in public schools (K-12) had parents who were not U.S. citizens (fairus.org, 2012).

Just a month before Arizona's S.B. 1070 was signed, Robert N. Krentz Jr. (1951-2010), a long-generation rancher in the state, was found shot dead with his dog in a section of his ranch outside Douglas, Arizona. The last conversation Krentz had before being found dead was a radio transmission with his brother Phil, in which he said only 'I see an immigrant out here, and he appears to need help. Call the Border Patrol'. According to the reporter J.D. Wallace (2005) from *Tucson News Now*, during the 1990s and 2000s, Krentz had publicly complained of the repercussions and losses his ranch was suffering because of the undocumented immigrations (Wallace, 2005).

The rancher's death received a lot of attention from the media, particularly after local authorities connected the murder to undocumented immigration. However, *Arizona Daily Star* reporter Brody Mc. Combs (2010) stated that the journal had had a conversation with high-ranking government officials who wanted to 'quell the fury over illegal immigration and drug smuggling set off by the shooting death'. According to the newspaper, Cochise Sheriff, Larry Dever (1952-2012) was investigating an individual in the United States and not in Mexico (Mc. Combs, 2010).

In Arizona, according to University of Arizona academics Anna O'Leary and Andrea J. Romero (2011) 'nearly seventy legislative bills targeting immigrants have been introduced in the state legislature since 2004, paralleling a surge of similar actions in other parts of the nation' (O'Leary and Romero, 2011: 12). However, the laws have not

only targeted immigrants they have also affected United States citizens. On 1<sup>st</sup> January, 2008, the ‘Legal Arizona Workers Act’ (LAWA), also known as the ‘Employers Sanctions Law’, came into effect with the aim of prohibiting and sanctioning businesses from knowingly or intentionally hiring an ‘unauthorized alien’.

Arizona’s S.B. 1070 is considered the strictest anti-immigration measure in the United States. It turns regular infractions into state crimes because the ‘show me your papers’ law, as it is also called, allows law enforcement officers to ask anyone about their legal status where there is ‘reasonable suspicion’. This is stated in section 2(B):

For any lawful contact made by law enforcement official (...) where reasonable suspicion exists that the person is an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States, a reasonable attempt shall be made (...) to determine the immigration status of the person (Senate Bill 1070, 2010: 5).

This section is provocative, mainly because of the idea that ‘reasonable suspicion’ will lead to the use of racial profiling. It is not an unjustified concern, as the remainder of the document fails to clarify what the term means ‘reasonable suspicion’. The document also fails to outline procedures. Another interesting feature of the law consists in the fact that it also establishes the following as a felony:

Transporting or moving or attempting to transport or move an alien in this state in a vehicle if the person knows or recklessly disregards the fact that the alien has come to, has entered or remains in the United States in violation of the law (Senate Bill 1070, 2010: 5).

One need only review the raw demographics about the population in Arizona in order to understand the concern that S.B. 1070 would lead to racial profiling. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2013), the Latino population numbered 53 million in 2012, making up 17 percent of the total U.S. population. Between 2000 and 2010, Latinos accounted for more than half of the nation’s population growth. In addition, the Pew

Hispanic Center stated in 2010 that, the total Latino population residing in Arizona accounted for 1,909,000 people, of which 90 percent are of Mexican origin. This ranks the state number one in terms of the percentage of people with Mexican origins (Pew Hispanic Center, 2010). Moreover, opponents to S.B. 1070 state that the law leads to racial profiling as well as to increased community mistrust of the police.

In addition to the idea that S.B. 1070 promotes racial profiling, the hostile climate toward immigrants in Arizona, has also been shaped by, Section 287(g) of the federal Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), which was added in 1996. This allows state law enforcement agencies and the federal government to agree to cooperate in the enforcement of federal immigration laws. Once local law officers have received training and authorization from the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, they can detain offenders suspected of immigration offences during their daily law-enforcement routine. It is noteworthy that the Arizona Association of Chiefs of Police opposed the law, stating that it would ‘negatively affect the ability of law enforcement agencies across the state to fulfill their responsibilities in a timely manner’ (Chanin et al, 2011: 9).

S.B.1070 intertwines both criminal and immigration laws, which allows (whether explicitly or implicitly) for local enforcement and other government agencies to act as enforces of both aspects of the law. Increasingly, practices and policies implemented within this realm are characteristic of interior enforcement practices, expanding beyond border enforcement. As Felicia Arriga (2016) points out, it is no longer federal immigration agents are solely responsible for undocumented immigrants, but now local law enforcement participates in these initiatives (Arriaga, 2016).

Law expert and foundational scholar in the field of ‘crimmigration’ Juliet Stumpf (2006) states that the main distinction between criminal and immigration law resides on the fact that the first one, seeks to ‘prevent and address harm to individuals and society from violence or fraud or evil motive’ whereas the immigration law, ‘determines who may cross the border and reside here, and who must leave’ (Stumpf, 2006: 379). Unfortunately, over the course of the U.S. history (and more specifically, in the past twenty to thirty years) these differences or distinctions have become blurrier.

Many of the policies and laws implemented in the past years are a result of negative public perceptions of undocumented ‘criminals’ that are entering the United States. The rationale to pass and implement this kind of laws is that once this policies are adopted, as in the case of S.B.1070, undocumented Mexican and Central American individuals will either self-deport or be caught through ‘tougher’ immigration enforcement, which then will lead to lower crime rates in the communities (Arriaga, 2016: 809). As stated in the Haas Institute (2016) report *We Too Belong. A Resource Guide for Inclusive Practices in Immigration and Incarceration Law and Policy*:

Although criminal law and immigration law begin with opposite assumptions about the membership status of the individual that they regulate, once the individual is deemed unworthy of membership, the consequences are very similar in both realms. The state treats the individual-literally and figuratively- as an alien, shorn of the rights and privileges of membership. This creates an ever-expanding population of outsiders with a stake in the U.S community that may be at least as strong as those of incumbent members. The result is a society increasingly stratifies by flexible conceptions of membership in which non-members are cast out of the community by means of borders, walls, rules, and public condemnation (Hass Institute, 2016).

Moreover, Arriaga (2016) points out that even though there are several studies on attitudes and interactions between Latino population interactions with immigration

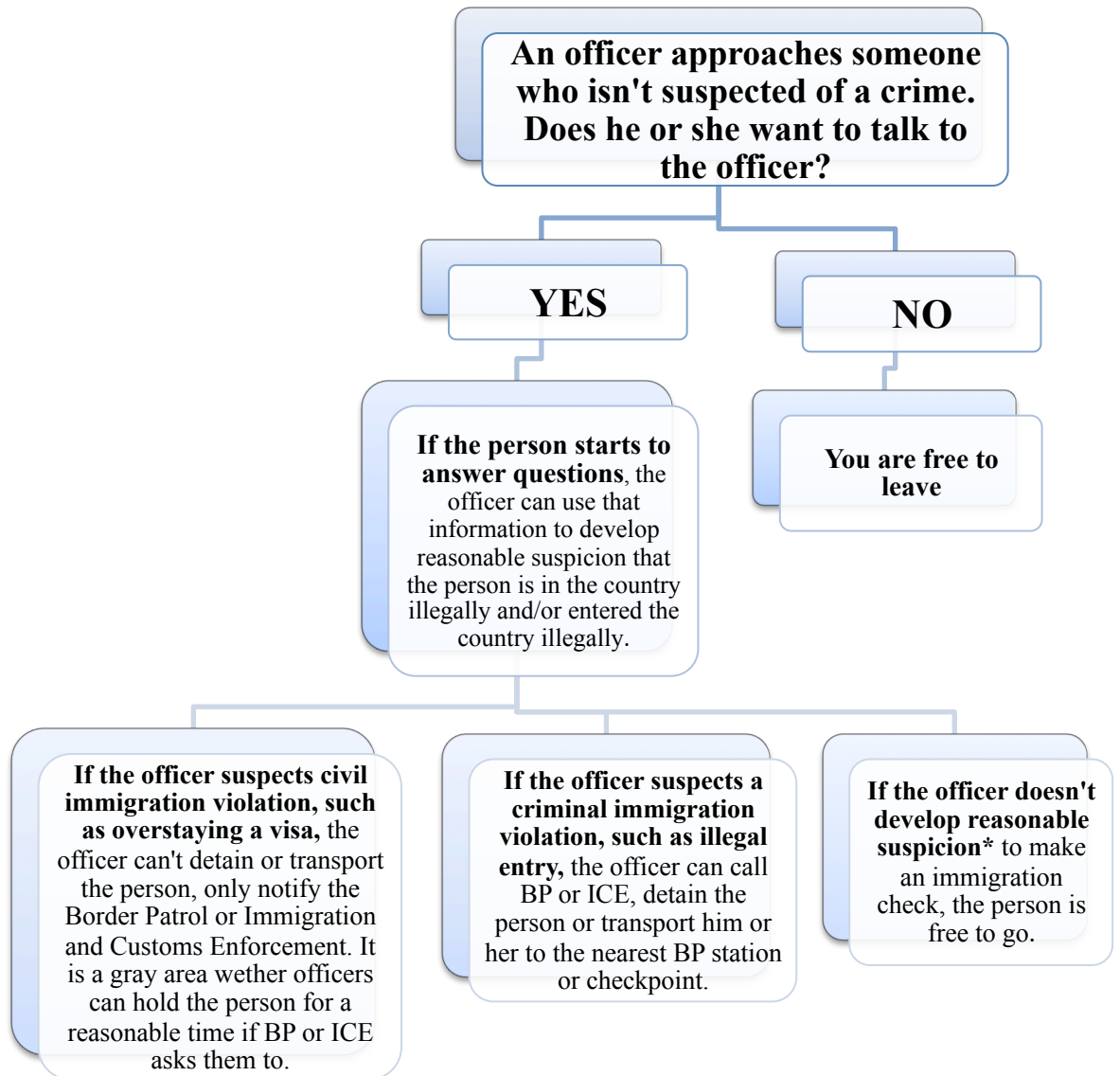
enforcement (see for example Menjivar and Bejarano 2004; Solis et al. 2009) there are not many studies on how this groups interacts with local law enforcement *and* immigration enforcement. Additionally, very little is known about the general process whereby an immigrant may be subject to ‘crimmigration’ procedures. According to Arriaga, this might be due to the lack of transparency, particularly of partnerships between federal immigration enforcement and local law enforcement.

As previously proposed in the section ‘Mexicans as an Ethnic Group’ the discrimination of Mexican-origin people has a long history and is still prominent in today’s U.S society, even though the stereotypes of these groups have changed. As Jiménez (2011) describes, the constant flow of Mexican immigration to the U.S. creates an imagined Mexican ‘undocumented immigrant’ identity, whereby Mexican migrants are also criminalized and subject of deportation.

In Arizona, even though it is illegal for police officers to stop someone based on their race or national origin, some of the factors officers are allowed to consider in developing reasonable suspicion of unlawful status are just a small step away from this. Among them are dirty clothes, outfits that are fashionable in Mexico, and poor English skills. The following conceptual map explains the different steps in how chatting with a police officer can lead to an immigration check.

Chart 1.1

## HOW A TRAFFIC STOP CAN LEAD TO AN IMMIGRATION CHECK

**\*Factors officers consider in developing reasonable suspicion of unlawful acts**

- Lack of ID/foreign ID
- Evasiveness or preparing to flee
- Voluntary statements

- Location
- Vehicles traveling in tandem
- An officer's prior knowledge
- Inconsistent information
- Demeanor (i.e. nervousness)
- Foreign vehicle registration
- Overcrowded or heavy-riding vehicle
- Passengers trying to hide
- Inability to provide address
- Unfamiliarity with the people with them
- Dress (i.e. multiple layers or clothing soiled from travel in the desert)

(Source: Arizona Daily Star research, Mar. 5, 2014)

In March 2014, the *Arizona Daily Star* published a special series entitled *State of Confusion: Tracking SB1070*. For a week, both in print form and online, the newspaper published articles, images, and testimonies from Border Patrol officers on the economic and legislative impact of the anti-immigrant bill. Using a research study undertaken at the University of Chicago, the journal showed that the thirteen Southern Arizona law-enforcement agencies had experienced a 'state of confusion' regarding the application of the law, since according to the newspaper, there is great diversity in how the law can be interpreted and understood. The journalists Perla Trevizo and Carli Brosseau (2014) state that, even though the law took effect in 2012 there are no regular reports on its application and the few corporations that do report on it rarely use a proper system to analyze the data and look for patterns. Another significant finding consists in the fact

that the supervision of the application of the law is almost non-existent. When Arizona legislators approved S.B. 1070 in 2010, it was contemplated that the law had to be accompanied by a system of data recollection on its application, in order to detect and correct possible violations of civil rights. However, legislators decided not to include those measures due to the concern that the procedures would lead to extra work for the police departments. As a result of this, most Arizona Police Departments do not collect data regarding the application of the law, since immigration is not their main responsibility.

Because there is broad discretion regarding how S.B. 1070 can be interpreted and understood, the details of its application are not complete. According to the newspaper report, there is no way of knowing how the different police corporations apply the law which is not only caused by the lack of information about it, but also by the ‘frustrated and angry activists’ who video record and harass police officers while they are working. According to Trevizo and Brosseau: ‘frustrated with immigration reform stalled in Congress and increased cooperation between local police and the Border Patrol, immigrant-rights activists have escalated their civil-disobedience campaign’ (Trevizo and Brosseau, 2014).

In the first chapter of *The Politics of Belonging*, Natalie Masuoka and Jane Junn (2013) present some interesting results regarding the decision about whether support or oppose a policy that requires documented evidence of citizenship status to be shown in Arizona. The findings show that the S.B. 1070 law is not the same for whites as it is for Latinos: ‘widely perceived as the target for the law because they are stereotyped as



unauthorized immigrants, Latinos are more constrained in how they view and respond to this political issue' (Masuoka and Junn, 2013: 24).

According to Lopez, S.B. 1070's passage led a significant number of Latino immigrants to leave and/or consider leaving the state. These departures had several consequences for those left behind, including the loss of friends and family, social and academic problems, anxiety-related health effects, and the destabilization of schools (Lopez, 2011: 18).

Almost four years after S.B. 1070 was enacted in Arizona, Senator Steve Michael Gallardo, from District 13 (located in southwestern Arizona, and including the northern part of Yuma County and the northwestern part of Maricopa County) stated that the bill had caused serious moral and economic damage to the state. In his own words:

We are going on our fourth year with Senate Bill 1070 enacted in the state of Arizona, one of the most polarizing bills ever to be introduced the one bill that has put a black cloud and black heart on the state of Arizona (...) That has hurt our economy, hurt tourism, it has made Arizona the laughingstock not only nationally but internationally (...) We need to repeal S.B. 1070, we need to open the gateway to the sun corridor, which is the border, and we need to work together (*The Arizona Daily Star*, 2014).

Masuoka and Junn (2013) suggest that the combination of greater racial and ethnic diversity and the overall growth in the size of the immigrant population has provided the context in which the question facing policy makers and voters was no longer '*Who should not belong?*' but '*Who doesn't belong?*' (Masuoka and Junn, 2013: 190). Arizona's controversial immigration law took effect at time when the state was experiencing the most severe stage of the recession. Supporters of S.B. 1070, such as Republican John Kavanagh (member of the Arizona House of Representatives) claim that people who are not authorized to live in the United States drive down wages and take

jobs from local residents, businesses or conventions. However, since the implementation of S.B. 1070 in Arizona, studies have found that there have been no economic benefits and it has not resolved the issues surrounding undocumented immigration; instead, it has just created fear among the Latino population. This fear created not only because undocumented immigrants have been deported, but also because of the lack of information about the law. As the research report *Left Back: The Impact of S.B. 1070 on Arizona's Youth* (2011) reveals, this confusion over what the law is generates considerable doubt and fear, while there are clearly a lot of people who are misinformed about precisely what the law says (Lopez, 2011).

### **1.2.1 Anti-Ethnic Studies**

Out of the student protests that took place during the 1960s, which demanded a new curriculum that could move beyond the Eurocentric tradition and included the history and experiences of people of colour, as well as gender and sexuality, Ethnic Studies programmes were born. Over the past 40 years, universities throughout the nation have developed various Ethnic Studies programs with the aim of embracing multicultural studies in the United States. University and college Ethnic Studies Departments include African-American Studies, Mexican-American/Raza Studies, Native-American Studies as well as Pan-Asian Studies. In high schools that are largely ethnically mixed, there are also some Ethnic Studies courses offered. Given the large Mexican-origin population in Arizona, it should not be surprising then that there are dedicated Mexican-American Studies courses in some Arizona schools. For example, the Tucson Unified School

District (TUSD) serves around 56,000 students of which 55.7 percent are Latino, 29 percent are white, 7.5 percent are African-American, 4.4 percent are Native-American and 2.85 percent are Asian-American.

On June 11<sup>th</sup> 2007, Thomas Charles Horne, currently Arizona's Attorney General, and representative of Arizona's Department of Education from 2003 to 2011, published *An Open Letter to the Citizens of Tucson* proposing that Ethnic Studies be removed from the curricula in the TUSD. After conducting an analysis of the textbooks and the curricula held by the TUSD, Horne began his letter as follows:

The citizens of Tucson, of all mainstream political ideologies, would call for the elimination of the Tucson Unified School District's ethnic studies program if they knew what was happening there. I believe this is true of citizens of all mainstream political ideologies. The purpose of this letter is to bring these facts out into the open. The decision of whether or not to eliminate this program will rest with the citizens of Tucson through their elected school board (Horne, 2007).

By April 2008, along with Arizona legislators, Horne worked on Arizona's Senate Bill 1108, the first 'anti-Ethnic Studies' bill. Its aim was to eliminate Ethnic Studies programs and ethnic-based organizations from state-funded education. Along with other anti-immigrant legislations this bill created an oppressive climate of discrimination against individuals of Mexican-descent in Arizona.

As the anthropologist O'Leary and Romero (2011) state:

The amendment (...) threatened to roll back the achievements of the civil rights movement, which had struggled for inclusion of ethnic studies courses and ethnic student organizations at publicly funded schools. Proponents of the bill argued that the ethnic studies programs espoused anti-Western teachings and anti-American values (Romero and O'Leary, 2011: 13).

Led by angry students, a mobilization was launched that stopped the bill's passage, but in 2009 Tomas Horne and his partners tried again with the proposal of Senate Bill

1069. The amendment stated that any school district or charter school in Arizona shall not include in their programs of instruction any courses or classes that either were a) were designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group; or b) advocate ethnic solidarity instead of treatment of pupils as individuals.

Drawing on the idea that Ethnic Studies classes for Mexican-American students promoted ‘ethnic chauvinism’, Horne proposed in the amendment that any school district or charter school which insisted on providing Ethnic Studies classes to their students would lose 10 percent of its state funds each month. Unless the school or district agreed to close the programme down, the money would not be returned. This proposed bill angered several educators who felt that the benefits of the programme outweighed any alleged negatives.

The bill was not passed in that year, but it would have forbidden students from creating courses based in whole or in part on race and ethnicity, with the exception of Native-American groups. Thus, the bill primarily targeted Mexican-American Studies courses and affiliated student organizations, since, as previously stated, Mexican Americans are the largest and fastest-growing ethnic minority in Arizona. The bill strongly implied that Mexican-American Studies and Mexican-American student organizations are anti-American. In this sense, it was an attempt to further stigmatize Mexican-descent students and exclude their heritage from the academic arena. This created, as O’Leary and Romero (2011) state, a ‘macro level of prejudice focused on a single minority ethnic group’, which in turn generated social stress that was likely to have a negative influence on the mental wellbeing of Mexican-American students.

In 2010, after almost four years of Thomas Horne’s perseverance and loyal support

from John Huppenthal (the current Superintendent of Public Instruction), House Bill 2281 was introduced and finally signed by then Governor Jan Brewer. The bill prohibited classes being held for certain ethnic groups and for those who: ‘support the overthrow of the United States government, promote resentment toward a race or class or people, or advocate ethnic solidarity’. It is important to highlight that in 2011, John Huppenthal not only supported Thomas Horne’s, but also became his successor. Throughout his campaign to be elected as Superintendent of Public Instruction, Huppenthal ran for office under the slogan, of ‘stop La Raza’ (Newton, 2010).

Once H.B. 2281 was signed and passed, many activists and groups reacted against it. The educator, activist and author Randall Amster (2010) states that whereas Senate Bill 1070 focused primarily on the ostensible control of bodies, House Bill 2281 is predominantly about controlling minds. He claimed that the intention of this amendment was not to expel or to harass, but to inculcate a deep-seated, second-class status by denying people the right to explore their own histories and cultures concluding that, ‘There is a word for what Arizona is attempting to do here: *ethnocide*’ (Amster, 2010). Meanwhile, the LA Times’ journalist Gregory Rodriguez suggested that it was ironic that the same people, and that the same Arizona Legislature that promoted and fomented a campaign and a law against undocumented immigration also banned Mexican-American Studies on the grounds that they promoted ‘hatred and division’ (Rodriguez, 2012).

As stated at the beginning of this section, Ethnic Studies programs in the United States were created as part of the 1960s Civil Rights movements, and which included Mexican-American Studies, African-American Studies, and Native-American Studies.

The rationale behind incorporating them as part of the curricula was that they should be understood as belonging to the history of the United States. As O’Leary and Romero (2011) suggest, it is ironic that in 2010, approximately forty years after the start of different ethnic movements, such as the Chicano movement in the case of the Mexican-American population, legislators in Arizona have eliminated Ethnic Studies and race/ethnic based groups from college, university, and high school campuses since they *supposedly* promote hatred against other ethnic groups. In the academics’ words: ‘the bill severely limits academic freedom; it limits teachers’ opportunities to help students develop their own critical thinking skills, so they can ask crucial questions about their world and learn how to begin to answer these questions’ (O’Leary and Romero, 2011).

In his text *Roots of Chicano Politics, 1660-1940*, Juan Gomez-Quiñones (1994), suggests that the 1960s Civil Rights movements were driven by anger towards the government and its unfulfilled promise of equality for all. Activists fought for educational curricula that would include the experiences and contributions of diverse cultures and help ensure the educational success of minority populations. This was one step towards affirming a positive ethnic/cultural identity, based on knowledge of history and traditions, as a means to unify communities of Mexican heritage and amplify their political voice (Gómez-Quinones, 1994). Legislative policies such as House Bill 2281 can be seen to create racial division and feelings of resentment in Arizona. The implications of this bill reach beyond Mexican-American Studies and people of Mexican-descent. This bill sets a precedent that is likely to affect other Ethnic Studies programs, and eventually higher education in a wider sense.

As has been discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, the local laws described above (S.B. 1070, H.B. 2281) are either related to the Mexican-origin population or show intolerance in various ways towards different ideas, methods of education and ethnicities. Meanwhile, the reinforcement of the U.S.-Mexico border, the immigration reforms and the history of deportations, also indirectly shape the public perception of ‘undesirable aliens’ in the country. Federal laws regarding immigration to the United States, as will be explained in the following sections of this chapter, also criminalize and dehumanize undocumented migrants in the United States, either by judging them with overly rigorous criminal laws or by separating families through deportation. In the following subsection, the reinforcement of the U.S-Mexico border and Operation Streamline programme are explained in detail. As will be discussed, the reinforcement of certain areas of the U.S.-Mexico border (such as California, New Mexico and Texas) did not stop undocumented immigrants to try to cross the border and instead, it just redirected them towards the dangerous Arizona-Sonora desert. Moreover, the implementation of Operation Streamline programme in Arizona promotes the idea that undocumented immigrants are not only undesirable aliens, but ‘criminals’ trying to get to the United States.

### **1.2.2 The Reinforcement of the Border and Operation Streamline**

Mexican migration to the United States has a long history and tradition, which until now has formed part of a bilateral relationship between both nations. Nevertheless, during the 1980s and 1990s, the growing economic inter-dependence of the U.S. and Mexico,

further strengthened by the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 along with Canada, resulted in a constant flow of undocumented Mexican migration to the United States followed from NAFTA. The expansion of social networks and human trafficking gangs also helped to increase the number of Mexicans living and working in the United States.

Before NAFTA was implemented in 1994, immigrants from Mexico and other parts of Latin America would follow a circular flow of migration, which saw seasonal workers arrive in the United States to work, mostly in agriculture, and then return to their homelands. As Alejandro Portes (2006) points out, many Mexicans and U.S. citizens believed NAFTA ‘was supposed to be the magic wand that would take care of immigration’ by ‘creating enough employment incentives to keep its people in Mexico’ (Portes, 2206). However the results were mixed. The surge in direct foreign investment in Mexico led to an increase of 500,000 jobs in manufacturing from 1994 to 2002, but the agricultural sector, where almost a fifth of the Mexicans worked, lost 1.3 million jobs. For example, corn (the crop upon which the pre-Hispanic Mayan civilization was built over eight centuries ago and to which 60 percent of Mexico’s farmland was devoted, could be grown more cheaply on heavily subsidized agribusiness farms in the U.S.)

NAFTA, in short, resulted in the free flow of capital and goods across the border at the same time that the United States was building border fences to keep Mexicans out- a borderless economy and a barricaded border- that according to Mexico’s Former President Carlos Salinas, was supposed to empower the richer, more prosperous Mexico ‘to export goods, not people’ (Salinas in Foley, 2014: 210).



Paradoxically, just when Mexico and the United States became economically integrated after the signing the free trade agreement, the United States tried to slow down Mexican migration. In the 1990s, at the beginning of the Clinton administration (1993-2001) U.S. lawmakers focused their attention to the border and immigration policies. The United States Congress, along with the Clinton administration, put forward the idea of militarizing areas of the border where trafficking took place. In 1993, Operation Hold the Line was launched in El Paso, Texas, followed, a year by Operation Gatekeeper in San Diego, California. As Wayne A. Cornelius (2005) explains, Operation Hold the Line and Operation Gatekeeper built fences, installed searchlights and employed the latest surveillance technology, but instead of stopping undocumented immigration, the militarization of the border merely redirected migrant traffic through more remote areas, in particular the Arizona desert and New Mexico where apprehension was less common. Crossing the border into the United States then became more expensive and more dangerous (Cornelius, 2005). Doris Meissner, commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service under President Clinton told the *Arizona Republic* in 2000: ‘It was our sense that the number of people crossing the border through Arizona would go down to a trickle, once people realized what it’s like’. Unfortunately, this prediction proved wrong. The unexpected sealing of the border pushed migrants from Mexico and Central America to take other routes. As the journalist Margaret Regan (2011) explains, a federal Government Accounting Office (GAO) study found that the number of annual border deaths doubled in the years after the introduction of Gatekeeper and Arizona accounted for most of this increase. As the Binational Migration Institute (BMI) of the University of Arizona stated in a report published in 2006, as a result of the construction of the fence ‘the U.S. government intentionally

redirected hundreds of thousands of unauthorized migrants away from the previously busy crossing point in California and Texas into Arizona's perilous and deadly landscape' (BMI University of Arizona, 2006). The new routes made crossing the border more expensive and dangerous because walking through the desert requires the use of *coyotes* (immigrant smugglers) while the Sonoran and Chihuahuan deserts are full of rocks, cacti and dangerous animals (Regan, 2010). In 1998, four years after Operation Gatekeeper was introduced, the federal government launched Operation Safeguard, employing thousands of Border Patrol agents to monitor the Arizona borderlands. The Tucson Sector initially had around 1,328 armed agents but, by 2009, the number had more than doubled

to 3,330. Agents were equipped with what Tucson Sector chief Robert Gilbert called with 'battlefield management' in the form of various kinds of hardware, from



Figure 3 People talking through the Arizona-Sonora Border, 2014

helicopters to searchlights and infrared cameras

(Regan, 2010: xxv).

The situation in Arizona became increasingly complicated, and southern Arizonans grew increasingly concerned by the large amount of migrants running through their backyards, cutting fences and leaving litter. Border Patrol agents began stopping citizens at will and without just cause at enforcement checkpoints on the highways. On one hand, humanitarians and activists became outraged by the high death toll of migrants who were

found in the desert. On the other hand, ‘citizen patrol’ like Minuteman started to guard American territory against foreign invasion (Regan, 2010).

As Margaret Regan (2010) explains, the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks in 2001 made the situation infinitely more complex than it had been before then, since ‘the old Immigration and Naturalization Service was subsumed into the new and ominously name Department of Homeland Security. Now the Border patrol saw every economic refugee, every *campesino* and shopkeeper, as [a] potential terrorist’ (Regan, 2010: xxv). The terrorist attacks intensified fears about the presence of foreigners in the United States. Even though the foreigners who carried out the attacks crossed the border from Canada and with regulated visas, the United States focused its attention on the southern border and undocumented immigrants. Although nativist sentiments after the events of September 11th targeted people of Middle Eastern and South Asian ancestry, the generalized anxiety about anyone characterized as non-American had broad negative spillover effects on Latinos, even those who were U.S. citizens (O’Leary and Romero, 2011: 11).

In 2006, the Secure Fence Act was passed, enabling 700 miles of double reinforced-security fencing to be erected in areas along the border prone to drug trafficking and illegal immigration. President Bush also deployed 6,000 National Guardsmen to the Mexico border to assist with border control. The reinforcement of the border had some unintended consequences. For many years, Mexican migrants had had an easy relationship with the border, travelling north to work and then back home to visit their families. Now, as Regan (2010) states, ‘unwilling to go home and risk being caught reentering, they paid traffickers to bring in their wives and children’ (Regan, 2010: xxxvii).

One of the more tragic consequences of the improved border control measures over the past decade has been a significant number of deaths (Chomsky, A. 2007). While there is no accurate data regarding the exact numbers of immigrants who cross the U.S.-Mexico border every year, statistics show that the reinforcement of the border has not stopped immigrants' attempting to cross it.

One explanation for why the border militarization strategy over the past decade has failed or not achieved the expected results is that it has not focused on the main reasons that people leave their homes and families and emigrate to a foreign country. Chavez (1998) states that the border is both a symbolic and a physical separation. It represents a divide that must be crossed, a barrier that must be surmounted, and a moment that must be transcended. In Chavez (1998) words:

Critics of the border enforcement policies often claim that the line separating Mexico from the United States is useless because so many cross it illegally, others claim that the border is a political fiction that in the minds of those who cross it is merely inconvenience, a temporary bother en route to fulfilling dreams and economic responsibilities (Chavez, 1998: 18-45).

Another interesting fact related to the border is the sheer percentage of Hispanics working as Border Patrol agents on the U.S.-Mexico border. During the George W. Bush administration (2001-2009), around 6,000 new border patrol agents were hired in order to increase the force to 18,000. The estimated 6,400 Hispanic agents on duty in 2006, increased by 45 percent, to approximately 9,300, by the end of 2008. Currently, it is estimated that Hispanics hold 54 percent of Border Patrol jobs (Nelson, 2008)

As stated on the *U.S. Border Control* news webpage, many of the new (Hispanics) agents enforcing the law on the U.S. border, have strong family ties and associates on

both sides of the border, either because they were born or raised there. According to Nelson (2008), this feature is ‘not good from an integrity point of view’ since his organization and the National Border Patrol Council fear that ‘the rapid accumulation of the Border Patrol, along with the outsourcing of background investigation of applicants to private contractors, has allowed unsuitable candidates to become federal agents (Nelson, 2008).

Three years later, in December 2009, the ‘zero tolerance’ border enforcement programme, Operation Streamline, came into action in Arizona. Operation Streamline, or *Arizona Denial Prosecution Initiative* (ADPI), is a federal program that targets even first-time undocumented border-crossers. Once they have been caught, it sends them into the federal criminal justice systems and United States prisons, instead of routing them into non-custodial deportation proceedings. Every day in Tucson (2014), around 70 undocumented border-crossers in Arizona are processed through the criminal justice system. The implementation of Operation Streamline is regarded by pro-immigrant groups (such as No More Deaths based in Tucson) as an ‘umbrella term for a number of related criminal proceedings in which unauthorized entrants to the U.S. are criminally prosecuted and deported or sentenced to prison’ (nomoredeaths.org, 2014 ).

The prevalence of federal prosecutions for those who violate immigration rules has driven a major demographic shift within the federal penal system: by 2011, Latinas and Latinos represented over 50 percent of new federal inmates sentenced for felony offences.



Figure 4 Operation Streamline in Tucson

The sentences handed down by the courts under Operation Streamline compound the distress of those apprehended by the Border Patrol and unnecessarily separate defendants from their homes and families for prolonged periods while denying them any recourse to legal methods of entering the U.S (nomoredeaths.org, 2014).

Operation Streamline also has financial implications, which involve three main costs: lawyers and guards; border agents; and imprisonments. It is estimated that in Tucson alone, hiring lawyers and guards costs almost \$2,890,470 dollars annually. According to the Berkeley Law Report, since 2008, detaining migrants in Tucson alone cost \$52.5 million mostly in private prisons. As S.T. McNeill (2012) suggests, every dollar spent on Operation Streamline means that other cases go unprosecuted, instead of the money being used to prosecute drug cartels or other serious offenders.

As Leo R. Chavez (1998) points out, fears that immigrants will have lasting and harmful effects on the economy, society and culture of the United States fluctuate; they seem to be most intense during and shortly after periods of economic downturns. However, it is not only their financial status that plays an important part in the perception

of undocumented migrants in the United States; any kind of violent attack promotes anxiety and paranoid states of mind among the country's population.

As stated in Section 1.1 'Mexican Immigration to the United States' and Section 1.2 'S.B. 1070 and Racial Profiling in the United States', there is a significant amount of (documented and undocumented) Mexican-origin population residing in the Arizona. Everyday hundreds of undocumented immigrants from Mexico and Central American risk their lives trying to cross the Arizona-Sonora desert. Under Senate Bill 1070 anyone who might develop 'reasonable suspicion' from being undocumented in the U.S. can be stopped by any police officer in Arizona. In terms of the tensions existing in the Arizona-Mexico border, understood as the need of the state to secure the border and the law to be interventionist, it could be argued that by having a 'zero tolerance' approach to the control of the border it means that there is absolutely no exception to the rule. What I mean by this is that by using extreme measures to enforce the law, in this case, by trying to stop the entrance of any immigrant who 'looks' undocumented (Mexican or Central American immigrant), then it could be argued that the most effective way to do it could be by the use of 'racial profiling'.

Moreover, as also stated at the beginning of this section, both the Mexican drug war (initiated in 2006) as well as the continuous undocumented migration of Mexican and Central American undocumented immigrants have triggered the need for both federal and local laws to intervene together in their aim to secure the state from crime. As previously mentioned, one of the biggest results from the Mexican undocumented immigration to the United States, as well as the violence generated in both the drug war and in drug smuggling has been the conception of these immigrants as 'crimmigrants' (Arriaga,

2016). It is therefore no surprise that in Arizona, as well the U.S. in general there has been the implantation of initiatives (such as the Mérida Initiative<sup>5</sup>) to fight both organized crime and associated violence with the U.S.-Mexico border.

To recapitulate, in this section of the chapter I have explained in detail the social and political context of Arizona. In the first section, I described the peculiarities of both anti-immigration law, S.B. 1070 and anti-Ethnic Studies law, H.B. 2281. As previously discussed, both laws have a direct negative effect on the Mexican-origin population. Not only because it makes these feel as undesirable aliens in the state, but because it attempts to deny the participation of the Mexican-origin population as part of Arizona's history. Furthermore, I have also explained the changes of the U.S.-Mexico border and the implementation of the Operation Streamline programme. As concluded, the main result of reinforcing the border is the increase of violence and the death of thousands of Mexican and Latin-American migrants in the Arizona-Sonora desert. In the following section of the chapter, I will be describing the Mexican-origin population residing in Arizona. As will be explained, the members of the Mexican-origin population can be grouped in the following different ways: in terms of the duration of their presence in the United States; in terms of their familial or relational ties in the United States; and in terms of their political views in relation to U.S.-Mexican relations.

In the following section, a series of concepts will be defined: Albert Memmi's

---

<sup>5</sup> 'Under the 'Mérida Initiative' the United States has a partnership with the Government of Mexico to disrupt organised criminal groups, institutionalize reforms to sustain the rule of law and support for human rights (...) Bilateral efforts expand assistance to state level law enforcement and justice sector personnel; support democratic institutions, especially police, justice systems, and civil society organizations; expand our border focus beyond interdiction of contraband to include facilitating legitimate trade and travel; and build stable communities able to withstand the pressures of crime and violence'. (<https://www.state.gov/j/inl/merida/>, 2016).



*coloniser* and *colonised*; Frantz Fanon's *inferiority complex*; and Melanie Klein's *projective identification*. These will serve as theoretical frameworks with which to understand the psychology of the Mexican-origin population in the United States.

### **1.3 The Colonised Mind: Frantz Fanon's Inferiority Complex and Melanie Klein's Projective Identification**

In his book *The Colonizer and Colonized*, Albert Memmi (1965) develops a theory about the effects of colonisation on the colonised. Memmi defines the coloniser as a person who imposes his or her culture (a way of life that includes government, education, and a socioeconomic system) on another with total disregard for the latter's culture. In the process of colonial occupation, the coloniser becomes 'an illegitimately privileged usurper' (Memmi, 1965: 9). For the coloniser, communication or any kind of interactions between himself or herself and the colonised cannot be allowed to form the basis for solving problems. On the contrary, the coloniser will force the colonised to acquiesce to his illegitimate actions by compelling him to accept those actions as legitimate.

Moreover, Memmi believes that the coloniser creates a mythical representation of the colonised as lazy, dependent and inferior. However, the coloniser is not displeased with the 'laziness' of the colonised; on the contrary, he regards it with amused affability and even jokes about it. For the coloniser, 'nothing can describe well enough the extraordinary deficiency of the colonised' (Memmi, 1965: 124). Unfortunately, the colonised will never be able to escape the burden of wretchedness that has been ascribed to him, since the imposed image of who he is (a lazy, dependent and inferior human

being) is ultimately accepted and embraced by him. In Memmi's words:

'Are we not all a little guilty after all?' Lazy, because we have so many idlers? Timid, because we let ourselves to be oppressed'. Wilfully created and spread by the coloniser, this mythical and degrading portrait ends up being accepted and lived with to a certain extent by the colonised. It thus acquires a certain amount of reality and contributes to the true portrait of the colonised. This process is not unknown. It is a hoax. It is common knowledge that the ideology of a governing class is adopted in large measure by the governed classes (Memmi, 1965: 132).

By agreeing to this ideology the coloniser effectively confirms the role assigned to him as the dominator. Consequently, the colonised also confirms his position as the dominated and oppressed. As Memmi highlights, both the characterization and the role of the colonised occupy a *choice place* within colonialist ideology; a characterization which, for the author, is neither true nor coherent, but 'necessary and inseparable within that ideology' (Memmi, 1965: 133).

Memmi believes in the existence of a *dependency complex* in the colonised mind. He considers this to be a result of colonisation and not its cause. Therefore, a dependency complex will only arise *after* colonial occupation. Moreover, in order for the coloniser to become the *complete master* he must believe in its legitimacy and, if this legitimacy is to be complete, it is not enough for the colonised to simply *be* a slave; he must also accept his role. As Memmi points out, the bond between coloniser and colonised could be considered both destructive and creative, since it 'destroys and re-creates the two partners of colonisation into coloniser and colonised (...) One disfigured into an oppressor, a partial, unpatriotic and treacherous being (...) the other, into an oppressed creature whose development is broken and who compromises by his defeat' (Memmi, 1965: 133).

Similarly to Memmi, the psychiatrist Frantz Fanon described the inner world of the black colonised population in his major works, *Black Skins, White Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963). In the chapter entitled 'The So-Called Dependency Complex of the Colonised' from the book *Black Skins, White Masks*, Fanon focuses on the work of one of his contemporaries, the psychoanalyst Octave Mannoni.

Throughout the chapter, Fanon criticises the ideas proposed by Mannoni (1950) in his work *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization*. At the beginning of the chapter, Fanon explains that the reason why he chose this text is because in common with many others published on the topic it emphasizes the effects of colonialism but fails to provide a convincing explanation for, or offer genuine insight into, the phenomenon. Fanon is critical of the lack of subjectivity displayed by Mannoni towards the subject, which he believes stems from the author's assumption that the inferiority complex is a phenomenon that 'is latent from childhood' (Fanon, 1952: 65).

Fanon agrees with Mannoni that the colonised is continuously striving to assimilate the culture of the coloniser (an unconscious desire to be *like* the European or to *be* the European), and, that this quest for assimilation is rooted in an inferiority complex. However, Fanon disagrees with Mannoni's notion that the inferiority complex is innate in the black man; instead, he believes it is a response to the newly occurring phenomenon of discrimination encountered by colonised peoples. For Fanon, the inferiority complex that the colonised suffers from is socialised. It is brought into existence through the interaction with the colonisers and reinforced by the colonised.

Moreover, Fanon proposes that the notion of black inferiority is inherent in

society's structure, but he does not think it is caused by economic factors, whereby black and white<sup>6</sup> are competing for the same resources and race is subsequently used to elevate one's group rights for the available resources. Instead, Fanon believes that ideologies of white superiority and black inferiority will appear even in the absence of economic differences between groups, as he explains below:

The arrival of the white man in Madagascar shattered not only its horizons but its psychological mechanisms (...) The consequences of that irruption of Europeans onto Madagascar were not psychological alone since, as every authority observed, there are inner relationships between consciousness and the social context (Fanon, 1952: 97).

In explaining the creation of the black man's inferiority complex, Fanon uses Jean-Paul Sartre's (1946) *Anti-Semite and Jew*. He argues that in the same way as the Anti-Semite creates the Jew, 'it is the racist who creates the inferiorized' (Fanon, 1952: 73). According to Fanon, the coloniser will tend to associate the notion of inferiority with evil in order to justify his superiority. Unfortunately, this ideology then becomes inherent in the institutions and structures that govern society, thus creating personifications of evil in the black person and the Jew.

Linked to the idea of black people's inferiority are assumptions made by the white coloniser that there are different degrees of humanity, creating a hierarchy within which whites occupy the highest rank. Fanon refers to this as Manichaeism in the sense of how black and white populations are generally perceived. Thus, whiteness could be seen as synonymous with 'human being', whilst black is synonymous with 'being', but a 'being' perceived as significantly less than the Europeans. As Fanon points out, 'for the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white' (Fanon, 1952: xiv). Therefore, the black

---

<sup>6</sup> The concept of 'white' that I am referring to (which is linked to Howard Winant's concept of the 'far right' and 'new right' white) will be described more in detail in section 3.2. 'Los Gringos'.

colonised can only claim recognition and ownership of his humanity by behaving like the white person.

In the book *Internal Racism*, the psychoanalyst M. Fakhry Davids (2011) develops Fanon's concept of the black problem. In order to do so, he uses three psychoanalytic concepts: projection; introjection; and projective identification. According to Davids, the 'dark skin confers an inescapable psychic problem: it invites the *projection* of undesirable and unwanted mental content by the white other' (Davids, 2011: 107). The term 'projection', can be understood as an unconscious mechanism in which qualities, feelings or wishes that a subject does not recognize as his own, and finds unpalatable or repellent, are expelled from the self and located in some other person or thing.

For Davids, both in the colonial and post-colonial world the black person has to live with arbitrary and vicious projections such as those found in the public discourse. For example, discourses in which the black person is perceived as an animal; as bad; as the devil; and of course, as hypersexual. Moreover, Davids believes that any kind of projection is difficult to accept, not only because of the interchanges it involves in which the black self is constantly denigrated, but also because it provokes an inner change, in which an unconscious desire to be white is installed in the mind (Davids, 2011).

Davids believes that desiring to be someone else is not remarkable in itself, since at the beginning of our lives we all idealize the people on whom we depend for survival and whom we actually internalize and identify with. However, this state is only temporary since over time we acquire through experience the ability to face our object's

limitations. As Davids explains: ‘We learn, then, that there is no need for idealization - the object’s goodness is good enough’ (Davids, 2011: 210). Although this recognition can be ‘painful’ (since it involves the loss of early illusions and ideals), according to Davids, the reward that comes from confronting the truth is richer, as we learn how to reduce the frustration of being constantly disillusioned by the encounter with reality. In the author’s words: ‘Intrapsychically, therefore, the transition from ideal to real object, which helps us to know what those who matter to us are really like, provides a transition from a phantasy-dominated inner life to one that takes account of external reality’ (Davids, 2011: 110).

However, according to Davids something different happens in the colonial context. For the author, the powerful presence of the coloniser provokes in the colonised feelings of ineptitude, hatred and violence. These feelings then feed an infantile delusion that it is indeed possible to attain an idealized state free of disturbing aspects. As the author explains:

It is the ubiquitous presence of whites construed thus that plays on the infantile dream that an idealized state is not only attainable; it is also desirable. When this is coupled with the black person actually being subjected to a barrage of negative racist projection, this desire is fuelled even further (Davids, 2011: 111)

Davids agrees with Fanon that the desire of the colonised to be white is attainable, since it is inevitable that he will take aspects of the white world with which he identifies for himself; however, this form of identification occurs at the expense of his blackness. Moreover, Davids also supports Fanon’s claim that the colonised has an unconscious wish to be white, and Fanon provides a series of examples of subtle displacements that this desire undergoes in order to make its way into consciousness. For

example, Fanon sees it in those who avoid speaking in their native language to their fellows or playing out a struggle, not for freedom, but for superiority (Fanon, 1952).

However, the wish to be white is constantly thwarted for the colonised, since the coloniser continually proves to him that the white place is already taken, thereby forcing the colonised into the black place. As a result of this, the wish to be white is challenged, and the black colonised then comes to identify with the white in order to avoid the pain of being black. There is, however, a price to be paid for this: as the psychoanalyst Farhad Dalal (2002) points out, black and white are binary opposites, and as one is embraced, the other one is simultaneously rejected. Consequently, the unconscious wish to be white becomes internalized, and whether it is enacted or defended against, the wish is now a characteristic of the black person's mind. As Davids observes: 'The external colonial distinction has been internalized, together with the value attached to its binary terms' (Davids, 2011: 113).

For Fanon, the inferiority complex is the outcome of a double process: firstly, a 'primarily economic' process; and secondly, the internalisation - or, better, 'the epidermalisation - of this inferiority' (Fanon, 1952: 13). The economic process he refers to can be understood as the real-life external situation experienced in the colony, which allows the white coloniser to project onto the colonised with impunity all sorts of feelings. Furthermore, the 'epidermalisation' refers to the intrapsychic process that the black colonised experiences from the resulting situation. It suggests a process, which involves projection onto the dark skin. For Fanon, the black problem is a 'massive psychoexistential complex' in which white becomes deep-rooted as good or desirable and black as bad and undesirable (Fanon, 1952: 14). The main problem is that, once

internalised, it produces the human wish to be identified with goodness and, therefore, with whiteness.

Although Davids believes that Fanon made insightful contributions to mapping the psychology of racism, he also thinks that Fanon fails to integrate his insights into a coherent theory. For Davids, Fanon's analysis lacks (though it also anticipates) the concept of projective identification, which in his view, 'at a societal level, is a mechanism integral to the way institutional racism works' (Davids, 2011: 118).

The concept of projective identification is arguably the best known of Melanie Klein's concepts. The mechanism (or group of phantasies) of projective identification is mainly perceived through the paranoid-schizoid position. Klein (1946) considered the process of projective identification primarily as an attack from the baby towards his mother, as she explains in the following excerpt:

Much of the hatred against parts of the self is now directed towards the mother. This leads to a particular form of identification which establishes the prototype of an aggressive object-relation. I suggest for these processes the term 'projective identification'. When projective identification is mainly derived from the infant's impulse to harm or to control the mother, he feels her to be a persecutor. In psychotic disorders this identification of an object with the hated parts of the self contributes to the intensity of the hatred directed against other people (Klein, 1946: 16).

For many psychoanalysts (especially in the fields of psychodynamic psychotherapy and counselling), the mechanism of projective identification is understood as a means of *communication*. It firstly consists of an unconscious phantasy in which some aspect of the self is felt to be intolerable and which finds its way out into something or someone else. By this means, the person feels freed from the unbearable feature of himself.



The psychoanalyst Joseph Sandler (1989) describes projective identification as comprising three different stages. The main feature of the first stage of projective identification is the idea that it is an unconscious process that occurs in phantasy. In other words, the real object used in the process of projective identification is not regarded as being affected: 'the parts of the self put into the object are put into the fantasy object, the 'internal' object, not the external object' (Sandler, 1989: 17).

According to Sandler (1989), the second and third stages of projective identification represent an extension of Melanie Klein's original proposition. For him, as well as for other psychoanalysts such as Heimann (1950), Racker (1968), Grinberg (1957, 1958, 1962) and Bion (1962, 1963), the mechanism of projective identification not only affects the 'projector's' inner world, but it also has a direct effect on the person who 'receives' the projection. As Sandler (1989) elucidates:

...in this stage of the development of the concept it is no longer one or the other aspect of the unconscious fantasies that is identified with by the analyst. Projective identification is now described as if the externalization of parts of the self or of the internal object occurs directly into the external object (Sandler, 1989: 18).

If the projection is directed towards another person, then the relationship with them will therefore be strongly affected by this investment into the other person. Klein (1946) believed that projecting served not only to allow a person to unconsciously get rid of their own unbearable characteristics, but also as a way of *controlling* the other who receives the projection. This idea of controlling the objects onto which parts of the self have been projected has formed the subject of much debate and discussion among Kleinian writers on projective identification. As Sandler (1989) suggests:

...what one wants to get rid of in oneself is disposed of by projective identification, and through controlling the object one can gain the unconscious

illusion that one is controlling the unwanted and projected aspect of the self (Sandler, 1989: 20).

The psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion (1959, 1962) used projective identification to introduce his own concept of ‘container’ and ‘contained’. For him, projective identification involves a form of communication in which different mental states are communicated to others.

Bion’s suggestion that projective identification is communicative relies on the idea that projections can be ‘contained’ by a ‘container’. The recipient of these projections acts as a container of feelings such as fear, hatred and anxiety; therefore the person (object) of the projection becomes ‘something inferior, repellent, someone or something to be excluded, a container with which to detoxify our own self (Clarke, 2003: 158). In *Experiencing Identity* (1998), Ian Craib explains the mechanism of projective identification as follows: ‘instead of just seeing the feared quality or emotion in another person, I behave in such a way as to lead the other person to experience that quality in themselves’ (Craib, 1998: 152).

I believe that the *colonised mind*<sup>7</sup> (or the inferiority complex) can be explained in terms of the concept of projective identification, whereby the coloniser’s feelings of inferiority, misplacement, and exclusion are violently expelled and ‘contained’ within the colonised. In every colonial situation, the colonised’s mind becomes occupied (or

---

<sup>7</sup> Although colonialism is usually linked with occupation of territories, subjugation of a foreign population, and theft of resources, I do not include these when I talk of the colonised mind. I created the concept of ‘colonised mind’ to explain an unconscious psychological process in which colonisers (in this case the dominant U.S. population) unconsciously project onto the colonised population (Mexican-origin people) unwanted feelings. As stated in the section ‘Mexicans as an Ethnic Group’, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in the U.S. have can be considered as a colonised group since they have to tolerate for centuries not only physical attacks, but second-class status and treatment.

colonised) with material expelled from the coloniser, and as a result of this, the coloniser not only communicates the way that he feels about the colonised, but he also controls him.

As mentioned previously, the presence of Mexicans in the United States is not a recent phenomenon. Both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in the United States have had to tolerate discrimination, violence and racism from the white dominant population for centuries. This means that not only have they ‘contained’ the projection of the white dominant population for many years, but their identity has also been shaped through these unconscious projections. Both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in the United States have internalised the idea that being Mexican makes them undesirable and inferior, and consequently, they try to deny their ethnic background.

As will be discussed in this thesis, the Mexican-origin population in the United States is in a state of continuous emotional struggle<sup>8</sup>. Mexicans need to prove to the white dominant population that they have accepted their role as colonised (by accepting their culture and socioeconomic system); however, in relation to each other, Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans need to prove that the opposite is true. What I mean by this, is that those who have ‘assimilated’ to become part of U.S. society (who have assumed their position as colonised), are constantly perceived as ‘sold’ by their fellow

---

<sup>8</sup> Although Mexicans are a result of a colonial situation (meaning that they were colonised by Spain from 1535 to 1821), my main concern is the colonial treatment that Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have received by the U.S. government and the dominant population. My scope is to study the psychology of both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans once they have arrived in the United States (Arizona), not before.

natives. However, those who have not yet assimilated in the U.S. are perceived as inferior.

I believe that most of the tensions between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans are a result of the internalisation of the idea that being white means being superior. As will be shown throughout this thesis, both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans humiliate, hurt and discriminate against each other in order to demonstrate their acceptance of, and assimilation into, the 'American system'. This phenomenon will be illustrated using the example of how both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans avoid speaking in Spanish with members of their own ethnic group as a means of showing dominance.

I believe that projective identification is a concept that is central to understanding the colonised mind, not least because it provides very valuable insight into how we are able to make others feel, and affect someone else's behaviours in some way through our projections.

Throughout this chapter, the social and political context of Arizona has been explained in detail, with the aim of showing as a means of introduction, the setting in which this research was conducted and the population on which I focused. Moreover, I have also explained how the Mexican-origin group has to be understood as both an ethnic and a colonised group. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I have explained a series of concepts which I have translated as 'the colonised mind'. In other words, they can be used to understand how Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in the United

States construct their identity in relation to their interactions and interrelations with the white dominant population.

The following chapter, entitled 'Conducting Psychosocial Research', describes the methodology used to conduct this research. It describes the population who were interviewed for this research, the conditions under which they were interviewed, the kind of questions that were asked and the reason for choosing to use Free Association Narrative Interviews. At the end of the chapter, I also include a series of important considerations that need to be taken into account when reading this research.

When it comes to the past,  
everyone writes fiction  
(Stephen King, *Joyland*)

## CHAPTER 2 CONDUCTING PSYCHOSOCIAL RESEARCH

### Introduction

Over the past twenty years social sciences have adopted new approaches towards the role played by emotions in the process of research. Due to dissatisfaction with various qualitative research methods which remained at a discursive level, as well as the divisions between disciplines such as psychology and sociology, a new cluster of methodologies emerged within the social sciences which have become known as psychosocial studies.

Psychosocial studies is neither purely psychological nor sociological, it is characterised by a) its explicit inter or trans-disciplinarity, b) its development on non-positivistic theory, method and praxis and c) its orientation towards progressive social and personal change. Psychosocial research draws inspiration from a range of sources including sociology, psychoanalysis, critical psychology, critical theory, amongst other disciplines to illuminate core issues within the social sciences. As academics Simon Clarke and Paul Hoggett (2009) suggest, the main characteristic of psychosocial approaches is that they rely on the idea of researching ‘beneath the surface and beyond the purely discursive. In other words, to consider the unconscious communications, psychodynamics and defences that exist in the research environment’ (Clarke and Hoggett, 2009: 2-3).

In her work *Psychoanalytic Aspects of Fieldwork*, Jennifer C. Hunt (1989) suggests that the use of psychoanalytic theory in the process of research contributes to the understanding of how social science data is structured. As the author explains, ‘the unconscious communications which are negotiated in the research encounter affect empathy and rapport, they therefore play a role in the materials that subjects reveal and researchers grasp’ (Hunt, 1989: 27). She also highlights the idea that inner or unconscious dynamics and forces play an important role in the encounter between researchers and the subjects of their research.

Structural explanations fail to address why certain social phenomena occur. In contrast, by recognizing the role of the unconscious mind in the construction of social realities psychoanalysis suggests that both feelings and emotions can shape our perceptions and motivations, thereby constructing the way in which we perceive others. In addition to this, psychoanalytical methods highlight the role of the researcher in the process of reality-interpretations. As Clarke and Hoggett (2009) suggest, social, cultural and historical factors are integrated at a conscious level, which also yield information about unconscious motivations and defences (Clarke and Hoggett, 2009: 6).

In psychosocial research the researcher has to be understood as a *reflexive practitioner*. In other words, the researcher has to recognize his or her emotional involvement in the project, both consciously and unconsciously. In contrast to seeing the position of the researcher as completely objective and distanced from the research in psychosocial studies, both the researcher’s and the subject’s emotions in interaction are considered as important data in the process of research, which in psychoanalytic terms would be defined as transference and countertransference. For this research the term transference will be used to refer to the researcher’s unconscious reactions on the

subjects and some aspects of their words. Transferences will also be used to describe the unconscious archaic images that the subject imposes onto the person of the researcher. Countertransference in contrast, will be used to refer to the researcher's unconscious reaction to the subject's transference.

According to Clarke and Hoggett (2009), psychosocial researchers should ask themselves certain questions that could shed light on their own unconscious motivations. For example, why are we interested in a particular area of research? Why did we choose this area and not some other? What is our investment in it and how will this affect the way we approach the research? Importantly, how will the above affect us and our relationship to the subject(s) of our study? (Clarke and Hoggett, 2009: 7).

Doing psychosocial research might not be an exact science but it has its own issues and complications. Behind what I hoped would be a clear piece of research on prejudice and discrimination among Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in Arizona, there was a messy process of collecting data, which included trying to make sense of interview transcripts, auto-ethnographic and ethnographic notes and observations.

This chapter will focus on explaining the relevance of conducting a psychosocial study and the methodological process that was employed in this research. It is divided into five sections. The first section, entitled 'Participants: Selecting a Sample and Collecting the Data', discusses the process of sample selection for this research as well as the different ways in which data was collected. As will be discussed later, most of the tools used to collect data are also commonly used in sociological research (i.e. individual interviews, ethnographic observation, etc.), but throughout this research, psychoanalytic theory is employed in both the process of data collection and data analysis.



The second section, entitled ‘Doing Location Based Research and Gaining Access as an Insider and Outsider’, consist of a brief explanation of what it was like for me to conduct a piece of research that was geographically-based and how it was affected by my own position as a Mexican who was simultaneously part of and not part of the Mexican-immigrant and Mexican-American populations. As stated at the beginning of this thesis, there were several motivations that led me to the decision to carry out this research in Arizona, one of which was connected with the specific socio-political context and the sizeable Mexican-origin population residing in the state.

In the third section, entitled ‘Free Association Narrative Interviews and the Participant Observation Method’, Wendy Hollway’s and Tony Jefferson’s (2001, 2008) concept of Free Association Narrative Interviews (FANI) is discussed, together with Robert D. Hinshelwood’s method of observing groups organisations, and an explanation of the way in which it was employed in this research. In comparison to other interview methods, as will be seen, the process of interpretation does not exclusively take place at the end of the interview, but is ongoing throughout the interview process too.

The last section, entitled ‘Important Considerations’ is dedicated to explaining what it means to analyse data psychosocially and a number of implications that psychosocial analysis presents, which are important to consider. As stated previously, psychoanalytic theory serves as a way of understanding both social phenomena and interpersonal interactions.

Through my research, I had the opportunity to visit Arizona on three occasions, two of which were as a tourist and one as a Visiting Scholar in the Mexican-American Department at the University of Arizona. On my first visit, which lasted approximately one month (June 2013) I discovered the city of Tucson, especially the southern part of the

city, and met various members of the Mexican-American Studies Department from the University of Arizona. During my second trip, I resided in Tucson for a period of five months (October 2013 to March 2014), as a Visiting Scholar, at the invitation of the University of Arizona's Mexican-American Studies Department. I was able to do a volunteer job, to attend a range of classes at the University and also to conduct half of the interviews for my research as well as carrying out ethnographic fieldwork. On my last visit, which also lasted for a month (September 2014), I finished conducting all my interviews and also had the opportunity to visit different places both in Tucson and in the wider area of Arizona.

During my visits I met many people either randomly or intentionally in various places such as at the supermarket, the cinema, on my way back home or even on the bus. The following subsection explains in detail how the sample I used for my interviews was selected, as well as the different places and events that enabled me to collect most of my data.

## **2.1 Participants: Selecting a Sample and Collecting the Data**

Since this study did not employ a random sample of respondents I think it is important to outline how I chose the selected participants and also the criteria that I used to choose them. All the participants had to be of Mexican origin, either born in Mexico or with parents who were born in Mexico. Because the study was also location-based, all

participants had to have resided in Arizona<sup>9</sup> for at least two years and had to meet the age criteria, which meant that they had to be at least 18 years old. I only interviewed people who considered themselves to be ‘entirely’ of Mexican origin. I did not include multi-ethnic and multi-racial participants in the sample since being of mixed ethnic origin complicates identity formation. Moreover, I did not focus on selecting people due to their age or their gender. My main focus was that they were Mexican-origin residing in the United States.

As a Visiting Scholar in the Mexican-American Studies Department at the University of Arizona I had the opportunity to meet several people who fit the sample criteria (since most of the people who work there are either Mexican immigrants or Mexican-Americans). I gathered a ‘snowball’ sample of respondents, starting with a couple of key individuals who referred me to other potential interviewees. Although I focused mostly on interviewing students from the University of Arizona, I used a range of networks to recruit respondents in order to avoid creating a homogenous sample.

The process of recruiting respondents involved making telephone calls or sending emails to individuals in order to ask them if they would be willing to let me interview them for my PhD dissertation about Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in Arizona. I told these individuals that I had been referred to them and provided them with the name of the person who referred me. On rare occasions I met interviewees during the course of my day, either in the supermarket or on the bus. All the interviewees were provided with a consent form which explained the interview process in detail. In most

---

<sup>9</sup> Even though this research was location-based (meaning that all interviews had to be conducted in Arizona) I ended up interviewing two Mexican-American girls who were born raised and residing in California. I had the opportunity to ‘informally’ interview them in England at the University of Essex. I included their answers and experiences in Section 4.3 ‘The Mexican Gringos’ as the pseudonyms of Jessy and Miranda.

cases, the consent form (Appendix 1) was sent via email to the respondents with the intention that they could read it before the interview took place. On a few occasions, I just explained to the respondents in simple terms what the interview would entail before conducting it. The purpose of providing a consent form before the interview took place resided in ethical reasons. I wanted the respondents to make sure what the implications of being interviewed as well as the fact they were going to be recorded.

None of the interviewees received any kind of financial compensation for taking part in the interviews. It was noteworthy that after the interviews, some respondents either thanked me or told me they found both the interview process and the topics we discussed interesting. I conducted all the interviews either in cafes or via Skype, as, not only was it convenient but also the respondents and myself felt more comfortable doing it in these ways.

As stated previously, all the interviews were audio-recorded. Before I started asking questions I would use the first five minutes or so to establish a rapport and allow the interviewees to ask me any questions they had. I told them the approximate length of time we were going to spend talking, and emphasised that there were no right or wrong answers and that they were free to stop at any time if they wanted to. I also explained to them that, in cases where I used their answers in my thesis, it would always be under a pseudonym to ensure their anonymity. As I knew that people can sometimes feel intimidated by the presence of recording equipment I usually tried to place the audio-recorder somewhere out of sight from the interviewees while conducting the interviews. Most respondents seemed to forget about the audio-recorder after a few minutes. Before, during and after each interview, I took copious notes. By doing this, I was able to track

my emotions and expectations before and after every encounter with the interviewees as well as recording the content and nuances of the interview.

I conducted all the interviews in Spanish, although on occasion some of the interviewees would use both Spanish and English in their answers, especially those from the Mexican-American population. The interviews varied in time length, but generally each one took around seventy minutes to complete. I also conducted 'informal' interviews with various key informants in order to gain a better understanding of the contextual factors that shape the state of Arizona for Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans. These interviewees included teachers, journalists, lawyers, business owners, local law enforcement personnel, artists, political activists and film directors. I did not record these interviews but I did take notes during them. These informal interviews helped me to understand more about Arizona's social and political context and its local history. Arizona's institutions, economy, and politics play a key role in the lives of both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans.

I took extensive notes about planned and unplanned observations and experiences of my daily life in Tucson. I tried to carry a notebook with me wherever I went. Every time I observed or experienced something that I believed was relevant to my research, I would write a few notes as a reminder of what I had seen.

I tried to collect as much data as possible. As a Visiting Scholar from the Mexican-American Department I had the opportunity to enrol in different courses and attend lectures on subjects such as Mexican-American Culture, Chicano Psychology and Latin-American Immigration to the United States. Besides being incredibly motivating the lectures allowed me to listen to the voice of the student population regarding Mexican-American culture and Mexican immigration, as well as to observe the dynamics

between the white and Latino populations. I also had the opportunity to visit immigrant shelters on the U.S-Mexico border and to become a volunteer in Casa San Juan, a non-profit organization that provides legal advice to undocumented immigrants who want to change their legal status in the country. My various trips to the border, as well as the observations I made while visiting Operation Streamline and in the South of Tucson, allowed me to gain insight into the relationship between undocumented immigrants and the law.

As well as my personal journal, I also created a newspaper journal. Every day, I would cut and paste all the news I found in the *Arizona Daily Star* or in other newspapers relating to the topics of undocumented immigration, Mexico, Mexican-American culture, S.B. 1070, H.B. 2281, and discrimination.

I tried to chat with as many people as I could, either while I was waiting for buses or while I was queueing to pay in the supermarket. I also took photographs<sup>10</sup> of things and places that I found interesting and relevant to my research. I went to plays, conferences and even exhibitions on the theme of immigration or the border. It was incredible to see how alive the phenomenon is in Arizona and to gain insight into how it is studied and approached. I also used social media, joining several groups on Facebook that were dedicated to talking about immigration or discrimination towards Mexican immigrants or Mexican-Americans.

Including the thirty free association (in-depth) interviews, the approximately ten informal interviews, the notes from my participant observation and ethnographic work, I had a vast amount of data to work with. I transcribed each one of the free association

---

<sup>10</sup> I took all the photos shown in this thesis. Since I could not take photos in Operation Streamline, Figure 3 'Operation Streamline' was taken from [alliancesd.org](http://alliancesd.org)

interviews for three main reasons: firstly, I thought that since the aim of this research is to venture ‘beneath the surface’ and not just leave interpretations on a discursive level, I thought that by transcribing the interviews myself, I would also be able to ‘listen’ to the unconscious; secondly, my interview skills would improve by listening to myself make mistakes and thirdly, it would have been quite expensive to pay someone else to do it for me. What I mean by ‘listening to the unconscious’, is precisely that by being more aware of the interviewees’ and my own Freudian slips, humorous comments, laughter, hesitations, etc., I would be able to go beyond the merely discursive level. Moreover, I would be able to experience an emotional reaction whilst listening to the interviews.

Once all the interviews had been transcribed, I analysed my data. In order to do so, I created seven coding categories: 1) prejudice and discrimination from the outside; 2) prejudice and discrimination from the inside; 3) Mexican American and Mexican identity and culture; 4) personal history; 5) border encounters; 6) whiteness; and 7) race interactions. The process I used to decode the interview answers was quite simple. I allocated a colour to each one of the coding categories (red, blue, green, purple, etc.) and I highlighted every part that I considered relevant in its respective colour. On some occasions, I had to highlight particular answers in more than one colour since they fitted into two or more coding categories.

Once I had grouped the answers into their respective categories, I then analysed the information and selected the information I would use for the vignettes. This process will be discussed in more detail in the third subsection of this chapter, since the data was not exclusively interpreted using the transcriptions of the interviews, but throughout the interview process as well. The results of this analysis will also be discussed at the end of the thesis as part of the conclusions.

The following subsection explains in more detail the rationale for carrying out the research in Arizona as well as my experiences in the process.

## **2.2 Doing Location-Based Research and Gaining Access as an Insider and Outsider**

Frequently, when I tell them about my research many people ask me why I decided to carry it out in Arizona rather than in any other U.S. state. As previously explained in Chapter 1, I chose this particular state for geographical, historical, social and political reasons.

Arizona (as well as other states in the South-western region of the United States) was part of Mexico before the signing of the Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty in 1848. This means that even before the United States became established in its current form, there were already Mexicans living in the country. The first Mexican-Americans were those who remained in the United States after the Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty at the conclusion of the Mexican-American War. In addition, the high proportion of Mexican-origin population in Arizona, the fact that the state borders Mexico, as well as the implementation of laws such as S.B. 1070 and H.B. 2281 and programmes such as Operation Streamline, made the place very attractive to me as a location for my research.

The phenomenon of Mexican immigration has been studied for several decades, not just in Arizona but in many states of both Mexico and the United States. However, as stated previously the high incidence of deaths and violence caused by the Mexican drug war (which began in 2006) acted as a catalyst for focusing the governments' and media attention on the state and on the U.S-Mexico border in general. As mentioned in the



previous chapter, since the S.B. 1070 law was passed, the experience of Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in Arizona has changed significantly.

My own status as an insider and outsider (understood as someone who does and does not



Figure 5 South Tucson 2013

share similar features with the population of interest) was both a challenge and a tool when it came to gaining access to interviewees and other sources of data. I was born and raised in Mexico City, which made me both an insider and an outsider in relation to Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in Arizona. In other words, my racial and ethnic identity determined my status vis-a-vis the population among which I was conducting research.

On one hand, the fact I am Mexican and that I speak Spanish fluently, and am able to understand Mexican slang as well as Mexican culture, placed me as an insider among the interviewees. However, the fact that I was living and studying in England, that I did not have any family living in the United States and that I did not have any kind of connection or link to the United States also placed me as an outsider among the interviewees.

Most of the interviewees were curious about my status, and my interest in Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, especially because I was a Mexican with no ties to the United States. I believe that in both my formal and informal encounters, the interviewees felt comfortable discussing their opinions and attitudes (which were not

always positive) about Mexican immigrants, Mexican-Americans, Mexican-American culture and the relationship between both groups.

During my three visits to Arizona, I fluctuated between feeling that I belonged and that I did not belong there. It felt strange to be the only Mexican (born and raised in Mexico) in the classes that I attended at the University of Arizona, as well as to be someone living in England whose research was about Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in interaction.

Apart from the aforementioned, there were other factors that helped me to gain access to and the trust of the interviewees. Firstly, I was very polite and very persistent. As previously discussed I often had to call the interviewees several times to arrange an interview. On some occasions, they cancelled at the last minute or simply did not turn up. I followed up with these individuals and was usually able to conduct the interviews eventually. I believe that ensuring confidentiality and anonymity in both the write-up of the thesis, and in any kind of publication of my research, enabled me to gain the interviewees' trust.

I also came to realize that my research was not exclusively 'based' in one single country, but that it could be conducted everywhere. What I mean by this is that when I talked about the subject of my research with Mexican friends in England, this usually elicited their own experiences or opinions as temporary or tourist immigrants to the United States or with Mexican-Americans. Latino Border Patrol agents were usually the most common topic of discussion. The same was true when I was in Mexico or in Arizona. Since I often travel to Mexico City via the United States, I usually experienced dynamics and events through which I analysed my own reactions and emotions towards Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, and the relationships between Mexican

immigrants and Mexican-Americans. This was also the case when I had to collect the required visa for my stay in Arizona from the consul in charge.

When I told people that I was doing psychosocial research on the Mexican-origin population in the United States I encountered a range of reactions. In some cases friends or relatives sent me articles, readings or recommended films about Mexican-Americans, even if they were not related to the subject of my research at all. Many expressed concern or surprise when I explained that my aim was to analyse the unconscious mechanisms at work in the process of prejudice and discrimination. To some people, this seemed unachievable or merely unfathomable.

The following subsection provides a detailed explanation of Wendy Hollway's and Tony Jefferson's concept of the Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI). As will be discussed among many other characteristics unlike other kinds of interview techniques the Free Association Narrative Interview recognizes both the interviewers' and interviewees' unconscious dimension throughout the interview process.

### **2.3 Free Association Narrative Interviews and the Participant Observation Method**

Trying to find the most appropriate interview technique for my research was not an easy task. I had to find a method which would enable me to combine both psychoanalytic and sociological interview techniques. Since the main aim of my study is to examine the unconscious I also had to identify a way in which the interviewees' and my own unconscious could be 'uncovered' and analysed. Through attending various lectures and

seminars during the first year of my degree, I became familiar with a series of psychosocial research methods. One of these was the Free Association Narrative Interview and the idea that interviewees are ‘defended subjects’. The other, was Robert D. Hinshelwood’s method of observing organisations as a participant observer.

The idea of interviewing a ‘defended subject’ could be considered as a relatively new concept. In 2000, sociologists Wendy Hollway and Tony Jefferson proposed the idea that subjects of study had to be seen differently from how they are usually perceived. In opposition to the traditional view that interviewees are ‘unitary, rational subjects’, Hollway and Jefferson (2008) claimed that anxiety is an inherent part of the human condition, and therefore, in any threatening situation the ‘self’ will resort to an unconscious defence mechanism. According to the authors, there are various different ways in which research subjects can defend themselves. These can be described in the following ways within the context of an interview:

- a) defended research subjects may not interpret the interview questions using the same meaning-frame as the interviewer;
- b) they may place themselves in particular positions within discourses in order to protect their own vulnerabilities;
- c) they may not recognize the reason(s) why they experience or feel things in the way they do;
- d) and finally, they are unconsciously motivated to conceal or disguise the meaning of their feelings and actions.

Recognizing that all study subjects defend themselves from any kind of anxieties via unconscious defence mechanisms also implies that it is not only the interviewees' behaviours and words which have an unconscious root, but also that of the interviewers. According to Hollway and Jefferson (2001), the researcher's defences will affect the meanings available in specific contexts. In other words, as Hoggett and Clarke (2009) point out:

Hollway and Jefferson argue that using a psychosocial perspective in research practice necessarily involves conceptualizing both researcher and respondent as co-producers of meaning. There is an emphasis in their work on the unconscious dynamics between researcher and researched and the use of free association through narrative interviews (Clarke and Hoggett, 2009: 9-10).

Moreover, Hollway and Jefferson (2008) claim that an efficient way to overcome defence mechanisms in the process of research is through the use of the main psychoanalytic tool: the free association interview technique, also known as FANI. For them, this technique is governed by four principles:

- 1) The questions asked in the interview must be open-ended questions.  
By asking these types of questions, the interviewer simultaneously opens up and narrows down the topic of research.
- 2) Encouraging the interviewee to recount a story rather than simply answering questions. Hollway and Jefferson (2001) suggest that eliciting stories has the virtue of 'anchoring people's accounts to events that have actually happened' (Hollway and Jefferson, 2001: 35). These accounts invariably engage with reality, although they could also compromise reality for the sake of self-protection. It is important to recognise that producing a story is not necessarily a simple task, and

that people's story-telling ability will vary. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for interviewees to choose to answer (even direct questions) in a narrative form when they are not clear about what is required. The manner and detail of their narrative, the points which are emphasised, and the morals and conclusions drawn, are all choices that reveal something about the story-teller. These characteristics of story-telling 'contain significances beyond the teller's associations (...) the implications of this for the traditional interview method are a recommendation to narrative topics, that is, to turn questions about given topics into story-telling invitations (Hollway and Jefferson, 2001: 35).

- 3) Avoid using 'why' questions. Although at first glance this principle could be seen as counter-intuitive, the reason for its inclusion is that usually 'why' questions tend to promote intellectualisation, since interviewees' own explanations of their actions (or feelings) are useful routes to understanding them.
- 4) Use the interviewees' word order and phrasing in order to be able to ask follow-up questions without the interviewer offering his/her own interpretations. Although it is important to be an attentive listener and to take notes during the initial narrations, this principle consists in being able to respect and retain the meaning-frames used by the respondents in order to ask further follow-up questions. These follow-up questions should be as open as possible and constructed in such a

way as to elicit further narratives. Hollway and Jefferson (2001) take the view that an objective interviewer is not one who has no effect on the production of accounts, but one who does not impose a structure on the narrative.

Promoting a structured narrative according to the principles of free association could enable the interviewer to gain access to the interviewees' concerns and preoccupations, which are unlikely to be observable with the use of a traditional method. What I mean by this is that in contrast to the traditional narrative method, whose main concern is with maintaining narrative coherence, in free association narrative analysis, the researcher is concerned with what is not coherent, for example: contradictions; elision; avoidance; etc. In Hollway's and Jefferson's words: 'Free associations defy narrative conventions and enable the analyst to pick up on incoherencies (...) and accord them due significance (Hollway and Jefferson, 2001: 27). Throughout my interviews with both Mexicans immigrants and Mexican-Americans, I tried to stick to the FANI principles as much as possible. Sometimes this did not prove to be an easy task because, as mentioned previously, not everyone who is interviewed is good at eliciting stories, and consequently some interviews were more fruitful than others.

Although all the interviewees agreed to be interviewed as a favour to either me or the person who referred them, I found that they also all had 'something personal' to talk about during the interview. What I mean by this is that all the interviewees had both manifest and latent motivations regarding the interviews. In one sense, their manifest motivations in agreeing to be interviewed consisted in helping with the research, but unconsciously, other motivations prompted them to talk. Each interviewee had a story to

tell that had nothing to do with prejudice and discrimination. I realized that the interviewees simply needed someone to talk to about their family situation, their partner or just the general circumstances of their life.

Moreover, as mentioned previously, I also followed Robert D. Hinshelwood's (2000) method to observe organisations for this research. Although I did not observe a specific organisation *per se*, I did use his methodological approach to explore how Arizona works at unconscious levels. Hinshelwood proposes that psychoanalytic practice involves a very specific skill, that of the *participant observer*. According to the author, a psychoanalytic participant observation consists of five main characteristics:

...a way of observing with evenly hovering attention and without premature judgement; the careful employment of the observer's subjective experience (sharpened as much as possible by personal psychoanalysis); the capacity to reflect and think about the experience as a whole; the recognition of the unconscious dimension; and the formulation of interpretations which afford a means of verifying (or falsifying) the conclusion the psychoanalyst has arrived at through this process (Hinshelwood, 2000: 18).

For Hinshelwood, this kind of approach demands both the introspection and observation of the observer himself. As the author proposes, the observer recognises that much of his experience happens outside of his or her conscious awareness and could be influenced by past (childhood) experiences. Moreover, observations might arouse intrapsychic conflicts that not only can affect the observation, 'but can be important indicators within the observation' (Hinshelwood, 2000: 18).

Hinshelwood's approach to observe organisations derives from the method of infant observation, in which a participant observer visits a mother and her baby over a period of time and uses his emotional reactions, as well as a seminar group to 'digest' his experience. For the author, the infant observation method, if applied in the organisations,



helps to develop sensitivity to the human dimension and the culture of an institution (as well as to the anxieties within). Whereas the focus in infant observation is the relationship between mother and baby, the focus in organisations is a wider one. According to Hinshelwood, the focus in organisations is the culture. In the author's words:

In summary, the observer endeavours to keep an eye on three things: the objective events happening; the emotional atmosphere; and his/her own inner experiences, the whole are of, what in the psychoanalytic setting would be called 'countertransference'. All these areas of observation together reflect the qualities that make up the 'culture' of an organisation (Hinshelwood, 2000: 23).

For this research, I tried to follow Hinshelwood's method to observe organisations and become a participant observer. I did not observe or analyse any organisations, but I tried to be attentive to my emotional responses and reactions. An example of this was when I attended lectures from the Mexican-American Department, throughout my interviews or even on my daily interactions with Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans. Since I was not able to attend to weekly seminars to discuss my observations and emotional reactions, I arranged meetings on Skype with supervisors in order to 'digest' the observations made as part of my research. I tried to see my subjective experiences as an instrument for understanding the environment for the Mexican-origin population in Arizona. Also, the notes and observations done throughout my different visits in Arizona helped me to remember the emotional reactions I experienced throughout different settings and interactions.

The idea of unconscious motivations as well as how these can be interpreted will be analysed in more depth in the following section, which describes in detail the process of psychosocial data analysis used in this research.

## 2.4 Analysing the Data

In psychosocial research, multiple sources of data are analysed. As mentioned previously, psychosocial studies use both the interviewees' and the interviewers' answers and experiences in order to provide meanings and explanations. Among other things, the researcher's diaries and field notes, and the recorded interviews, constitute different sources that can offer meanings and answers. According to Clarke and Hoggett (2009):

Because psychosocial research seeks to go beyond discourse, the interview transcript is just one of several sources of data, and often the live recording and the researcher's account of their own here-and-now experience of the interview provide important insights into the circulation of effect, positioning dynamics, etc. (Hollway and Jefferson, 2001: 19).

Although the authors also claim that the main difference between clinicians and psychosocial researchers lies in the fact that clinicians make interpretations during the encounter whereas researchers wait until after the encounter before making interpretations, I believe that the phenomena of transference and countertransference which occurs during any encounter has to be considered as part of the data production process as well. What I mean by this is that the 'here and now' of any encounter triggers unconscious dynamics and exchanges that can also produce data as well as interpretations.

In comparison to Hollway and Jefferson (2001, 2008), Jennifer C. Hunt (1989) believes that transference reactions that arise in both fieldwork and clinical settings share similarities. However, the researcher's involvement in the real life world complicates his/her perceptions. In contrast with how transference works in a clinical setting,

researchers may develop friendships with their participants during the course of their research. As Hunt explains:

...however, the recognition that situational realities and 'real' relationships are a fundamental feature of the research encounter has too often led to the omission of intrapsychic issues altogether. Thus, the researcher's reactions to any encounter may well be situationally derived and reality-based but nevertheless mobilize intrapsychic conflict (Hunt, 1989: 61).

On the other hand, the same methods or signs that psychoanalysts use in order to recognize their process of countertransference in the analytic setting, could also be used by the researcher. As Hunt (1989) suggests, feelings such as anger, anxiety, love, shame, boredom or annoyance may indicate the presence of transference. Moreover, reactions that may be considered inappropriate or unusual in a specific social situation could also point to the fact that unconscious defences are operating to try to resist transference-generated anxiety. As discussed previously, the analysis of dreams, fantasies, and jokes, among other things, allow the researcher to study his or her own transference dynamics. According to Hunt (1989), these images and associations provide the researcher with two main tools: 1) direct links to unconscious thoughts which are imposed on the current research; and 2) important data regarding different types of unconscious fantasies which directly structure the researcher's role behaviours as well as affecting his or her relations with the research subjects (Hunt, 1989: 62).

It should be kept in mind that the researcher's countertransference to key informants could also serve a useful purpose, as it may facilitate awareness of the researcher and his or her culture, which could otherwise go unnoticed (Hunt, 1989). Moreover, the majority of discussions about the psychodynamics of the fieldwork encounter have focused largely on the ways in which the researcher's transferences

obstruct and adversely affect their relations with research subjects. There has been little recognition of the way in which the researcher's transferences can also help to shape research relations in positive ways. According to Hunt (1989):

Transferences are rarely one sided, and subjects may also project archaic images onto the person of the researcher. This is particularly likely for informants with whom the researcher develops close, long-term relationships. The cultural identity the researcher negotiates in the setting is therefore mediated by archaic roles, which belong to significant others in the individual's past. The subject's transferences to the researcher are important to examine for the same reason as those of the researcher. They play a role in structuring the research relationship and the kinds of data gathered (Hunt, 1989: 76).

It could therefore be concluded that taking a psychoanalytic perspective towards the research encounter adds a different dimension to the sociological understanding of interviewing and fieldwork. These dimensions provide added depth and richness regarding both the process of data collection and the results. Furthermore, the research encounter is more than just a process in which the research negotiates social roles and cultural symbols. As Hollway and Jefferson (2001) contend, the process of fieldwork should be considered as a dialogue mediated by intrapsychic meanings between researchers and subjects. Both researcher and researched are anxious, defended subjects, whose mental boundaries are porous, which means that unconscious material will therefore be dynamically in play. This also means that the researcher and the researched will be subject to projections and introjections of feelings coming from the other person (Hollway and Jefferson, 2001).

In the previous sections, I explained both the way in which I collected data, as well as the interview technique I used for my research: the Free Association Narrative Interview. I also explained how, during the encounter between the researcher and the

researched, the phenomenon of transference appears, thereby generating interesting data. The personal notes that I took before, during and after the encounters with the respondents, as well as my personal and ethnographic diaries, served as reminders of my emotional reactions during the research process. Although I have not been clinically trained, during my studies I became more attuned to my own emotions and reactions, which allowed me to make interpretations of the respondents' feelings and behaviours during our encounters. With the help of my supervisors, I learned to recognize when and how I was emotionally reacting to the interviewees' transference and projections. An example of this was when I had a nightmare in relation to what one of the respondent's mentioned during an informal meeting.

Wendy Hollway and Tony Jefferson (2001) propose that in psychosocial research, there are four essential questions that must be asked by the researcher during the process of analysis:

- 1) What do we notice?
- 2) Why do we notice what we notice?
- 3) How can we interpret what we notice?
- 4) How can we know that our interpretation is the 'right' one?

After every encounter (either formal or informal) I tried to answer these questions. In some cases I asked my supervisors for feedback, since it was difficult to know if the interpretations that I was making were the 'right' ones.

The decoding system that I created in order to analyse the interviews has been explained previously. After I had finished transcribing all the interviews, I analysed the material using *Nvivo* software. I used seven decoding categories (nodes) that allowed me to divide the material into the following topics:

- a) Prejudice and discrimination from the *outside* (colour red)
- b) Prejudice and discrimination from the *inside* (colour blue)
- c) Identity and culture (colour green)
- d) Personal history (colour purple)
- e) Border encounters (colour yellow)
- f) Whiteness (colour brown)
- g) Race interactions (colour purple)

Moreover, I highlighted every part of the interviews, in both the answers and the questions that I considered relevant with its respective coding category. On some occasions the material belonged to more than one category, and therefore I had to highlight certain answers and questions with more than one colour. Once all the interviews had been analysed, I then organized the material into two main groups. The first one focused on analysing prejudice and discrimination from the outside, understood as ‘external’ to the Mexican immigrant and the Mexican-American community, while the second focused on analysing prejudice and discrimination from the ‘inside’, i.e. from within the Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American communities. Meanwhile, the rest of the data collected, such as my notes and personal diary, the newspaper journal, photographs and texts, were also analysed and organized using software into ‘outside-the-group’ and ‘inside-the-group’ categories of prejudice, discrimination and racism.

So far, the selection of respondents, the process of data collection, as well as the process of data analysis, have been described. The following subsection explains a series of important considerations that had to be taken into account regarding my research.

## 2.5 Important Considerations

Like any other study, this research was confronted with a number of methodological issues. Therefore, throughout this section, I list a series of important factors to consider which relate to this specific research. The aim of this research was to adopt a psychosocial approach and therefore offer a sociological, post-colonial and psychoanalytic interpretations of the phenomena of prejudice and discrimination among Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in Arizona.

However, the ways in which Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans experience U.S. society generally, as well as their interactions with members of the same ethnic group, greatly depends on both the historical and contemporary particularities of the various specific locations in which they live (cities and towns). A Mexican immigrant and a Mexican-American residing in Los Angeles, California or in Chicago, Illinois will not have the same experience as one residing in Tucson, Arizona due to the fact that each state has different laws as well as different networks.

As has been mentioned throughout the thesis and this chapter in particular, it is very important to take into consideration the fact that I, the researcher, am also a defended subject. Doing research about prejudice and discrimination is not easy, not just because I am (as is everyone) vulnerable to discrimination, but also because I have my own prejudices in relation to other nationalities and ethnicities. Moreover, I believe it is important to highlight the fact that prejudice and discrimination in this research will be studied from the perspective of someone who can be both the target of prejudices and discriminations and also take part in prejudice and discrimination.

As Clarke and Hoggett (2009) recommend, I also asked myself why I was interested in this specific topic as opposed to some other research topic, as well as about my emotional investment in it. I am fortunate to have been able to travel to the United States, since I was a child, especially to Florida. When I was fourteen years old, I had the opportunity to spend a year studying in Louisiana. I was fascinated by the country in general. Mexican immigrants in the United States and Mexican-Americans intrigued me as I considered them to be both Mexican and non-Mexican. This curiosity, along with my emotional reactions towards these populations in particular, remained with me for a long time and was partly what inspired me to research this subject further. When I started the research I realized that the question I was asking in my research was in a sense also a question about me, not just because I am Mexican but because I am also an immigrant as well. The novelist Stephen King (2013) stated at the beginning of the novel *Joyland*: ‘When it comes to the past, everyone writes fiction’ (King, 2013: 2). Although I tried to provide as clear and accurate an account of my experience as a researcher as possible, I am sure that I also used different defence mechanisms to unconsciously protect myself; therefore, I might have unconsciously omitted, added or misunderstood the information obtained and investigated in this research. I am aware that it can be dangerous to admit this, since it might seem like I am making up a story or research, but I think it is extremely important not to forget that the researchers’ unconscious thoughts and feelings are also operating at all times during the research process.

As most psychosocial researchers agree, there are strong ethical implications involved in the practice of psychosocial research. Ethical issues are present throughout the whole research process (all the way from the research design through to the analysis and presentation of the data). Hollway and Jefferson (2008) believe that the most



important ethical challenge in psychosocial research consists in caring for the subject's feelings. As Clarke and Hoggett (2009) suggest, in some cases, researchers fall into the trap of not listening carefully enough to their respondents and try to make the data obtained fit into preconceived ideas and research questions. Throughout this research, I tried to take great care over the selection of interview transcripts in order to avoid these common mistakes.

It is important to understand the context social and otherwise of prejudice and discrimination. Although psychoanalytic theories reveal the existence of prejudice and discrimination in the unconscious, if our analysis is limited to this existence, we unduly isolate the phenomenon. I believe there is a complex interrelationship between socio-structural and psychological factors; both need to be addressed in parallel if we are to understand and analyse the ubiquity and visceral nature of prejudice and discrimination.

The following chapters are concerned with the analysis and interpretations of all the material collected throughout this research. As will be discussed in the subsequent parts of the thesis, the phenomenon of prejudice and discrimination is comprised of different forces and can take many different forms and directions; therefore it is not just one-sided. The idea that members of the same nationality and ethnic groups can hate each other might seem outrageous, but sociological, post-colonial and psychoanalytic theories have an answer for that phenomenon.

The following chapter consists of an analysis of prejudice and discrimination from the 'outside', which could be translated as examining prejudice and discrimination that is external to the Mexican-immigrant and Mexican-American community. The chapter is divided into three main themes or subsections, which touch upon the immigration bill S.B.1070, education bill H.B 2281, the white population (also known as

*los gringos*) and what it means to be Mexican, according to the white population and in the social and political context of Arizona. Psychoanalytic, post-colonial and sociological concepts developed will be used to interpret and analyse the data.

Poor Mexico, so far from  
God and so close to the  
United States (Nemesio  
García, *El Orgullo de la  
Raza*)

## CHAPTER 3 MEXICANS AND GRINGOS IN ARIZONA: PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION FROM THE OUTSIDE

### Introduction

To be a Mexican immigrant or a Mexican American in Arizona could be considered a challenge. The Mexican-origin population residing in the state is subject to laws that constantly question their cultural roots and their language, as well as their identity. The anti-immigration law, Senate Bill 1070, and the law that prohibits certain types of Ethnic Studies courses in public high schools, House Bill 2281, can be understood as a manifestation of a common sentiment across Arizona towards the Mexican-origin population. The prevalent discourse among the white dominant population, that the Mexican-origin population is not welcome either in the United States generally, or in Arizona specifically, is nothing new. The first chapter of this thesis presented a detailed account of the bilateral relationship between Mexico and the United States in order to explain the history of a series of asymmetrical relationship dynamics.

Moreover, it was also explained how the Mexican-origin population in the United States has to be understood as a colonised ethnic group with colonised minds<sup>11</sup>. As

---

<sup>11</sup> As explain in Section 1.3 'The Colonised Mind: Frantz Fanon's inferiority complex and Melanie Klein's Projective Identification' although colonialism is linked with occupation of territories, subjugation and theft of resources, I do not include these when I talk of the colonisation of the mind.

previously argued, both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have formed their identities through their interactions with the white dominant population. The process of ‘mind colonisation’ was also explained and analysed using Melanie Klein’s psychoanalytic concept of projective identification.

As discussed in the previous chapter, my position as a Mexican in Arizona constituted both a challenge and a tool with which to gain information. I was potentially a target for discrimination and racism since my background perfectly fits the profile of what is considered undesirable, according to the ideology and laws of the state. On the other hand, however, I was simultaneously both a member and a non-member of the Mexican-origin population in the state. I am a Mexican from Mexico City who is studying in England and has no ties in the United States. Like many other people, during my stays in Arizona I sometimes experienced discrimination myself, either directed at me, or towards other Mexicans or people of other nationalities.

Moreover, the directions and psychodynamics in which prejudice and discrimination operate are complex and not necessarily linear. For example, through the use of a political discourse in which immigrants are blamed for having a negative effect on a nation, frequent leaps are made from ‘us’ to ‘them’, or from ‘all’ to ‘any’. These dynamics operate at an unconscious level and therefore psychoanalytic theories can serve as a means for analysing and understanding them.

The following chapter consists of an analysis of prejudice and discrimination towards the Mexican-origin population residing in Arizona. With the use of vignettes from my ethnographic work as well as the interviews conducted during my visits to the state, this chapter is comprised of experiences of what I consider to be discrimination from the outside, or in other words, discrimination towards the Mexican-origin

population coming from someone who does not have a Mexican background. Throughout this chapter, theories by Fanon (1965), Freud (1923b, 1930, 1933), Grinberg (1984), Klein (1946, 1952a, 1957), Goffman (1978), and Miles (1995), among other psychoanalysts, post-colonialists and sociologists, are applied to enhance our understanding of the phenomena of prejudice and discrimination among people of different ethnicities.

As will be discussed and analysed throughout this chapter, although sociological explanations of prejudice and discrimination concentrate on the structures of modern life that facilitate discriminatory practices and hierarchies of inequality, these might fail to address the affective component of hatred, the ‘explosive’ and almost ‘eruptive component of ethnic hatred’ and the psychological mechanisms that provide the motivations for people to hate each other (Clarke, 2003: 3). Since psychoanalysis provides important resources for understanding this affective component, combining it with sociological explanations gives us a deeper and more complete understanding of the subject area.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first one, entitled ‘The State of Arizona is Racist: Arizona in the Mind’, focuses on how Arizona is experienced by the Mexican-origin population. In other words, it explores how Arizona is constructed and lived in the minds of the Mexican-origin population. As will be shown throughout the chapter, Arizona is perceived not just as a territory, but as a racist and discriminatory entity: Arizona itself is racist. This section also includes a subsection on Senate Bill 1070 and House Bill 2281. Both laws are described through the eyes of members of the Mexican-origin population who participated in the interviews and are analysed using sociological, post-colonial and psychoanalytic theories. To some of the interviewees, the

law means nothing, and in some cases they are not even aware of it, but for others, it represents a one-way ticket out of the United States.

The second section, entitled ‘Los Gringos’, focuses on the white dominant population residing in Arizona, also known within Mexican culture as *los gringos*. The way in which members of the Mexican population described and interacted with the gringos is also analysed using Klein’s concept of phantasy, as well as Robert Miles’ (1995) and Mary Douglas’ ideas about the Other and Albert Memmi’s (1957) concept of the coloniser. This section is divided into two subsections: the first, entitled ‘The Gringo: What does he represent?’, addresses the question of what it means to be a *gringo*; while the second, entitled ‘Good Gringos and Bad Gringos’, explains how the difference between a ‘good’ and a ‘bad’ gringo is perceived. As will be discussed, the unconscious mechanism of *splitting*, which is generally triggered in a threatening environment, serves as a way of controlling both the internal and external world of an individual.

The last section of the chapter describes what it means to be a Mexican in Arizona. The concept of the colonised mind (explained in Section 1.3 ‘The Colonised Mind: The Inferiority Complex and Projective Identification’) serves as a basis for understanding the way in which the Mexican-origin population form their identity according to their relation with others. Klein’s (1937, 1946) concept of ‘projective identification’ and Fanon’s concept of the ‘inferiority complex’ are used to gain insight into how others’ perceptions and views can make us feel and behave.

### 3.1 The State of Arizona is Racist: Arizona in the Mind

The name ‘Arizona’ comes from the Spanish *Arizonac* (probably from a local name used by the native O’odham), which means ‘having a little spring’. Although it can be seen simply as a territory, or as another state that comprises part of a larger country, for the Mexican-origin population who reside in it, this land is replete with meanings. For some Mexican immigrants, Arizona represents a place filled with possibilities, or a place where



Figure 6 Graffiti in East Speedway Blvd Tucson 2014

they can be reunited with their families. However, for other Mexicans, both Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants, Arizona represents a dangerous and hostile place where Border Patrol agents

pursue people and County Sheriffs actively encourage the use of derogatory terms towards them, such as ‘wetbacks’ and ‘illegals’.

Before I visited Arizona, I had certain expectations about how I would be treated, partly based on what I had read and researched about S.B. 1070, Arizona’s previous Governor Jan Brewer and the Maricopa County Sheriff, Joe Arpaio. I was fortunate that my first contact (even before I travelled to Tucson) was with a Mexican who I met through Craigslist (a classified advertisements website). Roberto, a Mexican immigrant born and raised in Mexico City like me had been living in Arizona for around fifteen

years. He entered the United States with a tourist visa but did not return to Mexico as he had originally planned. Instead, he travelled around the country and eventually decided to stay in Tucson and try his luck there. With the help of a friend he found a job as a contractor and truck driver.

Roberto was not just my first Mexican contact in Arizona, but also the first Mexican who I informally interviewed for my research. Throughout the course of several meetings and encounters with him, I realized how hard it was for Mexican immigrants to live in the United States. Trying to achieve the ‘American Dream’ implied not just learning to use a different language but also having to immerse oneself in a different mind-set and culture.

Roberto was quite critical of the Mexican-American population residing in the United States, describing them as ‘lazy’ and ‘non-Mexican’. He particularly criticised the group dynamics among the Mexican-origin population, highlighting the lack of a sense of community and of a willingness to help each other. Roberto repeatedly emphasised how ‘horrible’ and ‘tough’ it was to live in Arizona, in comparison with other states such as California or Nevada. This begged the question, why was it so hard? In what way does Arizona differ from other states? Was it because of the laws? According to Roberto, as well as many other Mexicans living in Arizona, it is a ‘very racist’ state.

So, what exactly does that mean? How can a state be ‘very racist’? The term *racism* is not easily defined, since describing something as ‘racist’ can equally apply to just a single word or a series of actions. What I mean by this is that the concept of racism covers a wide range of thoughts, actions and situations. Using the word *Negro* to describe or address a black person is racist, but so is brutally killing a person just because of his skin colour. There is a huge gulf between these two examples. The former involves



simply verbalising an offensive word whilst the latter constitutes the violent acting out of a feeling.

This leads us to ask whether the Mexican-origin population perceived Arizona as a threatening environment and, if so, what did that mean? Is it really possible for an entire state to be racist and, if so, what criteria would a state have to fulfil in order to be categorised as racist? Is it the inhabitants of the state that make it racist, or is it the laws, or a combination of both?

The following sections address the aforementioned questions. As will be discussed through the cases of Norma and Anabel, described and analysed in this section, Arizona has a symbolic meaning for the Mexican-origin population. The way in which this ‘racist’ state is perceived and experienced by the Mexican-origin population will clearly be influenced by emotional states. In other words, the *external world* experienced by the Mexican-origin population will be influenced by their *inner world*. To summarise, the following subsections analyse how Arizona is constructed and experienced *in the minds* of the Mexican-origin population.

### 3.1.1. ‘Arizona is a Very Racist State’

**Norma** and I arranged to meet at a coffee shop near my house in Tucson. She was born in Santa Ana, Sonora, Mexico but raised in Delano, California<sup>12</sup>. Her parents had migrated to California without documentation more than forty years ago, when Norma

---

<sup>12</sup> Delano, California was the major hub of farmworker organization efforts and Chicano movement politics in the 1960s and 1970s. It is also known to be Cesar Chavez’s home. Chavez was a Mexican-American labour leader and civil rights activist who, with Dolores Huerta, co-founded the National Farm Workers Association (later the Unified Farm Workers union, UFW) in 1962. Chavez’s approach to unionism and aggressive but nonviolent tactics made the farm workers’ struggle a moral cause with nationwide support.

was only two years old. Norma and her other siblings have served their parents as translators in the United States since they had never learned to speak English and forced their children to speak to them in Spanish. Following in this tradition, and with the aim of preserving their Mexican culture Norma tried to make her own children speak Spanish but in comparison to her parents she had limited success. Norma's children could understand Spanish but were not as fluent in the language as she was. In a sense, the country's official language had defeated her attempts to make them use Spanish. Norma had been working as a kindergarten teacher in Arizona for more than fifteen years. Following our conversation about the use of languages, I asked Norma for her opinion on Mexican immigrants who have settled in the United States and had children and who decide not to allow them to speak Spanish anymore, probably in the hope that doing so will make it easier for them to assimilate. She gave the following reply:

*I believe in some way is justified because they believe that in order to have success in the United States, you have to speak in English. And some people believe that speaking English is the way in which they are going to be successful, it does not matter if that means no teaching them Spanish... and well.... everyone tries to do the best for their children, right? Is their way of thinking... and maybe I am thinking that is because they do not want to be recognized as Mexicans...but it could be just because they really want their children to be successful and not discriminated because they speak Spanish.*

What I found interesting was that Norma brought up the topic of discrimination without any prompting from me and also her suggestion that the Mexican population may not want to be recognized as Mexicans. I therefore asked Norma if she could develop this idea further, and if she could give me a more precise explanation of how people were discriminated against for speaking Spanish, to which she replied:

*Well, there are cases in which some of my Mexican students are looked down and discriminated because they are speaking in Spanish. I believe my students don't want be seen as 'oh! He or she speaks Spanish!', so therefore they avoid speaking it at all cost. Here... Arizona... is a state... mmm... how could I say it? That*

*discriminates the Mexicans... that make them feel the Mexican culture as lower than the other ones. Umm... when I was in California... I didn't see the discrimination there is here. In California there are a lot of cultures, maybe it was because I was growing up there and I was not very conscious of what was going on. Since I got here, I've seen laws passing that are absolutely against the Mexican-origin population.*

I then asked Norma where she thought discrimination came from in Arizona, and she blamed it on the older white population who had moved to the state because of the hot weather, and who, according to her, were all Republicans. During our conversation, Norma also talked about a range of other topics, such as her work as a kindergarten teacher, the way in which her family celebrated Mexican traditions and how her mother did not like living in California. According to Norma, her mother had never really liked living in Delano because she was scared of driving in the fog. She had repeatedly suggested that Norma and her other siblings should move closer to the Mexico-U.S. border since they had family in Sonora and the weather was better there. Ironically, Norma's mother died in a car accident caused by dense fog in Delano when Norma was only twenty-two years old and, after that, she and her husband decided to move to Tucson.

I did not ask Norma about her motivation for agreeing to be interviewed, but I felt that in some way she wanted to talk about her mother's death. During the interview I got a sense of her sadness and loneliness. I found it interesting that she perceived Arizona unfavourably in comparison with California. I could also sense that it was not easy for Norma to admit that Arizona was racist, probably because by putting it into words, it became 'real'.

I was also able to interview **Anabel**, who, like Norma, was raised in Delano and worked as a teacher. We met on a Saturday morning in a coffee shop in Southern

Tucson. Although I was slightly late for our meeting, Anabel was quite energetic and excited before we started the interview. In 1957, Anabel's parents settled in Delano after having worked for some time as temporary farmworkers on the Bracero Program. Like her parents, Anabel had previously been employed as a farmworker but with her sister-in-law's help she and her husband subsequently moved to Tucson. Anabel spent the early part of the conversation talking about her family situation. She emphasised how much she missed her family, especially her mother, which made her emotional and tearful at one point when she was talking about her. Following our conversation about families, Anabel explained to me that her parents had decided to try to become 'Americanised' once they had settled in the United States. They even stopped celebrating Mexican traditions and festivals such as *Día de Muertos* (Day of the Dead) and *Día de la Independencia* (Independence Day). According to Anabel, they adopted American celebrations instead such as Halloween and Thanksgiving. Anabel and I then went on to discuss the differences between Mexican immigrants and the Mexican-American population in Arizona, on which she offered the following view:

*Yes, well... the Mexican-origin population here...they don't consider themselves Mexican-Americans. They consider themselves as Americans, cause in California, I grew up the 70s...the Chicano movement, mmm...you know? It was different. There was the Chicano culture, and here... You cannot really see much of that (...) mmm... the culture, traditions... mmm... when I came here, I had never experienced racism, not until I moved to Arizona. Perhaps is because in the area where we grew up is...it was small and the majority were Mexicans immigrants, Mexican-Americans with their Mexican parents and all was agriculture.*

I therefore asked Anabel if she could develop this idea further and if she could describe to me more precisely what kind of population she grew up with in California:

*We were farmworkers, labourers and then the owners of the companies. And when I moved here, there were different categories. Mmm...you have your education because there's a university. There are schools and where I come from,*

*there's no university, the nearest college, was like an hour away. So many people moved away, they moved to areas to get their college education. But when I got here, I felt different cause there in California, they never looked at me differently, like entering a store, like I felt that they were looking at me like I was going to take something and like...there I never experienced that.*

I was interested to learn more about Anabel's experiences in Arizona, so I then asked if she could tell me in what way she had felt discriminated against, to which she replied:

*From people who were already here...mmm...whoever was here? I don't know if.... not that I was, was taking territory but ...I don't know how to explain it. I've never experienced anybody looking down at me for being Mexican (...) Whites, Mexican-Americans, Arizonian people.... people who were born and raised in Arizona... the local people from the state.*

Throughout our conversation, Anabel expressed the view that she thought Americans generally fear both the Mexicans and Latinos taking over the country. She believed that this fear drove them to create laws such as S.B. 1070 and H.B. 2281 in order to show that they could keep control of the situation. Although Anabel had agreed to be interviewed as a favour to her sister-in-law, during the interview, similarly to Norma, I sensed that she needed to speak about her family situation and more precisely the separation from her mother. Again, I sensed sadness in Anabel's words, suggesting that perhaps something or someone had intervened in her relationship with her mother which had caused them to become separated against her will.

Although neither Norma nor Anabel had voluntarily migrated from Mexico to the United States, they had both experienced an internal migration from California to Arizona. Their experiences caused both respondents to manifest some of the same unconscious mechanisms used by immigrants who migrate from one country to another during their interviews, such as pining for their homeland, *splitting* and *idealization*.

In Norma's case, she could be described as an 'involuntary emigrant' (Grinberg, 1984). Due to her parents' decision to migrate from Mexico to the United States when she was only two years old, Norma had been forced to learn a new language, become accustomed to different traditions and get used to living in a new country. When asked about the causes of prejudice and discrimination in the state, Norma identified two main factors which affected the experience of the Mexican origin population: the white population; and the laws they implemented towards the Mexicans. As mentioned previously, throughout our conversation and as was the case in other interviews I conducted, I could sense that it was difficult for Norma to openly admit that Arizona was a racist state. My interpretation of this reluctance was that since the concept of racism is so 'negatively loaded', she was worried that simply by mentioning it, she might cause me to form a negative impression of her (Miles, 1995).

For Norma, the decision not to teach Spanish to Mexican children was justified by the idea of being 'successful'. This can perhaps be more accurately interpreted as meaning that it was justified in order to avoid discrimination. Thus, changing or disguising oneself was a way of being accepted by (or assimilated into) the dominant population in Arizona. As proposed in the first chapter, the Mexican-origin population in the United States has to be understood as *colonised people* with *colonised minds*. The consequences of having a colonised mind are, firstly, the feeling of being inferior to the coloniser; and, secondly, the need for the colonised to become *like* their coloniser, which in this case is the white dominant population. It could therefore be argued that, for Norma, adopting the English language and speaking in English rather than Spanish was a way of reinforcing the Mexican-origin population's position as 'colonised' by diminishing their own culture.

These phenomena, whereby Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans avoid speaking in Spanish, will be analysed in more detail in the following chapter.

Moreover, both Norma and Anabel expressed the view that Arizona was a state in which they felt different, and which also showed a tendency towards discrimination. Their descriptions of the state resembled a person rather than a place, and they both used their experiences as residents of California to draw comparisons and justify their arguments. The fact that Norma mentioned how moving to Arizona had heightened her awareness of the laws made me think about her experience in terms of a pre-Oedipal state, in which California represented her mother, while Arizona represented her father forbidding her from doing something. In California, Norma paid little attention to what was happening around her because in California she was not 'conscious'. However, once she moved to Arizona, Norma became much more aware of what she could and could not do in terms of the law. Moreover, observing Anabel's reaction whilst she was talking about her mother also made me question whether, like Norma, Anabel was mourning the loss of her mother/homeland/California. I found it interesting that both respondents talked about their mothers and clearly this was a significant issue for them.

By contrast, for Anabel, the main difference between California and Arizona was the people who resided in each state. According to her, the people who lived in Arizona were very different from herself and made her feel like a stranger. Arizona is home to a significant amount of Mexican-origin people, and it therefore surprised me to learn that she felt like she did not belong there.

Both Anabel and Norma split California and Arizona, portraying California as a 'good' place and Arizona as a 'bad' place. This phenomenon could be regarded as a reaction to a threatening environment. The mechanism of *splitting*, proposed by Melanie

Klein (1959), is one the most primitive ego *defence mechanisms* (and a key feature of the paranoid-schizoid position). It serves as a way of controlling danger by separating impulses and objects into good and bad. In moments of threat or danger, death drives will arise and foment unconscious phantasies of annihilation. Even though Klein considered splitting to be a key feature of child development, splitting can change over time and it will always arise in moments of anxiety (threat). This phenomenon and the mechanism of idealisation (or binary thinking) will be described more fully in the second subsection of this chapter ('Los Gringos').

In the following subsection, the perceptions and experiences of Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in relation to Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 and House Bill 2281 are described through the cases of Angie, Alejandra and Anabel.

### **3.1.2 Senate Bill 1070: The 'show me your papers' law and House Bill 2281: The Anti-Ethnic Studies Law**

I had been looking forward to meeting **Angie** for a considerable time. For some reason I was unable to meet up with her during my first two trips to Tucson, so on my third visit, we had a brief but rich encounter. I met Angie through a mutual acquaintance. This person, who happened to be a film director, had recommended that I call her because he thought that her work as an activist might help me gain insight into the situation faced by Mexican and Central American immigrants in Arizona. Angie's parents had migrated to the United States without documentation before she was born so Angie was then born and raised in Arizona. Although Angie was very busy trying to raise two children on her



own, studying for a postgraduate degree and working part-time at the University of Arizona, she still found time to be actively involved in the *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* (MEChA) based at the Mexican-American Department within the University of Arizona. This movement was comprised of a group of students who supported the Mexican-origin community living in the state. They gathered weekly to discuss different ways in which they could actively help to protect undocumented immigrants from the *poli-migra* and their rigorous attempts to send them to the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), as well as helping them to avoid mistreatment as a result of Operation Streamline. The term *poli-migra* was invented by this group to denote traffic police officers who, under the terms of S.B. 1070, would ask for proof of legal status after stopping someone if they were thought to be doing something wrong.

At the beginning of our conversation, Angie introduced me to her life and told me about the things she did as an activist. After giving an example of how she usually handled a situation in which an undocumented immigrant was stopped by either a Border Patrol agent or the *poli-migra*, Angie brought up the topic of the immigration laws in Arizona. I therefore asked her how she believed these laws affected the way in which the Mexican-origin population behaved, to which she replied:

*I think this is a very important factor. These laws have not just caused pain, but they have also humiliated many of our people.... But at the same time, these laws are...telling the Mexican communities that they cannot move, that they cannot demand, that they cannot do anything.*

Angie went on to explain that Maricopa's County Sheriff had become obsessed with persecuting the Mexican population because of S.B. 1070. For Angie, Sheriff Arpaio was a 'fucker' who was not 'doing his job' properly, since instead of focusing on

issues that really mattered, such as children and women being raped and molested or the problem of domestic abuse, he was determined to ‘get rid of all the Latino population’. In the same way, according to Angie, S.B.1070 had ‘got rid of real sheriffs and police officers and replaced them with robots’ that were ‘just looking around and not actually doing anything’. I asked Angie how the situation for the Latino community had changed since the passing of S.B. 1070 approximately four years earlier, to which she responded:

*The situation is even worse now. Or I mean...I believe it is getting worse. The problem is that after S.B. 1070 was passed, the police in Tucson had taken the undocumented issue to heart. It has provoked activists and the community in general, to go out in big groups and try to defend the people who have been stopped (...) The city council decided the migra (border patrol) and the regular police had to collaborate with each other and that was not the case before the law was signed. Since this happened you hear the police chief saying things such as ‘it has to be done because that’s what the law says’. But the law does not say that, the law says that where there is a suspicion or a reason...*

Finally, I asked Angie how she thought the Mexican and Latino population perceived the situation, and these were her words:

*The people are really nervous and scared. I’ve heard parents saying that they think that when they take their kids to school, it might be the last time they’d see them. The same when they are driving to work. The laws are seriously creating chaos, a trauma for the communities... and not only for the adults but for the minors as well. Because the kids know that mom and dad can be stopped at the corner and could not come back again.*

During our meeting, Angie and I discussed a series of different topics one of which was how difficult it had been for her to learn Spanish and how she had forced herself to become proficient in the language in order to conduct the interviews for her MA thesis on *Narco-corridos*. We also talked about different situations that she had been involved in with the Border Patrol and how ‘unfortunate’ it was in her opinion, for a cousin of hers who was married to one of them.

Angie gave me the impression of being a tough, strong, aggressive woman. I felt her anger whenever she talked about something that she believed was unfair, such as S.B. 1070, Operation Streamline and H.B. 2281.

I found it interesting that Angie mentioned her father several times during her interview, in contrast to her mother, who she only mentioned once. At one point she even commented on her father's resemblance to the Mexican revolutionary icon, Emiliano Zapata.

**Alejandra** was referred to me through a very good friend of mine from Mexico City. Alejandra and I had an opportunity to chat via Skype during the last week of September 2014. She was born in Queretaro, Mexico, as were her two younger siblings. When she was fourteen years old, Alejandra's parents decided to migrate to Tucson without documentation. They did so because Alejandra's grandmother had been living in the state for almost twenty years and her parents thought that the United States would be a good place to raise their children. Alejandra recounted how hard it had been for her to move to the United States when she was only fourteen, especially trying to communicate in English, even though she had already been studying English for some time prior to that in Mexico. Like many other Mexican children who moved to the United States involuntarily, Alejandra also served as a translator for her parents. When Alejandra and I met, she had been living in Arizona for more than ten years, and she was close to finishing her degree in Linguistics at the University of Arizona. At one point during the interview Alejandra mentioned that her parents were still undocumented immigrants in the state, and I asked her what she had heard about S.B. 1070. She replied as follows:

*Well, at the beginning, we were very scared because we didn't... neither my parents nor us had documents when the law was passed. So first we heard that if you were dark skinned, you would be stopped and you would have to show your*

*papers. I also heard that if you spoke Spanish and someone listened to you, they could also ask for your documents or they could even call Immigration and Customs Enforcement (...) Also, I've always used the bus to come to the university because I don't have a car, and they were even saying that at the bus stops police officers could stop you and ask for your documents.*

Alejandra went on to explain that she knew people who had moved to other U.S. states or returned to Mexico after S.B. 1070 was passed. She also highlighted the adverse effect this law had had on Arizona's economy. I was interested to know more about Alejandra's family and if the law had affected them because at the time of its passage none of them had the required documents to allow them to reside in the United States:

*I guess the most worried one was my dad, since he was the one who went out to work every day. He was mainly concerned with being stopped and sent back to Mexico. But me... in reality....I guess I felt more confident because I could speak English and I could say I was studying in the university. My family in Mexico was very worried due to all the stuff they heard on the news. Back then all my family... all of my mom's brothers were here in Arizona as well. Two of my uncles moved to Colorado, another of my uncles went back to Mexico.*

I then asked Alejandra if she had any friends, acquaintances or family members who had been stopped and directly affected by the law, to which she replied:

*A friend of mine was going to the university and his dad was driving. He was wearing a hat, you know? I guess because he was old so... he was wearing one of these hats worn by Mexicans farmworker, you know? Like big. So yes, his dad was wearing a hat, and he was also dark skinned. And my friend told me and the rest of the class that they have been stopped, and that the officer who stopped them didn't even bother to ask them for their papers, that just after looking at them, he said 'Oh, these two do not have documents'. But my friend's dad is a U.S. citizen and even my friend was born here. Simply because he was seen wearing a hat and because he is dark skinned they were both stopped.*

After listening to and discussing her story, I asked Alejandra what she thought about S.B. 1070, to which she replied:

*The law is very, very racist and it doesn't even make much sense. As I told you already, there were a lot of (Mexican) people here... even some schools had to be closed because there were no more students. Loads of businesses were closed as well... nowadays you don't hear much about the law anymore, but at the*

*beginning it was really hard for a lot of people to know that they could be deported and that's why they had to leave the state.*

Finally, I asked Alejandra why she thought the law had been passed, and she gave the following explanation:

*What I've heard is that there are a lot of Americans in Arizona that do not want us in the state. This might be because they think we just came here to steal their jobs and that we don't have the same rights as any other U.S. citizen...but although there is a lot of people who don't have documents here, they do their taxes and they also work. The only main difference is that they have documents and we don't have any legal document to be in this country.*

Alejandra's interview took longer than the other interviews I conducted. Afterwards, I remember feeling very tired perhaps because she was very talkative. I believe she felt comfortable talking to me. I remember her saying that the interview had made her think about topics she had never considered before such as her perceptions of and reactions towards other members of the Mexican-origin population. In a way, I felt that Alejandra had had a difficult time when she first moved to Tucson but she was very proud of what she had accomplished over the years.

During my interview with **Anabel** (who I introduced in the previous subsection of this chapter) I was also able to listen to her thoughts about S.B. 1070 and H.B. 2281. After she had told me how she felt about living in Arizona, I asked her what she thought of Arizona's anti-Ethnic Studies law, House Bill 2281. I was interested to hear her opinion, as I had thought that because she was involved in education, Anabel would have a clearer understanding of the implications of the law and the way in which it affected the Mexican population. Her response was as follows:

*The Mexican-American Studies from the TUSD (Tucson Unified School District)... I was against it being removed, because it is our roots, and the Chicano roots even go back to the Civil Rights... through César Chávez, through Martin Luther King, through John F. Kennedy. So ....when I was working in*

*California, we didn't have rights, we worked and worked straight hours without any breaks, without water, no restrooms...but because of César Chávez we got those things. And now, César Chávez is in our history books so if Mexican-American Studies are taken away, where are these kids going to look back through history... you know?*

I then asked her opinion about S.B. 1070, to which she responded:

*S.B. 1070? Well... that's hard. There has to be a fine line. I give a big yes for those who are already here, I'm in for the immigrants; let them continue. Unfortunately there are a lot of people who have messed up this situation, because...I know Mexicans personally, that have actually taken advantage of the government. Where they come and have their children here, and then go back home... but then return at some point and claim their benefits.*

Anabel went on to express her disapproval of the Mexican people who she believed took advantage of the U.S. system, by coming to the country just to have their children and then returning to Mexico afterwards. According to Anabel, after a period of time these parents and their children would claim benefits and rights as U.S. citizens despite never having paid taxes or been involved in the U.S. community. I then asked her in what way she believed S.B.1070 affected her as a Mexican-American in Arizona, and she replied:

*It could be said that S.B. 1070 will not do me any good or bad, but because I am Mexican-descent it is going to affect me, because they are relating me to the Mexican part of it.*

I then asked her if she had experienced any issues regarding S.B. 1070, in other words, if she had ever been stopped and asked for proof of her legal status, to which she replied:

*(Laughter) No, no. But, we've (Anabel and her family) said before leaving some place... 'oh, they are going to think we are S.B. 1070, they are going to stop us' or 'don't dress like that... because they might think you are an undocumented immigrant'... We say it as a joke but in reality we are thinking it in the back of our minds 'oh my Gosh, they are going to think that!' 'If we get stopped, are they going to ask for our papers? Are they are going to take me in? Are they going to take me across the border before asking me if I'm an American citizen or not?*

Anabel also told me how ‘painful’ it was for her to cross the border from Mexico to the United States. She explained to me that due to a mistake on her passport every time she entered the United States she would be stopped and questioned, which made her feel ‘mistreated’, as she explained in the following excerpt:

*I get angry because I feel I have the right to be here, I am from the United States! You need to let me cross! I need to get back here, to my country (...) I already acknowledged that I was born in the United States. So, I don't know why they are making me prove it again. And it is crossing over to the U.S. where I feel that they discriminate me. How come for some people is like 'oh yeah come inside'... if they were white... 'oh yeah, come.... come in come in!' But when they come across to Mexican looking people, they fucking question us.*

Whilst I was talking with Anabel about S.B.1070 and H.B. 2281, I could sense that she was becoming very angry and upset. To my surprise, when I conducted the interviews several of the interviewees I spoke to had never heard of S.B. 1070 or H.B. 2281. In a few cases respondents had a vague idea about the legislation but did not understand how it could affect them. I found that the cases discussed above shared some similar features. Firstly, the three women interviewed all had parents who had migrated to the United States without documents but did not acknowledge that their parents had broken the law. These reactions made me think that perhaps they were using the mechanism of denial in order to avoid facing this fact. It also made me question the relationship the respondents had with the concept of the law. In psychoanalysis, setting boundaries and limits is not exclusive of education. The way in which a person positions him or herself in regards to the law will constitute a key element in his or her psychic structure<sup>13</sup>. For example, a person with a ‘neurotic’ psychic structure (in which the super-

---

<sup>13</sup> The term ‘psychic structure’ can also be understood as Sigmund Freud’s ‘structural model of the psyche’. According to Freud, the id, ego, and super-ego are the three theoretical constructs in terms of whose activity and interaction mental life is described. The id, is the set of ‘instinctual’ drives; the super-ego

ego predominates when making decisions), will position him or herself ‘more respectfully’ towards the law as a result of unconscious guilt.

Additionally, made me think that the long presence and history of undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States has in some way ‘normalised’ this phenomenon among the Mexican immigrant and Mexican American population. The interest Angie, Alejandra and Anabel had on S.B. 1070 relied on the fact that this law could deport them from the country. Moreover, S.B.1070 highlights the fact that there is significant amount of undocumented Mexican-origin people either crossing the U.S.-Mexico border or residing in Arizona.

Secondly, although each of the interviewees had a particular relationship with S.B.1070: either as an activist who was trying to protect immigrants’ rights; as an undocumented student who feared that her family could be deported; or as a Mexican-American who was angered by the law and had worked in education, none of them had actually been directly affected by it. None of the three respondents had been stopped due to S.B. 1070. However, during the three interviews I could sense that they all felt that there was no justification for passing these laws. Angie, Alejandra and Anabel perceived S.B.1070 and H.B. 2281 as hugely unjust mainly because these laws target members of a population purely on the basis of their appearance and culture, something over which they have no control or choice.

When I asked Anabel about H.B. 2281, the anti-Ethnic Studies law, she responded to me from the perspective of a Mexican-American farmworker, rather than as a teacher. Thus, although Anabel mentioned the repercussions for Mexican-origin

---

plays the critical moralizing role; and the ego is the part that mediates between the desires of the id and the super-ego (Freud, 1923).



students of banning Mexican-American Studies, she emphasised the relevance of her experience as a Mexican-origin farmworker in California and the significance of César Chávez for her community.

Furthermore, when I asked her if she had faced any problems in relation to S.B. 1070 (more specifically, if she had ever been stopped because of it), she stated that she had not, and claimed that the only way it could affect her was because of her ‘Mexican part’. It seemed to me that Anabel had ambivalent feelings about her Mexican heritage. On one hand, she considered it important for Mexican-origin students to remember their roots (more precisely, how they achieved Civil Rights in the United States), but on the other hand, she felt that her Mexican heritage constituted a problem in some respects.

I believe S.B.1070 is not simply an anti-immigration law; but an anti-assimilation law. As I mentioned in the first chapter, this law raises the possibility on persecuting and deporting people from the state who do not behave or look like the white dominant population (for example, people who do not speak English, have fair skin or even wear fashionable clothes). The more people *look*, *behave* and *think* like the white dominant population in Arizona, the less they will be at risk of being stopped in the name of S.B. 1070. For example, Alejandra stated that she was not scared of being stopped by the police because she spoke English, which could be interpreted as having nothing to fear because she could prove that she had become ‘assimilated’ into the country (or to put it another way, because she spoke the language of her coloniser). Similarly, Anabel mentioned that her family joked about how wearing certain clothes might make them look like undocumented immigrants. This comment made me think that Anabel believed that the style of clothing her family wore was another way of proving that they had been assimilated into Arizona.

In summary, as a result of S.B.1070 and H.B. 2281, both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans struggle with issues relating to their appearance and their ethnicity. The Mexican-origin population has to be careful about how they look, how they behave, and even how they think. The following section, entitled ‘Los Gringos’, discusses the perceptions of the white dominant population in Arizona. The cases of Andrea, Rafferty and Jacqueline serve as different approaches with which to understand how both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans perceive and relate to the white dominant population.

### **3.2 Los Gringos**

The word *gringo* is used in Mexico as in other Latin-American countries to refer to white people who come from the United States of America. There are several different versions of the term’s origin. While they might have an element of fantasy about them, all are linked with the battles between Mexico and the United States that resulted in Texan independence and the annexation of several U.S. states (such as California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah and Nevada) into the United States.

The most famous version of the word’s origin claims that during the 1836 battle of the Alamo, in Texas, Mexican soldiers shouted, ‘greens go!’ at the American army, because the U.S. army soldiers were wearing a green uniform. From then on, the word *gringo* became part of Mexican jargon. Although the term is commonly considered to have a pejorative meaning, in Mexico, ‘gringo’ simply refers to a white person who comes from the United States.

As sociologist and race theorist Howard Winant (1997) points out there are many varieties of what it means to be 'white' in the United States, therefore it would be a mistake to assume a 'normalised' North American whiteness. This has been the result of a series of events in the U.S. history as well as the rapid growth of 'other others' -such as Latino and Asians- over the past few decades. The old black-white racial polarity has been replaced with a multifaceted racial order in which whiteness is no longer the negation of non-whiteness, but another form of racial difference. According to Winant, white ethnicity has declined in significance, resulting in a 'post-ethnic' Euro-Americans identity whose bearers tend to be more open than their ancestors. Thus from the late 1960s onwards, 'white identity has been reinterpreted in a dualistic fashion; both egalitarian and privileged, individualistic and 'normalised', 'colour-blind' and besieged (Winant, 1996: 75).

Winant proposes to be a struggle over the meaning of 'whiteness' nowadays, but in order to find its significance it would be necessary to classify racial projects along a political continuum. These, according to Winant would be beneficial to attempt to sort out the alternative conceptions of whiteness, along with the politics that flow from and inform these conceptions.

For Winant, on the 'far Right' the cornerstone of white identity is belief in an 'unalterable racialized difference between whites and non-whites (...) this belief has been biologically grounded, and it remains so today' (Winant, 1997: 76). Although for far Right whites accounts of the nature and sources of racial difference vary, often they are based also on religious doctrine. Perhaps far Right white do not present a real political threat, however their advocacy and practice of racial terrorism should generate more social concern. Moreover for Winant, the 'new Right' has its origins in resistance

to the black movement. As a result of it, the new Right developed a political orientation that is basically nationalist, populist, and authoritarian. It continues the racist legacy of southern populism and it revives the anti-immigration hysteria which earlier nativist movement had directed against Europeans and Asians, and this time targets Latinos in the south-west. Finally, new right populism associates whiteness with a range of capitalist virtues: productivity, thrift, obedience to law, self-denial, and sexual repression.

Even though Winant proposes five different key racial projects -which he calls 'far Right', 'new Right', 'neo-conservative', 'liberal' and 'new abolitionist'- I only described 'far Right' and 'new Right' in order to understand the idea of the white American that both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans face in their daily encounters.<sup>14</sup>

As mentioned previously, my first contact in Arizona was Roberto, another *chilango* (meaning that he was from Mexico City) like me who had lived in Arizona for a while and who rented his house to me during my first visit to Tucson. During my stay I also had the opportunity to meet Roberto's wife, Kristen. She had worked as a dance instructor for many years until a knee injury prevented her from dancing anymore. When I met her, she was working as a wedding planner. Kristen's father had migrated from Germany to Tucson several decades earlier, where he had settled and raised a family and had also made a lot of money. Roberto and Kristen had met in a dance club about ten years previously and, since Kristen already had three children they decided not to have anymore.

---

<sup>14</sup> This two key racial projects (far Right and new Right) can also be used to describe the concepts 'white dominant population' and 'coloniser' from Chapter 1.

Kristen could be regarded as the stereotypical white American. During my various encounters with her, I felt that she patronized me because I was Mexican. For example, she would praise my spoken English *even though* I was a Mexican. She also appeared to be jealous because Roberto and I were both *chilangos* and understood each other very well. The interaction between Kristen and I was not entirely harmonious, and it became more difficult when she insinuated that I was flirting with her husband. It seemed as if Kristen was using the prevalent discourse about how Mexicans come to the United States to steal jobs, and adapting it to suggest that I had come not to steal her job as a wedding planner, but to steal her husband.

My interaction with Kristen, as with some other gringos in Arizona is similar to Alexis de Tocquerville's critique of American's individualism. According to him, one of the consequences of democracy in the United States is a sense of separation between the members of society. However, the idea of *American individualism* only disguises what is in reality egoism; the manifestation of 'an ardent and excessive love of oneself which leads man to relate everything to himself and to prefer himself above everything' (Tocqueville, 1994: 78). Although Tocqueville's observation about American individualism was made in the mid-nineteenth century, I believe it still holds true for present day American society. Kristen, like other gringos I interacted with, felt that the world revolved around her.

So, who are the gringos and what are they really like? How do they differ from the Mexican-origin population? Moreover, how are these 'others' constructed in the Mexican-origin population's psyche? Throughout this section, I discuss the relationship between the Mexican-origin population and the gringos in Arizona.

The first subsection, entitled ‘The Gringo: What does he represent?’, answers the question of what the gringo signifies for the Mexican-origin population. As will be discussed, the gringo has to be understood as a container of projections and unconscious phantasies. Homi K. Bhabha’s concepts of ambivalence, and Frantz Fanon’s theories about the ‘inferiority complex’ and the concept of the ‘colonised mind’ proposed in the first chapter of the thesis (Section 1.3, entitled ‘The Colonised Mind: The Inferiority Complex and Projective Identification’), serve as a way of understanding the Mexican-origin population’s ambivalent feelings towards the gringos in Arizona.

In the second part of this section, a distinction is drawn between *good* and *bad* gringos. In order to illustrate this differentiation, specific cases serve as examples of how the Mexican-origin population in Arizona tend to *split* and polarize (either idealize or denigrate) the white dominant population as a psychic consequence of oppression and having colonised minds. Theories and concepts developed by Simon Clarke (2003), Melanie Klein (1937) and Abdul JanMohamed (1985), amongst others, will be used to explain these phenomena.

### **3.2.1 The Gringo: What does he represent?**

**Andrea** and I met at the University of Arizona. We shared an office in the Mexican-American Studies Department during my stay as a Visiting Scholar. When I met her, she was working as an intern in the Binational Migration Institute (BMI).

She was born in Tucson but raised in Magdalena, Sonora, Mexico. A few weeks before her birth her parents decided to go to Tucson so that Andrea could be born there. The rationale for doing so was because if Andrea was born in Arizona, she would have

U.S. citizenship<sup>15</sup> as well as all the legal rights<sup>16</sup> that it conferred, and in the future (as eventually happened), Andrea would be able to study and work in the United States.

Andrea had ‘officially’ moved to Arizona when she was twenty years old to study at the University of Arizona. When I met her, she had finished her undergraduate degree in Latin-American Literature and was applying for other jobs whilst working in the Mexican-American Studies Department. Although she had been raised in Mexico and had spent a short period of her life in the United States, Andrea considered herself a Mexican-American and not simply a Mexican who held a U.S. passport (as was the case with other people I interviewed). Andrea spent the early part of the interview talking about how her father had migrated without documentation to Arizona with the help of his brother. According to her, one of the consequences of residing in the United States for a period of time was that she developed a stereotypical image of the Mexican undocumented immigrant. I asked her to expand on this idea, to which she replied:

*Well, you probably have already heard what people say if you are a Mexican, that you already have a permanent stigma. People are going to look at you and assume you were not born here. They are going to look at you with.... I'm not saying that all the time... but talking about this stigma, like if you had just swam the Rio Grande river, or if you had just crossed the border.... that's what I'm talking about.*

I then asked Andrea if she believed the gringos discriminated against the Mexican-origin population because of this stigma that she referred to. She replied:

*Not really, not really discrimination, but a way to put you down, to patronize you, 'poor Mexican, you escaped from your country'. It is not like that much*

---

<sup>15</sup> The U.S. recognizes citizenship according to two fundamental principles: *jus soli* (right of birthplace), and *jus sanguinis* (right of blood). Under *jus soli*, a person receives American citizenship by virtue of being born in the United States. By contrast, *jus sanguinis* confers citizenship on those born to at least one U.S. citizen anywhere in the world.

<sup>16</sup> The U.S. Constitution provides the following rights to U.S. citizens: 1) voting (only U.S. citizens can vote in Federal elections; 2) bringing family members to the U.S.; 3) obtaining citizenship for children born abroad; 4) traveling with a U.S. passport; 5) becoming eligible for Federal jobs; 6) becoming an elected official and 7) showing patriotism (uscis.gov, 2016).

*nowadays, but still it is a way to see, not only the Mexican population, but all Latinos.... like inferior... and... I think that the people don't worry to distinguish who is Mexican, or from El Salvador, or from Nicaragua, who is from Chile... that is why they say like 'Oh, they are Mexicans!', although the U.S. receives immigrants from many other parts of Latin-America.*

It stunned me that Andrea did not consider 'patronizing' behaviour and 'see[ing] someone down' as a form of discrimination. As with other interviewees, I realised that it was hard for her to accept, and more so to openly admit that there was discrimination towards the Mexican-origin population in Arizona. After listening to her thoughts on the gringos' disdainful attitudes towards the Mexican-origin population, I was interested to discover if this meant she had found it difficult to interact with them too. However, I did not want to ask her directly, so instead, I asked if she had had difficulty interacting with any specific population group after moving to Arizona, to which she replied:

*I think that...at the beginning with the Anglo-Saxon Americans, with a typical blonde and blue eyed John Smith. For me it was intimidating to start a conversation with them, perhaps because I felt they saw me like... 'no, she's not from here, what does she think she is doing?' No, it was very difficult because I was aware, very aware of what I was carrying.... it seemed like I had so much weight carrying behind me. I used to think 'he is looking at me, and I don't look like him, he is listening that I don't speak like him, and that I don't express myself like him'.*

Andrea continued and explained to me how she felt that there was a 'distance' between her and the white population. She believed this was because they did not see her as an equal, but as 'someone lower'. She even admitted that she felt a need to constantly prove that she was 'as capable as them'. For Andrea, because she was from Mexico, it meant that she was only capable of cleaning toilets and floors. She believed that white Americans perceived Mexicans in two ways: either as 'poor people' (patronising them); or as 'invaders', 'who were in the country' to steal jobs from white Americans and



whatever else they found on their way'. I found her ideas interesting, so I asked her if she could explain further, to which she replied:

*Yes, I think it should be a bit more balanced in my opinion, but there's either the 'poor guy' idea or 'get out of here' idea... the good one, which can be patronizing them, or the one that makes you hate them for being opportunistic or as if they were the scum of the Earth.*

Andrea blamed the phenomena of splitting the image of the Mexican-origin population on manipulation by social media. According to her, television did not show Mexicans as having an interesting culture or an ethnic group in their own right, but merely as constituting a 'problem to the United States'. She told me an anecdote about her time as an undergraduate student, when she had met several students who did not want to learn to speak Spanish for fear of being mistaken for Mexicans.

Throughout our interview and at other times when Andrea and I met, I noticed that she tried to make her accent sound as American as possible. On one occasion, I could tell she was annoyed by the way I pronounced some words in English, such as 'water', 'tomato' and even my surname, 'Hernandez'.

Paradoxically, most of the time she emphasized how proud she was to be Mexican and how oppressed Mexicans and Latinos were in the United States by the gringos. I could sense that Andrea had a very ambivalent relationship with the gringos; she simultaneously loved and hated them. It was clear that she disliked them in some respects, but desperately wanted their approval too.

I had the opportunity to chat with **Jaqueline** on a Saturday evening over Skype. I was still on holiday in Mexico City, visiting my family, and she had just started another semester at the University of Arizona where she was studying Marketing. Like Andrea, Jaqueline was born in the United States but raised in Sonora, Mexico. However, in

contrast to Andrea, Jacqueline considered herself simply as a Mexican who held a U.S. passport and not as a Mexican-American.

She was the middle one of three girls. Her parents had decided to have their children in the United States so that they would be eligible for U.S. citizenship. Jaqueline's older sister was the first to move to Tucson to study, and a couple of year later, Jaqueline followed to start studying for her undergraduate degree. Jaqueline began her interview by telling me how much she missed Mexico and how hard it had been for her to communicate with others when she first moved to Arizona. When I asked her what she missed most about Mexico, she said it was both the people and culture. She then drew comparisons between gringos and Mexicans:

*Yes, the gringos are quite bland...and for example, they don't kiss you when they say hello or they don't get excited. And us....The Mexicans, I don't know, even when you see someone every day, you give them a kiss and a hug. They don't express their feelings. In general, I think that their values are very different than the Mexicans.*

Jaqueline also pointed out differences in the way that Mexicans and white Americans dressed, especially some of her classmates, who would wear 'super tiny shorts' which 'showed up their butts'. According to Jaqueline, this kind of dress code would not be allowed in Mexico and her teachers would have condemned it. Jaqueline also mentioned how parties in the United States differed from those in Mexico. She considered the former to be 'too sexual' and offering potential access to several kinds of drugs. I found this idea interesting, so I therefore asked her if she could develop it further in regards to how gringos liked to party.

*I just recently came back from Las Vegas, and my friends and I went to clubs, right? And I was literally in shock because...you know that usually in clubs they arrange like tables and chairs, right? In those tables they serve you the bottles and drinks. Sometimes when you are tired you can go sit on the couches that are*

*close to the tables... but when I tried to take a sit in one of them, oh my God, there were people like having sex there in front of everyone!*

I then asked Jaqueline what were the main differences she had noticed between the Mexican-origin population and the gringos. She highlighted the fact that some of her white classmates would not be as attached to their families as she was, explaining that she would find it very hard to go without seeing her parents for a long period of time. She also pointed out that it was easier for her to get along and become friends with people who also had a Mexican background than a gringo who she not only found ‘bland’, but lacking in warmth.

During the interview with Jacqueline, I could sense that she had little interest in relating to or becoming friends with the gringos, whom she saw as different and distant from her. Instead, Jacqueline remained as close as possible to her Mexican friends and to her family. Moreover, unlike Andrea, she did not care about how the gringos perceived her or their attitudes towards her.

I met **Rafferty** one warm afternoon at my house in Tucson. I was pleased that he had agreed to come, as the first time we were supposed to meet I had arranged another interview by mistake and stood him up. Rafferty’s mother was from Sonora, Mexico and his dad from Veracruz, also in Mexico. They had both migrated to the United States when they were still children. Although they had lived in Arizona for more than twenty years, Rafferty’s parents did not have U.S. citizenship, and were therefore still regarded as undocumented immigrants.

Rafferty was born and raised in Tucson. When we met, he was only twenty years old. He had a part-time job at the Tucson Mall and was also studying to become an engineer. Although Rafferty preferred studying to working due to economic reasons, he

had to 'slow down' his studies and take on two different jobs in order to support his parents. He had recently left his job as a cook at Carl's Junior because he was 'tired' of not being paid enough. Rafferty mentioned that most of his co-workers were also of Mexican origin, and that he got along better with them than with the gringos. I therefore asked him why he was less keen on the gringos, and he replied:

*Perhaps because of some things I've been able to witness. They are racist. And I know in Mexico there might also be racist people, but I haven't seen it, I think Mexicans in general are cool. And I try to be cool too. I do not care about skin colours. If you try to be a good person, then I like you. And much of what I've seen is that I'm discriminated because I'm Mexican although I am not actually Mexican, but I look Mexican.*

I then asked Rafferty if he could tell me more about his experiences of discrimination, which he described as follows:

*When I was little I felt it all the time when I was playing football... 'Oh! He is Mexican, of course he is good...he is even better than my child. He is Mexican and that's why he can play football...but try to make him play baseball'. They said many things to me and about me, so yeah. In reality it doesn't hurt me but why would you say things like this when they are not necessary? I would call it 'talent', instead. If you have talent, it doesn't matter who you are.*

I therefore asked Rafferty if the discriminatory events he was talking about had involved gringos rather than other Mexican immigrants or Mexican-Americans. He replied that, in the majority of cases, he had experienced discrimination from someone white, although he recognized that people from other ethnicities and nationalities could behave in a discriminatory way too. Rafferty emphasised that the events he was referring to occurred when he was between about six and nine years old, so he did not have a clear memory of them. Even so, he believed that discriminatory practices towards the Mexican-origin population were still evident, and his job as a football coach unfortunately meant that he had witnessed them first-hand:

*But this is still happening nowadays. I am a football coach and sometimes my kids are discriminated too. Although some of them are blonde or have fair skin, people call them 'Mexican' and other stuff.*

I could sense that Rafferty did not want to go into detail about the words used to discriminate against the Mexican children he trained. I was also struck by his perception that simply calling someone 'Mexican' could be considered a discriminatory act. Without me having to ask, Rafferty had told me what it meant to be a Mexican in Arizona, which basically equated to something undesirable. I asked Rafferty about how he thought the Mexican-origin population perceived the gringos, to which he replied:

*As an enemy, mainly because of what the gringos say about the Mexicans and the way they treat the Mexicans. But they (the gringos) shouldn't be seen just like that, because as I said, the gringos can be also nice. But I have seen them against me, so I really don't know. I don't want to see them as the enemy anymore; because I know I will be doing the same thing that they do to me. I am not going to treat them bad. I mean, I will treat them like any other person.... Is just that the gringos do not realize that their comments make us sad.*

I therefore asked Rafferty if he believed the behaviours exhibited and the comments made by the gringos towards the Mexican-origin population had an influence on how the latter behaved. Rafferty said he believed that any comments about someone – whether positive or negative – would have an effect. He mentioned that, like his father, he tried to make all his trainees feel equal on the football field. According to Rafferty, the responsibility for the problem of racism and discrimination among the children he trained lay with their parents, who did not teach them to treat everyone as equal. He mentioned that some of the Mexican children he trained even believed that 'the Americans are rich and have everything, and the Americans on the other hand think that the Mexicans don't have anything and are poor'. For Rafferty, the majority of Mexican-origin people he knew felt 'ashamed of being Mexican'. He told me that one of his trainees did not want

to speak either English or Spanish at school because his classmates made fun of him, calling him ‘weird, or fucking this, or fucking that’ and urging him to ‘go back to your country’.

Andrea, Jacqueline, and Rafferty came from very similar backgrounds. The two women had been born in the United States but raised in Mexico, which made them difficult to categorize as either Mexicans or Mexican-Americans. Andrea and Jacqueline also had a ‘border identity’, which meant that they were neither from Mexico nor the U.S. and therefore the question of nationality was complicated for them. Although Rafferty was born in the United States, he also struggled to define himself. During the interview he told me that he defined himself as Mexican, yet he later contradicted this by stating that he was not Mexican, but just looked like a Mexican.

Throughout the interviews, I was able to identify with the three interviewees, and with Andrea in particular. Her ambivalence towards the white Americans was something I had felt before, especially the need to be understood and accepted by them. Although during my visits to Arizona I was neither scared nor ashamed of speaking in English and sounding like a foreigner, I could understand why speaking constituted a problematic issue for Andrea and Rafferty’s trainees. As Frantz Fanon (1965) stated, ‘to speak is to exist absolutely for the other’. What I mean by invoking this quote is that, through language, Andrea was listened to, seen and recognized by the gringos - her colonisers. By speaking in English, Andrea was expressing her existence for, and imposing it on, the ‘Other’.

Moreover, choosing the English language over Spanish as a means of communication was proof that Andrea had unconsciously accepted the idea of being psychically colonised by the gringos. As proposed in the first chapter, as a result of

having a colonised mind, Andrea, like other Mexican-origin people, positioned herself as ‘inferior’ to the gringos (the white dominant coloniser). This is merely the consequence of unconscious discriminatory experiences and projections contained by both Andrea and other Mexican-origin people in Arizona. By defining herself as a Mexican-American and not simply as a Mexican, Andrea was trying to ‘renounce her blackness [Mexicanness] and her jungle [Mexico]’ (Fanon, 1965: 85).

During her interview, Andrea acknowledged that she felt detached from the white Americans, but ironically, she forced herself to gain their acceptance. By pushing herself to speak like the gringos, Andrea was trying to ‘wash away’ her culture, her skin colour and her nationality. The more she mastered the American accent, the more accepted she thought she would be by the gringos. As Fanon (1965) points out, ‘the Negro [Mexican] will become whiter, become more human, as he masters the white man’s [gringo] language’ (Fanon, 1965: 18).

Moreover, Andrea also spoke of ‘carrying weight’ and being stigmatized simply by being Mexican. This claim relates to Erving Goffman’s (1978) ideas about what he calls ‘tribal stigmas’, which, according to him, are ‘transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members’ of a race and a nation (Goffman, 1978: 4). I considered the stigma to which she referred to be real, and not just imagined; however, her behaviours, reactions and conflicts with the gringos also showed me that, in a way, she accepted it.

Andrea, Jacqueline and Rafferty also considered themselves to be detached from the gringos. Moreover, Jacqueline’s claims about the white Americans’ lack of warmth and questionable morals recalls Mary Douglas’ ideas about using pollution as a means of differentiation. As Douglas points out, the concept of pollution plays a significant role in

human relations. This is key in trying to understand how ideas about race and racial interactions are structured. Douglas argues that by psychically ‘polluting the Other’, boundaries are constructed between people. Pollution and dirt are usually associated with the Other, thereby positing him or her as a dangerous person. According to Douglas, these ideas are crucial in trying to understand how societies are structured. Crossing physical boundaries endangers the life of others by subjecting them to the danger of difference (Douglas, 1966).

The anecdote Jacqueline recollected in the interview showed that she too regarded the gringos as ‘polluting’ in terms of their morals. For Jacqueline, the gringos were ‘filthy’ in relation to their sexuality, and the gringo parties were ‘contaminated’ with drugs. By portraying the gringos as ‘polluted’, Jacqueline was making them appear dangerous and unapproachable.

On the other hand, throughout Rafferty’s interview, I became aware that he struggled to accept that perhaps his antipathy towards the gringos stemmed from their racism towards him and other Mexicans he knew. This was evident in his account of how the gringos used pejorative terms and made derogatory comments towards him and other Mexican-origin people.

Although Rafferty literally saw gringos as ‘the enemy’, he nonetheless acknowledged that he did not want to perceive them in those terms, which made me think that, like the other interviewees, Rafferty was scared of being considered a racist.

In the same way as Andrea, although he did not explicitly acknowledge it, Rafferty considered the word ‘Mexican’ to denote something ‘bad’. The term ‘Mexican’ was a container of projections that came from the gringos. It struck me as interesting that the instances of being discriminated against that he remembered, happened when he was



a football trainee, and now, as a football coach, he wanted to make his trainees feel that the football field was a safe place where they could forget about past events and leave discrimination behind. This made me think that by making the football field a safe environment for his trainees, he was trying to overcome a personal trauma that he had experienced in the past.

As has been discussed in relation to the three cases presented, the concept of the gringo is built upon ideas such as: racism; fear; animosity; immorality; disgust; and - most strikingly - approval. As mentioned previously, although the three interviewees perceived the white American population as 'intimidating', 'bland' or even as 'enemies', the cases also highlight that the Mexican-origin population in Arizona also feel a constant *ambivalence* towards them. In other words, the gringo (also understood as the coloniser), receives feelings of both love and hate from the Mexican-origin population (the colonised).

The concept of ambivalence, understood as the simultaneous existence of contradictory tendencies, attitudes or feelings in relationship to a single object (more precisely, the coexistence of love and hate towards one person) was first proposed by the physician Josef Breuer, and later developed by Sigmund Freud (1909b, 1912b, 1915). The psychoanalyst used this concept to describe the continual fluctuation between wanting a particular thing and wanting the opposite. The novelty of the notion of ambivalence for Freud consisted in the maintenance of an opposition of the yes/no type, wherein affirmation and negation are simultaneous and inseparable.

The term 'ambivalence' was adapted into post-colonial discourse theory by Homi Bhabha (1994) to describe a complex mix of attraction and repulsion that characterizes the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. For Bhabha, this relationship is

ambivalent because the colonised subject is never solely and completely opposed to the coloniser. Rather than assuming that some colonised subjects are ‘complicit’ in, and others are ‘resistant’ to, their colonisation, the notion of ambivalence suggests that complicity and resistance exist in a fluctuating relation within the colonised. Moreover, ambivalence ‘also characterizes the way in which colonial discourse relates to the colonised subject, for it may be both exploitative and nurturing, or it represent itself as nurturing, at the same time’ (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998).

Most importantly, in Bhabha’s theory, however, the presence of ambivalence between the colonised and the coloniser disrupts the clear-cut authority of colonial domination since it disturbs the relationship between coloniser and colonised. In this regard, I would suggest that ambivalence, according to Bhabha, is an unwelcome aspect of colonial discourse, since the aim is to produce compliant colonised people who will reproduce its assumptions, habits and values, which effectively means that the colonised will *mimic* the coloniser. However, for Bhabha, this mimicry is nothing but a ‘blurred copy’ (mockery) of the coloniser’s assumption, habits and values.

In the following subsection, entitled ‘Good Gringos and Bad Gringos’, the cases of Martin and Teresa are described and analysed. As will be discussed, for the Mexican-origin population, white Americans can be perceived as either *good* or *bad*. Manicheism and these binary ways of thinking will be understood through Melanie Klein’s (1959) concept of the paranoid-schizoid position and the unconscious mechanism of splitting, as well as Abdul R. JanMohamed’s (1985) concept of Manicheism and binary thinking within imperial discourse.

### 3.2.2 Good Gringos and Bad Gringos

When I met **Martin**, he was about to start his third year as an international undergraduate student in Business Administration at the University of Arizona. He was born and raised in Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico, but had moved to Tucson to undertake his undergraduate studies three years ago. Martin had lived in several parts of the world, including England, Canada and Germany. When he was about twelve years old, he spent a couple of months with a family in the United States as part of a summer exchange programme. Martin seemed to be a very formal and serious person. He started the interview by explaining to me how easy it had been for him to move to Arizona. I asked him about his friends and how he related to both gringos and Mexicans. According to him, it was easier to be friends with the gringos, because he believed that some Mexicans had a ‘predisposition to discrimination’. I found it interesting that he raised the topic of discrimination before I did. I was also struck by the notion that he believed it was easier to be friends with gringos than with Mexicans. I therefore asked Martin to develop his idea further, which he did in the following excerpt:

*More than a predisposition to discrimination is predisposition to be discriminated, you know? And it is...like...for example ‘are you in the investment club in the university?’ ...And the answer is ‘no, I do not go there because there are only gringos’ or ‘no, I do not join any of those clubs because there are only gringos and I don’t like gringos’. So, I think it is a very pathetic attitude that a person positions himself lower than the whites, you know? Even before having any kind of contact with them.*

After listening to his answer, I then asked Martin what he thought about S.B. 1070 and H.B. 2281, since these laws were made by gringos and were thought to be discriminatory towards the Mexican-origin population. He initially claimed not to know

much about the laws, so I had to explain them briefly to him. I then asked him again for his opinion, and he replied as follows:

*Look, what happens is that the gringo... the gringo does not have any hatred against the Mexican, I mean the educated gringo, right? Of course, if you go down the river where there are other whites that live like in trailers, well, that's different. But an educated gringo, from what I've experienced in the past three years, has absolutely nothing against the Mexicans...the 90 percent so to speak. The other 10 percent might be racist.*

Martin went on to tell me about a time when he had stayed with a white American family in Washington at the age of twelve as part of an exchange programme. According to him, residents of Montesano (the city where he stayed) were surprised by the way Martin dressed, since he did not look like a 'stereotypical' Mexican. Apparently, during his stay, it was explained to him that the Mexicans in this area were mainly Chicanos who looked like *cholos* and were allegedly responsible for every robbery and assault that took place. I could sense that Martin found the association between the Mexican-origin population and crime very offensive, as is evident from the following excerpt:

*Now, you tell me, objectively... what would you think of the Mexicans if you see them doing these? That is the reason why it annoys me so much that these people degrade both my culture and me with the way they behave, since it has nothing to do with an educated Mexican person.*

In a sense, I could understand what Martin meant about Mexicans' 'predisposition to discrimination'; however, I also had an instinctively strong reaction against this idea in general, and thus I remember feeling very angry throughout the interview. Perhaps it was a result of Martin's transference towards me (I am a person of Mexican-origin so I could not help but regard his comment as a personal attack to some extent). In addition, his lack of knowledge about S.B. 1070 made me feel that he could not talk about the topic with any real authority. I believe what shocked me most about him was his positioning of the Mexican-origin population as 'inferior' to the gringos. An

example of this was his remark about how the Mexican students he knew did not engage in certain activities at the University. These students had never mentioned feeling ‘inferior’ to the gringos; however, Martin assumed that the reason why they refrained was because they felt ‘less than’ the white students.

In this way, Martin was idealizing the gringos and denying the fact that the Mexican-origin population was being discriminated against in Arizona. In addition to this, he also depicted Mexican-origin people as criminals who dressed badly and degraded him and his culture. I found it interesting that, for Martin, education and wealth were synonymous with goodness; whilst ignorance and poverty were synonymous with badness. Thus, Martin distinguished between good gringos (the educated and wealthy ones), and bad gringos (the uneducated who lived in trailer parks). Moreover, he also believed that there were good Mexicans (like him, who did not feel inferior to the gringos) and bad Mexicans (who felt inferior and were also criminals).

Similarly to Martin, **Teresa** also split the white American people into ‘good’ and ‘bad’. I had the opportunity to meet her through a public group on Facebook. When I arrived in Tucson I decided to join all the public Facebook groups that would allow me access to Mexican culture, and that would enable me to meet Mexican-Americans in Arizona. Teresa was one of the few people who replied to an invitation I posted to one of these groups asking for people who were willing to be interviewed. I had to conduct her interview via Skype, since she was based in Nogales, Arizona and I was residing in Tucson. Teresa’s father was from El Paso, Texas and her mother came from Esperanza, Sonora, Mexico. She was born and raised in Nogales, Arizona. She was divorced, had three children and worked as a nurse. During the interview she seemed interested in the

questions I was asking her. She also seemed to be struggling to reply to me in Spanish, so she fluctuated between English and Spanish interchangeably. At the beginning of her interview, we talked about her job and her experiences of studying in the United States.

*When I started the nursing programme, we were like thirty people I think, and we were divided into two different programmes. I sat on the... let's say in the classroom, right? I sat on my desk and there was a white American on one side and another one on the other. Well, that gringa, moved her desk to make more space between the two of us... what are you supposed to do, huh? It's up to them, no? At the end of the programme that girl, came to me and said that someone had told her not to be close to any Mexican, because they were armed, it didn't matter if they were women or men.*

After relating this experience, Teresa told me another story about an instance where she had felt discriminated against by another white woman. Several years ago, Teresa had to give a presentation to some colleagues as part of her job. Afterwards, a white woman asked her where she was from, since she did not speak with a foreign accent but did not look white. Teresa explained that although her parents were Mexican, she was born and raised in the United States. Although the woman did not say anything else to Teresa, for her the simple act of asking her where she came from was a form of discrimination. She highlighted that experiences like the ones she told me about were 'hard to forget'; but that it was always important to remember that 'the discrimination problem' was 'theirs' and not hers. Events like these, in Teresa's words, 'change the person you are. They force you to either, crouch and say 'oh no, I can't and I'm stupid', or you become stronger and push yourself harder':

*You become stronger... and tougher...and things do not affect you anymore. You have to be mature, you have to change your way of thinking, not to take everything so personal and understand that sometimes it is not an attack against you as a person, but against where you come from, your decency. So, not because I am Teresa that means that they don't like Teresa, it is that they don't like the Mexicans. It is not personal anymore, it is not exclusively against me, it's a bigger problem, it is not mine... it's theirs.*

I asked Teresa in what way she felt that Mexicans were not liked in the United States, in other words, why they were ‘targets of discrimination’. She replied that her feelings fluctuated between ‘sadness and anger’, although it all depended on the situation and how she interpreted the event in question. To illustrate this point, she told me about an instance where she had experienced discrimination against the Mexican culture. At a work meeting, for some reason the other people in attendance had started talking about pre-Hispanic images (such as the Aztec or the Mayan sculptures and figures). According to Teresa, some people claimed that these icons were not very pleasant because they ‘looked like porn’. Teresa recalled feeling very ‘angry’ as the pre-Hispanic culture was part of her history and something she grew up with. I asked her why she thought the people concerned had made these kinds of comments, and she replied:

*I think those comments are due to a lack of education coming from the gringos. Now, here in the United States, they are doing something called Cultural Awareness... and in many hospitals... even in big companies they are implementing...mmm... this model of thinking.... They want to make everyone to know about other cultures and to respect others....And I think it's good, you know? To accept people as they are... You need to know the rules no matter where you come from, you need to follow the rules and respect others.*

Following her comment about how rules should be followed, and her belief in respecting others, I asked her opinion regarding criticism of Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans for allegedly breaking the law and for not respecting the ‘American’ population and ‘American’ culture. Teresa replied that unfortunately, there were both ‘good and bad gringos’ and ‘good and bad Mexicans’. According to her, there were ‘noble’ Mexican immigrants who ‘tried to do things well’ and ‘respected’ the country, and ‘bad’ Mexicans who did not respect other cultures and just tried to pursue their own self-interest:

*As in any culture, there are good and bad people, the ones who follow the rules and the ones who don't. My parents and my grandparents did everything by the law, they went through the process of becoming U.S. citizens...they earned the right to be here and to work in the fields.*

Teresa went on to mention how 'unfair' she believed it was that some Mexican immigrants entered the United States and 'took advantage of the country's resources'. Moreover, she also criticised specific behaviours exhibited by both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, such as making fun of the American flag or the national anthem. I got the impression that this made her angry, especially when she uttered the following phrase: 'if they are not going to respect us, then they should go back to their country!'

I then asked her if she could further develop her idea about how there were 'good and bad gringos', to which she replied:

*Well... as I said before, there is going to be people from both races who are going to be the opposite...I mean, I have worked with some nice white Americans, but I think generally they don't respect us, they don't care about us and they see the Mexican culture as lower from them. Even at schools...I remember when I was a kid that they even separated coloured people from the whites. Why? Because they feel they are better than us. We are all humans. Unfortunately the negative lingers more than the positive. So people always remember the negative. We rarely remember or make connections when it's positive, so I don't know what idea they think it's going to be... I feel proud for what I have accomplished as a Latina woman in this country...especially a divorced one...*

In contrast to Martin, who idealised the gringos, Teresa perceived the white dominant population as people who behaved discriminatorily towards herself and other members of her ethnic group. Through the examples she used and the explanations Teresa offered during her interview, she emphasised the notion of difference and opposition between the Mexican-origin population and the gringos. Although for her, the Mexican-origin people were not solely 'good' (since some Mexican immigrants had a tendency to break the rules), her descriptions of the gringos also revealed a negative



perception of them. While Teresa acknowledged that there were ‘nice gringos’, she believed that, in general, they saw her as an inferior human being because she had dark skin and was from a Mexican background. For Teresa, the gringos constituted an uneducated population who did not respect her or her cultural heritage.

Both Martin and Teresa split the Mexican-origin and the white population into good and bad. Manicheism is a concept that understands *binary* structures as part of imperial ideology. JanMohamed (1985) uses the dualistic aspect of Manicheism to describe the process by which imperial discourse polarizes society, culture and people into the categories of good and evil. The tendency to see the world in terms of binary oppositions (which are structurally related to one another, and which in the colonial discourse may underlay the binary concept of ‘coloniser-colonised’, for example: white – black; civilized – primitive; good - bad; human – bestial) serves as a way of constructing ideological structures and meanings (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998: 134).

Moreover, in psychoanalysis, splitting is a concept developed by Melanie Klein (1959) and is understood as the most primitive ego defence mechanism and a main feature of the paranoid-schizoid position. According to Klein, the mechanism of splitting functions as a way of controlling danger by separating impulses and objects into good and bad. Although Klein considered splitting to be a key feature of child development, splitting may change over time and it will always arise in moments of anxiety (threat). According to Klein (1959): ‘The process of splitting changes in form and content as development goes on, but in some ways it is never entirely given up’ (Klein, 1959: 253).

Alternatively, Thomas Ogden (1992) proposes that the mechanism of splitting acts as a ‘boundary-creating mode of thought’ (Ogden, 1992: 48). Ogden’s interpretation of splitting suggests that this defence mechanism has consequences for the social

environment; therefore, splitting leads to the setting of strong boundaries around the self, in which the Other is denigrated and perceived as threatening and destructive. Moreover, as Clarke (2003) suggests, the use of the terms 'us' and 'them' clearly shows the phenomena of splitting in operation within political discourses and bills on immigration. According to Clarke: 'Anxieties are fostered which play on cultural difference which in turn are used to tap into primitive anxieties which arise psychic mechanisms, all to gain popular support' (Clarke, 2003: 133-4).

Understood as a result of imperial ideology or as an unconscious defence mechanism, splitting is a process that divides and polarises. In the aforementioned cases it was shown how both Martin and Teresa split the Mexican-origin and the white populations into good and bad people. Martin perceived the Mexican-origin population as 'uncontrollable, chaotic, unattainable' and bad, whereas he saw the white population as the embodiment of order and control, and thus as good (JanMohamed, 1985: 14). This allowed Martin to separate the Mexican-origin population and the gringos in his mind. Moreover, the possibility of an overlap between them not only disrupted his binary thinking, but it also created a 'scandalous category' which he perceived as foreign: a Chicano who dressed like a *cholo*. Thus, for Martin, the overlap between a gringo (coloniser) and a Mexican person (colonised) was understood as creating a *hybrid* person.

Although Teresa did not appear to be obsessed with her ethnic identity, Martin put considerable effort into portraying himself as an 'educated Mexican' who enjoys having white friends. This behaviour, according to Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1998), could result from being caught in an ambivalent state between the binarism of coloniser and colonised, as they explain here:

the state between the binarism (...) will evidence the signs of extreme ambivalence manifested in mimicry, cultural schizophrenia, or various kinds of obsession with identity (...) into confirming one or other side of the binarism, e.g. Anglo-centrism or nationalism (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998: 24)

Moreover, Martin had adopted the coloniser's assumption of being 'morally superior' to his fellow Mexican classmates, and therefore, he was not inclined 'to expend any energy in understanding their worthless alterity' (JanMohamed, 1985: 18). Similarly, Teresa also showed a sense of superiority towards other Mexicans. Evidence of this was seen in the way she talked about 'bad' Mexican immigrants who, unlike her family, had done things wrong.

To recapitulate, throughout the last two subsections, the white dominant population in Arizona has been analysed with reference to the cases of Andrea, Jacqueline, Rafferty, Martin and Teresa. As previously discussed, for the Mexican-origin population, the gringos have a series of different meanings. The gringos can represent oppression, aggression, discrimination, and sexual promiscuity, but more strikingly, approval. Since the Mexican-origin population residing in the United States is a colonised group, throughout this section, the gringo has been analysed and understood as the Mexican-origin coloniser. Various theories from the field of Post-Colonial Studies (such as those of Bhabha, JanMohamed and Fanon) served as a way of explaining the intersection (or overlap) between the binary relations of the white American and the Mexican-origin people. Furthermore, Klein's concept of splitting offered insight into how the mechanism of binary thinking (Manicheism) is used between the white and Mexican-origin population.

In the following section, the cases of Jocelyn and Abel are analysed and described. As will be discussed, some of the Mexican-origin population in Arizona has

formed its identity in relation to being persecuted and stopped in the name of S.B. 1070 and their interaction with ‘racist’ gringos. In order to understand the complex process of identity formation for the Mexican-origin population, the concept of the ‘colonised mind’ proposed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3, which covers Fanon’s ‘inferiority complex’ and Klein’s ‘projective identification’) will serve as basis for illuminating this phenomenon.

### 3.3 Being a Mexican in Arizona

Before I visited Arizona, I had already conducted research into S.B. 1070 and the Mexican-origin population living there. When I told friends about my trip and my research, most said that they thought the Grand Canyon would be amazing and that Arizona was probably going to be very warm. Both of these things were true. The Grand Canyon is one of the most amazing places I have ever visited, and the weather in some parts of Arizona, such as Tucson and Phoenix, is very hot during the summers.

Although I was expecting to see significant numbers of Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, I had not anticipated quite how many. Both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans were everywhere in Tucson. At the Tucson Mall, there were at least three different places serving Mexican food. Everyone seemed to speak in *Spanglish*, and there were even shops that seemed to be exclusively aimed at the Mexican-origin population.

South Tucson was like any another Mexican city with a series of Walgreens and Seven Elevens. During my trips to Casa San Juan (a non-profit organisation where I worked as a volunteer), I remember feeling that I was entering a ‘little Mexico’; there were Mexican supermarkets, Mexican restaurants, *tacos*, *tortas*, and the famous Sonoran

*perritos calientes* (hot dogs) everywhere. Although in some way I felt close to home, there was also a sense of emptiness and nostalgia. It was certainly *like* Mexico, but not in a very authentic way. Everything seemed to be forced and did not really fit properly. Perhaps I was the one who did not fit. Even at the University of Arizona I felt like I was an invader. I was the only Mexican (born and raised in Mexico City) attending the Chicano psychology and the Mexican-American modules. Although most of the students had a Mexican background, they did not speak Spanish and most had never been to Mexico in their lives.

As I did not have a car, I had to use public transport. While I was either waiting for a bus or riding on one, there was always someone of Mexican origin with whom I could converse. On one occasion I met a Yaqui named Blackie (Figure 6) who, after a long chat, allowed me to take his



Figure 7 Blackie riding the bus 2013

photograph and gave me his phone number so I could call him if I wanted to. During our brief encounter, Blackie did not hesitate in telling me how he had been in jail a couple of time, one, for attacking a young man with a knife and another one for stealing at a supermarket.

Listening to the radio was fun. There was always *salsa*, *banda*, *cumbia* or *bachata* being played. The Mexican presence in Arizona could be felt everywhere.

Throughout my visits, I tried to analyse my position as a Mexican in relation to both the Mexican-origin and the white population. Who did the white population perceive me to be? Was I an intruder and a stranger? Was I a weird Mexican who came

from England? One answer was provided during a brief encounter I had with a group of gringos on the street one Sunday afternoon. I was walking back home from watching a film at The Loft Cinema in East Speedway Road. In the distance I saw a group of men carrying a speaker and two big signs, which I could not read clearly. As I got closer to them, I realized the man talking via the speaker was saying things that related to immigration. I cannot even remember the exact words he used. I just remember the image of the other two white men carrying two large signs with the slogan ‘Stop Illegal Immigration!’ As I walked past, I could feel my heart racing very fast and a rush of adrenaline. My first thought was to approach them and engage them in conversation, just to find out what they had to say about immigration, but then I thought this might not be advisable, since they would realise from my accent that I was not a local. What I did instead, without even consciously thinking about it, was to look down at the ground and continue walking as fast as I could, as if I was guilty of something. I felt adrenaline pumping through my hands and knees whilst I was walking. I simply wanted to get out of the area as quickly as possible. Once I got back home I realized how much of an impact this situation had made on me, and more precisely, how uncomfortable I had felt, without a single word being directed towards me. What shocked me most was that although I held a visa that allowed me to enter the U.S. as a tourist or as a Visiting Scholar, I had felt ashamed about even being in the United States, as if I had entered the country without permission. Moreover, I felt ashamed of my face, my accent, and my ethnic background. Perhaps that is exactly how the Mexican origin population feel in Arizona.

Throughout the following section, I analyse the way in which the white dominant population makes the Mexican-origin population feel. More precisely, I discuss how the Mexican-origin population in Arizona perceive themselves in relation to their

interactions with the white dominant population. In order to do this, the cases of Jocelyn and Abel are analysed and described using sociological, post-colonial and psychoanalytic theories.

### **3.3.1 Who are *we* (the Mexican Population) according to *them* (the Gringos)**

Although it proved hard to get hold of **Jocelyn**, I think it was worth persevering in order to interview her. We met through a mutual friend. After I told this friend about my research project, he put me in contact with Jocelyn because he believed that she would be a really useful candidate to interview, and he turned out to be right. Jocelyn and I met twice, initially in a coffee shop near my house in Tucson. Our first meeting was an informal and brief encounter in which we simply chatted about our lives. During our second meeting, Jocelyn and I took the opportunity to talk in greater depth about her life in Arizona and what it had been like for her to move from Mexico to the United States. When I met her, she had already been residing in the State for almost twenty-four years. She was originally from Nogales, Sonora, Mexico. Her parents had decided to move the whole family to Tucson because they believed that doing so would give them better opportunities in the future.

Before we met, I was curious about how Jocelyn looked, perhaps because the person who referred me to her had told me that she ‘tried to look like a gringa’. When I first contacted her to arrange an interview, Jocelyn replied to my email in English, although mine was written in Spanish. In addition to this, I was also aware that her name

was not Spanish. During our first meeting, I found out that she had changed her Spanish name (which was Maria Fernandez) into an English one.

During both of our meetings, Jocelyn was very energetic and cheerful. She was also very open to the questions I asked her. I found it interesting that when she arrived at the interview, she explained that she was late because she lived in the North of Tucson, where all the ‘gringuitos’ (little gringos) lived.

At the beginning of our conversation, I asked her what the experience of moving to Tucson had been like for her, to which she replied:

*When I just got here, I felt like my mum had forcedly brought us and we were some sort of invaders... because, to begin with...we got here without papers. So everyone was like ‘the illegals, the illegals... you are the worst’. So perhaps that’s why I got so obsessed with the idea of getting an education I guess... that I wanted to show the gringos that we were not here just to steal jobs, or that we would not only serve to clean toilets and to take care of old people. I told myself that I needed to have a career and to show the Americans that I also had a brain. I felt I had to prove them we were not what they think we were!*

Jocelyn then told me about an incident where she had felt discriminated against by an American white boy. It had been her first day as a high school student in Tucson. A teacher had asked one of her classmates to show Jocelyn around the school so that she would not get lost. According to Jocelyn, this white boy was very nice to her at first; however, after he had introduced Jocelyn to the rest of her teachers and classmates, he told them she did not speak English and, in Jocelyn’s words, he even ‘patted’ her on the head as if she was a ‘dog’.

For Jocelyn, this experience was ‘like a fucking shot’ that made her question what she was doing in the United States, especially because, back in Mexico, she had been ‘the teacher’s pet’, and ‘the popular girl in school’. After listening to her account of her first day at high school, and more precisely, the way her classmate had treated her, I became



interested in finding out more about her feelings and her experiences as a Mexican immigrant in Tucson once she had settled in the city.

*I had to be very strong, you know? I remember just telling myself 'I have to learn English and this country will become my country too'. So that's when I started to process all my papers to become a U.S. citizen and to belong legally in this country... so no one would ever say anything to me, you know?*

Moreover, Jocelyn mentioned that the Mexican-origin population in the United States was commonly perceived as 'illegal immigrants' and as 'cheap labourers'. I asked her if she believed this perception of the Mexican-origin population still existed, or if it had changed over time. She felt that it might have 'slightly changed' in some way, but she also highlighted the fact that it would be 'impossible' for either a Mexican or a Latino to get into the White House. I then asked her in what way she believed the Mexican-origin population might be responsible for the way in which they were perceived, and she replied as follows:

*Because as I said before, it is like if they had a mental illness you know? Do you remember the example I gave you last time about Moses and the Egyptians? They grew up basically as slaves, so when Moses tried to walk them out of the desert for forty years, they couldn't get out due to their slave mentality. So I think that as the Egyptians, although we are trying and we are learning we deserve to be treated better, we are still trapped in the slave mentality. I guess this will take a lot of time...*

Jocelyn used her children and grandchildren as an example of a Mexican-origin population who did not have a 'slave mentality'. According to her, they did not feel discriminated against because they had been born in the United States and knew how to claim their rights as U.S. citizens. Unlike her, neither her children nor grandchildren would ever feel like 'job stealers'.

I then asked Jocelyn if it was possible for the Mexican-origin population to overcome this ‘slave mentality’ that she referred to, and she expressed the following view:

*The Mexicans are the only people responsible for getting rid of their slave mentality. I think that no one is hurting us with a whip on our backs, just ourselves, you know? So I think it is going to take a long time in order to get rid of this idea that the only jobs we can do are in the field, cleaning toilets or making someone else's housekeeping...*

On different occasions, I noticed that Jocelyn used the terms ‘they’ and ‘we’ interchangeably whilst talking about the Mexican-origin population, especially when she claimed that Mexicans had a ‘slave mentality’. I interpreted Jocelyn’s verbal slip as indicative of her struggle to identify herself with people of her own ethnic background. Although she was born and raised in Mexico, becoming a ‘legal’ U.S. citizen had granted Jocelyn the same status as any other gringo. Nonetheless, she still could not help feeling attached to her Mexican background. For Jocelyn, being a U.S. citizen meant not having a ‘slave mentality’, in relation to which she used her children and grandchildren as an illustrative example.

Similarly to Jocelyn, **Abel** also used the terms ‘we’ and ‘they’ interchangeably. I met him through a friend of mine. We had the opportunity to chat on only one occasion. By the time I interviewed him, Abel had just started a new job. It involved reuniting Latin-American immigrant children with their relatives back home. Abel was born in Los Angeles, California. Both of his parents were from Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. When he was only about a year old his parents separated, so Abel and his mother moved to Guadalajara. Abel described his experience in Guadalajara as both ‘beautiful’ and ‘difficult’, meaning that although he had a ‘really nice experience’, he ‘sometimes experienced discrimination’ because of being born in the United States. Abel lived in

Mexico until he was around seven years old, at which time he and his mother moved back to Los Angeles. When I asked Abel about the differences between living in Arizona and California he expressed the following view:

*Well, the differences are big, I guess. For me, California is a liberal State and Arizona is quite conservative. Also, I lived more time in California and I think that there are more Latino people than here...so I found it easier to assimilate. But here in Arizona, the boundaries are more defined. Before moving to Tucson, I lived in Yuma. And in Yuma, races are extremely well defined and separated. Different races do not interact with each other, they do not mix...more precisely the whites do not mix with the Mexican population...They probably find both Mexico and the Mexicans like dangerous or something. I mean, in the way the news show how the Mexicans are and the situation in Mexico. They always show the bad parts, you know?*

Abel's answer made me question whether he believed the media portrayal of the Mexican population had an effect on the way the Mexican-origin population was perceived, and more precisely, if it affected the way in which Mexicans and gringos interacted. Abel gave the following reply:

*Maybe a bit, I guess. Probably at the beginning of an interaction, the Americans (white) can be more reserved than how they usually are... who knows. The gringos fear we will come and take over their country....and then change their laws, their traditions and their culture. .... The Mexicans are generally seen as a risk because the Latinos are becoming the majority than the whites...mmm, perhaps some gringos have seen that...That they are not the majority anymore, that they are becoming the minority. There is a fear that Mexicans will take our jobs and our traditions.... And I think in some way we are even dominating...*

Abel claimed that Mexican people who migrated to the United States, only 'came to work' in order to find a 'better quality of life'. Abel went on to discuss the various stereotypes he had observed being applied to the Mexican-origin population. He laughingly said that unfortunately, 'Mexicans like to party' and although this could be seen as a good quality, it contributed to the perception that they were 'lazy' and 'careless'.

I asked Abel if he believed that Mexican immigrants were also perceived as ‘invaders’ in the United States. He replied that perhaps because he had been born in the United States he had never felt like an invader; however, he also felt that the gringos saw him as not having been fully ‘assimilated’, as he explained in the following excerpt:

*I can tell you personally, that there have been times in which I have been seen as ‘oh my God, why can’t you be more assimilated?’ It really doesn’t matter how educated I am, or how well I behave, I feel the gringos still see as the Mexican who just migrated, who doesn’t speak English and who is without documents in the country. And that is not who I am.*

Abel claimed that he actually felt ‘very assimilated’ into ‘American culture’, since he had graduated from high school and had an undergraduate degree just like many other gringos. He felt that, in reality, there was ‘absolutely nothing’ that ‘separated’ him from white Americans; however, his ethnic background meant that he was perceived as ‘different’ and ‘inferior’. According to Abel, the gringos thought ‘horrible things’ about the Mexican-origin population and, although these things were not true, they were passed on through the generations as if they were ‘glued’ to them. I asked Abel if he could expand on the idea of the Mexican stereotype that he referred to earlier, as well as to explain how he felt about it, to which he replied:

*I don’t know, I guess Mexicans are seen as being ignorant... there was one time where a couple of gringos started to talk about me as if I didn’t understand... simply because I was a Mexican (...) and situations like this make me feel especially frustrated, because I believe I can do the same, if not even better things from the Americans. And the fact they don’t give me an opportunity to prove it, or that they think the opposite... it really frustrates me.*

Next, Abel and I talked about the interaction between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in Arizona. More specifically, Abel told me about how he was discriminated against by other Mexican immigrants for being a Mexican-American. His

experiences, as well as this phenomenon more generally, will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.3, ‘The Mexican Gringos’, of the next chapter.

Moreover, although Jocelyn and Abel came from different backgrounds, when trying to put into words what they believed the white population thought about them, they both came up with similar ideas. According to Jocelyn and Abel, to the white population, being Mexican meant being an unskilled labourer; an uneducated, ignorant, undocumented, illegal, savage, lazy, careless person, who came to the United States to ‘invade’ and criminalize the country.

Throughout my interview with Jocelyn, I noticed, as was the case with other interviewees such as Andrea (Section 3.2.1), that although she criticised the gringos, at the same time, there was an underlying need to gain their approval. Even though Jocelyn had various experiences whereby she had felt discriminated against by the gringos, she also forced herself to prove to them that she ‘had a brain’, and that she was not going to ‘clean their toilets’. In addition to this, I also believe that Jocelyn wanted *me* to think she was a gringa. I interpreted her comment about being neighbours with the gringos (referring to the fact that she lived in the North of Tucson), and not replying to my emails in Spanish as a way of showing me that she was *not like me*; that she had made the U.S. ‘her country’ and that she was now part of ‘American culture’. Moreover, I interpreted her description of feeling ‘like a fucking shot’ during her encounter with her white classmate as *narcissistic rage*.

This term was first referred to by Freud in the 1920s as a ‘narcissistic scar’. He described it as an injury to the self-esteem that results from the realisation that infantile wishes are doomed. Later, in 1971, the psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut developed Freud’s concept further. He proposed the term *narcissistic rage* to describe the very angry

reactions that follow an injury to the self-esteem from a narcissistic personality. Kohut suggested that such rage is a direct response to an uncovered sense of inferiority and worthlessness. Moreover, Kohut also stated that narcissistic rage encourages ‘the need for revenge, for righting a wrong, for undoing a hurt by whatever means; and a deeply anchored unrelenting compulsion in the pursuit of all these aims’ (Kohut, 1971: 380).

Similarly to Andrea, Jocelyn was *ambivalent* towards the white population. As discussed previously in Section 3.2.1, one of the consequences of ambivalence is the colonised’s *mimicry* of the coloniser, which is ‘almost the same, but not quite’ (Bhabha, 1994: 86). Although Jocelyn recognized that the gringos discriminated against the Mexican-origin population, she also pointed out, like Martin (Section 3.2.2), that the Mexicans were responsible for being perceived as ‘inferior’. According to Jocelyn, Mexicans had a ‘slave mentality’, which meant they were *trapped* in their own mental wretchedness and inferiority. Jocelyn used the Biblical narrative of Moses (‘You shall not wrong a stranger or oppress him, for you were strangers in a land of Egypt’ in Exodus) to explain how the Mexican-origin population in the United States (like the Egyptians in Moses’ story) suffered from what Fanon (1965) described as an ‘inferiority complex’.

Like Norma and Anabel (Section 3.1.1), who described California as a more ‘liberal’ State, Abel also made it clear that he perceived Arizona as a more ‘conservative’ place. One of the reasons that Abel felt more comfortable living in Los Angeles was because he believed that it had more Mexican-origin inhabitants. Like some of the other interviewees, Abel used the word ‘fear’ in order to describe the white population’s feelings about the Mexican population. Moreover, he believed that the white population sometimes saw him as a person who was ‘not assimilated’. Although the word

‘assimilation’ is used to describe the degree to which a person has integrated into a new community/country, in Abel’s case, I understood it to mean ‘savage’. Thus, when Abel admitted that he felt the gringos regarded him as ‘not assimilated’ I interpreted it as him saying that the whites saw him as a ‘savage’.

As Marianna Torgovnik (1990) suggests, terms like ‘primitive, savage, pre-Colombian, tribal, exotic, non-Western and Other (...) all take the West as norm and define the rest as inferior, different, deviant, subordinate, and subordinateable’ (Torgovnik, 1990: 21). As she points out, the notion of the *savage* is imposed on our senses, and is bound up with the selves who act in the real world. Moreover, in contemporary Western society, we understand ourselves as being poised between ‘civilized’ and ‘savage’, or as ‘clinging to a veneer of civilization over a savage abyss’ (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998: 210). It is interesting that even Freud’s map of the psyche places the ego at the point that mediates between the ‘civilizing super-ego’ and the ‘primitive id’. According to Torgovnik, whether the map is accurate or not is less important than its strength as a metaphor for the hierarchized relationship between the European and the Others.

On one hand, Jocelyn talked about a ‘slave mentality’ and a ‘mental illness’ experienced by the Mexican-origin population, whilst Abel described feeling frustrated by being seen as ‘not assimilated’ and for having a stereotype ‘glued’ onto him. Both Jocelyn’s and Abel’s concepts indicated the existence of problems in three important respects for the Mexican-origin population: a) in their minds; b) in their behaviours; and c) in terms of how they are perceived. These three problems can be explained through the idea that people of Mexican descent in Arizona have a *colonised mind*, as I argued in the first chapter.

In Section 1.3, ‘The Colonised Mind: The Inferiority Complex and Projective Identification’, I proposed the idea that the minds of the Mexican-origin population have been *colonised* by the unconscious projections of the white dominant population. Over time, both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans have been containers of undesirable and unconscious feelings from the white dominant population. Moreover, these projections have not only served as a way of *communicating* how they feel about the Mexican-origin population, but also as a way of *controlling* them. As the psychoanalyst Thomas Ogden (1992) asserts, projective identification ‘is a concept that addresses the way in which feeling-states corresponding to the unconscious fantasies of one person (the projector) are engendered in and processed by another person (the recipient) (...) that is, the way in which one person makes use of another person to experience and contain an aspect of himself’ (Ogden, 1992: 2).

I believe Jocelyn’s idea of a ‘mental illness’ (or ‘inferiority complex’) experienced by the Mexican-origin population, proves how this ethnic group has built its identity in relation to the unconscious projections coming from the white dominant population. As she suggested, the Mexican-origin population has ‘grown up as slaves’ because that is the idea that has been unconsciously engrained in their minds. As a result of this, the Mexican-origin population behave like slaves, think like slaves and consider themselves to be slaves to the gringos.

Finally, the main problem resulting from Abel feeling that he was perceived as ‘not assimilated’ was that not only did he feel somewhat uncomfortable as a person of Mexican descent in Arizona, but that it also led to him being *mistaken* for a Mexican immigrant. Thus, the simple fact of being someone of Mexican origin caused Abel to be seen as if he had just migrated to the United States, which, of course, he did not like. This



situation is discussed in detail in the following chapter. As will be explained, although Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans share several similarities, they also practice discriminatory behaviours towards each other in order to be recognized and seen as different.

Throughout this chapter, prejudice and discrimination towards the Mexican-origin population has been analysed. As stated in the introduction, throughout this chapter, I analysed the experiences of both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans who felt discriminated against by the white dominant population in Arizona. During the course of the three sections of this chapter, I discussed the state of Arizona, the emotional effects of S.B. 1070 and H.B. 2281, the significance and role of the white dominant population residing in the state (gringos), as well as the way in which Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans form their identity in relation to their interactions with the white population.

The following chapter, entitled 'Mexican Immigrants and Mexican-Americans in Arizona: Prejudice and Discrimination from the Inside', consists of an analysis of prejudice and discrimination of the Mexican-origin population towards someone from the same ethnic background.

Did I ever become a full Chicano? If so, when exactly did this happen? The day I was busted for talking back to a cop, or the day my father died, and my umbilical cord with Mexico broke for good? Perhaps it happened when my ex-Mexican paisanos began to see me as the Other?

(Guillermo Gómez-Peña *Ethno-Techno: Writings on Performance, Activism and Pedagogy*)

## CHAPTER 4 MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AND MEXICAN AMERICANS: PREJUDICE, DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM FROM THE INSIDE

### Introduction

As the transnational performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña and as discussed in the previous chapter, many Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans experience Arizona as a hostile and threatening place. Some of the respondents blamed the white population for this situation, whilst others blamed it on the media and the laws which were enforced in the state. However, many respondents held the Mexican-origin population (both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans) responsible for the prejudice and discrimination they experienced in Arizona. As will be discussed in this chapter, although there is a history of prejudice and discrimination against the Mexican-origin population in Arizona, neither Mexican-Americans nor Mexican immigrants are exempt from practicing behaviours that make people from the same ethnic background

feel like undesirable aliens. As mentioned previously, the Mexican-origin population also has its own history of prejudice and discrimination in the United States.

The following chapter consists of an analysis of prejudice and discrimination among Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans residing in Arizona. With the use of vignettes from my own personal observations, as well as the interviews conducted during my visits to Arizona, this chapter is comprised of experiences of what I consider to be discrimination from the inside, or in other words, discrimination towards a person of Mexican descent coming from another person of Mexican descent. Throughout this chapter, theories by Memmi (1965), Klein (1960), Fanon (1965), and Freud (1917), amongst other psychoanalysts, sociologists and post-colonialists, are applied to gain insight into the phenomena of prejudice and discrimination among people from the same ethnic background.

As previously discussed, discrimination against the Mexican-origin population can promote ethnic cohesion during difficult times; however, it can also generate intragroup conflict and create distance between people from the same ethnic background. In addition, discrimination against the Mexican-origin population has a direct effect on their sense of self-worth and cultural identity. Intolerance towards the public expression of Mexican culture, as well as the reproduction of the binary relationship of 'coloniser-colonised' between the Mexican-origin population and the white dominant population, has promoted a 'cultural ranking system' in which Anglo-American culture is considered by many Mexican-origin people to be a 'prestigious culture and worthy of replication' (Menchaca, 1995: 216).

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section, entitled 'The Border Patrol and the Poli-Migra', focuses on the interactions between Mexican-origin people

(both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans) and Mexican-descent and Latino Border Patrol agents. As will be discussed throughout this section, there is a perception that Mexican-descent and Latino Border Patrol agents are ‘harsher’ than white Border Patrol agents, and they are often regarded as traitors to their cultural background and people of ‘their own race’.

The second section, entitled ‘Español vs. English’, analyses the language dynamics between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans. As will be discussed, for both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, language not only serves as a way to communicate, but also to discriminate against and humiliate people from the same ethnic background as them. For some Mexican immigrants, the fact that Mexican-Americans do not speak Spanish can represent a rejection of their culture and thus constitutes a valid reason to regard them as not Mexican.

The third section, entitled ‘The Mexican Gringos’, focuses on three Mexican-Americans who have been discriminated against in Mexico for not being ‘real’ Mexicans. As will be explained, Mexican-Americans sometimes feel that their fellow members of the same ethnic group do not completely accept them simply because they were born in the United States.

In the last section of the chapter, entitled ‘Con El Nopal Pegado en la Frente’, I analyse a phrase commonly used among the Mexican-origin population to describe a person of Mexican descent who pretends not to be of Mexican origin by his or her actions (e.g. avoiding speaking in Spanish). As will be explained, both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans claim to be able to recognize when someone is of Mexican descent because, in common parlance, it is easy to see that they have ‘a cactus stuck on their forehead’.

## **4.1 The Border Patrol and the Poli-Migra**

One of the reasons I became interested in conducting a study on prejudice and discrimination between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans was because, during various trips I made to the United States, either to Arizona or other places such as Florida or California, I felt a sense of tension with Latino and Mexican-descent officers whilst going through Immigration and Customs Control (ICE). During several encounters I had with Mexican-descent officers at ports of entry to the United States, either as a tourist or as a student, I was made to feel unwelcome in some way. Although I cannot precisely recall an instance in which I was directly discriminated against by a Latino or a Mexican-descent Border Patrol agent, I do remember feeling anxious in front of an officer who looked like me, had a last name similar to mine, and who had the power to decide whether or not I could enter the United States.

Established in 1924, the Border Patrol was created to widely enforce U.S. immigration restrictions by preventing unauthorized border crossings and policing borderland regions to detect and arrest persons defined as unauthorized migrants. According to the historian Kelly Lytle Hernandez (2010), initially, Border Patrol officers ‘struggled to translate their broad mandates’, since these encompassed protecting the U.S. from ‘Asians, prostitutes, anarchists, and many others categorically prohibited from entering (...) in a massive territory to police’. Before long, however, the Border Patrol officers began to focus almost exclusively ‘on apprehending and deporting undocumented Mexican nationals’ (Hernandez, 2010: 2). During the early 1940s, the entire national focus of the U.S. Border Patrol shifted to the Southern border. Following the end of World War II, the national police force (established to enforce U.S.

immigration restrictions) became almost entirely dedicated to policing unsanctioned Mexican immigration in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.

Over time, one of the most significant changes in the composition of the Border Patrol personnel has been a dramatic rise in the number of Latino officers. In 1924, Mexican-Americans represented only a small fraction of Border Patrol officers, but by the 1960s Mexican-American Border Patrol officers were prevalent, and their numbers continued to rise, despite being perceived as ‘traitors to their ethnic community’ (Hernandez, 2010: 227). By 1977, the Border Patrol included 321 Latino officers and, by 2008, 54 percent of all Border Patrol officers were Hispanic, primarily Mexican-Americans.

As the anthropologist Robert Alvarez (2002) suggests, over the past few decades, the role of Mexican-Americans as immigration officers has been a recurrent topic of debate between the Mexican-American and Mexican immigrant population. They are often described as ‘harsher, less empathetic, and stricter both in applying the law and in the interrogation of people of Mexican-origin at border-crossing stations (...) Most Mexican-origin border crossers have at least one story of the Chicano/a Border Patrol officer who is “worse than the Anglos”’ (Alvarez, 2002: 496). Alvarez also raises a series of questions that Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans commonly ask about Mexican-descent Border Patrol officers: ‘What makes these people tick? Why have they chosen a career that focuses on the limitation and persecution of people of their own ‘race’ and ethnicity? How do they justify the actions of the Border Patrol and the treatment of other Mexicans entering the United States?’ (Alvarez, 2010: 496). According to Alvarez, there is a general expectation among Mexican-origin border-crossers that Latino and Mexican-descent Border Patrol officers should empathize with

them regardless of their class and U.S. citizenship, because of their shared ethnicity and culture.

Furthermore, a study conducted by the historian Josiah McC. Heyman (2002), showed that U.S. immigration officers of Mexican ancestry do not identify themselves with either Mexican or Latin-American immigrants; on the contrary, they see themselves as ‘U.S. citizens who reject both domestic racism and ethnic loyalties that cross national borders’ (Heyman, 2002: 479). According to Heyman both Mexican-descent and Latino Border Patrol officers working at the U.S.-Mexico border, consistently emphasize their status as U.S. citizens by denigrating undocumented migrants and criticizing their ‘welfare dependence and poor working skills’ (Heyman, 2002: 479).

In addition to this, Latino and Mexican-descent Border Patrol and Immigration officers are not the only two professional groups that can make Mexican immigrants feel like unwelcome aliens in the U.S. In the city of Tucson, for example, in 2013 and 2014 three out of eight judges working for Operation Streamline (OSL) were of Mexican descent. According to the sociologist Jessie K. Finch (2014), these judges tend to be ‘harsher’ and to give longer sentences to immigrants being accused of illegal entry to the U.S. in comparison to white judges.

Consequently, this section consists of a series of case studies in which both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-American respondents narrate their experiences and thoughts relating to Mexican-origin Border Patrol agents, U.S. Immigration officers and police officers. As discussed in the following four cases (Maria, Aaron, Alejandra and Angie), for some respondents, Latino and Mexican-descent Border Patrol agents and police officers are ‘used’ by the U.S. government as a tactic in its strategy against the

Mexican-origin population residing in the U.S., whilst others see them as a source of help and support for newly arrived Mexican immigrants.

#### **4.1.1 La Migra**

**Maria** and I met one afternoon in a café at the University of Arizona. I had been referred to her through a good friend of mine. She had recently started studying for a postgraduate degree in Psychology and was also working part-time in the Chicano/a Hispanic Student Affairs Office at the University of Arizona. Maria was born in Yuma, Arizona. Both of her parents were from San Luis Rio Colorado, Sonora, Mexico. Her father had migrated without the required documents to Arizona when he was quite young, but after residing in the United States for more than ten years, he had obtained a green card which allowed him to work ‘legally’ in the country. Similarly, her mother had also migrated without documents to Yuma as a child, where she eventually met her husband.

Maria seemed to be a relaxed and friendly person. During the interview, I was aware that she was struggling to answer the questions in Spanish. Although she understood me perfectly, when it came to speaking, she seemed nervous and appeared to doubt whether she was using the right words to express her thoughts. I asked her if she was required to speak in Spanish at work, to which she replied that she was not. I then asked her if she preferred speaking to her family in Spanish instead of English when she was at home. Maria said that her parents had always spoken to her in Spanish, but when she was with her siblings, she preferred speaking in English. She added that sometimes



she felt embarrassed about speaking in Spanish with other Mexicans as they would often make fun of her.

We also talked about her friends and, more precisely, how she got on with other Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans. Although she had a couple of white friends, Maria felt that it was easier for her to get on with someone from the same ethnic background as her. Moreover, she claimed to have observed tensions between her Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American friends. When I asked her if she could give me an example, Maria described an instance in which a Mexican-American friend of hers had been reprimanded by another Mexican immigrant friend:

*The other day I was talking to a friend and she was telling me and another friend of ours, that she had been to Nogales (Sonora) and that she had seen a lot of poor people and that maybe the reason of it was due to a deficiency in the Mexican government and their weak economy...and my other Mexican (immigrant) friend told her... 'You know what? You cannot be saying those things because you were raised in Arizona and not in Mexico, so shut up.*

Maria said that she believed Mexican immigrants have a tendency to make Mexican-Americans feel as if they are not 'truly' Mexican. She gave an example involving a couple of people who she worked with. One of her Mexican co-workers frequently made jokes and patronizing comments, such as 'yeah, you are a bit Mexican' or 'you pass as a Mexican' to a young Mexican-American man who also worked in the Chicano/a Hispanic Student Affairs Office. According to Maria, comments and behaviours like this, caused Mexican-Americans to feel 'embarrassed' and as if they had to 'try harder' to be 'truly' Mexican. I then told Maria that in interviews I had conducted with Mexican-immigrant respondents, they claimed that the Mexican-American population made them feel unwelcome in the United States. Maria admitted that she had

heard or seen instances of this phenomenon herself, and believed that the reason it happened was due to the ‘poor’ image of Mexican immigrants in the United States:

*I’ve had the opportunity to interact with Mexican-American people who say ‘look how all this people (Mexicans immigrants) who are still coming to get their papers and to take advantage of the country. They only hurt the name of the Mexican population in the United States... and make us look as if we don’t have values or anything.*

I then asked Maria if she knew anything about why Mexican-Americans took jobs with the government to stop Mexican immigrants coming to the U.S., for example, as Border Patrol agents and Operation Streamline judges, to which she replied:

*One of my cousins became a Border Patrol agent. Can you imagine how my family reacted? They were like ‘Oh my God! He became a Border Patrol! He turned against our own race because he is ashamed of being Mexican!’ But when I talked to my cousin, he said to me “I prefer to be the one who deals with the Mexican immigrants than to let a white racist person do it (...) I want to see if the Mexican immigrants are treated well and with dignity”.*

Maria said it was a commonly expressed view that both Latino and Mexican-American Border Patrol agents were ‘harsher’ than the Anglos. She had heard that the Mexican *migras* or the *migras de color* [coloured immigration officers], as she called them, had a tendency to ask for a ‘second control revision’ to most visitors and residents of Mexican descent. To illustrate this point, she told me that she and her family were rigorously interrogated every time they entered the United States because of a sticker on her father’s car which implied that he worked for the U.S. government. Maria also stated that sometimes the Mexican *coloured migras* did not treat her mother very well because she could not speak English fluently.

I asked Maria if she could explain why the Mexican-descent *migras* might behave ‘harshly’ towards other Mexicans. Maria replied that they were ‘just doing their job’,

even though some people felt that they were not showing solidarity with people who shared their nationality and ethnic background:

*I mean, they are not doing anything illegal or anything inhuman (...) they are just telling immigrants "you have to stop, because if you get closer or if you try to cross the border you are going to get in trouble"...I believe, I don't see it as a discriminatory behaviour, I see it just as a job they have to do.*

Although Maria recognized that there were tensions and conflicts among Mexican-descent tourists/residents and Mexican-American Border Patrol agents, she thought that there was a rational justification for the latter's behaviours. Maria believed that Mexican-origin and Latino Border Patrol agents did not intentionally discriminate, but that they simply 'had to do their job'. She concluded that the existence of laws such as S.B. 1070 was 'unfortunate', and that the only way that Latinos and Mexican-Americans could avoid conflict with each other, was if they were better educated.

Unlike Maria, who believed that Latino and Mexican-descent Border Patrol agents could be a source of help and support for the Mexican-origin population, **Aaron** had very different views. I was referred to Aaron by a mutual acquaintance and we met one morning in a restaurant near my house in Tucson. Aaron was then thirty-eight years old. He was born in Huatabampo, Sonora, Mexico but had migrated without the necessary documents to Tucson more than fifteen years ago. During his time in the United States, Aaron had worked as a cook in different restaurants, despite a lack of cooking skills. He had also raised a family and had bought a couple of properties in both Mexico and the U.S.

Before migrating to Arizona, Aaron had been studying accounting at the university in Hermosillo, Sonora. Although he enjoyed studying as well as working with his family, he recalled feeling the need for a change. One of his cousins, who had already

settled in Tucson, helped him to migrate without the required documents. He also managed to find Aaron a job and a place to live. After several months of working in Tucson, Aaron decided to stay permanently in the United States, and he was later able to help his wife to migrate to the United States without the required documents too. Despite the fact that Aaron had been residing in the United States for more than fifteen years, by the time I interviewed him, he still did not have the necessary legal documents. Therefore, Aaron was an ‘illegal immigrant’ in the United States.

I started the interview by asking him about his initial experience of Arizona, and how moving to Tucson had felt for him. Although his cousin’s help had made this process ‘easy’, he nonetheless experienced some difficulties, for example, not being able to communicate effectively in English. These made him feel ‘frustrated’ and ‘annoyed’. However, because there was already a significant amount of Mexican-origin people residing in Tucson, he did not feel lonely, and every day he would run into acquaintances from various places in Sonora, such as Zirandaro, El Caro or Nubia Cupare. I asked Aaron if he still saw as many Mexicans in Arizona as when he had first moved to the state, and more precisely after the implementation of S.B. 1070, to which he replied:

*No, not really. Before there used to be more jobs and it was easy to cross the border. Now it is more complicated...I don't know, like coming from Nogales to Tucson...nowadays there are many immigration stops, something you wouldn't see before.*

Aaron claimed that, since the mid-2000s, crossing the border had become ‘dangerous’ and ‘risky’. He also pointed out that although President Obama had promised further immigration reform during his presidential campaign, it now seemed that he had probably done so just to secure the ‘Latino vote’. However, ironically, Aaron’s wife had become a ‘legal’ U.S citizen thanks to the implementation of S.B.1070.

A couple of years before our meeting, Aaron's wife had been stopped by a police officer whilst driving her car. As she had no proof of being a U.S. citizen, she had been sent to the department of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Both Aaron and his wife had wanted this to happen sooner, since, according to a lawyer they had consulted a couple of years ago, it was the only way that she could prove she had been in the U.S. for more than ten years, and that her children had been born in the United States:

*Well, if they stop you, after being here for more than ten years, you can actually fight for a residence or work permit. And my wife had been here for a while...I think this happened like two years ago? We bought a property in her name and our four kids are U.S. citizens, so it was easier for her to get the residency at the end... I remember that she called to tell me that she had been stopped...and she even said "well, this is what we wanted, right?"*

I then asked Aaron why he did not have a work or residence permit, unlike his wife. He replied that the situation was a 'bit more complicated' for him since he had already been deported from the U.S. Aaron told me that, a few years earlier, he had also been stopped whilst driving his car, and, after being sent to the ICE, he had been deported back to Mexico for ten years. However, his deportation did not last long: after being back in Mexico for about two weeks, Aaron crossed the U.S-Mexico border again without any documents. I asked him how he felt about his legal status in Arizona, to which he replied:

*Well, I am...mmm...I feel ok but, how could I say it? I drive carefully...without fear, but perhaps more cautious than before? I've always known that at any moment or at any situation where I'll have to talk or go to the police, I will get in trouble with la migra. But I have been like this for a very long time now, so I don't know (...) I try not to drive when it is not necessary. I'm not panicking, perhaps I should be...I am just confident I won't be stopped again.*

I asked Aaron what he was most worried about if he did get stopped. He replied that he was afraid of the kind of officer who might stop him. Aaron claimed that police officers made decisions based on their feelings. Consequently, there were some officers

who would call the ICE straight away while others would simply issue a ticket and let the person go.

*It all depends on how much the officer likes you and who he is. In the time I've been here I'd come to realized that if the officer is Mexican or Latino...you are basically fucking screwed. They are very racist, and instead of trying to help you, they try to screw you...I am not saying that the gringos or the blacks are not mean too, but in my experience, usually they don't try to screw you, they could even try to help you.*

For Aaron, the reason why Mexican-origin officers lacked a sense of ethnic solidarity with other Mexicans was because of their feelings of 'envy' and 'selfishness'. What he meant was that Mexicans did not want to see someone who was 'like them' succeed in the United States. He also believed that Mexicans enjoyed 'screwing each other' and that this was part of 'Mexican culture'. To illustrate this point, he told me how his Mexican co-workers were reluctant to provide any kind of assistance to new Mexican-origin workers. According to him, if he asked a gringo to train a new waiter or cook, he would accept it and get on with his work 'without a problem', whereas if he asked a Mexican, they would do it grudgingly, but would probably would treat the new employee 'poorly'. Furthermore, Aaron stated that if he had to choose, he would prefer to be stopped by a white police officer than by a Mexican one for the following reason:

*Because I guess it might be too risky...The problem with the Mexicans is that you do not know how they are going to be...and in my experience...I have more to lose with someone from my own race than with a white officer...seriously...I've been stopped so many times because the car I used to drive had a broken light. I mean...I've been stopped by Chicanos, by Mexicans and by gringos. I have to say I've had better experiences with the gringos.*

By way of further illustration, Aaron told me about an occasion when he had been stopped by a gringo police officer. After requesting Aaron's documents, the officer asked Aaron if he was drunk, to which he replied that he was not. The officer asked him a

couple more questions about what he had been doing during the day and where he was from. Finally, he told Aaron that the reason why he had been stopped was because one of the back lights on his car was broken. Finally, the officer advised Aaron to go to the nearest auto-parts shop and buy some tape to fix the light. Aaron concluded his story by telling me that he thought if the same situation had happened with a Mexican-origin or a Latino officer, he would have probably been accused of driving under the influence of alcohol or been sent to the ICE.

Like Aaron, **Alejandra** (Section 3.1.2) also believed that Mexican-origin people tended to feel ‘envy’ as a consequence of seeing someone from the same ethnic group as them succeed. During the interview, Alejandra and I chatted about the Mexican-descent and Latino Border Patrol agents and police officers. After discussing the effects of S.B.1070, I told her that some of the other interviewees I had spoken to mentioned having problems with Mexican-descent and Latino Border Patrol agents, and had claimed that both Mexican-origin and Latino Border Patrol officers often tended to be ‘harsher’ than their white counterparts. Alejandra agreed with this observation and said that she had heard about this phenomenon before. She also said that, in her experience, Mexican-origin people generally had a tendency to ‘screw each other’ instead of ‘help each other’. As an illustrative example, she told me about how her grandmother had been the target of ‘envious feelings’ as a result of ‘making it in America’:

*I’ve noticed for example that with my granny, many of her Mexican friends acted very weird when she bought her car and her house. I guess they would kind of envy her because despite not having any documents when she came here, she managed to ‘make it in America’. And some of her friends, which are even U.S. citizens, haven’t been able to achieve anything in this country. So it is not uncommon to hear that among us, we attack and envy each other because we don’t want others to be better than us.*

Following Alejandra's thoughts on the Mexican-origin population's tendency to 'screw each other', I told her that other interviewees had also said that they blamed Mexican immigrants for 'bringing problems' to the United States. Specifically, they highlighted the fact that newly arrived Mexican immigrants would not allow 'already settled Mexicans' to be perceived as 'assimilated' in the country, and consequently, the Mexican-American population would behave discriminatorily towards them in order to avoid being seen as 'undocumented immigrants', to which she responded:

*Mmmm ... I don't know? Maybe? For me, the main problem is that we attack each other because of envy and perhaps... I don't know, the gringos see this and then they feel like they have the right to attack us too. Because they see that we are not a strong community...or that we don't help each other.*

I tried to follow Alejandra's rationale for how the gringos perceived the Mexican community. I asked her if she believed that because Mexicans were not seen as a 'strong community' and did not 'help each other', the gringos deliberately employed people of Mexican descent as Border Patrol agents and police officers, as part of a strategy to create discord among people of the same ethnic background. Alejandra believed that this was certainly the case. She justified her point of view by stating that she often saw and heard on the news that Latino and Mexican Border Patrol agents treated the Mexican and Latin-American undocumented immigrants 'poorly'. In concluding the interview, I asked Alejandra if there was anything else she would like to talk about. She replied that the interview had made her think about issues and situations she had never really considered before, and more precisely about the tensions between the Mexican-immigrant and the Mexican-American populations. Moreover, she emphasised that although she believed the white population could be 'discriminatory' and 'racist' towards



the Mexican-descent population, there was a ‘clear problem’ between the Mexican immigrants and the Mexican-Americans.

During my interview with **Angie** (Section 3.1.2) I had an opportunity to listen to her thoughts about the Latino and Mexican-origin police officers and Border Patrol agents. Like other activists involved in the *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* (MEChA), Angie provided assistance and support to undocumented Latin-American immigrants who had been stopped by what they called the *poli-migra*. As stated in the previous chapter, the term *poli-migra* refers to police officers who work exclusively in Arizona, and, under the terms of S.B. 1070, are allowed to stop anyone and ask for proof of legal status if there is ‘reasonable suspicion’.

According to Angie, one of the main difficulties she encountered whilst assisting undocumented immigrants was dealing with Mexican-origin officers. Her experience and she even had video evidence to prove it, bore out the view that both Mexican-origin and Latino officers agents treated immigrants ‘poorly’:

*Well, what we have seen... is that this Border Patrol agents, when they are Mexican-descent or Latinos, they feel like they need to treat the immigrants like shit in order to prove that they are not on the “Mexican side”. So what we see is that there is a cycle of violence...in which migrants from other countries are trying to escape from a violent country, but once they get here, they face a violent Border Patrol agent...so it is like there is violence everywhere they are...they try to escape from violence, but they face it again and then they have to use it against others...*

Angie said that undocumented immigrants repeatedly complained of being abused by Latino and Mexican-descent Border Patrol agents. She alleged that they did not show any ‘compassion’ or ‘humility’ towards ‘their own people’. According to Angie, their ‘horrible’ behaviours served as a way of showing the gringos that they ‘did not give a fuck’ about other Mexican or Latin-American immigrants.

Angie also believed that there were ‘mean’ Latino and Mexican-descent judges in Arizona. To support this view, she described a ‘famous’ judge from El Salvador who worked at the ICE detention centre and had a reputation for ruthlessness:

*There is this judge in the city of Eloy, not far away from here...who I believe is from El Salvador ...and many times when we have visited the migrants at the detention centre, the migrants tell us that this woman is very evil. She shows absolutely no compassion with her paisanos. So yes, I guess it could be said that other Latinos and Mexicans cause another trauma for the undocumented immigrants. Like if it wasn't enough with the things they face trying to get to the United States...*

Angie believed that the Latinos had an unfortunate tendency to follow the gringos’ ideas without questioning them. Although she believed that the gringos had adopted a deliberate strategy of employing Mexican-origin people as Border Patrol agents in order to create conflict among this population, she also made the point that not a single Border Patrol agent or judge had been forced to choose these jobs:

*Yes, I do believe these are probably strategies from the U.S. government, but at the same time, all these Border Patrol agents and judges, they all chose their jobs by their own free will. Absolutely no one forced them! So I think they all knew the situation and circumstances they could face. So I don't know, perhaps I am not so sure this is an idea that comes exclusively from the gringos. These people made a decision....As it is commonly said you make the bed you lie in.*

To conclude our discussion about Mexican-origin and Latino Border Patrol agents and police officers, Angie told me that one of her closest cousins had ‘unfortunately’ married a Border Patrol agent. As a result of this, Angie’s family had become distant towards her cousin whom they saw as ‘a disloyal’ member of the family.

Not all the interviewees discussed in this subsection had experienced a discriminatory encounter with a Mexican-origin Border Patrol agent or police officer. I therefore found it interesting that, despite this fact, all of the interviewees claimed to have ‘heard’ (in most cases second-hand) negative things about the Mexican-origin Border Patrol



Figure 8 Chinga la Migra! Nogales, Arizona 2014

agents and police officers. Generally speaking, I believe that a myth exists about Mexican-origin (and Latino) Border Patrol agents and police officers. As mentioned previously, it is not uncommon for both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans to report being ‘treated poorly’ by Mexican-origin Border Patrol agents or police officers. These reports promote the idea among the Mexican-origin population that Mexican-origin (and Latino) Border Patrol agents and police officers are ‘harsher’, ‘disloyal’ and difficult to interact with.

In psychoanalysis, myths are not simply stories told in an ancient culture to explain practices or beliefs; they ‘are the psyche’s symbolic renderings’ which ‘give vent to the repressed longings and fears of humankind’ (Sels, 2011: 56). However, if the Mexican-origin population feel a need to ‘vent’ their repressed feelings of fear, what is it that they are actually fearful of? I believe the feelings of fear/annoyance/discrimination/tension, experienced by Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans towards Mexican-origin (and Latino) Border Patrol agents and police officers comes from an ingrained idea that

white is good/better/pure (Dalal, 2002). Consequently, if the law is enforced by ‘coloured migras’, as Maria called them, the law itself therefore becomes ‘coloured’ and stops being white/pure/good. The notion that white is ‘good’ and black is ‘bad’ is so deeply embedded in both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, that when the law has a ‘dark/coloured face’, it invariably becomes ‘evil’ or ‘bad’. Would it therefore be the case that Mexican-origin Border Patrols are actually ‘harsher’ than the whites, or are they simply perceived as ‘harsher’ because dark is ‘bad’? I believe that both are true. Mexican-origin Border Patrol agents might behave in a ‘harsher’ way than the white officers, due to their inferiority complex, but they are also perceived by others as being worse than the whites.

According to the cases of Maria, Aaron, Alejandra and Angie, Mexican-origin Border Patrols and police officers (and even judges) do behave more ‘harshly’ than the whites. I believe that these over-compensatory behaviours displayed by the aforementioned officers whilst enforcing the law can be interpreted in terms Frantz Fanon’s (1965) theory, as explained below:

the black man [the Mexican] has two dimensions. One with his fellows [Mexicans], the other with the white man [gringos]. A Negro [Mexican] behaves differently with a white man and with another Negro [Mexican]. That this self-division is a direct resulted colonialist subjugation is beyond question (Fanon, 1965: 1).

Moreover, I believe that phantasy plays an important role in influencing perceptions of, and interactions with, Mexican-origin Border Patrol agents. The concept of *phantasy*, proposed by Sigmund Freud and developed by Melanie Klein (1952), can offer insight into the unconscious processes of prejudice and discrimination, since it answers the question of how we perceive others and the mechanisms that are used in the

creation of these perceptions. According to Klein, others can simultaneously be perceived as loving, but also as dangerous. A problem arises when phantasies are not confined to the mind, but become part of our reality. As Simon Clarke (2003) points out:

unconscious phantasy is (...) a psychological representation of the instincts, a representation that involves the imaginary relationship between objects. There is a relationship in which the subject wishes to do something to the object 'other' in which phantasy can become concrete reality. In other words, we can make the other embody our phantasies (Clarke, 2003: 128).

This is the reason why Klein believed that object relations were so important; because phantasy can involve actually *doing* something to another person. This person (object) has already been split off and is no longer considered imaginary, but an influence on reality. As Harry Guntrip (1992) states, men are constantly producing their own phantasies and these are usually disguised as political ideologies, scientific theories or symbols in the realms of religion, art and literature.

According to Aaron and Alejandra, one reason why Mexican-origin people had a tendency to 'screw' fellow members of their ethnic group was due to feelings of 'envy'. In psychoanalysis, the concept of envy (mainly developed by Melanie Klein) can be understood as the angry feeling caused by the knowledge that another person possesses and enjoys something else desirable, often accompanied by an impulse to take it away or spoil it. In her work *Envy and Gratitude*, Klein (1957) makes a distinction between the emotions of envy, jealousy and greed; she believes that envy is the most primitive and fundamental of these three emotions.

Whereas jealousy is based on love and aims to possess the loved object and remove the rival, envy, on the other hand:

is a two-part relation in which the subject envies the object for some possession or quality; no other live object need enter into it (...) Envy aims at being as good as the object, but, when this feels impossible, it aims at spoiling the goodness of the object, to remove the source of envious feeling (...) Envy can be fused with greed, making for a wish to exhaust the object entirely, not only in order to possess all its goodness but also to deplete the object purposefully so that it no longer contains anything enviable (Segal, 1974: 40).

For Aaron and Alejandra, people of Mexican descent feel ‘envy’ as a result of seeing someone ‘like them succeed’ in the United States (or in other words, ‘making it in America’). Although I agree that Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans might feel envious as a result of being unable to possess the Other’s (material) possessions, such as a car or a house, what these populations are envying at an unconscious level is the ‘Other’s’ proximity to ‘being white’. Thus, when a person of Mexican-descent achieves something usually associated with a white person (such as speaking in English, obtaining U.S. citizenship or buying a house) he gets closer ‘to becoming white’. As a result of this, other people of Mexican descent will try to ‘deplete the object purposefully so that it no longer contains anything enviable’ (Segal, 1974: 40).

Moreover, Aaron’s wife’s experience of S.B.1070 in action exemplifies the ambivalent relationship between the Mexican-origin populations and the white dominant population. As discussed in Andrea’s case (Section 3.2.1), in any colonial situation, it is common for the colonised to experience feelings of ambivalence towards the coloniser. In this particular case, although Aaron regarded S.B. 1070 as a persecutory/evil/racist law, it enabled Aaron’s wife not only to secure U.S. residency, but also to be recognized and accepted by the white dominant population.

Furthermore, the two experiences narrated by Maria during her interview show that Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans do not have to be Border Patrol agents or

police officers to enforce a (cultural) law against other Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans. This means that both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans have a tendency to judge and decide *who is* and *who is not* 'truly' Mexican. If we recall Maria's comments about a Mexican immigrant friend of hers who would not allow a Mexican-American to talk about the Mexican government, or one of her co-workers who made comments about their colleague 'passing as a Mexican', these show how the Mexican-origin population can also be 'harsh' when it comes to accepting someone into their culture. Similarly to the gringos, the Mexican-origin population, and Mexican immigrants in particular, are not always open to the idea of contamination/hybridity of their culture.

The notion of an 'authentic culture' has invoked the belief that certain forms of behaviour and cultural practices are inauthentic. The problem with those claims is that they often become entangled in an essentialist cultural position in which fixed practices become iconized as authentically indigenous while others are excluded as hybridized or contaminated. As Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1998) propose, 'this has as its corollary the danger of ignoring the possibility that cultures may develop and change as their conditions change'.

Clearly, there are certain kinds of practices peculiar to Mexican culture (for example, celebrating the Day of the Dead, speaking in Spanish or eating corn tortillas) and these serve as important identifiers, and become the means by which the Mexican-origin population can in some way resist oppression and oppose homogenization by U.S. society (these ideas will be discussed in detail in the following chapter). However, as Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin suggest, the emergence of certain fixed, stereotypical representations of a particular culture remains a danger.

I believe that Mexican-origin people may have a tendency to employ generic signifiers to define their culture. The problem is that this overrides the differences that exist within Mexican culture, as Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin explain:

The use of signifiers of authenticity may be a vital part of the attempt by many subordinated societies to argue for their continued and valid existence as they become inevitably hybridized and influenced by various social and cultural changes. But too rigid a definition can militate against such resistance if they are used to police and license the determining boundaries of the culture by the dominant group (Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin, 1998: 22).

As mentioned previously, the white dominant population in Arizona are not the only ones who feel that their culture is endangered by the significant amount of Mexican-descent people living in the state. Both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans also fear that their culture might become too Americanized or their population too white. It can be argued that Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans act as a form of ‘cultural’ Border Patrols towards other people from the same ethnic background.

In the following section, I analyse the cases of Andrea, Alexan and Montserrat. Through these examples, the idea of fear about hybridization/contamination of the language will be further illustrated and explained. As will be discussed, both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans use language as a way to discriminate against and humiliate others.

## **4.2 Español vs. English**

During my first fieldwork trip to Tucson, I stayed in a house between East 36<sup>th</sup> Street and South Kino Parkway. It was located some distance away from the University of Arizona



and from South Tucson. It was a twenty minute walk just to get to the nearest 7 Eleven. Furthermore, if I wanted to take the bus, I had to walk for about thirty minutes in very hot conditions to get to the bus stop. Both the hot weather and the long distances involved made it difficult for me to move around the city; however, these did not stop me from interacting with other Mexicans. I was lucky to live in front of the Quincie-Douglas Community Centre, which housed a public library, an open pool and a park. On most afternoons I would go to the public library to read the newspaper and afterwards I would go to the swimming pool.

At the library, free English lessons were offered to both children and adults. Almost everywhere, signs were displayed in both English and Spanish. There were also many books and magazines printed in Spanish. Moreover, the library staff spoke both languages. I remember being surprised to hear so many people speaking in my language. It was a nice feeling that even though I was far away from home, in some way I was still 'close' to Mexico. Similarly, at the public swimming pool I could also hear people speaking in Spanish and English interchangeably. In places such as on the bus, at the mall, the supermarket and even some parts of the University of Arizona, I saw signs written in both English and Spanish. I also felt comfortable speaking in Spanish almost everywhere I went.

Near the bus stop I used most frequently, was a food truck that sold Sonoran-style Mexican food. These included Sonoran-style hot-dogs, *tacos*, *caramelos*, *quesadillas*, and *burritos*. One day, after attending a meeting at the University of Arizona, I decided to stop at this food truck and have a proper Sonoran-style lunch. It was during the month of May, so the weather was very warm at around three o'clock in the afternoon.

There was a very long queue to reach the cashier, so I decided to join it as soon as possible. Standing in the middle of the queue was a young woman whose appearance suggested she was of Mexican descent. I approached her and asked her in Spanish if she was in the queue. She turned towards me and gave me a look which implied that I had said something very offensive. I therefore asked her again, in Spanish, if she was in the queue. The young woman looked at me again and just said ‘Sorry?’, so I asked her again, this time in English, if she was in the queue. She said ‘yes’ but in a very rude way. To my surprise, when she reached the cashier she ordered Sonoran-style Mexican food in very clear Spanish.

This event was hard for me to digest. It made me feel humiliated and consequently very uncomfortable. I still have no idea why the young woman did not want to speak to me in Spanish; perhaps because she did not understand me, or simply because she did not feel like speaking Spanish to me at all. Whatever the reason, during the course of the interviews I conducted, I realized that I was not the only one who had experienced something like this. In the following section, the cases of Andrea, Alexan and Montserrat are discussed and analysed. As will be seen, these three respondents also felt humiliated and discriminated against by people of Mexican origin while they were communicating either in English or Spanish.

#### **4.2.1 No Te Entiendo: I Cannot Understand You**

During my interview with **Andrea** (Section 3.2.1), I also listened to an account of her experiences and interactions with both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. One of the ‘toughest’ experiences she had during her first few months in Tucson was

with someone who had a Mexican background like herself. As previously mentioned, Andrea, in common with other people I interviewed for this research, was born in the United States but raised in Mexico. She considered herself a Mexican-American and not simply a Mexican who carried a U.S. passport. However, she thought that she was different to Mexican-Americans who did not treat other people of Mexican-descent very 'well'.

One of the first questions I asked her was about her arrival in Tucson and how she adapted to living somewhere new. She recalled it being difficult, firstly, because she had not fully mastered English and, secondly, because a few days after her arrival, she felt 'discriminated' against and made to feel 'un-welcome' by a Mexican-American woman from the Pima Community College (PCC), as she described below:

*My first experience was a little...perhaps not terrible, but tough. I remember I went to the Pima Community College to get some information about the place...and the woman who was working there...mmm...had a Mexican appearance, so I thought 'Oh! Great! She is Mexican, she is one of mine'...and the woman started speaking to me in English, although she could speak in Spanish! I was shocked! I had never felt so discriminated and unwelcome. A friend of mine was there with me just in case I needed any help. But I don't know...suddenly this woman also started behaving in a very arrogant way...she said things like, 'Oh no, this school is very expensive for you and I am not sure you will be able to afford it, besides you are not even U.S. citizen'. She started putting all this obstacles!*

Andrea added that what made her sad was that this woman 'was someone like her'; someone who looked like 'one of her own'. A few months after this event, Andrea returned to the PCC, and to her surprise, the woman she had spoken to before was there again. However, the woman did not recognize Andrea and, after reading her name, spoke to her in Spanish. I asked her why she thought the woman had behaved differently from the first time they met, and she started laughing. She said it was probably because the woman was 'bipolar or something'. She then said that the woman seemed to be

personifying all the clichés associated with Mexican-Americans in the U.S., meaning that the Mexican-American population had a reputation for not wanting to help other people of Mexican descent because they were struggling to survive in the U.S. and wanted to be the only Mexicans in the country. In Andrea's words:

*They are selfish in sharing their success (...) I guess they don't want to help others because they want to be the only ones to excel in the United States.*

I asked Andrea if she could remember any other situations like the one she described at the PCC. She was unable to do so; however, she emphasised how the woman's behaviour had made her feel as if she was 'kicking her out of the country' and sending her back to Mexico. Andrea's experience made her force herself to speak in English at all times. Furthermore, she recalled feeling 'annoyed' and 'frustrated' that sometimes, despite her efforts to speak to people in English, they would start talking to her in Spanish as soon as they looked at her. These instances made Andrea feel that her English 'was terrible' and that she was never going to be able to communicate in the U.S.

Like Andrea, **Alexan** also felt discriminated against by someone from his own ethnic background whilst trying to register at his new university. Alexan and I had an opportunity to chat in September 2014. I was introduced to him by his girlfriend who I was also able to interview for this research. When we met, Alexan was twenty two years old and was studying to become a biomedical engineer at the University of Arizona. He was born in Tucson but raised in Nogales, Sonora, Mexico. Both of his parents were from Sonora but, as in the case of many other interviewees, they had decided to have Alexan in the United States so that he would qualify for U.S. citizenship in the future and have 'better life opportunities'. Although he was raised in a border city, Alexan claimed

that the most ‘difficult’ thing for him when he moved to Tucson was not knowing how to speak English. He was ‘annoyed’ by the fact that people did not understand him. He also pointed out that the significant amount of Mexicans residing in the state made it easy for him to make friends and not feel lonely. I asked him if he had felt welcomed by the Mexican-American population in Arizona, to which he replied:

*I guess it's as my dad says, that Mexicans don't like each other. We don't help each other and we even try to screw each other. And I have experienced that. Like when I enrolled myself in the university, I was not registered as a U.S citizen so they wanted me to pay more tuition fees...so I had to ask for an appointment at the registry...and the guy who was working there looked like a Mexican but did not want to speak in Spanish to me, and he also made things so complicated! It was almost impossible to ask for his help!*

Alexan told me about another experience where he had felt a Mexican-American had not treated him very well. He was at a restaurant, and was served by a waiter who ‘pretended’ not to understand him and who also ‘looked like a Mexican who spoke Spanish’. For Alexan, the longer a Mexican-origin person remained in the United States, the more he became like a gringo. Moreover, he also found it ‘suspicious’ that both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans had jobs which involved checking the status of other people of Mexican descent. He believed that employing people of Mexican descent and Latinos as Border Patrol agents or police officers was a strategy by the gringos to prevent being ‘fooled’ by other Mexicans. I asked him why he believed that Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans did not like each other, and he responded:

*I think that we are very racist, as a joke or not, we discriminate a lot...and the problem starts with the fact that we don't like ourselves...we don't love ourselves and we always want to screw other Mexicans (...) Perhaps it is something even cultural (...) Perhaps the discrimination in Mexico might have started with the arrival of the Spaniards.*

Alexan said that during his time in Tucson, he had only been discriminated against by those who, although they did not behave like people of Mexican-descent, ‘had a cactus stuck on their forehead’ (this phrase will be explored in more depth in Section 4.4 ‘Con el Nopal Pegado en la Frente). In other words, he had felt discriminated against by people who looked Mexican, but pretended not to be. According to Alexan, he had been discriminated against by people who were ‘short’ and ‘dark skinned’ but only spoke in English or pretended not to understand him.

Alexan recalled that when he worked delivering pizzas, customers with Spanish surnames (such as Jimenez, Sanchez, Gomez, etc.) would never give him tips and on some occasions were rude to him. What shocked Alexan most was that someone from his ‘own race’ was unwilling to help him by giving him a three dollar tip. He believed that it is deeply ingrained in the minds of Mexican-descent people to ‘screw others’ and to ‘try to win’ at all costs.

Something else that he could not understand was the fact that a friend of his, who was born in the United States but whose parents had been undocumented immigrants from Mexico, wanted to become a Border Patrol agent. Alexan and some of his other friends even started to call this friend a ‘pig’ as a form of disapproval. For Alexan, the rationale for his friend wanting to become a Border Patrol agent relied on the fact that the job paid a good salary, as well as getting support from the U.S government in some way. Alexan concluded his interview by telling me he had enjoyed our conversation, since it had made him think about a series of issues regarding the Mexican-origin population.

I met up with **Montserrat** on several occasions during my various trips to Tucson. She was born and raised in Mexico City like myself, and to our surprise we had

several friends in common back home. When we met, Montserrat was in the second year of studying for a doctoral degree in Biology at the University of Arizona. She had moved to Tucson two years ago, where she claimed to be ‘very happy’. I started the interview by asking her why she had decided to come to Tucson and about how she had found the process of adaptation when she first moved to the United States. According to Montserrat, it had been ‘very easy’ for her to move to Tucson because she had been supported by both her family and the university. I asked whether she had been able to make friends there. Montserrat claimed to have been ‘lucky’ to meet people from many different parts of the world. She had a strong group of Mexican-origin friends, although she felt that some of them looked at her ‘strangely’ because she was a *chilanga*. I asked her if she also had a strong group of Mexican-American friends. Montserrat replied that she found hard to ‘connect’ with Mexican-Americans because socially and culturally they were ‘distant’ from her. She told me that during her first year in Tucson, she had attended the Mexican Independence Day celebration at Casino del Sol with a group of friends, but had been made to feel ‘different’ and ‘distant’ from the Mexican-American population:

*I went with a group of Mexican and Latin-American friends from the university, and the first thing we noticed was that we really stood out from the crowd. We felt as if we were segregated from the rest of the people there. After the event my friends and I concluded that perhaps these people resented us for being like rich kids, educated kids with visas (...) For us I guess Independence Day is just an excuse to drink, but for the Mexican-American people, is a matter of identity, although these identity for me is a bit blurry.*

Montserrat then explained that the interchangeable use of English and Spanish by the Mexican-American guests at the celebration is what made her think that these people had a ‘blurry’ identity. She also recalled feeling that she was being ‘observed’ and ‘spotlighted’ during the celebration.

Moreover, Montserrat recalled feeling ‘ashamed’ when she noticed so many Mexican people from Sonora coming to Tucson at the weekend just to go to the mall. What ‘annoyed’ her most was that they did not care about the Mexican immigrants but only came to ‘the other side of the border’ to spend money. For Montserrat, the situation for Mexican immigrants in Tucson was ‘precarious’. According to her, Mexicans immigrants were not just ‘segregated’, mainly in Southern Tucson, but also perceived as



Figure 9 Phones at the Mall 2013

‘criminals’ and ‘illegals’ just for speaking Spanish. I asked her to tell me what differences she observed between the Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, and she replied as follows:

*I think that Mexican-Americans want to embrace a kind of Mexican richness, probably because their parents or grandparents were rejected for being Mexicans. For me they summarize all the clichés of what the gringos consider to be Mexican. I mean, the image of the fat guy drinking a beer. I think they are even insulting.*

Montserrat said she believed that Mexican-Americans were not ‘authentic’ Mexicans; in fact, she regarded them as ‘deficient’ Mexicans. For her, an ‘authentic’ Mexican person was one who had ‘real tacos’ and ‘real salsa’, not Taco Bell or Red Hot sauce. I asked her why she reacted in the way that she did towards the Mexican-American population, and she said it was because she considered herself a ‘chauvinist Mexican who looked for things to be as she knew them’, not ‘altered, modified and diluted’.

To illustrate this point, Montserrat returned to her account of the Mexican Independence Day celebration to exemplify how some Mexican-Americans ‘pretended’



to be Mexicans. She remembered feeling 'disgusted' at the sight of two children wearing typical Mexican clothing, because the children were not actually Mexican, but simply dressed up 'as Mexicans' by their Mexican-American parents. She was keen to emphasise that she had regarded the Mexican Independence Day celebration at the Casino del Sol as a 'sociological experiment' during which she had seen Mexican-American people as 'strange objects of study'. I asked if she could recall any other experiences like the one she described during the Mexican Independence Day celebration. She started laughing and told me how she and her friends would sometimes go to clubs in downtown Tucson to make fun of Mexican-American people:

*Sometimes during the weekend I go with my friends to different places where they mostly play music in Spanish. I have to confess that there is a place in downtown Tucson, where my friends and I go to make fun of Mexican-American people and the excess of clothes they wear...also how they arrive speaking in English, and speak all the time in English, even to the people that work at the club, but when there is a song in Spanish being played, they start singing perfectly. I just can't understand why they always do that! Why is it that they pretend not to speak in Spanish...I have no idea...*

I asked Montserrat how it made her feel to hear Mexican-American people singing in Spanish, and she replied that she found them both an object of 'ridicule' and 'funny'. What 'annoyed' her most about their behaviour was the fact that sometimes they 'pretended' to not speak/understand Spanish, depending on the situation. She recalled seeing students at the university, who 'clearly looked like Mexicans', but would only speak in English to each other.

For Montserrat, Mexican-Americans were 'designed by the gringos' and the main problem was not that the gringos 'decided' on how the Mexican population was supposed to look and behave, but the fact that the Mexican population 'accepted' this and conformed to behaving as the gringos wanted.

In the interviews conducted for this research, several interviewees described experiencing feelings of remorse, embarrassment, or guilt for not being able to speak Spanish fluently (for example Rafferty, Abel and Maria). Some of the other respondents recounted being ridiculed when they spoke Spanish to other people of Mexican descent (for example Maria, Melinda and Angie).

The boundaries between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans become clearer in relation to the use of Spanish and English. Even though many Mexican-descent people in Arizona (and the United States) do not speak Spanish, Mexican immigrants maintain the Spanish language as a central component of their group identity. As discussed in the case of Montserrat, the ability to speak Spanish is considered by some Mexican immigrants, a requirement with which to prove their Mexican ‘authenticity’. Mexican immigrants expect Mexican Americans to speak Spanish fluently, especially if ‘they look like a Mexican’. However, some Mexican-American interviewees (as will also be discussed in Section 4.3.1 ‘The Mexican Gringos’) feel antagonism towards Mexican immigrants because they have been humiliated and ridiculed in some situations by Mexican immigrants for their Spanish-language abilities. As a result of this, Mexican Americans attempt to maintain a distance from Mexican immigrants because of real or perceived cultural differences. Mexican-Americans believe that, rather than trying to assimilate in the United States, Mexican immigrants maintain the ‘criminal’ and ‘undocumented’ stigma of Mexican-origin people by continuing to speak in Spanish.

For Andrea, Alexan and Montserrat, Mexican-Americans were perceived as being ‘distant’, ‘unhelpful’, ‘selfish’, and ‘insulting’. Additionally, they saw Mexican-Americans as having a ‘blurry identity’, and confirming the ‘cliché’ of what the dominant white population think Mexicans should be. For these interviewees, the reason why they

associate Mexican-Americans with all these negative qualities, is because they 'look' like Mexicans, but do not behave as Mexicans should. Thus, according to the aforementioned interviewees, those of Mexican-descent should behave in a certain way (meaning that they should be helpful, friendly, similar to themselves and proud to be Mexican). I believe the annoyance and frustration that Andrea, Alexan and Montserrat felt towards Mexican-Americans is due to the following reasons: firstly, intolerance to 'hybridity' (transculturation/synergy); secondly, ideologies regarding 'authenticity' and intolerance of 'appropriation'; and thirdly, unconscious reactions towards someone who is alien but at the same time strangely familiar (Freud, 1919).

The term 'hybridity' is one of the most widely employed and disputed terms in post-colonial theory. It refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonisation. As in horticulture, 'the term refers to the cross-breeding of two species by grafting or cross-pollination to form a third, 'hybrid' species. Hybridization takes many forms: linguistic, cultural, political, racial, etc.' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998: 118). As Homi K. Bhabha (1994) explains, the idea of hybridity stresses the interdependence of relations between the coloniser and the colonised, as well as their interdependence in the construction of subjectivities. Bhabha claims that cultural identities always emerge in the 'Third Space of enunciation' (an intersection between the coloniser and the colonised), which means that the idea that a hierarchical 'purity' exists within cultures or identities is absolutely unattainable. While some processes of hybridization can be more dramatic than others, in the Arizona-Mexico borderlands, hybridization is naturally more common.

Moreover, in post-colonial studies, the word 'appropriation' refers to the acts of usurpation in various cultural domains (especially language and textuality) in which the

dominant language and its discursive forms are appropriated to express differing cultural experiences. As Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1998: 20) suggest, by appropriating the imperial language as well as its discursive forms and its modes of representation, post-colonial societies are able 'to intervene more readily in the dominant discourse, to interpolate their own cultural realities, or use that dominant language to describe those realities to a wide audience of readers'.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, in the case of both 'hybridization' and 'appropriation', there is an underlying idea that they involve a disruptive and inevitable transformation of two different identities/things/persons/languages. Moreover, as mentioned in the previous subsection, within this process of transformation there is also a sense of pollution or contamination. Consequently, even though the Mexican-American population have simply transformed the language into a combination of Spanish and English (also known as Spanglish), to some Mexican immigrants this process is perceived as 'polluting' their 'pure' Spanish language. Similarly, in the case of food, Mexican Americans have introduced and adopted a series of flavours not commonly used in 'traditional' Mexican cuisine. As was discussed in the previous subsection, Mexican-origin people can sometimes feel that their culture is endangered and/or polluted. As Douglas (1966: 2) points out, ultimately, 'dirt (pollution) offends against order (...) In chasing dirt, in

---

<sup>17</sup> Although I claim 'language' to be a sign of colonialism, there are different processes and procedures of assimilation and acculturation of both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in Arizona. What I mean by this is that for some Mexican Americans it might be easy to speak in English than in Spanish (as a result of just being more use of listening and speaking one than the other). It could also be argued that 'class' plays a role when it comes to discrimination processes and mechanisms, however, as stated previously in Chapter 2, in this thesis I do not include 'class' nor 'gender' as a theme to analyse in discriminatory processes between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. Throughout this thesis I analyse language as a tool used by Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in Arizona used to create division, differentiation and discrimination among each other.

papering, decorating, tidying we are not governed by anxiety to escape disease, but are positively re-ordering our environment, making it conform to an idea’.

In the aforementioned cases, the three interviewees recalled having negative emotional reactions whilst interacting with Mexican American people. On the one hand, Andrea and Alexan recalled feeling ‘unwelcome’ and even ‘discriminated’ against by people who ‘looked like them’. On the other hand, Montserrat described being ‘segregated’ by a group of Mexican Americans at the Independence Day celebration. Moreover, she perceived Mexican-American people as ‘deficient’ Mexicans with a ‘blurry’ identity.

I believe that although Andrea and Alexan did not try to justify their reactions towards Mexican-American people as a consequence of being ‘chauvinistic’ (as Montserrat did), they also wanted things to be as they ‘knew them’, and not ‘diluted’ or ‘altered’. In this respect, Andrea and Alexan shared Montserrat’s view of the Mexican-American population, and their negative reactions towards them resulted from their intolerance of hybridity.

Moreover, in addition to their intolerance of hybridity, Alexan, Andrea and Montserrat underwent what Sigmund Freud (1919) described as an ‘uncanny’ experience (*das Unheimlich*). In German, from an etymological point of view as Freud points out, ‘unheimlich’ is the opposite of ‘heimlich’, meaning what is familiar, intimate, known and homely. However, the word ‘heimlich’ also means concealed, secret, kept from sight, doing something behind someone’s back, and even dangerous; hence, this meaning of ‘heimlich’ becomes almost identical to that of its opposite, ‘unheimlich’: thus, everything that is ‘unheimlich’ ought to have remained secret and hidden but has come to light.

Freud believed that ‘the uncanny is that class of frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar’ (Freud, 1919: 220). What he means by this is that we can experience feelings of a quality that is both familiar and frightening at the same time. Moreover, as we are unable to identify where the feeling comes from, Freud proposed that it emanates from something repressed and unconscious in the mind which can be triggered by certain symbols or events (Clarke, 2003).

Freud draws attention to themes relating to uncanniness, such as in literature. According to him, in literature there is often a doubling of characters, identical people who look alike, who are joined through some kind of telepathic union such that their experiences and feelings become shared. For Freud, these characters are marked by the fact that they can identify themselves in some other. As he expresses it, there is a ‘doubling, dividing and interchanging of the self’ (Freud, 1919: 234).

Moreover, Freud argues that the uncanny accomplishes the condition of being in contact with the residues of animistic mental activity and bringing them to expression. This means that the uncanny is what unconsciously reminds us of our *id* (our forbidden and thus repressed impulses) especially when placed in an uncertain context that can remind us of an infantile belief in the omnipotence of thought. These uncanny elements are perceived as threatening by the *superego*, which is ridden with Oedipal guilt as it fears symbolic castration by punishment for deviating from societal norms. Thus, the individuals that we project our own repressed impulses upon come to represent an uncanny threat to us - uncanny monsters and freaks - and subsequently often become scapegoats which we blame for all our misfortunes and miseries.

Throughout the interviews with Andrea, Alexan and Montserrat, something that particularly struck me was the fact that they used the phrases ‘one of our own’ and

‘different’ when describing Mexican-American people. I believe these two phrases summarize the feelings of both familiarity and danger felt by some Mexican immigrant people when they are in a situation involving interactions with other Mexican-Americans. Thus, although Mexican immigrants see Mexican-American people as ‘one of their own’ and therefore similar to themselves, they are nonetheless also ‘strange’ and ‘unfamiliar’. As a result of this uncanny situation, Mexican immigrants (and probably Mexican-Americans do likewise) project their feelings of fear and anger onto the ‘Others’.

Moreover, the rationale that Mexican-Americans use for avoiding speaking in Spanish to people of the same ethnic background is complex. As mentioned in the first chapter of the thesis, the presence of Mexican-origin people in the United States is nothing new. Mexican-origin people have lived in the United States, where they have been regarded as the ‘Other’, for a long time, which means that they have had to endure centuries of oppression, discrimination and segregation from the white dominant society. In order to become ‘elevated above their jungle status’, as Frantz Fanon (1965) describes it, people of Mexican-descent have had to learn and master the ‘civilizing language’. In Fanon’s words:

An ability to speak gives the person the position to use certain syntax and to grasp the morphology of a certain language – but also to be a part of a certain culture, and support the weight of a civilization. A black person will become close to being a real human being in direct ratio to his mastery of the French [in our case English] language (Fanon, 1965: 3).

Consequently, I believe some Mexican-Americans have chosen to speak in English instead of Spanish, not because they regard Spanish as inadequate or inferior, but because English has become a useful means of expression (one that reaches the widest

audience), and also a tool with which to resist political and cultural control. Consequently, as many of the interviewees mentioned (such as Alexan, Aaron and Alejandra), Mexican immigrants believe that Mexican-Americans ‘try to screw’ other Mexicans instead of helping them.

Nevertheless, I also believe that some Mexican-Americans use language as a means of humiliating and discriminating against other people of Mexican descent. In my view, some Mexican-Americans avoid speaking, or pretend not to be able to understand Spanish in order to make other people of Mexican descent feel unwelcome in the United States. As Fanon points out, unfortunately, in the case of language:

...the black man possesses two dimensions: one with his fellow Blacks, the other with the Whites. A black man behaves differently with a white man than he does with another black man. There is no doubt whatsoever that this fissiparousness is a direct consequence of the colonial undertaking (Fanon, 1965: 1).

The motivation for some Mexican-American people to avoid speaking in Spanish relies on the fact that this ‘colonised’ group have absorbed the idea that the ‘white language’ is the ‘good’ language and therefore the one that should be spoken.

To summarize, as revealed in the cases above (and in others explored throughout the thesis) differences in Spanish-speaking abilities among the Mexican-origin population may create and accentuate group boundaries. As discussed in the cases of Andrea, Alexan and Montserrat, Mexican immigrant people often tend to feel that their fellow members of the same ethnic group, the Mexican-American population, humiliate and discriminate against them by not speaking to them in Spanish. The following section discusses the ways in which Mexican-Americans, as exemplified by the interviewees, can be discriminated against by Mexican and Mexican-immigrant people for being born ‘on the other side of the border’.



### **4.3 The Mexican Gringos**

At my supervisor's suggestion, I asked Jessy and Melinda to meet me for coffee one afternoon at the University of Essex. This meeting was not part of my 'formal' interviews/thesis, but the contents of it helped me reinforced certain aspects of the more formal features of my study.

Jessy and Melinda were two Mexican-American exchange students from California who had come to Essex to study as part of an exchange programme. The purpose of our meeting was to have an informal conversation about relations between Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants in the United States. Their parents had migrated without the required documents to California and they had spent most of their time in the United States working in the fields. Both Jessy and Melinda were born and raised near Los Angeles.

When we met, I introduced myself to both of them and briefly explained the topic and the focus of my thesis. Jessy and Melinda introduced themselves, and although both seemed open to my questions, I could sense that Melinda was slightly tense.

We talked about several topics, ranging from Donald Trump's presidential campaigns to Arizona's immigration law S.B.1070. Neither Jessy, Melinda, nor I, could understand why, after the accusations and proposals made by Donald Trump (calling Mexicans rapists and declaring his intention to build an expensive wall between Mexico and the U.S.), many Latinos were still supporting him in his bid to become the next President of the United States of America. The three of us believed this situation was outrageous and we found it unfathomable that Latinos were supporting Trump.

Jessy and Melinda had both recently been to Mexico. Jessy mentioned that she had a number of relatives living in Michoacán, who she usually visited during the holidays. However, Melinda revealed that she had only visited Mexico for the first time about five years ago. I asked them about their experience of being in the country, and more precisely, how they had been treated by other Mexicans. Although Jessy had been ‘welcomed’ by her relatives, she also said she felt ‘uncomfortable’ about having to speak to them in Spanish. She found it ‘embarrassing’ to be unable to pronounce some words and to have to try to speak with an accent. Following her comment, I told her that on several occasions during the interviews I conducted, I had heard that both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans have experienced issues in relation to language, especially between the two groups. To illustrate this point, I explained to Jessy and Melinda how one of my interviewees had felt discriminated against by a Mexican-American person for not being able to speak English properly.

After hearing about my interviewee’s experience, both Jessy and Melinda remained silent.



Figure 10 The Tex-Mex Girls in Nogales 2014

They looked doubtfully at each other, and then Melinda looked at me. Her expression was serious and angry. She then told me that, a few years ago, a couple of Mexican immigrants asked her something in Spanish in a cafeteria, and because she was unable to reply in Spanish, they had thrown sugar and a coffee at her. Melinda burst into tears whilst she was recounting this incident. I could sense that her feelings of anger and

sadness were still raw. She told me they had been very ‘rude’ to her and she also said that it had been a real struggle for her to be ‘recognized as a Mexican’. Melinda revealed that several Mexican immigrants had been ‘mean’ to her, especially those who worked in the fields alongside her. Melinda believed that the reason why they treated her ‘poorly’ was because Mexican immigrants had a preconceived idea that Mexican-Americans were ‘rich’ or had an ‘easy life’.

Although Jessy had not experienced anything similar, she nonetheless felt that she was perceived as a gringa by her Mexican relatives. Both girls felt that they were stigmatised for being Mexican (in the United States) *as well as* for being gringas (in Mexico). They described it as having to ‘divide’ themselves, depending on the situation and context that they were in.

Consequently, in the following section, the cases of René, Rose and Abel are discussed and analysed. I have called this section ‘The Mexican Gringos’, because, similarly to Jessy and Melinda, these three Mexican-Americans had also experienced discrimination from other Mexicans because of their appearance or simply because they do not consider them to be genuinely Mexican as they were born in the United States.

#### **4.3.1 Los Gringos y los Güeros**

**René** and I met one Saturday morning at a dance studio in Tucson. He was working as a part-time dance instructor for a dance academy in the North of Tucson. René was twenty-eight years old. Both of his parents were from La Reforma, Sonora, Mexico. René’s mother migrated without documentation to Arizona when she was five years old, whereas

his father migrated at the age of eighteen. René was born and raised in Tucson. He was the oldest of three siblings.

At the start of the interview, René apologized for not being fluent in Spanish. Although he understood my questions, he told me that the only people with whom he still practiced Spanish were his Dad and his relatives back in Mexico. He told me that it had taken him longer than his siblings to learn English. René originally learned Spanish as his mother tongue, but over time, he started to use it less frequently, to the point where, eventually, he became unable to speak it fluently. Furthermore, although he enjoyed his visits to Mexico, he told me it was almost ‘inevitable’ that he would be the butt of jokes from his relatives because of his way of speaking:

*My family...well...you know, we Mexicans love to make fun of other people...and when I go to Mexico, my relatives particularly make fun of how I speak. I mean, I am not scared of them or anything...it is just fucking annoying...*

René divulged that they also made fun of him for being ‘blonde’ and having light-coloured skin; consequently they had taken to calling him ‘güero’ (blondie). When I asked him how this made him feel, he recalled feeling ‘annoyed’ because he had no control over the colour of his skin, the way he looked, or where he was born. Furthermore, René claimed that he felt ‘frustrated’ by being unable to speak Spanish fluently. I asked René if he could recall a specific situation in which he had been upset by someone in Mexico as a result of his lack of fluency in Spanish, to which he replied:

*When I was a kid...my cousins used to tell me that I was ‘del otro lado’ when I visited them in Mexico. ‘You are from the other side!’ they would say...making fun of me....and I had a cousin who was particularly annoying... He would make fun of everyone....and it was not like he hated me or anything, he just wanted to make me mad....and one day he said to me ‘shut up, you stupid gringo’, just because of how I said something in Spanish. I remember feeling fucking bad...as rejected or something.*

René also claimed to have witnessed these practices among Mexican-descent adults too. He described how, when he used to work in the construction industry with his father, some time ago, he saw Mexican immigrants getting ‘pissed off’ by the presence of Mexican-American people. During his time working as a contractor, René told me that he had seen Mexican immigrants treating Mexican-Americans badly because they perceived the latter as having ‘sold out’ to the gringos:

*I’ve seen people that...they are here for like five years, right? They understand English, they speak it...they understand the American culture a little bit better, and there’s people who have just been here for less than a year...and they see the ones who had been here for a little longer as if they had fucking sold out.*

René believed that Mexican people who spoke in English either because they had been in the United States for a considerable time or because they were born in the country, did not do so for any other purpose than to ‘communicate’. Unfortunately, other people of Mexican descent could perceive them as ‘traitors’ and as being ‘disloyal’ to their ethnic group. Moreover, as a result of being regarded as having ‘sold out’ to the gringos, some people of Mexican descent in the U.S. might feel ‘guilt’ and ‘embarrassment’ for trying to fit in with American culture. To conclude, René told me he believed that ‘discriminatory’ behaviours created a ‘recycling system’, meaning that if a person of Mexican descent behaved derogatorily towards another person of Mexican descent, this could lead to ‘a non-stop cycle’ of people discriminating against each other just because they had ties with the same country.

Similarly to René, **Rose** was born in the United States but her parents were from Mexico. I had the opportunity to interview her one evening via Skype. Rose was born and raised in Los Angeles, California, but had moved to Tucson when she was about eleven years old. Both of her parents were from Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico, but had

been raised in Nogales, Arizona. At the time when the interview took place, Rose had been working as an elementary teacher for more than twenty years. She started by asking me if she should reply to my questions in English or Spanish. I told her that I did not mind, but that I would ask her the questions in Spanish because it was easier for me. Initially, Rose replied to all my questions in English and she even spelled her surname to me although I did not ask her to. After asking how her parents had ended up in Arizona, I asked her if they had spoken to her in English or Spanish when she was a child. Rose immediately started laughing and replied that her parents only spoke to her in Spanish. From that moment onwards, Rose only spoke to me in Spanish as well. Similarly, when I asked Rose if she was married, she laughed and told me she was married to a gringo. I interpreted her laughter on both occasions as a reaction to being caught out doing something 'naughty'. It was clear that she knew very well how to speak in Spanish but did not want to do so for some reason I was not aware of.

Following our conversation about language, Rose mentioned that although she did not speak Spanish with her own children, as a teacher, she had to use Spanish most of the time since the majority of her students were of Mexican descent:

*But you know, when I'm working I speak mostly in Spanish because the majority of my students are Mexican... sometimes the parents see my name and say... 'Wait? Rumsley? How can you speak Spanish?' So I have to explain them that I married a gringo.*

Rose said that because she was 'blonde' and had a 'light skin colour' people usually did not recognize her as being of Mexican descent and thought she was a gringa. Furthermore, she told me about an experience she had had in which a group of Mexican-descent women said something about her, thinking she would not understand:

*There was one time where I was in a workshop with a bunch of Mexican teachers...and I don't know...maybe it is because I'm blonde or because they read*

*'Rose Rumsley' on my name tag...who knows.... but I was sitting there with this Mexican teachers...who you know, were dark skinned and black eyed...and they started to speak in Spanish probably thinking that I couldn't understand them and they said something about the clothes I was wearing, so I told them I could understand them! And they were like 'oh, we are so sorry, I didn't think you spoke in Spanish'. And they are all like...you know? They tried to ask for my forgiveness and I'm like 'really'? Why do people do this? Why do people just look and quickly assume things are not?*

I told Rose that in other interviews I had conducted with Mexican-American people, some of the other respondents had mentioned feeling 'discriminated' against by someone from the same ethnic background as them, especially when they went to Mexico. Rose concurred with this, and then told me that she had also experienced this phenomenon when she was a child:

*Yes, as you can see, I am very white and I have always been very white...so when I was a child...when I used to go to Hermosillo, my dark skinned cousins would say to me 'here comes the blondie, here comes the little gringa'. And I think that was because we didn't have the same skin colour and because I spoke two languages (...) I guess they were jealous because white people do better and get more attention (...) Perhaps the same happens among the black people? (...) Unfortunately they judge you by your cover. So that's what they see, that's what they believe... 'Oh she's white, she's not Mexican'.*

I asked Rose if she could tell me how she had felt after both incidents, to which she replied: 'very angry, mad and disappointed'. What bothered her most was the fact that she felt she had been 'misjudged' because of her skin colour. She said that, even as a child, she remembered going into Mexican grocery shops and being treated as if she was a gringa and not a Mexican. What she meant was that Mexican-origin people would speak to her in English instead of Spanish just because of the way she looked. According to Rose, on several occasions the cashier had spoken to her in English without giving her an opportunity to speak first.

Like René and Rose, **Abel** (Section 3.3.1), had also been made to feel ‘unwelcome’ by his family members in Jalisco. As previously mentioned, Abel was born in Los Angeles, California. His parents divorced when he was only seven years old and, consequently, Abel and his mother moved to Guadalajara where they resided for about ten years. When I asked him about his experience of living in Mexico, Abel replied that he ‘would not change it for anything in this world’. Although Abel described his experience in Mexico as being ‘amazing’ and ‘beautiful’ he also recalled being on the receiving end of ‘coldness’ and ‘rejection’ from other Mexican people, as he explains below:

*When I recently moved to Guadalajara...in some way no one respected me. Perhaps because before we moved there I only had been in Mexico as a tourist and I didn't work hard enough as the rest of my family there. I remember one day, one of my uncles asked me to get more people from the family to help him arrange some stuff he needed for a show or something he was going to do...so I went with some of my relatives and asked them if they could help my uncle, and they said to me 'no, we are not going to help you...do it yourself, you fucking gringo'. They didn't respect me so I had to do it myself to get their respect...*

Abel recalled feeling ‘very hurt’ by this incident, particularly by the fact that his Mexican relatives appeared to see him as ‘a privileged kid’ who had had an ‘easy life’ in the United States. In reality, Abel and his mother had actually had to work ‘very hard’ in order to ‘survive in the United States’. However, he also observed that the time he spent in Jalisco had made him realize how ‘tough’ life was for the people in Mexico:

*I know it sounds bad but before I moved to Mexico, I think I also did not respect my relatives very much....I thought their work was simple and that they had an easy life ...but I guess it also helped me realize how lucky I was to have spent time in the United States.*

Abel said he believed the quality of life in the United States was ‘better’ than in Mexico. By way of illustration, he highlighted the fact that people who worked in the fields in Mexico were not ‘equally paid’ with those who worked in the fields in



California. Abel claimed that, as ‘horrible’ as it sounds, Mexicans had ‘more opportunities’ in the United States than in Mexico. Moreover, he also pointed out that one of the reasons why he had chosen to work in a job that involved re-uniting Latin-American migrant children with their families, was because he wanted to ‘help’ his people back in Mexico.

After comparing and analysing the cases of René, Rose and Abel, I found a series of similarities between these three respondents. Firstly, René, Rose and Abel had all been born and raised in the United States as result of having parents who were undocumented Mexican immigrants. Secondly, all three respondents had experienced discrimination by their relatives in Mexico for being born in the United States and not being able to speak Spanish fluently (and in some cases because they had light coloured skin). Thirdly, although René, Rose and Abel recalled feeling ‘annoyed’ and ‘frustrated’ by their relatives’ comments, they did not deny the fact that they were ‘gringos’ and they recognized themselves as such.

When René, Rose and Abel were called ‘gringos’ and/or ‘güeros’ by their own relatives, the latter were using these two words to create boundaries in order to emphasise the fact that they were ‘not like them’. However, as mentioned above, although the respondents were ‘annoyed’ and ‘hurt’ by these comments, they did not dispute the fact that they were ‘blonde’ (lighter skin) or ‘white’. On the contrary, in some cases they even reinforced this idea. For example, throughout her interview Rose repeatedly highlighted how ‘white’ she was, and the fact that Mexican-descent people did not recognize her as a Mexican.

Thus, the questions to be asked here are: Are Mexican-Americans actually Mexican, or are they white? And, how do they view themselves? I believe the Mexican-

American people are situated 'in between' the white population (the coloniser) and the Mexican people (the colonised). Additionally, the way in which they come to regard themselves - either as Mexicans or as whites – is shaped through their interactions with other Mexican-descent people and with the white dominant population.

I believe the phenomena of prejudice and discrimination play an important role in the way that Mexican-American people regard and identify themselves. As a result of being discriminated against by the white dominant population, Mexican-American people are reminded that they are Mexican, and similarly, because they are discriminated against by the Mexican immigrant population, Mexican-Americans are reminded that they are also gringos. As proposed in the first chapter of this thesis (Section 1.3) discrimination does not only function as a (unconscious) mechanism with which to 'expel' and project unwanted feelings onto another person, but it also works as a way of shaping the 'Other's' identity.

The fact that René, Rose and Abel shared cultural traditions, nationalities and identities with both Mexicans and white Americans, could define them as 'hybrids'. As discussed in the previous section, in the field of post-colonial studies, Homi Bhabha (1994) suggests that 'hybridity' represents an intersection; a state of being 'in between', or a 'Third Space' that engenders new possibilities. For Bhabha, the 'Third Space' is an 'interruptive, interrogative, and enunciative' space for new forms of cultural meaning and production, which blurs existing boundaries and calls into question established categorisations of culture and identity. As mentioned previously, the hybrid 'Third Space' is an ambivalent location where cultural meaning and representation have no 'primordial unity or fixity' (Bhabha, 1994).

As discussed in depth in an earlier section of this chapter ('No Te Entiendo: I Cannot Understand You'), Mexican-origin people, especially Mexicans and Mexican immigrants, are resistant to the idea of hybridity; therefore they deny and reject it. By contrast, the Mexican Gringos, as I call the Mexican-American population, embrace the idea that people of Mexican descent can look 'like a Mexican', but 'behave as an American'.

Furthermore, as discussed and analysed in the previous chapter (Section 3.2.1), the concepts of 'Mexican' and 'Gringo' are built upon a series of projections whose meanings vary. For example, for the Mexican-origin population, the word 'gringo' means being 'racist', 'amoral' and 'filthy', whereas the word 'Mexican' means being 'disloyal', 'envious', 'jealous' and 'criminal'.

Even though the concepts of 'Mexican' and 'gringo' describe two different identities, as has just been shown, these are not very different from each other. In other words, both concepts have negative connotations. Moreover, if we accept the idea that the Mexican-American identity is located 'in between' (or takes from both) the Mexican and the white identity, then Mexican-Americans would not only be described as 'racist' or 'amoral', but also as 'disloyal', 'envious' and 'jealous'. In this respect, Mexican-American people are damned either way. As Fanon (1965) proposes, 'the man who adores the Negro is as 'sick' as the man who abominates him (...) Conversely, the black man who wants to turn his race white is as miserable as he who preaches hatred for the whites' (Fanon, 1965: 8-9).

Although Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans consider themselves to be different from each other, in the case of René, Rose and Abel, the main difference with their relatives back in Mexico lay in being born on the 'the other side' of the U.S.-

Mexico border. I consider this to be only a small difference, but, as will be discussed in the following section, minor differences between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-American people can come to be regarded as very significant when it comes to defining themselves.

In summary, this section has analysed how ‘Mexican Gringos’ have to deal with discrimination from fellow members of their ethnic group, especially when they visit Mexico. As discussed in the cases of Rene, Rose and Abel, Mexican-American people struggle in their interactions with other Mexicans, since the latter regard them as having ‘sold out’ and as being ‘distant’ from what it actually means to be a Mexican. The following section, entitled ‘Con el Nopal Pegado en la Frente’ discusses how Mexican-origin people claim to be able to recognize another person of Mexican descent even when they are trying to avoid doing so. As will be shown, Mexican-origin people can clearly see from another Mexican’s forehead that they are of Mexican descent.

#### **4.4 Con El Nopal Pegado en la Frente**

During my fieldwork and in the interviews I conducted, I heard the phrase ‘con el nopal pegado en la frente’ several times. This phrase, which literally translates as ‘a cactus stuck on the forehead’, was not new to me. I have also heard it used in Mexico when someone wants to emphasise that a Mexican-origin person is behaving like a phony. I had never paid much attention to it before, but undertaking this research meant that I became concerned with its meaning, since I believe it signifies a set of behaviours and feelings of hatred among the Mexican-origin population.

‘Con el nopal pegado en la frente’, is an old Mexican phrase intended to mock those who pretend not to be of Mexican origin. In Mexico it is commonly used to refer to another Mexican person living in the United States (or in another country abroad) who does not accept their Mexican identity, especially when this person has an obvious Mexican appearance (meaning that he or she has dark skin and brown/black eyes) or speaks with a strong Mexican accent. According to Chicano blogger Rick Rivers (2009), it is not uncommon for Mexicans (both Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans) in the United States to deny their ethnic background or nationality, to avoid speaking Spanish to other Mexicans, and even to change their names. Thus, as Sánchez points out, for example someone named Consuelo becomes Connie, someone named José becomes Joe and someone named Pedro becomes Pete (Rivers, 2009).

When a Mexican denies his language and culture, and tries to pass himself off as a gringo or some other nationality, due to a desire to get ahead in American (Anglo) society, other Mexicans usually say: *¡Míralo, se cree muy americano pero trae un nopal pegado en la frente!* [Look at him, he feels like he is very American but he has a cactus stuck on his forehead!] It is a way of saying that a Mexican cannot fool anyone into thinking he or she is not Mexican. An interesting aspect of the phrase is that it shows the contradiction that exists in certain Mexican-descent people in relation to their nationality. Even though some Mexican people claim to be proud of their ethnic background, at the same time they behave as if they despise it. The Mexican novelist Octavio Paz (1950) described this phenomenon (in which Mexicans and Mexican-descents try to deny their Mexicaness) in the essay ‘The Pachuco and Other Extremes’ in his book *The Labyrinth of Solitude*. According to the author, even when Mexicans wear the same clothes and speak the same language as the other inhabitants (the whites), ‘they feel ashamed of their

origin; yet no one would mistake them for authentic North Americans'. For Paz, what distinguishes the Mexicans who have been long time in the United States (or as he calls them, the 'pachucos'), is 'their furtive, restless air: they act like persons who are wearing disguises, who are afraid of a stranger's look because it could strip them and leave them star naked' (Paz, 1950: 13).

Moreover, although the origin of the phrase 'con el nopal pegado en la frente' cannot be easily traced, the 'nopal' (cactus) has several meanings in Mexican mythology and history. This plant, which has oval green leaves and red flowers, appeared on the Aztec shield and later on the shield of the Republic of Mexico. According to the historian Genevieve Barlow (1995) in *Stories from Latin America*, the story is that the god of war, Huitzilopochtli, told the Aztecs to build their city in a larger and more beautiful land than the one they already had. They would recognize this place because they would see an eagle devouring a snake, standing on a beautiful 'nopal' situated on a rock rising from a lake. Five hundred years after the prophecy was made, in 1300, the first Aztecs arrived in the great valley of Mexico and built 'La Gran Tenochtitlan' (Barlow, 1995).

The cactus not only represents Mexican culture, but it also symbolizes the homeland and nourishment offered by Mexico. It is interesting that, in the phrase 'con nopal pegado en la frente', the cactus serves as a firebrand or permanent mark on someone's forehead that cannot be removed; whereas in the mythical image of the eagle devouring a snake, the cactus functions simply as a perch which offers support. Following that line of thinking, it could be argued that what is in one sense the Mexicans' source of support is also a disgrace to be carried around with them. For some Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, the 'nopal' could serve as a basis of support, but it

is also a prickly, hurtful plant that leaves marks on their faces and makes them recognizable to other Mexicans.

The fact that the ‘nopal’ grows or becomes ‘stuck’ on the Mexican people’s foreheads suggests that it is something which is ingrained in their minds too. Therefore, I believe the nopal’s mark is also part of the Mexican people’s psyche.

Throughout the following section, I explore the cases of Luisa and Angie. As will be seen (and as has already been discussed more generally throughout the thesis), one of the worst behaviours a Mexican-origin person can witness is to see another Mexican pretending not to be one of their own. This phenomenon, as argued previously, can be seen in Mexicans who avoid speaking in Spanish, who openly deny being of Mexican descent and who even behave discriminatorily towards others of Mexican descent.

I met **Luisa** through a mutual friend, and we chatted one evening via Skype. At the time, she had just taken a job reuniting Latin-American immigrant children with their families. She had studied Spanish literature at the University of Arizona. She was born in Tucson, but raised in Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico. Her mother was from Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas, Mexico and her father from Ariste, Sonora, Mexico. Her parents were undocumented migrants who came to Arizona just after they got married when they were about twenty years old. Luisa’s parents settled in Tucson for a couple of years, and three months after Luisa was born, they went back to Mexico where they stayed for fourteen years. Eventually, they moved back to Tucson because they wanted to be able to provide their family with a better quality of life.

For Luisa, moving to Tucson was not a pleasant experience. She recalled feeling ‘sad’ and ‘cry[ing] every day’ during her first months in Arizona. Although she had learnt

English at her school in Mexico, Luisa did not like speaking it. Consequently, she had to ask her sister to translate most of her conversations with other people. Moreover, when Luisa started going to school in Tucson, her teachers had to ask other students to help her. When I asked her what it was like for her to be unable to communicate and having to have a translator, Luisa laughed and said she was ‘very happy’ about not having to speak in English. She also claimed to have felt like she was ‘in paradise’ because she always had a personal translator. She told me that most of the people who translated for her were Mexican-Americans. I asked her how she got on with them, to which she replied:

*Haha! Well, I had to obviously be friends with them cause if not they would not help me out with the translations! (...) In high school we were divided between English speaking students and English as second language students...I don't know, it always seemed to me that the students who spoke English felt like they were better than us. And I was never actually discriminated for not speaking in English, but I saw how Mexican-Americans would tell other classmates things like 'go back to Mexico, you fucking wetback!' (...) For me the worst thing is that the people who said those things were also of Mexican-origin, I mean...you could clearly see they had a cactus stuck on their foreheads! So it was like... Really? They are going to call them wetbacks?! Most probably their relatives were also wetbacks...so what the hell?*

I asked Luisa if she could explain to me what she meant by the phrase ‘a cactus stuck on their foreheads’. Luisa started laughing again, and said that it was just a common phrase Mexicans used to describe ‘people who are Mexican-descent, but try to deny it’. As an example, she said that her Mexican-American classmates who made fun of other Mexicans would usually have a ‘Mexican appearance’ themselves (meaning that they were dark skinned and short) and would even speak Spanish or Spanglish with each other. However, in front of other Mexican-descent students they would ‘pretend not to understand’ and would ‘treat them poorly’. I asked Luisa why she believed her Mexican-American classmates behaved in this way, and her response was as follows:



*Mmmm...I don't know, I think that the Mexican-Americans discriminate other Mexicans to feel cool or something. I don't know, for example, my boyfriend and his family are all gringos and I have never felt discriminated by them, so I guess the Mexican-Americans just want to be seen as tough or something. They are maybe scared that the gringos will perceive them as soft, but in reality, I think a lot of gringos don't even give a shit.*

I then asked Luisa if she had any anecdotes about either herself or a member of her family experiencing discrimination from a Mexican-American person. Luisa told me she had noticed that sometimes Latino and Mexican-American Border Patrol agents could be 'a pain in the ass' towards other people of Mexican descent. To illustrate this point, she told me about an experience she had had a couple of years ago whilst coming back into the United States.

After a short visit to Mexico, Luisa and her mother were driving back to the United States. The Immigration and Customs Control officer they had to deal with at the border 'looked like a Mexican', so she decided to speak to him in Spanish. However, the officer 'did not seem very happy with this situation', and told them in no uncertain terms: 'You cannot speak in Spanish. You are now entering the United States and if you want to live here, you have to learn and speak the language that is spoken here'. Luisa recalled feeling 'shocked' and 'extremely overwhelmed' by this response. She concluded that she must have been the one to blame for what happened, since she had 'wrongly assumed' the immigration officer was of Mexican descent because of his appearance.

Like Luisa, **Angie** (Section 3.1.2) also reported seeing a person with 'a cactus stuck' on their forehead who pretended not to be of Mexican descent. Throughout the interview, Angie listed several criticisms of Mexican-American people in Arizona. After telling me how 'unfortunate' it was for her cousin who had married a Border Patrol

agent, Angie talked to me about an acquaintance who had not been brought up and educated to feel ethnic solidarity with his Mexican-origin compatriots:

*I know this guy named Andrew whose both parents were U.S. military...so Andrew did not learn how to speak in Spanish...and I mean...he looks Mexican...like very fucking Mexican. So usually when he goes to the shop or anywhere else, they speak to him in Spanish and he gets really angry and he replies 'I don't speak fucking Spanish!' But I am sure that any Mexican person who sees him just thinks... 'well, look at this asshole and his fucking nopal en la frente!*

Angie said that the problem she saw with this was that Andrew's own children were learning and imitating his behaviour. Angie recalled hearing Andrew's three-year-old daughter saying things like 'I'm not Mexican, don't speak to me in Spanish, this is America!' For Angie, the most 'shocking' aspect of this was that Andrew and his family found what the girl said 'funny' and therefore encouraged her to repeat it. Moreover, she considered that a lack of education was what caused most Mexican-Americans to discriminate against the Mexican-immigrant population. As an example, Angie said that when she was at high school, she had heard her Mexican-American classmates calling their Mexican-origin peers names like *beaners* and *mojados*. Although Angie did not like listening to her Mexican-origin classmates being called 'horrible' names by the Mexican-Americans, she also disliked being called *pocha* by them. Finally, Angie concluded her interview by saying that although she believed that Mexicans saw her as a 'fake Mexican', she nonetheless wanted her children to know about their Mexican roots and the place they came from.

The rationale for choosing to discuss Luisa and Angie in this section, is because not only did these two respondents use the phrase 'con el nopal pegado en la frente' but they also touched upon the two main topics analysed in this chapter: 1) the relevance of bodily features in the interactions between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-

Americans; and 2) the use of language as a way to humiliate and create boundaries between people from the same ethnic background. I believe these two situations cause the most tension between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans.

In the introduction to this section, I mentioned that the ‘nopal’ can signify both homeland and nourishment for the Mexican-origin population. In addition, I made the point that, while the ‘nopal’ is represented as a perch (support) in the Mexican national symbol, in the phrase ‘con el nopal pegado en la frente’, by contrast, the ‘nopal’ is understood as a hurtful mark of recognition stuck to a person’s forehead.

Following the idea that the ‘nopal’ represents a perch from which Mexicans can draw support, I believe that when they see it on someone else’s forehead (meaning that they think someone is Mexican because of their bodily features), Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans believe they should be able to derive comfort and support from this person. This implies that Mexican-origin people rely on bodily features as an indicator of how to behave or as a sign that they can look to others for help. An example of this was seen in the cases of Andrea and Alexan (Section 4.2.1) who thought they were in a safe environment when they came into contact with people who looked like them at the Pima Community College and the University of Arizona.

However, when their expectations of being in a ‘safe environment’ with people who ‘look like them’ (or who have a ‘nopal’ on their foreheads) are not met, Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans become frustrated/annoyed/humiliated. They then perceive the ‘nopal’ as an illusion for failing to provide the support that they hoped to find. Examples of this phenomenon were seen in several of the cases examined in this chapter, whereby Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans felt that fellow members of their ethnic community showed no solidarity with them.

Furthermore, as a result of the ‘nopal’s’ failure to provide support (translated as a lack of ethnic solidarity), Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans create boundaries between themselves. In order to do so, they start magnifying their differences so that small differences come to be perceived as large differences. Thus, something that might seem like only a minor difference between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, such as being born in Nogales, Arizona rather than in Nogales, Sonora, is regarded by Mexican-origin people as an excuse to behave discriminatorily towards others. Another example can be seen in the case of people who speak Spanglish, in comparison to people who speak only Spanish, or in people who eat with flour tortillas rather than corn tortillas.

Although Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans might have many differences, they also share a great many similarities. This raises the question: given that there are infinite numbers of differences and similarities between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, why is one particular difference likely to trigger hatred while others may not?

Freud suggested several different theories in order to explain social hatred. Initially, he considered ambivalent feelings to be simply a form of individual behaviour, but subsequently he turned his attention to the implications of ambivalent feelings for groups. Freud discussed the origins of hatred between members of the same group in only three texts: *The Taboo of Virginity* (1917); *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921); and *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930). He defined this phenomenon as the ‘narcissism of minor differences’.

In *The Taboo of Virginity*, Freud (1917) introduces the term in the following way:

...each individual is separated from others by a 'taboo of personal isolation', and that it is precisely the minor differences in people who are otherwise alike that form the basis of feelings of strangeness and hostility between them. It would be tempting to pursue this idea and to derive from this narcissism of minor fellowship and overpowering the commandment that all men should love one another (Freud, 1917: 199).

Four years later, in *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, Freud (1921) again mentioned the narcissism of minor differences in a footnote within the following quotation:

Of two neighbouring towns each is the other's most jealous rival; every little canton looks down upon the others with contempt. Closely related races keep one another at arm's length; the South German cannot endure the North German, the Englishman casts every kind of aspersion upon the Scot, the Spaniard despises the Portuguese (Freud, 1921: 100).

Finally, in the text *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Freud (1930) once again touched upon the idea of narcissism of minor differences. In this case, he does not focus on the phenomenon in an individual sense, but instead tries to shed light on its effect within group psychology, as he explains below:

It is clearly not easy for men to give up the satisfaction of this inclination to aggression. They do not feel comfortable without it (...) It is always possible to bind together a considerable number of people in love, so long as there are other people left over to receive the manifestations for their aggressiveness...(It) is precisely (to) communicate with adjoining territories, and related to each other in other ways as well, who are engaged in constant feuds and in ridiculing each other...(that) I gave this phenomenon the name of 'narcissism of minor differences' a name which does not do much to explain it. We can now see that it is a convenient and relatively harmless satisfaction of the inclination to aggression, by means of which cohesion between the members of the community is made easier (Freud, 1930: 114).

In characterising the narcissism of minor differences as a group phenomenon, Freud identified it as a process that enhanced group cohesion by allowing hostility to be discharged towards the external world and to those perceived as different. David S. Werman (1988) claimed that the narcissism of minor differences functions as a means of

discharging aggression: 'If the hostility or aggression is discharged into the external world, the group will tend towards cohesion; however, if the target of hostility is members of the same group, then the 'tendency is towards the creation of factionalism, cronyism and schism' (Werman, 1988: 452).

Moreover, Karl Figlio (2012) argued that, at a conscious level, we usually tend to exclude others who are different; however, unconsciously, we hate sameness and we create delusional differences in order to avoid it. Figlio expresses this as follows:

Hatred drives the projection of these delusional differences into the other that it creates, there to be exterminated. Overt differences, to which the delusional differences can be attached, mask the delusional projection and the source of hatred in sameness (...) Freud suggests that the antipathy of the narcissism of minor differences does not arise as a consequence of difference, but in the creation of difference. The problem is not managing difference, but managing the endogenous unease in human society (Figlio, 2012: 8).

Humans have a deeply ingrained idea that what they hate is difference and so just considering the possibility of hating sameness might seem not only strange, but also unbearable. The history and the continuous presence of aggression between different ethnic groups reinforce the belief that humans hate difference. In some cases, individual and social identities have even been built on this narrative. Hating someone who does not look like us is easier to accept and understand, since it strengthens the defence against self-examination, understood as an insight that could uncover a hated similarity traduced to the hatred of oneself (Figlio, 2012).

Finally, Vamik Volkan (1986) suggests that the narcissism of minor differences is unquestionably connected with aggression and especially with the concept of the enemy. According to Volkan, projection is the main feature of this phenomenon; therefore, undesirable internalised parts of ourselves are projected onto and located in people who

look like us and who are also familiar to us, such as neighbours. Volkan explains this in the following way:

...when neighbours live in peace, they absorb similar unwanted parts, and then both perceive some other neighbour to be an enemy. But when the neighbour is our enemy, and is tinged with our unwanted parts, we do not wish to acknowledge on a conscious level that the enemy is like us. So we focus on minor differences, or we create them, in order to strengthen the psychological gap between the enemy and ourselves (Volkan, 1986: 186).

Usually, in situations of economic and political stress, enemies become an important concern for a group. Previous or existing images of the enemy tend to undergo modification and usually become more likely to transform into projections of thoughts and impulses of the threatened group. The 'enemy group' therefore becomes contaminated with the projections of our 'own negative mirror image' (Volkan, 1986: 186).

Freud's narcissism of minor differences refers to the idea that we reserve our strongest emotions - aggressions, hatred, envy - for those who resemble us most closely. We feel threatened not by the 'other' with whom we have little in common but by the 'nearly-we'; those who mirror us, reflect us and have minor differences from us.

These differences include religion, ethnicity, skin colour, social class, educational level, and nationality, location of residence, sexuality and even preferences for particular football teams. This narcissism of minor differences can lead to aggressive attitudes and behaviours, which manifest as conflicts, wars and discrimination. It is necessary to understand that what drives violence is not precisely difference itself, but the narcissism that is linked to minor differences. Freud valued the notion of difference very highly in terms of psychic enrichment. According to him, every possibility of differentiation could lead to fruitful outcomes. Moreover, even the difference between human beings opens

the possibility of complementation; of a fertile exchange.

Clearly the phenomenon of war and violence, as well as ethnic and religious confrontations, arises from a variety of complex reasons. However in psychoanalytic terms, the narcissism of minor differences is what underlies the production of these phenomena. I believe that by examining our history, we can gain a deeper understanding of what it is that we have done to each other as human beings. The process of differentiation is gradual and allows not only individualization but also identity construction. Moreover, differentiation does not suppose an aggressive confrontation; there is no need for this in order for differentiation to occur. An aggressive confrontation is proof of a weak and inadequate differentiation process that requires artificial exaggeration.

When two people, two groups, two nations or two ethnic groups such as the Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans confront each other aggressively, they believe they are different. Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans are absolutely convinced they are confronting each other because they are different; because they do not have a single thing in common with each other. However, I believe this could not be further from the truth. In fact they confront each other because they are very similar, and not only because they share the fundamental similarity of being human beings, but because they both believe in their own difference.

In order to clarify this argument further, if Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans behave confrontationally towards each other to the point of insulting, assaulting or even humiliating each other, it is because of the differences that they believe separate them. Although they might not be able to recognize it, both absolutely agree that outside of them and their supposed differences, nothing else exists. Everything



is being risked and is at stake between them, and in that precise moment, the whole universe is concentrated there and nothing else is more important than them.

## CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this thesis I have argued that although Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans are target of prejudices and discriminations from the white dominant population, Mexican-origin people are not exempt from practicing discriminatory behaviours amongst each other. In order to develop my argument I have analysed a series of free association narrative interviews, informal interviews, ethnographic notes from participant observations and other data sources (such as newspaper articles) with sociological, psychoanalytical and post-colonial theories.

In the first chapter of the thesis, I highlighted that the presence of Mexican people in the United States (especially in Arizona) is not new. Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have a long history of being part of the United States. For centuries, the Mexican-origin population in this country has suffered oppression, discrimination and economic marginalization (meaning lower wages than the white dominant population and unacceptable working conditions).

Moreover, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have built their identities in relation to their interactions with the white dominant population. As I proposed in the first chapter, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have 'colonised minds', meaning that they are 'containers' of unconscious projections from the white dominant population. As a result of this, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have not only formed psychic divisions (such as splitting themselves into 'good' and 'bad' or 'assimilated' and 'non-assimilated'), but they have also transformed/created these unconscious divisions into boundaries/borders among them.

What I mean by this is that behaviours, cultural traditions and even language have become boundaries between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. As discussed throughout the thesis, speaking in Spanish has become one of the most significant boundaries between these two groups.

Both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans use language not only as a way to differentiate each other, but also to define who they are. Furthermore, by celebrating U.S. traditions (such as Halloween instead of the Day of the Dead) or by adopting new ingredients into the Mexican cuisine (such as Red Hot sauce instead of 'real' tomato sauce) Mexican immigrants and Mexican American find justifications to create divisions among each other.

In comparison to the white population, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans might not have strong physical differences among each other (boundaries), therefore in the process of differentiating themselves; they need to behave very aggressively in order to define who they are. Some Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans do not want to be recognized as 'Mexicans' by the white population and therefore, they 'adopt' and 'appropriate' what they consider to be part of a 'white identity'. As a result of this, some Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans 'adopt' the same discriminatory behaviours language and thoughts of the white population and use it against themselves. I believe the more alike Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans are (or the smaller differences they have) the more 'violent' the process of differentiation is. What I mean by this is that the more alike a Mexican immigrant and a Mexican-American person are, it will be more difficult to find/create differences between each other, and therefore, their process of differentiating themselves will be more complex.

Furthermore, in the first chapter of the thesis I described the geographical conditions of Arizona, meaning that it is one of the four U.S. states (California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas) that form part of the U.S.-Mexico border. Both Arizona and Sonora share the same land/territory; however this is divided by a metallic fence. Even though there is a 'division' between these two states I believe there is also an intersection ('Third Space') and exchange between them. As the Chicana feminist Gloria Anzaldúa suggests the 'U.S.-Mexican border *es una herida abierta* [an open wound] where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before a scab forms it haemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country-a border culture'



Figure 11 The Two Nogales 2013

(Anzaldúa, 1987: 43). As discussed in this thesis no matter how strong, significant or protected the U.S.-Mexico border is, there is movement and interactions taking place there.

In this thesis I argued that not only the white population are fearful and reluctant to the idea of a 'hybrid' space between them and the Mexican population, but that Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans are also against to the idea of losing their purity and 'authenticity'. As performer Guillermo Gómez-Peña (2002) reflects in relation to his experience with other Mexicans in the United States:

A Mexican was someone who lived in Mexico and who spoke Spanish like a Mexican. Punto. There weren't many alternative ways of being Mexican. Despite the fact that we came in all shapes, we liked it or not, we were the bastard children of Hernán Cortés and La Malinche, product of a colonial rape and a

cultural caesarean, eternally condemned to come to terms with this historical trauma (Gómez-Peña, 2002).

As suggested in the thesis, both Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans might feel their identity is endangered or could be ‘contaminated’ if it changes on any way according to their standards.

I could be said that the concept or the idea of ‘intolerance to hybridity’ is one of the main findings of this thesis. Even though I used this concept to describe the feelings of Mexican immigrants towards Mexican Americans and their culture, it can also serve to explain the need of the state ‘to intervene in the U.S.-Mexico border as well as with the population that reside in Arizona. What I mean by this is that the right of the state to intervene is already established through legal intervention; however, this legal intervention is based on the idea that race and culture have to be static. By cooking in different ways or by adding new words into the Spanish language, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have enriched a ‘hybrid’ culture.

Something that might be interesting in considering is to propose a change to the view and perception of ‘hybridity’. As shown throughout the thesis, ‘hybridity’ serves as a way to create ‘otherness’, therefore it has a negative connotation. On the contrary, ‘hybridity’ transforms culture into more enriched ideas and practices.

Throughout my research I read authors such as Simon Clarke (2003), Ian Craib (1989, 2001), Michael Rustin (1991), amongst others, who claimed that psychoanalysis was a discipline that could ‘help’ other disciplines (such as sociology) to understand more complex issues about the interrelations among human beings. Although I found most of the readings interesting and useful, I could not help to disagree with the idea that psychoanalysis is the discipline that ‘helps’ others. Through this research I found that

psychoanalysis is a discipline that also ‘needs help’ from other disciplines. What I mean by this, is that although psychoanalysis can provide great research tools on how to investigate the unconscious (i.e. the free association narrative interview technique or the method to observe groups and organisations) and provide interesting theories to understand how the mind works (i.e. projective identification, narcissism, etc.) I believe it also needs to be complemented by other research tools and theories, especially, when it comes to understanding social phenomena such as discrimination and racism.

As Farhad Dalal (2015) points out, psychoanalysis has significant theories to understand the unconscious mechanisms experienced in the phenomena of prejudice, discrimination and racism. In other words, psychoanalysis sheds light on the unconscious motivations and the psychodynamics lived by those who discriminate and those who receive or ‘contain’ the discriminations. However, it does not explain how these ‘containers’ become targets of discriminations in the first place. For Dalal, psychoanalysis fails to address how ‘already sanctioned groups’, such as Mexicans, Blacks, women, homosexuals, Jews and Muslims become the target (scapegoats) of discriminations and racism. According to the author, social issues such as prejudice, discrimination and racism cannot be understood without the idea of ‘power relations’, and unfortunately psychoanalysis tends to focus exclusively in the individual psyche.

Although in this research the main theoretical framework to understand prejudice and discrimination between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans was a psychoanalytic one, other theories would also have been useful to shed light on the social dimension of the problem. An example of the theories that could have been used more in depth are for instance the ones from Robert Miles (1994) and George M. Fredrickson (2002). Additionally, Michael Foucault’s (1976, 1980) theories on the dynamics of

power relations would have served to understand another layer on the interactions between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. As I previously mentioned in the introduction of the thesis, the idea of using a series of theories consists on the fact that these, *if combined* provide more angles to understand the same social problem.

Similarly to the issues experienced by the Mexican immigrant and the Mexican American populations in Arizona (in which small differences become great differences) both psychoanalysis and sociology prejudge and discriminate against each other. Both sociologists and psychoanalysts are (as the Mexican-origin population) ‘harsh’, ‘mean’ and quite critical when it comes to trying to understand social phenomena. Throughout this thesis I discovered that on the contrary to psychoanalysis and sociology, post-colonial studies could be consider a ‘hybrid’ of these two disciplines. Post-colonial theorists such as Frantz Fanon (1965), Homi Bhabha (1994) or Gayatri Spivak (1990), use psychoanalytic terms in order to understand post-colonial dynamics and interactions. Thanks to my research I understood the relevance of interdisciplinary approaches. Moreover, I understood how the more complex a problem is, the more sophisticated a method of study will require. Trying to understand the motivations for Mexican origin people to dislike each other is not precisely easy, but by taking different approaches makes easier its understanding.

In this research, I provided an approximation to the phenomena of prejudice and discrimination among Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in Arizona, however, as previously mentioned, this is not representative of the situation for all Mexican immigrants and Mexican-American populations in the United States. Although this research sheds light on the relations and psychodynamics between these two groups, it also opens different lines of investigation. For example, it might be worth analysing the

relations and interactions between Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans in other U.S. states that are perhaps not so close to the U.S.-Mexico border. Moreover, even though this research focuses exclusively in the Mexican-origin population there are other countries which also experience an economic marginalization and ‘colonisation’ from the United States, such as Puerto Rico. Perhaps the results of this research can be compared on the relations between the people from this country and their dynamics with the white dominant population and their interactions among themselves.

The findings of this research can contribute to the fields of psychoanalytic and post-colonial studies. Although there are significant psychoanalytic theories (such as projective identification, projection, ambivalence, etc.) that help understand the phenomena of prejudice and discrimination, there are not many theories that explain the tensions experienced by members of the same ethnic group. Perhaps this research can help to the development of other theories than can shed light on this phenomenon.

In this research I suggested that as a result of the colonial subjugation and marginalization of the Mexican-origin population in Arizona, the members of this group have adopted the same behaviours as their colonisers, such as humiliating or behaving discriminatorily. Moreover, even though Fanon had already roughly described the existence of internal fractionalism of the society of the colonised, (for example in the *Wretched of the Earth*, ‘every colony tends to turn into a huge farmyard, where the only law is the knife’ (Fanon, 1965: 308), the author does not explain these phenomena with psychoanalytic theories. This thesis not only describes the tensions produced among those who have been colonised, but it also analyses them in depth.



### **How is Arizona after S.B. 1070?**

During his candidacy rally as the Republican nominee in March 2016, Donald J. Trump was highly welcomed in Arizona. Both Arizona's Former Governor Jan Brewer as Maricopa's County Sheriff, Joe Arpaio, highly supported Trump's interest in becoming the Republican candidate to become President of the United States. After his visit to the state, Trump suggested the possibility of shortlisting Brewer as Vice-President of the United States. In an interview with Fox News Channel's 'On the Record' the Republican candidate described Brewer as a 'fantastic' and a 'fabulous woman' (Wingett, 2016).

The Arizona's presidential primary election in Phoenix (held in March 2016) was, according to Ari Berman (2016) from the newspaper *The Nation*, nothing but a 'catastrophe'. In the city of Phoenix, hundreds of people had to queue for about four to five hours in order to vote. Unsurprisingly, many Arizonans left the polls in disgust. Apparently the queues were so long because election officials in Maricopa County (the largest in the state), reduced the number of polling places by 70 percent from 2012 to 2016, from 200 to only 60, which means one polling place per every twenty thousand voters (Berman, 2016).

According to Berman, election officials claimed they reduced the number of polling sites to save money. In previous years, Maricopa County would have needed to receive federal approval in order to reduce the number of polling sites, but after the Supreme Court removed Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act in 2013, which freezes any kind of changes in election practices or procedures in covered jurisdictions until a favourable determination has been obtained. As the newspaper article states:

This type of change would very likely have been blocked since minorities make up 40 percent of Maricopa County's population and reducing the number of polling places would have left minority voters worse off. Section 5 blocked 22

voting changes from taking effect in Arizona since the state was covered under the VRA in 1975 for discriminating against Latino and Native American voters (Berman, 2016).

As columnist Elvia Diaz (2016) suggests it is not coincidental that many poor and predominantly Latino areas in Maricopa County did not get a polling place (Diaz, 2016). A couple of weeks after the disastrous problem during the primary elections, Arizona's Governor Doug Ducey signed another controversial immigration bill; House Bill 2451. This bill requires that undocumented immigrants who are already in prison serve 85 percent of their sentences before they are released to the federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency. According to immigrant rights advocates, H.B 2451 is a S.B.1070-style legislation that would only increase prison populations and deny alternatives to many immigrants simply because they are undocumented. Moreover, according to the Department of Corrections, the law could affect about a thousand inmates a year (costing the state about \$16million more each year to house inmates). Arizona state senator John Kavanagh was very supportive of the implementation of H.B.2451. During a committee hearing on the bill he stated that the current immigration law unfairly allows undocumented immigrants to serve less than other prisoners.

In November of 2016 Donald J. Trump was elected President of the United States of America. Moreover, as previously discussed in the introduction of this thesis, during his different campaigns in 2015, President Trump insinuated that the Mexican government sent into the United States 'criminals' and 'rapists' to the country (Neate, 2015).

During his first week as President of the United States, Trump set in motion his plan to build an 'impenetrable, physical, tall, power, beautiful, southern border wall' between Mexico and the United States by signing an executive order. According to

Trump, these will be about 1,900 miles (3,100 km) long and traverses all kinds of terrains. According to President Trump the cost of the wall will be of \$10 billion. However, estimates from fact checkers and engineers seem to be way higher. It is interesting to think that the 650 miles of fencing already put has cost the government more than \$7 billion, and none of it could be described as impenetrable, tall, powerful or beautiful. Moreover, there are other reasons the cost would likely to be higher. His plans require extending the wall into remote and mountainous regions.

President Trump has insisted Mexico will pay for the way. However, Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto has been insistent Mexicans will not pay for it. As a result of not being able to 'make Mexico pay' for the wall, President Trump has accepted that U.S. taxpayers will have to cover the initial funding. However, there are ways in which Trump has planned that Mexicans would pay for the wall. For example, by raising tariffs on imports; by levying a 'border adjustment' tax; and, by increasing travel visa and border crossing fees.

Throughout his presidential campaign, Trump also called the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 'the single worst trade approved' in the United States (nytimes.com, 2017). As a result of this comments, and expecting a major change during his first days of his administration, President Enrique Peña Nieto worked on a meeting to discuss the agreement. However, Trump continued creating more tensions between Mexico and the United States, more specifically with President Enrique Peña Nieto. After insisting on Twitter that Mexico would pay for the wall, President Enrique Peña Nieto cancelled a meeting both presidents would have in order to discuss NAFTA.

It has been almost seven years since S.B. 1070 was signed into law. Even though Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans have fought for justice and well-being for their communities, anti-immigration laws are still being proposed and signed into law. When the 2016 legislative session began in January, about twelve bills were proposed aiming to further criminalize and incarcerate undocumented immigrants, prevent police departments from collaborating with ICE, and keeping cities from creating municipal IDs. As Elva ‘Paty’ Bernal (member of the non-profit organisation *El Puente Movement*) propose, through their organising and solidarity fighting back, Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans have not only been able to reunite many people with their families but they have also stopped many anti-immigrant laws from being passed at the state level. One example would be S.B. 1377 which proposed to force undocumented people to serve maximum sentences for any crime committed without the opportunity for parole, plea bargaining or any alternative diversion programme. Moreover, Bernal also believes that one of the results of the hateful messages and fear being spread through the ‘Trump Effect’ has also emboldened the legislature to put forwards anti-immigration bills. The most powerful effects these anti-immigrations bill have are creating fear and divisions among populations (Bernal, 2016).

Finally, I believe the tensions between the Mexican immigrants and the Mexican Americans in Arizona will not be solved until both groups understand their past and their present situations. Unfortunately, I believe neither the Mexican immigrants nor the Mexican-Americans recognize the fact that they are both immigrants *and* settlers in the United States. The main issue between these two groups is not only that there is a general lack of understanding from each, but there is also an immense self-hate.

It is shocking to recognize that Mexicans (both immigrants and Mexican-Americans) hate themselves to the extreme and as a way to deal with it; they have to expel their anger at all cost. I believe the only solution to stop Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans to discriminate each other is if they love and accept the 'nopal' on their foreheads. There is no need to hide it, to cover it with white make-up or to cut it off. The nopal is in our roots, is in 'us', is in 'them', is in the Mexicans and it is also in the Mexican-Americans.

## GLOSSARY

**Aztlán:** Mythical place of origin of the Aztec peoples.

**Bachata:** Latino music genre originated in the Dominican Republic.

**Beaners:** In Spanish, *frijolero*, is a derogatory slang that refers to Mexicans. The term originates from the prevalence of beans in Mexican cuisine.

**Burrito:** Is a type of Mexican or Tex-Mex food, consisting of a flour tortilla folded into a cylindrical shape filled with a combination of ingredients such as Mexican-style rice, refried beans, salsa, meat and guacamole.

**Campesino:** Term used in Latin America to define a person either a peasant, or a person living in a rural area.

**Caramelo:** It is considered to be Tucson's take on the quesadilla. It consists of a folded floured tortilla filled with cheese and either beef or chicken inside.

**Chicano:** Chosen identity of some Mexican Americans in the United States.

**Chilango:** Refers to someone who is born and raised exclusively in Mexico City.

**Cholos:** This term is used to refer to people of indigenous or Mexican heritage in the United States. It is also used to refer to the low-rider sub-culture manner of dress. Among the Mexican and Mexican-American population, the term sometimes is used interchangeably with Chicanos.

**Criollo:** Or *creole*. This term refers to people of Spanish descent born in *Nueva España* (Mexico). Criollos are ranked second after the Peninsular Iberians in the Spanish colonial racial caste system.

**Cumbia:** Music genre originated in Colombia. It was born as the result of indigenous musical syncretism and black slaves during the period of the colony.

**Coyote:** The term refers to a people smuggler. Undocumented immigrants pay coyotes to transport them to the United States without documents for a certain price.

**Emiliano Zapata:** Leading figure during the Mexican Revolution. He is the symbol of inspiration of the agrarian movement called *Zapatismo*.

**Gabacho:** Term used by Chicanos and Mexicans to refer to White Americans.

**Gringo:** Term used in some Spanish-speaking American countries to refer to an English-speaking foreigner, especially a white American person.

**Güero:** Sometimes spelled *huero*, *guero* or *wero*, is a word used in Mexico and some parts of Central American to denote a person of fair complexion or with blonde, light brown hair. The feminine form is *güera*.

**Hernán Cortez:** Spanish Conquistador who led an expedition that caused the fall of the Aztec Empire.

**House Bill 2281 (H.B. 2281):** On May 11, 2010, Arizona Governor Jan Brewer signed House Bill 2281, which prohibits a school district or charter school from including in its

program of any courses or classes that are designed for a certain ethnicity. As a result of it, Mexican-American Studies were banned in Tucson's public high-schools.

**Hispanic:** Refers to the peoples, nations, and cultures that have a historical link to Spain. It commonly applies to countries once colonized by Spain, particularly the countries in Latin America. The term was adopted by the United States government during the administration of Richard Nixon. The term is primarily used along the Eastern seaboard, and favoured by those of Caribbean and South American ancestry or origin.

**Huitzilopochtli:** In the Aztec religion, Huitzilopochtli is the deity of war, sun, human sacrifice and patron of the city of Tenochtitlan.

**Indio:** It means *indian*, as in Native American. The correct word in Spanish is *indigena*. For many Mexicans, indio is a racist/classist insult.

**Latino:** The term is shortened from Spanish *latino* Americano. In the U.S., the government adopted these terms because they did not have an inclusive term to identify and segregate the mixed white with black and native mestizo or *mulato* people of Central and South America.

**Macho [Machismo]:** Sense of being manly. Strong sense of masculine pride and supreme valuation of characteristics culturally associated with the masculine and in some cases, a denigration of feminine characteristics.

**Malinche:** Also known as *Malinalli* or *Malintzin*, *Malinche* was a Nahua woman who played a role in the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire, acting as an interpreter, advisor, lover, and intermediary for Hernan Cortez.

**Mestizo:** Term used in some Spanish-speaking American countries to refer to a person of European and Native American descent. It was also used as part of the racial caste system during the Spanish colonization.

**Mojado:** [see **Wetback**]

**Narco-corridos:** Corrido stands for ballad and narco, stands for drugs. A narco-corrido is a northern Mexico music genre typically heard in the U.S-Mexico border. Its lyrics are always related with drug dealer's adventures and stories.

**Nopal:** Common name in Mexican Spanish for cacti. The plant is a common ingredient in Mexican cuisine.

**Otro Lado:** The other side, otherwise known as the United States.

**Paisano:** The equivalent of *homie* to Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.

**Prieto:** Spanish slang to describe someone who is dark skinned.

**Pobre:** Refers to someone poor.

**Pochos:** Term used by Mexicans to describe Americanized Mexicans and those who have left the country. The main characteristic of *pochos* is their lack of fluency in Spanish.

**Poli-Migra:** Term used to denote police officers who work jointly with the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers and are allowed to ask for legal documentation at any time in Arizona.

**Quesadilla:** Consists on a folded wheat tortilla or a corn tortilla filled with cheese. It is often cooked on a griddle.

**Raza:** Term can be translated as ‘race, ethnicity, lineage, strain, breed’.

**Senate Bill 1070 (S.B. 1070):** The Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhood Acts is a 2010 legislative Act in the U.S. state of Arizona that allows state law enforcement officers to determine an individual’s immigration status during a lawful stop , when there is ‘reasonable suspicion’.

**Spanglish:** Form of speech that, results from the fusion between Spanish and English frequently used by people who speak both languages.

**Tacos:** Mexican dish which consists, of a rolled corn tortilla filled with vegetables, meat or cheese.

**Tenochtitlan:** The Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan (at modern Mexico City) that flourished between A.D. 1325 and 1521.

**Tortas:** Mexican dish which consists of two slices of *telera* (special Mexican bread) cut in half and filled with meat, vegetables and cheese. It could be compared with a typical sandwich.

**Wetback:** Term used to refer to Mexican immigrants who crossed the river without documents to the United States.



## PSYCHOANALYTIC TERMS

**Defence Mechanisms:** Vicissitudes of the instincts and they are primarily concerned with dangerous instincts being carried through into external reality without modification.

**Depressive Position:** A series of attitudes and defences in which we learn to deal with anxiety, terror, love and hate. It is marked by a recognition of good and bad within the self and others and an urge to make reparation the paranoid-schizoid position.

**Ego:** Represents the rational side of the personality, conscious, controlling and reality-oriented. It controls the instinctual impulses of the id and adapts them to outer reality.

**Ethnicity:** Is an amalgam of strongly felt shared beliefs, common culture, and a sense of belonging, either real or imaginary, that serve as a source of identity formation and solidarity which sets one group apart from others.

**Id:** According to Freud, the id represents the oldest part of the mind from which other functions are derived. It also refers to innate unconscious drives and impulses, primitive and emotional, striving to bring about the satisfaction of instinctive needs.

**Paranoid-Schizoid Position:** Describes a specific configuration of object relations, anxieties and defences which persist throughout life. The paranoid-schizoid position is the earliest form of the organisation of the defences characterised by the splitting of good and bad part objects, splitting the ego, persecutory anxiety, idealisation of the good and denigration of the bad, and projective identification. It enables the infant to experience good while keeping the bad at a safe distance.

**Phantasy:** Is an activity of the mind that occurs at deeply unconscious levels-the mental expression of the life and death drives. The experience of instinct in phantasy always relates to an object, for example, the breast; it enables the ego to perform one of its basic and most important functions the establishment of Object Relations. Phantasy continues through childhood and into adult life; we constantly phantasise, phantasy never leaves us; it is at the heart of our mental activity.

**Projection:** Describes the process in which qualities, feelings or wishes that the subject does not recognise as his own, and finds unpalatable or repellent, are expelled from the self and located in some other person or thing.

**Race:** A socially constructed container through which we project our inner world onto others. Others are the psychological manifestation of fear of difference.

**Racism:** The physical or psychological maltreatment of people because of their specific 'otherness'. Otherness may be defined in biological or cultural terms and expressed in inferiorisation or insurmountable difference, or both.

**Structure of the mind:** This model stresses the interaction between the internal world and external events. It is constituted by the id, ego and superego.

**Splitting:** Is a mechanism of defence and the most primitive form of controlling danger in which the world is split into good and bad part objects to protect the fledgling ego. The good is idealised and introjected, the bad denigrated and projected out. It is particularly associated with paranoid schizoid functioning.

**Superego:** It develops in response to authority and cultural impulses in early childhood-the unconscious conscience, an internal judge responsible for the repression of unpalatable thoughts, wishes and desires which are pushed back into the unconscious mind.

# APPENDIX 1

## Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by **Natalia Hernández Jiménez** from the **University of Essex**. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about academic work of **Mexican descendants interaction in Arizona**. I will be one of approximately 30 people being interviewed for this research.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without explanation or penalty. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the study, no one on my campus will be told.

2. I understand that most interviewees in will find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

3. Participation involves being interviewed by **Natalia Hernández Jiménez** from the **University of Essex**. The interview will last approximately 45-60 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio-tape of the interview and subsequent dialogue will be make. If I don't want to be taped, I will not be able to participate in the study.

4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

5. Faculty and administrators from my campus will neither be present at the interview nor have access to raw notes or transcripts. This precaution will prevent my individual comments from having any negative repercussions. My identity will remain anonymous in case my comments or ideas will be subject to discussion.

6. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

7. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

\_\_\_\_\_ Printed Name

\_\_\_\_\_ Signature

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alliancesd.org (2016). *Stop Operation Streamline*. [online]. Available at <http://www.alliancesd.org/stop-operation-streamline/> [Accessed on 21 Aug. 2016].
- Alvarez, R. (2001). U.S. Immigration Officers of Mexican Ancestry as Mexican Americans, Citizens, and Immigration Police. *Current Anthropology*. 43(3): pp. 479-507.
- Akhtar, S. (1999). *Immigration and Identity*. London: Jason Aronson Inc.
- (2009). *Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*. London: Karnac Books.
- Amster, R. (2010). *The Huffington Post: Arizona Bans Ethnic Studies and, along with it, reason and justice* [online] Available at [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/randa-amster/arizona-bans-ethnic-studi\\_b\\_802318.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/randa-amster/arizona-bans-ethnic-studi_b_802318.html) [Accessed Aug. 15 2016].
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La Frontera*. San Francisco: Aunt Luke Books.
- Arizona State Legislature S.B. 1070 (2010) 1<sup>st</sup> ed. [ebook] Available at <http://www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/bills/sb1070s.pdf> [Accessed Feb. 12 2014].
- Arriaga, F. (2016). Understanding Crimmigration: Implications for Racial and Ethnic Minorities Within the United States. *Sociology Compass*. 10 (9): pp. 805-12.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., Tiffin, H. (1998). *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Balls Organista, P., Marin, G., Chun, K. (2010). *The Psychology of Ethnic Groups in the United States*. San Francisco, Calif.: SAGE
- Barlow, G. (1995). *Stories from Latin America: Historias de Latinoamerica*. Lincolnwood: Passport Books.
- Barrera, M. (1979). *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Berman, A. (2016). There were 5-Hour Lines to Vote in Arizona because the Supreme Court Gutted the Voting Rights Act. [online] *The Nation* Available at <https://www.thenation.com/article/there-were-five-hour-lines-to-vote-in-arizona-because-the-supreme-court-gutted-the-voting-rights-act/> [Accessed on Aug. 5, 2016].
- Bernal, P. (2016). *Six Years of Resistance Against SB1070*. [email].

- Bhopal, R.S. (2007) *Migration, Ethnicity, Race and Health in Multicultural Environment: Foundations for Between Epidemiology, Public Health and Health Care*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Bhabha, H.K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- (1990) *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.
- Bion, W. R (1961). *Experiences in Groups*. London: Tavistock.
- (1963) *Learning From Experience*. London: Karnac Books.
- (1959) *Transformations*. London: Karnac Books.
- Blauner, R. (1969). Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt. *Social Problems*. 16(4): pp.393-408.
- Bordieu, P., Wacquant (2000). The Organic Ethnologist of Algerian Migration. *Ethnography* 1(2): pp. 173-182
- Calavita, K. (1992). *Inside the State: The Bracero Program, Immigration and the I.N.S.* New York: Routledge.
- Camarillo, A.M. (1971). Research Note on Chicano Community Leaders: The G.I. Generation. *Aztlán*. 2(1): pp.145-150.
- Cashmore, E. (1984). *Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Cazares, R., Murguía, E., Frizbie, P. (1985). "Mexican American Intermarriage in a Nonmetropolitan Context" in *The Mexican American Experience: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Chanin, R. et al. (2011). Restoring a National Consensus: The Need to End Racial Profiling in American. [online] *The Leadership Conference*. Available at [http://www.civilrights.org/publications/reports/racial-profiling2011/racial\\_profiling2011.pdf](http://www.civilrights.org/publications/reports/racial-profiling2011/racial_profiling2011.pdf) [Accessed on Aug. 16 2016].
- Chavez, L. (1998). *Shadowed Lives. Undocumented Immigrants in American Society*. Austin: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Chomsky, A. (2007). *They Take Our Jobs! : And 20 Other Myths about Immigration*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Clarke, S. (2003). *Social Theory, Psychoanalysis and Racism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Clarke, S. and Hoggett, P. (2009) *Researching Beneath the Surface. Psycho-social Research Methods in Practice*. London: Karnac Books.
- Cornelius, W. (2005). Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration Lessons from the United States, 1993-2004. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 31(4): pp775-794.

- Craib, I. (1998). *Psychoanalysis and Social Theory. The Limits of Sociology*. London: Harvester.
- (DADS), D. (2016). *American FactFinder*. [online] Factfinder.census.gov. Available at: <http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml> [Accessed 17 Aug. 2016].
- Dalal, F. (2002). *Race, Colour and the Process of Racialization*. London: Brunner-Routledge.
- (2006). 'Racism: Processes of Detachment, Dehumanization, and Hatred. *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*. 75: pp.131-161.
- (2015). *The Bureaucratic Appropriation of Thought (or) Why Discrimination is preferable to Tolerance*. [online] Youtube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Csm25FDI2TM> [Accessed 15 Aug. 2016]
- Dauids, F. (2011). *Internal Racism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- De Tocquerville, A. (1994) *Democracy in America*. London: David Campbell.
- Diaz, E. (2016). Maricopa County Election Officials Writing Off Voters? [online] *Arizona Republic*. Available at <http://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/elviadiaz/2016/03/22/maricopa-county-election-officials-writing-off-voters-you-bet/82145554/> [Accessed on Aug. 16, 2016]
- Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: ARK.
- Dunn, L.P. (1975). *Chicanos: A Study Guide and Sourcebook*. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, Inc.
- Fairus.org. (2016). *Immigration in Arizona: Fact Sheet (2012)*. [online] Available at: <http://www.fairus.org/issue/immigration-in-arizona-fact-sheet> [Accessed 17 Aug. 2016].
- Fanon, F. (1965). *Black Skins, White Masks*. London: Pluto.
- (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Figlio, K. (2012). 'The Dread of Sameness: Social Hatred and Freud's Narcissism of Minor Differences'. In Austed, Lene (ed.) *Psychoanalysis and Politics of Representation*. London: Karnac Books.

- Finch, J. (2015). *Legal Borders, Racial/Ethnic Boundaries: Operation Streamline and Identity Processes on the US-Mexico Border*. PhD. University of Arizona.
- Freud, S. (1908). 'Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervous Illness. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume IX (1906- 1908): Jensen's 'Gradiva' and Other Works, pp.177-204.
- (1909). Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume X (1909): Two CaseHistories ('Little Hans' and the 'Rat Man'), pp.158-255.
- (1910). A Special Type of Choice of Object Made By Men. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XI (1910): Five Lectures on Psycho-Analysis, Leonardo da Vinci and Other Works, pp.163-177.
- (1912). On the Universal Tendency to Debasement on The Sphere of Love. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XI (1910): Five Lectures on Psycho-Analysis, Leonardo da Vinci and Other Works, pp.177-191.
- (1912). The Dynamics of Transference. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XII (1911-1913): The Case of Schreber, Papers on Technique and Other Works, pp.97-109.
- (1915e). The Unconscious. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XIV (1914-1916): On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works, pp.159-190.
- (1918) Taboo of Virginity (Contributions to the Psychology of Love III *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XI (1910): Five Lectures on Psychoanalysis, Leonardo da Vinci and Other Works, pp. 191-208.
- (1919). The Uncanny. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XVII (1920-1922): Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Group Psychology and Other Works, pp.217-252.
- (1921). Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XVIII (1920-1921): Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Group Psychology and Other Works, pp.65-134.
- (1923). The Ego and the Id. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XIX (1923-1925): The Ego and the Id and Other Works, pp.19-28.

- (1930). Civilization and Its Discontents. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XXI (1927-1931): The Future of an Illusion, Civilization and its Discontents, and Other Works, pp.74-149.
- (1933). Anxiety and Instinctual Life. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XXII (1932-1936): New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis and Other Works, pp. 81-112.
- (1938). An Outline of Psychoanalysis. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Volume XXIII (1937-1939): Moses and Monotheism, an Outline of Psycho-Analysis and Other Works, pp. 141-291.
- Foner, N. (1999). The immigrant family: Cultural legacies and cultural changes. In C. Hirschman, P.Kasinitz, J. De Wind (Eds.), *The Handbook of international migration The American experience*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Foley, N. (2014). *Mexicans in the Making of America*. Cambridge: The Belknap of Harvard University Press.
- Garcia Hernández, C. (2012). 'Creating Crimmigration'. *Bringham Young University Law Review*. 17: pp.1457-1516.
- Garcia, M. (1989). *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology and Identity, 1930-1960*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Garcia, N. (1937). El Orgullo de la Raza. *Libano* 1(2).
- (1985). *La Frontera: The Border as Symbol and Reality in Mexican-American Thought*. *Mexican Studies/ Estudios Mexicanos*. 1(2): pp.195-225.
- Grinberg, L. and Grinberg, R. (1984). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. London: Yale University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1978). *Stigma*. Englewood: Prentice-Hall.
- (1969). *Presentations of Self in Everyday Life*. London: The Penguin Press.
- Gomez-Quiñones, J. (1994). *Roots of Chicano Politics, 1600-1940*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Gonzalez-Barrera, A., López, H., Pasell, J., Taylor, P. (2012). *Pew Hispanic Centre: The Path Not Taken: Two Thirds of Legal Mexican Immigrants are Not U.S. Citizens* [online] Available at <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/02/04/the-path-not-taken/> [Accessed Mar. 31, 2014]



- Grinberg, L. (1957). Perturbaciones en la interpretacion por la contraidentificacion proyectiva. *Revista de Psicoanalisis*. 14: pp.23-30.
- (1958). Aspectos magicos en la transferencia y en la contratransferencia. Sus implicaciones tecnicas. Identificacion y “contraidentificacion” proyectiva. *Revista de Psicoanalisis*. 15: pp.341-68.
- (1962) On A Specific Aspect Of Countertransference Due To The Patient’s Projective Identificacion. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*. 43: pp. 436.
- Gómez-Peña, G. (2005). *Ethno-Techno: Writings on Performance, Activism and Pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.
- (2002). *On the Other Side of the Mexican Mirror*. [online] Available at: [http://www.pochanostra.com/antes/jazz\\_pocha2/mainpages/otherside.htm](http://www.pochanostra.com/antes/jazz_pocha2/mainpages/otherside.htm) [Accessed 15 Aug. 2016].
- Given, L. ed. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Sevenoaks, California: SAGE.
- Grinberg, L. and Grinberg, R. (1984). *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Gutierrez, D. (1995). *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants and the Politics of Ethnicity*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Gutierrez, R. (2004). “Internal Colonialism: An American Theory of Race”. *Du Bois Review*. 1(2): pp.281-95.
- Guntrip, H. (1992). *Schizoid Phenomena, Object Relations and the Self*. London: Karnac.
- Haney-López. I. (1996). *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: NYU Press.
- Haasinstitute.berkeley.edu (2016). We Too Belong: A Resource Guide of Inclusive Practices in Immigration & Incarceration Law and Policy. Berkeley, CA: Haas Institute for Fair and Inclusive Society, University of California, Berkeley, May 2016.
- Heiman, P. (1950). On Counter-Transference. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. 31:pp.81-84.
- Heinz, K. (1971). *The Analysis of the Self: A Systemic Approach to the Psychoanalytic Treatment of Narcissistic Personality Disorders*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Hernandez, K. (2010). *Migra!*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press.

- Heyman, J.C. (2002). U.S. Immigration Officers of Mexican Ancestry as Mexican Americans, Citizens, and Immigration Police. *Current Anthropology* 43(3): pp. 479-507.
- Highman, J. (1963). *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Hinshelwood, R. and Skogstad, W. (2000). *Observing Organisations: Anxiety, Defence, and Culture in Health Care*. Philadelphia, PA: Routledge.
- Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. (2001) *Doing Qualitative Research Differently. Free Association, Narrative and the Interview Method*. London: SAGE.
- (2008) The Free Association Narrative Interview Method. In: Given, Lisa M. ed. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Sevenoaks, Calif.: SAGE, pp. 269-315.
- Horne, T. (2007). *Open Letter to the Citizens of Tucson*. [online] Available at: <http://nau.edu/uploadedFiles/Academic/CAL/Philosophy/Forms/An%20Open%20Letter%20to%20Citizens%20of%20Tucson.pdf> [Accesses 15 Aug. 2016].
- Huntington, S.P. (2004). *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Hunt, J. (1989). *Psychoanalytic Aspects of Fieldwork*. London: SAGE.
- Immigration.findlaw.com (2016) U.S. Citizenship & Naturalization Overview. [online] Available at <http://immigration.findlaw.com/citizenship/u-s-citizenship-naturalization-overview.html> [Accessed on Aug. 18 2016].
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) [online] [inegi.org.mx](http://inegi.org.mx) Available at <http://www.inegi.org.mx/> [Accessed 11 Mar. 2011].
- JanMohamed, A. R. (1985). *Manichean aesthetics: The Politics of Literature in Colonial Africa*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- (1985). The Economy of Manichean allegory: the function of racial difference in colonialist literature. *Critical Inquire* 12 (1), pp.59-87.
- Jimenez, T. (2007). Weighting the Cost and Benefits of Mexican Immigration: The Mexican-American Perspective. *Social Science Quarterly*. 88(3), pp. 599- 618.
- (2010). *Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigration and Identity*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Kafka, F. (1926). *The Castle*. New York: Vintage.

- Klein, M. (1935). A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic Depressive States. In Melanie Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works: 1921-1945* London: Vintage.
- (1937). Love, Envy and Reparation. In Melanie Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works: 1921-1945*. London: Vintage.
- (1946). Notes on Some Schizoid Mechanisms. In Melanie Klein, *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*. London: Vintage.
- (1952a) The Origins of Transference. In Melanie Klein, *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*. London: Vintage.
- (1957). Envy and Gratitude. In Melanie Klein, *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*. London: Vintage.
- (1958). On the Development of Mental Functioning. In Melanie Klein, *Envy, Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*. London: Vintage.
- (1959). Our Adult World and its Roots in Infancy. In *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*. London: Vintage.
- (1960). A Note on Depression in the Schizophrenic. In *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*. London: Vintage.
- King, S. (2013). *Joyland*. London: Hard Case.
- Kohut, H. (1971). *The Analysis of the Self: A Systematic Approach to the Psychoanalytic Treatment of Narcissistic Personality Disorders*. New York: International University Press.
- López, T. (2011). *Left Back: The Impact of S.B. 1070 on Arizona's Youth*. [online] Available at [http://www.law.arizona.edu/depts/bacon\\_program/pdf/Left\\_Back.pdf](http://www.law.arizona.edu/depts/bacon_program/pdf/Left_Back.pdf) [Accessed 31 Mar. 2014].
- Malkin, E. (2017). *Mexico Takes First Step Before Talks with U.S. on Nafta*. [online] Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/01/world/americas/mexico-nafta-renegotiation-trump-wall.html> [Accessed 02 Feb. 2017].
- Mannoni, O. (1950). *Prospero and Caliban: A Study of the Psychology of Colonization*. Michigan: Ann Arbor Paperbacks.
- Martínez, O.J. (2001). *Mexican-Origin People in the United States. A Topical History*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Massey, D., Durand, J., Malone, N.J. (2002). *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors. Mexican Immigration in an Era of Free Trade*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Masouka, N., Junn. (2013). *The Politics of Belonging*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Memmi, A. (1974). *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. London: Earthscan Publications.
- Mendez, A. (2012). *La Jornada: Documentan 136 mil muertos por lucha al narco; “mas que en un pais en guerra”*. [online] Jornada.unam.mx. Available at <http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2012/12/11/politica/015n1pol> [Accessed 15 Aug. 2016].
- Menchaca, M. (1995) *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination in California*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- (2011). *Naturalizing Mexican Immigrants: A Texan Hisotiry*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- McCombs, B. (2010). *Arizona Daily Star: Focus in Krentz killing on suspect in US* [online] Available at: [http://tucson.com/news/local/border/focus-in-krentz-killing-on-suspect-in-us/article\\_35ef6e3a-5632-5e58-abe7-e7697ee2f0d5.html](http://tucson.com/news/local/border/focus-in-krentz-killing-on-suspect-in-us/article_35ef6e3a-5632-5e58-abe7-e7697ee2f0d5.html) [Accessed on 15 Aug. 2016].
- McC. Heyman, J. (2002). U.S. Immigration Officers of Mexican Ancestry as Mexican Americans, Citizens, and Immigration Police. *Current Anthropology*. 43(3), pp.479-507.
- McNeill, ST. (2013). *Truthout: Streamlined Deportation: No One Here in This Room Can Help You* [online] Available at <http://truth-out.org/news/item/13580-streamlined-deportation-no-one-here-in-this-room-can-help-you> [Accessed 15 Aug. 2016]
- Miles, R. (1993). *Racism after Race Relations*. London: Routledge.
- (1995). *Racism*. London: Routledge.
- Munoz, C. (1989). *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*. New York: Verso.
- Navarrete, R. (2012). *CNN My Mexican American Identity Crisis* [online] Available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/11/30/opinion/navarrete-mexican-american/> [Accessed on Mar. 28, 2014]
- Neate, R. (2015). Donald Trump Announces US Presidential Run With Eccentric Speech. [online] Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/16/donald-trump-announces-run-president> [Accessed on Aug 17 2016].
- Nelson, E. (2008). Majority of Border Patrol Agents are Now Hispanics. U.S. Border Patrol [online]. Available at <http://www.usbc.org/national-security/immigration->

- [news/majority-of-border-patrol-agents-are-now-hispanic/](#) [Accessed on Mar. 31 2014].
- Newton, C. (2010). Tom Horne Touts His Legal Background. [online] *Arizona Republic*. Available at [http://www.azcentral.com/news/election/azelections/articles/2010/07/11/201001to\\_m-horne-background.html?nclick\\_check=1#ixzz2uZJWRLgk](http://www.azcentral.com/news/election/azelections/articles/2010/07/11/201001to_m-horne-background.html?nclick_check=1#ixzz2uZJWRLgk) [Accessed on Mar. 31 2014]
- Ngai, M. (2004). *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- No More Deaths. *Operation Streamline*. [online] Available at [www.nomoredeathsvolunteers.org/operationstreamline.htm](http://www.nomoredeathsvolunteers.org/operationstreamline.htm) [Accessed on Mar. 27 2014]
- OC Weekly. (2006). *Ask a Mexican! Glossary*. [online] Available at <http://www.ocweekly.com/web/ask-a-mexican-glossary-6415500> [Accessed 17 Aug. 2016].
- Ochoa, G. (2000). Mexican Americans Attitudes toward and Interactions with Mexican Immigrants: A Qualitative Analysis of Conflict and Cooperation. *Social Science Quarterly*. 81(1): pp.84-105.
- Ogden, T.H. (1992). *The Matrix of the Mind: Object Relations and the Psychoanalytic Dialogue*. London: Karnac Books.
- O'Leary, A. and Romero, A. (2011). Chicana/o Students Respond to Arizona's Anti-Ethnic Studies Bill, SB 1108: Civic Engagement, Ethnic Identity, and Well-being. *Aztlán*. 36: pp.9-36.
- O'Leary, A. and Sanchez, A. (2011). Anti-Immigrant Arizona: Ripple Effects and Mixed Immigration Status Households under 'Policies of Attrition' Considered. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*. 26(1) pp.115-133.
- Portes, A. (2006). NAFTA and Mexican Immigration. [online] Available at <http://borderbattles.ssrc.org/Portes/> [Accessed on Aug. 18 2016].
- Quinodoz, J.M. (2004). *Reading Freud*. London: Routledge.
- Racker, H. (1968). *Transference and Counter-transference*. London: Karnac Books.
- Regan, M. (2010). *The Death of Josseline: Immigration Stories from the Arizona-Mexico Borderlands*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Rivers, R. (2009). Chican-izmos [online] Available at <http://chican-izmo.blogspot.co.uk/2008/10/nopal-en-la-frente.html> [Accessed on Aug. 16, 2016].

- Rodriguez, G. (2012). *Los Angeles Times: Why Arizona banned ethnic studies*. [online] Available at <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/feb/20/opinion/la-oe-rodriguez-ethnic-studies-20120220> [Accessed on 15 Aug. 2016]
- Rumbaut, R., and Portes, A. (2001). *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Rustin, M. (1991). Psychoanalysis, Racism and Anti-Racism. In *The Good Society and the Inner World*. London: Verso.
- Sandler, J. (1989). *Projection, Identification, Projective Identification*. London: Karnac Books.
- Selod, S., Embrick, D. (2013). 'Racialization and Muslims: Situating the Muslim Experience in Race Scholarship'. *Sociology Compass*. 7(8): pp. 644-55.
- Sels, N. (2011). Myth, Mind and Metaphor. On the Relation of Mythology and Psychoanalysis. *Journal of the Jan Van Eyck Circle for Lacanian Ideology Critique*. 4:pp.56-70.
- Segal, H. (1974). *Introduction to the Work of Melanie Klein*. London: Karnac Books.
- Simmen, E. and Bauerle, R. (1969). Chicano: Origin and Meaning. *American Speech*. 44(3):pp. 225-130.
- State.gov (2017). Merida Initiative. U.S. Department of State. [online]. Retrieved on March 14<sup>th</sup> 2017 from <https://www.state.gov/j/inl/merida/>
- Stumpf, J. (2006). 'The Crimmigration Crisis: Immigrants, Crime, and Sovereign power'. *American University Law Review*. 56 (2): pp. 367-420.
- Torgovnik, M. (1990). *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Urrea, L. (2002). *Nobody's Son*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Uscis.gov (2016). What Are the Benefits and Responsibilities of Citizenship? [online] Available at <https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/files/article/chapter2.pdf> [Accessed on 18 Aug. 2016].
- Vazquez, Y. (2015). 'Constructing Crimmigration: Latino Subordination in a 'Post-Racial' World. *Faculty Articles and Other Publications* Paper 254. Retrieved on February 28<sup>th</sup> 2017 from [http://scholarship.law.uc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1256&context=fac\\_publications](http://scholarship.law.uc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1256&context=fac_publications)
- Volkan, V. (1986). The Narcissism of Minor Differences in the Psychological Gap Between Opposing Nations. *Psychoanalytic Inquiry*. 6: pp.175-191.
- Wallace, J. (2005). *Tucson News Now: Illegal Immigration Costly for Southern Arizona Ranchers*. [online] Available at

<http://www.tucsonnewsnow.com/Global/story.asp?S=3364733> [Accessed 15 Aug.2016].

Werman, D.S. (1988). Freud's Narcissism of Minor Differences: A Review and Reassessment. *The Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis and Dynamic Psychiatry*. 16: pp.451-459.

Wingett, Y. (2016). Donald Trump Suggests Jan Brewer in on VP Short List. [online] *Arizona Republic*. Available at <http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/05/11/donald-trump-jan-brewer-vice-president/84262682/> [Accessed on 17 Aug. 2016].

Winant, H. (1997). Behind Blue Eyes: Whiteness and Contemporary U.S. Racial Politics. *New Left Review*. (Sept-October 225). Pp.73-88.

Zavella, P. (2011). *I'm Neither Here nor There*. London: Duke University Press.